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ADMONITIO AD CLAUSTRALES

EDITED FROM

WORCESTER CATHEDRAL MS. Q.51

WITH TRANSLATION, INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

By

STEPHEN WILLIAM HOLLAND

(S. Chad's College)

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Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy to the Department of English Language and Medieval Literature in the University of Durham in October 1987.

18. JUL. 1988

S.W.Holland

An Edition Of The Admonitio ad Claustrales from Worcester Cathedral Manuscript Q.51.

The aim of this thesis is to present the text of the hitherto unedited Admonitio ad Claustrales, known from Worcester Cathedral MS. Q.51, along with a full critical apparatus, including a parallel English translation and an introduction, in which a detailed description of the MS. has been provided. The work appears to have been written sometime towards the end of the twelfth century for the instruction of Augustinian canons, but there is insufficient evidence from which to draw clear conclusions about its authorship and provenance; however, consideration is given to the possibility that the work could have come from a convent in the Worcester-Hereford-Gloucester region. Since there is little information about the canons in England at this time, the work is of value for the light it throws on the nature of the training and spirituality in an Austin house. Attention is called in particular to two of the sources: a hitherto unknown copy of the Rule of S.Augustine, adapted extensively by the author, and a number of chapters from the Anselmian De Humanis Moribus - one of the earliest examples of the use of this work in a manual of instruction. Mainly concerned with the means of resisting temptation and self-control, it reflects the anxieties of a spiritual director writing for a group of newly professed religious. In a set of notes comparisons have been drawn with other manuals of the period which give similar advice, and the author's treatment of his sources has been discussed.

De claustralibus.

De ordine primum claustralium loquamur et pauca dicturi ipsis omnem deum diu seculo attendat et quam der quisq; fidelis quequm qui p̃ miserit. Qui sponte obtulistis a nimas uestras tanto discrimini ut uestis cuiq; uoluntas ecclie ad ruborem magnum memoriam uestram ad nostra ecclesiam. Intendite fres mei dilectissimi in eo uocatione qua uocati estis ut ei q̃ fuigo pfiti: militature cognatum sponsumq; dem sunt uita obla. sponte nec ip̃o duo uouit ut holocaustum. nemo cogat nunc sponsum sub rigi ma gum pauperem xp̃i. Intendite quid aut tempus. Quoniam et reddere nemini sic. ut religiosos ne ut missa grauem pmeritis re nemini. Quoniam deo gratiam. uouistis et abrenunciare sib. uouistis et illecebris mundialibus finem ponere uouistis tam et unum uiro uos dignam castam scribere xp̃o. gaudere et exultare deuoto. & maxime deuota cõplemento. Opari q̃ dem reõperationi tandem dig ni. explere unte termino. inue niamini. Siquis enim uotũ ad

implere ut. retributione digne ram. cui estimationis ubere de redditur abundanter bone estimationis efficiam. filii re mihi quin sine scrupulo ad mihi inordinatum seruitutis dilectionis. ad implendum. quin dignum fuerit. ut nos estis. quin uero obtem gratum quoniam. Intendite fres mei. ad dignum uestra sanctum. quidquid inuite. mundi sexus ad filiorum. quidem ad sui puerilitatem. uestra ad proximum ecclesiam. uestra ad ei dilectionis. ne. Honesta carni. uelis ane. necessaria sibi. Iam et honesta actione. uestis. et punctione. necessaria et ornatione. ordinu ti ualde necessaria ab actione ordinis sapientis dignitate. a bono uidelicet augustino composita. a quo moueri uis monastici ordinis. discenda ptulimus. quoniam euidenter declarent omnibus qm honesta. qm utilis. qm necessaria cunctis sit castimonie munditia. hec est enim specialis sac ordinis disciplina. qm q̃ tenuerit cetu sub ministrabunt de facili necessaria. I capitulo q̃ uocat exordium clementia. a quo uoci ordinis obseruanda instituitur mo

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ABBREVIATIONS

Aut.Spir.	André Wilmart, Auteurs Spirituels et textes dévôts du moyen âge latin, Études Augustiniennes, Paris, (1971).
Bl.	Lexicon Latinitatis Medii Aevi, ed. A.Blaise, C.C.C.M. Turnhout, (1975).
C.C.C.M.	Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievalis. Turnhout.
C.C.M.	Cahiers de civilisation médiévale.
C.C.S.L.	Corpus Christianorum Series Latina.
Dickinson, Origins:Canons.	Rev'd.J.C.Dickinson, The Origins of the Austin Canons and their Introduction into England, London, (1950).
DML.	Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources, R.E.Latham, British Academy, 1981.
Du Cange,	Glossarium ad Scriptores Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis, ed C.du Fresne du Cange, Auctum a Monachis Ordinis S.Benedicti, Paris, 1840-50.
Glorieux.	P.Glorieux, Pour Revaloriser Migne, Lille, (1952).

H.B.S. Henry Bradshaw Society.

H.T.S. Harvard Theological Studies.

Knowles, Religious Houses, D.Knowles & R.N.Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses:England and Wales, London, (1971).

La vita comune. "La vita comune del clero nei secoli XI e XII," Atti della Settimana di studio, Mendola, (settembre,1959), 2 vols.

Liber Ordinis. Liber Ordinis Sancti Victoris Parisiensis, ed. Lucas Jocqué & Ludo Milis, C.C.C.M.61, Turnhout, (1984).

L&S. A Latin Dictionary, enlarged by C.T.Lewis and C. Short, Oxford.

Medieval Learning. Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays presented to R.W.Hunt, ed. J.J.G.Alexander & M.T.Gibson, Oxford, (1976).

Medieval Libraries. N.R.Ker, Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: a list of surviving books, Royal Historical Society Guides & Handbooks, III, (1964).

Med.& Hum. Medievalia et Humanistica.

M.G.H.	Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Leges, Concilia, vol.2, pt.1, Hanover, (1906), ed. A.Werminghoff.
Milis, L'ordre...d'Arrouaise.	L'ordre des chanoines réguliers d'Arrouaise, Belgium, (1969).
Niermeyer,	Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus, Leiden, (1954-64).
Oxon.	Oxford Latin Dictionary
P.L.	Patrologiae Cursus Completus...Series Latina, ed. J.-P.Migne, Paris.
R.A.M.	Révue d'ascetique et de mystique.
Reg.Aug.	La règle de Saint Augustin, ed. Luc Verheijen, 2 vols. Paris, (1967).
Reg.Ben.	The Rule of S.Benedict in Latin and English, ed. and transl. Abbot Justin McCann, London, (1952).
R.B.	Révue Bénédictine.
RMLW.	Revised Medieval Latin Word List from British and Irish Sources, with supplement, prepared by R.E.Latham, O.U.P.(1965).
R.S.	Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores (Rolls Series)

R.T.A.M.	Récherches de Théologie anciennes et médiévales.
S.C.	Sources Chrétiennes.
S.C.H.	Studies in Church History.
S.G.	Studi Gregoriani.
Sout.	Dictionary of Later Latin
T.B.G.A.	Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society.
T.R.H.S.	Transactions of the Royal Historical Society.
V.C.H.	Victoria County History.

(i) Background

In 1154 Nicholas Breakspear, the only English Pope, began his short reign as Adrian IV, and thus assured the Augustinian canons - the religious order to which he belonged - of a place of eminence among the new orders that had come into existence from the middle of the eleventh century. In the following century, a period that witnessed a huge increase generally in the numbers of religious throughout Christendom, the canons' prestige continued to burgeon steadily, so much so that there were more Augustinian convents in England by the end of the twelfth century than of any other order. A number of their houses counted among their members professed scholars of outstanding ability; some of them received formal royal patronage at their foundation, and the canons who served the priory of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, in London, actually enjoyed close personal contact with individual members of the royal family.[1] Through the order important intellectual and spiritual benefits accrued to the nation - in particular the valuable contact with the continent through the independent canonical congregation of S.Victor's Abbey in Paris, in which a number of Englishmen attained high

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(1) D.S.Luscombe, "Aldgate Priory and the Regular Canons of Twelfth Century England", La vita comune, vol.2, pp.86-89.

rank.[2] To this roll of honour can be added the tribute paid to the "spirit of judicious moderation" for which the canons were known; and it also redounds to their credit that, unlike the other orders, they escaped the biting satire of Nicholas de Longchamps in the Speculum Stultorum, receiving instead one of his few barbless compliments.[3]

But although one can number the convents, patrons and scholars of the Augustinians in this way, their actual character and spirituality have proved less easy to particularise. Even Gerald of Wales, justly called "that most perspicacious observer of the religious life" in the twelfth century, could not describe the Augustinians directly, and had to be content with "saying what they were not".[4] In this century too, scholars have had to admit to the canons being "an elusive order".[5] Like other forms of the religious life which developed in the eleventh century, the canonical life was able to accommodate groups and individuals

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(2) J.C.Dickinson, "English Regular Canons and the Continent in the Twelfth Century", TRHS, 5th.Ser., (1951), pp.71-89; and Jean Châtillon, "La culture de l'école de Saint Victor au douzième siècle", Entretiens sur la renaissance du douzième siècle, Paris, (1968), pp.147-160.

(3) Speculum Stultorum, ed. with an introduction and notes by J.H.Mozley and R.R.Raymo, University of California Press, English Studies 18, (1960), p.81.

(4) Nancy F.Partner, Serious Entertainments: The Writing of History in Twelfth Century England, University of Chicago Press, (1977), p.52.

(5) R.W.Hunt, "English Learning in the Late Twelfth Century", TRHS, 4th.Ser.,19, (1936).

alike who were driven by an impulse to sharpen their religious experience living in austerity and seclusion; however, there was no uniformity of discipline among the canons, and they were not actually united as a body either by their adoption of the rule attributed (though still with no degree of certainty) to S.Augustine or by the observances which they culled from other religious orders. The numerous versions of the rule that have survived reflect the diversity of disciplines enjoined from house to house, and the few extant customals which were drawn up to supply the deficiencies of the rule in matters of organisation do not present a uniform account of the canonical life.[6]

In the fourth century any clerk whose name appeared on his bishop's official list of diocesan clergy could properly be called a canon. In that many of them lived "in common" either in the episcopal familia or in collegiate churches, they could be said to anticipate the practice of their successors in the

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(6) Modern discussion of some of these customals along with concise summaries of the order's development is found in articles by C.Dereine,S.J. v. "Vie commune, Règle de S.Augustin, et chanoines réguliers au XI siècle", R.H.E.41, (1946), pp.365-406; "Les origines de Prémontré", R.H.E 42, (1947), pp.352-378; "Les coutumiers de Saint-Quentin de Beauvais et Springiersbach", R.H.E.43, (1948), pp.411-442; "Saint Ruf et ses coutumes au XIe et XIIe siècles", R.B.59, (1949), pp.161-182. Only two customals survive from English houses: namely Barnwell and Llanthony. On the different versions of the Rule of S.Augustine v. Luc Verheijen, La règle de S.Augustin, Paris, Études Augustiniennes, (1967), 2 vols, and also p.lxv below.

eleventh and twelfth century,[7] but unlike later generations who espoused far more rigorous codes of conduct, those early canons were permitted the usufruct of the personal property which they had surrendered to their communities - an indulgence conceded them by the Council of Aachen held in 816, which the reformers of the eleventh century fiercely opposed.[8]

In the eleventh and twelfth century a number of houses continued to support the moderate common life that had been prescribed by the Aachen Council, but members of convents which belonged to the independent canonical congregations that were founded from S.Victor, Arrouaise, and Prémontré, and the canons and canonesses of the Gilbertine order (England's sole innovation in the religious life) dedicated themselves to lives of poverty and strict asceticism. Since very little documentation survives from individual Austin houses, the remaining Augustinians merge in a blur of diverse observances rather than a clearly defined spectrum.[8a] Thus, it is difficult to determine what the

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(7) J.C.Dickinson, The Origins of the Austin Canons and their Introduction into England, London, (1950), pp. 17f.

(8) Ibid., pp. 18-20.

(8a) Added to the question of the diversity of practice within the the canonical order there is also controversy whether the canons' spirituality was appreciably different from that of the monks. For a brief outline of the different approaches to this question, v. C.N.L.Brooke, "Monk and Canon: Some Patterns in the Religious life of the Twelfth Century", S.C.H. 22, (1985), pp.109-129, in which an attempt is made to show that differences between the orders would have been easier to discern at a local level by an educated man.

common life involved from house to house and to find evidence which can suggest why the order proved so attractive to Englishmen at this time. For example, sometime after 1197 Alexander Nequam, one of England's distinguished scholars, fulfilled his vow to take the habit of one order or another by entering the Augustinian Abbey at Cirencester. Although the house was a royal foundation and one of the order's richest in the country, little has survived that can give us an impression of the kind of spiritual discipline to which Nequam submitted, and in the extensive corpus of his works there is only one short passage which throws any light on the reasons for his choosing to become an Austin canon.[9]

In the face of these difficulties this edition of the late twelfth century Admonitio ad claustrales is presented that it may speak as an "inside informant" where Gerald of Wales is silent. The work hardly holds the key to unlock every door in every Augustinian cloister, for it is not a comprehensive study of the canonical life; but in throwing open a window onto its author and the audience for whom it was prepared, it discloses a little of the temper of the canons' spirituality, and it can give us an insight into the

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(9) He too seems to have been attracted by the "judicious moderation" of the order, for he laments the passing of the "golden mean of discretion" and the introduction of inflexible rules and regulations. v. R.W.Hunt, The Schools and the Cloister: The Life and Writings of Alexander Nequam (1157-1217), ed. and revised by Margaret Gibson, Oxford (1984), pp.10-11.

means by which Augustinian novices were trained. As such the work is a rather more valuable record of an Austin canon's spiritual formation than other examples of the canons' literary remains. Much of this material is described in a study of canonical and monastic treatises on the religious life which has been undertaken by Professor Caroline Bynum in her attempt to isolate features peculiar to the spirituality of the regular canons.[10] Of the texts covered in her study which include polemical works, descriptive accounts of the canonical life and commentaries on the Augustinian rule, the Admonitio is nearest to the group of texts which she classifies as "works of practical spiritual advice". The Admonitio's author set himself the (clearly stated) aim of setting forth the fundamentals of the canonical life - an aim he does not lose sight of throughout the work. To this end he has quoted a variety of sources; since these include a version of the rule of S.Augustine itself, to which a number of interesting additions and adaptations have been made, the work also has a legislative dimension.

Although the Admonitio affords some evidence to support Professor Bynum's thesis that the canonical literature of this period exhibits the canons' concern for the edification of neighbour in word and deed, one

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(10) Caroline Walker Bynum, "Docere Verbo et Exemplo: an Aspect of Twelfth Century Spirituality", H.T.S 31, (1971) - the text of her doctoral dissertation; and v. too a condensed account of her arguments in, "The Spirituality of the Regular Canons in the Twelfth Century: a new approach", Medievalia et Humanistica 4, (1973), pp. 3-24.

has to be cautious not to lay down general principles about a whole order on the basis of one text's teaching. Indeed, a reviewer of Bynum's work admits that the kind of treatise which gives practical spiritual advice is part of "a neglected though problematic body of literature", but points out nonetheless that the genre "bristles with difficulties" when called upon to illustrate the kind of argument Professor Bynum has advanced.[11] Accordingly, in this edition no claim is made that the Admonitio adumbrates the concerns of the whole order. As for the inherent problems of the genre, attention has been given to the questions whether the writer aimed his work at all cloistered men generally, and whether it could have been conceived as a piece of propaganda for the canonical order. In fact there are only two points in the work at which the writer is advowedly "propagandist", and his ingenuous remarks about the shortcomings of some novices make it clear that the whole work was not actually conceived as a piece of propaganda in the modern sense of the word.

Above all the value of this text rests on the fact that it is a record of the kind of effort that was made to inculcate all the disciplines that were considered essential for religious to know: to provide them with a package of meditations designed to help them subdue their carnal impulses and shut out worldly thoughts. Dom Jean Leclercq has urged that attention be paid to

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(11) R.M.Thomson, Speculum 56, (1981), pp.598-601.

works such as this because of the possibilities they can present for gaining fresh insight into a major area of medieval experience.[12] In this respect the Admonitio is not disappointing, for the counsel it contains reflects the anxieties that exercised the hearts and minds of its author and its readers. It is not the work of a great and innovative spiritual master - most of the counsel it gives is second-hand - nevertheless, it bears witness to a living tradition, and throws light on the kind of text the canons were using as part of their training towards the end of the twelfth century. Of particular interest in this respect is the author's application of ideas on the psychology of sin believed to have been developed by S.Anselm, and written up by some unidentified members of his circle in the first half of the twelfth century. Although this collection of material proved very popular in the thirteenth century when it came to came to be known as the De Similitudinibus, the Admonitio is one of the earliest examples of a work of instruction in which these ideas surface. The significance of this material is discussed in detail in connexion with the provenance of the work.

Finally, valuable as it is for what it can say about the Austin cloister and the application of

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(12) Jean Leclercq, "Modern Psychology and the Interpretation of Medieval texts", Speculum 48, (1973), pp.476-490. Discussion of such texts is found in the following articles: "Deux témoins de la vie des cloîtres au moyen âge", Studi Medievali, Ser.III,2, (1971), pp. 987-995; and "Deux opuscules sur la formation des jeunes moines", R.A.M.33, (1967), pp. 387-399.

Anselmian lore in the twelfth century, the Admonitio can also claim a place among those medieval works which bear witness to the tradition of early English devotional literature, and it is interesting to compare the counsel it contains with the directions which other spiritual masters have given. Before it in time stands the Liber Confortatorius of Goscelin written around 1082-3;[13] roughly contemporary with it are the writings of Aelred, Adam the Scot, the adaptations of the Bridlington master and the little-known poetical treatise on the religious life that has been attributed to Alexander Nequam;[14] and it is followed by the Ancrene Wisse and the numerous rules and manuals of instruction compiled for the use of recluses in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[15] Although the work's provenance has not been put beyond question, in

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(13) "The Liber Confortatorius of Goscelin of S.Bertin" ed. from British Library MS.Sloane 3103 by C.H.Talbot, Analecta Monastica, Studia Anselmiana, fasc.37, Rome, (1955).

(14) On the Bridlington master and his work v. M.L.Colker, "Richard of S.Victor and the anonymous of Bridlington", Traditio 18, (1962), pp.181-227. The work attributed to Nequam is the Exhortatio ad religiosos known from one MS. only (Milan, Biblioteca de Palacio, II, 468, fols. 8-9v.) v. R.W.Hunt, The Schools and the Cloister, Appendix p. 146. A microfilm is on deposit in Bodleian Library microfilm dep.1682.

(15) Some of these rules have been edited by P.Livarius Oliger, "Regulae tres reclusorum et eremitarum Angliae saec. XIII-XIV", Antonianum 3, (1928), p.151-190; 299-320. and "Regula reclusorum Angliae et quaestiones tres de vita solitaria saec. XIII-XIV," Antonianum 9, (1934) ,pp.37-84; 243-65. esp. Antonianum.9, pp.53-84. - the Regula reclusorum of Walter, sometime Augustinian canon before becoming a recluse.

view of the fact there is evidence which suggests its origin might be connected with the West-Midlands - already recognised as an intellectually fertile region of some importance in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries[16] - the work might be found of value in supplying further information about the claustral discipline in that area. Since numerous Augustinian elements are found in the Ancrene Wisse, which could have been produced at a religious house in the West-Midlands, passages have been noted where the teaching of that work and the Admonitio is similar or in which their respective authors follow the same source. Whenever possible reference has also been made in the notes to comparable passages from other works of instruction of both English and continental origin.

(ii) The Manuscript

Like many small manuals of instruction the Admonitio ad claustrales is known from one manuscript alone: Worcester Cathedral MS. Q.51. The Worcester codex, in which the Admonitio is the tenth item,[1] is fully bound

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(16) On the intellectual points of contact in the region, v. M.A.Harris, "Influences on the thought of Alan of Tewkesbury", Journal of Ecclesiastical History 33, (1982).

(1) Catalogue of manuscripts preserved in the Chapter Library of Worcester Cathedral, compiled by Rev.J.K.Floyer, revised by S.G.Hamilton, Worcester Historical Society, (1906), p.135.

in whitlawed skin over bevelled boards of oak, which are the same size as the leaves within and were attached by means of three double thongs. The inner face of the back board is exposed so that the arrangement of the thongs is clearly visible. On this evidence the date of the binding can be put in the second half of the thirteenth century.[2]

In appearance the volume is much battered. There are no traces of its having had any tabs, but a rust mark on the top edge of the outer face of the front cover shows that it was once fixed to a chain. A short strip of leather attached to the front cover is all that remains of a clasp which is now useless. On the outer face of the back cover is pasted a large label giving details of the contents of the book. The hand of this label is fifteenth century and typical of the labels attached to books at the Worcester monastery in the late Middle Ages. On this label item ten is listed as Admoniciones ad claustrales and Ibid de opere cotidiano. The label is torn, and some of the entries are difficult to read; nevertheless, it is clear that in the fifteenth century the contents of the volume

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(2) The arrangement is similar to that illustrated in Graham Pollard's essay, "Describing Medieval Bookbindings", in Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays presented to R.W.Hunt, ed. J.J.G.Alexander and M.T.Gibson, Oxford, (1976), p.57, fig.3.

were as they are today.[3] On the inner face of the rear board is found the impression of a tenth century fragment which was once pasted to it. Schenkl records it as having been in situ in 1891.[4] A modern label pasted to the inside of the front board states that the fragment is now preserved in a show case in the north-east transept of the Cathedral.

The volume has new endpapers of parchment. The first medieval leaf bears the impression of rust marks and holes corresponding with the clasp mark on the cover. All the items in the codex are written on leaves of parchment, which have been trimmed and measure 270 x 190 mm. The leaves are numbered folios 1-177 in pencil in a modern hand; two leaves are numbered 149 by mistake. Sadly, the front endleaf and folios 1-61 have been badly damaged either by fire or damp; almost a third of the text is lost at the lower half of folios 1-51. These leaves have been repaired sometime during the nineteenth or twentieth century.

Inside the volume on the verso side of the leaf marked fol.1 (not the first leaf of text) there are two lists of the volume's contents: one written in plummet in a hand of the thirteenth century, the other below it

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(3) For a list of all the books at Worcester which have kept their labels, v. Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Wigorniensis 1622-23, ed. Ivor Atkins and Neil R.Ker, Cambridge, (1944), pp.69-70.

(4) Heinrich Schenkl, ed. Bibliotheca Patrum Latinorum Britannica, Wien, (1891), vol. 3, p.70.

in ink is in a late thirteenth century hand, which reads as follows:

Passio secundum Nichodemum
Bernardus ad Eugenium de consideratione
Bernardus de amore Dei
Epistola eiusdem ad Hugonem
Epistola eiusdem contra Petrum Baalard [5]
Bernardus super missus est
Item Apologeticus eiusdem item idem de gradibus humilitatis
Symbolum expositum
Liber trenorum Glosatus
Admonitio ad claustrales
Hystoria Evangelica.[6]

All the works in the volume appear to have been written in hands of the twelfth century, except item eleven which is written in a much smaller script than the rest; and resembling a charter hand it drifts into cursive. A full list of the incipits of each item as well as cross references to other copies of these works in the Worcester collection is provided in Floyer's catalogue. Items one, ten and eleven are separable from the volume, which seems to have been intended to be a collection of Bernardine works.

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(5) Pro Abelard.

(6) Bernard's work On the steps of humility has been slipped in at the side of the list because the scribe had forgotten to copy it from the plummet list above. Dr.B.S.Benedikz, Keeper of Special Collections in the library of the University of Birmingham, has advised me that the same hand is found in the contents lists in other Worcester volumes; it is probably that of the convent librarian or binder.

One interesting feature found between folios nine and seventy-four should be noted. On these pages column numbers have been given for each of the works, and running titles have been written above them in a hand that resembles the ink list of contents. Line numbers between the columns of text have been added, at first in fives but later in tens. This could either show that these sections of the book had passed through the hands of someone with an Oxford training,[7] or that they had belonged to members of the Franciscan order, with whom this practice is associated.

The Script of the Admonitio

(i) The text of the Admonitio itself is written on forty-eight leaves of fairly good parchment cut to the same size as the other leaves in the volume. There are some small holes in the parchment which the scribe allows to break up words as well as some splits which have been roughly sewn up. Item ten is the best preserved work in the codex. Although the lower portion of the text on folio 121 recto and folio 133 recto is slightly blurred owing to damp, it is nonetheless legible. The work is in six quires, each of which has eight leaves. There is no trace of any signature marks, but all sets of catchwords, written in the scribe's hand at the foot of the page under the second column of text, are legible at folios 119v, 127v (under the first column), 135v, 143v; but not 150v where they are barely

(7) A.G.Little & F.Pelster, Oxford Theology and Theologians, c. 1282-1302, Oxford Historical Society, 96, (1934), p.61.

visible owing to the trimming of the leaf. The trimming has not obliterated the impressions of prick marks on the outer edge of folios 115 - 119. On some of these leaves similar marks can be found on the inside edge. This shows that the leaves were pricked for ruling after they had been folded - a practice which came in around the second half of the twelfth century.[7] All the leaves have been ruled in plummet for two columns of thirty-four lines. The writing space of each column measures 190 x 60 mm. throughout the work. Each column of writing is bound by two vertical lines ruled 5 mm. apart, drawn from the top of the leaf to the bottom, leaving a space of 10 mm. between the two columns. Of the horizontal lines, the first, third, ante-penultimate and the last are extended to the edges of the leaf.[8] The lines have been ruled 5 mm. apart, and are drawn to join the two outer vertical lines, cutting across the gap between the columns of text. The first line of text is written on the top line of the frame following the practice of earlier scribes.[9] All the pages have been set out in this way except the last, folio 158, which is ruled like the others on the

(7) On this practice v.Neil R.Ker, English Manuscripts in the century after the Norman Conquest, Oxford, (1960).

(8) v. N.R.Ker, ibid. p.47. "Rarely before 1170, one or more of the horizontal lines in the middle of the page is often prolonged into the margins like the top and bottom lines."

(9) In this our scribe is conservative, for scribes of the late twelfth century usually wrote within their frames. v. N.R.Ker, Celtica 5, (1960).

recto side, but has only twenty three lines of text in the first column. The verso side is blank, save for the very faint traces of the word expliceat written at the top of the leaf in a tiny cursive hand of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, resembling the hand in which the ink list of contents is written. Likewise, at the end of item eleven in the codex, the Hystoria Scholastica, the words explicet expliceat are found at the bottom of folio 177 verso in the same tiny, cursive hand.

(ii) The script of item ten is a fine hand of the late twelfth century. The size and formation of the letters seem to be quite consistent throughout. Minims are usually about 3 mm. in height, and the ascenders 4 mm. The scribe writes a little above the ruled line, leaving a space of about 4 mm. between the bottom of a letter and the top of a minim on the line beneath it. The word division is generally clear, but the letters in are often written a little before the words they prefix and can appear to be the preposition. The letters are quite closely packed together; many of them show signs of the developing Gothic script. Of the lower case characters d, r, s, and t, the scribe uses variant forms depending on their position. Both upright d and the curved, or uncial form ∂ are used initially and medially throughout; occasionally they are both found in the same word. Upright d tends to appear with the vowels i, a, u, and uncial ∂ in combination with e and o: but there are examples of ∂ being used with u.

Thus these combinations do not reflect the rule formulated by Meyer that upright d combines with straight lines and uncial ð with bowed forms.[10] Combinations of ðe and ðo are the only examples of biting - the "fusion of adjacent contrary curves" that is a clear feature of Gothic coming into use in the last decades of the twelfth century, but which was already fully developed in Durham by 1195.[11] Neil Ker has observed that such biting would probably not have come into use in the West country till after 1200.[12]

Both straight r and "figure two" ꝛ are used: the latter in combination with o and r (though not invariably as can be seen from susurrio fol.128r.b). The horizontal stroke of the straight r is very sharp and angular.

Both round and long s are in evidence: the former used finally, often written well above the line - especially at the end of a line.

Lower case t differs according to its position, being bound by a ligature when next to a small c and long s. Usually easy to distinguish fromn the letter c, it has a flat head; but there are examples where it is not easy to tell the difference (e.g. structionum, fatiem, spetiem). The letters nt in the verbal third

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(10) Meyer's rule is discussed by N.Denholm-Young in his examination of the development of Gothic features in Handwriting in England and Wales, Cardiff, (1964).

(11) Denholm-Young, ibid. pp.27-28.

(12) Ker's introduction to Ancrene Wisse, E.E.T.S. 249, (1962), p.xv.

person ending are sometimes written conjointly; examples can be found in the frontispiece.

The letter a is formed with a very short, open bow, and is rarely taller than the minims.

The ascenders of b, upright d, h, and l tend to be splayed at the top. This is occasionally exaggerated as in balnea (fol.128 r.b l.26).

Lower case e is sometimes written with a small horn drawn from its cross bar ( ). This too can be exaggerated as in fol. 131 r.b l.32.

The right foot of h always curves sharply to the left below the line. The left foot of x is made well below the line with a thick stroke made at a sharp angle to the thin ascender. This characteristic Gothic feature of the accentuation of light and heavy strokes of the pen is found too in the few examples of the letter z (as fol.113 r.a). Examples of dotted ẏ (as ẏpocritas fol.132 v.b, and egẏpti fol.147 r.a) afford further evidence of this Gothic feature. Although they are by no means sharp and angular, the heads of the minims sometimes have the kind of enlarged head that developed into the clearly defined diamond-headed minims of the Gothic book hands.

Upper case letters vary in size throughout, ranging from 3 mm. to 5 mm. Always used at the start of a sentence they are rarely used for names: thus one finds Ambrosius, but ionadab, ieronimus etc.

Upper case A is often as small as the lower case form, resembling a thick wedge shape.

Two forms of upper case E are used: as in fols. 112 v.a, 114 r.a, and 135 r.b; and as in fol.128 r.b.

The letter I is always drawn with a long hair line tail running obliquely to the left.

There are three forms of N: as in fols. 120v.b, 134 v.b; as in fols. 112 r.b, 113 r.a; and a double-barred version near the end of the text at fol. 157 v.a.

Despite these variants the text appears to be the work of one scribe.

(iii) The text is not heavily abbreviated, but the scribe makes frequent use of a wide range of common devices. Of interest is the form of the line to show contraction or omission of m or n, which is sometimes lozenge-shaped with an oblique hair line running down to the letter below. The ampersand is used extensively; but from fol. 153r.b to the end of the work the scribe appears to change his practice, using both the ampersand and the Tironian , which had appeared but once before then (fol.117 v.b). It is possible the copy of the last source had the Tironian mark which the scribe copied automatically, or that he found this mark quicker to write than the ampersand when he was eager to finish his work. The usual abbreviations of the nomina sacra are found throughout. A few examples are found of the reduction of well-known quotations from Scripture to a couple of words followed by a string of initial letters (as in fols. 116v.b and 117v.b.).

(iv) The scribe's system of punctuation is simple. He uses low point for a minor pause and the full stop; the inverted semi-colon (⁝) for a major break in the sentence; and the usual punctus interrogativus (⁝). Hairlines are sometimes drawn above i and ii, and occasionally the preposition a is marked in this way.

(v) The scribe's spelling deserves little comment. Lower case u is written for v thoroughout, and V is used for both V and U except for Utilis fol.116 v.a and Utili fol.133 v.a. Sometimes initial h is omitted, but it is often added as a correction. The verb traho and its compounds are frequently without medial h. Conversely, some words have picked up the h: as honera fol.140v.a. For the Classical diphthongs ae and oe the scribe uses e without the serif, but one or two examples of the serif can be found (as uitę tuę fol. 153 v.b l.11). Evidence of the homophonic value of of s, sc, and c in Medieval Latin is found in the spelling variations discentes for dicentes (fol. 149 v.a), expossit for exposcit (fol.147 v.b), and numerous other examples. The letter x can do the work of xs as in exurget (fol.134 r.b) from exsurgo not exurgeo.

(vi) The MS.is not lavishly ornamented. The two running titles Claustralibus (fol.112 r.a) and De opere cotidiano (fol.129 v.b) are written in red ink, and the initial capitals beside them are in red - the first, a three-line D, and the second a two-line D. All the upper case characters are stroked with red, rather

crudely at times; the initials of words like apostolus and prior are treated similarly.

(vi) The work was well proof read for minor errors. The colour of ink suggests the correction of such mistakes was done by the scribe himself, either as soon as the mistake was made or when a section was being checked. Tiny crosses in the margins correspond with errors or corrections in the text. Examination of the MS. using an ultra-violet lamp reveals a fair number of corrections that escape the naked eye, since the surface of the parchment was well smoothed after an error had been scratched out, but apart from giving further evidence of the care that was taken over the production of this text, the lamp reveals nothing of interest. A few sections of the work are written in brown rather than black ink; in these sections the corrections are in black ink. The longest and most noticeable of these runs from fol.156 v.a to the end of the text; in this section the mistakes have not been corrected.

(vii) The Admonitio is well annotated for the first four folios. These marginalia take the form of simple notas, large fingers drawn in plummet, and brief titles serving as headings for each topic. In all it seems five or six hands (mainly from the thirteenth and fourteenth century) are in evidence, but the longer comments are the work of only three readers.[13]

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(13) List of Marginalia below.

Date of Composition, Audience, Authorship and Provenance

Despite the length of the Admonitio ad claustrales and the quality of the script in which it is written, neither the contents of the work nor the external features of the MS. provides sufficient detail for one to be able to draw any specific conclusions as to where it was written and by whom. That it was intended to give guidance to Augustinian canons is fairly clear, as is shown below, but whether they belonged to one of the independent Augustinian congregations it is difficult to judge, since there are few organisational details in the work - indeed, none at all about the liturgy, dietary regulations, blood-letting and the shaving of the tonsure, all of which could help to put the question beyond doubt.[1] But even if the work was full of such details, so varied were the observances of the uncongregated convents in the twelfth century that it is unlikely the origin of the Admonitio could be pinpointed accurately on the strength of them.[2] The few

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(1) On the use of such details to establish the provenance of the Ancrene Wisse v. D.S.Brewer, "Two notes on the Augustinian and possibly West Midland origin of the Ancrene Riwle, " N & Q 201, (1956), pp.232-235; and E.J.Dobson, The Origins of the Ancrene Wisse, Oxford, (1976), especially pp.13-103, (hereafter Origins:AW.).

(2) Uniformity was not even established by the thirteenth century, though efforts were made to do so at the meetings of the order's General Chapter that had been instituted by the decree of the the fourth Lateran Council of 1215.

details of this sort that are found in the work are highlighted below in the discussion of the audience for whom it could have been written, where they have been compared with what is known of the observances of the independent congregations.

As regards the author of the work, no colophon requesting the reader's prayers, nor (so far as one can tell) has any ingenious acrostic been provided to identify him. However, in order to gain some idea of his reading and training the author's selection of source material has been examined in detail. Because the work contains a hitherto unrecorded copy of the rule of S.Augustine, a short account of the complex questions which beset the study of this rule is given in this section of the introduction, and its textual history has been discussed briefly.

For want of more telling evidence concerning the provenance of the work the character of the script and the manuscript tradition of some of the sources the work contains have been used to set limited criteria for the kind of house at which it was likely to have been produced. Although it is, admittedly, far from satisfactory to make out a case for provenance on the scant information we have about the circulation of source materials in the Middle Ages, the localised textual tradition of one of the author's Anselmian sources and the relative obscurity of the other call for special consideration to be given to Austin convents in the vicinity of religious houses where

those works were known. These convents have been called the "Bath group" and "Llanthony group" (simply for convenience: not on account of any formal affiliation). Investigations into the early history of each of these convents have produced little which has advanced this research, but, for the sake of ruling out possibilities and to demonstrate how little information is available even to meet the limited criteria one has been able to establish, some details concerning the libraries of these houses, their dates and the circumstances of their foundation are recorded in this section.

(iii) Date of Composition

A satisfactory terminus a quo for the date of the work can be established from the latest source material which it contains. This appears to be Aelred of Rievaulx's De Institutione Inclusarum, written around 1162 towards the end of the famous abbot's life.[1] The terminus ad quem is less certain, since it depends solely on the late twelfth century character of the script and the style of the writing frame. Thus, allowing time for the dissemination of Aelred's treatise after it had left the scriptorium at Rievaulx, and recalling the significance of our scribe's

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(1) v. The Life of Aelred of Rievaulx by Walter Daniel, ed. Sir F.M.Powicke, Nelson's, (1950). Daniel mentions the work when dealing with the years 1158-1163, but Powicke narrows this to 1160-1162, v. p.xcvii.

extending the first and third lines of his writing frame, one can assume fairly safely that the Admonitio was put together during the last thirty years of the twelfth century; but it is quite possible parts of it had been written before the De Institutione Inclusarum had been composed.

(iv) Audience

The initial impression one gets from the work's title and its opening words addressed simply to Claustralibus is that the Admonitio ad Claustrales is aimed at an audience of cloistered religious in general rather than at the members of one order in particular. Although the polemical literature of the twelfth century reflects the controversy in which the monks and canons alike were engaged, seeking to defend and attack the different forms of the religious life, some works of instruction afford evidence of mutual respect and co-operation. For example, Peter of Celles, abbot of the house of black monks at S.Remi of Rheims, in 1179 composed the De Disciplina Claustrali - a treatise on the cloistered life which could be read by the members of any cloistered order. The work was actually written at the request of Richard of Salisbury, a canon of the Austin convent at Merton in Surrey, and throughout it Peter is at pains to defer to both monastic and canonical claims concerning the religious life.

> Duo quoque rivuli ex his emanentes canonicos regulares et monachos incluserunt in claustro, tamquam cervos et capreas in inclauso ut ita dicam parco, Augustinus et Benedictus.[1]

But unlike Peter the author of the Admonitio ad Claustrales does not give so balanced an account of the origin of the monastic life. He confines his attention to S.Augustine's account of it (sufficiat cuique distinctio hec presens Augustini magni doctoris 4/9); he names Augustine as the originator of the monastic order (a quo inoleuit usus monastici ordinis); and of all the sources that are quoted in the work the most solemn respect is reserved for the rule that bears Augustine's name, our author bidding his readers examine very carefully what it has to say. (Hinc itaque commentum regule diligenter indagare operam demus solicite 47/26) There were numerous religious orders which came to adopt this rule during the Middle Ages,[2] but before the thirteenth century only the houses of Austin canons, the independent Augustinian congregations of S.Victor, Arrouaise, Prémontré and S.Sepulchre, the Military orders, and the Gilbertine order of canons and canonesses were following it in

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(1) Gérard Martel, ed. De Disciplina Claustrali, S.C. 240, Paris, (1977), p.118.

(2) A list of congregations which adopted the rule is found in A.Miraeus, Canonicorum Regularium ordinis Sancti Augustini origines et progressus, Cologne, (1614), pp.15-22.

England. There is no internal evidence in the Admonitio that it was written specifically for the Gilbertines, Knights Templar, or the Hospitallers; and after the fall of Jerusalem in 1188 religious houses maintained by the canons of the Holy Sepulchre came to be indistinguishable from the convents of the ordinary, uncongregated Austin canons. Although the canons of S.Sepulchre had very few houses in England, they had two in the West-Midlands - an area with which the Admonitio could be associated.[3] Of the continental congregations, all of which had some important and influential convents in this country, the order of S.Victor had firm links with the western counties, in fact all six of its houses were concentrated there. It is fortunate that the author of the Admonitio has made some recommendations about the kind of clothing his readers should wear, for this detail helps us bring into finer focus the audience for whom he was writing.

It is curious this detail has been included in the work; it is not a detailed inventory of a canon's costume, and no moral is drawn from the size, shape or colour of the garments mentioned of the kind one can find in other canonical discussions of this subject.[4] In all, seven articles of clothing are named which the author considers his readers need to keep out the cold: the dark outer garment (pulla exterior), the loose-fitting rochet or surplice (superpellicia), the

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(3) Thelsford and Warwick; v. below p.ciii-civ.

(4) Notes, p.104/23.

sheepskin-lined cassock (pellicia), the ankle-length tunic (tunica talaris), a shirt (camisia), the amice, and the white alb (nix alba). Thus, the general impression one gets is of dark outer clothes (simplici colore denigrata) which contrast with the whiteness of the underclothing (multo candore dealbata). Of these the most significant is the outer garment. Although its shape and size are not specified,[5] it seems likely that this garment is actually the dark cloak which distinguished the "black canons" - the ordinary Augustinians and members of the congregation of S.Victor's Abbey, Paris - from their brethren in the congregations of Arrouaise, Prémontré and Sempringham; that is to say it is the heavy-duty mantle (cappa pluvialis).[6] Unfortunately, our author's description of the habit is not detailed enough for a thorough comparison to be made with every article of clothing worn by the Victorine canons, whose costume comprised a black cope, surplice, sheepskin-lined cassock, an over-mantle which could be either black or white, and a tunic woven out of white wool.[7] The variation in the colour of the mantle which they wore over their copes

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(5) It is only described generally by the phrase "cut appropriately" (secta per ordinem) and by the word pulla. In descriptions of dress this word could be used either as a noun or as an adjective. Lexicon Latinitatis Medii Aevi, ed. A.Blaise, C.C.C.M. Turnhout, (1975), p.752, (i). "manteau brun".

(6) Dickinson, Origins:Canons, p.185.

(7) Liber Ordinis Sancti Victoris Parisiensis, ch.18, ed. L.Jocqué & L.Milis, C.C.C.M.61, Turnhout, (1984),p.70.

could explain why Gervase of Canterbury records the Victorine convent at Wigmore in Herefordshire both as a house of nigri canonici as well as canonici albi.[8]

On the other hand it is clear that our author lays great emphasis on the whiteness of both the surplice (described as multo candore dealbata) and the alb. However, his remark that the white underclothing was the distinctive dress of a canon just as the monk could be recognised by his cowl makes it clear that this emphasis is not to be taken as evidence that the work was written specifically for white canons.[9] It is a pity the work makes no reference to the material in which these garments had been made, for if it had been specified that they were of linen it would have been clear the work was not prepared for white canons, for the Premonstratensians wore woollen habits in accordance with Cistercian practice as a mark of their humility and austerity. Similarly the Arrouaisian order required its canons to wear garments made of wool, though there is evidence that their resolve in this had

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(8) E.J.Dobson, Origins:AW., p.31, n.1.

(9) Confirmation of this can be found in other discussions of canonical dress which remind their readers that the canon's white robes are a sign of his priestly status. v.Arno of Reichersberg, Scutum Canonicorum:...in toga linea candida talari et apostolica quam superpellicium dicimus, antiquum Ecclesiae usum retinentes...nichil novitatis admittunt; in lineae uestis candore vitae innocentiam carnisque munditiam...significantes. (P.L.194.1505) Earlier he had noted that the alb's colour signified the purity of the robes of the priest Aaron.

weakened by 1178.[10] However, it appears that the Arrouaisians could be mistaken for black canons (just as Wigmore's community was taken for white), because they changed their habit according to the season: black habits during the Winter months, and the customary white garments at other times of the year. In support of this Milis presents evidence which is admittedly too late for our purposes - that of Hocmelle, a canon of Châtillon-sur-Marne in the eighteenth century,[11] nor is earlier evidence helpful.[12]

Mention is made in the Admonitio of the camisia. According to Miraeus,[13] the Arrouaisian canons did not wear nightshirts (camisiae); similarly, the Premonstratensian regulations restricted their use to

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(10) Ludo Milis, L'ordre des chanoines réguliers d'Arrouaise, Belgium, (1969), p.489. The Arrouaisian regulations on the habit are laid out in the Constitutiones Canonicorum Regularium Ordinis Arroasiensis, ch.212, ed. Ludo Milis, C.C.C.M. 20, Turnhout, (1970), pp.201-202. In the Liber Ordinis of S.Victor only one short passage refers to this observance which states that the order's convent officials were permitted to wear linen tunics rather than woollen ones.

(11) Milis, L'ordre...d'Arrouaise, p.489.

(12) The Arrouaisian constitutions show that each canon was required to have two tunics, a cassock, surplice, cloak (pallium), cope (cappa), breeches (femoralia), shoes and stockings (pedules), and a scapular for manual work.Milis, Constitutiones, p.202.

(13) Op.cit. p.46. Camisiis non utuntur sed cum tunicis laneis nocte in dormitorio suo quiescunt.

those who were gravely ill.[14] However, it is not clear from the context in the Admonitio whether the camisia it mentions was for daytime or bedtime use: its description of the canon's habit starts with the outer garments and works down, and it is thus possible that the shirt - one of the items at the end of its list - could have been worn next to the body during the day. The fact no mention is made of socks (socci) or stockings (caligae), which canons of all the austere independent congregations wore, need not mean they were not worn by our author's readers. Reference is made to shoes (calciamenta 59/10) in the text of the Rule.[15]

Thus, from this description of the habit it seems unlikely the Admonitio was written for an order whose members would usually have been identified as "white canons": that is the Premonstratensians, Arrouaisians and Gilbertines.[16] This leaves us with the Victorines,

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(14) For their regulations, v. E.Martène, De Antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus, (revised edn. 1788), vol.3, pp.321-344; and Pl.F.Lefèvre and M.W.Grauwen, "Les Statuts de Prémontré au milieu du XIIe siècle," Bibliotheca Analectorum Praemonstratensium 12, Averbode, (1978), p.50.

(15) It is not easy to picture from these details what the habit would have looked like when it was worn. Here the Statutes of Prémontré can be of service: they state that the cassock had to be completely covered by the tunic, over which had to be worn the surplice or the alb. The canons were forbidden to remove their tunics even if the cassock were covered by the surplice. The cassock itself had to be shorter than the tunic which had to reach to the ankles. v. Lefèvre and Grauwen, op.cit. p.50.

(16) On the Gilbertine canons, known as the "white Gilbertines", v. Rose Graham, S.Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertines, London, (1903), p.71.

the ordinary uncongregated Augustinians, and the canons of the Holy Sepulchre, who, as was mentioned above, closely resembled the second group after the Christians' hopes in the Holy Land had been frustrated.

Unfortunately, it is difficult to say much more than this, for the work contains so little about those observances in which the independent congregations differed from those of the ordinary uncongregated houses: the practices of performing manual work, abstaining from flesh meat, and keeping silence for long periods. As regards the first of these, provision is made in the Rule of S.Augustine for manual work to be done in the morning until Sext, and after dinner until the evening office, but only known in that part of the rule (usually called the Regula Secunda or Ordo Monasterii) which many canons did not accept as authentic, preferring instead to follow the Regula Tertia or Praeceptum. Being less demanding the latter was closer to the moderate demands of the so-called ordo antiquus which had been defined by the Aachen Council of 816. Indeed, the decision of S.Norbert in 1119 to impose the Ordo Monasterii upon his followers caused considerable disquiet among the early Premonstratensians, who felt such an innovation divided them from other canons who were still following the ordo antiquus.[17] In this respect the community for which the Admonitio was written seems to have adopted

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(17) C.Dereine, "Le premier Ordo de Prémontré", R.B. 58, (1948), pp.84-92.

the stricter ordo novus, for the version of the rule it contains includes five sections from the Ordo Monasterii. In the first of these (64/1-2) it is stated that the brethren should work in the morning after Prime until Sext and again between the end of dinner and the start of Vespers. Finally, a quotation from Caesarius of Arles's Sermo ad Sanctimoniales emphasises the importance of performing manual work to vary the routine of lives that were otherwise devoted to the work of the spirit.

> Sit uobis celebre lectioni et orationi incumbere; interpolate tamen, ne tedio afficiamini, honesta opera que manibus uestris possitis exercere. (104/6-9)

But a number of the ordinary, uncongregated houses insisted that their brethren perform manual work. Evidence of this is found in the customals of the Abbey of Springiersbach (d. Trèves) and the Abbey of Ste.Marie (d. Autun) which might have adopted this austere discipline through having developed from a hermit colony.[18] No jobs are specified in the Admonitio, but a measure of how seriously its author took this subject can be gained from his quotation of

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(18) Dereine, R.H.E. 43, (1948), pp.411-442, esp. the appendix containing excerpts illustrating the kind of argument that was brought against manual work by monastic and canonical writers. It should be noted that the fact a convent was founded from a hermit group did not mean its observances were likely to be stricter. v. Ludo Milis, "Ermites et chanoines réguliers au XIIe siècle", C.C.M. 22, (1979); and C.D.Fonseca, "Hughues de Fouilloy entre l'Ordo antiquus et l'Ordo novus", C.C.M. 16,(1973),p.306, on S.Laurent-aux-Bois.

the Pauline text: "If any would not work, neither should he eat."[19]

This quotation brings us to the second area in which the independent congregations maintained a stricter code of practice: the practice of fasting and abstinence. Again there is very little detail about dietary regulations in the Admonitio. The provisions of the rule of S.Augustine about fasting and abstinence are reproduced almost verbatim. The reader is told, "subdue your flesh with fasts and acts of abstinence from meat, in so far as your frail state permits" (50/18). As in the rule the sick are excused this duty and are permitted an allowance of richer food to speed their recovery. Other references occur in the passages which our author has drawn from other writers. Some of these urge the reader to fast frequently: others impress on him the need for moderation, and on balance it is this counsel which prevails, as in the pithy pseudo-Senecan tag: Citra saturitatem ede, citra ebrietatem bibe (76/12).

Only one meal is mentioned in the Admonitio's account of the canonical day. This meal was apparently followed by Graces, time spent on study in the

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(19) An interesting list of a wide range of activities is provided in the De questionibus regule san cti Augustini solutis attributed to Richard of S.Victor (ed. Colker, Traditio 18, (1962), pp.181-227.) and can also be found in the Colloquium magistri et discipuli in regulam beati Augustini de uita clericorum, which draws heavily on it and which is known as the Bridlington Dialogue, ed. and translated by Sister Penelope, C.S.M.V., London, (1960), p.154.

cloister, and Vespers,[20] but a section quoted from the Ordo Monasterii clearly states that dinner was to be followed by time spent doing light jobs until Vespers.[21] Usually the monastic horarium allowed for two meals in Summertime on an ordinary (that is to say, non-fasting) day, and one meal on a day of fasting and all Winter days, and our author's silence about this does not, of course, imply that his community only ever took but one meal a day. The daily horarium of a canonical house is not set out clearly enough for one to reconstruct the daily routine its author had in mind, but there are references to daily offices being performed at dawn (diluculum 114/6), Prime (64/2), Terce (114/6), Sext (64/3;114/6), Nones (64/3;114/6) and Vespers (7/2;114/6). (There is no mention of Compline, private Masses or the conventual Mass.) Other aspects of the daily routine that are mentioned include the chapter meeting usually held between Prime and the daily Mass, mealtime, Graces in the Church after the meal, and periods of study and prayer. There is no reference made to the practices of shaving the tonsure (rasura) or bloodletting (minutio), to which the Victorine canons had to submit five times annually.

As regards the kind of food mentioned in the work, the writer refers to the "twofold refreshment" (duplex refectio) comprising two savouries (pulmentaria). In a

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(20) pp. 6-7 below.

(21) p.64 below.

passage drawn from S.Jerome there are also references to greens (olera), beans (inflatiua legumina), and fish, which the reader is forbidden to use to season his fasting.[22] In the thirteenth century James of Vitry records that the regular canons' custom was to eat meat three times a week and supplement their diet with fish, eggs and cheese on the other days,[23] while the independent congregations practised complete abstinence from flesh meat.[24] The Statutes of Prémontré clearly forbade the use of both flesh and fat any time,[25] but the Admonitio reproduces the general recommendation about abstinence from meat that is found in the Rule of S.Augustine. It is interesting that its author has added the prohibition of meat to his account of the Rechabites' vow which he mentions very early in the work. (Filii Ionadab patri suo se astrinxerunt uoto non manducaturos carnem uel bibituros uinum. 2/1-2) None of the Fathers' explanations of the vow Cornelius à Lapide records in the Commentaria in Vetus et Novum Testamentum points to any tradition involving meat as

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(22) p.114/22.

(23) Dickinson, Origins:Canons, p.182, n.5.

(24) By the end of the twelfth century fish was eaten by all the brethren at S.Victor's, even though it had formerly been given to the sick brethren alone. This practice was ended by Abbot Jean (1203-1228), who reversed the liberalising trend of his predecessors to conform with the reforms of the fourth Lateran Council. (Dickinson, ibid. p.181, and Dobson, Origins AW. p.40.)

(25) Lefèvre and Grauwen, op.cit., Dist.4, ch.12, p.49: nostra pulmenta sint semper et ubique sine carne et sagmine.

well as wine, and it is possible that our author's addition could reflect the practice of the order to which he belonged.[26] However, this is clearly not enough on which to build a case that the origin of the work is Victorine.

The section of the Rule of S.Augustine that deals with drinking wine has been omitted, and apart from the quotation of the Apostle's counsel, "Take a little wine for thy stomach's sake", the only other references to it are words of caution drawing attention to the harmful effects of drunkenness.[27] From the number of times the topic is raised this appears to have been one of our author's main concerns; it is interesting to compare what he says with the warnings of Archbishop Stephen Langton who told his congregation that the French regarded drunkenness as the English vice.[28]

The third of the strict practices that distinguished the independent houses - the keeping of silence - is not at all well documented in the Admonitio, and it is certainly not possible to detect any Victorine influence in the few references it

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(26) Cornelius à Lapide, Commentaria, Venice, (1740).

(27) p. 53/19. It would seem that such words of warning were conventional. For example, one can find, a great "litany of ailments" quite similar to the list in the Admonitio in Anselm of Laon's Letter to Héribrand. (P.L.162.1591)

(28) Preaching in London in 1213 he warned his congregation: Immoderantia gule et ebrietas Anglicana nota est hominibus omnibus. Langton became aware of this when he was a student in Paris. v. Selected Sermons of Stephen Langton, ed. Phyllis B.Roberts, Toronto, (1980), p.45.

contains.[29] At meal-times a lesson was heard in silence.[30] Most Augustinian convents seem to have kept silence in the parts of the house specified in the Admonitio,[31] and there is nothing that resembles the the strict Victorine practice where all the canons who held no office had to maintain total silence throughout the whole day on all major feast days, being permitted only one hour of conversation on other days.[32] Communication was made possible by a complex system of signs to which no reference is made in the Admonitio. A few uncongregated houses were also likely to have maintained a strict observance of silence throughout the day. The customal of Springiersbach tells us that the canons of that house always kept silence in the oratory (in accordance with the rule of S.Augustine), chapter house (when not in use for the chapter meeting), dormitory, kitchen and cloister. An auditorium was provided for conversations about matters too complex to be communicated by sign language, but this could only be used between the chapter meeting and

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(29) The author observes that silence should be kept in the church, dormitory and cloister unless someone needs to speak; later he urges his readers not to disturb one another when they are occupied in their spiritual exercises in the cloister. v. p.7 below.

(30) p.50/26 below.

(31) Dickinson, Origins:Canons, p.183.

(32) C.C.C.M.61, ch.31, pp.145-151.

Compline.[33] The Admonitio contains a reference to a parlour (prolocutorium 8/1), which seems to have served the same purpose.

On the other hand our author recognised the value of good conversation. His readers are told to let their conversations be pure,[34] and he acknowledges that young religious in particular could derive great profit from listening to the discourse of older and wiser men.[35]

Thus, the work contains insufficient detail concerning the three disciplines which distinguished the independent congregations to enable us to determine whether the origin of the Admonitio is Victorine. However, the presence of five sections from the Ordo Monasterii indicates that it is unlikely the work originated in a canonical house which had remained faithful to the ordo antiquus.[36] The Admonitio does actually contain some excerpts from Patristic texts found in the compilations which were drawn up for the

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(33) Consuetudines Canonicorum Regularium Springiersbacenses-Rodenses, ch. 157, ed. S. Weinfurter, C.C.C.M. 48, Turnhout, (1978), pp. 92-3. And v. the customal of the uncongregated house at Oigny, which states: Omni tempore silentio studeant nec aliquis petat licentiam loquendi cum alio. (C.Dereine, R.H.E. 43, (1948), p.441). Perhaps Oigny's customs were influenced by the house's eremitical origin.

(34) p.14/9-11.

(35) p.155.

(36) Further study of the use of the Ordo Monasterii in the compilations of rules that survive from canonical houses is desirable. For an interesting examination of the contents of two continental compilations of the twelfth century v. C.D.Fonseca, C.C.M. 16, (1973), pp.303-312.

Council of Aachen, at which the "moderate common life" was sanctioned, but, like the Gregorian reformers, its author was strongly opposed to the provision the Aachen rule makes for canons to enjoy the usufruct of personal property which they had surrendered. In the plainest terms he reminds his readers that they own nothing.

> Nil tibi reputes proprium, nil licet usurpare nisi ualde necessarium. Habendi terminum tibi ordo constituit.(134/24)

In urging them to be generous by performing spiritual works of charity instead of giving alms he produces a most grave admonition which would not be out of place in a manual composed for a very strict house.

> Stricta est uobis regula data: nichil habebitis quod aliis imperamini, uictus quidem angusti et panni quo operiamini nil superesse licet quod alteri largiamini. Luctus, lacrime, orationes, confessiones uobis indulgentur quibus graciam dei mereamini. (26/3-8)

These words give one the impression of considerable austerity, and they call to mind the sombre words of S.Jerome and S.Bernard, who insisted that the monk's duty was to weep for the world within the confines of his cloister.[37] Despite their ruling, a number of monks sought to perform pastoral work among the faithful outside their monasteries; conversely, many of the canons, who indeed had the right to carry out this task, withdrew into their cloisters to become

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(37) Jerome describes the monk's task as plangentis officium (Contra Vigilantium, P.L.23.367); similarly S.Bernard states :monachi non est docere sed lugere. (P.L.182.218).

contemplatives of the deepest dye. The dichotomy between their respective aspirations not only caused resentment leading to the composition of polemical works on the subject, but also considerable confusion over the very status of the regular canons. By the end of the twelfth century the canons had amassed a variety of treatises, Papal decretals and letters on the canonical profession to help them define their status as members of the clerical order living the full common life,[38] and the writer of the Admonitio himself reflects the canons' concern to justify the practice of the order. Whether his duty lay within the cloister or without the reader could be in no doubt: a description of the rôles of Martha and Mary taken from Aelred of Rievaulx's De Institutione Inclusarum, informs him he is "dead to the world".

> Mortuus es seculo: queso uiuas deo; non enim erit otiosus et contemptibilis qui uixerit ei. Marthe uero imitatorem te esse non laudo, qui omnia linquens pro domino nichil possidens in seculo. (134/1-4)

However, there were some groups of canons for whom such advice would have been unacceptable since they were not

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(38) For example, writing in 1156, the author of the Dialogus inter Cluniacensem monachum et Cisterciensem insists that the canons are monks simply because they follow a rule. The principal canonical works of apology are Anselm of Havelberg's Liber de ordine canonicorum regularium, (P.L.188.1093-1118), the Scutum Canonicorum of Arno of Reichersberg (P.L.194.1490-1528.), the Liber de Edificio Dei of Gerhoh of Reichersberg (P.L.194.1191-1336.), and the letters of Ivo of Chartres. v. Dickinson, Origins:Canons, pp.209-223. For a useful bibliography of literature on this topic v. C.N.L.Brooke, S.C.H.22, (1985), p.109.

dedicated to the contemplative life. In the Libellus de diversis ordinibus et professionibus qui sunt in Aecclesia, written around the second half of the twelfth century (possibly by Reimbald, sometime canon of Liège) three groups are ingeniously described.[39] Each group is likened to one of the sons of Levi, Kohath, Gershon, and Merari, whose duties in the Temple are described in the Book of Numbers.[40] The author's definitions of each group are worth rehearsing in full.

Some canons, he says, choose remote spots for their convents (qui longe se ab hominibus constituunt), and can justly be called "sons of Kohath" - the servants of the temple who ministered in its inner sanctuary. [41] The canons of the second group set up their houses "near the dwellings of men" (iuxta hominum conuersationem habitationem habent), and work, as it were, "estranged" from their spiritual home. On account of this they deserve the name "Gershonites", since Gershon means "stranger".[42] Finally, the last group (the secular canons), performs pastoral duties among the people (qui inter homines seculares habitent), and being thus exposed to the bitterness of

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(39) G.Constable and B.Smith, ed.,Oxford, (1972).

(40) Numbers 4, 1-34.

(41) The Premonstratensians are given as an illustration of this group. v. Constable and Smith, op.cit., pp.56-72.

(42) Ibid., pp.72-96.

the world, they can be called "sons of Merari", which means "bitter".[43]

It is interesting to compare what the Admonitio has to say about the canonical order with this tripartite scheme. Towards the end of the work one finds a prayer (the source of which has not been identified), in which God is asked to grant grace to the order which He has made worthy to be amongst men (habendi se inter homines).[44] Although the last phrase is similar to Reimbald's definition of the third class of canons, it cannot have the specific meaning of actually "living in the midst of men" as secular canons who owned their own property, for, as we have seen, the audience of the Admonitio was not permitted any property of their own. Furthermore, being "dead to the world", they were encouraged not to undertake any pastoral duties: the work makes no suggestion that they would be expected to preach, administer the sacraments, or hear the confessions of the faithful; their rôle is simply described as "the better part of Mary", that is to say, the contemplative life. But the Admonitio implies a vague kind of contact with the layfolk in the prayer in which the author emphasises the "seemly virtue and fair show of good conduct", for which, he claims, his order is renowned. It is this kind of contact which is attributed to the second group Reimbald identifies in the Libellus - a group

(43) Ibid., pp.96-119.

(44) p.139 below.

illustrated by reference to the Victorine canons in Paris.

> Proponuntur enim isti ad morum humanorum correctionem ut mali videntes eorum vitam a malicia convertantur.[45]

Again, this detail can throw no light on the question whether the Admonitio was written for a Victorine audience, but it provides a valuable record of one writer's view of the regular canons' purpose in society.

After this prayer the author of the Admonitio seeks to explain the order's apparent popularity.

> Ordo hic clericalis multis hominum placens, maxime literatis, multas plebium cohortes adsiscit in unum, honesta etenim uestis clericalibus uicina indumentis; communione literalis sciencie ad obsequia in ecclesia comuniter uistata multorum mouet animos et concinnat affectus, consuetudines habens ordini clericorum satis equales; unde et hiis concinnantes moribus, cura fideliori ad inuicem congaudent ceterisque plus ordinibus multis plerumque complacent. (140/1-10)[46]

Our author's aside on the worthiness of the habit might remind the twentieth century reader of the old-

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(45) Constable and Smith, op.cit., p.74. Dickinson (Origins:Canons p. 231) notes that the foundation charter of S.George at Troyes speaks of its canons' aim to set forth good examples rather than to preach. For a detailed examination of this in both canonical and monastic literature v. C.W.Bynum's doctoral dissertation (H.T.S. 31, (1971).), and her article (Med.& Hum. 4, (1973), pp.3-24.).

(46) It is not unusual to find canonical writers stating that they are clerici, but unfortunately there does not seem to have been much consensus about the precise meaning of such terminology. v. Bynum, H.T.S. 31, p.19. Nine of the ten canonical works she examines explicitly identify canons as clerici.

fashioned "respect for the cloth" once preserved among English folk whose lives were not otherwise remarkable for any show of piety, but this would be to underestimate the strong passions which the religious habit raised in the twelfth century, when the temper of the religious experience was quite different from the characteristic sobriety of Anglicanism. Dickinson describes the reverence for the monastic life at that time as "verging on the hysterical", and notes that the religious habit itself was considered as efficacious for salvation as the very waters of baptism.[47] It is interesting that each aspect of the canonical life the author highlights as being attractive to his fellow men (the ideals of community, harmony and the common concern for each individual's need) is celebrated in the Rule of S.Augustine.[48] His description of the fellowship the brothers experience in sharing "literal knowledge" at the daily offices clearly reveals a major

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(47) J.C.Dickinson, "Early Suppressions of English Houses of Austin Canons", in Medieval Studies presented to Rose Graham, ed. Veronica Ruffer and A.J.Taylor, Oxford, (1950), pp.54 and 75.

(48) For a detailed discussion of these elements in the rule v. George Lawless, "The Rule of S.Augustine as a Mirror of Perfection", Angelicum 58, (1981), esp.pp.472-3; and "Enduring values of the Rule of S.Augustine", Angelicum 59, (1982), pp.59-78. There has been a tendency to run down the rule because of its lack of practical provisions (v.D.de Bruyne, "La première régle de S.Augustin," R.B.42,(1930),p.329); nevertheless, its influence on men's religious aspirations in the eleventh and twelfth century must not be underestimated. Dickinson calls it "one of the supreme documents of the religious life" (Origins:Canons, p.70), and Aubrey Gwynn pays tribute to its "very simple and very human" contents. (The English Austin Friars to the time of Wyclif, Oxford, (1940),p.7.)

appeal the religious profession had in the twelfth century. But he does not insist upon his order being the only one in which such fellowship can be found, bidding his audience consider: quocumque locorum ordinate distinctorum te prouocet affectus, idem in omnibus deus placetur et laudetur ab omnibus (140/10-12). In this he shows himself to be in the company of those writers of the second half of the century who signalled "the change in attitude from tolerance to approval" by acknowledging that "the variety and multiplicity of forms of religious life were accepted facts".[49]

There are some more organisational details in the work, but they do not relate to the observances in which the strict houses differed from the moderate. Seven convent officials are mentioned: the superior (prelatus or prepositus), prior, and cellarer, (each of whom is mentioned in the rule itself), the provider of food (prouisor 5/8), master (magister), teacher (preceptor 61/7) and precentor (50/26), none of which is found in the rule. The use of the general term prelatus to designate the head of the convent early in the work in its description of the chapter meeting is curious. The Liber Ordinis of S.Victor specifically names the abbot as the official who called upon the

(49) Giles Constable, "The diversity of religious life and acceptance of social pluralism in the twelfth century", History, Society and the Churches: Essays in Honour of Owen Chadwick, ed. Derek Beales and Geoffrey Best, Cambridge, (1985), pp.9-47, esp.p.44.

brethren to confess their sins at this meeting as he was the head of the abbey; but, like the Admonitio, the customal of Springiersbach Abbey refers to the head of its community by a circumlocution (rector ordinis).[50] Because the term prelatus can refer either to an abbot or a prior the difficulty of judging what kind of convent the Admonitio was written for is increased: though unlikely, one cannot rule out the possibility it was written for an abbey simply because the title abbot is not used. How wide an audience within the canonical order the author had in mind it is not possible to say, and little can be deduced about his relationship with his audience from the work. His usual manner of addressing them is the conventional formula fratres carissimi or fratres mei, but occasionally a direct address of this kind is expanded, either to make a more earnest entreaty, as in: uos quos diligo in uisceribus Iesu Christi (94/26), or to make clear in what respect a quotation is relevant, as in: fratres qui uoto astringimini (2/4), and: uos igitur et alios claustrum

(50) This customal actually warns the reader not to be too fastidious over the nomenclature used to describe the head of the convent. Ch. 45: De nomine abbatis. Ubi concordatur de re, nec interesse aliquid, quo suo nomine res appeletur, dum ex mutatione vocabuli res non mutetur. Sive igitur monasterii pater dicatur prepositus sive abbas nulla absurditas est. Abbas enim ex hebreo vertitur in hoc nomen, quod est pater. Prelatus itaque ex hoc quod est prepositus, et prepositus his, quibus pater est. C.C.C.M. 48, Turnhout, (1978), p.156.

ingredientes (37/14); and both the singular and the plural are used in addresses of this kind.[50a]

The community itself is variously described by the terms cetus (66/4), collegium (49/5), conuentus (56/7) and societas (66/26) and like other canonical writers the author refers to the convent as a monastery, and even though canons were not technically members of the ordo monasticus, he uses the term ordo monasticus to describe the religious life in general terms.[51] A complete set of conventual buildings is mentioned, including a chapter house, church, cloister, dormitory, parlour, and refectory. On two occasions the word ecclesia is found with a qualification: the author observes that three ranks of brethren are found in all "conventual churches" (In omnibus ecclesiis conuentualibus quidam maiores sunt, quidam minores et quidam inferiores.22/26); and his appraisal of his order's appeal includes a reference to "the church visited by the community" (ecclesia communiter uisitata). But neither of these imprecise references can safely be used to speculate about the nature of the foundation for which the present work was written: that

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(50a) Unlike in Middle English one cannot infer from the use of the second person plural that a writer was personally familiar with his audience. v. Dobson, Origins:AW. p.252.

(51) But the word ecclesia is found for monasterio in the text of the rule. v. below p.48/11.

is to say whether it was an extra-parochial religious house or a collegiate church in a town.[52]

Since much of the work's counsel is concerned with such subjects as the custody of the senses, temptation, and the control of the body and the mind, it is unlikely to have been meant for an audience which was already well read in works of direction. Indeed, a number of passages seem to have been included specifically for the benefit of the young, and three qualities are highlighted as being the most desirable things to be found in a youth: silence, control of the body and modesty (frequens taciturnitas, corporis continencia et uerecundia).Early in the work one finds a long account of the value of modesty which is derived ultimately from S.Ambrose, and it is interesting that the same passage is quoted in the Liber de ordine vite et morum institutione, a Cluniac work of instruction attributed to John of Fruttuaria (d.c.1050), which was composed, as its author admits, for the direction of the young.[53] But it would be wrong to assume all members of our author's audience were young; and it

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(52) Regular canons served in a number of different kinds of religious foundations, including cathedral churches (Carlisle being the only example in England), hospitals, priories, collegiate churches and chapels.

(53) John states clearly: diu est quod desideravi propter iuniorum salutem, eorum praecipue cum quibus vivo, ex opusculis patrum pauca quaedam deflorando colligere, quae tenerae aetati eorum specialiter uideantur consulere. (P.L.184.560) On the attribution of the work to John v. Dom A.Wilmart, Auteurs Spirituels et textes dévots du moyen âge latin, Études Augustiniennes, Paris, (repr.1971), pp.64-100.

would seem some were not wholly without experience of the world:

> Non quidem necesse est ab aliis doceri, multa quidem uos experti a bonis propositis frequenter abducimini. (85/12-15)

Nor are all his comments directed at the newly-professed. One of the provisions in the Rule of S.Augustine dealing with the superior's relationship with those set under him has been changed into a very stern injunction: Prelatum igitur monemus attencius ut ei (61/17).[54] (But few of the other references to senior members are addressed to them so directly.) On the other hand in one passage the author actually appears to identify himself as one of the lesser brethren:

> Si quando enim nos nimis insolentes conspiciunt, audacius ipsi (i.e. the prelati) ad illicita prolabuntur. (38/24)

But so easily confused are the pronouns nos and uos in the script of this period that one cannot be sure the text is correct.

Since most Austin houses were very small indeed,[55] it is unlikely that many of them could have afforded the luxury of such a finely produced manuscript as the Admonitio, especially when they were not required to have a copy of their observances at least until 1234 when the English General Chapter of the order insisted

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(54) Other versions of the rule have: Ipse vero qui vobis praeest, non se existimet potestate dominantem sed caritate servientem felicem. Praeceptum VII,3.

(55) Dickinson, Origins:Canons,p.134.

that each convent should have such a document with which it could train its novices.[56] By way of recapitulation all that can be said is that no firm evidence can be adduced to prove the work to be Victorine in origin; but it is clear that the work was written for an audience of "black canons" practising the full common life of the more austere form recommended by the Gregorian reformers in the eleventh century, and whose lives were dedicated to vows of strict poverty, chastity and obedience.

(v) The Author and his Sources

As was said earlier, the writer has left us little to identify him, and before an attribution can be made with any degree of confidence, it would be desirable to have a handlist of twelfth century Austin authors comparable with J.C.Russell's Dictionary of Writers of thirteenth century England.[1] The lists of learned regular canons provided by J.C.Dickinson[2] and R.W.Hunt[3] record the names of major scholars and treatises which are much more voluminous than the Admonitio, but even

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(56) Ibid.,p.166.

(1) Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, Supplement 3, London, (1936).

(2) Origins:Canons, pp.187-194.

(3) T.R.H.S. 4th. Ser., 19, (1936).

some of those writers' works are known by their titles only.[4] Nevertheless, although our author's name will probably be never known, a limited idea of his training as well as his intellectual and spiritual interests can be gained from a detailed survey of the source material in the work.

Second and third-hand ideas held a far greater currency in the Middle Ages than today, and the presence of any material from another work does not necessarily mean that a source was known either wholly or in part to an author. Not even a close and extensive verbal correspondence with an earlier work is sure evidence of a writer's drawing on a work whose contents he knew well, since it was quite possible a passage worth quoting could have been transmitted through any number of intermediate sources or florilegia. Before a parallel passage can be identified as a direct source it must be examined in detail, and all that is known of its manuscript circulation has to be taken into account. In the Admonitio the parallel passages tend to be fairly long - usually a chapter or two in length and freely adapted, though there are a couple of interesting exceptions to this. In most cases the borrowings are unacknowledged - about this its author

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(4) It is most regrettable that the work of instruction written by Master Alexander, Prior of Canons Ashby, has not survived. v. M.R.James, "List of Manuscripts formerly in Peterborough Abbey Library", Transactions of the Bibliographical Society, Supplement 5, (1926), p.43, no.90, item 7: Instruccio Prioris de Esseby ad Nouicios cum distinccionibus uirtutum et uiciorum et philosophia.

had no qualms; and although this is not surprising in Medieval works on the religious life, whose memorable and profitable counsels easily became the common property of all Christian people, it is strange the author did not make more use of the names of reliable and popular authors to lend the Admonitio dignity and commend his teaching. Sometimes the author's extracts dovetail neatly into what has gone before: sometimes they introduce a new topic completely. [5a]

In the first section material is found from four early Patristic writers: S.Ambrose, S.Benedict, pseudo-Prosper and S.Gregory the Great, along with the Rule of S.Augustine. From Ambrose our author derived the three-fold method of defining the value of God's grace as honesta, utilis, and necessaria.[6] Ambrose himself had borrowed this arrangement from Cicero's De Officiis,[7] but it is doubtful whether our author was familiar with the whole of this work. Reference has been made above to his debt to Ambrose for the commendation of modesty (uerecundia), but neither this nor any other passage is actually attributed to Ambrose. In view of the

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(5a) The so-called "Anonymous of Bridlington", author of the Colloquium magistri et discipuli in regulam beati Augustini de uita clericorum or Bridlington Dialogue (v.above p.12,n.14) produces a most interesting passage defending himself against the charge of being a plagiarist (alienorum uerborum fur) v. Colker, Traditio 18, (1962), pp.193-5.

(6) p.2 below.

(7) His imitation of this work - the highly influential De Officiis Ministrorum - is both "an act of homage and a challenge". For an account of its influence v. E.K.Rand, Founders of the Middle Ages, N.Y., (1928), p.80.

popularity of the De Officiis it is quite possible he was familiar with these passages through a florilegium or some other work of direction; it is unlikely that a medieval writer would miss the opportunity to dignify his own work by failing to name so prestigious an authority as Ambrose.[8] Although S.Ambrose is named once in the Admonitio, it is not as the author of a quotation, but as one of the writers whose works should be discussed at times of conversation.

The second quotation one finds from a Patristic author is the seventh chapter of the Rule of S.Benedict.It is not surprising to find a quotation from this text in a work of Augustinian origin: early compilers of rules for the canons were forced to make use of the Black monks' rule for want of more suitable material. Chrodegang, Bishop of Metz (742-766),drew on it extensively when he composed the Regula Canonicorum for the canons who were living in his episcopal familia,[9] as did Peter of Porto to whom is attributed the Regula Clericorum.[10] Similarly, the great canonical compilation known from Ottoboni MS. lat.175 (in the Apostolic Vatican Library) comprises a large amount drawn directly from this rule and not by way of

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(8) For example, John of Fruttuaria, ensures that he defends what he has written in the Liber de ordine vite by claiming the authority of Ambrose: ne si forte me parvipenderint stultum homuncionem, magnum Ambrosium, imo in Ambrosio Christum non audeant spernere. (P.L.184.562.)

(9) P.L.89.1057-1120.

(10) P.L.163.703-748. For a comprehensive bibliography of modern discussion on its attribution v. C.W.Bynum, H.T.S. 31, (1971), p.23, n.9.

Chrodegang.[11] Although our author has adapted the section of the rule, "On the Steps of Humility" from a full-length version of the text, he has not followed the original's clearly presented, step-by-step account of the ascent up the rungs of the ladder; indeed, it is only at the end of his extract that one is informed of these ascending steps (gradibus ascensoriis 31/14). The image of the ladder is so memorable and used in so many works of instruction that it is curious our author abandoned it, but one can detect a number of other changes in this section - mainly of emphasis. For example, after the quotation of the verse, "Everyone that exalteth himself shall be humbled, and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted," with which Benedict begins the chapter, the Admonitio follows a different line of thought, for its author concentrates on the importance of the custody of the eyes - a topic that was probably suggested to him by Benedict's quotation from Psalm 130: Domine, non est exaltatum cor meum, neque elati sunt oculi mei. In this there is nothing unusual for numerous contemporary works of direction emphasise that of all the senses the eyes are most dangerous - an idea that was popularised in the twelfth century by Bernard's exposition of the verse: Quia ascendit mors per fenestras nostras (Jeremiah 9,21.).[12] Also of interest to our author are the reason for God's

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(11) J.Leclercq, "Un témoignage sur l'influence de Grégoire VII sur la réforme canoniale", S.G. 6, (1959), pp.181-219.

(12) v. S.Bernard's De Gradibus Humilitatis, 10.28, (P.L.182.957).

delay in bringing Man to Judgement and the importance of confession. In place of Benedict's gentle warning about God's judgement of Man one finds a number of additional quotations which emphasise the fierceness of God; similarly, to the fifth degree of humility (dealing with confession) has been added a fearsome description of the way the devil can remain ensconced in one's heart. [13] Despite the extensive changes it seems likely the full text of the Rule was known to our author.

The quotation from pseudo-Prosper (otherwise known as Julian Pomerius) could also have come directly from the source: the Liber de vita contemplativa. Our author actually gives this work its full title, but he does not name the writer. Like the previous two sources this work was very popular in the Middle Ages; extracts from it are found in the Ottoboni compilation, and the section quoted in the Admonitio was probably the inspiration behind the anonymous Tractatus de statu uirtutum.[14] Our author's respect for the source is evident, not only because his quotation from it is very accurate but also from the way he commends it to the reader:

> Hec de caritatis descriptione utili quidem et salubri acceptione digna ad utilitatem animarum me legisse gaudeo. (24/6-9)

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(13) This resembles an earlier description our author gives of demons setting traps in the hearts of the careless. v. 29/27f.

(14) P.L.184.811.

Three long passages are quoted from the work of the fourth Patristic author, S.Gregory the Great, but it is quite likely that our author's debt to the teaching of Gregory, (which he calls the doctrinam summi patris 94/7) was far greater than they, and the few other short quotations from the Moralia in Job, suggest. The enormous number of twelfth century manuscripts containing Gregory's works evince his widespread popularity at this time. Even though his influence as an exegete had waned early in the century when Biblical scholarship had given way to theological speculation,[15] he continued to command attention as a moralist, and it is from his work in this area that passages are taken by the author of the Admonitio.[16] That he knew these passages as extracts in florilegia of Gregory's work is highly likely, for numerous editors had sharpened their knives to excise what was no longer wanted in Gregory's writings. For example, in the twelfth century William of Malmesbury compiled a Defloratio of the whole corpus of Gregory's work, aiming to make readily available sections which dealt

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(15) Beryl Smalley, The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages, University of Notre Dame Press, (1970), p.77.

(16) F.H.Dudden, Gregory the Great: His place in History and Thought, London, (1905), vol.2, p.285.

with the amendment of life,[17] and more modest projects were undertaken to condense the Moralia alone.[18]

Our author attributes his quotations directly to Gregory three times, using the formulae: dicente Gregorio and ut ait Gregorius,[19] but only a very small amount of the Moralia is quoted at length,[20] and each of these long passages has been adapted considerably, either by our author or some intermediary. Some of them have not been revised very well. For example, the verse, "My harp also is turned to mourning, and my organ into the voice of them that weep " (Job 30.31),is not accompanied by Gregory's full explanation of their moral significance, so it is only the reader who is himself familiar with the text of the Moralia who is able to make out the connexion between the quotation and the theme of moderation it is intended to illustrate. The other passages quoted from Gregory are drawn from a fairly small section of the Moralia, and

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(17) He declares in his preface that he undertook this immense labour for the good of men who were too busy, idle or stupid to find such useful passages for themselves. v. Hugh Farmer, "William of Malmesbury's Commentary on Lamentations", Studia Monastica 4, (1962), p.308. The Defloratio is known from one mid-twelfth century MS. (Cambridge Univ. Library Ii.III.20).

(18) E.g. the Remedium Conversorum by Peter of Blois, and the compilation by Stephen Langton. Also the Speculum drawn up by Adalbertus Levita, a twelfth century MS. of which was owned by Gloucester Abbey (Jesus Coll.Oxford,42); but the excerpts in this do not match the passages in the Admonitio.

(19) It is possible he acknowledges his use of Gregory's teaching a fourth time in his summary of the five types of gluttony, where the letters G.G. have been added above the text. v. p.156 below.

(20) Index 2.

only a wider selection of quotations could point to the author's being directly familiar with the whole work. Nevertheless, the fact Gregory is mentioned by name almost as many times as Augustine is a tribute both to the respect he continued to command as a moralist and the extent to which his teaching had become integrated into medieval works of instruction. It is likely that much of his teaching was transmitted to audiences of Austin canons though the works of Victorine scholars which draw extensively on the Moralia.[21]

The last Patristic text to be quoted in the first section of the Admonitio is the Praeceptum or Regula tertia - one of the component parts of the Rule of S.Augustine.[22] The version of this text which the Admonitio contains is followed by passages from another of the component texts of the Rule - the Ordo Monasterii, or Regula secunda, to which reference has already been made.[23] It is important to note that the opening lines of the Ordo Monasterii, (which usually

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(21) R.Wasselynck, "La présence des Moralia de S.Grégoire le grand dans les ouvrages de morale du XIIe siècle", R.T.A.M. 35, (1968).

(22) This text usually begins with the words: Haec sunt quae ut observetis praecipimus in monasterio constituti, and ends: caueat de futuro, orans ut ei debitum dimittatur et in temptationem non inducatur. All quotations from the Rule are drawn from the critical edition prepared by Fr.Luc Verheijen, La règle de S.Augustin, Études Augustiniennes, Paris, (1967), vol.1. Tradition manuscrite: Ordo Monasterii, pp.148-152; Praeceptum, pp.417-437.(hereafter Reg.Aug.)

(23) Introduction: (iv) Audience, p.xxxvi. The Regula prima (which does not figure in the Admonitio) was relegated to the category of spuria (along with the Ordo) by Erasmus in his revision of the saint's collected works in 1529.

read: Ante omnia, fratres carissimi, diligatur deus, deinde et proximus, quia ista sunt praecepta principaliter nobis data), precede the text of the Praeceptum,[24] for this is the chief characteristic of the so-called "decapitated rule" - a version of the Rule from which was excised all the legislation concerned with psalmody, manual labour, silence, and the allowance of only one meal a day which is enjoined by the Ordo Monasterii.[25] Verheijen, who calls the decapitated version the Regula recepta, has urged that it could have been the work of Ivo of Chartres, the influential canon lawyer and first abbot of S.Quentin of Beauvais (1075-1091), an Augustinian convent which was celebrated for its moderate observances in matters of silence, manual work and fasting. His contention is supported by his discovery that the earliest manuscripts of the Regula recepta are French in

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(24) Below p.48/7.

(25) Thus all that is left of the Ordo in this "decapitated" version is the text's head - the succinct statement encapsulating the teaching of the Gospel on the love of God and neighbour. Some scholars have seen in this opening phrase Augustine's summary of his own teaching.

origin.[26] Unfortunately the text of the Rule in the Admonitio has been adapted so extensively that there is no hope of placing it in the stemma codicum which Verheijen has proposed. Clearly, its author had access to a copy which contained the Ordo Monasterii in full or in part, for he quotes five sections of it in the second part of his work (De opere cotidiano). In view of this it is curious that the opening of the Rule is that of the shortened Regula recepta.

No light can be thrown on the origin of the Admonitio by retracing the steps scholars have taken around the twists and turns of the many complex questions which beset the study of the Rule of S.Augustine. Thorough accounts of the earliest opinions about its date, provenance and authenticity have been provided by Verheijen[27] and J.C.Dickinson,[28] and Fr.George Lawless, the latest commentator to have been attracted to these questions, has signalled his intention of publishing a review of current research on

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(26) His discovery invalidates Mandonnet's theory that the austere provisions were dropped in 1118 by the canons of Springiersbach on the advice of Pope Gelasius II (S.Dominique, ed. Vicaire & Ladner, Paris, (1937), vol.2, p.160). Verheijen believes Gelasius' answer to the canons' complaint that the Ordo was too much of a burden did not permit them to excise any details from their Rule but merely prescribes a competens moderatio in their observance of it (Reg.Aug.vol.2, pp.121-122). Of the seven earliest witnesses of the Regula recepta three are English: Lambeth Palace 550 and British Library Royal 8.D.viii - probably from Llanthony prima and Llanthony secunda respectively; and Sidney Sussex Coll. Cambridge, 50. (Reg. Aug. vol.1, p.118)

(27) Reg.Aug. vol.2, pp.7-85.

(28) Origins:Canons, pp.255-272.

the Rule as well as a fresh account of its origins in a résumé of his dissertation on S.Augustine's monastic legacy.[29] Lawless has already argued forcefully that on stylistic grounds the Ordo Monasterii has a greater claim on our respect than past scholars have allowed.[30] Acknowledging his debt to Dom G.Morin's observations on its style he has examined in detail its carefully arranged rhetorical figures, and he demonstrates that its author must have been particularly "sensitive to the stylistic canon of propriety". In so doing he has undermined the old theory (that the Ordo was composed as a rough guide to the religious life), which had been devised to account for the difference in style between the Ordo and Praeceptum. Also arguing from stylistic considerations Verheijen has suggested that the main body of the Ordo was composed by the lawyer Alypius, (Augustine's friend and sometime pupil), the beginning and end being added later by Augustine.[31] Lawless admits this possibility but has declared that he intends to show that Augustine himself singlehandedly wrote the entire rule.

From the Ordo Monasterii six sections have been omitted in the Admonitio, and from the Praeceptum two are omitted. Of the omissions from the latter one

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(29) G.P.Lawless, The Monastic Legacy of S.Augustine: Its Origins, Growth and Goals, Pontificia Studiorum Universitas a S.Thoma de Aquinate, Rome, (1985), p.148.

(30) "Ordo Monasterii: Structure, Style and Rhetoric", Augustinianum 22, (1982), pp.469-491.

(31) Reg.Aug.vol.2, pp.164-171.

(Ch.V.4) lays down that clothes had to be washed at the superior's discretion lest an excessive desire for bodily cleanness brought about uncleanness in the heart.[32] The other section which is omitted (VIII,2) explains the difference between the authority of the superior and presbyter - an office to which no reference is made in the Admonitio. Given the writer's respect for the Rule and his confident attribution of it to S.Augustine, it is remarkable that he felt at liberty to adapt it so extensively, even going so far as to interpolate several observations which do not suit the context. For example, in one additional passage the reader is warned that the devil is ready with his ink-stand to note anything that is done amiss;[33] in another the ill-effects of gluttony are described, and the reader is treated to a startling comment about over indulgent brethren vomiting up their excess.

> plus buccis fecentibus turificantes queque proxima quam thuris flagrancia demulcentes queque superiora. (53/11-13)

Even if the manuscript of the work is far removed from its author, it is surprising that such asides should have been allowed to corrupt the text of an order's

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(32) Nothing can be inferred from this omission about the writer's own view of cleanliness, since no other reference is made to it in the work. The habits of the regular canons range from a decent respect for cleanliness to the most extreme reticence to wash or even to discard garments that were maggot ridden. v. L.Milis, "Ermites et chanoines," C.C.M.22, (1979), pp.39-80.

(33) Below p.49/21.

authoritative document. However, according to the Libellus de diversis ordinibus some other twelfth century canonical writers were more critical about the rule's authenticity.[34] Although opinion still remains divided as to when the Rule was written and for whom, recent scholarship of the sort outlined above has tended to restore its authorship to Augustine. Verheijen's manuscript research has called in question the validity of the traditional theories, and it now seems doubtful that the Praeceptum is a transcription into the masculine of the second section of Augustine's Letter 211 (paragraphs 5-16), whose opening paragraphs rebuke a community of female religious who are apparently divided over the appointment of a new priest.[35] Lawless has disposed of the internal evidence that was supposed to show that the rule had been originally written for women, arguing that several of its provisions need not be seen as being exclusively

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(34) Reimbald observes: duo sunt quae obici possunt, et a pluribus dicuntur, quia nec in libro Retractionum, ut eius plures libri posita est, nec modus verborum et stili gravitas illius Aurelii (i.e. Augustine) fuisse comprobat, quae in illa regula plurimum desunt. (Constable and Smith, op.cit.,p.72.) As Dickinson has noted (Origins:Canons, p.263), these comments anticipate the reservations of modern critics.

(35) For the Letter v. P.L.33.960-965. Verheijen (Reg.Aug. vol.1, pp.257-314) calls in question the textual integrity of the letter by pointing out that the earliest MSS. present texts that are fragmented. One of them (Escorialensis A.I.13) gives a feminine version of the Ordo preceded by a section of the letter's first parapgraphs, followed by fragments of paragraphs 5-16. The other (Turin Reichenau 89) actually has explicit and incipit written between paragraphs 1-4 and 5-16.

female concerns.[36] But interesting though these questions are, it lies beyond the scope of this introduction and the competence of its author to offer answers to them.

The second part of the Admonitio comprises quotations from eight sources that have been identified, and it is likely a number of others remain undetected. Early Patristic works include extracts from S.Augustine's Sermo de vita et moribus clericorum suorum,[37] which is often found in canonical compilations; passages from S.Jerome's Epistola ad Demetriadem,[38] Epistola ad Eustochium,[39] and Epistola ad Furiam;[40] and extracts from the Sermo ad Sanctimoniales of Caesarius of Arles.[41] It is most unlikely any of these extracts was drawn directly from the original source, for each of them is found in the compilations drawn up for the Council of Aachen in 816: the Institutio Canonicorum and Institutio Sanctimonialium.[42] Although a couple of phrases from the original sources appear in our author's extracts which are not found in the extracts in Werminghoff's

(36) "The Rule of S.Augustine as a Mirror of Perfection", Angelicum 58, (1981), pp.460-474.

(37) Sermo 355 (P.L.39.1568-1574).

(38) Epistola CXXX De servanda virginitate:P.L.22.1107-1124.

(39) Epistola XXII.P.L.22.394-425.

(40) Epistola LIV De viduitate servanda:P.L.22.550-560

(41) P.L.67.1121-1125.

(42) Ed. A.Werminghoff, M.G.H. Leges, Concilia, vol.2, part 1, Hanover, (1906).

edition of the Aachen compilations, it is still more likely our author was familiar with them from some compilation (if not a copy of the Aachen rule itself) because so many extracts used in the Aachen compilation are quoted in succession. Clearly the extracts from Jerome's letters and Caesarius' Sermo had not previously been adapted for a male audience for the first word of the passage from the Epistola ad Eustochium was first written in its original feminine form (honusta 108/26). Although Jerome was admired in the main for his biblical scholarship, his reputation as an authority on the religious life had been enhanced by his translation of the Rule of Pachomius; that regular canons regarded his letters as authoritative is vouchsafed by Papal bull.[43] Nor is it surprising to find extracts in the Admonitio from the Sermo ad Sanctimoniales, for Caesarius himself had been novice master at the monastery of Heisterbach. A valuable and wide ranging manual on the religious life, the sermon was adapted for male audiences, and provided later writers with many useful observations concerning sin and temptation.[44]

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(43) The bull of Urban II, issued March 19th. 1093, which describes the canonical life in the following terms: Martyr et Pontifex Urbanus instituit, hanc Augustinus suis regulis ordinavit, hanc Hieronymus suis epistolis informavit. (P.L.151.360) This reference I owe to P.Mandonnet, S.Dominique, vol.2, p.177, n.30.

(44) E.g. v.the use made of the work in the Middle English treatise, Hali Meiðhad, ed. B.Millett, E.E.T.S.284,(1982), p.35.

A fifth work originally intended for women religious is the De Institutione Inclusarum of Aelred of Rievaulx, also known as the Liber de vita eremitica ad sororem suam.[45] Aelred's works were well read by the Austin canons, and there is evidence that one of their number put two of them (the Speculum Caritatis and the Liber de spiritualis amicitiae) into a compilation during the twelfth century.[46] Aelred himself enjoyed close contact with the canons, and was even invited to address one of their communities.[47] Of all his works this treatise was the most popular in the Middle Ages; and many spiritual directors used its counsel in their own manuals. In this work only nine sections are quoted; these being interspersed among passages which probably come from unidentified sources. One section - the story of the monk who could not control his impulses - has been adapted twice. In each case it is suited perfectly to its context, but the fact that it

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(45) Opera omnia Aelredi Rievallensis, ed. C.H.Talbot, C.C.C.M. 1, (1971).

(46) A.Hoste, "Le Speculum spiritalis amicitie, compilation de XIIe siècle de deux traites d'Aelred de Rievaulx par Thomas de Frakaham", Studia Monastica 3, (1961), pp.291-323. One MS. attributes the compilation to dominus Thomas de Frakaham canonicus de Lesnes, but there is no record of a canon of that name from Freckenham (Suffolk) at the Arrouaisian convent at Lesnes in Kent. The work was clearly well read in the priory of Llanthony-by-Gloucester (Llanthony secunda) as the numerous annotations in Lambeth Palace MS. 431 show. On the second part of the compilation, which is quite unlike Aelred's own work, v. C.H.Talbot, "The Speculum humilitatis attributed to Aelred of Rievaulx", Studia Monastica 1, (1959), pp.121-136.

(47) J.Raine, The priory of Hexham, its Chroniclers and endowments and annals, 1, Surtees Society Publications 44, (1864), p.194.

appears to have been adapted from scratch each time raises questions about the author's composition of the Admonitio and the form of the work that has survived. It might suggest his powers of organisation were limited and that he forgot to keep track of the source material he had used. The quality of the production of the text makes it unlikely that the manuscript is simply a fair copy of an unrevised draft - no scribe could have squandered resources on such an exercise; but it is possible that the work was copied neatly from rough notes by a scribe other than the author.

Another important question that arises from these borrowings is why so many works that were written for women religious (and which had been put into a compilation for them) have been used in a work that was intended for men. The use of such sources might suggest a degree of specialisation or limitation in the materials that were available to the author, and in view of this one may usefully consider whether he had some personal contact with a community of female religious. So few manuscripts have survived from Augustinian convents that it is not possible to assess the range of texts that was studied by the canons, and the few extant medieval catalogues of their libraries do not give accurate accounts of the breadth of their

collections in the early days.[48] A male community could indeed have owned a copy of the Institutio Sanctimonialium or the works from which its extracts were drawn, but these texts are more likely to have been in the possession of a convent of nuns or Augustinian canonesses.[49] A member of the mixed Gilbertine order would have had access to works of instruction directed at both sexes, but, as was stated above, there is no evidence to suggest a Gilbertine origin for the Admonitio. A canon who served a group of women as their confessor or spiritual director would likewise have had a knowledge of texts written specifically for them, but it is still unclear whether many canons performed such duties in the twelfth century.[50] The early thirteenth century Middle English manual for female recluses, the Ancrene Wisse, has long been the source of much speculation on this point, for the numerous Augustinian details it displays have

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(48) Catalogues survive from Llanthony-by-Gloucester (v.T.W.Williams, "Gloucestershire Medieval Libraries," T.B.G.A.S. 31, (1908); the Premonstratensian house at Titchfield (R.M.Wilson, "The Medieval Library of Titchfield Abbey," Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, Literary and Historical Section, 5, (1938-43, pp.150-177, 252-276); and v. too Welbeck (Proceedings of the Hampshire Fieldclub 3, part 3, pp.14-66).

(49) Neither the compilations discussed by Fonseca (op.cit.) nor the Ottoboni compilation described by Leclercq (op.cit.) contains any extracts from the Institutio Sanctimonialium.

(50) The practice of regulars acting as chaplains in continental nunneries is well documented, but no examples of this can be found in twelfth century England; though it was not uncommon in the thirteenth. v.Dickinson, Origins:Canons, p.236 note 5.

called forth suggestions that it (and the other works closely related to it in dialect and style) could have been the work of an Austin canon writing for a community of women religious known to him.[51] Recently, it has been shown that the Victorine abbey at Wigmore in Herefordshire would seem to be the only canonical house of the requisite size and location where these "AB dialect" works could have been composed.[52] This house also has the advantage of being quite close to two sites where there were communities of female religious. However, the identity of the Ancrene Wisse writer and his audience has still not been conclusively established, nor is it likely to be until more is known of the Augustinians' literary activity in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century.

An interesting link with the west of the country is provided for the Admonitio by the last major source: the curious manual of Anselmian teachings known as the De Humanis Moribus.[53] In the first section of the Admonitio another Anselmian source is found: a letter written by the archbishop to John, Prior of Bath.[54] As

(51) Geoffrey Shepherd, ed. Ancrene Wisse: parts six and seven, (1959), p.xxix.

(52) On Wigmore v. p.cvi-cvii below. v. too Dobson, Origins:AW.,ch.4, pp.174-237, and also D.S.Brewer, N.& Q.,201, pp.232-5. For a convenient summary of the arguments concerning the relationships between the "AB dialect" texts v. Dobson, ibid., pp.154-169.

(53) Sir R.W.Southern and Dom. F.S.Schmitt, ed. Memorials of S.Anselm, London, (1969).

(54) Sancti Anselmi Opera, ed. Dom. F.S.Schmitt, Edinburgh, (1951), vol.5, Letter 450.

with Gregory's teaching, it is likely our author had imbibed much that bore the savour of Anselm's thought even if he had not actually read extensively in his authentic works. After his death in 1109 Anselm's admirers at Canterbury not only ensured his works were accurately copied for posterity but also produced their own works in which their master's teaching continued to bear fruit. The late Geoffrey Shepherd has commented that "the temper and heart cultivated in the archbishop's circle...lived long in the religion of the English", and he notes that the Ancrene Wisse writer's debt to Anselmian piety is more evident in his "attitude of spirit" than the few quotations the work contains - an observation that could equally apply to the Admonitio.[55]

It was not Anselm's dialectic works that were absorbed into the complement of texts studied by schoolmen and religious - unlike the works of other writers they did not lend themselves to piecemeal borrowing for presentation in florilegia,[56] rather it was the Proslogion and the collection of Prayers and Meditations which contributed to preserving that "temper and heart" of Anselm's circle. Whether our author had read the philosophical works we cannot judge; in view of the scope of the Admonitio such material would not have been included. The closest one comes to Anselm's dialectical method is the short piece

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(55) Shepherd, op.cit., p.xxviii.

(56) Gillian Evans, "Abbreviating Anselm", R.T.A.M. 48, (1981), p.79.

adapted from the discussion Utrum bono bonum sive malo malum possit esse contrarium;[57] but the virtues of the original that are praised by its modern editors have been completely sacrificed in the process of adaptation.[58] Similarly, we cannot tell for certain whether our author had read the Proslogion, though a late twelfth century author could easily have become familiar with its doctrine through the writings of Anselm's pupils and the Cistercians, who readily assimilated the work's principal theme that God is discovered when the soul searches for Him in tranquillity.[59] Cistercian manuals which bear the impress of Anselm's thought counsel their readers to retreat from worldly care and shut themselves away from all distraction.[60] And in the Admonitio one can find passages which advise the reader to seek seclusion and

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(57) Southern and Schmitt, Memorials, p.94.

(58) Ibid., p.14. The work's logical refinement and the way it illustrates the method of starting from a problem's most difficult point is described as "thoroughly Anselmian in method and outlook".

(59) J.Lewicki, "Anselme et les doctrines des Cisterciens du XIIe siècle", Analecta Anselmiana 2, (1970), pp. 209-216. From the Proslogion the white monks derived "la conviction que l'essentielle voie vers la conaissance de Dieu mene à travers l'intravertisme, "acknowledging He is found, "par les récherches tranquilles, par des récherches dont le but est la pénétration perspicace de l'ame qui a soif de Dieu."

(60) For example, the Liber de spiritu et anima urges: Fuge ergo paululum occupationes tuas, et abscondere modicum a tumultuosis cogitationibus tuis. Intra cubiculum mentis tuae, et exclude omnia praeter deum, et qui adiuvent te ad quaerendum eum. (P.L.40.779-832) The work has been attributed with no degree of certainty to Alcher of Clairvaux. v. A.Wilmart, Aut. Spir., p.175, note 3.

tranquillity which resemble the teaching in the Proslogion which the Cistercians found attractive, but they afford no proof of our author's knowledge of the work.[60a]

As regards the influence of the Prayers and Meditations: no close verbal correspondences have been found, but our author's persistent, and often vehement, attempts to excite compunction in his readers by describing the Day of Judgement, the swiftness of its coming, and Man's frenzied efforts to escape the wrath of his Maker, could possibly owe something to the collection. Such themes belong to the stock of devotional topics found in the Christian literature of every age, but the style of restless self-examination that accompanies them in Anselm's Meditation 2 could have informed the spiritual discipline of the author of the Admonitio and other members of Augustinian communities towards the end of the twelfth century.[61]

By way of contrast with these passages that are vaguely reminiscent of Anselmian works, the quotations from the archbishop's Letter to John of Bath and the De Humanis Moribus show a very close verbal correspondence

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(60a) Ubi non auertet te a dei uisione oculorum euagatio, uel curarum genitrix distracta in diuersa uanitas operosa; ubi nec mentis onerabit te grauitas tediosa, nec te ducet spiritus tuus in inuio et inaquoso; sed placida quiete admissa logueris cum deo quasi cum socio, concinnabis cum eo uerba tua sicut cum compari tuo. (21/11)

(61) Meditation 2 is found in a collection of devotional pieces bound into the Lesnes Missal for the canons to use before celebrating Mass. The missal is known from Victoria and Albert Museum MS. L.404, s.xiii, ed. Dom Philip Jebb, Missale de Lesnes, H.B.S. (1962).

indeed with the original works. In the case of the former, the Admonitio differs from the version printed by Schmitt in two main respects; a change of wording has been made to emphasise the notion of fraternal concord and obedience to the superior implicit in the rule of S.Augustine, and a rather contemptuous reference has been made to "common folk" (plebeios homines 16/16) where Anselm refers simply to "layfolk" (saeculares homines). It is interesting that two other contemptuous expressions of this kind are found elsewhere in the Admonitio,[62] and a third term of contempt which is used in this work (the word rusticanus) was frequently used by twelfth century schoolmen to deride the ignorant and superstitious.[63] Although our author uses it but once to describe incorrigible novices (rusticanum induentes animum 8/21), the context showing clearly that it means "obdurate" rather than "ignorant", taken with the other examples of the derogatory use of plebeios it is evident that the author was a man of some refinement, who set great store by the highest standard of personal

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(62) These are: our author's comments on the wrangling he believes to be typical of the common people (altercationibus plebeiorum assuetis 65/8), and his remark that it is a sign of pride amongst common folk to sit with the legs crossed (6/27). He should not be judged too fastidious in this, since a similar injunction is found in the Liber Ordinis. (Fratres in silentio, ch.31, C.C.C.M.61, (1984), pp.147-8.)

(63) This use of the word has been adduced as evidence of "a new sense of community among the educated men in the towns". v. Tina Stiefel, The Intellectual Revolution in Twelfth Century Europe. Croom Helm, (1985).

behaviour. Whenever he is critical of other men's failure, his writing displays a sharpness tending to cynicism and a directness than can shock. Such a comment as, "I do not dare say that this is the same intention everyone has when he takes his vow, but I unswervingly affirm it ought to be," (7/24-26) betrays a keen perception of men's motives for entering the cloister - especially of the creature he scornfully calls the pseudo-clericus literalis (4/10). His observations on human nature are made with a gravity and authority which only years of experience in teaching could rightly claim. For example:

> nec sacra doctrina nec spirante dei gratia benigne suscipiunt insitum uerbum, quoniam in maliuolam animam non facile intrat eruditio sacra, sed eructat de pleno quod ei persuadet uulgaris instigatio.(8/22-6)

In view of his interest in teaching and learning adumbrated in passages like this, it is appropriate that the work includes extracts from the De Humanis Moribus which contains Anselm's teaching on a wide range of topics related to the psychology of the individual. Starting with a detailed examination of the three divisions of the mind (memoria, intellectus and voluntas), this work describes the process by which human nature can be turned away from sin to goodness. Our author was interested in its brief account of the way virtues and vices develop from good and bad habits, comparisons between physical growth and spiritual formation in a young man, and, complementing the teaching of Benedict in the seventh chapter of his

Rule, a description of the individual's progress towards self-knowledge through the degrees of humility. The apparently random selection of these extracts belies their importance, for they represent the author's attempt to endorse many of his earlier comments with reference to a simple theory of education. The last section of the work (as we have it) presents the Anselmian similitude between temporal and spiritual warfare which was ideally suited to the instruction of the young. This too seems to have been particularly appealing to our author, for one finds an allusion to it earlier in the Admonitio.[64]

The quotation from this source has the additional value of being derived from the earliest known recension of the De Humanis Moribus surviving in two manuscripts. An expanded version of the work incorporating material from Alexander of Canterbury's Dicta Anselmi circulated widely in the Middle Ages under the title Liber de Similitudinibus,[65] but twelfth century manuscripts of this popular version are very scarce indeed. However, it is quite clear our author did not draw on this version, for there is no trace of the additions which were made to it; and his inclusion of fragments from the discussion Utrum bono bonum sive malo malum shows that he must have known the De Humanis Moribus either from one of the two manuscripts of the earliest

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(64) Below p.33/4

(65) P.L.159.605-708. On the transmission of the work v. R.W.Southern, S.Anselm and his biographer, Cambridge, (1963), p.221.

recension, which is known to have come from the Austin convent at Llanthony in Monmouthshire'[66] or from one of their direct descendants.

These are the main Christian works which are used in the Admonitio. Of the great corpus of Classical literature that was of interest to Christians in the Middle Ages the work affords little evidence. Apart from a couple of short tags from Vergil, Horace and the Distichs of Cato, the only extract associated with a Classical author is the pseudo-Senecan De verborum copia.[67] Although the inspiration behind this work has little to do with virtues that are specifically Christian, it would nevertheless have been respected by medieval readers since its title derives from one of the letters Seneca was believed to have written to S.Paul - a collection which such perspicacious readers as S.Jerome and John of Salisbury considered authentic. Our author does not draw heavily on this short treatise, and it is quite possible that the section which he quotes was the only portion which he knew. Towards the end of the twelfth century almost all of this passage would have been quite accessible since it was quoted by Alain of Lille in his highly influential treatise on preaching, written as the model for a

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(66) On the importance of this information for the provenance of the Admonitio v. p.ci.

(67) This work was popular from the eleventh century onwards. v. L.D.Reynolds, The Medieval Tradition of Seneca's Letters, Oxford, (1965), p.112. The work circulated in no fewer than twelve recensions, on which v. J.Fohlen, "Un apocryphe de Sénèque mal connu: Le De verborum copia", Medieval Studies 42, (1980), pp.138-205.

sermon on the subject: De temperantia vel modestia.[68] Our author's correct attribution to Seneca of a definition of mercy (que se flectit citra id quod potest cum sit in potestate ulciscendi 78/27), which is not found in any other version of the De verborum copia, shows that he could have had before him a Senecan florilegium, or perhaps a glossed copy of the De verborum copia; it is less likely that his own mind was primed with Senecan quotations. However, it is easy to see why the passage from this work found its way into the Admonitio: it enjoins the very virtue of moderation for which the Austin canons had a reputation, and almost each sentence presents a neat aphorism, such as:

> Esto fugax uitiorum, nec te lactent uerba susurronum (78/10),

which could easily be committed to memory and recalled in the face of temptation.

It is also worth noting what our author has not used in the Admonitio. Considering the immense popularity of the works of S.Bernard of Clairvaux in the twelfth century, the ease with which extracts could be taken from them, and his easily remembered, short and sententious phrases, it is most surprising no quotations from Bernard have been found. The lack of quotations is no proof of ignorance, however, and it is possible that the teachings of the doctor mellifluus were deemed too advanced to be put in a work that deals

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(68) Summa de arte predicandi, ch.25, (P.L.210.161).

with the fundamental elements of the religious life.[69] Although a number of ideas which are explored in Bernard's works can be found in the Admonitio, in each case it would have been possible for our author to have come across them in non-Bernardine sources. For example, his teaching on the importance of hope and fear is strongly reminiscent of an idea found in a number of Bernardine texts, but our author's debt here was probably to Gregory.[70] Again, his interest in the psychology of sin led him to explain how the process of sinning is three-fold - a notion which the Ancrene

(69) For example, the only quotation to appear in the Admonitio from the Song of Songs, around which Bernard built much of his mystical teaching, is chosen for its moral application. v. p.115/19.

(70) Below p.43/22. C.f. S.Bernard, Sermones de diversis, 123,2. (P.L.183.745), the Commentary on the Song of Songs, Opera Omnia, ed. Rochais, & Talbot vol.2, 88,29-89, and one item in a collection of Bernardine sermons that is known from Lincoln Cathedral MS. 201, ed.by H.-M.Rochais and I.Binont, "La collection de textes divers du manuscript Lincoln 201 et S.Bernard," Sacris Erudiri 15, (1964), pp.15-219; v. esp. fols. 8a-c, pp.33-5.

Wisse writer attributes to Bernard alone, but which could just as well have come from many other sources.[71]

That our author did actually submit to Cistercian influence is confirmed by his use of Aelred's De Institutione Inclusarum, but it is in those extracts alone that one finds anything consonant with the main features of Bernardine teaching: the sweetness of God's love for Man, His gentle compassion, and the identification of Man's mental and physical vexations with the sufferings of the crucified Saviour. One brief reference is found to the "land of unlikeness" which is often found in Cistercian texts. No explanation of it is given in the Admonitio, but the author seems to be following the traditional account of it rather than Bernard's.[72] Devotional ideas which were prominent in the spirituality of the Cistercians and steadily exercised a wider appeal throughout the century, such

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(71) So influential was Bernard that one could expect his name to be used even if a writer was not familiar with his work. The Corpus version of the work (ed. Tolkien, E.E.T.S. 249, (1962), p.149.) reads: Þe forme is cogitatiun. Þe oðer is affectiun. Þe Þridde is cunsence....ase seint Beornard witneð. The same idea is also elaborated in both Augustine's work and Gregory's; by the twelfth century it had been incorporated into the sentence collections that are associated with Anselm of Laon. Since these collections were intended for "the pastoral needs of the world outside the schools" (v. V.J.Flint, "The School of Laon: a reconsideration", R.T.A.M. 43, (1976), pp.89-91), it is highly likely this teaching on sin would have been well known to clergy and laity alike by the time the Admonitio was written.

(72) The early Church Fathers associated it with the far country mentioned in S.Luke's Gospel and interpreted it simply as sin. In Bernard's work it is tied to the notion of Man in exile on earth, bereft of the likeness of God. v. A.Hallier, The Monastic Theology of Aelred of Rievaulx, p.12.

as the cult of the Holy Name and the Blessed Virgin, do not figure in the Admonitio.

The conservatism of the author in devotional matters extends to his use of Scripture - the main source material to be exploited in the Admonitio. Most scriptural quotations are drawn from the Psalter, since its contents were so well known from the daily offices. A number of verses come from the books Proverbs, Ecclesiasticus and Ecclesiastes - three of the so-called "Sapiential books" which formed the basis of religious education in the Middle Ages.[73] There is very little from the prophetical books - indeed, nothing from Ezekiel, which was known to be difficult. After the Psalter most quotations are drawn from the Pauline epistles; these too were familiar ground to Medieval students who were not well advanced in their studies.[74] But since many of these scriptural references have come in with the sources, they do not necessarily reflect the author's expertise. Even so, the range of techniques which is applied to the interpretation of Scripture, both in the extracts as well as in his own work, is rather narrow: popular methods of exposition such as etymologies and number symbolism are not found, and the author does not appear to have made use of any

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(73) P.Delhaye,"L'organisation scolaire au XIIe siècle", Traditio 5, (1947), pp.211-268.

(74) B.Smalley, "Some Gospel Commentaries of the early twelfth century", R.T.A.M. 45,(1978), pp.147-180, who quotes a letter written by a student at Hildesheim describing his education (c.1054-1085): iam finito psalterio epistolas Pauli sit incepturus...

of the major glosses that were coming into fashion. Even his use of Biblical characters to exemplify specific virtues is confined to David (humility) and Mary Magdalene (penitence). In this respect (among others) his work contrasts with the writings of major authors of the period who had been trained in the schools. For example, in his Sermo ad Claustrales Peter of Blois makes skilful use of a great many Biblical figures to illustrate his contention that religious who forsake their profession fall halfway.[75] Although our author seems not to have made regular use of a herbal, bestiary or lapidary, one finds a brief reference to the salutary powers of wormwood (absinzium 32/4) and to the properties of the stone adamant (141/10).

By way of recapitulation: the author of the Admonitio makes use of a narrow range of sources which are quite orthodox in content. Some of them could have been taken from existing canonical compilations, but there is nothing in them which could not also have been set before a monastic audience. All these sources have been extensively reworked, but the careful quotation of Anselmian material suggests they had a special claim on our author's respect. Since one of these works is a very minor work and the other's origin is obscure, it is possible the author's convent had built up a collection of Anselmian material, possibly because one

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(75) Sermo 62. He includes Hanon, who shaved half of David's beard (2 Samuel 10), Anan ias, who retained half the sale price of his land (Acts 5), Cushan Rishathaim, who took Israel by storm (Judges 3), and Abimelech, who slaughtered his brethren (Judges 9). (P.L.207.741-744)

of its brethren had been a member of his circle, or because the archbishop had played a part in its foundation. The work is brightened considerably by a number of extracts from Aelred of Rievaulx - the only up-to-date material it contains; otherwise the work is rather sombre, not only because its subject matter is serious but possibly because the writer had met with difficult and recalcitrant novices. The fair number of extracts from works written for women could indicate its author had some experience of counselling female religious, but there is insufficient evidence to draw any firm conclusions in this matter. The author himself is reflected in his work as a man whose experience of the religious life had sharpened his perception of human nature, and who was as contemptuous of the ill-bred as he was admiring of the young and virtuous, but the narrow scope of the work makes it difficult to comment on his intellectual background.

(vi) Provenance

The consistently high quality of the script in the Admonitio indicates that the manuscript was produced at a house which was able to boast plentiful resources as well as expertise in book production. It has been observed that the hand has "echoes of certain west-country scripts",[1] and that it bears some resemblance to

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(1) I am grateful to Mr.Michael Gullick for advice on this matter in personal correspondence.

an early twelfth century copy of the Diadema Monachorum of Smaragdus, which was made in the scriptorium of the Priory of Worcester.[2] Given that the script of the Admonitio could be a development of the earlier hand, it is possible it might have been the work of the Benedictines at Worcester - copied for the benefit of Black monks who were interested in the kind of text being studied by the Augustinian order's professed. Marginalia found in the Admonitio which resemble annotations in other works bound in the codex suggest the Admonitio was studied at Worcester in the thirteenth century. The Benedictines of Worcester at this time enjoyed connexions with a number of Augustinian houses: it is known, for example, that they copied works from the library of the Austin convent at Llanthony near Gloucester.[3] Further afield there is evidence the Worcester priory had links with Oseney and

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(2) This MS. is now British Library Royal 8.D.viii. Fol.65v is illustrated in the Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections, by Sir George F. Warner & Julius P.Gilson, vol.4, (1921), Plate 58. I am most grateful to Professor A.G.Watson of University College, London, for drawing my attention to this MS. and for searching through numerous facsimiles on my behalf.

(3) Research still needs to be done on manuscript glosses and marginalia to make clear the nature of the intellectual exchange between the two houses, but it is known Senatus of Worcester knew Peter of Poitiers' Quinque Libri Sententiarum by such means. For a discussion of the MS. he read (Worcester Cathedral F.50) made from the Llanthony copy (Lambeth Palace 142) v. Eleanor Rathbone, "Peter of Corbeil in an English Setting", in Medieval Learning, ed. Alexander & Gibson, p.287.

Keynsham.[4] Thus, although the two lists of the volume's contents written on its flyleaf show the Admonitio had probably been at Worcester since the thirteenth century, it is possible that it had actually been made there a century or so earlier by a Benedictine scribe from a copy borrowed from an Austin house. If the exemplar had been flawed, the repetition of certain passages in the Admonitio is thus easily accounted for.

However, if our text was not made at Worcester, one cannot be certain whether the Austin house at which it was written was nearby or quite far away. In that case it could either be the work of the author himself or of another Austin canon from the house where it was composed, for the Austin canons preferred to write out their works and prepare their manuscripts themselves rather than employ professional copyists.[5] Unfortunately, few manuscripts made in Augustinian convents have survived for a comparis on to be made

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(4) On the former v. David Postles, "The Learning of the Austin Canons: the case of Oseney Abbey", Nottingham Medieval Studies, (1985), pp.33-43. Clement, fourth abbot of Oseney (1205-1221), consulted Senatus of Worcester about several matters. His abbey had a special connexion with the familia of the Bishop of Worcester, and was "accumulating spiritual property in that diocese". For Senatus' reply to Clement advising him on the right of his canons to give Oxford students absolution, v. P. Delhaye, "Deux textes de Senatus de Worcester sur la pénitence", R.T.A.M.19, (1952), pp.203-224. On Keynsham v. below. pp. xcvi-xcviii.

(5) M.T.Clanchy, From Memory to Written Record, London, (1979), p.97. But v. also the interesting account left us by William, canon of Newburgh (d.1201), concerning his practice of "dictating" his work onto wax tablets which he himself copied out onto parchment. (Cambridge University MS. Gg.IV.16,fol.75rb-va) printed by B.Smalley, "John Russel, O.F.M.", R.T.A.M.23, (1956), p.290.

with the Admonitio. However, there were few Austin convents at the end of the twelfth century in which such a work could have been produced, for many of their houses were no more than tiny cells or small convents for fewer than thirteen religious. Thus, since one of the sources in the Admonitio has a localised textual tradition, and in view of Mr.Gullick's observation about the west-country style of the script, one can narrow the field considerably and lay down a limited number of criteria. For example, the house would either have had to have been large enough to possess a library that was reasonably well stocked in the works of the early Fathers, Anselm and Aelred, or have been in close proximity to another where those works were available; it would have needed to have been sufficiently well-endowed to support a fairly large community (supposing that the work was intended solely for the house in which it was written), and to have maintained a scriptorium. Since there is no mention of an abbot in the work, it is more likely to have been a Priory. These limited criteria can be applied to all the following convents of black canons situated around Worcester, the West-Midlands and the western counties. The information about them has been derived from the Ordnance Survey map of Monastic Britain and the lists

in Medieval English Religious Houses edited by David Knowles and R.N.Hadcock.[6]

Of the three contemporary sources in the Admonitio the De Institutione Inclusarum gives us little help in determining from which area the work could have come.[7] In connexion with the Admonitio the most interesting MS. copy is Hereford Cathedral P.I.17, an incomplete witness that once belonged to the Austin abbey at Cirencester. The sections of the text found in this manuscript do not correspond with those quoted by our author, and although this in itself does not rule out the possibility the Admonitio could have come from Cirencester, I have been informed by Mr.Gullick that the script of the latter does not compare with the

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(6) The information given in these sources can be based on inaccurate and unsubstantiated statements in early works of reference. v.Dobson, Origins:AW, pp.175-6 on Limebrook; and also Dickinson's description of how one Austin house (that of Bentley, Middlesex) would be unknown but for the flimsiest evidence of its existence. Origins:Canons, p.239. For our purposes charter and cartulary material is not helpful.

(7) Five complete manuscripts of the work are extant: two of the three made in England are close in date to the time when the Admonitio was written: British Library Cotton Nero III, which was possibly owned by the Carthusians at Hinton (Somerset); Bodleian Library, Digby 218, once owned by Merton college. There are also seven incomplete witnesses dating from the thirteenth century. For a full discussion of them v. Dom Anselm Hoste, Bibliotheca Aelrediana: A survey of Manuscripts, Old Catalogues, and Studies concerning S.Aelred of Rievaulx, Instrumenta Patristica II, Steenbrugge, (1962). A detailed study of the textual tradition of the work has been undertaken by Alexandra Barrett (Révue d'histoire des textes 18, Paris, (1978), pp.195-211), but the borrowings in the Admonitio are not extensive enough to locate the version known to its author in her stemma codicum.

hands of the few manuscripts known to have been written by Cirencester scribes, nor with the sole surviving manuscript of the Austin priory of Bradenstoke (Wilts.), which was founded from Cirencester. Moreover, none of the manuscripts now at Worcester has been shown to be of Cirencester origin.[8]

The second source, Anselm's Letter to John of Bath, is more promising, since it can be tied in with the observation about the west-country appearance of the Admonitio. The two most likely places to have possessed copies of this letter in the Middle Ages would have been Canterbury and Bath. (None of the manuscripts used by Schmitt in his critical edition of the letter is known to have been owned by a west country house.) In the region around Bath there were four Augustinian houses: S.Augustine's Abbey, Bristol; Keynsham in Somerset; a small house at Woodspring; and Bradenstoke, which has already been discounted. Further afield were Burtle, Bruton, Maiden Bradley, Longleat, Stavourdale and Langley. Although information about these houses is very scant, Woodspring, Burtle, Maiden Bradley, Longleat and Stavourdale all seem to have become houses of regular canons in the thirteenth century - too late for the Admonitio to have been

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(8) A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Hereford Cathedral Library, compiled by A.T.Bannister with an introduction by M.R.James, Hereford, (1927). A number are at Hereford which are either Cirencester made or owned.In a few cases the actual name of the scribe is known.

written at one of them.[9] Although one has to be cautious about accepting a foundation date of a religious house as evidence of the inception of community life on the site, as Dr.Dickinson has warned, these houses seem to have been so small, even in their heyday, that they could hardly have had the necessary resources and organisation for operating a scriptorium. This leaves the three main houses of the Bath group, all of which have left a modest amount of documentary evidence, and Langley, whose history is still most obscure.[10] Bruton Priory was founded between 1127 and 1135 by William de Mohun, Earl of Somerset. Its only extant manuscript according to Ker is a copy of fifteenth century annals and the cartulary, neither of

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(9) According to Knowles and Hadcock, Woodspring was founded in 1210, and was connected in some way with S.Augustine's, Bristol. Burtle was a hermitage in the thirteenth century. Maiden Bradley, originally founded as a home for female lepers entrusted to the care of secular canons, is recorded by Leland as being in the regulars' hands by 1189-1193, but the editors (above) can only verify 1201 as the earliest reference to the house's having a prior. And according to Brian Kemp, "[The house] did not definitely have a prior and convent of Augustinian canons attached to it before the early thirteenth century". v. "Maiden Bradley, Wiltshire and Kidderminster Church, Worcester", Reading Medieval Studies 11, (1985), pp.87-120.)

(10) A very limited amount of information about it is found in Cirencester's cartulary (v.C.D.Ross, ed. The Cartulary of Cirencester Abbey, Gloucester, London, (1964), 2 vols.) In the main the information is concerned with land belonging to the abbey and has no bearing on the present study.

which is very useful for our purpose.[11] In any case, being so far south Bruton is unlikely to have had much contact with the Llanthony group of houses or indeed with Worcester itself.

Keynsham was established between 1167 and 1172 by William, Earl of Gloucester, and his brother Roger, Bishop of Worcester in response to a death-bed request made by the earl's son that an abbey be established in the family manor. Originally set up for twenty-six canons this convent was one of the six Victorine houses established in the western counties of England. A rescript of Pope Alexander III addressed to Roger granting him permission to found the convent in another bishop's diocese has been published from a mid-twelfth century inscription found on the fly-leaf of Bodleian manuscript Tanner 3.[12] Three manuscripts which are believed to have been owned by this house are extant: two of them roughly contemporary with the Admonitio, the third a fourteenth century Polychronicon. The earlier manuscripts now form part of the collection at Trinity College, Dublin, and have recently been described in detail by Professor M.Colker of Virginia

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(11) "Two Cartularies of the Augustinian Priory of Bruton, and the Cluniac Priory of Montacute", Somerset Record Society 8, (1894). Dickinson (Origins:Canons, p.232, note 7) observes the cartulary is badly edited.

(12) H.M.Bannister,"Bishop Roger of Worcester and the Church at Keynsham", English Historical Review 32, (1917),pp.387-393.

University.[13] The first of them (T.C.D. 48, A.4.2) contains a copy of the Book of Chronicles with the Glossa Ordinaria written in one hand of the second half of the twelfth century. The second (T.C.D.187,B.2.2.), written by one scribe around the end of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth, comprises a long compendium running to 158 leaves of over a hundred items: short extracts in the main from the sermons of Augustine, Bede, Raban Maur and Bernard on the major feasts of the liturgical year. Evidence for Keynsham's ownership of these books is found in a set of late fifteenth century notes in MS.48 which declare: Thys ys John Arnolld boke chanon off Keynessam, and in MS.187 one finds pasted to the inside front cover a paper slip on which is written in a late seventeenth century hand: I have font, my Lord primate, these Bookes. I could wishe they had somethinge singular in them besides the antiquity: they were belonginge to the Abbey of Kenisham... This manuscript is written in a fine, clear hand which resembles that of the Admonitio at first sight, but on closer inspection it becomes clear that several of the letter forms are different.[14]

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(13) I am grateful to Mr.Stuart O'Seanoir of Trinity College Library, who sent me a copy of Professor Colker's unpublished typescript and facsimiles of the two manuscripts.

(14) In the Trinity MS. the ct ligature is drawn almost to the foot of the line above; upper case forms are much larger than the lower case characters; the bottom loop of lower case g is usually closed on the left with a thin, sharp hair line, and there are few examples of "biting". The script also has a distinctive slope to the left throughout.

MS. 48 is written in a large, clear book-hand with very well formed upper-case characters quite unlike anything in the Admonitio. But although these texts seem to have been owned by Keynsham, it is not certain how long they had been there, or even if they were actually made in the house.

The third house, S.Augustine's Abbey, Bristol, was one of the largest and most important religious houses in England, and it too belonged to the independent congregation of S.Victor's, Paris. Because of chronological errors in the sixteenth century Roll of Abbot Newland, one of the three main sources of information about this house, the threads of the account of the institution of the first convent in 1140 by Robert fitz Harding, and the consecration which took place in 1170 (or thereabout) of the new monastery that was raised on the site of the present Anglican cathedral, have become entangled. It is unnecessary to rehearse here the arguments set forth by J.C.Dickinson to set the records straight,[15] but attention should be drawn to one episode in its complex history since it establishes an important connexion with another Victorine house (Wigmore Abbey in Herefordshire), which will be considered in the Llanthony group.

The Bristol community received their first prior, Richard of Warwick, on Easter Day in 1148, according to

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(15) "The Origins of S.Augustine's Abbey, Bristol", in Essays in Gloucestershire History ed. P.M^{C}Grath and J.Cannon, Bristol, (1976), pp.108-126.

Newland's Roll, but his arrival is also recorded by the Anglo-Norman Chronicle of Wigmore Abbey, which states:

> there came to England a canon named Richard of Warwick, who after became Abbot of Bristol, to visit his friends in the month of August, and he came to Shobdon;[16]

that is to say, the site occupied by the Wigmore community in its early days. The connexion between these houses is confirmed by the arrival at Bristol of six canons from Wigmore soon after Bristol's second house had been consecrated by Alfred, Bishop of Worcester. What kind of intellectual exchange there was between these houses it is not possible to say; so few of the abbey's books have survived it is even difficult to determine the nature of the intellectual life of the Bristol community in its early days. Its earliest manuscripts comprise a chronicle, the work of Ivo of Chartres, a collection of glosses on the Acts of the Apostles, and a composite volume which reflects an interest in Biblical scholarship;[17] and it has been

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(16) J.C.Dickinson & P.T.Ricketts, "The Anglo-Norman Chronicle of Wigmore Abbey", Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club, 39, pt.3, (1969), p.429.

(17) This volume is now Jesus Coll.Oxford MS.49. It contains a Gospel harmony in one hand throughout, Peter of Riga's metrical version of S.Matthew's Gospel, a sermon on the verse Cum esset desponsata mater eius, which seems to be separable from the book, Riga's version of Job and the Song of Songs, and three short sermons: Simile est regnum celorum, M.Magdalena nimium peccatrix fuit, and Contra iniquitatem carnis. The writing frame of the third item (Cum esset desponsata) is quite similar to that of the Admonitio (though it is ruled for 38 lines not 34), and the leaves bear prick marks on the inside edge. But the hand is smaller and "spikier". Moreover, each scriptural quotation is referred to its source.

suggested that Trinity College, Dublin MS. 97 could have been written there too, whose compilers certainly had a keen interest in religious rules, the implications of the Augustinian rule and the Augustinian noviciate.[18] On this account it would not have been unlikely for the Admonitio to have been of interest to them. However,S.Augustine's cannot boast that distinguished scholars were attracted to its priorate, although the second holder of the office, William of Saltmarsh, became Bishop of Llandaff, and one member of the community, Geoffrey of Henlawe, who became Llanthony's fifth prior, was well known for his medical learning. On such details as these it is only possible to say that the conditions could have existed in S.Augustine's for such a work as the Admonitio to have been conceived and written; moreover, its canons could have had the opportunity to act as spiritual directors to female religious, for a house of Augustinian canonesses was set up there in 1173.

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(18) Aubrey Gwynn argued that it could have been written at Bristol and sent to another Victorine house (S.Thomas's, Dublin) on the strength of its references to S.Werburg of Chester and S.Milburga of Wenlock whose cult was likely to have been strong in western England. ("The early history of S.Thomas's Abbey, Dublin", The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland 84, (1954), pp.27-30.) Written in different hands of the thirteenth century the codex is an important one, not least because it contains one of the twenty-three surviving copies of S.Victor's Abbey Liber Ordinis, but also because it is the unique MS. of the De questionibus regule sancti Augustini solutis attributed to Richard of S.Victor (v. M.L.Colker, Traditio 18, (1962), pp.181-227.). Colker has left open the question of its provenance, saying it could have been written in Dublin or any English Victorine house.

Thus, the only western Austin houses where Anselm's Letter to John of Bath might have been known and which were of the requisite size and date for the Admonitio to have been written there are the abbeys at Bristol and Keynsham, and Bruton Priory.

We are on firmer ground with regard to the second Anselmian source, for the textual tradition of the De Humanis Moribus derives from two early twelfth century manuscripts from Llanthony in Monmouthshire. Why this is so is still unclear, but the house had certainly been patronised by Archbishop Anselm at its foundation. Of most value to the present discussion is the fact that our author must have known the work from a copy which was closely related to one of the two Llanthony texts, which can be dated around 1110-1130 and 1130 respectively.[19] As was mentioned above, the full text of the Anselmian discussion Utrum bono, sive malo malum, from which a small section is quoted in the Admonitio, is only known from the two Llanthony manuscripts; moreover the Admonitio contains no trace of the additions made to the De Humanis Moribus which gave the work its popular form known as the De Similitudinibus.

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(19) The Llanthony MSS.are British Library Royal 5 F.ix. and Royal 8.D.viii, listed in the Llanthony catalogue as no.154, Anselmus de qualitate morum, mediocre volumen, and no.225, Exceptiones Roberti de Bracii, mediocris liber (T.W.Williams, op.cit.).The other MSS. are: Cambridge University Ff.4.45, a thirteenth century copy of Royal 5.F.ix once at the Premonstratensian house of Titchfield (Hants.); Hereford Cathedral P.I.i, and O.I.i, an early thirteenth century copy descended from P.I.i and once owned by the Benedictines of Gloucester; and Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, lat.12311 twelfth century second half.

Once again, this house and the Austin convents around it deserve close scrutiny.

The area around Hereford and Worcester was not rich in Augustinian foundations; even the origin of Llanthony itself is quite obscure. According to its foundation history printed by Dugdale,[20] the priory developed from a hermitage established around 1103 by a knight called William and a former royal chaplain named Ernisius. Like all English Austin houses that developed in this way (the sole exception being Cockersand - a Norbertine house) Llanthony did not belong to an independent congregation.[21] The foundation history attributes the initiative of setting up the cenobium there to Hugh de Lacy and S.Anselm, whose patronage of the order in England is well attested.[22] However, if our author's remarks about his order's professed are taken to mean "living in the midst of men" (habendi se inter homines), his convent was not Llanthony, which could be reached only by a difficult and perilous ascent.[23] But the convent's geographical remoteness did

(20) Monasticon Anglicanum, ed. Caley, Bandinell, and Ellis, (1817-30), vol.6, pp. 128-134. Dickinson (Origins:Canons, p.111, note 5) calls it a tangled tradition of latish date.

(21) Jane Herbert, "The Transformation of Hermitages into Augustinian Priories in twelfth century England", S.C.H.22, (1985), pp.131-145.

(22) Dickinson, Origins:Canons, p.126-7.

(23) A colourful and no doubt exaggerated account of this is found in William of Wycomb's Life of Robert Bethune, the convent's second prior. ed. H.Wharton, Anglia Sacra sive collectio historiarum de Archiepiscopis et Episcopis Angliae ad annum 1540, London, (1691), vol.2, p.303.

not prevent it from playing an active part in the intellectual and administrative life of the region. Although the list of books that is extant in British Library MS. Harley 460 reflects the size of the library in Llanthony's second foundation outside Gloucester, a number of those volumes were no doubt collected by the canons of the first house,[24] and the election of Robert Bethune to the See of Hereford in 1131 gave the house a well placed and influential patron, during whose episcopate the prior was required to witness legal documents along with other senior churchmen in the diocese.[25] As for the pursuit of learning among its members, reference has already been made to Geoffrey of Henlawe who was renowned for his medical skills, but above all the fame of the convent was to live on in the reputation of its prior Clement, whose Gospel Harmony continued to be a standard work of Biblical scholarship for many centuries.[26]

As for the actual script of the two Llanthony manuscripts of the De Humanis Moribus, a connexion cannot be made with the Admonitio. The earlier text (Royal 5.F.ix) is written in a careful, rounded book-hand which is a pleasure to read; the second is less so, being in a tiny hand which squeezes forty-five lines into the writing frame. (Surprisingly, both of

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(24) Ker, Medieval Libraries, p.119, note 5.

(25) W.W.Capes, Charters and Records of Hereford Cathedral, Cantilupe Society, (1908), p.10.

(26) R.W.Hunt, TRHS, 19, (1936), p.27; and B.Smalley, Med & Ren.3, (1954), p.201.

them are much more heavily abbreviated than the version found in the Admonitio.) Nevertheless, as was noted earlier, it is possible that a search through the manuscripts of the Llanthony collection now at Lambeth Palace might produce some text written in the hand of the Worcester codex. Unfortunately, the medieval catalogue of Llanthony's library does not include references to all the the source materials found in the Admonitio; but this of course does not guarantee it was not written at either the Monmouthshire or the Gloucestershire house.

Worcester excepted it is difficult to determine which neighbour of the Llanthony foundations had access to its library. A number of the Augustinian convents in the area were either established too late for the Admonitio to have been written there,[27] or were probably too far from Llanthony for their religious to have maintained any sort of intellectual contact with it.[28] Few houses are left: Dodford (fifteen miles north of Worcester), which was established between 1184 and 1186 as a cell for a prior and two canons, was drawn into the Premonstratensian abbey of Halesowen in 1332; Beckford (a similar distance from Worcester to the

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(27) Wormsley, another Victorine house (ten miles north of Hereford) was founded in 1216; Flanesford was a large, mid-fourteenth century foundation; and Horsley was a priory cell of Bruton from 1260.

(28) Chirbury (fifteen miles south-west of Shrewsbury) was founded from Snead in 1195; nearby Ratlinghope was founded shortly before 1209 as a cell dependent on Wigmore; Haughmond Abbey lying three miles north-east of Shrewsbury was founded between 1130 and 1138; and there was an Arrouaisian priory at Lilleshall fifteen miles east of Shrewsbury.

south west), was merely a tiny cell founded in 1128 for as few as three religious from the continental house of S.Barbe-en-Auge; and Leonard Stanley had already become a Benedictine cell for Gloucester Abbey monks by 1148. This leaves Wigmore Abbey (thirty miles north of Llanthony prima) and Studley Priory (fifteen miles north east of Worcester), which was founded from Witton, the community's earlier site, in 1135 for ten canons. The latter house appears to have been very well endowed, since its founder, Peter Corbeson, lavished endowments upon it both before and after the move its community made from Witton. Unfortunately, its resources were managed so badly that only three canons were resident in the house a generation later, when Peter's son transferred the patronage of the convent to William de Cantilupe.[29] Finally, before examining Wigmore, mention should be made of two priories belonging to canons of the Holy Sepulchre: one at Thelsford, founded in 1139, and the other at Warwick, founded between 1119 and 1123. No manuscripts are

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(29) V.C.H. Warwickshire, II, p.94. Of the house's collection of books only one work survives - a twelfth century glossed copy of the Gospels of Matthew and Mark (now British Library MS. Harley 2791).

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extant from the former,[30] and of the latter little is known.[31]

The Abbey of S.James at Wigmore was the chief convent of the Victorine congregation in England. Founded by Hugh Mortimer II, its church was dedicated in 1179, but its community had long endured considerable difficulties at two earlier sites (at Shobdon and Eye) when Oliver de Merlimont, seneschal to Hugh Mortimer I, had taken the initiative of inviting canons from S.Victor's in Paris to form a community on the land which his master had given him.[32] The priory they set up at Shobdon was granted abbatial status only to satisfy the demands of Hugh II shortly after he had ordered the canons' eviction from the very land he had confiscated from Oliver, who by that time had fallen from his lord's favour. But still they could not enjoy

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(30) It became a hospital early in the thirteenth century for the relief of the poor and the reception of pilgrims. There is some confusion over the status of the house at this time. V.C.H. suggests it was taken over by the Trinitarians around 1214, though Dugdale states that their first house in England (Moatenden) was founded sometime after 1224.

(31) No books are extant from the early period of its history, but the fact that one of its priors is designated Master Thomas might suggest the level of intellectual life there was higher than in many other ordinary collegiate churches. v.The Heads of Religious Houses:England and Wales 940-1216, ed. D.Knowles, C.N.L.Brooke, Vera London, Cambridge, (1972), p.189. According to Knowles and Hadcock, op.cit., p.158, the house would have been indistinguishable from an ordinary Austin house after the fall of Jerusalem in 1188.

(32) Dickinson and Ricketts op.cit. For an idea of the size of the conventual buildings v. Sir H.Brakspear, "Wigmore Abbey", The Archaeological Journal 90, (1933), pp.26-51.

the peace of their cloister, for the community had to endure further hardship for as long as they were incident to the Mortimers' variable displays of favour and hostility towards them, the incursions of the Welsh, and the ill-will of the local inhabitants. Nevertheless, scholarship flourished among them: Andrew of S.Victor, the learned expositor of Scripture was abbot there for two periods.[33] Although few of the abbey's books have survived, Wigmore has left us the manuscript of the Ancrene Wisse - one of the earliest witnesses of the great English work of direction as well as the record of the so-called "AB dialect" - the "written idiom of gentle and lettered people", which provides such strong evidence of the flourishing literary culture in the west-Midlands around the beginning of the thirteenth century.[34] It would be very exciting if further evidence could be found to tie the Admonitio to any of the convents in this important group, which has already been put under the microscope in the investigation of the origin of the Ancrene

(33) On Andrew of S.Victor v. B.Smalley, The Study of the Bible, p.112.

(34) A full account of the linguistic features of this dialect is in Professor S.R.T.O.d'Ardenne's edition of Þe liflade ant te passiun of seinte Iulienne, E.E.T.S.248, (1961), p.177. The Wigmore MS. is now Corpus Christi Coll.Cambridge 402, (ed. Tolkien E.E.T.S.249 (1962). The other witness to the "AB dialect" is MS.Bodley 34, written c.1210, which contains the Middle English lives of S.Katherine, S.Margaret, and S.Julienne, and the treatises Hali Meiðhad and Sawles Warde. It is unnecessary here to cover the arguments whether the fact that MS.C.C.C.C.402 was given to Wigmore c.1300 supports or undermines the case that it had actually been written there some seventy years earlier.

Wisse. But all that can reasonably be said at present is that the work is bound more firmly to this group (the priories at Llanthony, Llanthony-by-Gloucester, Studley, and Wigmore Abbey) by the appearance of sections from the De Humanis Moribus than Anselm's Letter to John of Bath connects it with S.Augustine's, Bristol, Keynsham Abbey, and Bruton Priory.

By way of a summary, a west-Midland origin for the Admonitio seems to be suggested by the following evidence: i) Worcester has been its home since the thirteenth century, when the content's list of the volume in which it had been bound was written, and possibly before then; ii) the work is written in a fine hand that has "echoes of certain west country scripts"; iii) S.Anselm's letter written to a west-country religious house is quoted accurately; iv) material is quoted from the De Humanis Moribus and Utrum bono bonum, known only from Llanthony manuscripts; and finally, v) sections have been quoted from the pseudo-Senecan De verborum copia. Fohlen's careful study of the textual tradition of this work shows that five manuscripts of it are English in origin: of these two were owned by Worcester, one belonged to S.Peter's, Gloucester, and the fourth is the sole manuscript to have survived from the convent of Austin Friars at

Droitwich.[35] Furthermore, the west of England seems to have been an important area for the study of Senecan literature generally.[36]

In view of the fact it is the Anselmian teaching in this work that is one of its most important features, it would be very interesting to see whether any other minor latin tracts and sermons in the libraries at Worcester and Hereford contain anything reminiscent of this work. The "AB dialect" itself affords an interesting example of the influence of S.Anselm's teaching on vernacular literature in the treatise Sawles Warde, which is based on the Anselmian tract De Custodia Interioris Hominis.[37] But although the Admonitio has some useful observations to make on the custody of the heart, it does not contain any of the extended allegory which figures in either of the Anselmian tracts.

Although no firm conclusion can be drawn on the strength of this information, it is impossible at

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(35) J.Fohlen, op.cit., pp.172-191. The MSS. are: Worcester Cathedral F.152, s.xiv; Worcester Cathedral F.154, s.xv; Oxford, Jesus Coll. 42, s.xiii, formerly at Gloucester Abbey; Brasenose Coll.13,s.xiii, from Droitwich; and Vienna, Nationalbibl.1019,s.xii, partly copied at Canterbury, annotated and completed by Grosseteste.

(36) L.D.Reynolds, op.cit., ch.9. Robert of Cricklade, sometime canon of Cirencester Abbey, had an interest in Seneca as did William of Malmesbury. Reynolds calls attention generally to the literary culture in the region around the banks of the Severn.

(37) Southern and Schmitt, Memorials. On the relationship between the De Custodia, Sawles Warde and the rest of the "AB dialect" corpus v. Dobson, Origins:AW.

present to determine in which religious house the Admonitio ad Claustrales was written. Both Llanthony foundations and Studley Priory satisfy the general criteria of size and date for the work to have been written there, as does Wigmore Abbey, but it is still not clear whether source materials circulated freely among these houses, although the manuscript production of the Ancrene Wisse suggests that canons from the smaller Austin houses might well have been able to benefit from the literary activity in which their brethren from larger convents were engaged.[38] Taken together all this evidence lays a path which cannot be extended to a neat conclusion, and in view of the important literary associations of the region to which it seems to be leading, the lack of further evidence is most disappointing.

(vii) Presentation of the Religious Life.

The teaching on the religious life in the Admonitio is not easily summarised, for it ranges over many topics and is rambling and repetitive; nevertheless, an account is given of its most important features. First, like S.Augustine the author believes that no religious can make any progress in his profession without the

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(38) E.J.Dobson, (The English Text of the Ancrene Riwle edited from B.M.Cotton MS. Cleopatra C VI, E.E.T.S. 267, (1972), p.lv.) suggests the copying of this MS. could have been delegated to an Austin scribe in Chirbury or Wormsley.

grace of God. At the start of the work the reader is alerted to the importance of grace not only in fulfilling his vows but in several other areas in which it is commended for its value, utility and necessity. Necessity is the keynote of the Admonitio: the word necessaria is repeated many times throughout it, serving to remind the reader of the author's aim; and at the heart of the work there stands the version of the Rule of St. Augustine, which the author presents as the statement par excellence of all he deemed to be necessary. What precedes the Rule may be looked upon as a propaedeutic course of strict instruction designed to express the spirit of the claustral discipline, and to outline the kind of activity the life involved; after reading it a novice would at least have gained some idea of the demands that were to be made of him. The extracts which follow the Rule in the second part of the work (De opere cotidiano) give added weight to numerous points made in the first, and in the case of the Anselmian work, one is afforded a glimpse of the theoretical basis of the author's teaching on such subjects as habit, humility and self-knowledge.

As in other works of direction teaching is given on matters relating to the inner life as well as to the outer life, and we find in the Admonitio (as in the so-called Bridlington Dialogue and the influential customal of Beauvais [1]) clear statements that true religion consists in moral purity within, not in a fair

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(1) Dickinson, Origins:Canons, p.175.

show of outward signs, important though it was that a canon's appearance should not be indecorous. The first element of the claustral discipline which is specified as being necessary is the "cleanness of chastity" (castimonie mundicia 2/17); the author warns that the habit is made a mere umbrella of vanity by those who do not change themselves inside when they put off their secular garments.(11/7;95/18) Throughout the work he is intent on inculcating a sound moral doctrine; and to reinforce his comments he explains the purpose behind the daily Chapter meeting deliberately early on in the work, describing how bitter can be the punishment that is meted out there, where sins are corrected "sometimes with the rod, sometimes with a harsh rebuke". (7/11) Later, this aspect of the cloister's work - the reparatrix et mundatrix of every blemish incurred in the world - is elaborated on the basis of ideas drawn from Gregory the Great's Moralia in Job, where the process of Job's moral and spiritual improvement is thoroughly explored, and the cloister is likened to a furnace. Although the use of this idea is not exclusive to canonical authors,[2] our author's application of it reflects the emphasis placed on the importance of

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(2) The monastic writer, Honorius of Autun, prepared a short treatise on the idea called, Quid uasa honoris et quid uasa contumeliae? Caminus temptationis est uita claustralis cuius ignis est districtio regularis. In hoc camino uasa figuli probantur dum fragiles homines de saeculo conuersi in claustro uariis aduersitatibus temptantur. ed. Marie O. Garrigues, "Bref témoignage sur la vie monastique du douzième siècle", Studia Monastica 16, (1974), pp.45-53. The same idea is in his De uita claustrali (P.L.172.1248.)

community and fraternal concern in the Augustinian rule itself, for as well as seeing the conventional idea of the value of temptation in the refining fire of the furnace, he also describes how tolerance of one's neighbour's faults can be conducive to spiritual refinement.

Despite the author's warnings about the severity of punishment, the early sections of the Admonitio clearly present the claustral life as one of tranquillity and peace in which all the brothers are bound by a common goal.

> conglutinati desiderio nichil aliud sitiunt nisi conuiuio suo sociari in ueste nuptiali; nichil aliud captant nisi desider antissima sui uisione frui. (7/20-3)

The author admits with regret that this cannot be said of every religious, describing how some novices are so incorrigible that they continually persist in the habit of sin, and he takes this as the opportunity to exhort his readers not to "walk on a precipice", in case they are unable to return to the way of virtue. (9/8)

These admonitions about habitual sin are backed up with dramatic descriptions of the Day of Judgement. This represents one end of the scale of the many different kinds of appeal that are made to the reader, who is urged at one moment not to look back to the transitory joys of the world, and at another to look forward to the rewards of eternal life. The wicked man's place is soon nowhere to be found (11/19); Man's life quickly flows away (12/8); temporal gifts, such as physical beauty, fade quickly (44/27); and the end of

the world is near (46/20). All these observations are part of the stock-in-trade of the medieval spiritual director concerned to demonstrate why his audience should let the world become worthless to them; and in the twelfth century in particular the instability of life and death's inevitability were given some prominence in Cistercian spirituality.[2a] However, sombre though our author's treatment of these themes are, he manages to avoid giving expression to the kind of excessive pessimism which permeates the Meditationes Piissimae attributed to S.Bernard and the De Miseria Humanae Conditionis of Innocent III, in which attention is riveted to the frailty of the world and physical corruption.[2b] Nevertheless, what the religious must escape is described more thoroughly, on balance, than the joys that await him. The reader is certainly encouraged to run the race towards heaven and is reminded of the prize he will receive for fulfilling his vows; but one does not find a long imaginative account of the heavenly home. Indeed, of the advanced stages of the spiritual curriculum as set out in the mystical writings of S.Bernard, Hugh and Richard of S.Victor, there is no mention in the Admonitio; of the four degrees of the cloister recorded in the Scala Claustralium by Guigo, second prior of the Grande

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(2a) As reflected in Walter Daniel's Sentencie (John Ryland Libr. MS.96), on which v. C.H.Talbot, Studia Monastica 1, (1959), pp.125-6.

(2b) P.L.184.485. P.L.217.701.

Chartreuse,[3] that is to say reading, meditation, prayer and contemplation, few references are made to the last two. But it would be wrong to conclude that our author was not interested in the higher spiritual exercises; although he stresses the importance of his readers' performing spiritual works of service for their fellow men in the outside world, his counsel does not admit the language of compromise by including any explicit reference to the "mixed life" which is advocated by such writers as Augustine, Gregory, Bernard and the Ancrene Wisse writer,[4] and the reader is actually urged not to imitate Martha - the representative of the active life. As a further illustration of the emphasis placed on the contemplative life in the Admonitio it should be noted the author is clearly concerned that his reader's "inner life" should be nurtured by a keen sense of the presence of God in, around and beyond them. On two occasions they are told what it is to be on intimate terms with their Maker (11/12; 21/15), and once (in a passage that seems reminiscent of the work of John of Fécamp [5]) what it is to see Him. (86/8) According to an anonymous thirteenth century treatise known as the Meditations on the Holy Spirit, this kind of teaching was not imparted by teachers of the next generation, for its author complains: Sed heu uix est hodie qui eleuatis oculis laudes reddat creatori,

(3) P.L.184.475-484.

(4) Shepherd, Ancrene Wisse, p.lvii.

(5) For example, compare the passage attributed to him and discussed by Wilmart, Aut. Spir.p.136-7.

adding that men only worship God as if He were part of them.[6]

Returning to the basics: the first two grades of the religious life (reading and meditation) mentioned in the Scala Claustralium form the basis of the author's teaching about ways of defending oneself against the assaults of the devil. Just as the cloister is presented as a furnace, it is also described as the narrow way from which the devil seeks to entice passers-by planting snares for them, a school and as a battle-ground. The war to be fought by religious was concentrated on two fronts: against the impulses of their flesh, and the impulses of the mind. Underlying the former is the pessimistic belief in the inveteracy of Man's natural inclination to commit sin - the concupiscence which each generation inherited on being born, and with which the soul was distressed as long as it was encased in the frail vessel of the body. (109/19) To control it our author recommends a variety of rather moderate ascetical practices: fasting in moderation, abstinence, avoiding gluttony and drunkenness; and he warns against excess in self-restraint as well as in self-indulgence:

> qui superflua accipit hostem sibi nutrit; qui necessaria subtrait ciuem suum occidit. (156/8-9)

However, references to the second front - the dangers posed to the soul by the impulses of the mind - considerably outweigh those concerned with the physical

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(6) Ibid., p.454, note 4. Wilmart considers that this treatise could be Augustinian in origin.

senses. The author repeatedly describes how easily demons can breach the defences that are placed around the mind in order to implant fantasies encouraging their recipients to commit sinful acts.

> per meatus secretos permittunt demones angustis foraminibus irrumpere secreta cordium. (84/28).
>
> in cogitationes tuas irrepserit coluber squamas diffundens (121/17)

Even when the origin of these impulses is not explicitly demonic, the very mystery of the operations of the mind made the control of them impossible.

> Nec mirum surrepentibus malarum cogitationum fantasmatibus animus quodam modo fugit a se, nec inuenit cancellos quibus includatur nec obices quibus cohibeat auolationes uel uagos animi motus. (43/10)

The very habit of introspection encouraged by the injunction, "Know thyself", found in this and many other works of the period, gave the religious both the incentive and the opportunity to discover in his mind,

> cliffs of fall
> Frightful, sheer, no-man-fathomed.

The author himself admits how terrifying can be the examination of sinful impulses (110/23), as one would expect, for he seems to have drawn no distinction between deliberate intentions to commit sin and those less determined thoughts that spring from areas of the personality probed by modern psychology. Without the beneficial insights of this discipline into the operations of the sub-conscious, the medieval spiritual director could fail to recognise the dangers of too rigorous an examination of oneself. Our author himself

follows the sacramental teaching of the period on penance insisting that confession should be pleasing to God and complete (24/14).[7] Confession should be preceded by the recognition of sins and contrition for them (101/23); it must be made at once to the head of the community, and everything be laid open to his eyes (15/14).

The solutions proposed for the control of the thoughts are quite orthodox, being drawn in the main from S.Jerome's letters. As mentioned above, reading could shut out vain thoughts (97/12), as could continuous meditation on heaven (140/29) and God (133/6), and tears could drown them (112/24). If all failed, a direct appeal could be made to God Himself. Throughout the work lists can be found of defences against temptation and the devil. (92/20; 97/3)

This teaching about the control of the thoughts not only reflects our author's concern about one of the major difficulties which the religious had to face: it also adumbrates his interest in the theoretical account of the development of good character and virtue of the kind which are explored in the Anselmian De Humanis Moribus - a work "remarkably copious in disentangling the complexities of the impulses leading to action".[8]

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(7) A list of the ideal qualities of confession is given in the De Claustro Anime (ed. Guy Oury, "Le De Claustro Anime de Jean, Prieur de Saint Jean-des-Vignes", Révue d'ascetique et de mystique 40, (1964), 427-442.) that is: uoluntaria, propria, uera, festinata, integra, nuda, accusatoria, pudibunda, iterata.

(8) Sir Richard W. Southern, Saint Anselm and His Biographer, C.U.P. (1963), p.225.

Such directions are concerned with the individual's efforts to control his own affections, and the reader is often addressed in the singular; but, as was mentioned above, the author of the Admonitio is also responsive to his rule's teaching about the corporate salvation of the brethren, and he draws a clear distinction between the monastic profession and the religious life of the canons, observing that the monk is commonly called: sui custos unusquisque, while the canons, he believes, are known for taking an interest in one another (non sui tantum custodes sed et omnium fratrum insidientur actibus 69/6). In urging his readers to run towards the heavenly prize, he encourages them to take others with them (99/22); it is important that junior brethren should not behave badly, thereby giving their superiors the idea to neglect their responsiblities (38/22); the virtue of modesty is enjoined many times with the idea that others may admire and profit from the sight of it (17/1); the young are encouraged to allow older brothers to feel that their journey towards heaven is promoted by the sincerity of their prayers (152/2); all the community should be chained together as one in the bonds of Love (38/11); and of all the parts of the body the tongue is shown to be the most dangerous, for it can be the cause of many offences, and pronounces what lies in the heart.(104/1)

Humility, presented as the very foundation of the religious life in this work (90/10; 93/12) is seen both in individual and corporate terms. In the account of

the ascent of the mountain of humility in the De Humanis Moribus it is linked with the notion of self-discovery. Beginning with the recognition that his own will is contemptible the religious has to be prepared to admit as much to others before he can make further progress in the knowledge of himself; moreover he is encouraged out of humility to put the lives and interests of his brethren before his own (92/3).

Such are the main features of the counsel given in the Admonitio. Its author's account of the cloister resembles that of some other monastic and canonical writers on the subject, but his perspective is different, for unlike those works which were intended to give formal descriptions of the cloister, the Admonitio is written as a response to the needs of the newly professed, as its author perceived them, and it in turn called upon its reader to respond to the advice it offered. Although the images of the cloister as a school, furnace and stadium that are set forth in the more formal accounts are present, as one would expect,[9] we may see in the use of such traditional materials the author's own sense of what his audience needed in order to live in accordance with the rule he himself knew, so that, as he describes his task, "the Lord's house may be honoured". The "social virtues", as we might call them, of modesty, self-control and silence are

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(9) For example, see the lists of comparisons including references to the cloister's being like a furnace, school, stadium etc. in Honorius' De uita claustrali (P.L.172.1248) and the De institutione nouitiorum of Hugh of S.Victor. (P.L.176.927)

advocated for the preservation of the unanimity and fraternal concord implicit in that rule, which is described as the means of reforming the religious - the representation of his new self, seen, as it were, in a mirror (quasi representatrix formula bene uiuendi, reformatrix in speculo). The other injunctions are directed both at destroying the reader's remaining affections for the world he has forsaken and the habit of sin that is rooted (insita) in him, as well as at nurturing the good that has been rooted in him by Grace (9/28).[10] Humility, which is commended as the foundation of the "inner life", supports all those virtues of community life, and helps the professed follow the rule's precepts.

(viii) Method of Composition

Although this edition takes as its title the words Admonitio ad Claustrales from the thirteenth century list of contents inside the volume in which it is bound, a more accurate description of the composition of the work is found in the two titles on the fifteenth century label on the codex, for they show clearly that it falls into two sections and presents a series of

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(10) For a study of the use of terms expressing ideas of renewal in writings on the religious life about this time v. Giles Constable, "Renewal and Renewal in Religious Life: Concepts and Realities", in Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century, ed. Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable with Carol Lanham, Oxford, (1985), pp.37-67.

admonitions rather than the exposition of one idea. In each section the author's method of composition seems to be different: although both contain a large number of extracts, the second is more of a catena of extracts, and its rather desultory progress seems to be determined largely by the topics which are treated in each of them. However, although the Admonitio (like many other medieval works) comprises a number of heterogeneous elements, its author has attempted to unify them by ensuring that their doctrine is orthodox and the expression of them is his own.

During the period when the Admonitio was composed attention was being drawn anew to the numerous rhetorical devices that could be employed to enliven the presentation of traditional teaching, and material was being adapted from Classical textbooks on oratory for the benefit of Christian preachers.[1] Although our author was no master of composition, an examination of his style in both parts of the work reveals his use of a variety of rhetorical techniques which strongly suggest that he had received some training in this skill. Each extract has been subjected to a varying degree of adaptation: rhetorical ornament has sometimes been supplied where none was found before, and some devices have been substituted for the rhetorical figures that were in the original. A brief analysis of the opening lines of the extract from the Sermo ad

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(1) For a list of the most famous specialist manuals that were prepared v. Harry Caplan, "Classical Rhetoric and the Medieval Theory of Preaching", Classical Philology 28, (1933), pp.77-8.

Sanctimoniales of Caesarius will suffice to illustrate our author's method.[2]

The first words of the source (Gaudete et exultate in domino, uenerabiles filiae, et gratias illi iugiter agite) have been replaced with the quotation from Psalm two - a text of a much more sombre tone: Seruite igitur domino in timore, et exultate ei cum tremore. Caesarius' second sentence (Cogitate iugiter unde existis et ubi peruenire meruistis) has been made the first, and from the source's relative clause describing God (qui uos de tenebrosa seculi huius conuersatione ad portum quietis et religionis attrahere et prouocare dignatus est) has been made a statement of fact with the epithet turbida substituted for tenebrosa. The next sentence (Reliquistis fideliter mundi tenebras et lucem Christi feliciter uidere coepistis) has been omitted, perhaps for the sake of economy, and a string of alterations follows: a change in number (incendia for incendium); a reversal of the word order to effect the figure chiasmus (contempsistis propter ipsum incendia libidinis et ad castitatis refrigerium peruenistis) with the words propter ipsum added to provide a link with the preceding sentence. Caesarius' term gulam has been changed to the more prolix (and therefore to the author's mind more impressive ?) gulositatem, and the word order has again been reversed to alter the chiasmus in the original so that inflexional endings are repeated (exornatio similiter cadens). The item

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(2) For this passage v. p.94.

abstinentiam elegistis has been added to parallel the sense of the previous clause (interpretatio); the original's reference to luxuriam has been omitted, and auaritiam supplied with the gloss incentiua uitiorum - one of the author's favourite expressions. Caesarius' term misericordia has been expanded with the addition of the word beneficia, and the verb induistis has been substituted in a sentence which used to read: castitatem uel misericordiam tenuistis. The first clause in the following sentence (Et quamuis uobis usque ad exitum uitae non desit pugna, tamen deo donante securi sumus de uestra uictoria) has been compressed into an ablative absolute (non cessante uobis pugna), and the person of the main verb has been changed to securi eritis, thus giving the whole sentence a wholly different meaning.

Throughout the work there is evidence of our author's skill in using alliteration, assonance, rhyme and verbal repetition. The opening passage of the first section contains some fine examples of the last of these devices. The stern command that bids the reader pay attention, (replacing a gentler and conventional form of captatio benevolentiae), is emphasised by the sonorous repetition of the words spontanea and uouistis which serve to impress on the reader the gravity of his undertaking. Equally impressive is the author's ingenious use of the cases in his elaboration of the tripartite division (derived from St.Ambrose's De Officiis Ministrorum), in which God's grace is

described in terms of its value, usefulness and necessity.[3]

There are few other examples of such a grammatical tour de force. Nevertheless the writer's confidence in his powers of composition extended to making regular use of a number of rhetorical devices. For example, the reversal of the position of the participle in: Tu autem in claustro sedens hec meditans in cubili quietis tue, gives another example of chiasmus, by means of which is effected a smooth rhythm that provides a contrast with the main clause: tarditatem conuersionis tue causaberis, nec immerito (12/4-6), whose rapid and uneven rhythm reflects the disquiet of the brother's soul. One also finds successive clauses beginning with the same words (epanaphora), as in: per incentiua seculi...per spinas et tribulos (12/21-2) and: ubi reponant pullos suos, ubi reponant sibi nexus (15/8-9). There are examples of the use of different forms of words in the same sentence (traductio), as in: Munda igitur mentem tuam ut mundati corporis accipias lucem (15/25-6). The figure gradatio, in which a clause opens with the last word of the preceding clause, was a favourite of the author. (ut non meminerit iustum, Iustus dominus...10/22-3.) Rarely does one find examples of the economical use of language apparent in such a figure as commutatio, by which there is an epigrammatic reversal of words in a sentence, but one such example does occur in a passage which owes much to

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(3) v. above p.lvii and below 2/5-11.

the Moralia: Spes cohibeat timorem ne degeneret in desperationem, timor spem ne luxuriet in presumptionem. (43/26-8) Less ambitious examples of the play on the forms and sound of words and word-order are found in the many incidences of polyptoton (Duricia duriciam 138/8; affectus affectuum 146/2). Above all the writer seems to have favoured the use of rhyming words. Sometimes this technique is used to help the reader commit to memory a short, sententious statement such as: uitam scrutetur, post mortem nemo meretur (31/25), or to present an antithesis: Quod olim cogitare puduit et opere complere animosius re flecti ad anteriora caueat studiosius (47/24-5). Sometimes rhyming words are strung out to adorn a long series of injunctions. (Delectet currentis ambicio quos huc usque tardauit uehementis ociositatis remissio, the sequence being continued...premissio...adeptio...sponsio. 36/2-7) Examples are found of rhymes made from similar kinds of nouns (as above) as well as from the inflexions of nouns and verbs alike.[4] There are many examples of this technique throughout the Admonitio, but to illustrate its application it will suffice to refer again to the opening passage where one finds the sequence: exsequamini..cogimini..tenemini..inueniamini. There are far fewer examples of rhyming pairs of synonyms and

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(4) In his definitive account of the use of rhymed prose Karl Polheim classifies the latter as "Grammatischer Reim". v. Die Lateinische Reimprose, Berlin, (1925), p.59. For further examples in the Admonitio. v. 22/18-25,28-9; 26/4-8; 35/15-16.

antonyms, such as reparatrix et mundatrix (3/7).[5] It is not surprising to find examples of this in the Admonitio, for numerous writers in England made use of the technique in the twelfth century.[6] Our author's use of it is at times reminiscent of the style of Odo of S.Victor in his letters of direction on the canonical life. Throughout this collection rhyming clauses make useful statements readily memorable, such as: parum prodest quod corona in capite dilatatur, si in corde refrigescens caritas coarctatur.[7] But Odo was not the only canon of S.Victor in the twelfth century to adorn his prose in this way, and it would seem that the novice masters at the abbey introduced all their pupils to the art as part of their training.[8]

However, more difficult to settle is whether our author applied to his composition the rules of the cursus - the system of rhythmical clausulae the use of which caught on in the twelfth century after it had

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(5) Ibid., p.59.

(6) Ibid., pp.422-4. Among them were Anselm of Canterbury, Eadmer his biographer, William of Malmesbury and Adam the Scot.

(7) P.L.196.1408. The collection is composed of seven letters. Reference is made to the contents of some of them in the notes on the text.

(8) Jean Châtillon, "La culture de l'école de Saint Victor au douzième siècle", Entretiens sur la renaissance du douzième siècle, Paris, (1968), pp.47-160. Châtillon refers to the "style recherché des écrivains victorins qui cultivent volontiers une sorte de prose rythmée et rimée et se montrent souvent fidèles aux règles du cursus." p.151.

been re-established by Pope Gelasius II (1118-1119).[9] By following a few simple rules which writers on the subject imparted by means of a number of mnemonic verses, an author could dignify his prose, each clause and sentence ending being marked with one of a number of fixed stress patterns.[10] Put briefly, the three main patterns are based on the number of syllables contained in the last word of a clause and the likeness in stress of those syllables with those of the preceding word: trisyllables must be preceded by a word stressed in the same way, and tetrasyllables by a word whose stress is not the same.[11] The rules, which came to be strictly applied in the preparation of documents for the Papal

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(9) N.Denholm-Young, "The Cursus in England", in Essays presented to H.E.Salter, (1934) and revised and extended in Collected Papers, University of Wales Press, Cardiff, (1969), p.44.

(10) These patterns are explained in detail by A.C.Clark in The Cursus in Medieval and Vulgar Latin, Oxford, (1910) and J.J.Murphy, Medieval Eloquence, Studies in the Theory and Practice of Medieval Rhetoric, University of California Press, (1978). For a more up-to-date account of the dissemination of the theory around Europe, a new system of notation, and the application of statistical formulae to word counts v. Tore Janson, Prose Rhythm in Medieval Latin from the ninth to the thirteenth century, Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 20, Lund, (1975).

(11) Thus we have: magni doctoris (/ x | x / x) -a trisyllabic paroxytone after a paroxytone (p 3p) - the cursus planus; tanto discrimini (/ x | x / x x) - a tetrasyllabic proparoxytone after a paroxytone (p 4pp) - the cursus tardus; clericus literalis (/ x x | x x / x) - a tetrasyllabic paroxytone following a proparoxytone (pp 4p) - the cursus velox. Polheim (op.cit. pp.73-83) gives examples of the use of these and eight other patterns he found in the Chronicae Polonorum (P.L.160.833) along with variations in the three major patterns.

chancery, were frequently re-stated throughout the later Middle Ages by the authors of the artes dictaminis, but, although a number of Englishmen who studied in the continental schools became familiar with the technique early in the twelfth century, the first text written in England to make the rules more accessible here appears to have been the treatise written by Peter of Blois between 1181 and 1185.[12] Thus it would seem to have been the exception rather the rule for a religious to have acquired this expertise in the last decades of the century. In connexion with this it would be very interesting to discover whether Victorine canons visiting their English convents gave their English brethren any instruction in the art which they had been taught in the mother house in Paris.

However, attention has been so far confined to the rules of the cursus as they were prescribed by the theorists of the Papal chancery; if there were few manuals about this form in twelfth century England, it is possible English authors could have learned another method from reading early texts written in simpler kind of rhymed prose. It has been ob served for example that St. Anselm himself made use of such a style in the preface to the Proslogion - the Excitatio mentis ad contemplandum deum.[13] This style was known to

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(12) This is now extant only in Cambridge University Lib. MS.Dd.ix.39, s.xiv, from Reading Abbey. v. Denholm-Young, Cursus, pp. 48 & 67.

(13) Traugott Lawler, ed. The Parisiana Poetria of John of Garland, Yale Studies in English 182, Yale University Press, (1974), p.258.

the Medieval rhetoricians as the "Isidorean style", which John of Garland, the thirteenth century theorist, describes as consisting of "balances of clausulae with similar ending - that is, rhyming in the manner of leonines," which, "seem to be equal in syllables, though in fact they may not be". He adds that the style "has great power to stir piety or joy".[14] An analysis of the clause endings in a letter John presents to illustrate the Isidorean style indeed reveals that although a few pairs are acceptable by the standards of the Papal chancery, there are many whose rhythm is not one of the main three patterns and which do not share the same pattern.[15]

Turning to the Admonitio, one can indeed find some examples of rhyming clausulae which conform with the main patterns,[16] but these examples are not often found in successive pairs in the same sentence. Nevertheless, even allowing for the fact that any passage written in an inflected language is likely to have some examples of rhyming and rhythmical endings, it is clear that the author of the Admonitio was keen to adorn his prose (at

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(14) Ibid., p.107.

(15) For example we find the cursus tardus in partes connectere: miros componere and leues discipuli: fauor est populi; but v. too stupescant liberi: elingues pueri (x / x | / x x) - the pattern Polheim calls the "o form" (op.cit., p.80); luna reluceat (tardus) is found rhyming with cursum faciat ("o form"), and pennas possident ("o form") with casum non preuident (tardus).

(16) For example: tanto discrimini, militare cogimini, puniendi tenemini (1/5,9,15) - cursus tardus; ordinis rudimenta, ordinis disciplina (2/18,26) cursus velox; and uita claustralis, magni doctoris (4/8,10) - cursus planus.

least in certain passages if not actually the whole work) with a wide variety of rhythmical forms. In the first ten pages of the work examples can be found of all eleven of the forms Polheim described in his study of the Chronicae Polonorum. Amongst these rhythmical endings there is a very high incidence of rhyme; but rhyming pairs which have the same rhythm strictly measured out according to the number of syllables and distribution of paroxytone and proparoxytone stresses are few.[17] If one takes John of Garland at his word in his definition of the "Isidorean style", particularly with regard to clauses seeming to be equal in syllables, then a very large number of clauses in the Admonitio can be said to be in this style.[18]

Our author's use of these devices illustrates his skill in verbal composition, but this skill did not extend to the organisation of his material. In his defence it might be said that he did not intend to produce a work in which all his teaching on each topic was carefully arranged as in a Summa, and the frequent use of the word necessaria throughout the work reminds

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(17) For example: uoti intentio: constanter pronuncio (7/24-5) - tardus; docibiles reddit: deuiare non possit (8/15,20), and reputes pium: meminerit iustum (10/22) - the " ∪ form", (Polheim op.cit.,p.82).

(18) In the sequence: respectus ad inania, iugia dispendia, corruptionis uulnera, uiciorum incendia, dei misericordia, tendens ad celestia, and suffulta dei gratia, although strictly speaking only the first, second and sixth share the same pattern (/ x x | x / x x) a "w form" (Polheim, op.cit. p.83.) and the third and seventh (/ x | / x x) the "o form", the whole chain is united by the fact they have in common the same rhyming proparoxytone ending.

us of the author's aim and provides a thread on which can be strung out the extracts from other works. So many and varied are these extracts that the work is uneven - its pace and tone varying considerably from extract to extract, but it is possible to see in this the hand of an artist who was sensitive to the importance of varying the appeals made to the reader both to hold his interest and draw different kinds of responses from him. Some medieval writers make clear in their works of direction that they took great care to contrive the range of responses they expected,[19] but detailed planning seems unlikely in the case of the Admonitio. Nevertheless, the earnestness of the appeals the author makes and his vigorous use of language suffice to commend his work anew to an audience whose opportunities of finding first hand witnesses of religious life in the Augustinian cloister are few.

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(19) William of Rymyngton, Chancellor of Oxford University (1371-2), sets out in the verse prologue to his Stimulus Peccatoris the kind of response he wanted from his reader in each section of the work. tres partes continet in se.| Prima parit fletum: spem proxima prouocat in te,| Tertia languorem: patiens exquirens amorem. ed. R.O'Brien, Commentarii Cisterciensis 16, (1965), p.284.

Note on the present edition

In view of the fact the main aim of this thesis has been to produce a readable edition of the Admonitio ad claustrales, a number of textual changes have been made. Although the text is presented without paragraphs in the MS., their introduction in this edition is justified on the grounds that they facilitate reference to the text and make the task of reading easier on the eyes. All abreviations have been expanded silently and modern conventions of punctuation have been adopted; in a few places additional sentence breaks have been introduced. Upper case letters have been used for all names, apart from the nomina sacra: deus, dominus, spiritus sanctus. Otherwise interference with the text has been kept to a minimum.

In view of the difficulty of keeping parallel the Latin text and the translation, no more than thirty lines of text appear on each page, presented in single line spacing in order to make room for two sets of apparatus. The textual apparatus consists of all the MS. readings corrected by interlinear and marginal additions, apparently made (as mentioned above) in the main scribal hand. In this apparatus are found a few necessary emendations, some of which are justified in the notes. The second apparatus gives brief details of the use of quotations and allusions to other works; further information about them also is usually given in the notes.

All Biblical quotations in the translation have been drawn from the Authorised Version, and, as far as possible, quotations from the Psalter have been put into the Coverdale translation in the Book of Common Prayer, this being the most familiar version. In the Latin text all scriptural quotations and allusions are referred to source in the Vulgate.

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The sign [...] in the text is used to indicate a conjectural loss of words in the text, not an actual lacuna.

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ADMONITIO AD CLAUSTRALES

1

Claustralibus

De ordine fratrum claustralium locuturi et pauca dicturi quibus ornetur domus domini, sedulo attendat et operam det quisque fidelis exequi quod promiserit. Qui sponte obtulistis animas uestras tanto discrimini ut uniuscuiusque uoluntas cedat alterius magistratui, memores uoti, quod uouistis exsequamini. Attendite, fratres mei dilectissimi, in ea uocatione qua uocati estis, in ea quasi iugo pressi militare cogimini. Spontanea quidem fuit uestra oblatio, spontaneumque domino uouistis holocaustum; nemo coegit inuitos; spontanee subistis iugum paupertatis Christi.

Attendite quid ait scriptura: Vouete et reddite.(1) Quod uouistis reddere tenemini, sic ut transgressores uoti mulcta grauiori puniendi tenemini. Vouistis deo continenciam; uouistis et abrenunciare seculo; uouistis et illecebris mundialibus finem ponere; uouistis etiam et uni uiro uos uirginem castam exibere Christo.(2) Gaudete et exultate de uoto, sed maxime de uoti complemento. Operarii quidem recompensatione tandem digni expleto uite termino inueniamini. Siquis enim uotum ad|impleuerit, retributione dignus erit. Voti enim consummationis ultor deus retribuet abundanter bone consummationis effectum.

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(1) Ps. 75,12.
(2) 2 Corinth.11,2.

To The Cloistered

As we are going to speak of the order of cloistered brothers and to say a few things whereby the Lord's house may be honoured, let each who is faithful devote his full attention and take care to fulfill what he has promised. You, who have freely committed yourselves to the great decision that the will of each of you should yield to another's authority, remembering your vow fulfill what you have vowed. Strive, my dearest brothers, in that vocation in which you are called, in that vocation in which you are driven to serve, pressed, as it were, by a yoke. But your offering has been freely made, and freely you have vowed a sacrifice to the Lord; no-one has forced you into it against your will; freely you have submitted to the yoke of the poverty of Christ.

Listen to what Scripture says: <u>Promise unto the Lord your God, and keep it</u>.(1) What you have promised you are bound to keep, just as you are bound to be punished with a heavy penalty if you break your vow. You have vowed to God your chastity; you have vowed to renounce the world; you have vowed to put an end to worldly attractions; and you have vowed to present yourself as a chaste virgin to but one husband - to Christ.(2) Rejoice and be glad in your vow, but above all in the completion of your vow. Indeed, when your life is done, may you finally be found workmen worthy of reward. If anyone fulfills his vow he will be worthy of reward, for God, who repays the fulfillment of a vow, shall richly reward the accomplishment of a vow that is well kept.

Filii Ionadab patri suo se astrinxerunt uoto non manducaturos carnem uel bibituros uinum, quod celebriter adimplentes gratia digni inuenti sunt. Ita et uos, fratres, qui uoto astringimini, gratiam uobis comparate. Honesta etenim est hec ad communem societatem, utilis ad uirtutem, necessaria ad salutem; utilis quidem ad sui purificationem, honesta ad proximi edificationem, necessaria ad dei dilectionem. Item. Honesta carni, utilis anime, necessaria spiritui. Nam et honesta actione, utilis compunctione, necessaria contemplatione.

Ordini uero ualde necessaria ab auctore ordinis sapienter digesta, a beato uidelicet Augustino composita, a quo inoleuit usus monastici ordinis, discenda protulimus, quatinus euidenter clareat omnibus quam honesta, quam utilis, quam necessaria cunctis sit castimonie mundicia. Hec est enim inicialis sacri ordinis disciplina, quam qui tenuerit cetera subministrabuntur de facili necessaria. A capitulo igitur liceat exordiri clemencia, a quo tocius ordinis obseruanda
f.112va instituitur morum | uita. Cum enim in eo consummatis omnibus que ad primam diei oram pertinent, dicit prelatus: Loquendum est de ordine, ne transeat in desuetudinem huius discipline censura, ad memoriam cotidianam redeant hec ordinis rudimenta, ne transeat indiscussa obliuione uel socordia non ad memoriam reducta, uel diaboli seductione et captione sopita. Hic ad mentem

5] Honesta: H add.in marg.

8] honesta: h add.sup.

26] MS. condianam

28] non: MS.hec

The sons of Jonadab bound themselves to their father in vowing that they would neither eat meat nor drink wine, and in solemnly fulfilling this they were found worthy of grace. So you too, brethren, who are bound by a vow, lay up for yourselves the reward of grace. For this is a desirable thing for common fellowship, useful for virtue, necessary for salvation; useful, I say, for purifying oneself, desirable for edifying one's neighbour and necessary for loving God. Moreover, it is desirable for the body, useful for the mind and necessary for the spirit, for it is desirable in action, useful in compunction and necessary in contemplation.

But what is very necessary for the order - things that have been wisely arranged by the author of the order, that is to say put together by Blessed Augustine from whom the use of the monastic order grew - those things we have brought forward to be learned so that it may become clear to everyone how desirable, useful and necessary in all things is the pureness of chastity. For this is the first lesson of the sacred order, and whoever grasps it shall easily pick up the other things which are necessary. Therefore, let mercy be allowed to start with the chapter, by which is laid down the life of observances the whole order has to keep. When in that place everything relating to the day's first hour has been done and the superior says, "We must talk of order," to stop the strictness of discipline falling away, let these basic principles of order come to mind each day, lest they go by without mention, not called to mind through either forgetfulness or sloth, or kept quiet being seduced and lulled to sleep by the devil.

reducuntur formidabiles culpe. Hic excessus puniuntur uirga et metus formidine. Hic austera correctione luuntur sordes atque uicia, inhonestus corporis motus mentisque, facies uesana, uerba dissona, leuisque respectus ad inania, cogitationumque uanarum iugia dispendia.

Quid ultra? Domus hec reparatrix et mundatrix ad omnia corruptionis uulnera; non patitur uiciorum incendia; sola subsistit et militat in dei misericordia. Efficax est eius doctrina tendens ad celestia, nusquam indisciplinata, suffulta dei gratia. A domo hac spirituales nequicie depelluntur et fantasticarum recedit malignitas tempestatum. Per hanc siquid maligni susurrii subrepit aut diabolice suggestionis contaminandum persuadetur, facili confessione deletur. Temperat quidem superflua nec sinit mentem a uia recta deuiare. Hic
f.112vb de capituli doctrina | sentiendum iudicamus, ne peruerse cogitationes in longam restem deducant malignitatis exordium.

Relique domus ordinis sui consuetudinem seruant. Non locuntur in ecclesia, uel in dormitorio, uel in claustro nisi oris competentibus ingruerit necessitas loquendi, scilicet tempore locutionis, et tunc non de uanitate seculi aut rumoribus lasciue uerbositatis: confabulationibus quid agatur in curia regis, quid in curis forensibus, aut de seculi tergiuersationibus, sed

13] recedit: ce add.sup. 16] MS. deleletur: le exp.

22] in dormitorio: scr. in inserendum indicat.

Here are brought back to mind dreadful sins. Here faults are punished with the stick and the dread of fear. Here with harsh correction are washed away impurities and vices, the indecent impulses of the body and mind, an impetuous appearance, discordant words, the frivolous regard for trifles and the continual production of worthless thoughts.

What else? This chamber restores and cleanses all the wounds of corruption. It does not submit to the fires of vice; it alone stands firm and fights them in the mercy of God. Its teaching is powerful and bends its course towards heaven; in no wise is it ill-disciplined being supported by the grace of God. Away from this house is driven spiritual wickedness, and the evil tempests of fantasy withdraw. Through this house if any wicked whisper creeps in or if one of the devil's suggestions draws you into defilement it can be wiped away by means of a simple confession. It even moderates excess and stops the mind straying from the right path. We think the purpose of the chapter has to be understood now in case perverse thoughts draw out the start of evil into a long string.

Other parts of the house have their own custom. They do not talk in the church, dormitory or cloister unless at appropriate hours when there is a pressing need for them to speak, that is to say at the time for conversation; and then not about worldly vanity or lewd and wordy rumours - conversations about what is going on in the court of the king or in the law courts, or about incidents of backsliding in the world; but only

in solis et puris et nudis lectionum obiectionibus et sententiarum uariis intellectibus: si forte ab Augustino dissideat Ieronimus, aut in aliquo ab hiis deuiare uideatur Ambrosius, et sic de reliquis antiquorum scriptis quorum institutis regitur uita claustralis.

Cum igitur sanctorum documentis predecessorum instituatur et regatur institutio huius ordinis, sufficiat cuique distinctio hec presens Augustini magni doctoris, nec suis audeat inmisceri doctrinis seudo quisquam clericus literalis per quem contaminari possit institutio hec sancta doctrinalis. Audiuimus enim et mente concepimus quosdam peruicacis ingenii discurrentes e seculo regularis discipline huius conuersationis uiam ingredi, qui libris iam aliquamdiu inspectis
f.113ra sanctorum patrum quedam fastidiant | nimis aspere dicta, quedam remissius causentur edita, suam uolentes statuere editionem, fratrum omnium turbantes quietem, quorum equidem non credimus temperantie sustinentiam in se habere, sed currentes sui furoris impetum male sane mentis sue plus iusto exercere. Sufficiat igitur ordini moderatio rectorum, nec presumat quis informationem eorum linguis lacerare, spiritu enim sancto dictante et doctrinam sanctam infundente credimus hos uiros sanctos libros edidisse, et ad nostram edificationem profuturos doctrinaliter infudisse.

[conversations] on the pure and undisguised reproaches of the lessons and the various interpretations of the sentences: if it be that Jerome differs from Augustine, or if Ambrose appears to differ from them on any point, and so on for the other works of the ancients, by whose ordinances life in the cloister is governed.

Although, therefore, the institution of this order is established and governed by the teachings of our holy forefathers, let each [of you] be content with the present account of it given by Augustine, the great doctor; and let no so-called learned clerk, through whom this sacred body of doctrine could become corrupt, dare mingle his own teachings with those of Augustine. For we have heard and understood that there are some men of stubborn character who come running from the outside world to embark upon this way of life in accordance with the discipline of a rule; who, when they have looked for a little while at our holy fathers' books, scorn certain things as being said too harshly and plead in their defence other things that are more leniently expressed, wanting to establish their own version, and they disturb the peace of all the brothers; for our part we do not believe they have it in them to keep to moderation like the others, dashing around and over-exercising the mad passion of their sick minds. Therefore, let the rulers' moderation suffice the order, and let no-one venture to speak ill of their teaching, for we believe that these men wrote their sacred books while the Holy Spirit dictated them, pouring into them His sacred doctrine, and that for the good of our edification they infused them with their doctrine.

Tantis equidem laboribus, tam fastidiosis laborancium insultibus cibus necessarius est. Sustentanda est etenim natura ne deficiat currens in uia, et respiciat quod dicitur: Qui non laborat non manducet.(1) Accedentibus autem ad refectorium ordinate incedant ad mensas; non gulose accedant. Sit eis lectio duplex refectio; sint eis duo pulmentaria cum gratia prouisoris discreti secundum domus facultatem ad sufficienciam, ne nauseant superfluitatem et retributionis subsecutiue perdant meritum. Non enim uiuendum est ut manducemus, sed manducandum ut uiuamus.

Nitimini itaque, iam deo dicati, expurgare uetus fermentum ut sitis noua conspersio domini nostri, sicut iam estis azimi a feculencia terrene
f.113rb | prauitatis exuti. Epulamini igitur, fratres karissimi, non in fermento ueteri neque in fermento malicie et nequitie, sed in azimis sinceritatis et mere ueritatis,(2) et tunc saciabimini ab ubertate domus eius qui habebit uobis sufficienter ministrare. Sicque epulamini semper [ut] esuriem quantulamcumque preferatis sacietati, nam plenus uenter ingluuiei proximus, frequenter despumans in libidines, minus aptus est tranquille quieti. Abstinentia quidem sobria multis est necessaria: ingluuiem enim temperat, tociusque corporis infirmitates cedat, honeratusque nimis stomachus cibariis in uicerum et omnium interiorum grauitatem

10] et: add.in mg. perdant: MS. perdat 21] ut: suppl.

(1) 2 Thess. 3,10.
(2) 1 Corinth. 5,7.

Of course, for labours such as these, for such scornful insults which those who work receive, food is necessary, for nature must be sustained to stop it growing weak as it runs its course; and let him reflect that it says: Who does not work, let him not eat.(1) But when they come to the refectory, let them proceed to the tables in an orderly manner; let them not come greedily. Let them have a reading, a two-fold refreshment. Let them have two savouries by the goodwill of a discreet provider, as the means of the house permit, in order to meet their need so that they vomit up no excess and lose their right to the reward that should come to them. For we do not live to eat, but we must eat to live.

Strive therefore, now you are dedicated to God, to purge away the old leaven in order to be the new lump of our Lord, even as you are now unleavened, freed from the filth of earthly wickedness. Therefore, keep the feast, dearest brothers, not with the old leaven, neither with the leaven of malice and wickedness, but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and pure truth,(2) and then you shall be filled from the rich store of His house, who will have enough to meet your needs. Therefore, always keep the feast, so as to prefer a little hunger to being glutted, for a full stomach, which is the neighbour of gluttony, frequently frothing up into lust is not conducive to peaceful repose. But moderate abstinence is in many ways necessary, for it holds gluttony in check and it soothes all the body's ailments, and a stomach that is over-burdened with food groans over the weight of the bowels and all its inwards.

seuit. Vnde et apostolus de modicitate potus ait: Vtere uino modico propter ingluuiem.(1) Cum igitur uictuum sobrietas corporis et anime sit pernecessaria, sic utere uictualibus ut libertas edendi proximior sit parcitati quam ingluuiei.

Cum autem post cibum gratias reddituri pro perceptis beneficiis festinaueritis, nec crapulose uel quasi fastidite et cibariis onerate uoces uestre perstrepent, sed argute in dei laude omnes concinne deo iubilent cum gratiarum actione. Reuertentes uero ab ecclesia omnes unanimes libros doctrinales inspiciendo meditentur que de libris corpori et anime meditando decreuerint. Sicque liber moralis magistri formam exprimat et eius
f.113va uicem diligenti in| spectione mentem acuratissime
16 studiis efficacibus fouere non desinant. Vidimus, inquam, illiteratos quosdam claustralibus operis addictos inspectione diligenti librorum de fatuis perspicatiores processu temporum plurimum in lucem prodisse, et unius dei doctrinam, plus operatam in edificando simplicem, magis profuisse quam in scolis multorum magistrorum edoctos fuisse. Ait enim ipsa ueritas in euuangelio: Vnus est magister uester qui docet uos de omnibus.(2) Sic igitur sedeant fratres in claustro a magistratibus edocti ut non diuaricatis pedibus uel pedem pedi innectens fiat onerosus, quod apud plebeios superbie signum est, sed iunctim pedes sistent. Columpne sue innixus ore uespertine signum expectet, tunc statim

2] uino: add.sup.

14] liber: r add.sup.

(1) 1 Tim. 5,23. (Vg. propter stomachum tuum)
(2) S.Matthew 23,8.

On account of this regarding moderation in drink the apostle says: Use a little wine for the sake of the stomach.(1) Therefore, since moderation in food is most necessary for the body and for the soul, take food in such a way that freedom in eating is closer to being frugal than greedy.

But when, after your food, you have hurried along to give thanks for the benefits you have received, do not let your voices resound in a drunken manner, or, as it were, disdainfully and choked with food, but let all the voices sound clearly in God's praise and sing to Him beautifully in the act of thanksgiving. And when they all return from the church in harmony let them look at the books of doctrine and reflect on what they have discerned in the books to meditate on for the good of their bodies and souls. Thus, let a book of moral teaching perform the role of Master, and, for His sake, let them not cease to nurture their minds most attentively with useful studies by examining the books most carefully. We have seen, as I say, some uneducated men devoted to their work in the cloister, grow from fools into being more perceptive through painstaking study of books, and who have come, in the course of time, completely into the light; and [we have seen that] the teaching of God alone - most effective in edifying the simple-hearted - has done them more good than if they had been taught in the schools of many masters. For in the Gospel Truth Himself says: One is your Master who teaches you of all things.(2) Therefore, when the brethren are being taught by their masters in the cloister, let them sit so none grows irksome with his feet stretched apart or one foot twisted round the other, which is a sign of pride in common folk; but they shall keep their feet together. Poring over his column let him wait for the signal for the hour of Vespers; then at once let him stop working

expediat se ab opere, et festine intret chorum promtus ad uigilias mortuorum uelud socialiter fuerit a patribus definitum. Transiens uero unusquisque ante capitulum flexis ceruicibus humilietur ante dominum eorum implorans auxilium inibi quiessencium, uel quod maius et uerius est, quod hanc sanctam domum sanctificat expulsio demonum et aeriarum ut supra diximus malignitas et deiectio tempestatum simul etiam et omnium satisfactio transgressionum. In ea enim domo purgantur omnia preteriti temporis malignitatis incitamenta, et correptione pastorali quorumdam cum f.113vb uerbere,| quorumdam acri sermone arcentur et fugantur peccata cogitationesque contumeliose, purganturque uicia ab ineunte sacre conuersionis etate.

In claustro quiescunt fratres ab omni uociferatione, nec auditur uox illius fratrem mouentis ulla exacerbatione. Quiescunt omnes intenti sacre sollicitudini, non indulgentes parentali cure uel secularis corruptionis memorie. Omnes unum deum siciunt, cuius conglutinati desiderio nichil aliud sitiunt nisi conuiuio suo sociari in ueste nuptiali, nichil captant nisi desiderantissima sui uisione frui. Nec tamen dicere audeo quod omnibus hec eadem sit uoti intentio, quod autem hec esse debeat constanter pronuncio. Si quo uero modo contingat parentali affectione de communi fratrum collegio nouicium euocari de claustro, meminerit prelatus duos seniores ordinisque prelatos siue custodes in

2] uelud: lud add.sup. socialiter: o add.sup.

12] MS. quorumda 25] MS. desïderiantissima: i exp.

31] in: MS. at corr.sup.

and quickly go into the choir ready for Vigils of the dead as was decided by the Fathers for fellowship. When each one crosses in front of the chapter house, with the neck bent let him humble himself before the Lord, begging the help of those who are at repose in that place, or what is greater and more fitting, that this house be sanctified by the expulsion of devils, the brood of ill-will, as we said above, the casting out of storms as well as the punishment of all offences. For in that house are purged all the evil temptations of the past, and in pastoral correction sins and insolent thoughts are constrained and put to flight, some of them with a flogging, some with a bitter rebuke, and vices are purged from the first stage of sacred conversion.

In the cloister the brethren refrain completely from talking, and no-one's voice is heard disturbing his brother by causing him irritation. All are silent, intent upon their sacred duty, and they do not yield to thoughts for their parents or the memory of the corruption of the outside world. All thirst for the one God, and united in their longing for Him they thirst for nothing other than to be united at His banquet in marriage clothes; they strive for nothing other than to enjoy the most coveted sight of Him. Yet I do not dare say that for everyone this is the same aim of a vow, but I unswervingly affirm that it should be. But if in some way a novice happens to be called from the corporate band of brothers through love for a parent, let the superior remember to send two older [brothers] - superiors of the order or guardians - in the parlour

prolocutorio mittere ut exploratores sint uerborum ipsius, ne nimis lasciuiens sit in uerbo correptione dignus, uel oculorum reuerberatione inordinatoque gestu plus quam deceat infatuari gestiat. Hoc quidem de prouectis in ordine non dico seruandum, qui secum portant quocumque eant sacri ordinis disciplinam cordibus infixam.

Psallentes uero in ecclesia non tamen uocum | f.114ra modulationes sed uerborum significationem diligenter attendant, ne cum uocis gloriam querunt, euanescat in auras sacre deuotionis meritum, quod quidem firma radice manebit fixum si diligenter attenderis editionis sacre significationem. Sunt et preterea quidam nouicii quos et ipsa ordinis censura docibiles reddit, et quasi innata bonitate fecundat effectus ut habiliores gestus et fecundiores in se prodant quasi natiuo iure ceteris efficatiores, magistram habentes doctrinam uel ex natura uel iure proprio insitam, ut si uelit deuiare non possit. Sunt et alii qui uelud rusticanum induentes animum nec sacra doctrina nec spirante dei gratia benigne suscipiunt insitum uerbum, quoniam in maliuolam animam non facile intrat eruditio sacra; sed eructat de pleno quod ei persuadet uulgaris instigatio ordini contraria. Hos quidem nisi respectu gratie spiritualis non posse credimus de facile in melius conuerti, tenax enim spiritus in malo non facile rumpitur nisi diuino sulleuetur auxilio. Sedulus itaque

2] ne: MS. ue 6] MS. quodcumque 10] MS.attendat
19] MS. insitum 13] significationem : MS. signum

to examine his words, lest being too free in what he says he deserves to punished, or if by rolling his eyes and behaving in a disorderly manner he is too eager to make fools of them. Of course, I am not saying this must be done in the case of those who hold high rank in the order, who, wherever they go, carry with them the sacred order's discipline imprinted on their hearts.

When they are singing in the church let them listen carefully not to the melody of the voices but to the meaning of the words, lest in concentrating on the glory of the voices the worth of the sacred worship melts into thin air. But if you concentrate carefully on the meaning of the sacred words that are poured forth, it will hold with a firm root. There are, moreover, some novices whom the very strictness of the order makes it easy to teach, and, as if through their innate goodness, brings forth good results, so that they show in themselves more suitable and fruitful dispositions, as if they were more successful than the others by a law with which they were born, possessing a sovereign doctrine implanted in them either by nature or their own principles, with the result they can do no wrong even if they want to. And there others, who, as if they were putting on a rustic frame of mind, do not readily accept the word either when it is sown by sacred teaching or when the grace of God breathes upon them, since sacred learning does not easily enter a mind disposed to evil, but throws up in full what it is prompted [to do] by a vulgar stimulation quite contrary to the order. Indeed, we do not believe it possible to turn these men into something better except by spiritual grace; for a spirit which is entrenched in evil cannot easily be broken, unless assisted with help from God. Thus, let him be a tireless [keeper] of his conversion and say with the

[custos] conuersionis sue dicat cum propheta: Non me demergat tempestas aque neque absorbeat me profundum neque urgeat super me puteus os suum.(1) Quem enim mali operis consuetudo a sacri propositi stabilitate commouet quasi tempestas aque
f.114rb irru|entis iam inuoluit, sed si consuetudo adhuc non preualuit nondum demersit. Si quis enim in puteum cadit, non facile resurgit. Caueat igitur ne precipicium ineat sed expergescens illud uitet, ne cum uoluerit reuerti precludatur ei uia reuersionis melioris propositi. Dicat ergo resumens spiritum consolationis a gratia dei: Elegi abiectus esse in domo dei mei magis quam habitare in tabernaculis peccatorum.(2) Tabernacula etenim militancium dicuntur, non enim certam habebimus mansionem dum hic manducamus uuam acerbam quam obstupescunt dentes nostri; prematurus enim fructus cum commeditur dentes facit obstupescere. Sic et peccatum, per quod intelligitur uua acerba, consuetudine sugens inolita amarescere cogit que primo fuerunt dulcia. Quid enim acerbius peccato quod corporis et anime felicitatem confundit et ad nichilum redigit?

Scitote, fratres mei, quia religio munda et immaculata(3) ex se procreat mores ingenuos, nec degenerare permittit quos in homine natura solidauit, nisi consuetudo preuaricatrix peccandi eliminet quod miseratrix dei gratia in te radicauit. Vtimini igitur ea quoadlicet, et in

7] in: MS. im

(1) Ps. 68,16.
(2) Ps. 83,11.
(3) S.James 1,27.

prophet: Let not the water flood drown me, neither let the deep swallow me up, and let not the pit shut her mouth upon me.(1) Whoever is shaken from the firm foundation of his sacred purpose by an evil habit is already, as it were, enveloped by a flood of rushing water; but if the habit has not yet overwhelmed him, he has not yet drowned. If anyone falls into a well, he cannot easily get out of it. Therefore let him beware walking on a precipice,but let him avoid it by being on his guard in case the way back to a better purpose is closed to him when he wants to return. Therefore, let him say: I had rather be a doorkeeper in the house of my God than to dwell in the tents of sinners.(2) Tents are said to be [the homes of] soldiers on campaign, for we shall not have a settled dwelling place so long as we eat here the bitter grape which sets our teeth on edge. When one eats over-ripe fruit, one's teeth are set on edge. In the same way things which used to be sweet are made bitter by sucking on sin, which is signified by the words "bitter grape", out of habit implanted in us. For what is more bitter than sin, which destroys the happiness of the body and soul, and reduces it to nothing?

Know, my brothers, that pure and spotless religion brings forth from itself its own native habits, nor does it allow the habits to grow weak which nature has fastened in man, unless the wicked habit of sin destroys what God's merciful grace has rooted within you. Therefore, use it while you can, and draw out the

longum protrahite munus uobis collatum, ueniet enim dies quando dicetis montibus:(1) Cadite super nos, et collibus: Operite nos ab ira et indignatione
f.114va ultionis diuine, que cotidie | exquiretur in filios diffidencie. Non enim tubam mittit(2) uel angelorum uoce concutitur hodie machina uniuerse terre - inuitatrix abhinc recedere, sed sicut fur in nocte sic ueniet sub omni taciturnitate, ut euellat et destruat et finem ponat successibus uite nostre. Tunc nullus erit modus uel inquoatio penitencie: iudex uiuorum et mortuorum correctionis modum et satisfactionis locum tollet a te. Estima igitur apud te exitum uite tue spacium unius hore, ne subito precipitet te improuidus furor ire sue. Antepone oculis quod uulgo dicitur de mortuis iminente discrimine tue dissolutionis: Quid ergo miserrimus, quid dicam aut quid faciam cum nil boni perferam ante talem iudicem?(3) Apprehendite disciplinam nequando irascatur dominus et pereatis de uia iusta.(4) Maneat semper apud te furor ulciscentis ire sue, nec recedat a te spatio unius hore, nec sic reputes pium ut non meminerit iustum. Iustus dominus et iusticias dilexit; equitatem uidit uultus eius.(5)

Sedebis solitarius in claustro et tacebis; circumuolat te undique amor dei et timor mentem tuam disponentis. Si non semper bona indesinenter meditatus fueris in corde, non erit timor dei ante oculos tue meditationis. Si non amaueris ex toto

2] montibus: on add.sup. 7] inuitatrix: MS. in uita ex trix add.sup. et ex del.

(1) Hosea 10,8; Rev. 6,16.
(2) cf. S.Matthew 24,31: Et mittet angelos suos cum tuba et uoce magna.
(3) Lines from the Responsory, Libera me in the Missa pro defunctis.v. note f. 145/12.
(4) Ps. 2,12.
(5) Ps. 10,8.

gift that has been given you as long as you can. For the day shall come when you will say to the mountains, "Fall on us," and to the hills, "Cover us up,"(1) from the wrath and indignation of God's vengeance which shall be visited on the sons of disobedience every day. For He does not send a trumpet,(2) nor is the whole earth's frame shaken today by the voice of angels as an invitation to retreat from here; but like a thief in the night He will come under the cover of total silence in order to overturn, destroy and put an end to the continuance of our lives. Then there will be no way for one to start repenting. The Judge of the living and dead will remove from you the opportunity for correction and for making good. Therefore, think of the end of your life as being an hour away, lest the unforeseen fury of His wrath suddenly hurls you headlong. Since the peril of your destruction is close by, set before your eyes what is commonly said for the dead: What therefore in my misery, what am I to say or do when there is nothing good that I can offer such a Judge?(3) Lay hold of discipline that the Lord grow not angry and you perish from the way of the righteous.(4) Let the fury of His vengeful wrath stay with you always. Do not let it go away for an hour, and do not think He is loving so as to forget He is righteous. For the righteous Lord loveth righteousness; His countenance beholds the thing that is just.(5)

You will sit alone in the cloister and be silent. All around you wafts the love and fear of God who sets your mind in order. If you have not always meditated in your heart on good things without ceasing, the fear of God will not stand in the sight of your meditation. If you have not loved with all your heart and with all

f.114vb corde tuo et ex tota mente | tua summum bonum quod est deus et proximum tuum sicut te ipsum, non habebis iustificationis meritum. Si non oderis quod iniquum est et amoueris a te cogitationes uanitatum et uiles reputaueris obc enitates temporalium, pro nichilo subisti ad correctionem tuam uitam; claustralium habitum tibi tamen fecisti umbraculum. Sed cogita que dixerit propheta: Iniquitatem meditatus est in cubili suo; astitit omni uie non bone, maliciam autem non odiuit.(1) Cubile tuum consciencia tua est in qua cum deo de pari confabuletur anima tua; contendat quasi cum socio de expedientibus anime tue uirtutis operatio. Cum enim contuleris solus cum [deo] solo, nulla erit tibi aliene perturbationis alienacio.

Reducat [ad] mentem quod ait psalmista: Vidi impium superexaltatum et eleuatum sicut cedros libani. Transiui et ecce non erat, et cum respicerem non est inuentus locus eius.(2) Sic et cotidie censere poteris: multos uidebis florere in seculo cotidianis adiutos diuitiis, omni felicitate pollentes, nullius nisi diuina gratia egentes; momentanee transiuimus et non est inuentus locus eius. Florere uidimus reges et principes collatori omnium satis indeuotos; preteriit hora eorum cum sonitu nec est qui misereatur pupillis eorum. Iustus autem dominus, qui nouit qui sint eius, retribuet habundanter facientibus superbiam.

14] deo: suppl. 16] ad: suppl. 19] est: add.sup.
20] cotidie: MS. cotidianis 21] adiutos: d add.sup.
28] MS retribue: t add.sup.

(1) Ps. 35,5.
(2) Ps. 36,35-36.

your mind the greatest Good, which is God, and your neighbour as yourself, you will not be rewarded by being justified. If you do not hate what is wicked, and do not put away thoughts of vanity, and count as worthless the obscenities of the world, you have submitted your life to correction for nothing; you have made the religious habit a shade of vanity. But consider what is said by the prophet: He imagineth mischief upon his bed and hath set himself in no good way, neither doth he abhor anything that is evil.(1) Your bed is your conscience on which your soul shall converse with God as an equal. Let the operation of virtue fight with its ally, as it were, for what is beneficial for your soul. For when you have met alone with God, you will not be estranged from Him by another disturbing you.

Recall to mind what the prophet says: I myself have seen the ungodly in power and flourishing like the cedars of Libanus. I went by and lo, he was gone, and when I looked back his place could nowhere be found.(2) Thus will you able to think each day. You will see flourishing in the world many men who are supported by their daily wealth, who have every human happiness and who lack nothing except God's grace. In a moment we have passed by, and his place is nowhere to be found. We have seen kings and princes prosper who pay little enough respect to the Giver of all things. Their hour has passed by with a sound, and there is no-one to take pity on their orphans. Righteous, however, is the Lord who knows those who belong to Him, and He will pay back the proud in good measure.

f.115ra Econtra. Dispersit,| dedit pauperibus; iustitia eius manet in seculum seculi.(1) Non enim uidi iustum derelictum nec semen eius querens panem.(2)

Tu autem in claustro sedens hec meditans in cubili quietis tue tarditatem conuersionis tue causaberis, nec inmerito: Vanitas enim uanitatum et omnia uanitas in presenti seculo.(3) Si circumspexeris omnia, quid est uita hominis nisi fauilla? Que dum uentilatur ad nichilum deueniet tanquam aqua decurrens et sicut cera defluens a facie ignis.(4) Sic et uita uestra cotidiano more euanescit in terra, ut computes annos uel cumules uel promittas diutinos tibi uenturos, ne iam diu protractos in longum atropos occet (diutine dispositionis in uariis casibus diuina inuariabilis [?]) et successus tuos inmutet gratia fallax. Meditare igitur incomparabiles diuine gratie miserentis affectiones, et hec meditans non falleris a merito retributionis.

Scriptum est: gnothi seauton, id est, cognosce teipsum, quem cum cognoueris per incentiua seculi, per spinas et tribulos a punctione earum tutus ibis. Punge aculeo spirituali mentem tuam, ne sentire te oporteat ultricem seui tortoris sententiam, qui cotidie tibi fabricat incendiorum flammas et exacuit. Tanto enim uigilancius a minimis excessibus utile nobis est cauere, quanto f.115rb eos frequentius se nobis importunos sen|timus

[occat corr. sup.]

14-16] atropos...successus: MS. occet/et diutine dispositionis in uariis casibus diuina inuariabilis successus 18] affectiones: MS. affectionis
20] MS. gnotis eliton

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(1) Ps.111,9; 2 Corinth. 9,9.
(2) Ps. 36,25
(3) Eccles. 1,2; 12,8.
(4) Ps. 67,3.

On the other hand: He hath dispersed abroad and given to the poor, and His righteousness remaineth for ever.(1) For I have not seen the righteous man forsaken, nor his seed seeking after bread.(2)

But you, as you sit in the cloister and as you reflect on these things at peace in your bed, will plead the lateness of your conversion; and rightly so. Vanity of vanities, all things are vanity in this present age.(3) If you take a look around at everything, what is a man's life but a spark? And when it is thrown up it comes to nothing like running water and like wax flowing from the face of a flame.(4) In this way your life on earth vanishes day by day though you count up the years, accumulate them and promise yourself that there are long years to come, lest the years which are already long drawn out are harrowed by Atropos (the unchanging goddess in the changing chances of the long established course of events [?]), and deceptive grace puts an end to your successes. Reflect, therefore, on the incomparable affections of God's merciful grace, and reflecting on them you will not be cheated of a deserved reward.

It has been written: gnothi seauton, that is to say, "Know thyself", and when you do know yourself, you will go through thorns and thistles and be safe from their sting. Pierce your mind with a spiritual needle, lest you have to suffer the vengeful sentence of the savage torturer, who makes flames of fire for you every day, and makes them sharp. For the more often we feel the smallest faults pressing themselves roughly upon us, and the more our crafty foe strives to persuade us that there is no harm in them for us to avoid, all the

ingerere, quantoque callidius deceptor noster nullam in eis esse culpam uitandam nititur persuadere.

Hoc etiam non solum in exterioribus operis sed etiam in intimis cogitationibus debetis seruare, nec minus deo displicere indecentem cogitationem quam hominibus reprobandam actionem debetis iudicare. Sicut enim mulieres carnalium uirorum feditatem exteriorem execrantes per pulchritudinem carnis et uestium aptitudinem student placere, sic et sponse spirituales regis regum adoptiue feditatem interiorem detestantes per mentis pulchritudinem et ornamenta uirtutum ut illi placere queant semper debent operam dare. Pulchritudo etenim mentis et nutrimentum uirtutum est cordis mundicia, cui uisio dei specialiter promittitur: ad cuius mundiciam nullius perducitur nisi per magnam cordis *custodiam* ; ad cuius tutelam scriptum est: Omni custodia serua cor tuum;(1) ad cuius custodiam quantum ad humanum spectat examine. Singulare et efficacius est consilium ut semper cor nostrum dum uigilat aut lectitet, aut oret, aut psallat, aut aliqua utili cogitatione detineatur obnoxium. Nostrum est enim laborare et seminare uerbum dei: tuum, domine, incrementum refectuum nostris conatibus dare. Quod nimii est officii nobis retribuit: instancie uero nostre diligenciam sibi attribuit. Diligenter igitur attende quod qui seruat in minimis | f.115va

4] MS. cum exterioribus: cum del.et in add.sup.
26] refectuum: MS. refectum

(1) Proverbs 4,23.

more is it to our advantage that we guard against them with greater watchfulness.

This you must observe not only in respect of your outward actions, but your inner thoughts as well; and you should regard improper thought no less displeasing to God than a wrongful deed is displeasing to men. Just as the wives of fleshly husbands loathe foul outward appearances and strive to please [their husbands] with beauty of body and elegance of clothing, in the same way the spiritual spouses adopted by the King of kings loathe inner foulness and labour to please Him with beauty of mind and ornaments of virtue. For beauty of mind and nourishment of virtue lies in purity of heart, and for this is promised specially the sight of God. To this purity no man is brought unless he takes great care of his heart. Concerning the defence of the heart it is written: Keep thy heart with all diligence.(1) To keep the heart safe, consider how much depends on human effort. An incomparable and most effective plan is to keep the heart submissive while one is awake either by reading, praying, singing or by any profitable thought. Ours is the task to labour and to sow the word of God; yours, Lord, it is to provide the increase in refreshment for our efforts. He rewards us for outstanding service, but to Himself He attributes our diligence in being faithful. Diligently, therefore, pay attention, since he who remains diligent over the smallest matters of thought and deed in God's service,

cogitationum et operum in obsequiis dei diligenciam non facile admittit in maioribus negligenciam, nec hostis noster quos in sancto proposito cernit immobiles uix minimis et persuabilibus audet fallere incitamentis; scit enim quia qui modicum despicit paulatim decidit.(1) Et siquando a recta consuetudine inolita deuiaueris, geme casum incurrisse, et sic penitebis.

Colloquia uestra semper sint munda, nichil uanitatis habencia, nichil terrene fragilitatis redolentia. Exemplum uite uestre angeli de celo prestent uobis mundicie, ut omnis uestra conuersatio semper in celis sit, ut ipsam in omnibus imitari conuersationem possitis. Exiit contemplatio magistra uestra; exiit consideratio regula uestra. Vite angelice regulam sectamini; que sunt ei contraria rite execramini. De hiis dicit dominus: Angeli eorum semper uident faciem patris mei qui in celis est,(2) semper uobis presentes, actus et cogitatus uestros considerantes, et sicut uos ipsi uisibiliter inspicerent semper aures erigite.

Hortor igitur uos et moneo, fratres karissimi, ut mentes uestras semper studeatis ad potiora dirigere; cuius rei consilium si queritis agnoscere, uitam regularem sinceriter discere super omnia curate. Hoc elucidius poteritis complere si

18] Angeli: n add.sup. 24] semper: add.sup.
26] discere: s add.sup.

(1) Ecclus., 19,1.
(2) S.Matthew 18,10.

does not easily allow himself to be careless over things that are more important; and our enemy hardly ventures to deceive those whom he sees are not to be shaken from their sacred purpose using his least persuasive enticements, for he knows: He that despiseth small things shall fall down little by little.(1) And if you ever fall away from the righteous habit which has been implanted in you, bemoan the fact it happened, and thus you will repent.

Let your conversations always be pure, having no vanity in them, bearing no trace of earthly frailty. Let the angels from heaven provide you with an example of purity for your life, so that your whole life may always be spent in heaven and in every respect you may imitate that way of life. Contemplation, your mistress, has gone forth; reflection, your rule, has gone forth. Follow the rule of the angelic life; duly avoid all that is contrary to it. With regard to the angels our Lord said: Their angels do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven.(2) They are always with you considering your actions and your thoughts. As if they were visibly keeping watch over you, always stay alert. Therefore, I exhort and warn you, dearest brothers, to strive all the time to fix your minds on higher things. If you want advice on how to do this, take care above all else to learn the life of the rule sincerely. This you will be able to accomplish

numquam culpam tuam priori [tuo] uelis abscondere,
f.115vb aut infrunitus cupiens de|fendere. Sicut enim uulpes foueas habent et celi nidos ubi catulos parturiant et pullos nutrient,(1) sic et diaboli suas habent decipulas in abditis cordium ubi multiplicant peccata, et fouent, et aggregant in cordibus celantium uel defendencium. Fabricant enim sibi foueas et nidos ubi reponant pullos suos, ubi reponant sibi nexus ad illaqueandas animas cum tempus colligende messis sue aduenerit. Ipsi enim tunc colligent semina que nos inepte sparsimus et turpiter composita recondimus. Si non uultis igitur decipula fieri diaboli, edite culpas uestras et non defendatis, karissimi. Pateant corda uestra semper collectionis uestre principi, et omnes actus tuos et cogitatus in conspectu illius reuelare festina. Sicque cogita et operare ut omnia nuda et aperta(2) pateant oculis ipsius, ut de non reuelatis erubescas. Quod si feceris, fugiet profecto diabolus habitaculum tui pectoris, nec habitabit in te commentor seductionis tue. Fur ubi uenit in nocte et inuenit domum strenuis obsitam uiris protegentibus eam, cedit festine, nec uult in lucem prodire. Dum enim fortis armatus custodit atrium suum, in pace sunt omnia que possidet.(3) Munda igitur mentem tuam, ut mundati corporis accipias
f.116ra lucem. Exue te seui | tortoris muscipulam. Exibe te hilarem, ut componas tibi mentis et corporis tui pacem.

1] tuo: MS. tunc 3] foueas: MS. foueos 4] pullos MS. pullas vel o add.sup. 16] MS. reuelata estima: re festina in marg. 17] Sicque: c add.sup. 18] MS. ut non de reuelatis transp. 27] Exibe: MS. exue exp. u et ib add.sup.

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(1) S.Matthew 8,20; S.Luke 9,58; Ps. 83,3.
(2) Hebrews 4,13.
(3) S.Luke 11,21-22.

the more clearly if you never wish to hide your fault from the prior, or foolishly seek to defend it. For as foxes have their holes and the birds of the air have their nests where they can bring forth their young and feed them,[1] in the same way devils have their snares in the hidden chambers of your hearts where they can multiply your sins, cherish and gather them up in the hearts of men who conceal or defend their sins. For they make holes and nests for themselves where they place their young, where they place traps to ensnare souls when it is time for them to be harvested. For then they collect the seeds we have foolishly scattered, and having gathered them in we shamefully store them up. Therefore, if you do not want to become the snares of the devil, pour out your faults and do not defend them, dearly beloved. Always let your hearts lie open to the head of your congregation, and make haste to reveal all your thoughts and actions before his eyes. Think and act in such a way that all things lie exposed and open[2] to his eyes so that you blush over the things you have not revealed. If you do this the devil will certainly flee from your heart, and the deviser of seduction will not abide within you. When a thief comes in the night and finds the house barred by strong men protecting it, he quickly admits defeat and does not want to come into the light. When a strong man keepeth his palace, his goods are in peace.[3] Therefore, purify your mind that you may enjoy the light of a purified body. Shake off the trap of the cruel tormentor. Show yourself to be cheerful so that you may prepare for yourself peace of body and mind.

16

Item. Anselmus Iohanni priori conuentuique Batoniensi salutem.(1) Possum quidem breuiter comprehendere queque in mundo uitanda sunt et appetenda dicendo: Declina a malo et fac bonum,(2) sed conueniencius existimo de unaquaque singillatim uirtute religionem uestram admonere. Hortor igitur et admoneo ut pacem seruare in uos toto corde studeatis, nam dicitur de auctore uestro: factus est in pace locus eius.(3) Sic enim uere domus dei et templum eritis si pacem inter uos constanter habueritis. Quam hoc modo assequi et seruare poteritis, si omnes unanimes eiusdem uoluntatis exstiteritis, si nullus suam preter magistrum statuat legem. Omnes unam habeant uoluntatem, et omnes unanimiter; alter alterius concordet uoluntati. Inter plebeios homines frequens est contentio de singulorum uoluntate concepta, ut dicat unusquisque non: sicut tu, sed: sicut ego uolo. Concordia uero religiosorum claustralium econtra: non mea sed tua uoluntas fiat, tipum sequentes magistri qui in passione ad patrem loquens ait: Veruntamen non sicut ego uolo sed sicut tu.(4) Quicquit autem fiat illud caueat ne umquam a bono proposito excidat.| Est et aliud quod ualde pacem et dilectionem inter fratres conciliat: ut nullus interloquendo fratri de altero dicat quo offendatur, sed semper alter de altero sic loquatur ut cor eius ad dilectionem dei accendatur. Hec ad inuicem obseruari suademus, fratres karissimi.

f.116rb

3] queque: MS. quenque n exp. 11] et: add.sup.

(1) S.Anselm, Epistle 450.
(2) Ps. 36,5.
(3) Ps. 75,3
(4) S.Matthew 26,39.

Furthermore: Anselm sends greetings to John, the Prior, and the community of Bath.(1)

"Yes, I can cover briefly everything you must avoid in the world and all that you must seek, by saying: Turn from evil, and do good.(2) But I consider it more suitable to advise your order by treating each virtue separately. Therefore, I exhort and entreat you to strive with all your heart to keep peace among you, for it is said of your Creator: His place was founded in peace.(3) For thus you will truly be the house of God and His temple if you have constant peace among you; and you will be able to attain it and then keep it if you are all together of the same mind, if no-one sets his own law above the authority of the master. Let everyone be of one mind, and let all be of one accord. Let the one be in harmony with the will of the other. Among common folk there is often discord over the will of individuals, as when each one of them says not, "As you want", but, "As I want". The harmony among religious who live in the cloister is the opposite of this: not, "Let my will", but, "Let your will be done", following their Master's example, who, when He spoke to His Father at His Passion, said: Nevertheless, not as I will, but as thou wilt.(4) But whatever happens, let him beware he does not fall short of his purpose. And there is another thing which very much conduces to peace and love among brothers. Let no-one when he is talking to one brother about another say anything to offend him; but let a brother always talk about another in such a way that his heart may be fired towards the love of God. These things we entreat you to observe for one another, beloved brothers."

17

Est et uirtus ingenuosa uerecundie,(1) que non solum in factis uerum etiam in ipsis sermonibus, ut modus seruetur loquendi, ne quid indecorum uel plus iusto sonorum resonet sermo tuus. Quasi enim speculum mentis tue plerumque in uerbis refulget: ipsumque uocis tue sonum sic libret modestia ne cuiusque offendat aurem uox forcior, uox nimis acuta. Denique in ipso canendi genere uel usuali sermone prima disciplina sit uerecundia, ut psallentibus uel canentibus uel loqui incipientibus uerecunda principia laudent processus subsecutiua. Silentium quoque tuum, quod magne uirtutis tue est indicatiuum, miretur et laudet grex fratrum. Loquacitas enim tua aut infancie, aut superbie, aut nimie scurrilitati deputabitur, si plus ceteris uerbositati indulseris. Verecunda siquidem oratio, humilitas in modo orandi inspectione hominibus beneplacita, plerumque gratiam conciliat et exauditionem orantis ad dominum. Verecunda | etenim f.116va peccatoris oratio uberiorem apud deum meretur gratiam pudoris et humilitati corporis sobrietate diffusa. Humiles igitur mites et mansuetos, graues moribus, pacientes, modestos, modum in omnibus tenentes decet esse claustrales, ut nullum uicii genus inesse moribus uel silencii uultus uel sermo editus annuntiet proximis fratribus.

In primis caueatur ire motus, aut si caueri non potest, prout poteris prohibeatur eius in malum processus. Mala enim illex peccati indignatio est

6] MS. liber & 11] MS. uerecundia i erasit
16] MS. Verecunda i erasit 17] MS. humilitatis: tis exp.et s add.sup. 19] MS. Verecundia: i exp.

(1) S.Ambrose, De Officiis Ministrorum, Bk.1,ch.18. (P.L.16.43)

There is also the virtue of modesty,[1] which [should be] not only in your actions but also in your conversations, that it may serve as a measure of how you ought to speak, so that your speech does not sound indecorous or too noisy. For it is often reflected in your words just as if it were the mirror of your mind. Thus, let the very sound of your voice be weighed by modesty, so that no-one's ear is offended by a voice being too loud, a voice too shrill. In short, let the first rule in the art of singing and in ordinary speech be modesty, so that when you are singing, chanting or starting to speak, modest beginnings may commend what is to follow as things proceed. And also let your silence, which is a sign of your great virtue, be admired and praised by the company of the brethren. For your talkativeness will be put down to childishness, arrogance or excessive impudence, if you indulge more than the rest in being talkative. And indeed, let prayer be modest; humility in the way one prays is pleasing in men's eyes and it often earns grace and a hearing from the Lord. For the modest prayer of a sinner earns richer grace from God when it is meekly expressed with decency and his body is bowed in humility. Humble, meek, and gentle, of strict morals, pacient, modest, and in all things moderate should be the brothers who live in a cloister , so that neither the sight of them when they are silent nor the sound of them when they talk should give the brothers who are closest to them any indication of anything sinful in their behaviour.

Particularly be on your guard against the impulse of anger, or, if you cannot guard against it, stop it from developing into evil as much as you can. Being angry with one's equal or subordinate is an evil

equalis uel subiecti, que sic perturbat animum ut discretioni nullum relinquat locum. Utilis siquidem et ualde spectabilis est tranquillitas morum usu precipuo, affectione insita, proposito prestanti in naturam conuertere que sors dubia pro certis offert nobis fantastice. Deinde si ita plerumque motus ire est infixus moribus et nature ut nullo modo refelli possit uel euitari, si nullo modo poterit ratione reprimi, ora deum ut quod humanitus non potest concipi ipse qui omnia potest, cuius est grauia moderari, ipse uiciis finem imponat, ne possint ad uotum destinata consummari. Quoniam igitur ratione dictante uitantur mala, excluduntur ingruencia, tolluntur pernitiosa, felicis consilii quibus possit malis obuiari | preparentur obstacula, ne f.116vb excitentur ad odium aut praue cupiditatis incentiuum quod se nobis ultro offert iracundie maledictum.

Resiste ire si potes, cede si non potes, quia scriptum est: Date locum ire.(1) Quod siquando indignitas te respondentis mouerit, et peruersitas prouocantis ad indignationem inuitum te impulerit ad respondendum, reprime linguam tuam, obde illud oris tui foramen. Lingua enim tua in udo semper manens facile labitur, nec in se habens ossa ossa conterit, nec duobus parietibus obsita labiis et dentibus cohibet mala. Sed memineris quod ait propheta: Prohibe linguam tuam a malo et l[abia] t[ua] n[e] l[oquantur] dolum, deinde: inquire pacem

20] siquando: an add.sup.

(1) Romans 12,19.

lure drawing one into sin, and it disturbs the mind so that there is no room left for reason. Indeed, calmness of conduct is useful and wonderful, through particular experience, implanted affection and outstanding resolve, to turn into nature what an uncertain lottery fancifully gives us for certainties. And then if the impulse of anger is, for the most part, so fixed in your character and nature that it cannot be rebutted or avoided in any way, if it cannot be checked in any way by an effort of the reason, pray to God, so that what is not humanly possible, He who can do all things and in whose power it is to mitigate anything harsh, may put an end to your sins, so that your intentions cannot be put into effect at will. Since, therefore, evils are avoided at the dictates of reason, their assaults are shut out, and the harm they do is removed, make ready obstacles of happy counsel beforehand to counter these ills, so that the brethren are not stirred up into hatred or the incentive of a wicked passion because the curse of anger presents itself to us unbidden.

Resist anger if you can, but give way to it if you cannot, for it is written: Give place unto wrath.(1) And whenever the rudeness of a reply makes you angry and someone's awkwardness stirs up your indignation and pushes you against your will into retaliating, press down your tongue, fasten up the small opening of your mouth. For while your tongue remains all the time in moisture, it easily slips about, and not having bones in it it wears bones away, nor does it keep back evil though it is enclosed by the double barrier of the lips and the teeth. But remember what the prophet says: Keep thy tongue from evil and thy lips that they speak no

et persequere eam.(1) De pace igitur inquirenda et solide confirmanda usibusque suis omni tempore cordibus imprimenda operam dare decet regulares, ut dum dixerint pax et non sit pax, turbulente menti tollatur quies, que pacis amatrix et uere uirtutis solet esse consolatrix, perturbati cordis et corporis exuat constanciam, destruat pacis sinceritatem, quietis beatitudinem, et luminosi spiritus iocundam claritatem. Ubi enim non est pax nec concordis animi ualitudo, repugnant ad
f.117ra inuicem, quicquid se|renitatis et pie tranquillitatis antea tempore pacis residebat in corde. Et iam pietas in impietatem, pax in discordiam commutatur in homine. Est igitur morum concordia utilis, fortis in quouis hominum mente firma. Dum enim fortis armatus accinctus ad prelia custodit fortiter cordis atria, in pace sunt omnia que possidet mentis armamenta.(2) Cum enim auro comparabilis sit sapiencia, obrizo dupla. Commutanda est pax interna, ut cum inita sit cum diabolo uehemens lucta, residiat penes te bellancium uictoria.

Seueritas uero se habendi conuenit discipline regulari, ne grauitas propositi maturioris offendatur in risu uel alterius modi statu scurrilitatis. Nam kachinnus uel habendi se facilis inmutationis accessus imminuit reuerenciam seuerioris status, dicente domino: Ve uobis qui ridetis, quoniam postea flebitis,(3) et indecorum est nos inde materiam ridendi querere unde ⟨flere
riso presenti

17] atria: i add.sup. 18] armamenta: ma add.sup.
21] MS. rediant: si add.sup. 24] MS. matrioris
25] statu: MS. status

19-20] fol.117ra: 1.13: anima mea in manibus meis cancelled.

(1) Ps. 33,14-15.
(2) S.Luke 11,21-22.
(3) S.Luke 6,25

guile; and then he says: Seek peace and ensue it.(1) It is right those who live according to the rule should give their attention to seeking peace, to establishing it firmly, and to imprinting it all the time on their hearts in what they do, so that when they say, "Peace", and there is no peace, repose, which is usually a lover of peace and comforter of true virtue, is taken from their troubled minds, the staidness of the heart and body is stripped away and they become troubled, the purity of peace is destroyed, the bliss of repose, and the joyous clearness of the enlightened spirit. For where there is neither peace nor unity of mind, men fight each other, however much contentment and holy calm there used to be in their hearts in the days when there was peace. And now love is turned into hatred in a man, peace into discord. Therefore harmony of character is useful and strong in any man who has strength of mind. While a strong man who is armed and equipped for battle bravely guards his heart, all the weapons of mind which he has are at peace.(2) For although wisdom is comparable to gold, both wisdom and peace are as pure gold. Inner peace has to be exchanged [between you], so that when the fierce stuggle with the devil has begun, the victory of the contenders may be yours.

Strictness in one's conduct accords with the discipline of the rule so that the seriousness of your mature purpose is not subverted by laughter or any other kind of buffoonery. For laughter and the tendency to be capricious in one's behaviour undermine the respect due to a strict way of life, as our Lord says: Woe unto you that laugh now, for later ye shall weep.(3) And it is improper for us to look for something to make us laugh in the very place where at the present grievous time, though there is laughter we ought to be weeping.

oporteat presenti tempore importuno. Risus igitur uanitatis iocosque puerilis declinandos sumopere prohibemus, ut dum in mentis grauitatis mole
f.117rb seuissimi | etiam sermonis declinemus lasciuiam.
5 Lasciuientis etiam mos est uel nimio risu dissolui uel quolibet modo iocundi incomposito se nimis facilem prebere. Wltum namque lasciuum et petulantem abhominabitur dominus quem subsannat uere religionis perspicax iudicium.

10 Magistram igitur discretionem operum bonorum discretiuam sequimini, filii karissimi, prophetice instructionis imitantes doctrinam dicentis: Anima mea in manibus meis semper et legis tue numquam oblitus;(1) meditationem tui semper ante oculos
15 habens, querulus pro peccatis meditabitur ut columba.(2) Quid igitur sit animam pre manibus habere, tenax propositi memoria retroacte desponsionis et deo dicate professionis iugiter meditetur, illud reuoluens Salamonis: Fili memorare
20 nouissima tua, et in eternum non penitebis.(3) Iugis enim hec memoralis edicio interpolatam non admittit alterius cogitationis immissionem; dicit enim semper sit anima tua in manibus tuis, ut tanquam seruilem personam et preceptis tuis
25 obedientem quouis deducas eam, et quasi institutis tuis semper indulgentem: nec in prosperis uel aduersis tibi indeuotam. Ait enim alius
f.117va propheta: Anima mea desidera|uit te etiam in

4] MS. Seuissimus 5] MS. uel est transp.
6] quolibet: MS. quoslibet

(1) Ps. 118,109.
(2) Isaiah 38,14.
(3) Ecclus. 7,40.

Meaningless laughter and childish jokes which you must avoid we forbid most of all, so that as long as we bear the burden of [keeping] a serious frame of mind we may avoid the licence of very passionate speech. Besides, it is a characteristic of someone who is licentious either to break down with excessive laughter or to show himself to be too easily given to any uncontrolled manner of playing jokes. For God shall abhor a licentious and impudent face, which the clear-sighted judgement of true religion puts to scorn.

Therefore, beloved brothers, you take the discerning power of discretion as your guide to good works, imitating the teaching of the prophet when he says: My soul is always in my hands and I have never forgotten thy law.(1) Always having the thought of yourself before your eyes and being full of sorrow for your sins, you will meditate as a dove.(2) Therefore, let him reflect constantly on what it is to have his soul in his hands, tenacious of his purpose, and remembering the betrothal, profession and dedication he has made to God, and turning over in his mind the words of Solomon, when he says: My son, remember your end and you will not repent for ever.(3) For this continuous outpouring from your memory does not let another thought break in, for he says: At all times let your soul be in your hands, so that you may take it with you wherever you want as if it were a servile person who obeys your commands, always complies with your arrangements and is never disloyal either in good times or in bad. For another prophet says: My soul hath desired thee even in

nocte,(1) id est in aduersitate, silicet ut nunquam extollens prosperis nec frangaris aduersis.

Potestas autem hec indulta superioribus quietos animos et nusquam indeuotos conciliat inferioribus, nam imperatrix anima ad se cogit imitandam omnia circumiacentia. Sine quiete corporali raro quiescit anima corporeis occupationibus attrita. Hinc necessaria est corpori quies indulta. Cum autem sompno dederis membra terrenis occupationibus fessa, tunc tibi meditatio plurimum erit necessaria. Ubi non auertet te a dei uisione oculorum euagatio, uel curarum genitrix distracta in diuersa uanitas operosa; ubi nec mentis onerabit te grauitas tediosa, nec te ducet spiritus tuus in inuio et inaquoso;(2) sed placida quiete admissa loqueris cum deo quasi cum socio, et concinnabis cum eo uerba tua sicut cum compari tuo. Ibi preces fundes et lacrimabis pro peccato; ibi conciliabis socialiter sancte deuotionis tue amicitias cum deo tuo; ibi mens fessa conquiescet a labore diurno, sompnoque dedita gaudebis quiete concessa. Hic iam lectulus Salamon erit, quem sexaginta fortes ambiunt. Hic enim numerus | perfectionis sanctorum custodiam indicat interne quietis cum sompno pacis quis deditus, ab huius mundi tumultuosa concupiscencia intra mentis sue cubicula conquiescunt. De sanctis etenim dicitur: Exultabunt sancti in gloria; letabuntur in cubilibus suis.(3) Hiis uermibus non agitantur

f.117vb

2] nec: c add.sup. 18] lacrimabis: MS. lacrimas urbes
20] MS. amiticias 29] Hiis: s add.alt.manu

(1) Isaiah 26,9
(2) Ps. 62,3.
(3) Ps. 149,5.

the night;[1] that is to say in bad times, so that by never exalting yourself when times are good, when they are bad you are not dashed to pieces.

But indeed, the power the superiors are given creates for the junior brothers minds that are at peace and completely obedient, for the soul that is in command compels all that lies around her to imitate her. Without rest for the body the soul is hardly at peace, being exhausted by physical exertions. Then it is necessary the body is allowed to rest. But when you surrender to sleep your limbs that have been made weary through your worldly labours, then it will be most necessary for you to meditate. When the wandering of your eyes shall not deflect you from the vision of God, or busy vanity - the mother of cares - which is diverted into other things; when neither the wearisome weight of your mind will be burdensome, and your spirit will not lead you in a pathless and arid land.[2] Rather, having allowed yourself to rest in peace, you will speak with God as with a friend and you will sound your words in harmony with Him, just as with a close companion. Then you will pour out your prayers, and you will shed tears for your sin. Then in fellowship you will unite the friendships of your sacred devotion with your God. Then your weary mind shall rest from the work of the day, and when it has fallen asleep, you will rejoice in the repose it is granted. Here now will be the bed of Solomon, around which walk sixty strong men. This number represents the saints' custody of their perfect inner peace, when one of them has fallen into the sleep of peace; they are at repose in the cells of their minds away from the tempestuous passion of this world. Indeed, of the saints it is said: The saints shall be joyful in glory; they shall rejoice in their beds.[3] They are not tormented by those troublesome worms which worldly care creates and nurtures. No, for

importunis, quos creat et gignit sollicitudo temporalis. Hiis quidem quies est in labore: hiis nimirum cura secularis in dilectatione. Hec itaque natura est uermium singulis momentis incessanter moueri, in incertis locis incertos mansiones sibi querere; uermium etenim nomine signatur inquietudo cogitationum, que facile irrepentes subiectorum animos faciunt inquietos. Serua igitur prostratus in lectulo quod propheta ait in psalmo: Laboraui in gemitu meo, lauabo per singulas noctes lectum meum, lacrimis meis stratum meum rigabo.(1) Hec enim sollicitudo utilis erit extinguende inquietudini in animo tuo, et pacatam tibi mentem [prodet] huius uane cogitationis et dilectationis auersio. Undique prospectans anime motus, circumquaque cauens diligenter malignorum spirituum insultus censeas
f.118ra in animo tuo iudicem tuum austerum lim|pidissime omnia speculantem, nullius remissionis uirum in ulciscendo spectabilem, in iniuriis suis ulciscendis nulli parcentem, omnia interiora tua clarissime inspicientem, ante oculos eius omnes cogitationes cordis tui intuentem. Scriptum est enim: Et cogitationibus tuis non est qui similis sit illi.(2) Inuenies quidem ultorem nec iota unum in retribuendo pretereuntem.

In omnibus ecclesiis conuentualibus quidam maiores sunt, quidam minores et quidam inferiores. Maioribus quidem indulta est potestas corripiendi minores, uicia recindendi, superflua precindendi.

7] que: MS. qui 13] prodet: suppl. 15] MS. prospectus
21] MS. inspicentem 23] Et: MS. A

(1) Ps. 6,7.
(2) Ps. 39,6.

them rest is found in work; for them, of course, worldly care is in pleasure. Accordingly it is the nature of worms to be agitated constantly all the time, to look in changeful places for changeful dwellings, for by the name worms is signified the restlessness of thoughts which creep easily into the minds of their subjects and unsettle them. Therefore, when you are lying on your bed, keep what the prophet says in the psalm: I am weary of my groaning; every night I wash my bed and water my couch with tears.(1) This precaution will be useful for relieving your mind of its restlessness, and your mind will be set at peace by the loathing of vain thought and delight. In every place survey the impulses of your soul; all around you beware the assaults of evil spirits, and think of your stern Judge as watching everything very clearly; [think of Him] as a man who is worth attention, who does not forgive when He exacts His revenge, who spares no man when He avenges the wrong that has been done, who inspects in detail all your inmost feelings and gazes on all the thoughts of your heart that are set before His eyes. For it is written: And for thy thoughts there is none who is like unto Him.(2) Indeed, you will find Him a Judge who does not overlook one jot when He exacts punishment.

In all conventual churches there are some who are greater, some lesser, and some least of all. To the greater, of course, is given power to punish the lesser, to cut away their sins, to lop off excesses.

Qui uero corripit, non solum studio magistratus uel iudex maior ceteris corripiat fratrem nisi cum karitate; in hoc prior ordinis ad corrigendum constitutus. Scriptum est enim: Si corripias, corripe cum caritate;(1) cuius talem me memini commendationis legisse censuram in libro de uita contemplatiua.(2)

Caritas est recta uoluntas ab omnibus terrenis affectibus prorsus auersa, [iuncta] uero deo inseparabiliter et unita igne quodam spiritus sancti, a quo est et ad quam refertur incensa; inquinamenti omnis extranea, corruptionis nescia, f.118rb nulli ui|tio mutabilitatis obnoxia; super omnia que carnaliter diliguntur excelsa; affectionum omnium potentissima, diuine contemplationis auida, in omnibus semper inuicta; summa actionum bonarum, salus morum, finis celestium preceptorum, mors criminum, uita uirtutum, uirtus pugnancium, palma uictorum, [anima] sanctarum mentium, causa meritorum bonorum, premium perfectorum; sine qua nullus deo placuit, cum qua nec potuit aliquis peccare nec poterit; fructuosa in penitentibus, leta in proficientibus, gloriosa in perseuerantibus, uictoriosa in martiribus, operosa in omnibus omnino fidelibus; ex qua quicquid est boni operis uiuet. Karitas fraterna ditat egentes, uagos facit stabiles, consolidatur amicicias, ligat dissolutos, soluit compeditos(3) ex male

1] uero: MS. uera 9] MS. incerta: iuncta suppl.ex Migne 17] MS.solus: salus suppl.ex Migne 19] anima: suppl. ex Migne 28] ex: MS. et 20] meritorum : MS. meritum

(1) non inueni
(2) Julianus Pomerius, De uita contemplatiua, Bk.3, ch.13. (P.L.59.493)
(3) Ps. 145,7.

But let whoever punishes not punish his brother only out of the zeal of office, or as a judge who is greater than the rest, unless he does so with charity. In this matter the prior of the order is appointed to carry out the punishment, for it is written: If you chastise, chastise with charity.(1) I remember that I have read an opinion that makes such a recommendation in the book: On the Contemplative Life.(2)

"Charity is an upright intention completely turned away from all earthly desires. Indeed, it is inseparably joined to God and is united with Him by means of a certain fire of the Holy Spirit, from whom it proceeds and to whom it returns when it is kindled. A stranger to all impurity it knows no corruption, it is not liable to be inconstant, and towers high above all things that are loved according to the flesh. Of all the emotions it is the highest, eager for the contemplation of God, in all things always insuperable; the sum of all good deeds, the prosperity of morals, the goal of commands from heaven, the death of crimes, the life of the virtues, the power of fighters, the palm of victors, the [inspiration] of holy minds, the cause of good rewards, the prize of the perfect; without which no man has pleased God, with which no man either has been or shall be able to do sin. It is fruitful in the penitent, the joy of those who make progress, glorious in those who persevere, victorious in martyrs, at work in all the faithful everywhere, and any good deed that comes from it shall live. Brotherly love enriches the needy. Those who waver love makes sure. It cements friendships; it binds the dissolute; it frees those who are shackled(3) from those who have

compaginatis. Paciens est, benigna est, non agit perperam, non inflatur, non est ambitiosa, non querit que sua sed que dei sunt.(1) Karitas numquam excidit. Vnde et inter potiora dei dona, scilicet de spe, fide, et caritate, hec maxima asseritur cum dicitur: maior autem hiis est caritas.(2) Hec de caritatis descriptione utili quidem et salubri, f.118va acceptione digna ad | utilitatem animarum me legisse gaudeo.

Cum igitur utilis sit et ualde necessaria uere confessionis medicina ad peccata delenda, que audiuimus et cognouimus longe sepositi a regulari disciplina, ad mentem reducere cupimus quod confessio sancta et immaculata, deo placens et perfecta, qua purificatur peccatoris anima et a mortua suscitatur rediuiua. Sunt fratres quidam regulares qui potius culpas defendunt quam accusent; plus statuunt imbecillitatis sue stupendam tinctionem quam admittunt acusatorium reatus sui gemitum et angorem, ineptie sue querentes consolationem; qui dum arguuntur perstant immobiles, diuine consolationis exsortes: sed cum uisitantur ab alto et redire ceperint ad cor de infrunitate sua penitentes, in regionem dissimilitudinis se ad horam diuertisse cognoscentes, lacrimarum fonte deducit, pectus lacrimabiliter foris pungit, utinam et ipsam animam sic pungeret, peccatique sui confessionem deducit in medium. Exaggerat peccatum, nec inueniunt dignum quod sufficiat peccatori remedium. Distenditur in gemitum, odit uitam, desiderat mortem; nil est quod

10] ualde: add.in mg. 22] exsortes: MS. ex fortes 24] MS. regionum 27] animam: i add.sup. 31] mortem: add.in mg. del. mentem

(1) 1 Corinth. 4.
(2) ibid.

been badly bound. It is pacient, and is kind, it does not vaunt itself and is not puffed up; it has no ambition,and does not seek its own but those which are of God.(1) Love never fails. Wherefore, of God's best gifts, that is to say hope, faith and charity, this one is singled out when it is said: But greater than these is Charity."(2) I rejoice that I read these words in a description of charity which is indeed useful, wholesome and worth receiving for the good of your souls.

Therefore, since the medicine of true confession is useful and very necessary for destroying sin, as we who have been set apart by the discipline of a rule have long heard and learned, we wish to recall that confession should be holy and spotless, pleasing to God and complete, through which the sinner's soul is made clean and is raised to new life from the dead. But there are some brothers who defend their faults rather than call them to account. They prefer to choose the astounding stain of weakness rather than accept the groaning and anguish of being accused of their guilt, and seek solace for their foolishness. While they are accused they stand motionless, deprived of the solace God gives. But when He visits them and they begin to return to their senses, repenting their folly and recognising that they have sojourned for a time in the region of unlikeness, they draw from the spring of their tears; outside they pierce their hearts with their tears, would that they would pierce their very souls in the same way; and they bring the confession of their sin out into the open. They heap up their sin, and they are unable to find a worthy remedy to meet the sinners' needs. They are wracked with groaning; they hate life; they long for death. There is no suitable

f.118vb sufficiat ulti|one dignum anime compuncte iam conuerse ad deum. Ecce superbia et cor elatum conuersa sunt ad deum; ecce respectus dei innixus humilitate respicit humiliatum corde contritum secundum euuangelium: Omnis qui se exaltat humiliabitur, et qui se humiliat exaltabitur.(1)

Sunt et primo superbie indicia oculi sullimes et palpebre erecte, de quibus scriptum est: Et oculos superborum humiliabit.(2) Et de superborum capite dicitur: Omne sublime uidet,(3) et approbat. Et iterum alibi: Generatio cuius excelsi sunt oculi et palpebre eius in alta surrecte.(4) Bonis uero inclinare oculos est, nullum respiciendo despicere, sed se minorem atque ceteris imparem cum pietatis affectu estimare. Humiliabitur itaque oculos sullimes ad terram declinans uerticemque superbie elatum humilitate premens, et sic ueritatis altitudinem ascendens. Oculos sublimes auresque ad inania erectas odiuit anima mea, omnesque sensus corporis incircumcisos detestatur iustus. Circumcisi sint igitur oculi tui, aures tue, labia tua, lingua tua; auertantur oculi tui ne uideant uanitatem: oculus enim tuus quandoque ut uisionem prauam deducat ad actum infidelis et perficax est
f.119ra nuncius.| Ad pietatis opera conuertantur oculi tui,
26 miseriarum pauperum compassionis intuitu prudenter afflicti, ut sit manus nostra ad dandum porrecta, quam si contraxerimus ab inope et ab inualida erit maledicta. Non habes proprium quod imperciaris

10] MS. sublime: l exp.et b add.sup. 18] MS.sullimes: l exp.et b add.sup. 19] MS. arectas 21] MS. sunt

(1) S.Luke 14,11;18,14.
(2) Ps. 17,28
(3) Job 41,25.
(4) Proverbs 30,13.

punishment which can avail a soul smitten with compunction after it has been turned to God. Behold, pride and a puffed up heart have been turned to God. Behold, the gaze of God resting upon humility looks down on the man who is made humble and contrite in heart, as it says in the Gospel: Whosoever exalteth himself shall be abased, and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted.(1)

The first signs of pride are eyes that are lifted up and raised eyelids, about which it is written: He will bring down the high looks of the proud;(2) and of the proud man's head it is written: He beholdeth all high things(3) and favours them. And again in another place: There is a generation, O how lofty are their eyes,and their eyelids are lifted up.(4) But it is the duty of good men to bow down their eyes, to scorn no man by looking down upon him, but to think themselves inferior to others with love's affection. Thus he will be made humble, turning his raised eyes to the ground, pressing down pride's lofty pinnacle with humility, and thus climbing to the height of truth. Uplifted eyes and ears pricked up to vanity my soul detests. All the uncircumcised senses of the body the righteous man abhors. Therefore let your eyes be circumcised, and your ears, your lips and your tongue. Let your eyes be turned away that they see no vanity, for sometimes your eye is the faithless messenger and executor that puts into action the sight of wickedness. Let your eyes be turned to the works of love, let them be prudently cast down in compassion at the sight of the miseries of the poor, so that our hand may be stretched out to give. If we draw it back, it will be cursed by their want and their weakness. You have nothing of your own to share

egeno: compatere calamitatibus, condole infirmitantibus, sicque tibi gratum munus comparabis in celestibus. Stricta est uobis regula data: nichil habebitis quod aliis imperamini, uictus quidem angustus, et panni quo operiamini nil superesse licet quod alteri largiamini. Luctus, lacrime, orationes, confessiones uobis indulgentur, quibus graciam dei mereamini.

Prouidi(1) quidem excubiarum quas uobis parant angeli circa uos iugiter assistentes, cogitationibus uestris et operibus custodiendis deputati, que geruntur apud uos renuntiaturi; custodes quidem taciti: deo tamen uniuscuiusque mentis status reuelatur. Scrutans corda et renes deus,(2) qui nouit cogitationes hominum conceptum ab angelis sermonem suique noticiam(3) circa statum hominum attentissime considerat, ut omnibus secundum merita uicem rependat. Sic enim personas hominum accipit deus ut nec prece nec pretio
f.119rb inflectatur ad saluandum uel dampnan|dum nisi secundum iusticiam. Iustus quidem iudex et iusticias pro uoluntate sua temperans; si districte omnia libraret in summa equitate, trepidus cum eo disceptaret propheta cum dicit: Misericordiam et iudicium cantabo tibi, domine,(4) sed anteponens misericordiam quam diffiniendis iudiciis nouit esse necessariam, petit misericordiam per eam necessario assecuturus gratiam. Sed beatus ille cum possit dicere: Tunc

5] quo: MS. quidem 14] MS. statum

(1) On ch.7 of the Rule of S.Benedict on which the following passages are based, v.note.
(2) Ps. 7,10.
(3) Ps. 93,11.
(4) Ps. 100,1.

with the needy: suffer with them in their misfortunes, feel the pain the sick feel, and in this way you will obtain a welcome reward in heaven. Strict is the rule you are given; you have nothing you can share with others; your food indeed is meagre, and of the clothing that covers you you are not allowed enough to give away to another. To sorrows, tears, prayers and confessions you will give yourself, and with them you may earn God's grace.

But be mindful[1] of the watch kept over you by the angels continually placing themselves around you, who are charged with the task of guarding your thoughts and deeds, and who are ready to report the things you do. Yes, they are silent guardians: but to God is reported the condition of every man's mind. Sifting the hearts and reins, God, who knows the thoughts of men,[2] their conversation which is reported to Him by the angels, and the ideas they have of Him, considers most attentively the condition of men so that He, in turn, can pay all men back as they deserve. For God deals with the persons of men in such a way that He is swayed neither by prayer nor price to save or to condemn, except in accordance with justice. A just Judge He is indeed, tempering Justice as He wills it. If He were to weigh everything strictly with the utmost fairness, full of fear the prophet would be taking issue with Him, when he says: Mercy and Judgement shall I sing unto thee, O Lord.[4] But he puts Mercy first which he knows is needed in determining what is just. He pleads for mercy, being about to sue for His grace - necessarily by way of His mercy. But happy is a man when he can say: Then shall I be undefiled before Him,

ero immaculatus coram illo cum obseruauero me a delicto meo.(1)

Sic et de uoluntate propria statuenda et magistratus sui postponenda ait scriptura: Fiat uoluntas tua sicut in celo et in terra.(2) Docet enim nos omnis scriptura ut nusquam statuentes nostram dei uel sanctorum postponamus disciplinam, quorum uia sancta experta a multis uisa et recta, commoda quidem incedentibus per eam: spernentibus uero tortuosa et sirtibus obstrusa, de quibus dicitur: Corrupti sunt et abhominabiles facti sunt in cogitationibus suis.(3) Formemus igitur sic cogitationes ut ante domini oculos semper estimemus presentes, ut dicamus cum propheta: Domine, ante te omne desiderium meum et gemitus pro peccatis meis a te non est absconditus.(4) Praua quidem
f.119va delectatio ualde metuenda est, cuius | secus introitum mors eterna sibi constituit mansionis domicilium. Post concupiscencias ire(5) nos uetat apostolus. Cum igitur oculi domini speculantes bonos et malos ut uideat si est intelligens aut requirens deum,(6) etsi ab angelis ad hoc officium deputatis innotiscat deo uita subditorum male se habentium, ipse cuius misericordie non est numerus expectans expectabit, ut inproperet iracundus et orrendus in iudicio et formidolosus hominibus auersa facie stridens dentibus: Hec fecisti, contemptor mei, et tacui.(7) Ac si diceret: Tempore

3] uoluntate: ta add.sup. 7] quorum: sig.abbrev. add. sup. 16] rasura sup. a te 17] MS. metuanda: exp.et corr.sup. 21] ut: MS. et

(1) Pss. 17,24;18,14.
(2) S.Matthew 6,10.
(3) Ps. 13,1.
(4) Ps. 37,10.
(5) Ecclus.18,30.
(6) Pss. 15,3;13,2.
(7) Ps. 49,21.

when I keep me from my sin.(1) And in the same way, with regard to setting up our own will and putting the Master's in second place, Scripture says: Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven.(2) For all Scripture teaches us that we must never set up our own teaching and disregard that of God and the saints, whose holy way is tried, seen by many, is true and, indeed, easy for those who walk along it; but for those who reject it, of whom it is said: Corrupt are they and become abominable in their thoughts,(3) it is full of twists and is blocked by sandbanks. Therefore let us fashion our thoughts in such a way that we may think ourselves for ever present before the eyes of the Lord, that we may say with the prophet: Lord, thou knowest all my desire, and my groaning is not hid from thee.(4) But wicked delight is very much to be feared; close by its gate everlasting death has made itself a home. The apostle forbids us to go after our lusts.(5) Therefore, although the eyes of the Lord behold the good and the evil to see if there was any that would understand and seek after God,(6) although the lives of His subjects who are acting wickedly come to God's notice through the angels assigned to that task, He whose mercies are numberless will wait patiently, that full of anger He may rebuke them, dreadful in His judgement and fearful to men, with His face turned towards them, grinding His teeth, saying: These things hast thou done, who despisest me, and I held my tongue.(7) And if He were to say: At a seasonable time I will visit their

oportuno uisitabo in uirga iniquitates eorum et in uerberibus peccata eorum,(1) memento quid dixerit prosaicus ille:(2) Caue,

Ne lingua mendax, nec manus
Oculiue peccent lubrici,
Ne noxa corpus inquinet.

Arta est uia que ducit ad uitam,(3) utilis quidem et necessaria sed non omnibus accepta. Suspiremus igitur in articulis fidei et conuersationis bone, arctam quidem illam uiam sic planam et expeditam facere, ut quod graue nobis uidetur exercitationis importunitate lene fiat et mansuescat humilitatis deuotione. Humilem etenim et mansuetum et proprie uoluntatis sue contemptorem sic diligit dominus, ut in ipsius corde mansionem faciat et ad extrema pie
f.119vb felicita|tis inducat. Ait magister noster: Non ueni facere uoluntatem meam sed eius qui misit me patris.(4) Item alibi: Voluntas contra licita habet penam: necessitas coacta uitandi malo parit coronam.

Qui uero causa dei obedientie substrati se subdunt maiori sacri dogmatis imitatores facti domini uestigia sunt secuti, de quo propheta ait: Factus est obediens usque ad mortem,(5) obedientie etenim in se uera gerens stigmata. Etsi duris et

5] MS. oculi ne 7] Arta: MS. Aurea corr.sup.

(1) Ps. 88,33.
(2) Prudentius, from the office hymn Lux ecce surgit aurea.
(3) S.Matthew 7,14.
(4) S.John 6,38
(5) Phillip. 2,8.

offences with the rod and their sins with scourges,[1] remember what is said by the prose writer:[2] Beware:

Lest lying tongue or hand
Or lubricious eyes offend,
Lest dirt defile the body.

Narrow is the way which leadeth unto life,[3] useful, yes and necessary, but not agreeable to all. Therefore, let us draw our breath in the articles of faith and good living to make that narrow way even and easy to follow, so that what to us seems harsh, because the work is unsuitable, may become light and mild through the devotion of humility. For God so loves the man that is humble and meek and despises his own will, that He makes his heart His dwelling place, and leads him to the ends of holy joy. Our Master said: I have not come to do my will but that of my Father who sent me.[4] And in another place it is written: A will that goes against what is permitted is punished: a need to avoid evil which one compels oneself to accept is rewarded with a crown.

But those who submit themselves to being obedient for God's sake, who subject themselves to a superior, and are become the holy imitators of His sacred teaching, have followed in the footsteps of the Lord, of whom the prophet said: He was made obedient even unto death,[5] wearing on His body the real marks of His obedience.

contrariis agitetur [et] iniuriarum aculeis tacita consciencia pacienciam amplectatur, et pro deo sustinens non lacescat uel turbetur, quia qui perseuerauerit usque in finem, hic saluus erit,(1) ammonitus per prophetam: Confortetur cor tuum et sustinet dominum.(2) Et quam dulcis est memoria retractationum in hiis qui propter deum dicunt penitentes: Propter te mortificamur tota die; estimati sumus sicut oues occisionis.(3) Securi namque de spe retributionis diuine, attribuentes gratiam gratiarum datori: Sed in hiis omnibus omnia superamus propter eum qui dilexit nos et lauit nos in sanguine suo.(4) Item et alibi: Probasti nos deus et igne examinasti sicut examinatur
f.120ra argentum.(5) Et paulo post commemorans que | passus est propter deum ait: Induxisti nos in laqueum; posuisti tribulationes in dorso nostro.(6) Vt igitur [ostendat] priori nostro nos debere subici, subditur; Imposuisti homines super capita nostra.(7) Vt igitur per omnia adimpleamus precepta domini: Qui te percussit in maxillam prebeatur et altera. Qui tulerit a te pallium, prebe ei tunicam.(8) Sic enim faciendo adimplesti mandata. Ecce quanta sit et quam reconciliatrix deo fraterne caritatis obedientia, quam qui diligenter obseruauerit profecto saluus erit.

Item uisitans archana mentis tue siquid absconditum et diabolica suggestione inuenerit irreuelatum, pande statim priori tuo ne thesaurus

1] et: suppl. 2] MS. concienencia MS. paciam: corr. sup. 18] ostendat: suppl.ex McGann 21] MS. percussi MS. maxilla 29] thesaurus: h add.sup.

(1) S.Matthew 10,22.
(2) Ps. 26,14. (Vg. sustine)
(3) Ps. 43,22; Romans 8,36.
(4) Romans 8,37.
(5) Ps. 65,10-11.
(6) Ps. 65,10.
(7) Ps. 65,12.
(8) S.Matthew 5,31.

Even though he may be beset by hardship, opposition and injuries' stings, let him embrace his suffering with a quiet conscience; and enduring them for God let him not grow weary or be troubled, for he that endureth to the end shall be saved;(1) and he is encouraged by the words of the prophet who says: He shall comfort thy heart and put thou trust in the Lord.(2) And how sweet is the memory of penitential acts in those who, for God's sake, say in their penitence: For thy sake also are we mortified all the day long, and we are counted as sheep apppointed to be slain.(3) Confident in their hope of being rewarded by God they ascribe their grace to the Giver of all graces, saying: But in all these matters we overcome all through Him who hath loved us and washed us in His blood.(4) Again in another place: For thou, O God, hast proved us, thou also hast tried us by fire like as silver is tried.(5) And a little further on, recalling what He suffered for God, it says: Thou broughtest us into the snare, and laidest trouble upon our back.(6) And so, in order to show that we must be subject to our prior, it is added: Thou hast set men over our heads.(7) In order, therefore, that we might fulfil the Lord's commandments in all things, it is written: Whosoever shall smite thee on the cheek, turn to him the other also. And if anyone should take thy coat from thee, offer him thy tunic.(8) By acting in this way you have fulfilled His commandments. See how great is the obedience of brotherly love, and see how it reconciles you to God; whoever keeps it diligently shall certainly be saved.

Furthermore, when you go through the secret recesses of your mind, should you find anything there which you have not revealed because the devil has suggested it be kept hidden, confess it at once to your

hostis inuidi impressus cordi tuo totam massam corporis tui ueneno inficiat. Dum enim apud te resederit, quasi in teca mentis tue repositus seui hostis erarius, crescet in te semper iniquitatis affectus, nec poterit in te coalescere diuine uisitationis respectus. Reuela igitur domino uiam tuam,(1) ut ipse enutriet in bonis animam tuam. Delictum tuum ei cognitum facias et iniusticias tuas ei non operias.(2) Vide quid mereberis si peccatum tuum annunciaueris: statim ipse remittet| f.120rb iniquitates cordis tui. Si humiliari deo perfecte delegeris corde uoto et interno desiderio, indignum se iudicet quem respicere dominus debeat respectu uite posterioris, dicens cum propheta: Ad nichilum redactus sum, ut iumentum factus sum apud te;(3) omnium se uiliorem reputans, et non solum lingua sed et cordis affectu se iudicet. Dicat item cum propheta: Ego sum uermis et non homo, opprobrium hominum et abiectio plebis.(4) Gaudens de uisitatione salutari item dicat: Exaltatus autem humiliatus sum et conturbatus.(5) Et item: Bonum mihi quod humiliasti me ut discam mandata tua.(6) De preteritis se confusum semper habeat capud inclinatum in terra defixum. Vilescat apud eum multiloquium quia raro multiloquio deerit peccatum, nec uir lingosus dirigetur in terra; uirumque iniustum lingua mala deducent in interitum.(7)

Sed risu non dissoluaris inepto, quia scriptum est ad cautelam risus immoderati: Stultus in inrisu

28] Sed: MS. Si MS. dissolluaris l exp.

(1) Ps. 36,5.
(2) Ps. 31,5. (Vg. Delictum meum cognitum tibi feci: et iniustitiam meam non abcondi.
(3) Ps.72,22-3.
(4) Ps. 21,7.
(5) Ps. 87,16.
(6) Ps. 118,71.
(7) Proverbs 10,19.

prior so that the hateful enemy's treasure which is impressed on your heart does not infect the whole frame of your body with its poison. For as long as it stays in you, as it were the cruel foe's coppersmith laid up inside the treasury of your mind, the inclination towards evil will always be growing inside you, and your thought of God's visitation will not be able to take root. Therefore: Make known thy way unto the Lord,(1) that He may nourish your spirit with good things. Make known your transgression to Him, and do not hide your faults from Him.(2) See what will be your reward if you confess your sin: He will forgive you the wickedness of your heart forthwith. If you choose to be made completely humble to God in your heart, in your vow and in your inmost desire, judge yourself unworthy that the Lord should look upon you in respect of your past, and with the prophet say the words: I am reduced to nothing that before thee I am become as a beast,(3) thinking yourself the most worthless of men. And judge yourself not only in what you say but in what you feel in your heart. Again, say with the prophet: I am a worm and no man, a very scorn of men and the outcast of the people.(4) Rejoicing in the visitation that will bring you salvation say with the prophet: Though exalted I am laid low and am brought into confusion.(5) And again: It is good for me thou hast laid me low that I may learn thy statutes.(6) As you look back on the past always be troubled, hold your head bowed down and fixed on the ground. Let much talking become worthless to you, because there is rarely no sin in much talking; neither shall the talkative man prosper upon the earth; evil shall draw the unrighteous in tongue into destruction.(7)

But you are not to break down in foolish laughter, for as a warning against immoderate laughter

exaltat uocem suam.(1) Si interrogatus a fratre, respondet pauca, et hec decenti sermone et composito librata. Vbicumque sedens, uel ambulans, uel stans, in domo uel in agro, semper inclinato capite, reminiscens illius uiri euuangelici qui
f.120va etiam oculos non audebat| in celos leuare. Dicat cum propheta humiliate mentis et archani cordis iudicia, tremendique iudicii semper pre oculis monimenta pauescens reuoluat illud propheticum: Incuruatus sum et humiliatus sum usquequaque domine: uiuifica me secundum uerbum tuum,(2) quod humiliter conceptum perducet animas nostras a morte ad uitam.

Hiis igitur premissis gradibus ascensoriis uere humilitatis ad caritatem perueniet, que perfecta foris mittit timorem.(3) Per hanc itaque, que formidolose agebantur in mente si ex consuetudine inoleuerit usus quasi in alteram naturam conuersus, uirtutum augebit incrementa deuotis, sicque deo conciliare se poterit innocens factus de preteriti reatus formidine. Scire debet unusquisque quod qui inolita consuetudine sicut lingua adherens palato continuatim elegerit, quasi naturaliter infixa cordi, obseruare precepta dei; uitam scrutetur, post mortem nemo meretur. Milicia est uita hominis super terram.(4) Dum uiuis miles sumptus dantur tibi uiles; post mortem Christi cape munera que meruisti. Noli nimis estuare, fili carissime, secularibus ambitionibus que separant homines a celestibus desideriis, tales enim

19] conuersus: r add.sup. 22] unusquisque: is add.sup.
28] munera: MS. munia

(1) Ecclus. 21,23. (Vg. in risu)
(2) Ps. 118,107.
(3) 1 John 4,18.
(4) Job 7,1.

it is written: The fool lifteth up his voice in laughter.(1) If you are questioned by a brother, answer him in a few words, and let them be weighed in suitable, well-composed speech. Wherever you are sitting, walking or standing, whether in the house or in the field, at all times let your head be bowed down, having in mind the man in the Gospel who did not dare lift his eyes to heaven. With the prophet let him tell of the judgements of a humbled mind and a secret heart, and let him fear the signs of the fearful judgement which are always before one's eyes, and reflect on the prophet's words when he says: I am cast down and laid low utterly, O Lord, quicken thou me in thy word;(2) and if we have humbly received the word, it will guide our souls from death into life.

Therefore, once these ascending steps of true humility have first been been climbed, you will reach love, and perfect love casteth out fear.(3) And thus through love, if things which the mind used to contemplate with fear are fixed firmly by regular use, as if turned into another nature, it will increase the growth of virtue in the faithful, and thus one will be able to become reconciled to God, now made innocent out of the dread of past guilt. Everyone must know he has to choose continually out of ingrained habit, like the tongue sticking to the roof of the mouth, to observe God's commandments as if they were naturally imprinted on his heart. Let him examine his life: after death no man is entitled to do so. The life of man on earth is a battle.(4) When you live as a soldier you are given poor pay; after death take the rewards of Christ which you have earned. Do not, my dearest son, burn excessively with worldly ambitions which part men from their longing for heaven, for such enticements call

f.120vb illecebre spiritum reuocant a | celestium cupiditate. Vitula Effraim[1] olim assueta triture plerumque ad eundem laboris usum non conpulsa consueuit redire. Absinzium bibitum salutis causa promerende, amarum quidem haustum iuuat infirmitatis causa tollende. Sic et homines peruersi [propter] mundi gloriam tribulationibus et angustiis et sudoribus libenter afflicti, grauium laborum iugo deuotissime colla submittunt. Non querunt a deo meritum, sufficit eis ad presens pro merito fatigatio temporalis rerum temporalium. Hoc iugo pressis dominus discipulis suis ammouere ab eis uolens iugum seruitutis compassione immoderati laboris ait: Venite ad me omnes qui laboratis et honerati estis, et ego uos reficiam.[2] Verba domini multiplex consolatio et instructio est discipuli.

Si igitur omnia apud uos fiant cum mensura, erunt deo uirisque sanctis et prelatis uestris plurimum placitura. Vnde et internis legisse me memini uerba hiis concinna, scilicet: uersa est in luctum cithara mea, et organum meum in uocem flencium.[3] Per hec duo igitur instrumenta sonus predicancium et recta operatio bene uiuencium designatur. Insinuatio etenim et doctrina predicantium ad uitam nos inuitat discretorum in
f.121ra claustro commorancium, quam si rexeris ad discretorum arbitrium, nec ultra mensuram nec citra distinguetur uita tua; sed conuersato iuris ordine per omnia dirigetur cursus mentis tue per auia et

7] propter: suppl.

(1) v.Hosea 10,11.
(2) S.Matthew 11,28.
(3) Job 30,31. The interpretation of the verse is S.Gregory's. Moralia in Job, Bk.20,41.78.

back the spirit from its desire to be in heaven. Once the heifer Ephraim[1] had grown used to threshing it was not in the habit of going back to its former toil even when driven to it. Wormwood is drunk to promote good health; a bitter draught it is indeed, which helps relieve sickness. In the same way wicked men are willingly afflicted by troubles, deprivation and heavy labour all for glory in this world, and they bend their necks most eagerly to the yoke of hard work. They look for no reward from God; it is enough for them that they are fatigued a short while to get their reward now in this world. To His disciples who are pressed down by this yoke Our Lord, wanting to take from them the yoke of servitude and out of compassion for their excessive toil, says: Come unto me all ye who labour and are heavy laden, and I shall refresh you.[2] Our Lord's words bring His disciple manifold comfort and instruction.

Therefore, if all things among you are done in moderation, they will please God, holy men and, above all, your superiors. Wherefore, I recall reading some words relating to these aspects of the inner life which say: My harp also is turned to mourning, and my organ into the voice of them that weep.[3] These two musical instruments signify the sound made by preachers and the upright conduct of men who live good lives. The preachers' teaching and doctrine call us to the life of those who are set apart and living in the cloister, and if you live in accordance with the decision of those who are set apart, your life will be distinguished for neither going beyond the mean nor falling short of it. But living by the order of law, the course of your mind will be directed through all things: through the

inuia consolationis diuine. Sic igitur in claustro uitam te ducere oportet moderatam in omnibus, ut ne quid nimis prepropere mentis tue uel suggestionis aliene agas indiscrete. Sic equm tuum moderare ut nil desit ei in uictualibus quominus possit currere; sic effrenem, sic ultra modum furentem loris cohibe, ut subiciatur uoluntati tue. Hoc iccirco dixerim, per equm designando corporis tui sustentamentum, ne desit corpori alimentum uel sustentationis congrue secundum ordinem moderate consuetudinis suplementum. Sufficiant corpori necessaria; tollatur omnis superstitionis superfluitas uniuersa.

Vigilanter itaque mens continue sit sollicita, ut numquam ab intentione relaxetur superna. Sedet enim aduersarius noster in ocultis et cogitationibus fluxis ut interficiat innocentem, inpreditatumque aggrediatur in mollibus stramentis iacentem. Erigendusque est animus; omni cautela fugiatur ultronee se offerens ocultis insidiis manifestus inimicus. Hinc et Abacuc propheta, f.121rb custos assiduus interne | quietis sue, inquid: Super custodiam meam uigilabo.(1) Item alius: Statue tibi speculam, appone amaritudinem qui euuangelizas Syon.(2) Hinc et Salamon: Beatus uir qui semper est pauidus,(3) qui autem dure sentit corruet in malum. Et iterum: Vniuscuiusque ensis super femur suum propter nocturnos timores.(4)

Nocturni quippe timores sunt insidie inimici

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(1) Habakkuk 2,1. (Vg. stabo pro uigilabo)
(2) Jeremiah 31,21.
(3) Proverbs 28,14. (Vg. Beatus homo qui semper est pauidus: qui uero mentis est dure, corruet in malum.)
(4) Song of Songs 3,8.

wilderness and pathless ways of God's comfort. Accordingly, in the cloister you must lead a life that is moderate in all things, so that you do not unwisely do anything that comes too hastily into your mind, or something which someone else suggests. Control your horse so that it does not go short of food, thus stopping it from being fit to run. Thus control it when it is unbridled; thus restrain it with the reins when it races beyond the limits, so that you are able to subdue it to your own will. I have said this, signifying by a horse the sustenance of your body, in order that your body will not go short of food or a supplement of suitable nourishment, in so far as a moderate custom permit. Let what your body needs suffice, and set aside all the surplus of every false notion.

Thus, vigilantly keep your mind always alert, so that its sights are never turned away from heaven. For our adversary sits in hidden and disordered thoughts to slay the innocent and attack the unsuspecting while he is lying on his soft mattress. Your mind must be kept alert. Take every precaution to escape your manifest enemy who deliberately presents himself in hidden traps. On this matter the prophet Habakkuk, who himself maintained a constant defence of his own inner peace, says: I will keep awake upon my watch.(1) Again, another prophet says: Set up for yourself a watch, and set bitterness before you who bring news to Sion.(2) And concerning this Solomon says: Happy is the man that feareth alway, but he that hardeneth his heart shall fall into mischief.(3) And again: Everyman hath his sword upon his thigh because of fear in the night.(4) Fears in the night, of course, are the hidden snares of the enemy, to destroy which you must mount a watchful

latentes, quibus extinguendis uigil[is] custodia adhibenda est, et repentine suggestioni gladius biceps nostrum femur premat, et timore dei mentes sic agitet ut semper sint suspecte temptatoris insidie. Hinc et psalmista: Seruite domino in timore, exultate ei cum tremore,(1) ut et de spe oriatur exultatio et de suspitione creberrima nascatur mens formidolosa. Hinc et psalmista: Letetur cor meum ut timeat nomen tuum,(2) non quidem securum, sed letetur ut sit timorosum.

Veruntamen cum uir sanctus anelet ad alta uirtutum, caueat illud Salamonis prouerbium: Per agrum hominis pigri transiui, et per uineam uiri stulti; et ecce totam repleuerant urtice, operuerant faciem eius spine, et maceria lapidum destructa est.(3) Per agrum hominis pigri et per uineam uiri stulti transire est cuiuslibet uitam f.121va negligentis in|spicere et diligenter opera eius considerare. Quod urtice uel spine replent omnia, in cordibus etenim negligencium pruriencia terrena desideria et punctiones pullulant uiciorum, ab auctore percipimus quod omnis osciosus in desideriis subsistit. Maceria quippe lapidum destructa est: id est disciplina patrum precedencium iam dissoluta est ad nichilum. Quod cum uidissem, statui in corde meo reuocare disciplinam.(4) Rupto etenim muro hosti patet ingressus denuo, quem inclausum obseraueris cito. Patebit spiritibus inmundis praueque persuasionis callide susurrio, municionique discipline parieti

3] nostrum: bis scr.et del. 16] est: MS.erit
22] percipimus: MS. precipimus 27] muro: MS. uiro (?)

(1) Ps. 2,11.
(2) Ps. 85,11.
(3) Proverbs 24,30.
(4) cf.Proverbs 24,32.(Vg. Quod cum uidissem, posui in corde meo, et exemplo didici disciplinam.)

guard; for sudden temptation let a two edged sword lie on your thigh, and let it so unsettle our minds with the fear of God that they are suspicious at all times of the snares of the tempter. With regard to this the psalmist says: Serve the Lord in fear, and rejoice unto Him with trembling,(1) so that out of hope there may rise rejoicing, and out of habitual suspicion may be born a mind which is full of fear. On this point the psalmist says: Let my heart rejoice that it may fear thy name,(2) that is not to say so it will be secure, but, let it rejoice so that it may be full of fear.

However, when a holy man thirsts for the highest virtues, let him take heed of the warning which is given in that proverb of Solomon: I went by the field of the slothful and by the vineyard of the man void of understanding. And lo, it was all grown over with nettles, and thorns had covered the face thereof, and the stone wall thereof was broken down.(3) To go by the field of the slothful and by the vineyard of the man void of understanding is to look at the life of a careless man and to consider carefully what work he has done. Since everything is full of nettles and thorns, for indeed in the hearts of careless men there grow earthly lusts which tickle and vices that sting, we understand from our author that all idle men live after their lusts. And indeed, the wall of stones is destroyed, which is to say the practice of the Fathers who came before us has been utterly destroyed. When I had seen this I resolved in my heart to revive their practice.(4) For once the wall is breached, the way lies open to the enemy again, and you must swiftly stop it up. The way will lie open to unclean spirits and the whisper of cunning and wicked temptation, and once the

discisso, rimeque modice iniciet se turba satellitum reproborum, tanquam parieti inclinato et macerie depulse, sic igitur uacillanti anime et inconsiderate. Vigor uirtutis dissoluitur in corde, ante quorum oculos habentur etiam despectui que prius placuere, sordentque omnia prius delectabilia eccecata iam cordis ebitudine. Hos lapidandos decernimus bouis stercore qui transitoria preponunt eterne uite que iusti uelud stercora reputant, et rerum temporalium atteruntur percussione. Dum enim terrenis inhiant, deflux|it sicut aqua decurrens spiritus uehementer accensus; sed postea a deo uisitatus, iam conuersus ociositate et tedio iam affectus ad discretionis regulam reuertendo reducitur arcius cum se a contemplatione diuinorum cecidisse uidebatur deiectius.

Attendite, fratres karissimi, et mentibus diligenter accensis imprimite uerba euuangelii que suscitant et excitant sompnolenciam cordis uestri. Excutimini de puluere secularis feculencie, et mementote quid dicat series lectionis euuangelice: Qui reliquerit patrem et matrem, fratres et sorores, uineas et agros, mentem etiam propriam in hac uita opposuerit discrimini propter me, centuplum hic accipiet et in futuros uitam eternam possidebit.(1) Ecce quanta delectatio accendendi spiritus ad deum, sequestrande mentis a seculi uanitate, currendi ad celestia cum omni cordis deuotione. Currite dum tempus est, nullius

f.121vb

9] que: e add.sup. 15] contemplatione: i add.sup.

(1) S.Mark 10,29-30.

wall - the bulwark of [the Fathers'] teaching, is breached, a throng of vile attendants will squeeze through the small crack, just as if the wall had given way and the whole structure had toppled down; and in this way it will reach the wavering and irresolute soul. The power of virtue is destroyed in the hearts of them whose eyes now hold in contempt things that used to give them pleasure, and all that was formerly enjoyable now seems worthless since they have grown blind through the dullness of their hearts. We believe they should be be pelted with cow dung who set before eternal life everything transient, which the righteous count as dung and which is worn away by this world's buffeting. While they long for worldly things their fiercely inflamed spirits flow away like running water, but when they are visited by God, at one moment they are turned from their idleness, and at another they are afflicted with weariness. When they seemed to have fallen far away from the contemplation of God, they are firmly led back by returning to the rule of moderation.

Pay attention, beloved brothers, and imprint on minds you have diligently kindled the words of the Gospel which stir up and rouse your hearts from slumber. Shake off from them the dust of worldly filth, and remember the message of the Gospel reading: <u>Whoever leaves father and mother, brothers and sisters, vineyards and fields, and even goes against his own mind in deciding to follow me in this life, shall receive an hundredfold now in this world, and in the world to come he shall have eternal life</u>.[1] See what great joy there is in kindling the spirit for God, in turning the mind away from the vanity of this world, in running towards heaven with all the devotion of one's heart. Run while there is still time, while you are not

remissionis uel tarditatis spiritu fatigati. Delectet currentis ambicio quos huc usque tardauit uehemens ociositatis remissio; cursum expediat incentiue felicitatis premissio; presentis uite pungat animos sancti uoti fidelis adeptio, necnon et future inestimabilis et incomparabilis sacra
f.122ra spon|sio. Quis enim sperauit in domino et confusus est? Permansit in mandatis eius et derelictus est? Quis iustus inuocauit illum et non exauditus est? Vnde et beatus Iob in sequentibus ait: Non fuit qui conferret auxilium nisi deus omnipotens;(1) qui quos in eternum diligit ab eorum uehementi custodia quandoque secedit. Vnde scriptum est: Ad punctum in modico dereliqui te, et in miserationibus magnis congregabo te. In momento indignationis absconsi faciem meam a te, et in misericordia sempiterna misertus sum tui.(2) Hinc et psalmista suplex precatur: Non me derelinquas usquequaque domine.(3) Derelinquendum igitur esse modicum posse utiliter nouerat qui nec usquequaque relinqueretur petebat. Sanctos etenim suos dominus redeundo adiuuat; derelinquendo probat; donis potioribus firmat; tribulationibus affectos temptat. Vnde recte per quendam sapientem dicitur: In primis elegit eum, deinde timorem et metum et probationem inducet super illum.(4) Lectio diuina sepius repetita, fratres karissimi, nos ammonet et sompnolentos increpat ne desperationis frangamur accidia, ac deinde terret ne uentilet nos intensa superbia.

5] MS. pugnat 13] in: add.sup. 16] sempiterna: i add.sup.

(1) Job 30,13.
(2) Isaiah 54,7-8.
(3) Ps. 118,8.
(4) Ecclus. 4,18.

hampered by the spirit of tardiness or slackness. Take delight in running the course, you who up till now have been slowed down by the fierce inertia of idleness. Let the foretaste of the joy to come spur you on your way. Let the faithful completion of your sacred vow spur on your minds in this present life; likewise the incalculable and incomparable sacred reward in the future. For who has put his trust in the Lord and been confounded? Who has dwelt in His commandments and been forsaken? What righteous man has called upon Him and has not been heard? Wherefore Blessed Job says: There is none that giveth help save Almighty God,(1) who sometimes withdraws His mighty protection from those He loves for all eternity. This is why it is written: For a small moment have I forsaken thee, but with great mercies will I gather thee. In a little wrath I hid my face from thee for a moment, but with everlasting kindness will I have mercy on thee.(2) For this reason the suppliant prophet begs: Do not forsake me utterly, O Lord.(3) Therefore, in seeking not to be utterly forsaken he knew that he could be left to good effect for a little while, for indeed the Lord helps His saints when He returns to them; He puts them to the test when He goes away from them. He strengthens them with great gifts; those smitten with troubles He is putting to the test. Wherefore some wise man rightly says: In the beginning He chose him, and then He shall bring fear, dread and a trial upon him.(4) Prayerful reading repeated again and again, beloved brothers, upbraids us and chides when we are inattentive, lest the accidie of despair breaks us, and then it strikes fear into us lest we should be inflamed by intense pride.

f.122rb Anteposita est nobis diuersitas uia|rum: dextra scilicet et sinistra. Eligamus quam sequamur uiam ueritatis, relinquentes ipsius obligationem in qua regnat inimicus noster, deuiare faciens a uia recta, tendens laqueos commeantibus ut exorbitent a uia recta. Viam autem ueritatis ad se directam observans dominus inquid: Ego sum uia ueritatis et uita.(1) Securi igitur ambulate in uia, sed insidias timeatis iuxta. Nam inimicus humani generis, non audens malignari in uia, secus uiam non desinit pedicas tendere pretereuntibus, habitans in abditis sicut leo in spelunca sua. Vnde in psalmo: Iuxta iter scandalum posuerunt mihi.(2)

Vos igitur et alios claustrum ingredientes monet et alia scriptura: Memento quia in medio laqueorum ingredieris(3) et per uiam angustam transibis. Caue ne obruaris inimici latentis insidiis. Hii non tenduntur in uia recta in qua non torpent in securitate exultationis recti, sed exorbitantes a recto in insidiis intercipiuntur iniqui. Quid formidas? Quid metuis si in uia ambulaueris? Time tamen fortiter incedens ne uiam deseras, plures enim habes insidiantes qui anticipabunt gressus tuos. Sit igitur uia tua
f.122va humilis | Christus, ueritas et uita, in cuius
26 humilitate ambulans penetrabis excelsa. Humilis ne spernas humilem, humilitate etenim maxima indigebit infirmitas tua. Infirmaris, eges medico; egrotaris, cum non possis ad medicum accedere, ecce importunum

6] MS. ueritas 28] MS. Infirmari

(1) S.John 14,6.
(2) Ps. 139,6.
(3) Eccles. 9,20.

A choice of two paths is set before us, that is to say the right and the left. Let us choose to follow the path of truth, leaving behind the snare of the path where the enemy holds sway, who makes us stray from the right path by stretching out his snares for the passers by to turn them aside from the right path. But our Lord shows us that the path of truth is directed to Him, saying: I am the Way, the Truth and the Life.(1) Walk in confidence along the path, therefore, but be afraid of the ambushes which are close by it, for although the enemy of mankind does not dare do any harm on the path itself, he never stops stretching out his snares along the path for those who pass by, and he lives like a lion in its den. On account of this it says in the psalm: They have set a trap for me in my way.(2)

Therefore, you and others who come into the cloister are warned by another text of Scripture too, which says: Remember thou goest about into the midst of snares,(3) and you will pass through a narrow way. Take care the ambushes of the hidden foe do not overwhelm you. They are not stretched along the right path on which the righteous do not grow weary in the safety of their rejoicing, but as the wicked stray from the right path they are cut off by the ambushes. What are you afraid of? What need is there to fear, so long as you keep to the path? Nevertheless, as you march forth boldly, be afraid that you do not abandon the path, for there are many lying in wait who anticipate your footsteps. Therefore let your way be the humble Christ, the Truth and the Life, and by walking in His lowliness you shall enter into the heights above. Being humble do not despise the humble, for you will stand in need of the greatest humility on account of your infirmity. When you are ill, you need a doctor; when you are sick and you cannot get to the doctor, see, although it is inconvenient, He comes to you, bringing with Him His

se ingerit ad te, saccum deferens plenum humilitate quo mederi possit tibi in hac infirmitate. Superbia inuasit te uel aliene rei titillatio funesta: conualescæs in instanti huius medici doctrina.

Hiis etiam medendis malis, filii karissimi, quos elegit dominus in hereditatem sibi, utendum est cura propensiori ut prelatorum mansuetudine modesta sed et austeritate timorosa sic arceamur a uiciis, ne remissa lenitas pastoris et mansuetudo pietatis insolentes nos faciat, quos iungere debet iam in unum catenata caritatis. Talis enim debet despensatio regiminis ut iam qui preest eam circa subditos mensuram teneat quatinus et etiam arridens timeri debeat et iratus amari, ut eum nec nimia leticia uilem reddat nec immoderata seueritas odiosum constituat. Sepe enim subditos exasperando plus iusto, rigorem iusticie minus temperando regulam [non seruat], que plus mansuetudine nititur
f.122vb quam seueritate. Rigor | enim inmansuetus non erit iusticie si non sese obseruauerit sub iusto moderamine. Idcirco felicitas nostra non inter subditos resoluatur nimia felicitate, ne prelatorum regimine ilaritatis frena indiscrete laxentur. Siquando enim nos nimis insolentes euagari conspiciunt, audatius ipsi ad illicita prolabuntur. Vnde semper ad superna erectum debet habere prelatus uultum, ne respectu hilaritatis terrenorum uilescere uideatur affectus supernorum. Infirmis etenim fratribus prosunt uel obsunt sepe exempla

8] modesti: MS. modesti 18] non seruat: suppl.
25] illicita: ci add.sup. 27] post prelatus n erasit

bag full of humility to relieve you in your sickness. Pride has assailed you or the deadly tickling of some other vice: you shall recover instantly with this doctor's cure.

In treating these ills, beloved sons whom the Lord has chosen to Him to be His inheritance, the greatest of care must be taken so that we are kept from vice by the modest gentleness of our superiors and also by their fearful strictness too in case a pastor's slack leniency and the gentleness of his love makes us insolent, whom a chain of love should link together as one. The nature of his rule should be such that whoever is in charge should exercise control over his subordinates that even when he laughs they are afraid of him, and when he is angry they still love him, with the result that he neither makes himself ineffectual by being too full of fun, nor makes himself hateful by being too harsh. For often by dealing too harshly with those in his charge and by not tempering the strictness of justice [a superior does not maintain] the rule, which depends more on mildness than on strictness. For strictness which is ungentle will not be just if it is not kept within just measure. For this reason do not let our contentment be destroyed by there being too much freedom among the juniors lest the superiors indiscreetly relax the restraint they used to exercise over high spirits. For whenever they see us stepping out of line and being too insolent, they too fall more boldly still into things that are forbidden. On account of which the superior has always to hold his face towards heaven, lest in seeing this merriment on earth his desire for the things that are above seem to pall. Indeed, it is often the case that the weaker brethren are either helped or hindered by the examples which are

maiorum; sicut enim facies prelati indulta maturitati subditorum componit faciem honestatis utilitati, sic et indiscreti nouiciorum animis exemplar fit probrose facilitatis. Verendum etenim est et corde tremendum malignitatis exemplo in fratribus undecumque corrumpere nouellarum tarditiones plantationum.(1)

Oculi igitur uestri sint semper in superna erecti siue suspicientes in celum siue deiecti in terram, deum semper habentes pre oculis, circumspicientes undique mala que gessistis in corpore, trementes ultionem que post hec tempora exacta debebitur trementi anime. Hinc et beatus Iob: Semper deum sicut tumentes fluctus super me
f.123ra precipites timui.(2) Hinc et Salamon:| Oculi
16 sapientis in capite eius,(3) quia redemptoris sui semper opera quem imitari debeant contemplantur. Vagi enim oculi in uana dispersi, sicut stultorum oculi respicientes girum celi. Qui uero sunt in ecclesia multis motibus animorum circumferuntur. Nam et sedetiosorum tumultus fratrum, ut plerumque contingit, prepositorum suorum mentem lacessunt, suique ordinis limitem inordinatis motibus excedentes magistros exasperant. Et contra: qui presunt, nisi loris refrenati timoris spiritus sancti, in retributione ruunt talionis infrunite, estimantes quecumque preualent in subiectos exercere totum licenter exequi posse. Amica etenim potestati pena semper est inpaciencia, eamque etiam

2] MS. faciei 3] utilitati: MS. itilitati 21] sedetiosorum: os add.sup.

(1) cf.Ps. 143,12. Quorum filii sicut nouellae plantationes in iuuentute sua.
(2) Job 31,23.
(3) Eccles. 2,14.

set by their elders. For just as the appearance of a superior endowed with maturity presents an appearance of virtue by which his subordinates might profit, in the same way his appearing to be indiscreet gives the minds of novices an example of shameful licence. Indeed, you must fear and tremble in your heart over a bad example being set among the brothers, wherever the slow development of the young plants can be corrupted.

Therefore, let your eyes always be fixed on things that are above whether they are staring up at the sky or are cast down to the ground; and keep God in sight at all times. Look all around at the evil deeds which your bodies have done, and be afraid of the punishment which will be exacted from your fearful souls when these days are over. Concerning this Blessed Job says: <u>For I have always feared God as the swelling waves rushing over me</u>.(2) And Solomon says: <u>The wise man's eyes are in his head</u>,(3) because at all times they behold the works of their Redeemer whom you must imitate. For roving eyes are directed here and there on vanities, just as the eyes of fools who stare up at the spinning of the sky. Those in the church are beset with the many impulses of men's minds, for the disturbances rebellious brothers cause, as is generally the case, provoke their superiors and exasperate their masters when they overstep the limits of their rank with their disorderly commotions. But on the other hand, unless those who are in charge are restrained by the reins of fear of the Holy Spirit, they rush foolishly into retaliation, thinking that they can freely implement in full whatever powers they have over their subordinates. Indeed, the lack of forbearance is always a disadvantage associated with power, and it can barely

male subiectam uix temperat, quia id in quo dominatur exequi crudeliter, quoad suadet attrocitas et ire motus inconsiderate, uidetur. Qui uero presunt fratribus, uiri sancti moderamine modesto prediti, iugo paciencie magis sunt subiecti quo humiliorem adeo intrinsecus famulatum se percepisse gauisi sunt. Et ideo districtius quosdam tolerant, quo se ulcisci potestatem habent; et ne umquam ad illicita transeant, illatam sibi uim f.123rb moderaminis fortiter| imponunt, subiectorum 11 strepitus sufferunt; amicali districtione infrunitos increpant quos per mansuetudinem emendare non possunt. Quia nimirum boni contra tumultus insolencium se placidos reddunt, quosque clementer propter deum tolerant docere mansuetudinem non cessant.

Exemplis igitur instruamur quod natura dictante non percipit mens obtusa, uel diligens inquirendi fatiscens animus uel in multis nimium uecors socordia. Ait enim scriptura: Frater fui draconum et socius structionum.(1) Perplexa sunt hec uerba, sed sentenciosa, multaque indagatione indigentia.(2) Quid enim draconum nomine nisi peruersorum uita signatur? De quibus per prophetam dicitur: Traxerunt uentum quasi dracones.(3) Peruersi etenim quique uentum trahunt more draconum cum quod diu nutrierunt foris efflant uenenum, nec continentes nutrimenta malorum incendunt alios suorum peruersitate morum. Strutio quidem pennas

2] quoad: oa add.sup. 6] MS. hmiliorem 10] MS.subiector

(1) Job 30,29.
(2) Much of his explanation is drawn from S.Gregory, Moralia in Job,Bk.20,ch.39,75.
(3) Jeremiah 14,6.

be held in check when it is not under control, because it seems to mete out savage punishment where it holds sway and be motivated by fury and the ill-considered impulse of anger. But those who are in charge of the brethren and who are holy men possessing a sense of moderation are more subject to the yoke of patience, and have rejoiced that through it they have taken on what is, at least inwardly, a humbler form of service. And on account of this they put up with certain brothers with more restraint that they might have the power to punish them; and so that they never go on to do things that are forbidden, they firmly impose the authority that has been given them; they endure the din made by their subordinates; with a friendly ticking off they reprove foolish brothers who cannot be restrained with mildness, for, without a doubt, good men show themselves to be unperturbed in the face of disturbances caused by insolent brothers, and they never cease to give lessons in mildness to those they calmly put up with for God's sake.

Therefore let us be instructed with examples, because, when nature dictates, the dull-witted mind fails to understand, either being worn out through diligent inquiry, or being utterly bereft of reason in many matters through idleness. Scripture says: I have been a brother to dragons and a companion to ostriches.(1) These words are puzzling, but full of meaning and need much investigation. What is meant by the word dragons except the lives of wicked men? Of them the prophet says: They snuffed up the wind like dragons.(2) The wicked do indeed "snuff up the wind like dragons" when they blow out the poison on which they have long fed, and being unable to keep down the nourishment of their wicked acts they inflame others with the depravity of their ways. The ostrich of course

habet: uolatum non habet. Quia simulatores quique speciem sanctitatis faciem pretendunt, sed uirtutem sanctitatis qua sulleuentur a terrenis pennas non habent. Hos quidem uisio bone actionis exterius
f.123va decorat, sed interius pondus| proprie grauitatis,
6 ne possint auolare a consuetis, fortius deprimit. Quod beati Iob uocibus specialiter congruit, qui ad culmen magne fortitudinis bonus inter malos uiguit.
Nullus quippe [perfectus est] qui paciencie sue bonum
10 inter mala proximorum non conseruauerit. Qui enim equanimiter aliena mala paciens non pertulerit, per impatientiam probat se alienum esse ab plenitudine perfectionis. Quisquis malos tolerare nescit per
15 impacienciam sui testis est quod bonus non est. Exemplis corroboremus quod credi manifeste cupimus.

Abel iustus uixit in terra quem fratricide Chaim non contaminauit malicia.(1) Primus Adam duos filios habuit: unum quidem iustum, alium reprobum.
20 Duodecim Iacob filios genuit: unus ex eis per innocentiam uenditus est, reliqui uenditores facti sunt uenditionis impuri. Duodecim apostoli in ecclesia sunt electi, quorum unus reliquos plurimum molestauit in persecutione magistri. Sic, fratres karissimi, in arte tritura paleis premuntur grana;
25 sic flores gignit spina; sic redolentia florum germina producit pungens uepres et aculeos spina.
f.123vb Sic et iusti corpus peccatoris|exercente malicia, sicut in fornace purgatur aurum ustionem ministrante fauilla. Sic et iusti reputandi sunt

2-3] MS. uirtutis sanctitatem 5] MS. prope 9] perfectus est: suppl. ex Migne MS. inter malos fuit
10] MS. pacienciam post proximorum 20] MS. innocentem
24] MS.tritura 26] MS. pungens aculeos uepres et spina
27] MS. exercere

(1) S.Gregory, Moralia in Job, Bk.2o, ch.39, 76.

has feathers, but it cannot fly. Because hypocrites present their faces in a show of sanctity, but do not have the virtues of holiness by which they will be lifted up from the earth, they have no feathers. Indeed, these men are distinguished on the outside by the appearance of doing good, but on the inside they are firmly pressed down by the weight of their own heaviness, with the result that they cannot fly away from their own habits. This is in accord with the words of Blessed Job in particular - a good man amongst sinners, who lived at the pinnacle of great fortitude. Certainly, no man is perfect who has not preserved the good of being patient in the midst of his neighbours' wickedness. Whoever has not calmly borne another man's evil acts with patience shows he is a stranger to the fullness of perfection. Whoever does not know how to put up with evil men bears his own witness that he is not a good man by dint of his impatience. Using examples let us confirm what we patently wish you to believe.

Abel lived on earth a just man, and he was not tainted by the wickedness of his brother Cain who murdered him.[1] The first man, Adam, had two sons: one of them was just and the other was sinful. Jacob sired twelve sons: one of them was sold on account of his innocence, and the rest became traders in an impure deal. Twelve apostles have been chosen in the Church: one of them brought great trouble on the others by persecuting their Master. So likewise, beloved brothers, in the art of threshing the grain is pressed by the chaff. Likewise the thorn puts forth flowers. Likewise the stinging briar produces buds of sweet-smelling flowers, and the thorn bush needles. Just as the body of the righteous man is purified by a sinner's evil acts, so gold is purified in a furnace by the heat of the ash. And it is thus that you ought to think of

qui in pacientia sustinent malorum exercicia, dominique suffulti gratia, a reprobis uexati conseruant sibi fructum in paciencia. Hinc etiam sponsi uoce dicitur ecclesie: Sicut lilium inter spinas, sic amica mea inter filias.(1)

Item, de gressu dirigendo doctrinaliter ait propheta: Gressus meos dirige secundum eloquium tuum.(2) Pro modica ducunt offensa, uel currendo uel incomposite incedendo, quasi fugam maturando incedere in ecclesia uel claustro, sed non est ita. Oportet iumentum incedere composito gressu quod est uehiculum spiritus sancti. Nam dicit auctoritas: Graue est mihi si declinaui gressus meos a uia recta.(3) Gressus facilis et impetuosus signum est leuitatis. Per gressum etenim moderatum maturitas notatur regulariter incedencium. Omnes enim gestus modestos et compositos in se amplectitur disciplina regularis, quorum transgressio luenda erit secundum qualitatem delicti, secundum morem claustralis edicti. Notandum igitur est, fratres karissimi, et
f.124ra scincera mente diligenter obser|uandum quod tociens a uia recta gressus declinamus, quociens nostras cogitationes ab itinere rectitudinis per consensum deuiamus erroris. Tot enim gressus extra uiam incedimus, quot peruersis desideriis a celestis uite delectatione oberramus. Carnis etenim corruptibilis pondere grauati non possumus per hanc uiam corruptibilem semper incedere ut nulla nos

1] MS. in pacienti 3] MS. impaciencia 8] MS. dicunt corr.sup. 22-3] MS. nostra cogitatio|iter rectitudinis [eras.]

(1) Song of Songs 2,2.
(2) Ps. 118,133.
(3) Job 31,7. (Vg.declinauit)

the righteous, who, in their patience and with the support of God's grace, put up with the evil acts of the wicked; harried by evil doers they keep their reward through their own patience. And on this matter the voice of the bridegroom says to the Church: As the lily among the thorns, so is my love among the daughters.(1)

Likewise, with regard to directing one's footsteps the prophet says for our instruction: Order my steps in thy word.(2) Our footsteps lead us into minor offences, in running or in walking in a disorderly manner, as if walking in the church or cloister were to hasten one's escape; but it is not so. The beast must proceed at a steady pace for it is the vehicle of the Holy Spirit. For authority says: It is grievous unto me if I have turned aside my steps from the right path.(3) A quick and hasty step is a sign of being frivolous, but in a measured step one can see the maturity of those who walk in accordance with the rule. For the rule's discipline embraces all modest and controlled movements, any breach of which will be dealt with according to the nature of the offence and the practice of the cloister's edict. Therefore you must take note, beloved brothers, and earnestly observe with undivided attention that as often as we turn our steps away from the right path we turn our thoughts from the path of righteousness by consenting to sin. As many steps as we take away from the path so many do our wicked thoughts stray from the joy of life in heaven. Indeed, being encumbered by the burden of our corruptible flesh we cannot walk all the time along this corruptible way

possit culpe delectatio pulsare, dicente Gregorio: Aurum possunt esse homines, non obrizum; fulgent sed non sine contagione culpe.(1) Sed aliud est uolentem uariis tunsionibus affligi, et aliud est consentientem et ultronee appetentem, quasi iniectis manibus, in preceptis praue uoluptatis induci. Sed et uiri sancti econtra, tanto uigilantiori se custodia munire satagunt, quanto se pulsari sinistris motibus hostis inuidi peccatorum ingruentium sepius sentiunt. Nec mirum surrepentibus malarum cogitationum fantasmatibus animus quodam modo fugit a se; nec inuenit cancellos quibus includatur, nec obices quibus cohibeat auolationes uel uagos animi motus. Sed timentibus deum nichil deest, nec hiis qui eum diligunt in ueritate nichil deest serenitatis
f.124rb [mi]sericordie. Sic| et accedentibus ad eum omnia propinantur districtionis meticulose, ut nusquam quies, nusquam securitas prestetur itineranti, sed suspiciosa insidiis plena occurrunt per uiam incedenti. Igitur time deum et mandata eius obserua; ad hoc tenetur omnis homo. Sic timendus est deus ut ab ipso confugiatur ad ipsum; ab ipso irato ad ipsum pacatum. Inter duas molas,(2) scilicet superiorem et inferiorem, id est, [spem et] timorem, Christianus continue molatur. Spes cohibeat timorem ne degeneret in desperationem: timor spem ne luxuriet in presumptionem. Re uera sperare in misericordia dei saluberrimum est consilium, sed ex ea totum pendere periculosum. Sic

14] MS. animam: am del. 18] meticulose: e add.sup. 24] irato: MS. irator 25] spem et: suppl.

(1) S.Gregory, Moralia in Job,Bk.18,ch.44,71.
(2) v.Deuteronomy 24,6.

without being buffeted by the delight of sin, as Gregory says: Men can be as gold, but they cannot be as pure gold; they shine but not without sin's infection.(1) It is one thing for a man to be afflicted willingly by various buffetings, but it is another for him to give his consent and seek of his own accord to be led into the commandments of wicked pleasure as if snatching at it. But on the other hand, the more that holy men feel their unseen foe beating them with the evil impulses of the sins that assail them, the more they strive to defend themselves with a most careful watch. Nor is it any wonder, when the fantasies of wicked thoughts creep in, that the mind somehow flees from itself, but cannot find either bars to shut itself in, or barriers to contain its flights and dreamy motions. But they lack nothing who fear God, and those who love Him in truth do not want for the brightness of His mercy. Thus all terrible difficulties are given those who make their way to Him, so that the traveller is afforded no peace anywhere, no security anywhere, but is faced along the way with things that are full of suspicion and snares. Therefore, fear God and keep His commandments: to this every man is bound. Thus God must be feared so that one flees away from Him to Him; from Him, when He is put to anger, to Him, when He is placated. Let the Christian be ground continually between two mill-stones, one above him and one beneath, that is to say [hope and] fear. Hope curbs fear lest it degenerates into despair; fear curbs hope lest it grows into presumption. Truly, putting one's hope in God's mercy is the best course to take, but to weigh everything out of it is a dangerous thing to do. Thus

timeat ut speret: sic speret ut timeat. Timor enim sine spe est quasi gladius in manu contracti; spes sine timore est quasi gladius in manu furibundi. Timor introducit amorem sicut feta filium, dicente propheta: A timore tuo domine concepimus et peperimus iusticiam.(1) Timor est clauus inferior, amor superior quibus cruci quilibet debet iugiter affigi. In uia scilicet [...] timor debilitatem, in uia dei timor gignit fortitudinem, Salamon attestante qui ait: In timore domini fiducia fortitudinis.(2) Sic enim omnia| peccata ex f.124va cupiditate et timore proueniunt; sic et bona omnia ex amore et timore procedunt. Amat quis deum ut bene sit ei: timet quis deum ne male sit ei. De hoc timore dicit psalmista in persona peccatoris: Confige timore tuo carnes meas,(3) id est, talem ac tantum timorem incute carnibus meis unde sordes et inmundicie erumpunt, ut omnino inefficaces sint ut possim cum apostolo dicere: Michi mundus crucifixus est, et ego mundo,(4) id est, uilis mihi mundus est et ego uilesco mundo.

Et quia nichil obmittendum est de singulis saluti pertinentibus, exequamur singula sanctitati et humilitati fratrum necessaria. Pulchritudinem corporis et uenustatem contulit tibi deus, sic utere eis [ut] tibi prosint animam ad salutem. Pulchritudo etenim in homine quasi fallax equus ad salutem est.(5) Insitam a deo habes faciei pulchritudinem, caue ne te demergat tempestas aque, neque absorbeat te profundum, neque urgeat super te

2] manu: MS. manus 3] furibundi: n add.sup. 4] feta: MS. seta 10] MS. a testante 14] MS. bone 16] tuo: add.sup. 17] ac del.post timorem 26] ut: suppl. animam: add.in mg.

(1) non inueni
(2) Proverbs 14,26.
(3) Ps. 118,120.
(4) Galatians 6,14.
(5) Ps. 32,17.

let him fear that he may hope; thus let him hope that he may fear. For fear with no hope is like a sword in a cripple's hand; hope with no fear is like a sword in the hand of a maniac. Fear ushers in love just as a pregnant woman bears her son, as the prophet says: From fear of thee, O Lord, have we conceived and brought forth righteousness. (1) Fear is the lower nail and love the uppermost with which one has to be continually fixed to the cross. For along the way, namely the way of [?], fear begets weakness; on the road of God fear begets strength, as Solomon bears witness when he says: In the fear of the Lord is strong confidence.(2) Thus all sins spring from desire and fear, and thus all good things come out of love and fear. A man loves God that all may be well for him; he fears God that nothing will go badly for him. With regard to this fear the psalmist, who is speaking as a sinner, says: Pierce my flesh with fear of thee,(3) that is strike such and so great fear into my flesh, out of which break filth and impurity, that I may say with the apostle: The world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world;(4) that is the world is nothing to me and I am worthless to the world.

And since we must not let pass anything relating to salvation, let us go through each of the things which the brothers need for holiness and humility. God has given you beauty of body and grace; use them so that they might help you save your soul. But beauty in a man is like a horse that is counted but a vain thing to save a man.(5) You have beauty in appearance implanted by God; beware, lest the flood of water overwhelm you and the deep swallow you, and let not the

puteus os suum.(1) Quid pulcrius elucessit forma habitudinis inter communia dona secularia? Collatum quippe munus a deo temporale, satis gratum
f.124vb inspectabile, utenti bene satis ac|ceptabile, utenti male multum despicabile. Verba auctoris recollige: Forma bonum fragile est, quantum accedit ad annos, fit minor et spacio carpitur ipsa suo.(2) Sicut enim a deo impenditur munere gratuito, sic et processu temporis tollitur exinsperato. In manibus etenim domini sortes nostre, quibus enim uult indulgere; sunt infixe quamdiu uult ipse; cum penitet se fecisse, tollitur plane omne hoc materiale.

Leuate itaque capita uestra, que usque modo obdormierunt in socordia mentis tue. Expergicimini et uidete quoniam crebrescunt undique mundi plage, et terror uenturi iudicii commotis uirtutibus nos monet exilarare corda, quia dum iam finitur mundus nobis inimicus, appropinquet redemptio uestra quam usque modo quesistis, utinam professione sincera. Monemus quidem sinceriter mouere capita, id est mentes, ad celestis patrie gaudia, quoniam qui deum diligunt ex mundi fine gaudere debent et ilarescere, dum transito mundi languore penisque corporalis pugne mundum quem non amauerunt commutant fructu celestis uite. Delectores igitur dei concupiscentes frui ipsius uisione mora diutina
f.125ra conquasati non decet lugere irri|tationibus presentis mundi, cum eas finiri cernant in

1-2] MS. Quid inter communia pulcrius elucessit forma inter communia habitudinis dona secularia 6] accedit: MS. acecedit 25] quem: MS. quam 29] mundi: MS. mudi

(1) Ps. 68,16.
(2) v.note.

pit shut her mouth upon you.(1) Of the worldly gifts we have in common, what shines more brightly than beauty in appearance? It is actually a gift conferred by God that is transient, pleasing enough to the eye, acceptable enough when put to good use, thoroughly contemptible when put to bad use. Recall the words of the author: Beauty is a frail good. The older it grows it diminishes, and it is wasted by its own span.(2) Even as it is laid out by God as a free gift, so it is taken away unexpectedly by the passing of time. Fastened in the hands of the Lord are our fortunes which He wants to indulge for as long as He wants. When He regrets He has done so, all this transitory substance is swept completely away.

Therefore, lift up your heads, which till now have slept in your mind's idleness. Rouse yourselves, and see how the snares of the world are multiplying on every side, and how the terror of the judgement to come counsels us to make glad our hearts with all the virtues awakened, because the world, our enemy, is even now being brought to an end, and your redemption, which till now has been the aim of your quest, is drawing near; would it were with a faultless profession. Indeed, we sincerely beseech you to raise your heads, that is your minds, to the joys of the homeland of heaven, for those who love God must rejoice and be glad that the world is coming to an end. When all the weariness of this world has passed away and the pains of the bodily fight, they can exchange this world they have not loved to obtain the reward of life in heaven. Lovers of God who are longing for the sight of Him and who are shattered by the long delay should not groan over the irksome troubles of this world here when they can see that they shall be brought to an end

uituperationibus et conquassationibus ipsius superati. Scriptum namque est: Quicumque uoluerit amicus huius mundi esse hic inimicus dei constituitur.(1) Ex mundi etenim destructione lugere habent qui radices cordis in eius amore plantauerunt, qui uitam beatam aut non querunt aut uenturam auide non suspicantur. Nos autem qui celestis patrie gaudia ardenti desiderio affectare tenemur, cursu celeri ad eam festinare debemus, ut uia compendiosa, id est breui et utili, peruenire ualeamus.

Respectu igitur terrene fragilitatis et eius concupiscenciis, miseriis, et funestis attrocitatibus quibusque urgeatur uester mundus si consideretur diligenter a fidelibus, non solum fastidire debemus, sed et terrore misere cogitationis sic confundi ut tardum sit nobis ab hiis ad potiora conuerti, nam mora hec tediosa confusione digna iuuabit ad meliora reuerti. Mundus enim hic in maligno positus (2) fautores suos fraudare non desinit. Arridens enim funestis occupationibus suos confundit, fallacibusque propositis quibus alludit uacuos reliquid. Et sicut festino cursu ad interitum properat, sic et eius f.125rb ruina| appropinquare cognoscitur. Vnde et concipi 26 potest a fidelibus quod mundi huius currentis affectus ruina pocius dici debeat quam bonorum operum ad meliora prouectus. Ad hoc enim ipsa crescit ut cadat in deterius; ad hoc germinat ut queque germinauerit malignis concludit efectibus.

15] solum: MS. solus 27] affectus: MS. affectu

(1) S.James 4,4.
(2) 1 John 5,19.

in the chastisements and the upheavals when the world is defeated. For it is written: Whosoever will be a friend of this world, he is the enemy of God.(1) But in the world's destruction they have reason to mourn who have planted the roots of their hearts in the love of it; who either do not seek the blessed life or who do not believe that it will come. But we, who are bound to strive for the joys of the heavenly home with a burning love, must swiftly hasten towards it to reach it by the quick route, that is, the way which is short and useful.

Therefore, in respect of the earth's frailty, if the faithful reflect carefully on its lusts, its troubles and the deadly atrocities which beset your world, not only must we find it distasteful, but we should also be so confounded by terror at the miserable thought that it might be too late for us to be converted from these things to something better. For this wearisome delay, which is worthy of a state of confusion, will help us go back to better things. For this world that is set in evil(2) does not cease to betray its supporters. Sneering at them it confounds them with its deadly pursuits, and with the false aims with which it plays jokes it leaves them empty-handed. And just as it hastens along on its rapid course to destruction, so its ruin is known to be at hand, and because of this the faithful can see that love of this fleeting world should be called the destruction of good works rather than the improvement of them. To this end it grows up, that it will fall down into something worse; to this end it propagates, that whatever it propagates it will bring to a wicked end.

Ecce, fratres karissimi, aduertite quantis malis crebrescentibus nos urgeat hic mundus: cotidie atterimur flagellis; repentini casus et inopinati felicitatem nostram opprimunt; noue nos et improuise clades affligunt. Sicut enim in iuuentute uiget corpus et manet incolumpne pectus forte, torosa ceruix, plena sunt brachia uigore, econtra uero in annis senilibus corporis statura curuatur, ceruix exsiccata deponitur, frequentibus suspiriis pectus urgetur, in membris uirtus deficit, loquentis uerba anhelitus intercidit, et cetera corporis sustentamenta natura contrahit, nam etsi languor desit plerumque in senibus, ipsa sua salus egritudo est. Ita mundus et annis prioribus uelud in iuuentute uiguit, ad propa[ga]ndum humani generis prolem robustus fuit opulentia rerum pinguis, at nunc ipsa sua senectute deprimitur et
f.125va quasi ad uicinam mortem molestiis| crebrescentibus frequenter urgetur. Nolite ergo, fratres mei, mundum diligere, quem transitorium cernitis et in breui preterire. Hec iccirco dixerim ut mentes uestre torpeant a desideriis secularibus, ne conuersus ad seculi uanitates animus. Quod olim cogitare puduit et opere complere animosius, reflecti ad anteriora caueat studiosius.

Hinc itaque commentum regule diligenter indagare operam demus solicite, ut de ordinis monastici plenius eruditione edocti, exemplis sanctorum conuenienter eruditi, corporis et anime

14] MS. priori 15] MS. propandum 28] MS. plenus edocti: MS. edocta exp.et corr.sup.

See, beloved brothers, consider with how many growing ills this world presses upon us. Every day we are worn down with scourges; sudden accidents and unforeseen bear down on our happiness; new and unexpected calamities afflict us. For just as the body thrives in youth and the strong heart stays sound, the neck brawny, and the arms are full of vigour, but in old age it is hunched over, the neck is shrivelled and bowed down, frequent gasps for breath exert the heart and the strength is gone from the limbs, the words one speaks are cut short for want of breath, and the body's other means of support are withdrawn by nature, for although there is not generally feebleness in old men, the actual condition of their health is poor; so in the same way the world flourished years ago, as if in its youth, and being rich in resources it had the strength to increase the descendants of the human race. But now that it is in its old age it is pressed down and is frequently being driven with growing troubles, as it were, towards its imminent demise. Therefore, my brothers, do not love the world which you can see is fleeting and will shortly pass away. For this reason I have said these things, so that your minds may grow tired of worldly desires, so that your minds be not turned to worldly vanities. What he was once ashamed to think of and eagerly do let him carefully beware being turned back to.

And so, let us now take care to apply ourselves to making a thorough study of the text of the rule, so that, being fully apprised in the learning of the monastic order and suitably versed in the examples of holy men, we may be fit to obtain salvation in body and

salutem ualeamus adipisci. Breuiter itaque et commode que sunt ordinis seruando ualde necessaria de multis aliqua perscrutando capitulatim distinguamus, et quasi in habitum uersa non ad tempus sed semper fixum in corde continue imprimamus.

Sint igitur precipua ordinis instrumenta ut primo deum diligamus super omnia, proximum sicut nosmetipsos caritate non ficta,(1) quia ista precepta principaliter sunt nobis data. Hec enim sunt(2) que precipit obseruare in ecclesia constitutos hec presens sanctorum regula a beato Augustino et a sanctis complicibus eius ordinata, ut unanimiter habitantibus in domo domini sit cor unum et anima una,(3) nichil diuersum uel
f.125vb contrarium medi|tantes consorcio fidelium; omnia reputantes communia ad nutum prepositi cohabitationi inhabitancium, ut iussu prelati in primis uictus et uestimentum unicuique distribuatur, non quidem equaliter sed ut cuique opus erit, Sic enim legitur in Actibus Apostolorum(4) quod congregatis illis omnia erant communia.(5) Hic autem ad nutum prelatorum secundum quod unicuique opus est distributio facienda.

Et ut assolet intrantibus monasterium plura secum deferre ad sustentationem fratrum, id desiderare fratribus esse commune, nec quid supercilii maioris sibi arroget multorum collator quam qui, modicus in seculo egens diuitiarum quas conferre fratribus posset, diuicias non habebat.(6)

3] MS. perscrutado 5] MS. fixfixum 7] precipua: MS. precupia corr.in mg. 11[MS. obseruari 13] MS. ordinate: exp.et corr.sup. 18] MS. cohabitationis: s erasit

(1) S.Matthew 22,37-40: the opening sentence of the Ordo Monasterii of the Rule of S.Augustine.
(2) The beginning of the Praeceptum.
(3) Praeceptum I,2.
(4) Acts 4,32.
(5) Praeceptum I,3.
(6) cf.Praeceptum I,4.

in soul. Therefore briefly and conveniently let us in a summary distinguish from many things those aspects of the order it is most necessary we keep, by examining them closely; and let us imprint them continually on our hearts as if they were become a habit that lasts not for a short time but is fixed for ever.

Therefore, let the foremost instruments of the order be that we first love God above all else and our neighbour as ourselves with unfeigned love,(1) since these are the main commandments we are given. For these are the things it(2) bids those established in a church observe, this being the the rule of saints established by Blessed Augustine and his holy companions, so that there should be one heart and one mind in those who live in harmony in the house of the Lord,(3) thinking nothing diverse or contrary in the fellowship of the faithful, counting all things in common to those who dwell in common subject to the approval of their superior, that food and clothing in particular should be distributed to each of them as the superior directs - not equally but to each according to his need. For thus one reads in the Acts of the Apostles(4) that all things were held in common amongst those who had gathered together.(5) But here a distribution is to be made at the superior's approval in accordance with the need of each.

And since it is common for those entering a monastery to bring with them more things for the maintenance of the brothers, and to wish [what they give] to be held in common for the brothers, let not the giver of many items assume a more haughty attitude than a man who was humble in the outside world and had no wealth and no riches to give to his brothers.(6)

Meminerit uero hiis quibus egebat in seculo non posse repetere in monasterio nisi prelatorum munere gratuito et fratrum communi beneficio.(1)

Nec erigant ceruicem quod illorum iam socientur collegio, quorum manentes in seculo non auderent uti consortio.(2) Humilitate uero preclui humilientur in claustro diues et pauper, sed sursum corda leuent terrenorum obliti, nec uana seculi querentes semper inhient celestibus, ne monasteria plus diuitibus quam pauperibus extollantur in gloria, nisi meritis exigentibus plus exigant eorum merita.

f.126ra Glorientur | itaque diuites in seculo iam sancti pauperes Christi, fastiditi iam pauperum fratrum consorcio, nec de parentum diuitum generositate, uel diuiciarum amplitudine preteritarum reminiscentes eleuentur tumore. Nam scriptum est: Qui gloriatur, in domino glorietur.(3) Non enim qui se ipsum commendat ille probatus est, sed quem deus commendat.(4)

Sedens in claustro nil meditetur nisi quod bonum est: tendit enim insidias qui prope est hostis ille perfidus, atramentario suo inpositurus et notaturus non solum cogitationes sed facta et inania uerba. Habet enim apud se multa circumuentionis genera quibus hominem circumueniat,

10] MS. extolantur: l add.sup.

(1) Praeceptum I,5.
(2) Praeceptum I,6.
(3) 2 Corinth. 10,17
(4) non inueni

But he must remember that he cannot look in the monastery for those things he did not possess outside, unless through a free gift given him by the superiors and the benefit received in common with his brothers.(1)

Let them not become stiff-necked because they are now in the company of men whose society they would not have dared to enjoy outside.(2) But in the cloister let rich and poor be laid low with outstanding humility. However, let them lift up their hearts when thy have forgotten about worldly things, and, not seeking worldly vanities, let them always long for heavenly things, lest monasteries are raised in glory more by the rich than the poor except their merits demand more reward.

And so, let the rich glory when they are in the world; now they are Christ's holy poor, now they are despised men in a community of poor brothers let them not swell with pride either over the nobility of their rich parents or when they look back on the extent of their former wealth. For it is written: He that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord.(3) For it is not he who makes his own commendation who is approved, but he whom the Lord commends. (4)

Sitting in the cloister let him reflect on nothing other than what is good, for the treacherous enemy who is close by stretches out traps and is ready with his ink-stand to set down and record not only thoughts but deeds and vain words. He has around him many kinds of deception to deceive a man, among which he even uses

inter que etiam latentem superbiam bonis operibus insidiantem exerceat, que quidem religioni maxime contraria crepit mentem quasi serpens omnia dolose uenenosis incitationibus inficiens.

Sed respice et attende, frater carissime, [quid prodest] multa pauperibus erogare, sese pauperem Christi constituere, animam uero propriam superbiorem facere diuicias contempnendo quam in seculo possidendo?

Omnes igitur unanimes et concorditer uiuite,(1) deum honorate inuicem in uobis. Recolite quod templum dei facti estis celebre.(2) Vnde et
f.126rb orationibus decet uos incessanter instare, ho|ris competentibus deo psallere, in oratorio nil aliud agere quod constitutum est,(3) soli deo uacare, ymnis et canticis dum oratis in corde uersare quod profertis [in] ore, quod insitum est uobis ex consuetudine orare et psallere, carnem uestram ieiuniis et esce abstinenciis domare quantum ualitudo permittit fragilitatis uestre.(4) Cum igitur non uobis datum fuerit a cibis non posse continere, extra horam prandii alimentorum nichil sumite nisi ingruente necessitate.

Cum acceditis ad mensam(5) legatur lectio secundum consuetudinem in capitulo preuisa et ordinata a precentore. Audiatur et diligenter auscultetur sine murmuratione, nec sole uobis

6] quid prodest: suppl.ex Verheijen 27] MS. siue

(1) Praeceptum I,8.
(2) 2 Corinth. 6,16.
(3) Praeceptum II,2
(4) Praeceptum III,1.
(5) Praeceptum III,2.

latent pride which lies in wait for good works, and which, being most contrary to religion, makes the mind rattle as if it were a snake craftily infecting everything with its poisonous incitements.

But consider and take note, dearest brother, what is to be gained by giving in plenty to the poor, by making oneself a poor man of Christ and by making one's soul more haughty in despising riches than in owning them in the outside world?

Therefore, live all of you in unanimity and concord.(1) Reverence God in one another. Remember you have been made the celebrated temple of God;(2) and because of that it is right you should be instant at prayer without fail; sing to God at the hours appointed; do nothing in the oratory other than what it was set up for;(3) be free for God alone; ponder in your heart what you say with your mouth when you pray in hymns and canticles; pray and sing what is implanted in you by regular practice; subdue your flesh with fasts and acts of abstinence from meat in so far as the condition of your health permits.(4) Therefore, when you have not been told you are unfit to fast, take no food outside the time for dinner except out of pressing need.

When you come to the table, let the lesson be read, which, according to custom, is seen to beforehand and arranged by the precentor in the chapter-house. Let it be heard and listened to attentively without whispering, and do not let only your mouths take in

fauces cibum sumant sed et aures esuriant uerbum dei. Esuries enim hec uerbi dei et sitis iusticie saciabit animam esurientem a pastu diuini uerbi plus iusto exinanitam, et consolidabit bases templi dei quod estis uos soliditate, quod fortes sint contra insurgencia demoniorum argumenta que solent multiformiter multorum infestare corpora, tum ebrietatibus, tum gulositatibus, tum uanis corpus reficienda commessationibus.

Si uero, quod absit, inter uos procellatur graui corporis ualitudine quis fratrum, non sit molestum forcioribus| si cibis delicatioribus et egritudini laucioribus cibetur infirmus.(1) Egritudo etenim et sanitas diuersis pulsantur conuentionibus, cum et egritudinis sanitas et econuerso, intra se dissideat fortiter corporis et anime ualitudo. f.126va

Item, si diuersis moribus delicatorum uenientibus a seculo alimentorum aliquid uel uestimentorum impenderit caritas prelatorum, non indignetur felicitas fratrum fortiorum.(2) Materna etenim ecclesiarum ubera, quibus debent prestare nutrimenta pro qualitate uniuscuiusque necessaria, prospicere habent prout cuique opus est utiliora, ne remissa fraternitas indulgencia perire cogatur districti fratris indulta clemencia. Et quoniam deo grata et hominibus humana compassio, uegetes facit infirmos et debiles accedente dei gratia

3] esurientem: add.sup. 6] argumenta: add.sup. 14] et: MS. est 15] egritudinis: itu add.sup. 22] MS. uerba

(1) Praeceptum III,3.
(2) Praeceptum III,4.

food for you, but also let your ears hunger for the word of God. This hunger for God's word and a thirst for righteousness will satisfy your hungry soul which has been drained too much of the sustenance of the divine word, and it will firmly establish the foundations of the temple of God which you are, that they might be strong in the face of the offensives of devils, which are accustomed to molesting the bodies of many men in many ways: sometimes with drunkenness, sometimes with gluttony, sometimes by refreshing the body with worthless feasts.

But if, God forbid, any of the brothers among you is cast down with a serious physical ailment, do not let it be irksome to those who are stronger if, on account of his illness, the sick man is nourished on more appetising and richer foods. Sickness and health are indeed governed by different conventions, and when health is treated with those which belong to sickness and vice-versa, the conditions of the body and the soul are very much at variance.

Furthermore, if, of their charity, the superiors give some food or clothing to those coming in from the outside world who have been used to the different standards of men who live in luxury, the brothers who have the good fortune to be stronger must not be indignant. The breasts of Mother church, from which must come the nourishment that everyone requires, have to provide what will be of most use according to each man's need, lest, when mercy is shown a brother who is in need, the brotherhood is forced to end through uncontrolled indulgence. And since human compassion is welcome to God and men - it makes the sick well and with the help of God's grace the weak strong - let each

firmiores, gaudeat unusquisque de alterius conuersione ualida, deoque soluant gratias de sanitate recuperata. Ne igitur contingat peruersitas detestanda quod aliquem carpat fraterne felicitatis, quod absit, inuidia; torqueri potius, si non potest aliter delegat in animo, quam foris prodeat inter fratres hec peruersitatis erugo. Sicut enim erugo ferrum consumit, sic et iniqua cogitatio demolitur animum ad mala dispositum. Praue igitur cogitationis cogitare consuetudinem uitare decet omnem hominem ad frugalitatis|
f.126vb temperantiam dispositum. Cogitatio etenim praua transit in consensum, consensus in operationem prauam, operatio uero in uehementis peccati consummationem. Vitandus igitur est fomes praue cogitationis, quem nisi uitaueris, grauiter a domino plectendus eris.

Itaque post conualescensiam fraterne egritudinis quomodo tractandi sint ut plenius conualescant etsi de humillima seculi paupertate uenerint ad ecclesiam.(1) Fomentis laucioribus recreentur ut in cibo et potu quod desiderauerint secundum domus facultatem prebeatur humillime, ne despectus memoralis antique recordationis exigue paupertatis fratrem moueat ad rediuationem, aut ira motus ad aliam uergat infirmitatem, sicque posterior error peior sit priore; sicque depereat quod in eo refocillando protractum est diuturno labore.

8] MS. erugo consumit ferrum transp. ferrum: r add.sup.
21] uenerint: MS. nouerint Fomentis: MS. fometis
22] ut: add.sup.

(1) Praeceptum III,5.

one rejoice at another's getting strong, and let them give thanks to God for the recovery of his health. Therefore, do not allow that destestable perversity to come to pass, when, God forbid, envy of a brother's good fortune gnaws away at someone. If he cannot do otherwise, let him choose to be racked by it rather than allow this leech of perversity to come out into the open among the brothers. For just as a leech can eat through iron, wicked thought can destroy a mind which is given over to evil. Therefore, it is right that every man who favours the moderation of thrift should avoid the habit of thinking wicked thoughts, for a wicked thought turns into consent, consent into a wicked deed, and the deed is brought to completion in ardent sin. Therefore, the tinder wood of wicked thought has to be avoided, and unless you avoid it you will be punished severely by the Lord.

And so; how the brothers are to be treated after recovering from an illness for them to make a complete recovery, even if they have come to the church from the meanest state of worldly indigence.[1] Let them be refreshed with rich nourishment, so that, in so far as the means of the house permit, whatever food and drink they desire may be offered them in humility, in case a show of contempt should re-awaken the brother's memory of his former meagre poverty, or, in being made angry he should fall sick once again, and in this way a second error become worse than the first, and thus go to waste the long drawn out labour that was put into building up his health.

Cum uero iam recreatur, uires pristinas reparauerit, et sanitatis commoda feliciter induerit, ad consuetudinis pristine statum redeat ut bos aratro consuetus; uiriliter opus consuetum deuote compleat, Christo sic gratias agens ut uegetes ab infirmitate releuauit quos necessitas infirmitatis usque modo compressit.

Cibus iam conuersis ab egritudine sufficienter detur, tamen cum moderamine ne ingurgitati et plus iusto edacitati nimie assueti eructent de pleno,
f.127ra plus buccis fecentibus turifi|cantes queque proxima quam thuris flagrancia demulcentes queque superiora. Scriptum est enim: Venter plenus gecurque morbidum facile despumat in libidines,(1) ne contineat rixas malis indulgens frequentibus obiurgationibus. Illorum igitur diuicie utiliores censende sunt quos in sustinenda parcitate et tenui sufficiencia forciores constituerit ipsa uiuendi parsimonia. Crapula enim multos deicit a naturali statu et prestat infirmitatis recidiua; dum enim plusquam patitur natura, sanitatis conseruatiua, ex superfluitate edendi auget malignitatis pedetentim irrepens incentiua. Res igitur et corpori et anime ingluuies repentina, que corpus frangit gulositate immodesta et animam seperat a deo inpugnatione uiolenta; turbationem etenim membrorum omnium ingerit impia: capitis dolorem, oculorum obtenebrationem, et ossium et omnium compagum inualitudinem, precordiorum etiam inbecillitatem,

6] infirmitate: te add.sup. 10] assueti: ti add.sup. 11] queque: MS. quoque 15] contineat: a add.sup. MS. froquentibus 16] obiurgationibus: i add.sup. diuicie: MS. diuine exp.et corr.sup. 24] ingluuies: u add.sup. 26] turbationem: MS. turbationum

(1) v.note.

But when he is restored, when he has regained his former strength, and when, happily, he has resumed the benefits of good health, let him go back to his old routine like an ox used to the plough. Let him faithfully carry on with his usual work manfully, giving thanks to Christ that those who had been pressed down till then by dint of their infirmity have been raised by Him from sickness to strength.

On recovering from sickness let them be given a sufficient quantity of food - yet in moderation, lest in having become too accustomed to gorging and excessive gluttony they vomit it all up, censing with cheekfuls of filth whatever is nearest them more than they soothe whatever is above with the burning of incense. For it is written: A full stomach and diseased liver easily froth up into lusts,[1] so that it cannot hold back disputes and gives way frequently to malicious rebukes. More useful should be thought the riches of those whose thrifty way of life has made them more able to bear having little and what is barely enough. Drunkenness throws many men out of sorts, and it brings about a recurrence of sickness; the more nature - the preserver of good health - has to suffer, the incentive of evil gradually creeps in, and it grows through the habit of eating to excess. Accordingly, the sudden onset of gluttony affects both the body and the soul: it breaks the body with excessive greed and severs the soul from God in a violent attack . This unholy greed inflicts disorders on every part of the body: headaches, darkening of the eyes, ailments of the bones and all the joints, and also weakness of the

a planta pedis usque ad uerticem contaminat edacitas uiolenta per omnia sanitatis inimica. Caueat sibi quisque ab hac tempestate corporis inimica, dum se prudenti studio applicari studuerit ad superna. Tenuis uero dieta esurientibus diuina
f.127rb 6 pabula ualde est necessaria, ne pla|cide mentis turbetur quies ad superiora prouectis. Accedens enim ad felicis ordinem dulcedinis [...] in uanum laborant edificatores huius operis.

De edacitate nimia huc usque pauca perstrincsimus, nunc de uestibus honestis deoque dignis, in quibus non offendatur oculus inspicientis ratione tamen mediocri utentis aliqua dicturi. Non sit notabilis, fratres karissimi,(1) uel nimis affectata, uel discolor coloribus uobis uestis inspectis claustralibus; placere etenim plus gestiatis sedulis moribus quam decoratis uestibus et sinceris amictibus uanis hominum obtutibus. Pulla enim uestis exterior secta per ordinem decet canonicum. Cetera ut nix alba ordinis est nota, ut sicut cuculla monacum, sic hec uestis alba prodat canonicum.

Campana dante sonitum incitante uos ad ecclesiasticum officium, omnes simul decenter [in ecclesiam] ite: in incessu, statu, habitu, et in omnibus motibus uestris modum non excedite,(2) et sic agite, sicut prediximus, ut habitudinis uestre nullius turbetur inspicientis aspectus, sed more uirgineo uester se habendi motus sit decenter ornatus.

5] ad: MS. a 24-25] MS. inedite

(1) Praeceptum IV,1.
(2) Praeceptum IV,2.

heart; from your head to your toes intense greed - in all respects the enemy of good health - infects the body. Let everyone protect himself from this hostile tempest of the body while he strives with prudent zeal to fix his thoughts on heaven. Yes, a frugal diet is very necessary for those who hunger to be nourished by God, lest, when they are transported to heavenly thoughts, the repose of their peaceful minds is disturbed. For as one draws near to the rank of blessed sweetness [...], the builders of this work labour in vain.

Up to this point we have touched on a few details about over-eating, now we are going to say something about clothing which is suitable, worthy of God, and which causes the eye of the beholder no offence - at least of one using a little reason. When the cloistered are seen, your clothing, dearest brothers, must not draw attention to you[1] either through being too ostentatious or [being composed of] different colours; indeed, you should aim to please the vain gazing of men more by assiduously good conduct than by clothing which is beautified and spotless amices. An outer garment of dark cloth cut in the regular pattern is suitable for a canon. The other garment, that is to say the white alb, is the badge of the order, so that just as the monk is identified by his cowl this white garment shows one to be a canon.

When the bell rings, calling you to the office in church, all go [into the church] together in a dignified manner. Do not act immoderately in the way you walk, in your bearing, in your appearance and in all your movements, and, as we have said earlier, act in such a way that your appearance does not give offence to anyone watching you, but let your deportment be suitably respected like a young woman's.

In processionibus, ut sepe assolet, siquando super feminam iaciatur oculus,(1) sit breuis et
f.127va horarius| uel profecto momentaneus; non sic defigantur oculi ut mens uaga affectet corde quod produnt oculi. Videre etenim illas non prohibemini: sed appetere illas criminosum est, uel ab ipsis laciue appeti. Nec solum latenti affectu sed et aspectu appetit et appetitur concupiscencia carnis indiuersa uoluptuose proiecta. Nec animos uos censeatis habere pudicos cum impudicos habere uideamini oculos, quia impudicus oculus impudici cordis solet esse nuncius. Cumque sibi ad inuicem non editis uerbis mutuo conspectu sibi corda arrident impudica, alterutro carnis delectantur etiam intactis ab inmunda uiolatione corporibus, fugit et marcessit ipsa castitas ab humanis moribus.

Huius autem secreti concium quomodo fugiet inspectione omnium, quem nullum potest latere secretum?(2) Illi uero timeat uir sanctus displicere tum uelit femine male placere.(3) Illius itaque in pari causa timor commendandus est, de quo scriptum est: Abhominatio est domino ultro defigens oculum in amore meretriceo.(4)

Cum autem oportebit necessario mulieres alicubi uidere in curia uel monasterio, in inuicem
f.127vb uestram custodite pudi|citiam in domino.(5) Deus enim qui habitat in uobis in beneplacito suo

3] horarius: h add.sup. 20] uir: MS. ubi
4] affectet MS. affectent

(1) Praeceptum IV,4.
(2) Praeceptum IV,5.
(3) cf. Proverbs 24,18.
(4) Proverbs 27,20 (LXX)
(5) Praeceptum IV,6.

In processions, as often happens, whenever your eye falls upon a woman,(1) let it be brief and short-lasting, and certainly momentary. Do not let your eyes be fixed in such a way that your wandering mind lusts in the heart for what the eyes can see. Of course, to see women is not forbidden, but it is wicked to look for them or to be sought by them out of lust. For lust of the flesh, which is directed at anything for pleasure, seeks out and is sought after not only in hidden desire but also in the look on one's face. Do not believe your minds are chaste when you are seen to have unchaste eyes, for an unchaste eye usually betokens an unchaste heart, and when, without a word being uttered, unchaste hearts smile at each another in the looks they exchange, deriving pleasure from each other's body, even when their bodies are not tainted by any impure violation, chastity itself withers and flees from the morals of men.

But how shall he escape His knowing this secret at the examination of all men, from Whom nothing can stay hidden?(2) When a holy man wants to please a woman in wickedness, let him be afraid of incurring God's displeasure.(3) And so, fear of God is commended in a similar case when it is written: <u>He that willingly fixes his eye in the love of any easy woman is an abhomination to the Lord</u>.(4)

But when it is necessary for you to look at women in any place, be it in the court or in the monastery, be on your guard for each other's chastity in the Lord.(5) Let God, who dwells within you, at His good

custodiat uos a petulentia carnis uestre, ne labamini in aliquo, ne cepta progrediantur sed recindantur proximo.(1)

Si uero persuadente diabolo et pertinaci studio manserit in peruersitatis proposito(2) contio sibi teste sotio, sicut assolet in locis conuentualibus aliquem uel aliquos habere secretorum suorum contios quibus pandat intima cogitationum, et ab eis correptus et multiformiter reuocatus, numquid non potius debes manifestare, ne uulnus hoc longanimi diuturnitate incorrectum putrescat in corde fraterno? Non enim iudicabimini fratres maliuoli hac reuelatione, si fratres uestros iudicando potestis corrigere, quos tacendo permittitis perire? Si frater tuus uulnus habuerit mortale et uelit illud occultare, nonne crudeliter siletur abste et misericorditer uulneri medetur, si uoluerit indicare? Hec enim reuelatio misericorditer fit non crudeliter, ne contagione pestifera irrepat in alios quod unius possit medicatione curari.(3)

f.128ra Quod autem prediximus de oculis non figendis in mulieribus ceterisque| subito accidentibus peccatis diligenter et fideliter obseruetur cum interna dilectione hominum et odio depellendo uitiorum.(4)

1] ne: MS. ue 4] MS. prosuadente 11] hoc: MS. hec longanimi: MS. longamini 13] hac: MS. ac
8] MS. pardant

(1) Praeceptum IV,7.
(2) Praeceptum IV,8.
(3) Praeceptum IV,9.
(4) Praeceptum IV,10.

pleasure protect you from the wantonness of your flesh that you fall into no sin. Do not allow what you have started to go any further, but let it be cut back at once.(1)

But if he persists in his wicked intention through the devil enticing him and his own stubborn zeal,(2) and a close friend knows about it, as it is usually the case in communities to have someone or a number of men privy to one's secrets, let him disclose his innermost thoughts to them and be rebuked by them, and let them make many attempts to dissuade him. Surely you have a duty to make it known, lest this wound after having gone unchecked for so long grows rotten in your brother's heart? For if you can correct your brothers by passing judgement on them, you will not be thought malicious in making this revelation, if by keeping silent you would let them perish. If your brother has a fatal wound and wants it kept hidden, surely keeping quiet about it is a cruel act? and if he wants to make it known, it is surely an act of mercy for the wound to be healed? But this disclosure is made out of mercy and not cruelly, lest what could have been cured in one brother steals upon the others with a deadly contagion.(3)

What we said before about not fixing the eyes on women and about other sins which happen suddenly you must diligently and faithfully take note of with an inward love for men and a loathing to drive away vice.

Cauete etiam a susceptione literarum communium hominum et munusculis eorum que non licent suscipi nisi licentia prelatorum. Huius autem transgressor rei quasi furti reus condempnabitur, si a testibus fidelibus conuincatur.(1)

Et quia de singulis dubitare non erit inutile:(2) uestimenta uestra que uobis regula tradit honesta sub unius uel duorum redigantur custodia, ut non ea demoliantur erugo uel tinea, ut ab hiis et ceteris corruptionibus seruentur illesa et pro temporum congruentia proferantur usibus eorum necessaria. Si uero de pannis aut huiusmodi aliis oriatur questio inter fratres, altercatione dignum meminerint quid desit in habitu cordis qui pro habitu exteriori litigant et contendunt in compositione corporis.

Una sit mens omnium et pietas actionum,(3) nulla diuersitas operationum, quia caritas de qua scriptum est quod non querit que sua sunt,(4) sic intelligitur, quia communia propriis non propria communibus anteponit.

Cura uero sit precipua omnibus de communi ut in commune redigatur, siue de parentibus siue de
f.128rb alienis collatum sit be|neficium, siue uestis siue
26 alterius rei que inter necessaria conuentui deputandi sint. Nichil occulte accipiatur, sed sub potestate prepositi sit ut altius magis egenti

15] dignum: MS. dignam MS. meminerit 17] MS. composione 22] communibus: munibus add.in mg.
27] MS. accipiantur: n exp. 28] MS. altis

(1) Praeceptum IV,11.
(2) Praeceptum V,1.
(3) Praeceptum V,2.
(4) 1 Corinth. 4.

Beware also receiving letters from men in the community and their little gifts, which you are forbidden to accept unless the superiors permit it. Anyone who breaks this rule will be punished as if he were guilty of stealing, if he is convicted by reliable witnesses.(1)

And since it will not be unprofitable to consider every detail individually,(2) the clothes which the rule allows you as suitable dress should be placed in the care of one or two brothers so that the dust and the moth do not destroy them, and so they may be kept safe from these and other things which can spoil them. And let the clothes be distributed according to the season when they need to be used. But if a dispute should break out among the brethren about clothes or any other matter, those who quarrel over their outward appearance and fight about the adorning of the body should remember that the subject worthy of contention is the condition of their hearts.

Let all be of one mind and loving in all that is done.(3) There is to be no diversity in what is done, because charity, it is written, <u>does not seek its own</u>,(4) and is understood to mean putting what is common before what is personal, not putting one's own interests before those that are common.

Let it be the special concern of you all that any benefaction received from parents or outsiders is to be held in common, whether it consists of clothing or any other items the community is thought to need. Nothing should be received secretly but should be subject to the superior's control so that he may give it to whoever has most need. But if, God forbid, the

tribuatur. Si enim, quod absit, ille cui confertur celare uoluerit, quasi furto iudicio condempnabitur.(1)

Balneum uero ingruente necessitate non negetur imbecillis fratribus, non quidem carni delectatione sed salutis necessitudine; et fiat sine murmure et de consilio medicine. Et si noluerit ipse frater sibi quod necessarium est indulgere, iubente preposito faciat quod uiderit expedire pro corporis salute.(2)

Denique si interius latet dolor in corpore, facile credatur sine dubitatione fratri unde anxietur in corde. Si uero sanande infirmitati non possit aliter prouideri, medicus consulatur, ad cuius nutum huic prouideatur necessitati.(3)

Nunquam eant soli ad balnea, sed prouidente preposito duo uel tres simul eant, seruato ibi silentio ne quid mali contingat ex iniquo susurrio.(4) Item fratres affecti tedio, si data licentia a magistro spaciatum ierint, numquam eant minus quam duo uel tres ut unusquisque solatium habeat alterius ad alterum.

f.128va [Egrotantium cure] | siue post egritudinem refocillandorum siue ex labore imbecillium uel febre laborantium quibus iam conualescentibus deputetur unus fratrum qui de cellario exigat que

18] MS. contingant 23] Egrotantium cure: suppl. ex Verheijen

(1) Praeceptum V,3.
(2) Praeceptum V,5.
(3) Praeceptum V,6.
(4) Praeceptum V,7.

brother to whom it is given wants to hide it, he shall be punished as if he were found guilty of theft.(1)

A bath should not be refused sick brothers when there is pressing need for them to take one; not, that is to say, for physical pleasure but because it is necessary for good health. And let the bath be taken without any complaint and on the advice of a physician. And if the brother himself does not want to do what he should, since his superior orders it let him do what he sees is for the good of his body's health.(2)

And furthermore, if an ailment is lying hidden inside the body, the reason why the brother is anxious at heart is to be believed readily and without question. But if no other provision to cure him can be made, a doctor should be called, and what needs to be done is to be carried out as he directs.(3)

Never let them go to the baths alone, but two or three may go together with the superior's approval. Silence must be kept there that they fall into no sin by whispering wickedness.(4) Moreover, the same applies when those brothers who are weary go for a walk, if they have their master's permission. Never let fewer than two or three go, so that each of them may have the comfort of the other's company.

[To the care of the sick] one of the brothers should be assigned, whether it is of those who need to be restored after an illness, or of those who are weak through work, or those who are labouring with a fever. While they convalesce he is to obtain from the cellar

necessaria sunt, quecumque opus esse perspexerit secundum possibilitatem domus.(1)

Celerarius uero et qui presunt seruandis codicibus sine murmure ea ministrare dent curam, sine difficultate ceteris fratribus.(2)

Codices uero qui traditi sunt in initio quadragesime fratribus hora certa singulis tradantur; extra horam si petuntur non accipiant.(3)

Vestimenta et calciamenta cum necessitas ingruerit benigne tribuantur ab hiis de quorum pendet custodia.(4)

Lites et contentiones siquando ortas excitauerit ira celerrime finiantur,(5) ne in odium crescentes in longum protracte de festuca trabem faciant homicidiique animam ream constituant. Numquid non legistis: Qui odit fratrem suum homicida est?(6) Et iterum: Irascimini et nolite peccare.(7) Ira furor breuis est,(8) quantumque magis intenditur crescit in inmensum, effeminatosque animos, mentes imbecilles accendit in altum, ut conuitio uel maledicto uel etiam criminis obiectu fratrem ledant, uel forte manum ad f.128vb ulteriora eri|gant. Hec ne forte fiant, nec attemptare audeant obnixe precamur. Vindex enim dominus omnium qui ait: Michi uindictam et ego retribuam;(9) reddet unicuique comissi talionem.

13] et: add.sup. 16] constituant: ti add.sup. 19] que: add.sup.

(1) Praeceptum V,8.
(2) Praeceptum V,9.
(3) Praeceptum V,10.
(4) Praeceptum v,11.
(5) Praeceptum Vi,1.
(6) 1 John 3,15.
(7) Ps. 4,5.
(8) Horace, Epistolarum Liber,I,2.62.
(9) Romans 12,19.

whatever is necessary, whatever he sees they need, in so far as the supplies of the house permit.(1)

The cellarer and those who are in charge of keeping the books must take care to discharge their duties without a murmur and without causing any difficulty for the other brothers.(2)

Let the books which are given out at the start of Lent be distributed to each of the brothers at a specific hour. If they are asked for at any other time do not let them have them.(3)

Clothes and footwear are to be handed out readily when the need arises by those brothers who look after them.(4)

Whenever anger stirs up disputes and quarrels that have arisen, put an end to them quickly,(5) lest when they are long drawn out they turn into hatred, make a beam from a mote, and make the soul guilty of murder. Have you not read the text: Whosoever hateth his brother is a murderer?(6) And again: Be ye angry and sin not.(7) Anger is a short madness;(8) the more it is drawn out it grows immense, and it inflames weak spirits and feeble minds so that they hurt their brothers with abuse, foul language and even with accusations; perhaps with the result that they turn their hands to worse offences. Lest these things are done, do not, we earnestly beseech you, let them dare try them. Vengeful is the Lord of all, who says: Vengeance belongeth unto me, I will recompense.(9) And He shall render each man due punishment for all that he has done.

Obseruate peticionum uestrarum effectum, nam quis ibi uult ignosci fratris iniuriam orare potest dignius dominum: Dimitte nobis debita nostra sicut et nos dimittimus qui nos offendunt.(1) Fortior est enim qui fraterne caritatis obtentu frangit iram quouis expugnatore urbium.(2) Acceleret itaque fratris compescere motum, qui se nouit iniurie reum, nec tardet currere ad petendam ueniam ne sentiat patris detrimentosam ultionem; nec expectet apud deum petitionis sue effectum consequi qui non remiserit fratri inconsiderati offensam delicti. Si inuicem sese lesere, debent ad inuicem offensas laxare. Ignominiosum enim est sui exemplo fratrum mansuetudinem corrumpere exaduerso; sed sicut ore peccastis transitorie, sic accelerate ut ipsius professione proferas salutis medicamenta unde offensionis impressa sunt uulnera. Cum autem necessitas discipline moribus cohercendis non sufficit ad correctionis medelam, tundere pectora,
f.129ra lacrimis lec|tum rigare, conuersionis uestre statum nullum censere, inanem abrenuntiationis seculi causam in uobis iudicate, ut nulla sit uobis pestis efficatior quam sic infrunitos diutius permanere.

Si forte, quod absit in patres ordinis obloquendo delinquitis, non erit petenda a subiectis uenia,(3) ne dum plus iusto inclinatur in eis humilitas regiminis fraterne dignitatis frangatur auctoritas, cuius rigor magistratus omnibus subiectis normam prebet sanctitatis et

1] MS. peticionem 6] Acceleret: MS. Acceleritexp. et corr.sup. 23] infrunitos: s add.sup. 25: MS. delinquetis exp.et corr.sup.

10-11] qui...remiserit: non re add.sup.

(1) S.Matthew 6,12.
(2) cf.Proverbs 16,32. Melior est patiens uiro forti, et qui dominatur animo suo, expugnatore urbium.
(3) Praeceptum VI,3.

Pay attention to the outcome of your prayers, for anyone who wants to be forgiven the wrong he has done his brothers can duly pray to the Lord in the words: Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us.(1) For anyone who can break his own anger in a show of brotherly love is stronger than any stormer of cities.(2) Thus, anyone who knows he is guilty of causing his brother injury should make haste to allay his brother's resentment; and let him not be slow to seek his forgiveness, in case he suffers the hurtful punuishment given him by his Father. And let no man expect God's forgiveness who will not forgive his brother the offence he caused him by his own thoughtless fault. If they hurt one another in turn, in turn they must undo the offences they have done. A shameful thing it is to destroy the brothers' mildness by the example of one's own behaviour in doing the opposite; but just as you have sinned carelessly in the words of your mouth, so by the words of your mouth with which you inflicted the wound of the offence, make haste to proffer remedies to heal the wounds. But when the compulsion of discipline for enforcing good conduct does not suffice to bring about in you the cure of correction, beat your breast, water your bed with tears, count your conversion as null and void, judge as futile the reason for your turning from the world, so that you could be plagued with nothing worse than to persist in such folly any longer.

If by chance, and God forbid that you should do so against the fathers of the order, you offend by speaking ill, you must not ask the forgiveness of junior brethren, lest in being too humble towards them you lose the authority of your rank to govern the brothers; for the strictness of a master's authority sets the standard of holiness and

modestiam, habet in se et doctrinam uirtutis sancte religionis. Non enim carnaliter pertransiens sed spiritualiter infixa debet esse inter uos fraterna dilectio ut in corripiendo et uulnus delendo sic mederi uideatur quasi cataplasmate apposito uel suaui unguento.

Preceptoris igitur quanta sit auctoritas considerate, dum precellenti honore inueniatur in auctore, qui preceptorem sancti uoluere parentis esse loco.

Preposito igitur tanquam patri obediatur,(1) ut supra carnalem spiritualis amor excedat mensuram, ut sit eius preceptum dulciter et mansuete susceptum tanquam uite in aduersis subsidium, ne murmurando perdat quis meritum quod a summo deo exspectet remunerandum.

f.129rb Prelatum igitur mo|nemus attencius ut qui preest plus appetat diligi quam timeri,(2) plus caritate fultus quam dominante potestate; sit et ipse timore potius et humilitate deo substratus quanto se uobis obligatiorem et deo pro subditis redditurum rationem agnouerit. Omnium quidem bonorum operum prebeat exemplum; corripiat inquietos, consoletur pusillanimes, suscipiat infirmos, paciens sit ad omnes.(3) Disciplinam libens habeat; metuendus aliis imponat. Semper tamen plus amari appetat quam timeri.

13] preceptum: MS. preceptam exp.et corr.sup.

(1) Praeceptum VII,1.
(2) Praeceptum VII,3.
(3) 1 Thessal.5,14.

self-restraint for all his subordinates, and it has within it the virtue of holy religion. For the brotherly love among you should not be fleeting but be spiritually ingrained in you, so that it may appear, when you punish and remove any injury, that you are healing it, as if you were applying a poultice or some pleasant ointment.

Therefore, all of you who wish the preceptor to take the place of a saintly parent should consider consider how great his authority is when it is found in a leader who commands outstanding respect.

Therefore, obey the superior like a father,(1) that spiritual love may go beyond the bounds of physical love, that his orders may be sweetly and gently received like a life-support in times of difficulty, so that no-one loses the reward he hopes to receive from the most high God by murmuring complaints.

Accordingly, we earnestly warn the superior that a leader should strive to be loved more than to be feared,(2) that he should be sustained by charity more than by the power of his rule; and the more he recognises that he bears you an obligation and that he will have to give God an account of the way he has treated his subjects, the more submissive he must be in fear and humility before God. Indeed, let him show himself to be the pattern of all good works. Let him chide the unruly, comfort the fainthearted, support the weak, and be patient towards all men.(3) He must gladly exercise discipline; he should impose it on others as one whom they hold in awe. Yet he must always desire to be loved rather than to be feared.

Sed ex mera dilectione compatiatur unusquisque superiori suo et caueat eius detrimento, qui quanto in loco superiori, quasi in specula expositum, se uiderit preminere, tanto maioribus periculis se nouerit addictum esse.(1)

Hec itaque monita sedulo custodienda monuimus et exequenda, que nisi seruentur et omni diligentia adimpleri curentur, tanquam legis preuaricatores constituentur, nisi maioribus ordinis et precellentibus causa correctionis confiteantur et ab eis percipiant lese magestatis domini consolationem, qui pie peticionis non meruerunt in eis consequi effectum. Qui enim offendit, uideat ne
f.129va cadat: post casum enim resurgere grauius est, | et formidolosius in precipitium ire.

Donet uobis dominus ut spirituales doctrine amatores hec dulciter amplecti, ut bono Christi odore refocillati post conuersionem, bona conuersatione gaudentes, non sicut sub lege serui sed sicut liberi iusticie sub gratia constituti.(2)

Sit autem huius libelli frequens inspectio, quasi representatrix formula bene uiuendi reformatrix in speculo, ut sepius lecta et sedulo relecta non fastidium generet lectori uel tedium auditori, sed ut solet contingere per obliuionem uel socordiam aliquid de contingentibus negligenter pretermisisse uel facienda minus apte quam deceret

7] nisi: MS. ni et: add.sup. 8] preuaricatores: ca add.sup. 22] formula: MS. formila exp.et corr.sup. 26] socordiam: MS. socordium

(1) Praeceptum VII,4.
(2) Praeceptum VIII,1.

But let everyone cherish the superior out of true love for him, and let them take care no harm befalls him. The more a man sees that he occupies a prominent position in a higher rank, as if he were open to view in a looking glass, the more he should know that he is liable to greater dangers.(1)

These instructions we exhort you to keep without fail and to fulfill them, for unless they are kept and every effort is made to carry them out, they will be treated as if they have broken the law, if they do not confess to the elders and senior members of the order so that they may be corrected and receive from them God's forgiveness for their treason against Him - who do not deserve that their pious supplications should meet with any success. Let anyone who has stumbled see he does not fall, for after a fall it is difficult to get up and more fearful to walk on the edge of a precipice.

May the Lord grant that you embrace these things sweetly as spiritual lovers of the doctrine, so that after your conversion you may be refreshed with Christ's sweet fragrance and rejoice in your conversion not as slaves under the law but as free men of righteousness established in grace.(2)

Read this little book frequently, as if in a looking glass it were presenting you with a reformatory formula of good living; read it so that in being read frequently and read again tirelessly it does not become loathsome to its reader or dull to its audience. But since it often happens that one has carelessly overlooked some points, either through being forgetful or lazy, or it befalls one to have passed over tasks which were to be done in a less desirable manner than

pretergressum fuisse, sedulus corrigat, ad memoriam reducat actus non bene dispositos, cogitationes uanas non recolens sed pertransiens; ad minus semel in ebdomada legatur coram fratribus in capitulo; reliquo tempore obmittatur de cetero nisi quis adnotare uelit aliquid elapsum ab animo.(1)

Siquis autem in hoc scripto aliquid deesse sibi augendum necessario uel delendum uiderit in proximo, doleat de preteriti mandatorum transgressionis titulo, caueat de future retributionis arcano, uitet presentis meriti sui
f.129vb ultionem a domino, oret obnixe ut et| debita dimittantur et ulterius in temptationem praue operationis non inducantur.

Hec et alia directionis opera que subsequuntur fratribus in unum congregatis remediabilia peccatorum proposuimus, ut superne uisitationis gratia arceantur delicta, ut odore bono saginentur corda, mercesque dupplicata a domino redundet in confitentium purgata pectora.

13] MS. dimittatur 15] MS. drectionis 17] propos- uimus peccatorum transp.

(1) Praeceptum VIII,2.

one should, let it constantly correct you; let it call to mind actions which have not been well done, thoughts that were worthless - not in dwelling on them again, but in going over them. Let it be read at least once a week before the brethren in the chapter; otherwise at other times omit it, unless anyone wishes to make a note of something that has slipped his mind.(1)

But if anyone should see anything that is written here which he lacks and necessarily needs to be strengthened, or sees something to be be removed forthwith, let him mourn the cause of his past transgression and beware what unknown retribution will come in the future. Let him avoid receiving repayment from the Lord for what he is worth at present. Let him pray with all his heart that his trespasses will be forgiven and that they will be led no further into temptation to do wrong.

These things and the other works of direction which follow we have put forward as remedies for sin for brothers who are gathered together in one body, so that, by the grace of a heavenly visitation, faults may be prevented, hearts may be refreshed with a good fragrance, and a reward which the Lord has doubled shall pour forth into the purified hearts of those who have confessed their sins.

De opere cotidiano

De operis consuetudine assueta: mane celebrata prius hora diei prima[1] operentur usque ad sextam; a sexta usque nonam uacent lectioni; in nona reddant Almario codices. Post prandium in hortis uicinis uel alicubi locorum laboribus exiguis uacent usque horam uespertinam. Exiguis dixi ut magis delectentur operationibus quam tedio afficiantur.

Nemo aliquid faciat murmurando, ne murmatorum pereat consimili iudicio.[2]

Fideliter obediant omnes priori honore debito. Omnes eum reuereantur more constituto; omnes reuerentiam exhibeant sicut decet sanctos.[3]

Sedentes ad mensam intenti lectioni et corporaliter reficiantur et spiritualiter, ut eadem refectio corporis et anime sit pastus uiuificator utriusque.[4]

f.130ra Cum uero necessitate ur|gente ad ualde necessaria mitti oporteat curanda exteriora fratrum negotia, non unus tantum sed duo ad minus eligantur, quos sciencie et morum probitas dignos censeat tantis negotiationibus sufficere, ne periclitetur anima fratris in negotiatione secularium, unde sibi comparet quis salutaris officii detrimentum.[5]

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(1) Ordo Monasterii 3.
(2) Ordo Monasterii 5.
(3) Ordo Monasterii 6.
(4) Ordo Monasterii 7.
(5) Ordo Monasterii 8.

On the work of the day

With regard to the usual performance of the work: when the hour of Prime[1] has first been celebrated, let them work from the early morning until Sext. From Sext until None let them be free to read. At None let them return the books to the bookcase. After dinner until Vespers let them be free to do some light tasks in the gardens nearby or in some other place. I said light tasks so that they might derive pleasure from their labours rather than grow tired by them.

Let no-one do anything with a murmur, lest he be punished with the same sentence given to murmurers.[2]

Faithfully let everyone obey the prior with the respect due to him. Let everyone reverence him in the customary way; let everyone show him respect as befits holy men.[3]

When they are sitting at the table intent on the reading, let them be refreshed both in body and in spirit, so that the same refreshment of the body and the soul may provide both with quickening sustenance.[4]

When it is urgently required that someone be sent to look after the brethren's very necessary business in the outside world, let not only one but at least two be chosen, whose knowledge and integrity of character make them suitable to be able to deal with such important business matters, lest a brother's involvement in worldly dealing puts his soul at risk, and someone injures himself by performing a helpful service.[5]

Si uero senior quis diutine probatus in ordine ad hec exequenda eligatur, prelati consideratione poterit sufficere, seniorum tamen fratrum consultatione. Statuat tamen in animo: non manducare neque bibere sine magistri precepto, si non fuerit in longum distracta illius commoratio. In agendis uero hiis uel fratrum emptionibus necessariis seculari more iurare, altercationibus plebeiorum assuetis decertare, siue multiloquiis negotia palliare, quia multiloquiis non consueuit peccatum deesse,(1) inibemus precipue, ne dum tractantur fraterna negotia necessaria incidamus in naufragia discriminosa. Solet enim diuidi indiuersa unitas fratrum multiloquio insaciabili polluta et indecenter exposita. Religiosorum euagari extra metam discretionis assolet multorum lingua.

Caue igitur lapsum lingue(2) que in udo consistens facile labitur, nec repagulis duobus
f.130rb scilicet dencium | siue labiorum de facile cohibetur, nec ossibus consita conterit ossa, uirtutemque omnium fortiorum prolapsa ad malum conterit irritata. Multa in se habens incommoda sola taciturnitatis castigatur diligencia, que inter ceteras uirtutum species celebris munit et sese magistram obicit obloquencium infrunitati. Lingue malum non est modicum,(3) quod ordinate compositum totam corporis seriem seruat incontaminatam.

18] duobus: MS. duorum 20] MS. coterit

(1) Proverbs 10,19.
(2) cf. Ordo Monasterii 9: Otiosum uerbum apud illos non sit.
(3) v.S.James 3,5-6.

But if a long-trusted senior member of the order is chosen to carry out these duties, the superior's judgement will be sufficient provided that the senior brethren are consulted. But if his stay is not to be long drawn out, let him resolve not to eat or drink without the master's permission. And in case we fall perilously into ruin while the brethren's necessary trading is being done, we forbid him in making these purchases the brethren need above all to make an oath in the way it is done in the world, to contend in the customary squabbles of the common folk, and to shroud his dealings with a lot of talk, since it is usually the case that there is sin in too much talk.(1) For the brethren's undivided unity is usually broken, when it is defiled and indecently laid open to insatiable gossip. It is common for the tongues of religious to exceed the bounds of discretion.

Therefore, be on your guard against a slip of the tongue, (2) which, being in the wet, easily slips about, and is not easily restrained by the two barriers, that is to say of the teeth and the lips; though set about with bones it cannot wear bones away, but when it has fallen into evil and is provoked, it wears away the strength of all the strongest men. Possessing many things that are harmful, it is restrained only when one takes care to be silent; this is distinctive among all the other types of virtue, and it serves as a defence, and presents itself as a mistress to control the foolishness of those who contradict. The tongue's evil is no small matter, for every part of the body is kept free from defilement when it is under control.

Multa sibi comparat argumenta malicie sedens ille in insidiis ut interficiat innocentes, multisque adiumentorum amminiculis indigent sacri ordinis adiuncti cetibus, mille namque foraminibus sibi querit intrandi aditus custos ille iniquus, qui de nocte circuiens nostris insidiatur actibus. Cuius obuiandis fedis circumuolutionibus necesse erit multis uti: tum mentis et cordis intimis tuitionibus, tum sanctorum patrum fidelibus documentis, ut sit nobis eorum sacrosancta instructio exemplaris bone operationis interna refectio; et sicut in mensa non solum corpora pascit refectio, sed et mentes saginat et reficit lectio [diuina] recitata diuinorum carismatum
f.130va ferculis indifferenter | ordinata.

Euenit quandoque ut quis nobilis genere accedat ad religionis cultum diuino nutu. Reiecta uetustatis et antique calamitatis clamide ardens accedit ad cultum dei. Exsatiatus multorum criminum uetusta labe nobilis ad nobilem transit Christum. Penitentia suadente multis facultatibus pollentem excipit ecclesia in sanctam societatem, in qua multos inueniet qui de modica paupertate transierunt ad hoc regnum celeste. Meminerit quidem se homines esse, etsi precellant dignitate mutua se gloriari pauperum societate. Nec extollantur si collegio fratrum multa de suis facultatibus contulere, nec de collatis deo beneficiis magis superbiant quam si eis in seculo fruerentur.

6] de nocte: bis scr. 13] MS. pascit lectio diuina
20] nobilem: MS. nobilium exp.et corr.sup.

Many are the wicked devices which he prepares while he sits in ambush to slay the innocent; and many kinds of help are needed by those who belong to the communities of the sacred order, for that wicked overseer looks for a way to get in in a thousand holes, and he prowls around at night lying in wait for our actions. In order to resist his loathsome prowlings, it will be necessary to make use of many things: now the innermost defences of the heart and mind, next the faithful teachings of the holy Fathers, so that their sacred instruction - the exemplar of good conduct - may nourish us within; just as at the table not only does refreshment feed our bodies, but our minds too are nourished and refreshed by the reading of a lesson about God's gifts, that is appointed [to be read] irrespective of the dishes.

It sometimes happens that someone nobly born comes at God's call to the service of religion. When he has cast away the cloak of his past life and former ruin, he comes into God's service burning with zeal. Glutted with the old stain of his many sins, the nobleman comes over to the noble Christ. Commended by his repentance the Church receives one who has rich resources into her fellowship, in which he will find many men who have come to this heavenly kingdom from meagre poverty. Although [the rich] are higher than [the poor] in rank, he should remember that they are men and that they glory together in the fellowship of poor brothers. If they have given much of their wealth to the community, let them not boast; and let them not grow more proud of the benefits God has given them than they would have done if they had had the use of them in the outside world.

Cum enim multis malis exerceatur mens humana ut in eis uigeat, superbia bonis operibus insidiatur ut per eam pereant. Quid enim prodest dispergendo bona pauperibus se ipsum contemptibilem deo reddere cum mens alta inmemor conditionis sue superbior efficitur diuitiaς contempnendo quam fuerat ante hac eas possidendo? Delicatos quidem plus iusto et se habentes plusquam deceret iam conuersos a seculo contempnit regula tocius ordinis magistra.

f.130vb |Et siquid a parentibus uel amicis uictualium, uestimentorum, operimentorum tribuitur, non inuideant pauperiores qui mente diuites emanauerunt a seculo; magis enim indigentibus ea distribuantur a preposito. Sufficere enim debet unicuique quod sat est, nam quod pluris est a malo est. Inhonesta quidem sacietas quanto plus appetitur, tanto magis laboriosa hominum premit corda, nec est sine uitio plus iusto cupita habendi deuotio.

Omnes itaque fratres unanimiter et concorditer uiuite in claustro.(1) Non inmisceat se quietis uestris mentibus fantasticus aliquis diabolice fraudis inuisa turbatio, quę sinceris mentibus plus aduersatur irruendo, quanto pacatiores suisque incursibus resistendo inuenit fortiores.

In inuicem deum honorate cuius uos templa facti estis.(2) Orationi instate; certis uero horis

[e & eras.]
14] MS. distribuatur ∠ 26] uos: MS. nos del.et corr.
27] uero: MS. puero p erasit

(1) Praeceptum II,1.
(2) 2 Corinth. 6,16.

For when the human mind is exercised in so many evils that it thrives on them, pride lies in wait for good deeds so that they may perish through it. For what profit is there in giving away one's goods to the poor to make oneself contemptible to God, when a lofty mind forgets what he is and becomes more proud about giving his wealth away than he had been before when he owned it? No, those who are too fastidious and have too high a regard for themselves are scorned by the rule, which is sovereign over all the order.

If parents or friends give any food, clothing or covering, let not the poor brethren, who have come rich in mind from the outside world, grow envious; let the superior give it to those who need it most. What is enough must suffice everyone, for anything more is evil. Truly, the more men seek to have a shameful abundance, the more it weighs on their hearts which are full of toil, and an excessive dedication to getting what one desires is not without vice.

Therefore, let all the brethren live together in the cloister in unanimity and concord.(1) Let no fantasy - the unseen interference caused by the deception of the devil - disturb your peaceful minds, for the more he finds minds that are at peace and which are stronger at resisting his incursions, all the more does he oppose them by attacking them.

Reverence God in one another whose temples you are made.(2) Be instant at prayer, and sing to God at the

et temporibus deo psallite. In oratorio nullus agat nisi ad quod institutum est, unde et nomen acepit.(1) Psalmis et ymnis et canticis spiritualibus cum oratis, id uersetur in corde quod profertur ore.(2) Nec in diuersa distraatur animus nugarum sollicitudinibus soli deo indifferenter addictus. Nec quod iuuat aliquos delectatione uana
f.131ra personetur in | ecclesia,(3) sed communi omnium uoto celebre et autenticum secundum morem antiquorum quod consueuerit ritus aliarum ecclesiarum hoc nouerint cantandum.

Carnem itaque uestram domate ieiuniis et escarum abstinenciis;(4) nec hiis tantum sed et ieiunet mens sobria a labe prorsus criminum. Quibus autem ieiunandi sicut aliis non datur optio seponantur in domo infirmorum uel alibi ubi non sumant cibum extra horam prandii nisi cum egrotauerint.

Sani uero cum sederint ad mensam audiant uerbum dei sine murmure, quod auris exterior possit animi constanciam demulcere.(5)

Item, [ne] indignentur forciorum mentes si ad reparationem pristine infirmitatis sue reparentur ualitudines infirmorum, que tanto amplius diligent cibo potuque refocillari quanto sunt extenuati infirmitate grauiori.(6)

1] et: MS. in exp.et corr.sup. 22] ne: suppl.
26] infirmitate: r add.sup. 8]quod co

(1) Praeceptum II,2.
(2) Praeceptum II,3.
(3) cf.Praeceptum II,4.
(4) Praeceptum III,1.
(5) Praeceptum III,2.
(6) Praeceptum III,3.

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AS ORIGINAL

from you, that the guardian of your souls, from whom nothing is hidden, may protect you from yourselves.

Therefore, when your [brother's fault] comes to your attention, correct him swiftly, lest what he has conceived in his mind should now be put into practice, and in case you are thrown into worse as he grows hardened to it, and the next fault be more serious than the first. If he cannot put it right with your help, set your own soul free, tell the superior and be free. When the superior has listened to the brothers' counsel, he should inform the others so that the brother may be convicted on the evidence of two or three witnesses, and be punished with the appropriate severity. You must not judge those who betray your sins as being ill-disposed towards you, nor should you think them full of hatred, if, by accusing your brothers you can correct them, but by concealing their fault you allow your brethren to perish. For if your brother has a mark on his body which he wants to hide because he is frightened to have it cut away, surely you are being cruel to keep hidden something which, when it had been made known out of mercy and love, could have been put right in a calm trial when it was out in the open. You could have revealed it to greater advantage so that it could have been removed from his body to stop it becoming deeply rooted in his heart through habit and growing rotten. If he does not comply after he has been given frequent warnings to make amends, then let him be as the heathen and the publican[1] to the other brothers. But if he denies the charge, let him be convicted when the afore-mentioned witnesses have been called. But he cannot be accused by only one witness; he can be convicted by two or three. Once he is found guilty he must undergo the sentence of punishment in accordance with the superior's decision; but if he refuses he shall be alienated from the community of brothers. This indeed will not be done out

f.131vb crudeliter sed reputandum erit misericorditer,| ne contagione pestifera unius delictum plurimos perdat de collegio fratrum.

Quodque superius me dixisse memini de figendis oculis in mulieribus et ceteris inueniendis, prohibendis, indicandis, conuincendis, iudicandisque peccatis, diligenter et fideliter obseruari sumopere precipimus cum dilectione hominum et abolitione uitiorum.

Munuscula, ut assolet, siue alia corporis necessaria si conferantur alicui fratrum,(1) ostendat proposito ut si cui de fratrum consortio talibus indigenti utilior sit distributio sine ira et odio conferatur suscepti donatio. Suscepta quoque qui celauauerit a proposito durius arguatur, et quasi furti reus habeatur.(2)

Fraterna caritas dum magis coalescit perceptura brauium eterne beatitudinis crescit in immensum, ut fraterne dilectionis comodum unicuique censendum sit tanquam proprium, nec a te uideatur excisum quicquid fraternis usibus necessariis prosit in augmentum. Quibuscumque etenim utitur ad presens transitoria necessitas ad inuicem gaudeat et congratuletur ex collatione dilectio fraterna et exibita communiter operosa caritas. Non enim ut scriptum est: Non querit que sua sunt,(3) sed gaudet dispersis et communibus plusquam propriis; f.132ra non propria preponet commu|nibus.

18] eterne: abbrev. in alt. man. 27] et: add.sup.

(1) Praeceptum IV,11.
(2) Praeceptum V,3.
(3) 1 Corinth. 13,5.

of cruelty, but is to be thought an act of mercy to avoid the offence of one man destroying a great many members of the community through a fatal contagion.

What I remember I said earlier about not fixing your eyes on women and other sins that are to be uncovered, forbidden, shown, accused and judged, we very much urge you to observe earnestly and faithfully for the love of men and the destruction of vice.

If little gifts or other things the body needs are given to any of the brothers, as is common,[1] let them be shown to the superior, so that if they are distributed to the best advantage by being given to a member of the community who has need of such things, the gift may be given away without the brother who received it feeling any anger or hatred. Anyone who hides what he is given should be severely upbraided by the superior and be treated as if he were guilty of theft.[2]

The more brotherly love takes root, the reward of everlasting joy which it is going to gain grows immense, so that everyone should count to his own advantage whatever promotes love among the brethren. Do not let it appear that anything that meets the brethren's needs is annexed by you. Whatever transient need has a use for at present, let love among the brethren and charity, which is shown at work in the community, rejoice together and give thanks together. For as it is written: <u>love does not seek its own</u>,[3] but rejoices in what is shared and held in common rather than what is kept as one's own; and love does not put what is one's own before what is in common.

Ab autentico magistro et institutore huius ordinis disce quid sequaris, quem imitando ad meliora proueharis. Cepit iuuenis tenere etatis exemplum prebere sanctitatis, dicente apostolo: Circa omnes bonorum operum te ipsum prebens exemplum,(1) doctrinaliter plerosque promouens ad rudimenta maiorum de quibus agitur in libro actuum apostolorum: Nemo dicebat aliquid proprium, sed erant eis omnia communia.(2)

Non elegi in clero dominari,(3) sed elegi abiectus esse in domo dei magis quam habitare in tabernaculis peccatorum.(4) Contentus autem paupertate mea ab hiis qui diligunt seculum segregaui me, nec hiis qui preerant populis coequaui me, nec hiis qui in conuiuiis multorum superiorem optinebant locum sedem elegi, sed humilitate precluis inter abiectos et inferiores computari. Sed placuit altissimo humilia uisitanti dicere: Amice ascende superius.(5) Accessi ad ciuitatem querens ubi monasterium constituerem et una cum fratribus deo gratis honeste uiuerem. Spem quippe omnem secularium abdicaueram, omnis promotionis appetitum fugerem. Quod esse potui nolui: quod sum, deus nouit, non quesiui. Usque adeo tunc timebam episcopatum, diuulgata iam inter
f.132rb multos | fama nostra magis quam uellem, plus tamen quam necesse esset, ut ad locum episcopii non libens accederem. Cauebam sullimitatis notam quantum poteram, cupiens ut in loco humili saluarer

3] proueharis: h add.sup.

(1) Titus 2,7.
(2) Acts 4,32.
(3) S.Augustine, Sermon 355, De uita et moribus clericorum.
(4) Ps. 83,11.
(5) S.Luke 14,10.

Learn what you are to follow from the authoritative master and founder of this order; by imitating him may you be carried up to higher things. He began to set an example of holiness when he was a young man of tender age, as the apostle says: showing yourself a pattern of good works around everyone;(1) and in his teaching he directed many men to the basic principles of our fore-fathers, of whom it says in the Acts of the Apostles: No-one called anything his own but they had all things in common.(2)

"I did not choose to have power among the clergy,(3) but I had rather be a doorkeeper in the house of my God, than to dwell in the tents of sinners.(4) But, content with being poor, I set myself apart from those who love the world; I neither counted myself the equal of those who held sway over the people, nor did I choose a seat with those who occupied a high place at the gatherings of many folk; but, distinguished by my humility, I chose to be counted among the mean and lowly. But when He was visiting the lowly it pleased the most High to say: Friend, come up higher.(5) I came to the city looking for a place to found a monastery and live honestly, thanks be to God, as one with my brothers. Of course, I had given up every worldly ambition; I was fleeing from every desire for advancement. What I could be I did not want, and, God knows, what I am I did not seek. At that time I was so afraid of being made a bishop, for my reputation had already become widely known among many men - more than I would have wished - even more than was necessary, that I would not willingly accept a bishopric. I used to beware the mark of high rank as much as I could, and wished to be saved in a lowly walk of life rather than

potius quam in alto periclitarer. Sed quam fas est superuenienti gratie importunum se non exibere, dei uoluntati non contraire sapientis animi est et bene disposite mentis ad nutum dei se exponere. Accessi ad ciuitatem uisurus amicum quem deo lucrari summopere cuperem, quem Christo fidelem et congregationi noue sciebam ualde necessarium. Apprehensus sum statim et presbiter factus sum, deinde ad episcopatum deuolutus sum. Nichil mecum attuli, hiis indumentis uestitus quibus tunc utebar secularibus. Necdum regulari indutus habitu, quia nouitia erat hec dispositio; necdum locum adeptus in quo fundaretur ecclesia. Misertus autem nostri prepositi dominus, beate memorie senex Valerius hiis bonis fauens ceptis, ortum suum nobis dedit, in quo fabrefecit ecclesiam ordini congruam dispositio dei omnipotentis. Et statim cepi fratres colligere mihi compares, nichil habentes sicut et ego nichil habebam, imitatores uidelicet meos, ut | f.132va quomodo ego tenuem paupertatulam meam uendideram et pauperibus erogaueram, sic facerent et illi qui mecum esse uoluissent, ut de communi uiueremus omnes, fieretque nobis commune magnum et uberrimum illud predium totus ipse deus.

Sic egi paupertatis mee tenuitate delectatus ut aliis ostentatricis glorie humane tollerem supercilium et gauderet exigua paupertas mea in multos distribui facultates pauperum, ut et nos

8] et: add.sup. 20] paupertatulam: ta add.sup. 28] et: add.sup.

perish in high office. But how right it is not to show that one is unfit for grace when it comes to you, and not to oppose the will of God; and it is the duty of a prudent and well-ordered mind to lay itself open to His bidding. I came up to the city to see a friend whom I very much wanted to convert to God, knowing that he would be loyal to Christ and be indispensable in the new community. I was at once caught up and made a priest, and then I fell headlong into the episcopate. I took nothing with me, being clad in the every-day garments I was using at the time. [I] was not yet dressed in the regular habit since this arrangement was an innovation; nor yet had I obtained a site on which to set up a church. But the Lord took pity on my plan, and an old man of blessed memory called Valerius, being well disposed to the good things which had been begun, gave us his garden in which was built a church suitable for the order by the providence of the Almighty. At once I began to gather together brothers, my companions, who had no possessions just as I had none; they imitated what I did; just as I had sold the little I had and had given it to the poor, those who wanted to be with me did the same, because we were all to live in common and in common were to receive the great and richest reward of God Himself in full.

Delighted with the meagreness of my poverty, I lived in this way in order to remove from others the arrogance of making a show of the glory of man; so that my mean poverty would rejoice in being distributed to meet the many needs of the poor, and in order that we would share in the rewards of the poor and that some

pauperum meritis participaremus et transfundaretur in nos pro beneficiis susceptis aliqua portiuncula meritorum fraterne pietatis.

Iam factus episcopus, ne laciuiret facultatis nostre habundantia sic institui [consortium] fratrum annuente gratia ut quicquid superesset uictualibus necessariis dispergaretur in sumptibus egenorum, et multi sustentarentur et eorum indigentia sulleuaretur de paupertatis nostre alimonia communi fratrum, quomodo id utile et necessarium deputantes ut uenientibus ad nos siue per nos transeuntibus pie humanitatis officium exhibere et [melius] solis oleribus in refectorio cum panis portiuncula uitam actitare quam pauperibus et peregrinis non uictualia ministrare.

Delegit etiam hic ordo fratrum nichil habere
f.132vb proprium, quod siquis | usurpauerit sibi illicitum non laudet auctorem Augustinum. Est enim ordinis nostri propositum citius indigere necessariis quam superabundare terrenis. Sequi uero delegimus quod ex dictis antiquorum patrum legisse meminimus in libro uidelicet actuum apostolorum: Nemo aliquid censebat proprium, sed erant eis omnia communia.(1) Huius institutionis [me] laudet auctorem Augustinum, sed si cecus oberrauerit nullius laudo excessum. [?] Scrutatores uero diligentes obseruationum nostrarum moneo ut non facile pertranseant que dico, sicut enim credo instituta nostra sunt a deo, que qu

5] consortium: suppl. 13] melius: suppl.

(1) Acts 4,32.

portion of the rewards of brotherly love would be poured upon us for the acts of kindness we had done.

Now I had become a bishop, to stop our plentiful resources causing indulgence I set up a community of brothers with the favour of grace, so that whatever provisions were surplus to our needs should be given to support the needy, for many men to be sustained and their want relieved from the brothers' common nourishment - thinking it was useful and necessary in this way to perform a service of love and kindness for those coming to us or passing by, and [thinking it better] to live on vegetables in the refectory with a piece of bread than not to give the poor and pilgrims any food."

This order of brothers has also chosen to have no personal possessions, and if anyone were to keep for himself what is forbidden, he would do Augustine, our founder, no honour, for it is the purpose of our order to do without the things we need rather than to have more worldly things than we require. Indeed, we have chosen to pursue what we remember having read in the sayings of the ancient Fathers, that is to say in the Acts of the Apostles: <u>No one thought anything was his own property, but they had everything in common among them</u>.(1) Let [a brother] honour [me(?)] Augustine, the founder of this institution, but if he goes blindly astray, I praise no man's transgression. I warn those who examine our observances closely not to pass lightly over what I say, for I believe our ordinances come from

uiolauerit et sinistre interpretatus fuerit, a felici cadet proposito. Cadit enim a proposito qui professus huius sacre professionis ordinem deserit beate societatis promissum ceptumque consortium. Quibus autem non sufficit deus uel ecclesia nutrix ualida, a cuius uberibus pendet salus nostra, maneant a nostris sedibus alieni. Ypocritas detestamur, longe sit a nobis eorum societas. Vir enim duplex animo, inconstans est in omnibus uiis suis.(1) Malum est cadere a proposito, sed ualde peius est simulatorie propositum fouere. Certe qui societatem communis uite iam susceptam inanis glorie cupidus deserit, a uoto suo cadit, a
f.133ra professio|ne sancta ruit. Reuereatur iudicem operum suorum inspectorem. Ponat ante oculos operum suorum discrimen. Videat potius et diiudicet quid sue salutati expediat, scriptum est enim: Vouete et reddite domino deo uestro.(2) Et: Melius est non uouere quam uotum frangens non reddere.(3) Duo professus es; sanctitatis confessionem, uite communis societatem: Quam bonum et quam iocundum habitare fratres in unum!(4) Sub fide qua tenetur deo promisit creatori suo. Si ceciderit a proposito, si extraneus fuerit a claustro, dimidium cecidisse et alienum a consortio fratrum censebo. Si intus habuerit simulationem, totus corruit in dampnationem. Sed qui spernatur habere proprium uel pauperibus erogandi consortium [deligit], maneat mecum. Sin autem, habeat recedendi libertatem, sed uideat et dicernat utrum sic consequi possit eterne

18] Et: t add.sup. 27] qui: MS. quia 28] deligit: suppl.

(1) S.James 1,8.
(2) Ps. 75,12.
(3) Eccles. 5,4.(Vg. quam uouere et non reddere)
(4) Ps. 132,1.

God, and anyone who breaks them or misinterprets them will fall from his happy purpose. For he falls from his purpose when, having affirmed his allegiance to this sacred profession, he forsakes his promise of blessed fellowship and the brotherhood he has begun. But let those for whom God or our strong nurse,the church, from whose breasts hangs our salvation, is insufficient food, remain strangers to our dwelling. Hypocrites we loathe; let their company be far away from us, for a double minded man is unstable in all his ways.(1) Bad it is to fall from one's purpose, but far worse to pretend to be cherishing it. Certainly, anyone who forsakes the fellowship of a common life which he has begun because he is eager for empty glory falls from his vow; from his sacred profession he crashes down. Let him stand in awe of his judge, who inspects all that he has done. Let him set before his eyes the danger of what he has done; or rather let him see and judge what is best for his salvation, for it is written: Make your vow and give it to the Lord your God.(2) And it is written: Better is it that thou shouldest not vow than thou shouldest break thy vow and not pay.(3) You have professed two things: the confession of holiness and the fellowship of a common life. How good and joyful a thing it is, brethren, to dwell together in unity.(4) In the faith which binds him to God he has made a promise to his Maker. If he falls from his purpose, if he becomes a stranger to the cloister, I will judge him to have fallen half-way and to be a stranger to the community of brothers. If he harbours within him any pretence, he tumbles completely into damnation. But let him stay with me who despises owning his own property and chooses the fellowship of giving to the poor. If not, let him be free to go, but let him look and consider whether he can thus attain

felicitatis integritatem. Hiis et huiusce commonitoriis populum qui sibi credit ad ordinis seueritatem prouocat Augustinus.

Continencie felicitatem si diligis,(1) in te circumcide superflua et in artum collige desideria tua. Considera tecum quantum exigat natura non quantum concupiscat in superfluitatem erecta. f.133rb | Impone frenum concupiscentie, que si | diffuse liceat exerceri, in inmensum crescens te faciet repentinum cadere. Quicumque blandimentis allicientibus et ocultis uoluptatibus animum distraunt, reice abste. Citra saturitatem ede: citra ebrietatem bibe. Sic enim nec presentibus deliciis inherebis, nec absentes plus iusto affectabis. Victus tibi sit ex facili compositus, non ad uoluptatem sed ad tenuem sufficienciam conditus. Palatum tuum fames excitet, non conditi sapores ingluuiem tui cordis irritent. Edacitatem tuam modico redime ut transeat sine peccato edacitatis tue nimia curiositas. Sicque omnia componas ut mentis superfluitatem ad spiritus temperanciam discrete componas. Si continentie delegeris studium adhibere, salubriter non nimis iocunde eligas uitam ducere, ut non dominum a domo uelis intimare sed domum a domino uelis innotescere. Non in te affingas quod non eris nec magis quam es uideri uelis. Hoc autem diligenter obserua, ut semper tibi sit paupertas honesta, numquam parsimonia sordida, nec simplicitas neglecta, nec leuitas languida. Si

(1) Pseudo Seneca, De uerborum copia, chs.3-4.

the fullness of everlasting happiness. With these and other warnings of this kind does Augustine challenge the people who believe in him to the strict life of the order.

If you love the joy of chastity,[1] cut away the excesses within you and gather up your desires into a close place. Think of how much nature needs, not how much it desires when it is raised to excess. Bridle your lust, for if you allow it to carry on freely, it will grow huge in size and will make you fall suddenly. Whoever distracts your mind with alluring charms and hidden delights, cast them out of your way. Eat without being full; drink without getting drunk, for thus you will neither cling to the delights you have at present, nor will you long too much for them when they are gone. Let what you eat be just enough, not seasoned for pleasure but barely enough. Let hunger excite your palate; do not allow seasoned flavourings to stir up the gluttony of your heart. Relieve your hunger with a little food so that your appetite's excessive craving for novelty may pass by without sin. Thus arrange all things to bring the excess of your mind wisely under the control of moderation. If you decide to strive to gain self-control, choose a lifestyle which is wholesome and not too agreeable, in such a way that you do not wish to make known the master from his house but to wish the house to become known from its master. Do not affect in yourself what you will not be, and do not wish to seem anything more than you are. Make a careful note of this, so as always to be worthy in your poverty but never mean in thrift; and do not be carelessly plain nor weakly fickle. If your means are

f.133va res exigue, sint tamen | oneste. Turpia et indecencia fugito, antequam irruant precito, antequam te nimis conturbent precaueto. Nullum uerearis plusquam te; ante oculos tuos pone quod uerendum sit anime tue. Utili sermocinationi mentem adhibere; uagos et indecentes sermones ut pestem uitare contende.

Reprehensibilis erit in te risus si magnus, si pueriliter effusus, si muliebriter fractus. Contemptibilem enim facit risus hominem si sit aut superbus, aut elatus, aut malignus, aut ab alienis malis prouocatus. Si uero contingerit ut assolet iocositati indulgere, necesse est auctoritatem conseruare nec eam frangere, ne insolescat ordinis seueritas uel uilescat iocorum facilitate. Risus sine cachinno, uox sine clamore, incessus sine tumultu, quies tibi sine desidia erit.

Ludant alii, tu semper aliquid sancti onestique propositi tractes in animo, grauitateque seruata sis intentus ad superna. Memini me hominem uidisse sacre religionis monacum ob causam uisitationis parentum descendisse in domum cuiusdam familiaris sui in quam ad suscitandam gaudii plenitudinem accesserunt et saltatores, mimi, f.133vb bala|trones, ceteris risum mouentes quorum 26 uanitatibus, nec ille semel respectum proiciens sculpturam quandam periti artificis diligenter

1] Turpia: r add.sup. 11] aut malignus: t add.sup. ab: add.sup. 12] malis: MS. malus 18] Ludant: MS. Laudent emend. ex Fohlen

meagre, let them be virtuous. From things that are shameful and indecent flee away; before they rush upon you first know of them; before they utterly confound you, first try to avert them. Fear no man more than yourself. Set before your eyes what your soul must fear. Occupy your mind in useful discourse. Strive to avoid like the plague conversations that are rambling and improper.

Your laughter will be open to criticism if it is loud, poured out like a boy's or cracked like a woman's. For if laughter is haughty, high, spiteful or is prompted by another's misfortunes, it makes a man contemptible. But if, as is often the case, you indulge in jesting, it is essential that you preserve your authority and do not not allow it to be undermined, in case strictness in the order becomes unusual and worthless because of the ease with which jokes are told. You will laugh without cackling, speak without shouting, walk without creating a commotion, and take rest without being lazy.

Let others be frivolous; your mind should always be occupied with some aspect of your sacred and worthy purpose, and you should keep your dignity and be intent on things that are above. I remember that I once saw a man - a monk of a holy order - who had gone down to visit his parents to some relative's house, where dancers, comics and jesters had arrived to excite a good deal of merriment. They were making the others laugh by their antics, nor did he escape the jesters' vain deception, casting one glance at them, looking intently at a certain pose of the skilful artist. When

intuens euasit ioculatorum uanam delusionem. Inspectis talibus ad uana distraitur animus mensque uana ad ineptias distorta surgit ad inopinata.

Non sis audax uel preceps ad hec probanda cordis tui incitamenta, fortis est enim aduersarius qui insidiatur calcaneo tuo; anceps est et uictoria dimicationis tue. Non eris arrogans. Submittes te proximum, seruata tamen grauitate instiganti te ad bona; etsi admonenti te aspere respondebis mansuete. Esto fugax uitiorum, nec te lactent uerba susurronum. Non sis scrutator curiosus uite aliorum nec reprehensor acerbus male se habentium, ne forte dum uelis esse corrector fias male imitationis et ipse sectator. Neminem extollas, nullum deiciendo contempnas; obloquencium tacitus auditor, demulcencium te in peccatis tardus exauditor. Requirenti te facile responde: contempnenti te exacerbando facile cede. Si studes continencie, et anime et corporis motus obserua, ne latrocinante | f.134ra affectu seui hostis in contraria ungant seditionis illapsu. Nec iccirco contempnas si latenter irrepant; sufficiat tibi sentire quod aliis celatum est. Esto cunctis benignus, nemini blandus, paucis ualde familiaris sed et omnibus equus. Seuerior in iudicio quam sermone blando, uita quam uultu; ultor clemens, seuitie detestator. Clemencia est, ut ait Seneca, que se flectit citra id quod potest cum sit in potestate ulciscendi.(1) Fame bone neque tue seminator, neque inuidus aliene. Rumoribus uariis,

11] Non: MS. Nos 16] MS. im peccatis

(1) Seneca, De Clemencia, II, 1.

one has seen such things, the mind is drawn into vanity, and a vain mind bent on foolish trifles gets up to things that were undreamed of.

Do not be bold or hasty to put to the test the things which tempt your heart, for your enemy who lies in wait at your heel is strong, and the victory of your struggle with him is lying in the balance. You will not be haughty. Submit to your neighbour, still keeping your own dignity which urges you on to good; and even if he chides you roughly, you will reply to him meekly. Be a fugitive from vice, and do not lap up the words of whisperers. Do not pry inquisitively into the lives of others, and do not be a sharp critic of those who behave badly, lest you actually follow their bad example when you want to correct them. Acclaim no-one, despise no-one by putting him down. Listen quietly to your critics; be slow to listen to men who soothe you in your sins. Reply readily to anyone who asks you something; defer willingly to anyone who scorns you by provoking you. If you are striving to gain self-control, concentrate on the motions of your body and your soul, lest, while the cruel enemy preys upon the state of your mind, they anoint you for the opposite [of self-control] through the sliding in of discord. And for this reason if they slip in unnoticed, you must not think them unimportant. Let it suffice that you are aware of something hidden from others. Treat everyone with kindness. Flatter no-one. Be on intimate terms with a few, but be fair to all. Be more severe in your opinion than in flattering speech, more so in what you do than in what you appear. Be merciful when you punish, and loathe cruelty. Mercy, as Seneca says, is what turns away from what one has the power to do when sitting in judgement.[1] Neither spread reports of your own fine reputation, nor be envious of someone else's. Do not be too ready to believe various rumours and

suspicionibus odiosis non facile credulus. Nullius despicias inprudenciam. Rari sint sermones tui ut caueas multiloquia, quibus raro deest peccatum. Plerisque seuerus in palpando iocundos non asperneris, inest enim iocunditas plerisque diligentibus deum ut eructent foris de pleno quo habundanter intus habundant. Non enim contineri potest de facili mentis exultatio, que cotidie fota a domino sinceritatis gaudio crescit in inmensum impellente summi largitoris dono. Seuerus esto facie, sed iudex serus in opere. Que nosti pre aliis in sciencia sine arrogancia ceteris
f.134rb imperciaris; que nescis sine ocul|tatione ignorancie sedulus tibi postules impartiri.

Agnosce igitur gratiam a deo tibi collatam cognoscendi teipsum. Cum diligenter tuam inspexeris uitam memorando nouissima tua, tunc sine delectu iocunditatis tue respiciens retro incipies penitere super hiis que commisisti, in quibus deum offendisti tempore negligentie tue. Sicque dabit tibi deus afflictionum corporis retributionem pro peccatis, in ieiuniis, in uigiliis, mundi contemptum; libenter illatas sibi sustinere iniurias odioque habere omnes corporalis refrigerii delicias, et per orationis instanciam magis planctum appetere quam risum. Deinde dabit illi estuare fletuum ubertate, dabit et cordis humiliationem trabem quoque oculi sui considerare, et frequenter in cordis triclinio reuerberare, sepe

24] habere: MS. habendi

suspicions that are full of hatred. Do not be scornful of anyone's carelessness. Let your conversations be few so that you beware much-talking, in which there is rarely no sin. Strict to many, do not begrudge flattering jokers, for in many who love God is found a joyfulness which makes them throw up in full what they abound in within. The heart's rejoicing cannot easily be contained, and when it is fostered daily by the Lord it grows huge in the joy of truth and is encouraged by the gift of the greatest Giver. Be stern in your appearance, but as a judge be slow to act. Without being haughty share with the others what extra knowledge you have, and what you do not know you should constantly ask to have imparted to you without concealing your ignorance.

Recognise, therefore, the grace which God has given you of knowing yourself. When you examine your life thoroughly and remember it is going to end, as you look back without delight in your high spirits, then you will begin to repent the things you have done, the things in which you offended God in the days of your negligence. Wherefore, to pay for your sins God will give you the punishment of physical affliction; in fasts, vigils, contempt for the world; [strength] to bear willingly the injuries inflicted on you, to hate all the pleasures of physical refreshment, and by being instant at prayer to desire to make moan more than to laugh. Then He will make a man sweat a flood of tears, and He will give him lowliness of heart to consider the beam in his own eye, and to reflect repeatedly in the chamber of his heart, often turning over that saying of

reuoluens illud prophete: Quoniam iniquitatem meam cognosco et p[eccatum] m[eum] c[ontra] m[e] est semper. Tibi soli peccaui et m[alum] c[oram] t[e] f[eci];(1) exitus sui diem reuoluere, et diem iudicii atrum et terribilem recogitare, sed et iudicia penasque meritas iuuentuti sue oculi deflere. Hinc orietur mentis interna contricio; hinc uniuerse cladis peccati assue[fac]tionis
f.134va exurget abrenunciatio; hinc uoluptuose | carnis contra impugnantes se huius mundi principes uictoriosa preminebit mentis colluctatio; hinc et [...] escarum et potuum detestabilis delectatio que mentem fedam emollierunt sepe per ingluuiem ad corporis feditatem. Tunc quidem fatiscens ex protracta diutius lassitudine cum te respexerit dominus, poteris dicere anime tue: Anima erumpnosa malicie uepribus obsita, quamdiu poteris huius inanis delectationis laborem sustinere? Tunc dices anime tue: Anima confortare. Esto robusta in perseueratione. Fortiter temptationi resiste. Peccasti; quiesce; penitentiam age. Respiciet te deus tuus, benignus et misericors se sustinentibus, confirmabitque cor tuum ne preualeat aduersus te inimicus. Sed sicut ait beatus Paulus: Contendite et dimicate aduersus principes mundi huius et accipietis uirtutem,(2) de qua dicit apostolus Petrus: Hereditatem incorruptam et inmarcessibilem conseruatam in celis in uobis qui in uirtute dei custodimini per fidem.(3)

Indeficientes igitur et armati uirtute

6] MS. oculi 8] MS. assuetionis

(1) Ps. 50,5-6.
(2)
(3) 1 Peter 1,4.

the prophet: <u>For I acknowledge my faults, and my sin is ever before me. Against thee only have I sinned and done this evil in thy sight</u>;(1) [strength] to think about the day of his death and to ponder on the dire and fearful day of Judgement, but also to make his eyes weep for the judgements and the punishments which his youth deserves. Out of these shall arise inner sorrow of the mind. Out of these shall spring the renunciation of the whole calamitous habit of sin. Out of these shall come forth the mind's victorious struggle with the sinful flesh against the powers of this world which attack it; and out of these [?] the loathsome delight in food and drink which have often weakened an impure mind through gluttony because of the body's impurity. But then, when you are growing faint through long drawn out weariness and our Lord looks upon you, then you can say to your soul, "Oh soul full of distress and beset with the thorns of malice, how long will you be able to bear the struggle of this profitless pleasure?" Then you will say to your soul, "Take comfort, O my soul." Be steadfast in your persistence. Bravely resist temptation. You have sinned, be still and repent. He will look upon you - your God, kind and merciful to those who sustain themselves - and He will strengthen your heart so that the enemy shall not prevail against you. But as Blessed Paul says: <u>Strive and fight off the powers of this world, and you shall receive power</u>,(2) which the apostle Peter calls <u>an inheritance incorruptible and undefiled , and that fadeth not away, reserved in heaven for you, who are kept in the power of God through faith</u>.(3)

Therefore, lacking nothing and armed with heavenly

celesti contendite cum aduersario, benignus enim et
f.134vb clemens deus si uiderit corroboratum | contra inimicos suos cordis tui templum. Si forte ad probationem constancie tue ad horam subtraxerit a te uirtutis sue gratiam et inimicis tuis fecerit indulgentiam probandi cor tuum, si fuerit profectum, dices securus de premio et cordis tui scincera deuotione: Probasti cor meum et uisitasti nocte, igne me examinasti et non est in[uenta] i[n] m[e] i[niquitas].(1) Probasti quidem igne examinationis et in nocte consolatus es me. Numquid tot afflictionibus contritum, tot scopulis illisum uariarum tribulationum, rector dimittet me uacuum? Tu dixisti qui neminem promisso fraudasti: Tollite iugum meum super uos et discite quia mitis sum et humilis corde, et inuenietis requiem animabus uestris.(2) Sicque iugo pressis a iuuentute sua cognoscetur dominus mitis ac suauis hiis qui portauerint iugum domini ab adolescencia sua,(3) ut aperiat oculos cordium ipsorum ut intelligant quoniam ipse est qui confirmat eos. Tunc enim uere incipient nosse honorem dare deo cum omni humilitate et gratiarum actione. Et si iam pridem oculos auerterint, permissione dei ad confirmationem cordium dabitur reuerti spiritu
f.135ra uisitante ad consueta gratie munimenta, docente propheta: Sacrificium | deo spiritus contribulatus.(4) Deinde ex hac laboris exercitatione (conflictus inter uos et impugnantes uos) nascetur humilitas et contribulati spiritus mansuetudo et modesta ad deum conuersio.

13] MS. rectore 19] MS. abolescencia 20] MS. oculorum cordis 22] MS. date

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(1) Ps. 16,3
(2) S.Matthew 11,29.
(3) Lamentations 3,27.
(4) Ps. 50,19.

power, wrestle with your adversary, for God is merciful and kind if He sees the temple of your heart fortified against its foes. If, for one hour he takes away from you the grace of His power to test how steadfast you are and gives your enemies leave to try out your heart, and it is done, then you will say with confidence in your reward and pure devotion of heart: Thou hast proved and visited mine heart in the night season; thou hast tried me with fire, and there has been found no wickedness within me.(1) You have proved me, as I say, with the fire of testing, and at night you have been my comfort. Worn down by so many hardships, dashed on so many rocks of different troubles, will the Master send me away empty-handed? You deceived no-one in what you promised, and you said: Take my yoke upon, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart; and ye shall find rest unto your souls.(2) Thus the sweet and gentle Lord becomes known to those who are pressed by the yoke from their youth up, to those who have carried the Lord's yoke from their childhood, so that He may open the eyes of their hearts for them to understand that it is He who gives them strength. Then, truly, shall they begin to know how to honour God in all humility and with thanksgiving. And if their eyes have long been turned away, to confirm their hearts God will grant them leave to return to the former protection of His grace in a visitation of the Holy Spirit, as the prophet teaches when he says: A sacrifice to God is a broken spirit.(4) And then out of this struggle - for there will be conflicts and strife among you - will be born humility, the mildness of a broken spirit, and a modest conversion to God. Then, therefore, through the

Tunc igitur per reuelationem gratie cognoscet et dicet homo quia non sunt condigne passiones huius temporis ad futuram gloriam que reuelabitur in nobis.(1) Tunc omnia paruipendet et pro nichilo reputabit quecumque passus fuerit in seculo. Nam enim asperitatem presentis uite perpessa corporis tormenta in hac uita reputabit pro facili, cum uisitatione superna agnoscet se perturbationes inimicorum tran c endisse passionesque corporis inmanes per singula momenta aduersantis inimici fortiter expugnasse. Tunc uere agnoscetis quia indesinenter adherere deo bonum est et ponere in eo spem suam, quoniam ut ait David: Apud te est foris uite.(2) Et iterum in tribulatione positus dicat: Clamaui ad te et sanasti me;(3) et innitatur salutari gratie ut summam diligat humilitatem que omnium uirtutum summa est.

Ponat custodiam ori suo et cordi suo timorem dei. Non se preferendum alteri censeat etsi multa bona fecerit; ostentatio namque, que non est ex deo, genus preuaricationis est coram eo. Nisi f.135rb iniurias sibi illatas pacienter | tulerit et percucienti se maxillam et aliam prebeat, nisi ad omne *opus bonum* gaudenter erumpat, nisi animam suam prouidus futurorum in manu portet quasi cotidie moriturus, nisi uanitatum omnium spretor que sunt sub sole ualeat dicere: Cupio dissolui et esse cum Christo,(4) et iterum cum apostolo: Michi uiuere Christo est et mori lucrum,(5) non erit uerus

24] omne: MS. omnem

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(1) 1 Romans 8,18.
(2) Ps. 35,10. (Vg. fons uitae)
(3) Ps. 29,3.
(4) Philipp. 1,23.
(5) ibid. 1,21.

revelation of grace man shall know and shall say that: the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us.(1) Then he will care little for everything, and he will count as nothing whatever he has suffered in the world. For he will consider as easy the harshness of this life, the physical torments he has suffered in this life, when he will recognise with a visit from above that he has passed over the troubles his enemies have caused him, and that he has bravely overcome the brutal sufferings of his body each time his enemy opposed him. Then, truly, will you know that it is good to cling to God without ceasing, and to put your trust in Him; wherefore, as David says: In thee is found the gate of life.(2) And when he is subject to suffering again, let him say: I cried unto thee and thou hast healed me.(3) And let him rest on God's saving grace, so he may love the lowliest humility, which is the loftiest virtue.

Let him set a watch on his mouth, and upon his heart the fear of God. Let him not think he should precede another, even though he has done many good things, for boasting, which does not come from God, is sinful in His sight. Unless he patiently bears all the injuries which are laid upon him and turns the other cheek to anyone who strikes him; unless he joyously breaks out every good deed unless with an eye to the future he carries his soul in his hand as if each day he were expecting to die; unless while spurning every vain thing under the sun he can say: I long to depart and to be with Christ,(4) and again with the apostle: For me it is gain to live and die for Christ,(5) he will not truly follow the commandments of

obseruator mandatorum dei. Scrutamini scripturas in quibus mandatorum dei obseruanciam quisque inueniet; quibus custoditis debebitur retributio multa.

Iactancia uicium, ut assolet in plerisque fratribus a seculo uenientibus, prurigine quadam fratres lacius extendere uiciosum est. Non enim se ipsum solum corrumpit sed et [multorum labem porrigere contaminant]; dum se magnum iactitare et supra uires statum excedere contendit, unum teneat sicque sociorum mentes minus compositas ad inferiora deiciat. Graue est enim et discriminosum nimis iactancie periculum, quo dum se homo inaniter extollendo superiorem ceteris facit, ad ima se deicit. Scriptum est enim: Quanto maior es humilia te in omnibus.(1) Et dominus in euangelio: Qui maior est inter uos, fiat minister uester.(2) Dator enim ipse summe humilitatis quod suum est in alios
f.135va | uolens refundere | aliis uel persuadere ut quod in uirtutibus censet magis celebre in suorum cordium sollempniis instituat, animis infigere, et arrogantie notam plenius a cordibus arcere. Contingit enim sepe quod accedentibus ad deum ipsis iniciis conuersionis sue commentor ille fraudis maligne inmittat per se uel per angelos malos studium cogitationis inique uel spiritum arrogancie siue diuersorum generum amplitudines iniuriarum, ut iniciate professionis corrumpat bonum et subito decidat in preuaricationis malum

8-9] The text is corrupt here. A translation is given of [multi labe porrigente contaminantur]
10] MS. excedendi 28] MS. corrumpant

(1) Ecclus. 3,20.
(2) S.Matthew 23,11.

God. Examine the Scriptures, in which everyone shall find the observance of God's commandments; if he keeps them, a great reward will be due to him.

It is sinful for brothers to extend by a sort of itching the sin of boasting which is common among very many brothers on their coming from the outside world. Not only does he [who boasts] corrupt himself, but, [as the stain spreads, many of the brethren are defiled too.] While he strives to boast his greatness and exceed his rank beyond his abilities, let him keep his own company and thus put down the uncomposed minds of his associates. For the danger of excessive boasting is grave and full of peril, and while a man makes himself to be better than the rest by boasting vainly, he puts himself down to the very depths. For it is written: The greater thou art, humble thyself the more in all things,(1) and in the Gospel our Lord says: He that is greatest among you shall be your servant.(2) For He Himself is the Giver of the greatest humility and wants to pour what is His upon others, or persuade them to establish what He believes is the finest virtue among the usual habits of their hearts, to fix it in their minds to ward the sin of pride wholly from their hearts. For it is often the case in the very first stages of the conversion of men making their way towards God, that the author of the malign trick, implants in them, either by his own hand or through his evil angels, zeal for a wicked thought, an arrogant spirit, or a bulk of different kinds of sins, with the result that he destroys a good profession that has been begun, and it falls suddenly into evil transgression because he started to burn a

quod deciduo fomite adolere ceperit diuturnitatis fastigium. Nec sic uacat a misterio incentor malorum, cum enim peruenerit quis ad perfectum uirtutum, instigat eum suis studiis et laboribus assignare sibi et non deo adoptionis huius gloriam. Ne incidere uideamur iactancie notam quam incurrisse credimus primum hominem qui refudit in dominum culpam dicens: Mulier quam dedisti mihi me seduxit ut inciderem in foueam,(1) inmemor liberi arbitrii se custodiendi a domino contraditi.

Hinc preterea cordibus nostris adhibenda est precipua cauendi custodia, ut [non] surrepat f.135vb | mentibus cupiditas | nefanda, neque uoluntas praua, ne quod desiderium uanitatis contra dominum mittant radices in bene disposite mentis cordibus fratrum, que pullulare faciant in inmensum uariarum incitamenta cogitacionum, que si adolere permittantur, crescent in inmensum ut nec sarculis euellantur uel uomere extirpentur nisi diuina opitulante gratia.

Moleste quidem hee cogitationes ad actum uota perducentes perturbant mentes; etiam stando in oratione, sensu et cogitatione euagando abducimur per diuersas seculi uanitates, ut nusquam sit quies placida manentibus in hac uita. Hinc et apostolus ait: Desideria uana et nociue cogitationes que mergunt homines in interitum.(2) Cogitationes enim incentiue malorum ipsa mala perducant ad actum dum per meatus secretos permittunt demones angustis

9] ut: add.in mg. 12] non: suppl. 14] dominum: MS. domini 28] mala: MS. mola

(1) Genesis 3,12.
(2) 1 Timothy 6,9.

long time's endeavour with fallen kindling. But the instigator of evils is not free from mystery, for when anyone attains to the state of perfect virtue, he stirs him up with all his effort and exertion to make him attribute the glory of his adoption to him and not to God. Let us not seem to incur the brand of boasting, which we believe the first man incurred when he threw the blame back on God, by saying: The woman whom you gave to me led me astray that I fell into the trap,(1) forgetting that God had given him free-will to look after himself.

Henceforth we must take special care to look after our hearts, so that no wicked desire creeps into our minds nor a perverse will; so that no vain desire against the Lord puts forth in the hearts of brothers with well-ordered minds roots, which the incentives of diverse thoughts cause to multiply, and which grow so great, if they are allowed to increase, that they cannot be pulled up with hoes or be uprooted with a plough, unless with the help of God's grace.

Truly, these troublesome thoughts unsettle our minds which are leading our vows into action; for even when we are standing in prayer, we are led astray by our thoughts and feelings wandering through diverse worldly vanities, with the result that there is no peaceful repose for those who sojourn in this life. With regard to this the apostle says there are: foolish and hurtful lusts which drown men in destruction.(2) For thoughts, the stimuli to evil, put what is evil into practice while they let demons break into the

foraminibus irrumpere secreta cordium, ibique sic dilatari ut tanquam propriam possessionem sibi uendicent interiora cordium. Vnde nunquam pacis quietem sed perturbationem habere contingat, sed terrorem continuum; et nunc uana leticia, nunc inutili mesticia deprimuntur. Habentes enim intra se habitorem uiciosum cui per passiones fedarum f.136ra cogitatio|num ad se intrandi dederunt aditum. Nostis, fratres karissimi, quantis malis uitiosa cogitatio procellat animos religiosorum datos sanctis desideriis, quorum mentes impugnat indesinenter diabolus cum satellitibus suis. Non quidem necesse est ab aliis doceri, multa quidem uos experti a bonis propositis frequenter abducimini. Qui autem uere renunciant seculo hii sunt qui abcidunt et amputant a se uiciorum magnitudinem, et ad se ueniendi precludant aditum diabolo. In eis etenim pullulans religio cohibet iracundiam, reprimit furorem, fugat mendacia, execratur inuidiam, abhominatur detractionem; nec solum male sentire aut suspicari patitur de proximo, sed eius incommoda censens sua exultat in proximi remedio. Qui sic uiuit spiritui sancto ad inhabitandum aditum aperit, quem cum ipso illustrauerit gaudii plenitudine, habitationem replet pacientia, longanimitate, bonitate, precluis que sunt fructus spiritus sancti. Hinc et in euuangelio dominus ait: Arbor bona non potest malos fructus facere, et econuerso: Ex fructibus enim arbor cognoscitur.(1)

10] datos: MS. data 23] remedio: MS. remidio
26] MS. replit: exp.et corr.sup.

(1) S.Matthew 7,18.

heart's chambers by means of secret passages with narrow holes, and let them stretch out there to take possession of the inside of their hearts as if it belonged to them. Wherefore, they never enjoy peaceful repose, but unrest and continuous fear. And now they are burdened with empty joy, now with useless sorrow, for they have living within them a vicious tenant whom they allowed in through the passion of unclean thoughts. You know, dearest brothers, with how many evil blasts wicked thought disturbs the mind of religous men, whose minds the devil and his accomplices attack without remittance. But there is no need for you to be taught by others, for you have undergone many things and are frequently led astray from your good intentions. But those who renounce this world, they it is who prune and cut away from themselves a great number of sins, who shut off the devil's means of access into them. For the love of God which flourishes within them holds in check anger; it restrains their tempers; it chases away deceits; it curses envy; it abhors slander. Not only does it not let them have a poor opinion of their neighbour, or think ill of him, but, counting his misfortunes as their own, it rejoices in healing him. Whoever lives in this way opens the door for the Holy Spirit to dwell within him, and when it has shed its light upon him with the fullness of joy, it fills its habitation with patience, forbearance and goodness, which are the illustrious fruit of the Holy Spirit. Concerning this our Lord says in the Gospel: <u>A good tree cannot bear bad fruit</u>; and conversely: <u>By its fruits is a tree known</u>.(1)

Sic et uiri sancti presentis seculi dant operam ut nil maneat in conscientia |
f.136rb reprehensibile quominus possint puram orationem deo offere. Sicque spretis mundialibus uniuersis uiciisque et passionibus, [de] quibus supra meminimus, quantum indulgetur humanis mentibus liberum erit uidere deum; non quidem oculis carnalibus, quia deum nemo uidit umquam, sed oculos spirituales in ipsum dirigere, mente non corpore, intellectu spiritualis sciencie non carnalis aspectu nature. Nemo itaque estimet ipsam diuinam substanciam inuisibilem sicut est posse contueri, sed imaginare concipiat in mente formam speciosam incircumscriptibilem claritatis inmense, que non possit perstringi aut sensu humano comprehendi uel limpidissimis intencium oculis annotari. Pura uero mente debitaque reuerencia, metuque continuo, deuotione non ficta ad ipsum debemus accedere, mentisque interne intuitum defigere, ut nec mens pura ullis praue uoluptatis sordibus infecta uacet deo; nusquam distorta, nusquam ab ipso aliena, ut incontaminata et inuariabilis sit Christo per omnia. Vacate igitur et uidete quis, quantus, qualisue sit in quem oculos spirituales dirigitis, tunc uere cognoscetis desideratam domini faciem et
f.136va | cognoscendi scienciam omnium secretorum. Tunc uere innotescet uerbum domini et affectus dicentis innotescet: Iam non dicam uos seruos sed amicos meos, quos secretorum concios sibi faciet tanquam amicos. Et quicquid petierint in nomine suo ministrabit eis.(1) Sic confirmatos et consolidatos

5] de: suppl.

(1) S.John 15,15-16.

Thus the holy men of this world take care that nothing blameworthy stays on their consciences that might prevent them offering spotless prayers to God. And thus when one has cast aside all the worldly vices and desires we mentioned above, one will be allowed to see God, in so far as human minds are permitted to see Him. But not with the eyes of one's body, for no man has ever looked on God. But you will be able to turn upon Him the eyes of your spirit, in mind not in body by the understanding of spiritual knowledge, not by the sight of physical nature. Therefore let no-one think of the invisible substance of God as if it were possible to see Him, but let him conceive in his mind a lovely and boundless form of brilliant light which cannot be encompassed or comprehended by man's senses, not be apprehended by the most clear eyes of the beholders.

But with a pure mind, due reverence, continual fear and unfeigned love have we to approach Him, and to fix on Him the gaze of our inner mind, so that the mind, pure and undefiled by the scum of any wicked lust may be free for God, in no way twisted from Him, in no way estranged, but so that it may be Christ's, undefiled and unchanging in all respects. Think of nought else, therefore, and see who He is, how great He is and what is the nature of Him to whom you turn the eyes of your spirit, and then truly you will know the sight of the Lord you long for, and the knowledge of how to discover all things that are hidden. Then in truth shall the word of the Lord be known to you and His love, when He says: <u>Henceforth, I call you not servants but my friends</u>, with whom He will share all His secrets as if you were His friends. <u>And whatever they ask in His name He shall give them</u>.[1] In this way it will be impossible to shake those who are

in caritate Christi non poterit mouere uel dissipare uolent neque mors, neque uita, nec angeli, nec principatus, nec potestates, nec alia queuis creatura,(1) fundati namque sunt supra firmam petram.

Quando quidem igitur, fratres karissimi, delegistis seruire deo, abrenunciare secularibus, breuitate quadam temporis in mandatis dei seruiendis redimere tempora multa uestre pubertatis et exercitationis uane scurrilitatis, date operam alieni effici ab omni iactancia et uanitatis gloriatione inualida, breuis enim uita uos uocat ad potiora: terminum enim tibi constituit dominus quem non preteribis, neque in eternum talibus deliciis diutius perfrueris. Tempera gulam metasque illi discretas adibe, nam panis et aqua cupide sumpta non necessitate uel corporis egestate sunt in uicio. Vnde et oportet uiros discretos necessario
f.136vb assuescere, animorum uiciis discrete ca|rere.

Hinc denique dominus docere uolens animam desideriis et uoluptatibus plenam sue gulositati resistere et parcitati mediocri secundum deum insistere, ingluuiem uitare, temperanciam docere ait: Intrate per angustam portam, lata est enim et spatiosa uia que ducit ad mortem.(2) Angusta quidem itinerantibus ardua spinis et uepribus ne pateat aditus indesinenter intexta si non desiderio spirituali fuerit attencius obligata. Altera large distenta que protenditur ad mortem, a multis enim trita

12] uocat: MS. uacat

(1) Romans 8,38.
(2) S.Matthew 7,13.

confirmed and bound fast in the love of Christ. And though they will want to scatter them, neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor any other creature[1] shall have the power, for they are founded on solid rock.

Since therefore, dearest brothers, you have chosen to serve God, to renounce the world, and by keeping God's commandments to redeem in a short time all the many years you spent in immaturity and wasteful play, do everything you can to become strangers to all boasting and the worthless glory of vanity. For a short life invites you to higher things, for God has fixed bounds for you and you you shall not pass, nor will you enjoy such pleasure for ever. Control your greed and set moderate limits to it, for bread and water taken out of desire, not out of necessity or what the body needs, are taken out of vice. For this reason wise men must grow used to what they need, and they wisely keep free from the vices of the mind. Thereupon, our Lord, wanting to teach the soul that is full of desires and passions to resist greed, to depend on modest thrift in accordance with God's will, to avoid gluttony and to teach it self-control, says: Enter ye in at the strait gate, for wide is the gate and broad is the way that leadeth to destruction.[2] Yes, the narrow way is difficult for those who travel along it since it is entwined all along with thorns and briars so that if it were not one's grave obligation to follow it out of spiritual desire, the entrance would not be open. The other way, which stretches out wide and leads to death, gives a smooth surface for walking along easily

reddit planiciem sine difficultate terenda. Prope uiam hanc sunt latrunculi insidiantes commeantibus numquam uacui desiderio malignandi; quos non possunt in uia carpere ducunt extra uiam ut affectus iniquos uecordis animi in interitum ducant exterminii.

Iccirco cauenda est sumopere negligencia, ne derelicti a domino illum leticie ac puritatis statum amissum uel nimis extenuatum intelligamus facile recuperandum, qui multa industria irremissaque perseuerantie constancia et iugi orationum instancia, fletusque continui f.137ra perseuerante miseria non poterit reuocari| nisi spiritus sancti uisitatione et amminiculante gratia. Solent enim custodiri negligentius que de facili recuperanda sperat mens humana. Caue tibi, serue dei, quia uane cogitationes distrahunt ad inania mentes in Christo fixas, diuturna quietis pace obuolutas, nec permittunt a malis feriare quas norunt supernis desideriis diligenter intendere. Cogitationes uanas et sompno similes in animo tuo ne recipias, quia cum contra disposueris tristis efficieris. Presentes enim cogitationes tocius boni steriles, aut negligencia socordes, aut impugnatione diaboli uecordes, aut dispensatione dominice probationis argute enerues in uirtute dei constituunt homines. Negligencia quidem uitiose nostre mentis, tempore incircumspecte et remissius exercentis nostri cordis aciem per

8] derelicti: MS. derelictos 10] qui: MS. quem
25] MS. impungnatione 29] MS. exercentes

since it has been trodden by many men. Close by this way there are robbers who lie in wait for passers by. They are never devoid of the desire to do ill. Those they cannot snatch on the path itself they entice away from the path that they might lead their foolish minds' sinful desires to the ruin of destruction.

For this reason you must be on your guard above all else against carelessness, lest, once our Lord has forsaken us, we think we can easily recover that state of joy and purity which is lost or much diminished; but we cannot get it back by much hard work, untiring and constant endeavour, constant prayer, continuous weeping and ceaseless woe, unless the Holy Spirit visits us and helps us with His grace. Men do not usually look after things the human mind thinks are easily recovered. Watch yourself, servant of God, because worthless thoughts can draw into vanity minds that are fixed on Christ, minds that have long been enfolded in the peace of repose, and they do not permit any respite from evil to minds whose attention they knew had been intently fixed on the desire of heaven. You must not let into your mind thoughts which are worthless and like sleep, because you are made disconsolate when you resist them. Thoughts of this world are devoid of any good, and they either make men weakminded through neglect, mad through the incursions of the devil, or feeble in God's power through the subtle test to which the Lord puts them. Truly, the neglect of the sinful mind, which is regardless of time and laxly guides the heart's vision

ignauiam et desidiam noxiis cogitationibus exagitat animam, sicut bene cultam nostri cordis terram spinas et tribulos post bonam sementem germinare faciat,quibus in ea pullulantibus consequenter sterilem faciant et ab omni fructu spirituali et contemplatione diuinorum extorrem faciam. De
f.137rb impugnatione uero diaboli: cum | nouiter creatis et in indiuersa distractis a bono cogitationibus nefandis, obnubilante aduersario callida subtilitate, bonorum mentes a bonis desideriis abstrauntur, et irruente malicia acies fecunde ebetantur et obtunduntur. A dispensatione domini in probatione: cum ex parte a domino recedente sequestrantur et ab inpensa uisitatione diuina a domino deseruntur, querulis, gemitibus, multaque industria recuperare impotentes; non nostro quidem studio sed diuini muneris dono, instancia cotidiana, fletuumque exuberante indulgenti studio perdita recuperemus. Altera quidem probationis causa ut deserentem nos dominum magna cordis instancia et orationum incessabili diligencia reuocemus, ut sancti spiritus sui consolatorio reuisere dignetur et reducere in pristinum statum puritatis [et] leticie spirituale illud gaudium quod malignitate diaboli et infrunitate aduersantis sibi miserabiliter est subtractum. Nec mirum si impellentibus se uanis cogitationibus animis ab opere uacantibus illusionum fantasticarum sese impellunt accessus; [sicut] enim anguis latens in insidiis rarissime continent ab impugnatione deo deuotis mentibus. |

1] MS. exagitant 9] MS. obnubulante 24] et: suppl. MS. leticia 30] sicut: suppl. MS. anguis enim

through slackness and sloth, disturbs the soul with harmful thoughts, just as if it were making the heart's well nurtured soil produce thorns and thistles after good seed had been sown; and as they spread out in it they make the soil barren, a region devoid of any spiritual fruit and the contemplation of God. Through the incursions of the devil the minds of good men are swayed from the good things they desire, for the crafty and subtle enemy clouds them over with freshly devised and heinous thoughts which are distracted from what is good. When their minds are assaulted by his malice, their fertile forces are sapped and beaten down. In being put to the test by the Lord: when men have been completely set apart from Him after He has left them, and when He takes from them the impending visit He was to pay them, they are powerless to get Him back by means of their complaints, their groans and much hard work. For it is not by dint of our own efforts that we can recover what we have lost, but by means of God's gift, daily readiness, and by an indulgent application to shedding tears in plenty. But there is another reason for our being put to the test, so that when our Lord abandons us we may call Him back to us by our great readiness of heart and tireless dedication to our prayers, so that He may deign to visit us again with the Holy Spirit's comfort and lead back into our former state of purity and joy that spiritual bliss, which was lamentably taken away by the devil's wicked craft and our own folly when we attempted to oppose him. And it is no wonder, when vain thoughts are thrusting themselves into minds which are idle, that fantastic delusions force themselves in, for just like a snake lying in wait, they rarely stop themselves attacking minds that are dedicated to God. For this reason you

f.137va |Vnde illud beati Ieronimi eulogium sacrum commonitoriumque mente reuolue: Numquam inueniat te diabolus otiosum;(1) aut lege, aut meditare, aut operis alicuius necessarii aut indulti tibi a preposito operam diligenter dato, ne si uacauerit mens tua ab opere bono defraudare te possit aduersarius tuus a bono proposito. Mens sana bonis indulta fouet animam et cogitationes infauste deprimunt animum uana cogitatione.

Summa uirtus uiri religiosi deoque potius accepta est humilitas: uitiosisque mentibus prestancior manet superbia. Tunc enim se quisque censere poterit morum suorum custodem ualidum cum se ceteris inferiorem censuerit, habita tamen uenustate morum que deceat uirum sanctum; grauius enim a uirtute cadit qui ab humilitatis constancia per elationem uitiorumque assuetudinem poterit in uana prolabi. Omnis enim dei seruus de suis meritis non debet attolli dum sibi uidet inferiores se prelatores alios fieri. Nouerit autem omnis uir bonus alterius sanctitati nolle preponi, ne superbia instigante et ea inualescente mereatur a bono proposito deici. Caueat contra insidiantes, sedet enim in insidiis hostis noster ut f.137vb inter|ficiat innocentes, nec preterit inultam uane cogitationis notam quam non reducat ad memoriam. Dubium se censeat in quibus se bene agere credit remunerationis eterne, dum celestis iudicis discussione reus pensabitur uel minus prouide aut

5] preposito: MS. proposito 20] uir: ir add.sup.
28] eterne: MS. eterno

(1) cf.Fac et aliquid operis et semper te diabolus inueniat occupatum. S.Jerome, Epistola ad Rusticum,(P.L.22.1078).

ought to reflect on the sacred words of warning given by Blessed Jerome: Never let the devil find you idle. (1) Either read, meditate or devote all your attention to a job which needs to be done or a task the superior has assigned you, to avoid your enemy being able to cheat you of your good purpose if your mind is idle. A healthy mind given to good things sustains the soul, and wicked thoughts weigh heavy on the mind with their vain reverie.

The highest virtue of the religious and the most acceptable to God is humility, and in sinful minds pride remains uppermost. When each man deems himself inferior to others and preserves that graceful quality of conduct which befits a holy man, then can he reckon himself able to guard his own conduct. For he falls heavily from virtue, who, through mounting pride and the exaltation of his sins can tumble into vanity from being steadfast in humility. For every servant of God must not exalt himself on account of his own merits, while he sees those below him being made his superiors. But every good man ought to know that he should not wish to be set before another in holiness in case pride stirs him up, his humility weakens, and he deserves to be cast down from his good purpose. Let him beware those who lie in wait for him, for our enemy sits in ambush to slay the innocent, nor does he not allow to go unpunished the blemish of a vain thought which one might fail to call to mind. Let him think it doubtful whether he will get his eternal reward on the basis of those things he thinks he has done well until he shall stand accused on trial before the heavenly Judge and shall plead either that he has acted without foresight

neglegenter causabitur egisse. Timidum equidem in omni actu decet esse dei seruum, et procul ab omni negligencia alienum, dum se ipsum considerans imparem alienis meritis et longe inferiorem pensat, reminiscens scriptum esse: Maledictus qui facit opus dei negligenter;(1) torpentem enim a bono hostis antiquus cito deiecit, palmamque certaminis sibi usurpans uanum dimittit.

Exemplum humilitatis illius excelsi principis Dauid regis deducite ad memoriam, qui cum Sauli damnati in terra imperio subderetur per omnia humiliter senciens imperante illius tirannidi se prostrauit, et seuienti aduersario se subiciens humilitate preclui se pessum dedit, sciens tamen incomparabiliter se illo esse meliorem, humilitatis tamen gratia, quoniam ille regno presidebat, deferendumque regi censebat, ait: Cur me persequeris canem mortuum et pulicem minimum?(2) Samuele igitur exorante iam in regem unctus | f.138ra fuerat, plenoque cornu oleo sacrato eum profuderat ut Saule reprobato ad regni gubernacula possidenda seruabat, et tamen persequenti aduersario mente se humili substernebat, cui diuino iuditio prelatum se esse nouerat. Discant igitur fratres fratribus humiliari, et tanto regis exemplo a summo rege edocti studeant documenta sectari.

Si recte intelligis que dico et te censueris humilitate ceteris inferiorem, seruare poteris

7] antiquus: MS. antiquis 11] MS. damnatis

(1) Jeremiah 48,10.
(2) 1 Kings 24,15. (AV.1 Sam.24,14.)

or with carelessness. In any case, in all he does it is right that God's servant should be full of fear and a stranger to all carelessness, thinking all the while that he cannot match the merits of other men and is by far inferior to them, remembering that it is written: Cursed be he that doeth the Lord's work with negligence;(1) for when he is remiss in doing good, the old enemy swiftly casts him down, snatches away the palm of the contest for himself, and sends him away empty-handed.

Call to mind the humble example of that noble prince, King David. When he was subject to the earthly authority of Saul who had been condemned, he endured everything in humility, and he submitted to Saul's authority when he was ordered to do so; abasing himself before his raging enemy he threw himself to the ground with outstanding humility, knowing nonetheless that he was incomparably better than Saul, but, for the sake of humility, since Saul was ruler in the kingdom and David knew he had to defer to the king, he said: Why dost thou pursue after me a dead dog and the mearest flea?(2) In these circumstances he had already been annointed king at Samuel's behest. Samuel had poured upon him with a horn-full of consecrated oil so that he could be ready to take the helm of the kingdom, since Saul had been condemned; and nevertheless with a humble mind he laid himself low before the enemy who was pursuing him, over whom he knew he had authority by God's decree. Therefore, let the brethren learn to humble themselves before their brothers, and having been taught by the highest king from such a kingly example, let them strive to follow his lessons.

If you understand aright what I am saying, and in humility you judge yourself to be inferior to others,

continenciam, uitare poteris arrogantiam, que quidem filia superbie enecat in bonis fructum propositi melioris. Gaude igitur proferre tibi ceterorum uitas; gaude te fratrum meliorum sequi uestigia, ne te deuiet a uia recta fallacis inimici astucia, que semper pie uiuentibus inimicissima inuitat ad relationis incommoda. Gaude humilitatis muniri constancia, quam prestantissimam religionis morumque gaudebis experiri superne gratie coadiutricem, bene uiuendi indulgentiam; magistram tibi crede, et dirigendis actibus tuis commodam estima proue[c]tricem, qua semper tibi comite numquam falleris a diabolo insidiante sicut scriptum est: Insidiatur ut rapiat pauperem, rapere pauperem dum attrait eum.(1) Allicit enim non ut | uiuificet, f.138rb sed mactet et perdat quoscumque humilitatis gratia preditos reperit; apponit iniquitatem supra iniquitatem ut superbie iaculis perdat quos innocencie felicis fructibus uigere conspicit.

Querenda sunt igitur contra hec mala munitissima presidia, quorum stipatus agmine securus incedat in uia presentis uite homo abrenuncians seculo, quibus ornamentis stipatus sedulo conquiescet in uere religionis proposito. Sunt autem hec uirtutum armamenta quibus propulsari et deuitari possit ingruens uesani hostis frequens insidia: oratio pura, feruens et consueta, sollicitudo rerum carnalium generaliter abcisa negocii causeque secularis cura pretermissa; sed et

11] MS. dirigenda 29] cause: u add.sup.

(1) non inueni.

you will be able to preserve your own self-control; you will be able to avoid arrogance, which is actually the daughter of pride and kills off in good men the fruit of good purpose. Rejoice, therefore, to set before yourself the lives of other men, to follow in the footsteps of brothers who are better than you, so that the cunning foe's craft does not make you stray from the right path; a craft which is always most hostile to those whose lives are holy it entices them to the inconveneience of delay. Rejoice to be protected by steadfast humility, which you will rejoice to find is heavenly grace's most outstanding supporter of religion and good conduct and a licence for good living. Take it as your guide, and think of it as a suitable patron to direct all you do; with it as your constant companion you will never be deceived by the devil as he lies in wait for you, as it is written: <u>He lies in wait to catch the poor man; to seize the poor man when he attracts him</u>.[1] He entices not to give life but to slay and slaughter whomsoever he finds endowed with the grace of humility. He sets evil upon evil to destroy with his darts of pride anyone whom he sees thriving on the fruits of their blessed innocence.

Therefore, against these ills one has to find the most powerful means of defence. Surrounded by a host of them, let the man who renounces the world march forward along this life's path in safety; surrounded with these trappings, let him be continually at peace in pursuing his purpose of true religion. These are the weapons of virtue with which one can ward off and avoid the frequent, hostile attacks that are mounted by our raging foe: prayer which is pure, fervent and habitual; the complete removal of all concern for the flesh; the exclusion of any interest in business and worldly affairs; the total expulsion of forbidden thoughts from

memoria illicitarum cogitationum penitus euacuata, detractiones, uaniloquia, seu multiloquia, scurrilitates, cupiditates, actusque fedi, et huiusmodi amputanda; ire rixe, siue preditorum mundialium tristicie a mentis triclinio funditus eruende; concupiscentie carnalis affectus an, si largiris, fomes noxius radicitus euellendus. Et hiis ita ac consimilibus uiciis penitus excursis que hominum mentibus irreuerenter accedunt, talique f.138va emendatione | purgationis premissa que 11 simplicitatis et innocentie puritatem expediant, iacienda sunt primo profunde humilitatis inconcussa fundamenta, que sanctorum apices celos intraturos ualeant sustinere. De hinc super edificando uirtutum spiritualis extructio [...] et ab omni diuerticulo atque euagatione lubrica cohibendus est animus, ut sic paulatim ad contemplationem supernorum ac spirituales accessus ualeat ascendere.

Quicquid autem ante horam orationis animus mente deuotus ad impetrandam mente conceperit, necesse quidem est ut in orandi hora per ingestionem recordationis cito occurat ne uolucres quas abigebat Abraham a sacrificiis, nostre mentis quietem turbantes nostram sementem legant attencius, expectatique seminis fructu fraudemur tempore accepto cum tempus opportunum messis aduenerit, procumbentibusque nobis ad orandum fantastice illusiones aut retractationes causarum uel rerum preteritarum retractare, aut scurrilium

1] MS. illitarum 6] an: in mg. MS. ac 9] irreuer-enter: re add.sup. 7] largiris : MS. largirie

one's memory; the amputation of slanderous talk, vain talk and much-talking, foolish antics, lusts, foul acts and such like; the complete ejection from the mind's chamber of outbursts of anger, disputes, the sorrows of those who are rich in worldly goods; and the eradication of the desire of fleshly lust, or perhaps, if you permit, the noxious kindling of lust. And so, when these and similar vices which come rudely into a man's mind have been completely destroyed, and when such an act of correction has been completed by purging them all away to promote the purity of honesty and innocence, then one has first of all to lay unshakeable foundations of deep humility which can support the lofty heights of holy men about to enter the heavens. By building on this foundation one has a spiritual structure of the virtues, and the mind has to be kept free from every diversion and slippery by-way so that it may ascend the spiritual way step by step to contemplate the heavens.

But whatever petition the devout mind may think of before the time for prayer, it is necessary indeed that the in-pouring of memory should bring it quickly to mind at prayer time lest the birds which Abraham drove from his offerings eagerly disturb our peace of mind, gather up the seed we were sowing and cheat us of the fruit we had expected from the seed in due season when the right time for harvest comes to us, lest as we fall prostrate to the ground to pray we are made to think once again of illusions, or have second thoughts about our reasons, about past events, or to be pounded by the

titillatione cogitationum pulsari, aut ad consuetos et uagos faciat uolitare discursus. Diabolica enim suggestio hominem aggreditur temptatione, ut ait
f.138vb Gregorius: Vincit | dilectione, prosternit actione, ligat consuetudine;(1) ligatum detrudit in tenebras exteriores, quia cum sit nudatus ueste nuptiali indignus est conuiuio Christi.(2) Apprehendite igitur disciplinam summi patris, fratres karissimi, ne deuiantes a uia recta exorbitetis a doctrina magistratus sanctorum patrum, transgressoresque preceptorum pereatis de uia iusta.

Cum enim ad iracundiam motus dominus se contemptum uiderit, irascetur, tendit arcum, et minas diu agitatas opere complebit. Seruite igitur domino in timore et exultate ei cum tremore.(3) Mementote iugiter unde existis, quo peruenire festinatis.(4) De seculi conuersatione turbida uocauit uos dominus ad portum quietis et sacre religionis. Contempsistis propter ipsum incendia libidinis, et ad castitatis refrigerium peruenistis; gulositatem respuistis; abstinentiam elegistis; auariciam, incentiuam uitiorum, repudiastis. Castitatis et misericordie beneficia induistis, et non cessante uobis pugna securi eritis de uestra uictoria.

Moneo igitur uos quos diligo in uiscceribus Iesu Christi, ut qui preteritorum agones discrete tulistis tanto solicitius futura caueatis. Crimina

11] preceptorum: MS. preceptor 19] incendia: a add. sup.

(1) non inueni.
(2) v. S.Matthew 22; S.Luke 14.
(3) Ps. 2,11.
(4) What follows is drawn from Caesarius of Arles, Sermo ad Sanctimoniales,(P.L.67.1122).

tickling of wicked thoughts, or we are made to fly into our usual wild ramblings. For a suggestion made by the devil forces itself on man in the form of temptation, as Gregory says: He conquers by desire, casts down by the deed, binds by its habit.(1) The devil casts him, when bound, into the outer darkness, for when he is not dressed in wedding clothes he is not worthy to be at Christ's feast.(2) Lay hold, therefore, of what you are taught by the greatest of the Fathers, dearest brothers, lest you do go astray from the holy Fathers' sovereign doctrine, break their commandments and perish from the way of the righteous. For when the Lord is moved to anger and He sees a man being scornful, He shall grow angry, He stretches his bow and shall fulfill what He has long threatened to do. Therefore: Serve the Lord in fear, and rejoice unto Him with trembling.(3) Remember continually whence you have come and whither you make haste.(4) From the turbulent way of life in this world the Lord has called you to a haven of peace and sacred religion, and for its sake you have scorned the fires of lust and have come to the coolness of chastity. Gluttony you have spurned; abstinence you have chosen. Greed, which stirs up vices, you have rejected. You have clothed yourself in the benefits of chastity and mercy, and although the battle is not yet done, you will be confident in your triumph. Therefore I give you warning, whom I love in the bowels of Jesus Christ, that those of you who have wisely borne the sufferings of the past must take even greater care in the future, since wrongdoing and the stimuli to sin can easily return to us if we do not

f.139ra etenim et peccatorum incentiua fa|cile ad nos reuertuntur si non iugiter uirtutum actibus expugnentur. Audite apostolum Petrum dicentem: Sobrii estote et uigilate, quia aduersarius uester diabolus tanquam leo circuit, querens quem deuoret, cui resistite fortes in fide.(1) Quamdiu in hoc corpore mortali uiuimus luctam cum diabolo iugiter sumimus, quorum satellites iter nostrum secuos uiam obsident, ut quod non possunt in uia di⌐ipere exmorbitantibus a uia possint pedicas tendere. Sunt et quorumdam mentes tepide usque adeo ingrate quod solo Christianitatis uocabulo se censeant appelari, et uestium mutationem summam beatitudinem et religionis se suscepisse habitum, obliti illud propheticum: Fili accedat ad seruitutem dei, sta in timore et iusticia et prepara animum tuum ad temptationem.(2) Per multas tribulationes oportet intrare in regnum celorum.(3) Vestes quidem seculares deponere et religioni aptas assumere unius ore momento poterimus commutare: mores uero uirtutum opera iugiter tenere non poterimus facile, malas dulcesque uoluptates dum uiuimus nisi Christo adiuuante non possumus preterire, quia non qui ceperit gracia dignus erit, sed qui in finem perseuerauerit.(4) |

f.139rb In primis igitur abrenuntiantibus seculo professis religionem gule uicium, id est nimiam edacitatem supra modum, uitare monemus attencius, ebrietatem fugere, omnimodo uitiositatem ingluuiei

7] mortali: MS. motali iugiter: r add.sup. 8] secus MS. sequus exp.et corr.sup. 22] nisi: MS. in 29] omnimodo: MS. omnimodam

(1) 1 Peter 5,8.
(2) Ecclus. 2,1. (Vg. Fili accedens)
(3) Acts 14,21.
(4) S.Matthew 10,22;24,13.

fight them back continually with virtuous acts. Hear the apostle Paul when he says: Be sober, be vigilant, because your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion walketh about seeking whom he may devour whom resist steadfast in the faith.(1) As long as we live in this mortal body we are engaged in a constant struggle with the devil, whose attendants beset our journey all along the way, so that they can set traps for those whose who stray from the path because they cannot snatch us from the path itself. Some men's minds are luke-warm, so ungrateful that they believe they are called Christians in name only, and that in changing their clothes they have received the highest felicity as well as the habit of their order, and who have forgotten the words of the prophet: My son, come to serve the Lord; stand in fear and justice, and prepare thy soul for temptation.(2) Through much suffering have we to enter into the kingdom of God.(3) We will actually be able to take off secular clothes and put on garments which befit the order in the space of an hour, but our conduct - virtuous works - we will not easily be able to control all the time. For as long as we live we cannot pass evil and sweet pleasures by unless Christ is our Helper, since the man who starts will not merit grace, but he who perseveres to the end. (4)

Above all, we most earnestly enjoin you who are renouncing the world and are making your profession of religion to stay away from the sin of gluttony, that is to say greed which is excessive beyond measure, to flee from drunkenness, to put an end to all the sin of greed

pessum dare, mensa mediocri gaudere, ut sic ne caro debilitetur abstinencie nimietate, nec ad luxuriam prouocetur procaci deliciarum habundancie feruore. Refrenet linguam; fugiat detractionem; uerba uitet osciosa, nec a se prolata uel aliis uiciose edita auribus delectetur impudenter admissa; uitet multorum colloquia nisi quorum ad ordinis incitamenta sunt pro futura. Loquacitatis delectatione fugiat, cui numquam deerit peccatum. In multis enim offendimus omnes; in lingua pocius, que non frustra est in udo quia facile labitur, nec duobus obsita parietibus restringitur ab incontinencia. Item non in pretiosa ueste uel pomposa plus iusto gaudeat qui fastidit seculi blandimenta; periculose enim sibi allicit blandicias seculi qui derelictis olim incestuosis uanitatibus in cinere et cilitio aliisque castigationibus delegit seruire deo. Sic poteris uitare superbiam quam detestatur deus; sic profunde
f.139va humilitatis iacere | fundamentum; sic inuidie fomitem a te propulsare, que rodit humani corporis uirtutem, ut sicut uermis lignum sic in cariem redigat tocius corporis ualitudinem.

Quibus autem modis extrudi possint a mente fideli hec incentiua uiciorum libens accipe, diligenter attende, libenter operare ut numquam te diabolus otiosum inueniat, et det operam ut euaganti anime tue a bonis cursum tue deuotionis alienare [ne]queat. Mens enim in bonum directa a proposito sanctitatis mota non redit de facile,

18] delegit: MS. deelegit 24] enim: MS. aut 29] ne suppl.

and to rejoice in a meagre table so that thus your body will neither grow weak through the practice of excessive abstinence, nor will it be driven to luxury by a wanton passion for delicacies in plenty. Control your tongue, let it avoid speaking ill; let it shun idle words, and do not delight when words are spoken out of impudence, either when they are let slip or when you pronounce them sinfully for other men's ears. Avoid conversations with large groups of men, except for those conversations which are going to benefit the order. Flee from deriving any pleasure from gossip, in which there is never no sin. We all of us cause offence in many ways, but especially with our tongue which is not set in moisture for nothing, since it easily slips about, and though it is encompassed by two barriers, its lack of control is not checked. Moreover, no-one who loathes the pleasures of the world is to take too much delight in costly or extravagant clothes, for he draws worldly charms to him at his own peril once he has laid aside lewd vanities and has chosen to serve God in ashes, sackcloth and any other form of chastisement. By such means you will be able to avoid pride, which God abhors. By such means you will be able to lay a foundation of deep humility. By such means you will be able to push away from you the tinder wood of jealousy which eats away the strength of a man's body. Just as the worm rots away wood so jealousy reduces to nothing the whole condition of a man's body. By such means can the stimuli to sin be driven from a faithful mind. Take them gladly; think about them carefully; put them into practice willingly, so as never to allow the devil to find you idle; and take care that he cannot steal away from your mind the course of its devotion as it wanders away from what is good. A mind that was intent on good cannot easily be turned back to good after it has been deflected from its sacred purpose, for the ancient foe

pessulum enim hostii obturat hostis antiquus ne redeat ad uotum pristinum recensita facies sacri propositi. Iugis lectio, attenta et frequens oratio, deuota supplicatio, interne pietatis exhibitio, uotorum sacrorum incessanter ad deum erectio, pietatis diuine sollicitatio: hec hominis mentem protegunt a deciduo perfidi hostis incitamento; hec luxas sepiunt mentes a caloris iniqui incendio, prestantque uagis mentibus soliditatem, permanentis in secula dilectionis augmentum, ut que sunt bona deus nutriat et nutrita in eternum conseruet. Lectio enim lecta ualet, decies repetita placebit; lectio uanas et deuias f.139vb expellit cogitationes; lectio inter|nas fouet et acuit meditationes; lectionis beneficio tollitur et fugatur praue actionis negociatio; legentis uerba pectus humanum refocillant diuina gratia, iugiterque manancia de celestibus flumina exacuunt archana mentis humoribus sacris irrigancia. Vnde dominus in euuangelio: Qui crediderit in me flumina de uentre eius fluent aque uiue,(1) et de paradisi floribus, id est sanctarum scripturarum fluentis contra uiciorum incentiua armat se fidelis anima, ut tuta sit a persequencium spirituum infideli disciplina. Hinc preciose colliguntur margarite; hinc uirtutum ornamenta exsurgunt hominis fortitudinem excitancia; hinc uulneratorum medicamenta; hinc castitatis arromata; hinc etiam compuncionis holocausta.

1] MS. antiqus 16] legentis: MS. legentes exp.et corr.sup. 20] euuangelio: a add.sup. 28] medicamenta: ca add.sup. hinc: c add.sup.

(1) S.John 7,38.

draws the bolt of the door to stop you going back to your old vow after the form of your purpose has been reconsidered. Continuous reading, thoughtful and frequent prayer, faithful supplication, a display of inner devotion, the incessant raising of holy prayers to God, the petition for His love: all of these protect a man's mind from the fallen enticement offered by the treacherous foe. All of these guard disordered minds from the blaze of the heat of sin, and to minds that are uncertain they give stability and an increase in love which lasts for ever, so that God may nourish what is good, and what has been nourished may be preserved by Him for all eternity. For a reading that is done once is worthwhile; repeated ten times it will give you pleasure. Reading drives out vain and rambling thoughts. Reading fosters and sharpens one's inner reflections. Through the benefit reading affords the debate one has whether or not to sin is caught and put to flight. The words one reads revive the heart of man with God's grace; streams flowing continually from the heavens they quicken him as they refresh the recesses of his mind with their sacred waters. Wherefore, our Lord says in the Gospel: <u>He that shall believe in me out of his belly shall flow streams of living water</u>,[1] and from the flowers of paradise, that is with the streams of the Holy Scriptures the faithful soul arms itself against the stimuli to sin so that it may be safe from the perfidious counsel of the spirits which pursue her. Here are gathered precious pearls. Here rise up the ornaments of virtue, which excite the courage of man. Here are remedies for the wounded. Here are chastity's sweet fragrances, and here too are the sacrifices of compunction.

Nolite familiaritatis uestre sinceritatem nisi fidelibus communicare, ne una ouis morbida ualeat sua prurigine uirtutem alterius commaculare. Euenit enim,ut assolet,quandoque spiritum nimis audacem et de se nimis presumentem discere intra se: Gaudeo habere penes me quo uincam inimicum et aduersarium meum quasi in uinculis tenere captiuum. Certe non
f.140ra est tutum congredi cum | diabolo quasi ad bellum, data est enim ei potestas probationis tue experiri, sicut et beati Iob constanciam. Vnde et cauere te et fugere oportunum credimus, ne importunitatis sue fortitudo miseram tue imbecillitatis extenuationem in exterminium ducat captiuam. Audi apostolum dicentem: Fugite fornicationem.(1) Reliquis enim uiciis nos oportet omni uirtute resistere; libidini non expedit repugnare sed rapido gressu fugere. Esto igitur libidinis fugitiuus si uis castitatis esse pugil egregius. Cum stimulum libidinis te incitantem persenseris, pugna fortiter ne preualeat contra te, Christo tibi uirtutem ministrante quo possit ab eo fugere. Vt autem contra eum arma uirtutum possimus assumere quibus suggestionis sue uires possimus opprimere, abstinencie continencia uti debemus in uictoria, quoniam uera est illius sancti sentencia discentis: Contine uentrem et habebis uictoriam.(2) Ingluuies enim uentris fedat tocius corporis fortitudinem et imbescillem efficit tocius mentis ualitudinem exinanitam.

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(1) 1 Corinth. 6,18.
(2) non inueni.

Extend to no-one, apart from the faithful, the intimacy of your friendship, lest one sick sheep is able to infect the virtue of another with its itching. For it is sometimes the case for a spirit which is too bold and confident in its own powers to say from within, "I rejoice I have the power to subdue my foe and to hold my adversary captive as if he were bound in chains." Without a doubt it is not at all safe to fight with the devil as if you were at war with him, for the Lord has empowered him to to put you to the test just as He tried the faithfulness of Job. For this reason we trust you will be on your guard and run away, when it is to your advantage, in case the strength of his assault upon you carries you off to destruction - a wretched captive through your own helplessness. Listen to the apostle when he says: Flee fornication.[1] It is our duty to resist all the other vices with all our strength; it does not help to fight back against lust, but to flee from it with speedy steps. Therefore, be a fugitive from lust if you want to be a distinguished champion of chastity. When you feel the goad of lust stirring you up, fight boldly that it does not overcome you as Christ gives you the strength to flee from it. But in order that we can take up the arms of virtue against him, so that we might crush the powers of his temptations, we must make use of the control of abstinence for victory, for true is the maxim of the saint, who says: Control your stomach and victory will be yours,[2] for the stomach's greed ruins the strength of the whole body, and it enfeebles the mind which has been sapped of its strength.

Temporibus collocutionum cum se offert
f.140rb colloquii oportunitas et preteritorum | succedit memoria, digne uel indigne exercitationis mentem subeuncium, si forte se offerat praue emulationis malum alioquorum fratrum ad sui similitudinem prouocancium, uitetur tamquam uenenum; sufficiat tempori preterito retroactorum miseria tempestatum, nec nos moueat infelicitas precedencium male actorum, sed accendat ad meliora beate felicitatis opera spirituum beatorum.

Instat tempus resolutionis tue, transit tempus, et festinat ad non esse merendi. In inferno autem non est qui confiteatur domino. Confitere dum licet, purga purganda, nescis quid pariat dies futura.(1) In manu domini sunt sortes tue. Labora dum potes; exercere qua licet, labor enim tuus non querit requiem sed coronam. Nox tua certet contra diem; in hac concertatio: in ea colluctacio. Desiderium merendi igne uehemencius sit; non indigetis exortatione, non queritis monitorem. Sponte properate; uoluntarie ad palmam currite. Multorum copiam uobis adcissite, multos commitatui uestro adiungite ut pollenti societate gaudeat ad quem festinatis. Diues enim est multa gaudens familia, multis sufficiens per omnia.

f.140va Non te moueat temptatio crebra;| sicuti enim pluuia in terram descendens crescere facit semina, sic tribulatio crebra in terris uaria commutat

1] offert: t add.sup. 5] alioquorum: io add.sup.
9] MS. felitatis 22] MS. copium

(1) Proverbs 27,1.

When you have an opportunity to talk to someone at the times for conversation and you remember past events - both the good and the bad you have done coming back into your mind, avoid like poison the evil of starting a perverse rivalry with any of the brothers who urges you to copy him. As regards the past, let the misfortune of troubles that are over be enough, and do not let the unhappiness of former wicked deeds unsettle us, but let it inflame us for the finer works of the blessed joy of blessed spirits.

The time of your death is near. Time is passing by and is hastening on to [the time] of bemoaning not being alive. In hell, however, there is no-one who can confess to the Lord. Confess while you can; purge what you must purge: <u>thou knowest not what a day might bring forth</u>.(1) Your fate is in the hands of God. Work while you can; toil anyway you can, for your labour seeks not rest but a crown. Let your night contend with your daytime; let there be struggle in one and strife in the other. Let your desire for good behaviour be fiercer than fire. You lack no encouragement; you are not looking for a counsellor. Of you own accord make haste. Of your own free will race to the palm. Take a band of many men with you. Bring many men into your company that He to whom you hasten may rejoice in the mighty throng. For He is rich and He rejoices in a great household, and He supplies many with all they need.

Do not be troubled by frequent temptation. Just as rain falling on the earth helps the seeds to grow, so frequent affliction on earth completely transforms all

desideria. Sermo enim dei est efficax et inmobilis aduersus quem nec possunt preualere porte inferi.(1) Qui autem seipsum impugnat, bases corporis et lineamenta dissoluit, sed exercendo ecclesiam et sepe tundendo fortior resurgit. Qui sibimet aduersando tribulationum onera congerit, si pacienter tulerit coronas sibi parturit. Iob ante temptationum primordia bonus erat, sed postea forcior surrexit. Bonus quidem cum illesum corpus habuit, sed multo forcior cum saniem et uermes a se scaturientes radebat. Nunquam, frater, temptationes formides cum animam habeas preparatam ad uitam; non poterit tibi obesse tribulatio, si tolerantie beneficium susceperis a deo. Sicut enim aurum non leditur sed purgatur in camino, sic nec stabili anime fixum habenti propositum in corde nocere poterit tribulatio. Vide quid operatur caminus? Aurum purgat. Quid uehemens tribulatio? Exercens animi constanciam operatur quidem tollerantiam et ampliorem pacienciam, abcidit desidiam, suscitat
f.140vb anime fortitudinem, | extinguit mentis prurientis ardorem. Erant tanquam folia, uento flante sunt dispersa; erant palee, et aspirante aura forciori dissipate sunt,(2) mundumque remansit triticum. Plumbum fuerunt, et eliquatum est et purum remansit aurum. Quis hec operatus est nisi indurata paciencie firmitas in uirtute dei radicata, forti dilectione fundata, inexpugnabilique firmitate subnixa? Spiritum itaque fortem nolite extinguere, quem administrat deus; prophetias ultionum

3] MS. basses: s exp. 6] MS. honera: h erasit 26] MS. induratata: ta del.

(1) Hebrews 4,12.
(2) Job 21,18.

sorts of desires. For: the word of God is strong and unshakeable, and the gates of hell cannot prevail against it.(1) Any man who does himself physical harm destroys the groundwork and the features of his body, but when you harass the Church and beat against Her, She rises up stronger. Anyone who heaps up for himself burdens of suffering by fighting against himself carries away crowns for himself, if he bears his burdens patiently. Before his trials started Job was a good man, but after them he rose up a stronger man. Yes, a man is good when he keeps his body inviolate, but he is stronger by far when he has shaved off the blood and worms that stream from him. My brother, never dread temptations when you have a soul which is prepared for life. Affliction will not be able to harm you if you have taken up from God the gift of endurance. For just as gold is done no harm in a furnace but is purified, so afflictions cannot harm the unwavering soul whose purpose is fixed in its heart. See, what does a furnace do? It purifies gold. And what does keen affliction do? By trying out one's strength of mind it indeed builds up endurance and greater patience; it cuts away sloth; it stirs up strength in the soul; it quenches the fire of the lustful mind. They were as leaves that are scattered by the breath of the wind; they were like the chaff, and were spread by the strong gust of the breeze,(2) and pure wheat was left. They were as lead which was liquified, and pure gold was left. Who has done these things? No one but the enduring firmness of patience rooted in God's power, built on love that is strong, supported by unshakeable constancy. And so do not extinguish the strong spirit which God gives you. Do not spurn the

comminatorias nolite spernere. Dura comminantur, quandoque promittunt et aspera delinquentibus, bonos demulcent promittentes prospera. Hec autem dico uarietatem desideriorum uestrorum arguens, ut numquam paueatis temptationum ingruencium formidolosas titubationes. Petra es, ne timeas fluctus irruentes; supra hec petra, inquid dominus, edificabo ecclesiam meam, et porte inferi non preualebunt aduersus eam.(1) Si foris nauim impellant fluctus et deintus manentibus timorem incuciant, submergere Ierusalem non poterunt, id est fidelem animam gratuitis dei donis refertam. Sic et de temptationibus dicam: undique tundunt te templum dei, dicente scriptura: templum dei quod estis uos,(2) pro peccatis tuis confundere. Obstinari mente caueto. Noli requirere qua arte, noli scrutari qua peccaueris ratione, sed totum crede te clemencie et benignitati diuine. Dices equidem: Grandia sunt peccata mea et respectus eorum terribilis, supra metas possibilitatis mee inmania. Correctionem tuam et cognitionem tuam respiciat deus miserator et misericors, cum in diuersa penitencie raptus fueris. Sufficiat tibi ad placandum dei ulterius non peccare et pro peccatis tuis satisfacere. Dic tu prius iniquitates tuas ut iustificeris. Recognoscere quia peccasti, et si agnoueris, inicium correctionis iam fecisti. Memento illius dauitici eulogii quod dictum est tibi: Dixi confitebor aduersum me iniusticiam meam domino, et tu remisisti impietatem peccati mei.(3)

f.141ra templ|um dei quod

15] confudere: MS. refundere exp.et corr.sup. 20] supra: a add.sup.

(1) S.Matthew 16,18; S.John 1,42.
(2) 1 Corinth. 3,17.
(3) Ps. 31,5.

prophet's warnings of judgement. They make harsh threats and sometimes promise rough treatment for those who do wrong; good men they soothe and promise prosperity. But I say these things and reprove the variety of your desires in order that you will never fear the dreadful uncertainties of the temptations which will assail you. You are a rock, do not be afraid of the rushing waters. Upon this rock, says our Lord, I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.(1) If on the outside the waves are driving against a ship, striking fear into those who are within, they will not be able to overwhelm Jerusalem, that is the faithful soul which is filled with the free gifts of God. Thus I shall speak of temptations. On all sides they beat against you, the temple of God, for Scripture says: the temple of God that you are,(2) to confound you because of your sins. Be sure to be steadfast in mind. Do not inquire into the way in which you have sinned, and do not look into the reason why you have sinned, but entrust yourself wholly to the mercy and kindness of God. Certainly you shall say, "My sins are great and the sight of them is fearful; they are enormous and out of my control." Let God, merciful and compassionate, look down on your act of correction and your recognition of your sin when you are caught up in various acts of penitence. To make your peace with God let it suffice to sin no more and to give Him satisfaction for your sin. First tell of the wicked acts you have done so that you may be absolved. Recognise that you have sinned, and if you acknowledge it you will have taken the first step in making your act of correction. Remember the words of David which you have been told: I said, I will confess my sins unto the Lord, and so thou forgavest the wickedness of my sin.(3)

Quomodo igitur meruit iustificari illa beata meretrix, peccatorum exemplar intime deuotionis, nisi fundendo lacrimas, lacrimis penitencie fructus exaggerando? Cucurrit ad misericordiam, tranquilissimum peccantium refugium, ubi ultionis diuine cessat iudicium. Curre ad misericordiam ubi salutis tue inuenies portum. Non metuas
f.141rb austeritatem, est enim benignus| et misericors, multe misericordie et uerax, placabilis super malicia,(1) non habens aures obtusas sed exauditionis plenas, super mel et fauum dulces.(2) Ne timeas fundere preces multis tunsionibus precum faciles, exaudibilis enim est iustorum precibus; non tumet multis precatibus, semper idem facilis est et indulgens penitentibus. A summis celorum respicit conuersationem tuam, quam si inuenerit bonam, detractantes tibi faciet obmutescere, imprudencium enim hominum ignoranciam detrahencium tibi ad nichilum rediget in die uisitationis tue. Laborate igitur, sine intermissione orate,(3) labor enim improbus omnia uincit,(4) et assiduitas ipsa orandi duram emollit exinanitamque summi principis iram sedat et exacerbatam ualida confessionis instancia demulcet.

Sicut igitur unanimes et eodem spiritu conformes uocauit dominus nobiles et ignobiles, confortate pusillanimes, sustinete debiles. Si superbientes inueneritis, apponite malagmata humilitatis; si plus iusto iracundos, paciencie

6] MS. post iudicium punct.interrog. 23] sedat: MS. sedit exp.et corr.sup. 28] malagmata: ta add.sup.

(1) Joel 2,13. (Vg.benignus et misericors est, patiens et multe misericordie et prestabilis super malicia.)
(2) Ps. 18,11.
(3) 1 Thess. 5,17.
(4) Vergil, Georgics,1,146.

How then did that blessed harlot, who is an example of deep devotion to sinners, deserve forgiveness except by shedding tears, and with tears heaping up the fruits of penitence? She ran to mercy, the most peaceful refuge of sinners where God's vengeful judgement ceases. Run to mercy, where you shall find the haven of your salvation. Do not be afraid that He will be severe, for He is gracious and merciful, of great kindness and true, mild and repenteth Him of the evil.(1) His ears are not stopped up but are ready to listen, sweeter than honey and the honeycomb.(2) Do not be afraid to pour out prayers that are easy with the many beatings of prayers, for He inclines to the prayers of the righteous. He does not swell with rage at receiving many petitions, on the contrary He is always well disposed and gracious to those who are penitent. From the heights of heaven He looks down upon your life, and if He finds that it is good He will silence your detractors, for on the day He comes to judge you the ignorance of your foolish slanderers will be brought to nothing. Therefore, work, pray without ceasing,(3) for tireless toil overcomes all,(4) and the very persistence of prayer softens the wrath of the Most High when it is harsh, stays His wrath when He gives vent to it, and soothes it with the powerful and persistent appeal of confession when it is provoked.

As I said, just as the Lord has called the noble and the lowly to be as one and alike in the same spirit, comfort the faint-hearted, support the weak. If you come across men who are haughty, apply the poultice of humility. If you come across men who are more angry than they should be, frequently administer a dose of

refrigerium frequenter ministrate, quos genere nobiles et inde efferos uel presumentes de se
f.141va plusquam deceret inueneritis| uacillare, instanter monete de religionis humilitate plusquam de parentum dignitate extollere se, humiles enim exaltat dominus et superbos deicit. Hec iccirco dixerim quia cum in colloquiis uestris sepe uerba collocutionum facitis, murmurando potius et fratribus detrahendo prepositisque uestris inuehendo, animas uestras uulneratis, quam spiritualibus medicamentis egras refocillatis.

Intemeratas igitur manus et inflexibiles aratro dei adiunctas solida mente firmiter tenete, et nolite retro aspicere; mementote uxorem Loht post tergum respicientem in salis effigiem uersam esse. Vnde et solide mentis fulti acumine in anteriora respicite, obliti ueteris uite quam seculo abrenunciantes [nouam uitam] professi estis ore et corde.

Non iuramenta, non maledicta exeant de ore, uel sermo otiosus uersetur in mente, sed omni sollicitudine corda uestra custodite, sacra scriptura intonante: Omni custodia serua cor tuum et in eternum non penitebis.(1) Et item in euangelio: De corde tuo exeunt cogitationes male.(2) Munias igitur cor tuum feruore discipline, et que sunt recta deoque accepta semper mente reuoluite. Si gaudetis ex ore uestro bona proferre,
f.141vb semper que bona| sunt meditentur in

11] manus: MS. minus exp.et corr.sup. 12] adiunctas: MS. adiuncti firmiter: r fin.add.sup. 13] retro: o add.sup.

(1) Proverbs 4,23.
(2) S.Matthew 15,19.

cool patience. If you find full of uncertainty nobly born men who are rebellious because of their rank or who hold too high an opinion of themselves, you should advise them at once to exalt themselves for the order's lowliness more than for their parents' high rank, because the Lord exalts the humble and casts down the proud. I say these things because in murmuring complaints, slandering your brothers and criticising your superiors when you talk to one another, you injure your souls rather than revive them in their sickness with spiritual remedies.

Therefore, with hands that are pure and which have an unyielding grasp of God's plough take a firm hold, resolute in mind, and do not look back. Remember that Lot's wife was turned into salt for looking back. Wherefore, look to the future with the support of a resolute and clear mind; forgetting your old way of life which you have renounced to the outside world, you have professed [a new life] with your lips and your heart.

Do not let oaths or curses past your lips, and do not think about idle talk, but in all anxiety guard your hearts, as Holy Scripture thunders the words: <u>Keep thy heart with all diligence, and you will not repent it for ever</u>.(1) Likewise it says in the Gospel: <u>For out of the heart proceed evil thoughts</u>.(2) Consequently, protect your heart with the zeal of discipline, and always reflect on those things which are just and acceptable to God. If you rejoice that you speak good things, always meditate on good things in your heart,

corde, scriptum est enim: Ex habundancia cordis os loquitur.(1) Hoc enim consueuit lingua proferre quod ex officina cordis nouerit consciencia ministrare. Assuescite sanctis cogitationibus operam dare, ut prodeuntes inde possint alios informare. Sit uobis celebre lectioni et orationi iugiter incumbere, interpolate tamen ne tedio afficiamini honesta opera [que] manibus uestris possitis exercere, nam scriptura sic ociosis inuehitur: Qui non operatur non manducet.(2) Precipuam quidem diei partem orationi indulgete, ut quod potius erit tibi in reconciliatione tui ad deum in secreto cordis fiat, nullam habente te nisi ad ipsum intencionem, reuelans deo uiam tuam, eius consilio disponens uitam, ut ab ipso uite tue concipiatur exordium, finis, et medium. Tunc ipso mediante erit tibi salus diuturna, porrecta in longum tue stabilitatis contancia; tunc spes semper in anteriora directa, que numquam uacillabit a tramite iusticie distorta. Sic oratio tua erit a domino exaudita, deo tantum nota. Cum garulitate sua non impediat alterius deprecationem a prece sancta.

Non sit pomposa uestis tua uel fuco diuersorum colorum uariata, utilitati pocius quam uanitati
f.142ra ap|tata, multi enim operibus exibent quod in
26 secreto cordis auide [et] plus iusto insipienter concipiunt. Sit pulla exterior uestis tua simplici colore denigrata; sint superpellicia multo candore dealbata; sit tibi pellicia agninis pellibus non

8] que: suppl. 9] MS. osciosis: s exp. 16] mediante: MS. medicante c erasit 26] et: suppl.

(1) S.Matthew 12,34; S.Luke 6,45.
(2) 2 Thess. 3,10.

for it is written: Out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh.(1) The tongue usually pronounces what the conscience knows can be supplied from the heart's factory. Grow accustomed to thinking holy thoughts, so that others may profit by them when your heart brings them into the open. Let it be your frequent practice to devote yourself constantly to reading and to prayer, but to avoid it becoming tiresome, vary it with some suitable jobs that you can do with your hands. For Scripture rails against the idle in the words: Who does not work shall not eat.(2) Indeed, set aside a particular part of the day for prayer so that what will be best for you in reconciling you with God may exist in the closet of your heart, when you can direct your thoughts to God alone, revealing your way to Him, arranging your life in accordance with His plan, that from Him your life may take its beginning, its middle and its end. Then, by His help, you will have long-lasting salvation; the constancy of your resolve will be drawn out at length; then you will have hope that is turned to the future, which will never falter in being turned aside from the path of righteousness. In this way your prayer will be heard by the Lord, but let it be known to God alone. No one is to hinder another's efforts to make his request in holy prayer with the noise of his muttering.

Your clothing is not to be ostentatious, or be dyed with different colours. It should be chosen more for practicality than vanity, for many men display outwardly in their actions the things they foolishly crave in the secrecy of their hearts. Let your outer garment be dark and dyed plain black. Let your surplices be of the purest white. You are to have a cassock lined with lamb skins, not with luxury furs

delicatis contra frigora operimentum structura; sit tibi comes fidelissima tunica talaris et alba, camisia munda. Hec sufficiant ad munienda contra frigus tua membra; quod amplius est a malo est. Hec sine sumptibus tuis uel parentum tuorum gratia ministrabitur tibi a communi fratrum camera; si uero, quod frequenter contingit, supererogauerit tibi parentalis industria, sagacis prepositi prouidencia aliis fratribus eroget ubi uiderit necessaria, sine detractione tui et inuidia ne uoluptati pocius arguaris quam utilitati.

Sunt et huiusmodi plura secularis uite incentiua, uanitates seculi respiciencia, quibus atteritur frequenter et maculatur presentis uie status et religiosorum uita, quibus inspectis et diligenter adnotatis meminisse iuuabit illud euangelici Iohannis: Nolite diligere mundum,(1) et cetera, quoniam omne quod in mundo est concupiscencia carnis et concupiscencia oculorum et ambitio seculi est. Quid prodest tibi | f.142rb professionem seruanti corporis integritatem seruire, si non decreueritis oculorum concupiscenciam deuitare? Quicquid agitis, spiritus sancti proueniente gratia discrete sic agite ut sequamini uestigia Christi tenendo perseueranter quod uouistis ardenter. Rogo igitur et indesinenter postulo uos, fratres karissimi, pro conseruando honestatis premio ut demonum susurria et uitiorum incentiua familiaritatemque eius incongruam summo

2] et: add.sup. 3] sufficiant: MS. suffiant 17] mundum: add.sup.

(1) 1 John 2,15-16.

to provide you with a covering against the cold. You should have a white ankle-length tunic - your most trusty companion, and a clean shirt. Let these suffice to protect you from the cold; anything more comes from evil. These garments will be provided for you from the brothers' common store without your needing to purchase them yourself or your parents to give them to you. But if, and it often happens, it is your parents' intention to pay, let the wise superior provide for the other brothers where in his providence he sees that there is need - not to slight you or out of envy but to save you from being accused of being more inclined to personal comfort than to what will serve your need.

There are many more incentives of this sort from the secular life which hearken back to the vanities of the outside world, which frequently wear down the condition of your present path and defile the lives of religious. Once you have examined them and made a careful note of them, it will help you to remember the words of St.John in the Gospel where he says: Love not the world,[1] and so on, for all that is in the world is the lust of the flesh and the lust of the eyes and is the pride of the world. What advantage is there for you as you serve your profession in keeping your body spotless, if you are not resolved to keep away from the lust of the eyes? Whatever you do, do it wisely with the help of the grace of the Holy Spirit, so that you follow in Christ's footsteps, and maintain without flinching the vow you have passionately sworn. Therefore, I pray and beseech you continually, dearest brothers, that in order to preserve the prize of virtue you should try to avoid with every effort the whispers of devils, the enticements to sin and an unsuitable intimacy with him whose very approach puts an end to a

studio uitare conemini, cuius propinquitatis accessus uiteque melioris est extinctio, et profane mentis extirpatio. Econtra ad conseruandam sancte religionis dignitatem, intemerate uite testis est singularitas et munitio ualidissima. Seui uero hostis familiaritas si frequens circa te manserit, corruptionem seminabit, uicia pullulabit, cupiditatem illicitorum excitabit, ignominiam parturibit, laciuiam excitabit, petulanciam fouebit, ruinas edificabit, uarias confusiones germinabit, opprobria suscitabit, accusationis causas ministrabit, uariorum dolorum in unum fascem conglomerabit. Secreti namque sui unitatem si firmiter custodiri uoluerit et assidue
f.142va fami|liaritatis malum procaciter a se repulerit,
16 ipsa singularitas uera munimen erit contra seua iacula inimicorum; expugnatio fortis continencie irruencium; euacuatio iniqua suggerencium; pax secura uirtutum et expugnatio ualida mala ministrancium; corporis tui uenustas erit tibi castitatis et puritatis continua singularitas; carcer erit tibi libidinis; affectata et pruriens simultas; integritatis dignitas et fornicationis abdicatio; frequentia bonorum operum; erit tibi afflictio uiciorum, pudicicia, nimis exposite mentis refrigerium, adquisitio triumphalis tibi insurgencium; quies salutis et perditionis suffragium prestabit uitam spiritui et carnis petulancie interitum. Hec omnia mala deo adiuuante fortiter repellentur a te, si a corde tuo

4] MS. intemerata 9] MS. laciuia 23] MS. si mulctas

higher life and roots out worldly minds. On the other hand, that you may preserve the excellence of holy religion, solitariness bears witness to an undefiled life and is the strongest means of defending it. But if the savage foe frequently stays close by you, his company will sow corruption; it will produce vices; it will arouse a longing for forbidden things; it will bring about dishonour; it will stir up wantonness; it will foster capriciousness; it will raise up ruins; it will hatch disorders of all kind; it will breathe life into scandals; it will supply reasons for accusations; it will gather into one bundle all kinds of deceit. For if a man wants to provide a secure defence for his own singleness and to drive away boldly the evil of persistent familiarity, true solitude itself will be a bulwark against his enemies' cruel darts; it will be a valiant assault on those who attack his chastity; the expulsion of all who suggest wicked acts; the sure peace of virtue and the vigorous conquest of those who thrust evil upon him. Beauty of body will be unwavering singleness in chastity and purity; it will be a prison for your lust; the combat that is longed for and itches [?]; the dignity of blamelessness and the rejection of fornication; the frequent performance of good works. It will be the destruction vices to you; chastity; refreshment for the overtaxed mind; the victorious capture of those who assail you; the peace of salvation; help in the face of ruin. It will bring life to your spirit and death to your body's wantonness. With God's help all these things shall be driven away from you, if you wish to cast out of your heart the

familiaritatis illius inordinate accessum uoluerit[is] respuere. Attendite queso, deo dicate anime, quibus semper comes esse debet Christiana milicia, duriorem congressum et forciora esse honestatis prelia, ubi cotidiana uiget pugna, sed rara et insperata uictoria. Fortis quidem pugna, sed expugnantis maiora sunt premia, cui quantum
f.142vb duri sunt exitus, tantum gloriosiores | inde percipit fructus. Vt igitur continencie premia possitis adipisci feliciter remunerante deo digne tibi, periculosam familiaritatem, de qua supra meminimus, constanter fugite, irreuerenter aspernamini et procaciter a uobis expellite, ut dirigat deus manus uestras ad prelium, et combellator tuus aptet digitos tuos, et ad hoc debellandos prestet effectum. Oramus supplices exaudiendi sinceriter. Currite fideliter, ut possitis comprehendere eterna premia feliciter.

In claustro sedebis solitarius et tacebis. Occurret tue quieti fantastica illusio meditationis hostis antiqui uanitatis seculi olim beneplacita tibi. Inmutabitur mens tua plane displicens tibi, euertens propositum sancte deuotionis tue. Quid poteris tibi ultionis infligere in tanto fratrum cetu et amaritudinis anime tue? Oppugnat fletibus et angore mentis tue succedentes tibi [...] uersuti hostis fede delectationis incitamenta. Punge aculeis tristicie praue cogitationis oblectamenta, que si contuderis et ad lapidem Christum innixus

2] MS. uoluerit 4] duriorem: MS. duciorem exp.et corr.sup. 15] et: add.sup. 21] MS. benplacita
4] milicia: MS. malicia 17] Currite: MS. Cunte

beginning of an irregular familiarity with him. Take heed, I beg of you, souls who are dedicated to God, whose companion shall always be Christian warfare, that the hardest onslaught and fiercest battles are over truth, when the fight is fought every day but victory is rare and unexpected. I say the fight is fierce, but the victor's prizes are greater, and the harder one comes by the victories the more glorious are the rewards one receives. In order, therefore, that you may be able to acquire the rewards of chastity with happy result when God gives you due payment, avoid without fail the perilous familiarity which we called to mind earlier, reject it out of hand and boldly drive it away from you that God may guide your fists to the fight, and that He who is your comrade-in-arms may make ready your fingers and bring them victory in the fight. We beg you sincerely to listen to our supplications. Run faithfully, that you can lay hold of everlasting rewards triumphantly.

In the cloister you will sit alone and be still. While you are at peace the old enemy will put into your mind the fantastic illusion of the worldly vanity in which you once delighted. Being wholly dissatified your mind will be changed and the purpose of your sacred devotion will be overturned. In such a convent of brothers what punishment is there that you can inflict on yourself and what bitterness can you inflict on your soul? With tears and mental anguish one fights against the [...] which march up to you, the crafty foe's enticements of filthy pleasure. Pierce the delights of a sinful thought with the needles of contrition; and if you subdue them and vigorously smash them on the rock

fortiter alliseris, fient tibi contriti spiritus rediuiui, consolatorii incendii uirtutum pro transgressione uehementiores animi affectus. Librum
f.143ra quem tenes ma|nibus inspice diligenter, importunitatis tue cogitationis consolatorium prudenter; euanescent a te fantasie competenter, nec erit tibi memorialis accessus illius turbatoris tui spiritus indecenter. Si sic non euaseris temptationem, surge, adi ecclesiam, flexis genibus et lacrimarum ubertate pectorisque tunsione impetra gratiam et habebis ueniam. Deinde procaciter effuge temptationem, quam si admiseris de te triumphare uolet multis innixa satellitum incitamentis. Iugis temptatio admissa celestium meditationis frangit incentiua, mentem ebetat, euacuat appetita diuine gratie beneficia. Item huius familiaritatem ne admittas, omnem preuaricationis semitam tibi ministrantem, quam si uno digito adciueris non repelles utrisque manibus cum adoleuerit in te fixa radice; ad modum urtice punget te recalcitrantem, paterno more tibi aduersantem, iniqui enim patris filius hereditario iure infestat innocentes, de quo scriptum est: Vos ex patre diabolo estis et desideria patris uestri uultis facere.(1) A consimilibus caue; uita familiaritatem ne incidas in Caribdim. Superbie uitans neuum, circa tales excita timorem. Honustus incedis auro,(2) timendus
f.143rb erit tibi latro. Stadium| est hec uita mortalis; hic est contendendum, in futuro coronas recipiendum. Nemo inter serpentes et scorpiones quietus dormit. Inebriatus est, inquid

5] MS. importunitunitatis 7] MS. turbator 14] meditationis: MS. meditationes 27] MS. Honusta: a erasit et corr.sup. 28] hec: MS. hic

(1) S.John 8,44.
(2) The following is drawn from S.Jerome, Epistola ad Eustochium.

that is Christ, on whom you lean for support, they shall become contrite and renewed spirits for you, in place of your transgression your mind's affections shall become more eager for virtues' comforting warmth. Look carefully at the book you hold in your hands; look prudently at the comforter of indecorous thoughts; your fantasies shall vanish accordingly, and the disquieter of your spirit will have no access to you through your memory indecorously. But if you cannot escape temptation in this way, get up, go to the church, and on bended knees with tears in plenty and beating your breast, beg for grace, and you will be forgiven. Thereafter, boldly run away from temptation, since if you give in to it, it shall want to triumph over you with the support of all the many enticements which attend it. Once you have given way to continual temptation, it breaks the incentive of your meditations on heaven, it deadens your mind, it empties out the benefits of God's grace which we long for. Furthermore, do not allow there to be any familiarity with him, which supplies you with every route to sin; if you invite it with a wag of but one finger, both hands will not rid you of it when it has planted itself within you with a fixed root. Like a nettle it will sting you when you tug at it, like a father when you oppose yourself, for by the law of inheritance a wicked father's son molests the innocent, of which it is written: Ye are of your father the devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do.[1] Beware such things; avoid familiarity with him, lest you fall into the whirlpool Charybdis. Avoiding the blemish of pride, stir up fear about such things. You go forth laden with gold:[2] you will have to be afraid of a robber. This mortal life is a stadium; here we must fight, in the future we must receive our crowns. No one sleeps peacefully in the midst of snakes and scorpions. My sword has drunk its

dominus, in celo gladius meus[1] et tu pacem arbitraris in terra. Non est nobis colluctatio aduersus carnem et sanguinem, sed aduersus principatus et potestates huius mundi, et cetera.[2] Magnis inimicorum circumdamur hostibus, hostium plena sunt omnia. Caro fragilis, post modicum futura cinis, pugnat cum multis. Cum autem fuerit dissoluta et uenerit princeps huius mundi nichil inueniens de suo, tunc tandem securus erit de hiis que ait propheta: Non timebis a timore nocturno, nec a sagitta uolante per diem, uel a negotio perambulante in tenebris, ab incursu et demonio meridiano. Cadent a latere tuo mille et decem milia a dextris tuis, ad te autem non appropinquabunt.[3] Si uero occursantium te moueat multitudo turbationum et ad singula ceperis estuare incitamenta uitiorum, clames ad dominum tota sinceritate mentis quod tollat a te ingruencium fantasmata cogitationum. Dum enim fragili corpusculo hic detinemur et teshaurum nobis
f.143va commissum portamus in uasis / fictilibus,[4]
concupiscit spiritus aduersus carnem, caro aduersus spiritum; erit quidem inter eos colluctatio continua, nulla certaminis perfecta uictoria. Aduersarius enim noster irrequietus tanquam leo rugiens omnia deuorare querens circuit.[5] Non querit homines infideles sed deo gratos, quales sibi deus astringit intimi amoris studio. Non enim uenit deus pacem mittere in terra sed gladium, ut superflua precidente gladio securiores maneamus a timore nocturno.

9] securus: MS. secura 11] uel: add.sup. 17] ad: MS. a 18] MS. siceritate 22] post caro e erasit 30] superflua: f add.sup.

(1) Isaiah 34,5.
(2) Ephesians 6,12.
(3) Ps. 90,5-7.
(4) 2 Corinth. 4,7.
(5) 1 Peter 5,8.

fill in the heavens,(1) says our Lord, and you think there is peace on earth. We wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities and against the powers of this world,(2) and so on. We are encompassed about with our enemies' great hosts; all things are full of foes. A frail body that will soon be ash is fighting against many adversaries. But when it is destroyed and the Prince of this world shall come and finds nothing which belongs to him, then at last will one be confident in those things which the prophet says: Thou shalt not be afraid for any terror by night: nor for the arrow that flieth by day; for the pestilence that walketh in the darkness, nor for the sickness that destroyeth in the noon day. A thousand shall fall beside thee, and ten thousand at thy right hand, but they shall not come nigh thee.(3) But if you are disturbed by the great number of troubles that assail you, and you start to burn with every sinful enticement, cry out to the Lord in complete openness of mind, so that He may take from you the fantasies of the thoughts that assail you. For as long as we are kept here in this poor, fragile body and carry about with us the treasure entrusted to us in vessels of clay,(4) the spirit fights against the flesh and the flesh against the spirit; between them there will be continual struggle and no outright victory in the fight. For our restless adversary walketh about like a roaring lion seeking to devour everything.(5) He does not seek out the faithless but those who are dear to God, those whom God binds to Him with the affection of intimate love. For God did not come to send peace in the world but the sword, so that once all unnecessary things have been cut away by the sword, we may abide free from any terror by night.

Iccirco statim ut sensum nostrum titillauerit libido, et blandum uoluptatis nostre incendium suscitauerit interne mentis caligo, erumpamus in uocem: Dominus deus auxiliator meus,(1) et ideo: Non sum confusus, nec timebo quid suadeat mihi caro.(2) Cum tua mens interior fluctuare ceperit inter uitiorum et uirtutum primordia, consolare animam tuam dicens: Quare tristis es anima mea, et quare conturbas me?(3) Spera in eo et ipse faciet tecum misericordiam.(4)

Prouide tibi ut statim uenienti occurras cogitationi. Si uis adolescere uincendi fortior, ingruet tibi duellum. Dum medicus infestauerit te, inimicum interfice, ne uirium assumpta fortitudine
f.143vb te faciat occumbere. Nequitia potius | elidatur in
16 semine quam in maturitate. Ille pocius laudandus est qui allidit paruulos suos ad petram(5) in cogitatione, quam qui permittit in solidum tractu temporis indurescere.

Gulositatis uitium aspernare, delicatos cibos laucteque paratos nolis appetere, quibus nutrire petulanciam carnis et incentiua uiciorum possis augere; inspecta etenim et mente retractata potuerunt te terrere; quomodo primus homo eiectus de paradiso magis obediens uentri quam deo, deiectus est in hanc uallem lacrimarum alienatus a domino. Ipsum autem dominum fame Satanas temptauit in deserto. Veruntamen illud sepe recolas apostolicum: Esca uentri: uenter escis, deus hec et

2] uoluptatis: MS. uoluptatas exp. et corr.sup.
26] deiectus: d et us add.sup.

(1) Ps. 117,6.
(2) Isaiah 50,7.
(3) Ps. 41,6.
(4) Ps. 42,5.
(5) Ps. 136,9.

For this reason, as soon as desire tickles our senses and the darkness within the mind rouses the seductive fire of passion, let us cry out at once: O Lord my Helper,[1] and again: I am not confounded, neither shall I fear what my flesh persuades me.[2] When your inner mind begins to waver between the beginnings of vice and virtue, comfort your soul by saying: Why art thou so heavy, O my soul: and why art thou so disquieted within me?[3] Put thou thy trust in Him, and He shall be merciful unto thee.[4]

Keep watch on yourself, so that you may resist a thought as soon as it comes to mind. If you want to grow, a stronger adversary shall engage you in combat. Until the doctor disturbs you slay your enemy, lest he recover his strength and brings you low. Let wickedness be destroyed when it is in seed rather than when ripe. He who dashes his young on a rock[5] in thought is to be commended more than anyone who lets it grow hard with the passing of time.

Spurn the sin of gluttony, and do not try to get dainty and elegantly prepared foods with which you can nourish the wantonness of the flesh and increase the stimuli to sin. Indeed, when you have thought about them and reconsidered them in your mind, they have been able to terrify you. This was how the first man was cast out of paradise: being more obedient to his stomach than to God, he was thrown into this vale of tears, estranged from the Lord. But Satan tempted our Lord Himself with hunger in the wilderness. Nevertheless, you should often consider what the apostle says: Meat for the belly and the belly for

hanc destruet.(1) Et de indulgentibus carnose uoluptati plusquam deceret dicitur: quorum deus uenter est, et cetera;(2) id enim colit unusquisque quod diligit et appetit. Hinc prouidendum sollicite ut quos a paradiso expulit uitiosa saturitas, reducat ad pristina abstinencia et esuries sancta. Inter reliquos erit de nobili stirpe qui dicat: Semper in deliciis nutritus sum, in cibis laucte paratis, in uictualibus delicatis; non possum sic uiuere. Ad quod respondebo: Viuas igitur | lege tua qui lege et institutione dei non uis uitam ducere; aspernaris instituta maiorum, religionis sacre normam et precepta seniorum. Tu tibi uitam alibi institue pro uoluntate intestinorum tuorum, ubi possis delectari pulmonis tui ardore, et uiscerum tuorum ingluuie insaciabilique tui uentris edacitati placere. Numquid rugitu et feda eructatione de pleno te placere credas deo? Numquid pudiciciam tuam et honestatis tue uirtutem deo placituram obseruabis per crapulam? Delicate uiuendo, carni tue plus iusto uoluptuose indulgendo non poteris placere deo. Constans esto, fortis in proposito. Prouehet fortitudinis tue constanciam ille cui dictum est: Fortitudinem meam a te custodiam.(3)

f.144ra 11

Sint tibi tibi ieiunia iocunda, sociique fideles et spectabiles quos ipsa extenuant, quos pallor in facie, quos etas diu probata commendat in opere, quos ex affectu cotidiano contingit dicere:

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(1) 1 Corinth. 6,13.
(2) Philipp. 3,19.
(3) Ps. 58,10. (Vg. ad te)

meat; God shall destroy both one and the other.(1) And concerning those men who give way too much to the pleasures of the flesh it is said: whose God is their belly, and so on,(2) for every man worships the thing he loves and desires. Here one has to take care to ensure that those who have been driven from paradise by their wicked greed can be brought back by abstinence and holy hunger. Among those left there will be someone of noble birth, who says, "I have always been fed on delicacies, on sumptuously prepared dishes and on rich foods; I cannot live like this." To which I will reply, "You do not want to live your life by the law and commandment of God, therefore live by your own law. You reject the customs of our forefathers, the practice of the holy order and the commands of the senior brothers. Set up a life for yourself in some other place, where for the sake of your intestines you can enjoy the burning of your lung and the greed of your belly, and where you can satisfy your stomach's insatiable appetite." Do you really believe you please God with your rumbling and your excessive and filthy belching? Will you observe a chastity and the virtue of your goodness as pleasing to God by means of drunkenness? You will not be able to please God by living in luxury and by over-indulging the body for pleasure. Be steadfast; be firm in your purpose. Let Him promote the endurance of your strength, to whom it was said: My strength from thee shall I guard.(3)

Let your fasts by joyful and your companions faithful and worthy; whom fasting weakens, whom paleness commends in appearance, and long-proven age commends in deed; who say out of daily devotion:

Cupio dissolui et esse cum Christo.(1) Sit tibi moderatus cibus, uenter esuriens, ciborum inanitas. Lege sepius, disce quod nescis; exemplis sanctorum instituaris lectione frequenti, ut tenentem te codicem sompnus irrepat, cadentemque faciem tuam | f.144rb legendo fessam pagine sacre suscipiant. Sint tibi exquisita ieiunia de more ordinis instituta, refectio sacietatem fugiens. Non prodest biduo uel triduo continere et uasculum corporis tui cibis exinanire, deinde subito ciborum exaggeratione indiscrete obruere. Mens enim repleta torpescit, et irrigata plus iusto terra tui cordis spinas libidinum germinabit. Cum autem senseris exterioris tui hominis flores marcescere et in libidinum pompam excrescere, arripe scutum continencie per quem ignee diaboli extinguuntur sagitte. Et quoniam difficile est humani cordis oculos a uanitate seculi iugiter distorqueri, in quoscumque mens nostra distraatur affectus, amor carnalis spirituali bello reformetur, desiderium incompetens desiderio spirituali restringatur. Mortificate, inquid apostolus, membra uestra super terram,(2) ut uere possitis cum eo dicere: Viuo ego iam non ego, uiuit autem in me Christus.(3) Laua per singulas noctes lectum tuum, lacrimis uberibus riga stratum tuum. Vigila, et esto sicut passer in solitudine.(4) Psalle spiritu contribulato; psalle pura mente sepius inculcans anime tue: Benedic f.144va anima | mea domino,(5) et semper memineris retributionis eius, qui propiciatur omnibus

3] MS. ut post nescis 4] MS. tenente 6] MS. paginas sacras MS. suscipias 13] MS. senserit

(1) Philipp. 1,23.
(2) Coloss. 3,5.
(3) Galatians 2,20.
(4) Pss.6,7; 101,8.
(5) Ps. 102,2-4.

I long to be released in death and to be with Christ.(1) Take little food; have a hungry stomach; be in want of food. Read often; study what you do not know; learn from the examples of the saints by reading frequently so that sleep may steal upon you while you are holding a book, and the sacred pages may hold up your falling face which is grown weary through reading. Let your fasts be carefully chosen as ordained by the order's custom; let refreshment avoid sufficiency. There is nothing to be gained from controlling the little vessel of your body, keeping it empty for two or three days, and then suddenly to overload it immoderately with a great heap of food. A full mind grows dull, and when the earth of your heart is over-watered it will produce thorns of desire. But when your heart realises the flowers of your outward self are fading and are springing up in a parade of desires, snatch up the shield of continence to extinguish the devil's fiery arrows. And since it is hard to twist continually the eyes of a man's heart away from worldly vanity, whatever desires our minds are drawn into, let fleshly love be transformed in spiritual warfare; let improper desire be checked by spiritual desire. Mortify your members which are upon earth, said the apostle(2), so that you can truly say with him: I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me.(3) Every night wash your bed, water your couch with tears in plenty. Watch, and be as the sparrow in the wilderness.(4) Sing with a broken spirit; sing with a pure mind, often driving into your soul the words: Bless the Lord, O my soul,(5) and you will always remember his reward, who forgiveth all our

iniquitatibus nostris: qui sanat omnes langores nostros, et redimit a corruptione uitam nostram seruans illesam a peccatis incontaminatam.

Vitandum igitur et magna cautela fugiendum moneo uane glorie ardorem nepharium. Ait enim dominus: Quomodo acceptare poteris humane fauorem glorie que fallit et fluxas mentes delectando consumit?(1) Dicamus igitur: Tu es gloriatio mea, domine; tu es susceptor meus,(2) ut: Qui gloriatur in domino glorietur.(3) Et apostolus: Si adhuc hominibus placerem, Christi seruus non essem.(4) Et alibi: Michi autem absit gloriari nisi in cruce domini nostri Ihesu Christi per quem mihi mundus crucifixus est et ego mundo.(5) Et psalmista: In te laudamur tota die;(6) et, in domino laudabitur anima mea.(7) Plures paupertatis, misericordie atque ieiuniorum arbitros declinabis, ne in hoc ipso placere cupias, quo placere contempnis, et mirum in modum laus dum uitatur, appetitur. Sunt et quidam exterminantes facies suas ut pareant hominibus ieiunantes, sicut et alii spiritu gemiscentes ut fallant hominum mentes undique fallaci religione hominum cordibus se ostentantes. Solus uenter qui uideri non potest cibariis | estuat, unde timendum est quod dicit propheta: Deus dissipabit ossa eorum qui hominibus placere studeant.(8) f.144vb

Cum autem iugiter orare nos moneat apostolus nec possit ad hoc sufficere humani corporis animus,

17] MS. declinabit

(1) non inueni.
(2) Ps. 3,4.
(3) 1 Corinth. 1,31; 2 Corinth. 10,17.
(4) Galatians 1,10.
(5) Galatians 6,14.
(6) Ps. 43,9.
(7) Ps.33,3.
(8) Ps. 52,6.

sins, who heals all our infirmities and saves our life from destruction, keeping it safe and unsullied by sin.

Therefore, I warn you that you must shun and avoid with great caution the wicked burning of vain glory. For our Lord says: How will you able to accept the favour of the glory of man which deceives and consumes weak minds by charming them?(1) Let us say therefore: Thou art my glory, O Lord: thou art my defender,(2) so, He that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord.(3) And the apostle says: If I yet pleased men I should not be the servant of Christ.(4) And in another place, He says: But God forbid that I should glory save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world.(5) And the psalmist says: In thee we boast all the day long,(6) and: My soul shall boast in the Lord.(7) You will avoid having many witnesses of your poverty, compassion and fasting lest you seek to please in the very thing in which you scorn to please, and, remarkably, praise is sought after while it is being avoided. There are some men who disguise their faces to make it seem to others that they are fasting, just as there are certain others who groan in spirit in order to deceive the minds of men and who everywhere make a show of themselves in their false religion to men's hearts. Only the stomach which cannot be seen sweats with foods, and for this reason you must be afraid of the prophet's words when he says: God shall break the bones of them that seek to please men.(8)

But although the apostle advises us to pray continually and yet the will of the human body cannot

ad frequentiam orandi uos monere debemus, nam iuste aptatus corpori sompnus quasi oratio fidelis est et quies bene operantibus; est enim quietudo et nutrimentum fessis oratione mentibus, ut forciores resurgant iterum aptandi se orationibus. Hora tercia, sexta, et nona, diluculum, uespera concinne sibi ad inuicem respondeant ad oblata diei tempora, et si forte fuerit quis aliqua occupatione detentus, ipsa diei hora excitet ad consueta. Cum uenerit tempus prandendi, muni te et cibum crucis armatura. In prandendo sit tibi iugis meditatio, ne uentris ingurgitatio sit tibi pie deuotionis obliuio. Post cibi refectionem acturus deo gratias ibis ad processionem. Pro sumptis beneficiis ages deo gratiarum actiones. Post insertus claustro columpne reuolues lectionem, tandem transibis ad meditationem. Nulla sit ora uacua meditationis uel orationis excepta. Frequenter ieiuniis affligeris et interea multa de multis seculi uanitatibus f.145ra adipis|cendis in mente tractabis. Perdes ieiunii meritum dum hiis friuolis et uanis acessionibus dederit appetitum. Item si ad ollas picium laucteque confectorum cibariorum condire tuum delegeris ieiunium, memento illius eulogii quod per prophetam Ysaiam: Non tale ieiunium elegi(1) dicit dominus. Nec illorum tibi exempla propones qui carnis curam agitantes in desideriis uane cogitationis elidunt in se ieiuniorum fructus, uanisque oblectamentis affligunt animas ne fructificant in ieiuniis. Qui autem hec secularia,

1] MS.nos 15] MS. claustri 29] MS. oblectamentas

(1) Isaiah 58,5.(Vg. Numquid tale est ieiunium quod elegi per diem affligere hominem animam suam?)

manage this, we must urge you to frequent prayer, for sleep, quite rightly appropriate for the body, is a kind of devout prayer and rest for good workers. For it brings tranquillity and refreshment to minds that are made weary through praying, so that they get up stronger to apply themselves once again to their prayers. At the hours of Terce, Sext and None, dawn and Vespers let them respond suitably to one another at the times of the day which are offered, and if it should happen that anyone is detained by some task, let the hour of the day rouse him to do what is customary. When the time for dinner comes, protect yourself and your food with the sign of the cross. When you are eating you should meditate continually lest the gorging of your stomach makes you forget your holy devotion. After you have taken refreshment you will go to the procession to give thanks to God. You will give thanks to God for the benefits you have received. When you are in the cloister, you will reflect on the text of [your] column; after a time you will proceed to meditate. Let no hour be empty of meditation or free from prayer. Frequently you will be subdued by fasts, and when you are, you will consider many of the many profitless things there are to be obtained in the world. You will lose the reward of your fasting as long as it gives you an appetite for those paltry and frivolous acquisitions. Furthermore, if you choose to season your fasts with pots of fish and elegantly prepared food,. remember the saying of the prophet Isaiah: <u>I did not choose such a fast as this</u>,[1] says the Lord. Nor should you propose for yourself the examples set by men, who, stirring up a concern for their bodies, ruin the fruits of their fasting with the desires of their vain thoughts, and who afflict their souls with vain delights with the result their fasts bear no fruit. But the man who counts these worldly things - strivings and

ambiciones et cetera talia reputauerit quasi domus purgamenta, et nichili penderit omnia ut Christum lucrifaciat, et crucifixerit carnem suam cum uiciis et concupiscenciis, libere inter homines poterit proclamare: Quis me separabit a Christi caritate? Tribulatio, en angustia, persecutio, en fames, nuditas, an periculum, uel gladius?(1) Et iterum: Certus sum neque mors, neque uita, neque angeli, neque principatus, neque potestates, nec instancia, neque futura, neque altum, neque profundum, neque alia creatura poterit me separare a caritate dei que est in Christo Ihesu.(2)

f.145rb Quocienscumque te uana seculi delectauerit ambitio, quocienscumque tibi arriserit | in mundo iocunda uanitatis gloriatio, allide ad petram Christum protectorem tuum tui cordis affectum, ut te muniat, de corde tuo tollat uelamen quod tollat sui uisionem. Meminerit sponsionis sue quam promisit prophetice: Pone me sicut umbraculum in corde tuo, et sicut signaculum fortitudinis in brachio tuo.(3) Tunc quidem opere munitus pariter et mente clamabis et dices: Aque multe non poterunt caritatem extinguere, nec flumina decurrencia poterunt eam infestare.(4)

Sunt et alia claustralium rudimenta, quibus omissis tendentibus ad superna uix patet ascendendi uia. Sed nunc audiat et exaudiat precem tuam dominus tuus, quoniam abrenunciasti mundo secretus

3] lucrifaciat: MS. lacrifaciat exp.et corr.sup.
14] quocienscumque: cumque add.sup.

(1) Romans 8,35.
(2) Romans 8,38-9.
(3) Song of Songs, 8,6.
(4) Song of Songs 8,7.

such like - as the slops of the house, treats everything as worthless to take Christ for his reward, and crucifies his flesh with sins and desires, freely can say among men: Who shall separate me from the love of Christ, shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or the sword?(1) And again: I am persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor angels, not principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature shall be able to separate me from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus.(2)

Whenever vain worldly ambition charms you, whenever vanity's delightful vaunting in the world pleases you, smash your heart's desire on the rock that is Christ, your defender, that He may protect you, take from your heart the veil that takes away your sight of Him. He shall remember His troth that He gave in the prophecy: Set me as a shade upon thine heart and as a seal of strength on thy arm.(3) Defended then in thought and deed alike you will cry out and say: Many waters will not be able to quench love, neither shall rushing water floods be able to drown it.(4)

There are other basic principles for those living in the cloister, and if they go disregarded, the way to heaven is hardly accessible to those who are striving to climb it. But now let your God listen and hearken to to your prayer, since you have renounced the world, set

a populari consortio. Cogita que sunt dei, quomodo per omnia placeas deo ut sis sanctus corpore et spiritu beneplacens ei. Memento beneplacitum te deo litasse sacrificium, spontaneam oblationem ad quam te non lex impulit, non necessitas coegit, non preceptum districtum alicuius superioris astrinxit. Veruntamen ille dominus qui uoluntatem hanc inspirauit facultatem huius prosecutionis. Primum quidem, o frater carissime, [teneas] bonum
f.145va 11 propositum tuum inspirante summa cordis deuo|tione, iugi oratione deposcens ut quod non poteris per naturam consequaris per uisitantem te graciam. Cogita semper quam preciosum teshaurum in tam fictili uase portas, et quam mercedem, quam gloriam, quam coronam, si legitime certaueris, obtinebis; quam econtra penam et confusionem, quamque dampnationem hec pretermissa tibi comparabunt.

Nemo se palpat,(1) nemo blandiatur sibi, nemo se ipsum fallat; numquam ab adolescentibus sine magna cordis contritione, ex carnis afflictione castitas conquiritur uel seruatur, que plerumque in egris uel senibus periclitatur. Licet enim continencia donum dei sit, nec possit quis esse continens nisi deus ministret graciam, nec sibi possit ascribere quod diuini muneris gratuiteque dei gratie impensum homini fuerit; qui[bus] inter delicias carnis casti, inter epulas diffusas continentes, inter pueros et puellas conuersari et non temptari, in commessationibus et ebrietatibus(2) fedis distendi humoribus et non coinquinari, in sinu suo flammas

4] oblationem: MS. oblitionem 13] tam MS. quam
9] teneas: suppl. 27] quibus: MS. qui

(1) The following passages come from the De Institutione Inclusarum, of Aelred of Rievaulx. (ch.17: P.L.32.1460; CCCM 1,p.653.)
(2) Romans 13,13.

apart from the company of ordinary men. Consider the things that belong to God - how you can please God in all things, so that you may be holy in body and acceptable to Him in spirit. Remember that you have pleased God in offering Him an acceptable sacrifice - an offering made of your own free-will, into which you were forced by no law nor compelled by any need; nor have you been bound to it by the strict command of any superior. Nevertheless, it was the Lord who who inspired this will - the means to proceed with this course. But above all, my dearest brother, [hold to] your good purpose as you are prompted by the highest devotion of your heart, and plead through continual prayer that what you cannot accomplish by nature you may achieve by the bestowal of grace. Always think how precious is the treasure which you are carrying in such an earthen vessel, and what reward, what glory, what a crown you will receive if you struggle for them justly; but on the other hand what punishment, what ruin and what condemnation shall these give you if you neglect them.

Let no-one delude himself;[1] let no-one flatter himself: the young can never obtain or preserve chastity by afflicting their bodies without great sadness of the heart, and it is often enough put at risk even in those who are sick and aged. For although chastity is a gift from God, no-one can be chaste unless God gives him him the grace, and he cannot attribute to his own efforts any gift received from God and any freely-given grace laid out for man. For men to be chaste amidst the delights of the flesh, to control themselves amidst a spread of sumptuous dishes, to mix with boys and girls and not be tempted, to become bloated with foul humours at feasts and drinking bouts[2] and not be poisoned, to bind fire to their

ligare et non exuri, difficile quidem et impossibile autumo nisi multiplici dono dei hoc possit effici. Humani etenim operis et terrene imbecillitatis hoc opus nequaquam credimus, nisi
f.145vb 6 hoc fauente domino, et ad | hoc gratia ministrante ad perfectum duci queat.

Sed quoniam multis prosunt exempla exquisita maiorum: audiuimus monacum quendam in initio sue conuersationis decertantem cum incentiuis uitiorum
10 suorum et uiolentis uitiose sue consuetudinis incitamentis, cum suggestionibus callidi temptatoris irruentibus periculis. Cum pudiciciam suam impugnaret seuus hostis, erexit se supra se spiritus extenuate carnis contra seuitiam
15 infestantis se diabolice suggestionis incursus. Inmicior sibi quidem in obsistendo crudelibus fatis quam indulgendo motibus externis, subtrahens fomenta carnis quibus maxime delectabatur, egestate magna corpus macerabat, ieiuniis affligebat,
20 orationibus uexabat, contricione cordis plurimum affligebat, equum suum effrenem duriter loris comprimebat. Hec quidem aliquamdiu attrite carnis iugo comprimebat. Cum debilitate carnis iam pressa supplicio iam effeta caro capud erigeret, ad
25 infestantem suam quietem hostem ualidum resumpsit uires; acuit ingenia quibus propelleret instigatorios mores, uehementes motus fornicationum
f.146ra diaboli suggerentis. Incen|dium enim incendio superare uolens, nuditatem corporis seuis fricabat

2] dono: MS. domo 16] MS. obsistendo quam crudelibus fatis indulgendo 25] MS. infestantis sue quietis

breasts and not be burned I indeed believe to be difficult and impossible except it can be done with the help of God's manifold gift. We do not believe this to be a task for human toil and earthly frailty unless it can be accomplished with the Lord's favour and the governance of His grace.

But since many derive profit from the choice examples of our forefathers, we have heard there was a certain monk who was struggling at the beginning of his religious life with the impulses of his vices, with the fierce temptations of his sinful nature and with the perilous assaults that were made on him by the suggestions of the crafty tempter. When the savage enemy attacked his chastity, the spirit of his weakened body rose up against him - against the fierceness of the onslaught of the devil's temptation that was afflicting him. But, being more severe with himself in resisting his harsh fate than in yielding to external temptations, he deprived himself of the physical comforts which once gave him the greatest pleasure; he broke his body with great want, weakening it with fasts, harrying it with prayers, and most of all he weakened it with the sorrow of his heart and cowed his unruly horse harshly with the reins. And yes, for a time he suppressed these impulses with the yoke of his exhausted body. When his flesh, already subdued with the weakness of the body, already worn out with punishment, reared its head, he again summoned his forces against the mighty enemy which was disturbing his peace. He sharpened his efforts to repel the habits which were stirring him up - the fierce impulses of lust which were suggested by the devil. Wanting to fight fire with fire he chafed his naked body with

urticis, et ingluuiem carnis puris aque pro uino sedabat fluentis, acerimis corpus domabat flagris. Et cum hec omnia non sufficerent ad compescendam sue uesanie fornicationem, quod potuit fecit; toto corpore prostratus pedibus sui plasmatoris plorat, suspirat, gemit, pectus tundit, obtestatus gemens ut aut occidat aut sanet. Clamat: Non quiescam nec a te recedam nisi benedixeris mihi.(1) Prestitum est ei refrigerium ad horam, sed negatum est intime securitatis munimentum; iam quiescentibus paululum stimulis carnis affectiones illicite pectus inuadunt. Quanta tunc eum tormenta, quanta contritionum incitamenta ex recordatione preteritorum et inmansuetudine carnis afflicte, et iniciate iam cladis iterate [quantam] credis miseriam pertulisse? Tandem uero deum credas ipsum respexisse ut rediret castitatis delectatio, ut omnes que sentiri possent uel excogitari carnis uinceret uoluptates. Tunc senectuti morbus accessit et effeto quies corpori.

Hiis et consimilibus exemplis excitari potest mens fidelis, ut sancta deuotio dilectioni dei
f.146rb co|aptetur, fluctibusque pie conuersationis dilatetur expresse. Sequitur diliges dominum deum tuum ex toto corde tuo, ex tota anima tua, ex intimo affectu, et proximum tuum sicut teipsum. Hec enim diuine legis expletiua consumant legis et prophetarum doctrinam.(2) Dilectio namque dei et proximi iusticie complementum insinuant, ut

1] MS. ingluuia et uentrem om. 6] MS. suspirit 15] quantam: suppl. 16] MS. miseram

(1) Genesis 32,26.
(2) S.Matthew 22,37-39; S.Mark 12,30; S.Luke 10,27; Deut.6,5;11,13.

sharp, stinging nettles, and he settled the stomach of his unbridled flesh with plain water instead of wine. He subdued his body with the keenest lashes of a scourge, and when all these were not enough to stay his mad lust, he did what he could. Lying prostrate before the feet of His Maker he wails, he sighs, he grieves, he strikes his breast; groaning he begged Him either to kill him or cure him. He cries out: I shall not rest, nor shall I depart from thee unless thou hast given me thy blessing.(1) For a time relief was given him, but he was denied the protection of security within. The impulses of his flesh abated for a little while, but presently forbidden desires invade his heart. Then what torments do you think he endured? what were the pricks of sorrows that resulted from his memory of the pastand the wildness of his stricken body? and what misery do you think he suffered from the commencement of a renewed battle? But you can be sure that God looked upon him in the end, and that the joy of being chaste returned to him so that he could overcome all the pleasures of the flesh which could be experienced or imagined. Then in old age came disease and rest for his exhausted body.

With these and similar examples the faithful mind can be stirred so that sacred devotion may be joined to the love of God and be extended expressly to the tumults of a holy life. It follows: Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, with the deepest devotion, and thy neighbour as thyself. For these expressions of God's law complete the teachings of the law and the prophets.(2) For the love of God and one's neighbour bring righteousness to

que de dilectione hac lex sancta nos edocet informemur ad plenum, ut institutoriis magistrorum preceptis instituatur et moderetur mens fidelis. Odiendus est uero inimicus id est hostis antiquus, fallacibus insidiis nos auertere iugiter paratus a sancte deuotionis amplexibus, stillicidiis frequentibus et iniquis motibus uirtutum plantaria eradicantibus. Hinc orationum suffragia, hinc piarum precum adiumenta, hinc lacrimarum habundantia, hinc elemosinarum distenta opera sunt ualde necessaria, nam si irruperit hostis ille inuidus nostris successibus mentis nostre secreciora, se totum impetuose importunum dabit nostri cordis cellule, nec cum uoles non recedet a te. Vnde securius erit nullatenus eum admittere quam admissum toto nisu expellere. Semper fragilitatis tue memor et pauidus time, pauideque f.146va instar | columbe super riuos aquarum supra te accipitris effigiem diligenter inspice,(1) ne torpens securitate [...] iniciat in te ungues contritionis tue. Riuos aquarum expedit frequentare, quibus possint caueri temptatoris insidie. Hee sunt frequentate patrinarum traditionum sentencie queque profluentes a fonte limpidissimo sapiencie produnt diabolicarum suggestionum machinamenta uitare. Nichil enim magis cogitationes fidelium excludit inutiles [uel] conpescit lasciuas quam meditatio diuinarum scripturarum. Animos sic adsuescere ut consuetudine inolita ad mala uolens mentem distorquere non possis seruata consuetudine meditationis eximie.

4] iste: MS. i 24] MS. propluentes exp.et corr.sup. 27] MS. cogitationis uel: suppl. 30] mala: MS. mola corr.sup. 31] MS. possit

(1) v. Song of Songs 5,12.

completion, with the result that we become fully informed what holy law teaches us about this love, and the faithful mind is ordered and governed by the precepts of the masters who established the order. But you must abominate the enemy the old foe who is always ready to tear us away from embracing sacred devotion with his deceptive snares, whose steady dripping and wicked impulses uproot the plantations of virtue in us. Very necessary here are favourable answers to our prayers, the support of devout requests, tears in plenty, generous acts of almsgiving; for if the enemy who is envious of our successes breaks into the secret places of the mind, violently he will thrust himself rudely in full into the cell of the heart, and he will not leave you when you want him to go. For this reason it will be safer not to let him in at all than to drive him out with all your might once he is in. Always be afraid, remember your frailty, and be fearful; and like the fearful dove over the rivers of water watch carefully the figure of the hawk above you[1] lest whilst you grow sluggish through feeling you are secure [...], it sinks into you the claws of your contrition . It is profitable to visit the "rivers of water" by which you can guard against the snares of the tempter. These are the much used sentences from the teachings of the Fathers, which, flowing as they do from wisdom's clearest source, show how one can avoid the devices of the devil's temptations. For nothing shuts out profitless lusts from men's thoughts or curbs them more than meditation on Holy Scripture. Therefore get your minds used to it, so that whenever you are wanting to twist your mind towards evil because of the habit implanted in you, you are unable to do so having maintained the outstanding practice of meditation.

Meditantem te de scripturis sacris sompnus excipiat, euigilanti tibi de isdem aliquid occurrat, dormientis sompnia, uelud herens memorialis editio mentem saginet.

Hec dieta transigenda est tibi cotidie cum additamentis que ministrabit tibi deus. Sic igitur de more completis rite diei oris competentibus ordinis accessionibus, tum psallendo et legendo, tum meditando et operando secundum districtionem ordinis, ueniet nox; prosternes lectulo membra tua;| f.146vb cogitationum uarietates et cordium mussitationes commendabis deo; et sic crucis armatus signo reuolues in animo quomodo die illo uixeris: si uerbo, si opere, si affectu oculos domini tui offenderis plus solito; si leuior, si ociosior, si negligencior plusquam consueuisti uitam duxeris; si plus iusto in cibo uel potu et [dissolutior] metas sobrietatis excesseris. Si aliquo horum excesseris, suspira, pectus tunde, lacrimis faciem riga, ut sic deo reconciliatum sompnus te excipiat. Quid, quibus auxiliis, cur, quomodo, quando operatus fueris in die dignanter respice. Occurrent tibi multe uanitatum excubie quibus te gemes deum offendisse. Incipies lugere, pectus tundere, oculos cordis a malis tuis retroactis auertere.

Sic animo singula uoluens ut nil desit in penitencie tue decet meminisse te mundo renunciasse

2] isdem: MS. eadem corr.sup. 7-8] MS. diei accessionibus competentibus ordinis accessionibus 9] MS. distructionem 13] MS. armata 18] dissolutior: suppl. ex ed. Talbot MS. difficultior 21] MS. axiliis

While you meditate on Holy Scripture let sleep receive you. On waking up let something from Scripture come into your mind; let it nourish your mind as you dream dreams like a book fixed in the memory. You should go through this routine every day along with the additional tasks God will give you. Therefore, when you have duly completed the additional duties of the order at the appointed hours of the day in the usual fashion - at one time singing and reading, at another meditating and working in accordance with the strict ruling of the order, night shall come; you shall lay down your limbs on your bed; all your different thoughts and the murmurings of your heart you will entrust to God, and defended by the sign of the cross you will ponder in your mind how you lived that day: if you have offended the Lord's eyes more than usual in what you have said, done or felt; if you have lived more frivolously, more lazily or more carelessly than usual; if you have been immoderate in eating and drinking too much and without restraint. If you have gone too far in any of these respects, groan, beat your breast, wet your face with tears, so that sleep may receive you when you are thus reconciled to God. Look back on the things you have done properly that day: with what help, why, how and when. Many vain concerns will come to your mind which you will groan yo have offended God with. You will start lamenting, beating your breast, turning the eyes of your heart from your evil acts which you have gone through. Reflecting on each of them in this way, so that your act of penitence does not fall short in any detail, it is right you

diabolo et uniuersali eius pompe;(1) inhieris pactum, deo teste, et fedus pepigisti cum hoste maligno de non reuertendo ad consueta seculi blandimenta, unde merearis tradi infausto iudici et addici eterno coherceri, cum noueris de minimis te rationem redditurum etiam de ociosis uerbis.(2) Hec f.147ra non se|gniter persuasio pauidi cautique monitoris suggeritur officio, sed formidantis que sunt notiua tibi uiciorum accessorio.

Si uero spiritus excedens facultatem uirtutis tue uenerit super te, attemptans fortitudinem mentis tue, sta firmus in fide de qua te mouere non possit hostis callidi uersucia. Solidanda sunt tibi uestigia, uictricia uirtutum assumenda sunt arma, certusque de dei tui misericordia dicas: Statuit supra petram pedes meos et direxit pedes meos.(3) Si in cogitationes tuas irrepserit coluber squamas diffundens, serua cor tuum. Muni frequenter signaculo sancte crucis et cum Dauid dicito: Ab ocultis meis munda me, domine: et ab alienis parce seruo tuo;(4) alienis enim insistens curationi pro peccatis, excedens metam procurandi uulneris, cadit et ipse bonus quandoque in spiritum desolationis. Claude igitur cubiculum tui pectoris, et muni signaculo sancte crucis, ne exterminator Egypti irrumpat et exterminet claustra tui pectoris. Arma superius diligentissime cautionis tibi assumenda diligenter monuimus ad propulsanda uitiorum incitamenta, ferrea cuspide munita; intra

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(1) v. Numbers 23,21.The following passages are drawn from S.Jerome, Epistola ad Demetriadem,ch.7 (P.L.22.1113).
(2) v. S.Matthew 12,36.
(3) Ps. 39,3. (Vg.direxit gressus meos.)
(4) Ps. 18,13-14.

should remember that you have renounced the world, the devil and all his show;(1) you have entered upon an agreement witnessed by God, and you have formed a pact with the evil foe that you will not go back to the worldly attractions you were used to, for which you would deserve to be turned over to a severe judge and to be condemned to be punished for ever, since you have known that you are going to account for your smallest offences, even for words spoken out of idleness.(2) This is not the opinion of a timorous and cautious director being half-heartedly expressed, but that of one who fears the things which he knows act on you as accessories to sin.

But if a spirit comes over you which overpowers the strength of your virtue and puts to the test the strength of your mind, stand firm in the faith from which the craft of the wicked enemy cannot shake you. You must hold your ground; take up the victorious arms of the virtues, and, confident in the mercy of your God, you should say: <u>He set my feet upon the rock, and has guided my feet</u>.(3) If a serpent spreading its scales crawls into your thoughts, protect your heart; defend it frequently with the little sign of the cross, and with David keep on saying: <u>Cleanse me from my secret faults, O Lord; and keep thy servant from the faults of other men</u>;(4) for in concentrating on treating other men's sins the good man himself sometimes falls into despair by exceeding the limit of caring for a wound. Therefore, shut the cell of your heart and defend it with the sign of the holy cross, so that the destroyer of Egypt does not burst in and break down the shutters of your heart. We earnestly warned you earlier that you must with all diligence take up the arms of caution to repel the stirrings of sin, armed with an iron lance. Among these weapons we

que ualde utilia et munitissima presidia credimus
f.147rb esse ieiuniorum | a patribus instituta, a summis celorum trahentes exempla, dicentes cum propheta: Humiliaui in ieiunio animam meam.(1) Et: cinerem tanquam panem manducaui.(2) Et iterum: Cum mihi molesti essent induebar silitio.(3) Saluator generis humani, qui uirtutum et conuersationis sue nobis dedit exemplum, a spiritu assumitur statim post baptismum ut confestim pugnet contra diabolum, quem oppressum [et] contritum tradit scriptura discipulis suis conculcandum. Hinc et apostolus: Deus autem conteret Sathan sub pedibus nostris conterendum.(4) Et tamen hostis antiquus post quadraginta dierum ieiunium molitur per cibum temptare deum dicens: Si filius dei es, dic ut lapides isti panes fiant.(5) Et in Iob scriptum est de dracone: Virtus eius in lumbis est, et fortitudo eius super umbilicum uentris;(6) omnium adulterancium et lasciuis mentibus corda indulgencium, quasi clibanus ardens corda ipsorum,(7) sed per dei misericordiam et ieiuniorum assiduitatem frigore dissoluuntur. Hec sunt ignita diaboli iacula, que simul mentes libidinosas et uulnerant et incendunt. Sicque tamen tibi moderate ieiunandum est ut fracto corporis appetitu incentiua non in lectione, uel psalmodia, uel uigiliis, solito quid
f.147va minus exercearis in bonis operibus. Nichil enim | a te expetit deus nisi moderatum ieiunandi affectum. Siquidem si non perfecta uirtus est ieiunium, ceterarum tamen est uirtutum saluificum fundamentum. Sanctificatio quidem hec et pudicicie

8] statim: MS. statum 10] et: suppl. 17] fortitudo: ti add.sup.

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(1) Ps. 34,13.
(2) Ps. 101,10.
(3) Ps. 34,13.
(4) Romans 16,20. (Vg. Deus autem pacis conterat satanam sub pedibus uestris uelociter.)
(5) S.Matthew 4,3; S.Mark 1,12; S.Luke 4,1.
(6) Job 40,11.
(7) Hosea 7,4.

believe the most useful and most sure defence is that of fasting as established by the Fathers, drawing examples from the highest of heaven and saying with prophet: I humbled my soul with fasting.(1) And: I have eaten ashes like bread.(2) And again: When they troubled me I put on sackcloth.(3) The Saviour of the human race, who gave us the example of His virtues and life, is adopted by the spirit after his baptism so that He could fight the devil forthwith; who, Scripture relates, is to be trodden down, oppressed and bruised by His disciples. Concerning this the apostle says: And God shall bruise Satan who shall be bruised beneath our feet.(4) And after the fast of forty days the old enemy even tries to tempt God with food, saying: If thou be the Son of God, command that these stones be made bread.(5) And in the Book of Job it is written of the dragon: His strength is in his loins and his force is in the navel of his belly.(6) The hearts of all adulterers and those who incline their hearts to their lustful minds are: like a burning oven,(7) but through the mercy of God and tireless fasting they are destroyed by cold. These are the devil's fiery darts which both wound and burn lustful minds at the same time. Nevertheless, you must fast in moderation, so that when you have broken down your body's impulsive appetite you may be engaged no less than before in doing good, in reading, singing and in keeping vigils. Nothing is demanded of you by God beyond a modest inclination towards fasting. But if fasting is not a perfect virtue, nonetheless it is the saving foundation of all the rest. It is actually the sanctification and the

continencia, sine quibus nemo uidebit deum, gradus ascensorios prebebit ad superba scandentibus. Disce quid boni habeat continencia et econtra quid mali ingluuiei feditas.

Scurrilitatis et lasciuie quanta sit importunitas circumspice, que totum humani corporis statum mutant et infeliciter polluunt et ad infima demergunt. Stet in porta oculus mentis tue. Hec circumspiciens omnia caueat futura dampna, ne obruatur harena, id est minimorum aceruo peccatorum que excrescentes in magnum aggerem sue grauitatis pondere extingunt et enecant animam malis indultam. Ieiunium quidem laciuie temperamentum et nimii caloris refrigerium saginat mentem turpibus illecebris expositam; inmutat cogitationes; sedat inconuulsas; temperat dissolutas; actus probat; omnem corporis indissolutionem ad metam honestatis maxime componit. Hec fideliter, frater karissime, obseruanda te moneo, sunt enim necessaria corporis
f.147vb et anime condimenta in eternum duratura; | si adoleuerint et firma radice inconuulsa, firmitati nostri cordis ineserint.

Assuescere te laudo cauere a uaniloquio et turpiloquio, a sermone fedo usitato; etenim frequenter inconcinno sermone irrumpuntur et maculantur tue claustra pudicicie. Risum tempera, modestiam habe in habitu, grauitas enim morum personas decet religiosorum. Malum auaricie ut

1] sine: MS.siue 5] MS. lasciue 13] MS. tepera-mentum

preservation of chastity, and without them no-one shall see God; and it will provide ascending steps for those who climb to the very top. Learn of the good there is in chastity, and on the other hand, what evil there is in the filth of greed.

Consider how improper are coarse jokes and wantonness which change the whole state of the human frame, miserably defile it, and make it sink to the lowest depths. Let your mind's eye stand at the gate. Surveying all these things, let it beware future losses; let it not be overwhelmed with sand, that is to say by a heap of very small sins which build up into a great mound, which, because of their weight, stifle and destroy the soul which has inclined to evil. But fasting stops lustfulness; it cools excessive heat and it nourishes the mind which has been exposed to lewd attractions. It transforms one's thoughts; it calms them when they have been thrown into disorder; it restrains them when they are dissolute; it puts one's actions to the test; every uncontrolled act of the body it puts into order within the bounds of decency. These things, my dearest brother, I urge you to keep faithfully, for they are necessary spices for the body and the soul and they will last for ever; and if they grow with a firm and undisturbed root, they will cling fast to our hearts.

I recommend that you get used to guarding against vain-talking and lewd-talking and the use of foul language; indeed, the gates of your chastity are burst open and defiled by inelegant speech. Be moderate in your laughter; be modest in your appearance, for it befits religious to be serious in their conduct. Avoid

pestem fuge, quia dicit apostolus idolorum seruitutem.(1) Seruus enim pecunie plus iusto indulgens auaricie censendum credimus seruum idolatrie. Expositum te uolo largitati secundum quod expossit ordinis discretio; ne contracte manus coadlicet in dando uerecundiam paciantur in retribuendo. Manus enim dapsilis loco competenti laudatur sepius in distributione uiri opulentis. Hoc autem dignum duxi de prelatorum consuetudine ad memoriam reducere, non de simplicium nichil proprietatis habere debencium inordinato processu, quos laudent esuriencium uiscera uictui necessariis repleta, non ructancia de pleno opulenta conuiuia. Ingenuitas operis tui et frequentata assiduitas sit tibi, cum licuerit, Christum uestire in pauperibus, pascere in esu|rientibus.(2) Hec enim ualde meritoria suggeret cuique iusto diuina gratia, et complebit in anima tua, siquid tibi defuerit in gratie penuria.

f.148ra

Sicque uitam distinguere optamus te, frater karissime, ut horis competentibus lectioni uacare, orationi indulgere, laboribus consuetis adquiescere, corpori necessaria sic amministrare ut horum turbationi plusquam delectationi non fatiscentem confundas etatem, sed magis promoueas ac sustentes ad orandum membra tua soli deo dicata. Sic distinctis sine tedio uitam duces, sine angaria erunt tibi dies breues, sicque uarietatibus distinctionum occupata iocundos dies multos duces in uita. Tedium legendi uel scribendi uel ceterorum

10] MS. simplium: ci add.sup. 13] MS. conuiuio
23] sic: c add.sup.

(1) Ephesians 5,5.
(2) S.Matthew 25,35-45.

the evil of avarice like the plague, since the apostle calls it the service of idols.(1) For we believe that the slave of money who is too much given to avarice is to be deemed a slave to idolatry. I want you to be open to being generous, in so far as the order's discretion demands it, lest hands that are clenched when it comes to giving are brought to shame when it is time for retribution. For a generous hand in a suitable place is very often commended when a rich man makes an offering. I thought this worth calling to mind with regard to the customary practice of the prelates, not from the erratic procedure of ordinary men who are not allowed any property of their own. Let [the prelates] be commended by the stomachs of the hungry being filled - with life's essentials not by great belchings over rich fare at a feast. Let it be your noble task and tireless endeavour, when it be permitted, <u>to clothe Christ in clothing ther poor, to feed Him in feeding the hungry</u>.(2) To every righteous man God's grace suggests these things, which deserve to be richly rewarded, and it will supply in your soul what you lack in grace.

We beg you, my dearest brother, so to order your life that you are free to read at the appropriate hours, to pray, to find repose in the usual duties, to manage those things the body needs so as not to throw your life into disorder as you grow weary by allowing them to create trouble rather than enjoying them; but instead you should promote and sustain your body, which is dedicated to God alone, so that you may pray. When your life is divided in this way you will live without being bored, your days will seem short without any sense of compulsion, you will lead many joyful days in a life taken up with a variety of different activities. Boredom in reading, writing, or any such task dulls

huiusmodi sensum ebetat, intellectum perturbat; sicut frequens exercitatio mentem obtundat, uarietas uero mutationum sensum acuat.

Temperata tibi dieta multum proderit ad exercitationem cuiusque operis; aque potus interpolate contra estum caloris.(1) Audi quid dicat apostolus Timotheo: Propter stomacum et multa infirmitatum genera, utere modico uino,(2) cuius incentiuo bonum est obuiare stomaco tuo ne despumet in libidines quas excitat uini bibitio. Sic et de carnalibus loquitur apostolus: Non est bonum
f.148rb man|ducare carnem nec bibere uinum(3) supersticiose nec inflatiua legumina que tollunt orandi deuotionem et eructationes produnt nimie uentositatis a stomacho. Audi medicum salutis temperate medicinam irroganti: Infirmatur quis uestrorum, olus manducet; nichil maius censens utile iuuenibus quam esum olerum sanitatis conseruatiuum. Estuationem enim corporum frigidioribus epulis laudat temperandam, nichilque magis titillat intestina uiscerum sicut indigestus cibus ructusque conuulsus. Quicquid tibi seminarium uoluptatis est, uenenum estima. Parcus cibus et semper uenter esuriens triduanis prefertur ieiuniis, et est melius cotidie temperate cibum sumere quam aliquando ingurgitati ciborum nimietate. Stillantis pluuie moderate gutte illis prepollent que subito cum impetu cadunt et inpreceps arua subuertunt. Dum applicas te ad

20] MS. temperandum

(1) The following passage is drawn from S.Jerome, Epistola ad Furiam, ch.10 (P.L.22.1555).
(2) 1 Timothy 5,23.
(3) Romans 14,21.

one's senses and confuses one's understanding. Just as frequent use deadens the mind, a variety of changes sharpens one's perceptions.

A controlled routine will be a great help to you in performing each task. In between take drinks of water against the heat.(1) Listen to what the apostle says to Timothy: <u>For your stomach's sake and on account of many kinds of sickness, take a little wine</u>.(2) With his encouragement it is good to resist your stomach so that it does not froth up into the wanton desires which a drink of wine stirs up. And concerning eating meat the apostle says: <u>It is not good to eat flesh or to drink wine</u> superstitiously,(3) nor to eat beans, which, by producing excessive belches of wind from the stomach, cause flatulence and take away one's devotion when one is at prayer. Hear the physician answering someone who asks about medicine for good health: "If anyone of you is sick, let him eat green vegetables," thinking nothing more useful for young men than to eat vegetables to preserve their health. He recommends keeping the body from growing hot by eating cold foods, and nothing tickles the organs of the stomach more than undigested food and the eruction of a belch. Whatever is a seed bed of pleasure to you, think of it as poison. Little food and an ever-hungry stomach are much to be preferred to three day fasts, and it is better to eat in moderation every day than to be glutted occasionally on too much. Small drops of steadily falling rain are more powerful than a sudden, heavy down-pour which rapidly destroys the fields. In

commedendum, ne commestionem protrahas in longum cogita legendum, ad consueta opera transeundum, siue orandum, uel meditandum. De scripturis sanctis habeto fixum quantum legere debeas, ne uertatur tibi in tedium. Totum uite tue censeas dispendium, quod uno istorum opere non | sit tibi exercendum.

f.148va

Cum oraueris, ora demissa uoce ne sis turbator aliene deuotionis, strepituque tue uociferationis ab aliis tollas delectationem sue quietis, quoniam promitur cum strepitu uerberati aeris quod reliquorum obtundit processum salutis. Memor esto illius dauitici carminis, ait enim: Voce mea ad dominum clamaui,(1) non clamosa, non sonorosa, sed uelud Susanna uoce cordis exaudita, quam laudat dominus usitatam in secreto cubili sine strepitu aliene turbationis frequentatam. Nec sibi quisquam succenseat uocis modulatione exterius edita arteriarum expressione deum orare, dum sacra meditatione orantis affectu interpellatur diuine miserationis auxilium. Tunc enim uere dici potest: Voce mea ad dominum clamaui. Cum uera cordis contricio sic orat in abscondito, in qua sumopere uitanda est cordis conturbatio, et iteranda sepius hec penitencium oratio: Domine, ne in furore tuo arguas me: neque in ira tua corripias me.(2) Si enim summa cecitate obtenebretur cor tuum, sicut de quibusdam dictum est: Dedit eos dominus in reprobum sensum (3) et in passiones ignominie; hec enim est men|tis cecitas, in quam cum datus fuerit, ab

f.148vb

10] promittur: t exp. 23] uitanda: bis scr.et exp.

(1) Ps. 141,1.
(2) Ps. 37,1.
(3) Romans 1,26-28.

order to avoid taking too long over eating, think of the reading you have to do, think of getting on with your usual tasks - be they praying or meditating. Have a certain amount of Holy Scripture which you must read to avoid growing tired of it. You must think of the whole of your life as an expense which is not met in doing but one of these tasks.

When you pray, do so in a low voice so as not to disturb anyone else's devotion and spoil their enjoyment of the peace with the loud noise of your own voice, since what beats against the process of salvation in others is caused by the din of echoing air. Remember the song of David where he says: I cried unto the Lord with my voice;[1] not in a noisy voice nor a loud voice, but like Susannah when the voice of her heart was heard. The Lord commends the use of this voice in our private chamber, used frequently without disturbing anyone. And let no-one grow indignant at another for praying to God using his voice out loud, so long as he calls on the mercy of God devoutly as one who prays in holy meditation. Then can it truly be said: I cried unto the Lord with my voice. When there is genuine sorrow of heart, let him pray in secret. But in genuine sorrow of heart you must above all else not allow your heart to be troubled, and you ought to say repeatedly the prayer used by penitents, saying over and over: Put me not to rebuke, O Lord, in thine anger, neither chasten me in thy heavy displeasure.[2] But if your heart is grown dark with great blindness, as is said of some men: The Lord has given them over to a reprobate mind and up to vile affections.[3] This is blindness of the mind, and when a man is given over to

interiore dei luce secluditur. Cum enim certum sit deum inhabitare lucem inaccessibilem, que tenebrarum ignara neminem recipit tenebris obfuscatum, erit quod scriptum est: Et tenebre eum non receperunt. Quotquot autem receperunt eum, dedit eis potestatem filios dei fieri,(1) meritis suis exigentibus qui dignos se constituunt eterne hereditatis. Labora igitur semper qui laboriosum certamen inhisti, ut certus de premio exaudiaris in extremo quasi tibi dicatur: Euge serue bone et fidelis, intra in gaudium domini tui.(2) Attendite igitur et discite quod hii qui amoti sunt ab ea luce quam inhabitat deus, in quibus inchoat ira dei, trementem iudicii diem iam plangunt, iam pectora tundunt, iam laborant, iam uitare conantur, ne ad ea que suggerit preteritorum memoria retroactorum inuisa perducantur incendia. Pungit enim eos et exacuit respectus preteritorum, ne se credant intraturos inspectabile gaudium quod senciunt intraturis perniciosum. Vnde nec extinctum sed turbatum dicit oculum,(3) quia prospicuis non ira turbatis luminibus inspicit opera nostra deus, nam ira frequenter impedit animum, etiam in iustis, ne possit a falso dicernere uerum. Et alibi: Sol
f.149ra non occidat | super iracundiam uestram,(4) sed et solem tuum, id est sapienciam interiorem inflammabit dominus ut ad perfectum sine perturbatione perducat eum. Diriget quidem iustum scrutans corda et renes deus.(5) Scrutator enim cordium, postquam in cordibus Christianorum inoleuit usus ypocrisis, id est

1] MS. seclauditur: a exp. 4] eum: MS. eam 11] MS. Attende 16] MS. ab ea 18-19] ne se credant: add. sup. 22] inspicit: p add.sup.

(1) S.John 1,5 & 12.
(2) S.Matthew 25,21.
(3) Ps. 30,11.
(4) Ephesians 4,26.
(5) Ps. 7,10.

this he is shut out from the inner light of God. For since it is certain God dwells in inaccessible light, which, having no knowledge of the dark accepts no man who is wrapped in darkness, then will be true the words which say: And the darkness received him not, but as many as received Him, to them gave He power to become the sons of God,(1) who, by reason of their merits made themselves worthy of an eternal inheritance. Therefore, always work, you who have begun the wearisome struggle, so that, confident in your reward, you may hear at last these words as if they spoken to you: Well done, thou good and faithful servant. Enter thou into the joy of thy Lord.(2) Listen, therefore, and learn how those men who have been parted from that light wherein God dwells, in whom God's wrath begins, are already lamenting the dreadful day of Judgement, already are beating their breasts, already labour, already are trying to avoid it, lest they are led into those hated fires which the memory of past deeds suggests, for the memory of the past pierces and stings them not to take for granted that they will enter that glorious joy which they realise can harm those who are about to enter. For this reason it does not say the eye is destroyed but that it is troubled.(3) For with eyes that look ahead, not with eyes that are troubled with anger does God examine what we do, for anger often obstructs the mind - even in the case of men who are just - with the result that the mind is unable to discriminate what is true from what is false. And in another place it says: Let not the sun go down upon thy wrath;(4) but your sun, that is to say your inner wisdom, will be set alight by God so that He may lead it to perfection, free from disturbance. God will indeed direct the just man, probing his heart and his reins.(5) When in the hearts of Christians there is planted the habit if hypocrisy, that is to say such

simulatio tanta cogitationum et cordium ut uix credi possit uterinis fratribus, finem attendit consummationis. Nam omnium que fiunt finis attenditur: in bonis delectatio, in malis confusio. Scrutatur enim renes et corda deus, et cum inuenerit deus non ad concupiscenciam carnis uel ad concupiscenciam oculorum uel ad ambitionem seculi, que omnia transeunt ut umbra, inclinari curas nostras, sed ad gaudia eternorum sustolli, si nulla commutatione uiolentur, diriget iustum scrutans corda et scrutando confirmans renesque consolidans. Opera enim nostra que facimus hominibus possint esse nota, sed quo animo fiant et que sit eorum retributio solus ille nouit qui scrutatur renes et corda. Totum enim sibi uendicat deus hominem, non perparte diuisum in creature sue conseruationem et operum suorum conseruandorum retributionem. Hinc semper orandum, semperque meditandum, hinc et manu et lingua semper pulsandum existimo; hinc
f.149rb passionibus corporum indulgendum, | seuisque ingruencium periculis cum accesserint optemperandum, agnoscentes quia <u>non sunt condigne passiones huius seculi ad futuram gloriam que reuelabitur in uobis</u>.(1) Nec tibi, frater, spondeas quod modico precio tibi compares regnum celorum uel exiguo possit adquiri conquisitio celestis regni. Consolare tamen; non emitur argento uel auro, non diuiciis, non multa supellectile terrene possessionis. Obtinebit tibi instancia orationis, frequens tunsio pectoris, lacrimarum effusio iugis,

2] MS. uterini 4] MS. effusio: <u>exp.et corr.sup</u>.
10] MS. dirige 16] MS. crature / MS. et conserua-
tionis 19] MS. pasionibus / *e scr.sup.*

(1) Romans 8,18.

deceit in the thoughts and hearts of men that credit cannot be granted even to brothers of the same womb, the sifter of our hearts awaits the end of the day of our destruction, for the end of all things that are is expected: joy for the good and ruin for the bad. God probes the reins and hearts, and when He finds we do not turn our thoughts to lusts of the body, lusts of the eyes, or to worldly gain, all of which fade like a shadow, but that we lift up our eyes to the joy of eternity, if no change defiles them He will direct the just, probing the hearts, and in probing confirming them and strengthening the reins. For all we do can be known to men, but in what mind we act and how we shall be rewarded is known only to Him who probes the hearts and reins. For God takes vengeance on the whole of a man, not partly divided into the preserving of His creature and the reward of works which must be kept. Here I believe we must always pray, always meditate; here one must beat out one's plea with one's hand and tongue; here one must submit to the sufferings of the body and, when they come, endure the cruel dangers which assail us, recognising that: <u>The sufferings of the worlds are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in you</u>.[1] But, my brother, do not be persuaded that you will obtain the kingdom of heaven at a small cost, or that the acquisition of the heavenly realm can be obtained for a trifle. But take comfort; it cannot be bought with silver or gold, neither with riches nor a great store of worldly goods. Praying can obtain it for you, frequent beating of the breast, continual shedding of

frequens contritio cordis, elemosinarum distributio, et fedus indissolubile fraterne caritatis. Non frustra dictum reputes: Sine intermissione orate.(1) Variis enim cogitationibus, uariisque peccatorum stillicidiis, diuersisque suggestionibus seui hostis diuersa medicamenta adhibenda sunt ut morbis aduentantibus succuratur nouis medicamentis, et salus medicinalis percuratur obuia uenientibus morbis. Vtilia enim peccatorum malagmata sunt oratio et ieiunia, quibus subueniri potest contra iacula incentoris ignea. Si non potes, sicut quid non potes, semper orare ne sis ociosus; de supernis semper meditare, ut numquam ociosa sit mens tua quin exardescat in ea ignis consciencie tue inflammatus desiderio celestis
f.149va patrie. | Nam de tepidis dicitur: quoniam habundauit iniquitas et frigescit in eis caritas.(2) Frigus etenim caritatis silencium indicit cordibus. Incentiuum enim caritatis suscitat clamorem cordis; nescit esse ociosa quin clamet uel ardua desideret. Omne enim desiderium est ante dominum teste Dauid: Domine, ante te est omne desiderium meum, et gemitus meus a te non est absconditus.(3) Si non licet semper orare, meditari poteris et desiderare. Celestium etenim desiderium non fatiscit absconditum, sed crescit semper iteratum, et gemitus tuus si non acceptatur ab hominibus facile innotescat dei auribus. Geme igitur in toto corde tuo et dicerne oculta diuine sapiencie, quam sit inuisibile premium quod promittit diligentibus se cum dicunt: Gaudemus in tribulationibus que corporaliter nobis inferruntur,

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(1) 1 Thess. 5,17.
(2) S.Matthew 24,12.
(3) Ps. 37,10.

tears, frequent contrition of the heart, almsgiving, and the unbreakable bond of brotherly love. Do not think it said in vain that you should: Pray without ceasing.(1) Against the various thoughts, the various showers of sin and the different temptations of the foe, different remedies must be used, so that when diseases come new remedies may be at hand, and one's medical condition be completely restored in being ready for the diseases as they come. Useful remedies for sins are prayer and fasting, by which help can be given against the devil's fiery darts. If you cannot always pray, as indeed you cannot, to avoid being idle always reflect on heavenly things, so that your mind is never idle, thereby diminishing the blaze of the fire of conscience inside it, which is kindled with longing for the heavenly homeland. For of those who are lukewarm it is said: And because iniquity has abounded love grows cold within them.(2) Love grown cold shows that their heart are silent. For the incentive of love raises a shout from the heart; it knows nothing of idleness which stops it from shouting or desiring things that are difficult. All we desire is before the Lord, as David shows when he says: Lord thou knowest all my desire and mty groaning is not hid from thee.(3) If it is not always possible to pray, you can meditate and desire. Desire for heaven does not diminish when you keep it hidden, but it grows when it is repeated over and over again; and if your groaning escapes the notice of men, it will easily become known to the ears of God. Groan, therefore, with all your heart and behold the mysteries of God's wisdom, the unseen reward He promises all those love Him, when they say, "We rejoice in the sufferings which are laid upon our bodies,

omnia sustinentes pacifice, non murmurantes, non obtrectantes, non diuine potestati renitentes, non demum murmurantes sed pio affectu discentes: Letabor et exultabo in te: psallam nomini tuo altissime;(1) non in secularibus desideriis que militant aduersus animam, non in coniugio et prole infantum, nec in superfluis temporalium deliciarum, f.149vb | nec in conquisitione secularium | diuitiarum que protendunt longis spaciis uiarum, uel successione uotiua temporalium, sed: Letabor et exultabo in te, ubi signatum est in nobis lumen uultus tui, domine.(2)

Spectabilis quidem obnoxietas misericordie tue quod declinastis semitas nostras ad uiam tuam, que erant in uoluptatibus seculi, in prosperitatibus temporalium. Tulisti quidem et ostendisti nobis uiam miserationum tuarum, quam sit arta, quam angusta, que ducit ad uitam.

In tribulatione etenim positi multa aduersa patimini, multa quibus delectati estis in hac uita propter me respuistis; hinc et in multis me uobis obnoxium constituistis; propter uerba labiorum meorum omnia delectabilia uestra respuistis. Quid amplius? Centuplum accipietis et uitam eternam possidebitis.(3) Per artam uiam ambulantes late uos dirigam, a lata et spaciosa uia que ducit ad interitum, per quam multi ambulant, uos reuocans redire faciam.

5] MS. desideris 10] Letabor: r add.sup. 14] MS. a uia tua

(1) Ps. 9,2.
(2) Ps. 4,7.
(3) S.Matthew 19,29.

bearing all things in peace; neither murmuring nor carping, nor showing any resistance to the mastery of God;" in short, not making any complaint but saying in dutiful love: I will be glad and rejoice in thee, yea, my songs will I make of thy name, O thou most Highest;[1] not in worldly desires which fight against the soul, not in marriage and begetting children, not in too many worldly pleasures, not in gaining worldly riches stretching out miles along the way, not in praying for success in this world, but I will be glad and rejoice in thee, when the light of thy countenance, O Lord, is set upon us.[2]

Truly, our debt to your mercy is wonderful, because you have turned to your way our paths which used to be in worldly pleasures and worldly gains. Truly, you were patient and have shown us the way of your mercies: how strait and how narrow is the way that leads to life.

Subject to suffering you endure many misfortunes; you have rejected for my sake many things that gave you pleasure in this life; and here you put me in your debt in many ways. On account of the words of my lips you have rejected everything which gave you pleasure. And what besides? You shall receive a hundredfold and you will possess eternal life.[3] As long as you walk along the narrow path all the way I will guide you from the broad and spacious path, which leads to destruction, along which many men are walking, and calling you back I will make you return.

Hee sunt retributiones dei quibus uegetat, fouet, et allicit iustorum animos ut cum placeat ei iustorum deuocio, sic fouet promissionibus, sic allicit sponsionibus ut neminem inuitum turbet et
f.149iiva manifestet acri sermone angaria|tum. Dulcescat in animo tuo pie compassionis edicio, et delectabilis futurorum pie sponsionis acceptatio, ut promissa tibi beneficiencie retributio, [et] mentem auidam eterne consolationis in dies prosequatur interna deuotio.

Frater dilecte,(1) quam felicior ille est qui per mare nauigans honustam nauem preciosis mercibus mitior unda secundo flatu integram reuexit in portum salutis, quam qui passus naufragium uix nudus mortis euasit periculum. Exulta, frater, in hiis que tibi diuina gratia post huius maris naufragia contulit suspiranti ad celestia; post enim tibi blandientis seculi pericula, cum iam modico tempore uixeris, grandis tibi incumbit labor confracta redintegrandi, amissa recuperandi, cissa resarciendi; ualdeque putes erubescendum si post tot humane conuersationis flagicia, preciosam uirginitatis gloriam interueniencia quedam uicia commaculent, et ueteris conuersationis opprobrio non ornet et perducat in melius honesta morum mutatio.

Confortet igitur tue sancte conuersationis affectum pure consciencie affectus in deum, quamque

8] et suppl.

(1) The following is drawn from the De Institutione Inclusarum of Aelred,ch.32 (CCCM 1,p.675).

These are God's promised rewards with which He quickens, cherishes and attracts the souls of the righteous, so that when the devotion of the righteous pleases Him, He cherishes them with His promises, He attracts them with His pledges in such a way that He does not disturb anyone against his will or show him pressed into service by a harsh command. Let the outpouring of His loving compassion grow sweet in your mind, and your delightful acceptance of His loving promises for the future, so that you may receive the promised reward of His kindness, and each day inner devotion may attend a mind which is eager for an everlasting reward.

My dear brother,[1] how much more fortunate is the man who sails the seas in a ship laden with costly goods which is carried back intact to a safe haven on a mild sea and with a favourable wind, than a man who is shipwrecked and exposed and has barely escaped the danger with his life? Rejoice, my brother, in the things God's grace has given you after the shipwrecks of this sea while you long for heaven. For although you have lived but a little while since the perils of the alluring world outside, there falls on you the mighty task of restoring what is broken, of recovering what is lost, of repairing what has been torn apart, and you would consider it most shameful if, after so many of the disgraceful acts of a man's life, certain vices were to intervene and defile the precious glory of your virginity, and there were no proper change in your conduct to commend you and lead you from the dishonour of your past life to higher things.

Therefore, let the love of a clear conscience for God strengthen the love of your holy way of life, and

f.149iirb iocunda | facie occurrat tibi deus seculo abrenuncianti, quibusque te esurientem deliciis pauerit, quasque diuiciarum suarum opulencias ostenderit, quo te caritatis poculo inebriauerit et pie consolationis intranti tibi iam uoto regnum celorum libens occurrerit. Inspice et attende quid fecerit. Si tristabaris, ut assolet a delectatione te seculi transmigranti, tunc consolationis spiritum dedisti; cum mente fluctuabas, soliditatis spiritum adhibuisti. Quociens timore arescenti ne caderes clemens consolator astitisti? Quociens uiceribus tuis inaniter repletis gratiam infudisti? Quociens psallentem uel legentem uel operam diligentem supernis adhibentem, spiritualium sensuum lumine illustrasti? Quociens orantem in quoddam ineffabile desiderium supernorum rapuisti? Quociens mentem tuam a terrenis desideriis subtractam ad celestes delicias et paradisiacas amenitates transportasti?

Hec omnia reuolue in animo, et in deum, anime tue consolatorem, totus resoluatur affectus. Vilescat tibi mundus et rerum temporalium carnalis sordescat affectus. Iniecisti te in compedes domini, non adicias inde eici. Iocundi sunt enim f.149iiva eius laquei,| beatus homo qui irretitur illis. A secularibus illecebris ad ipsum uite fontem propositum transtulisti; erarium tuum in ipso constituisti. Fac quod monet auctoritas: Vbi thesaurus tuus, ibi sit et cor tuum.(1) Esto

4] quo: MS. quoque eras: C

21] MS. resoluetur: exp.et corr.sup.

(1) S.Matthew 6,21.

the way God comes to you with so joyous a face when you renounce the world, and with what delights He has fed you when you are hungry, and what riches of His wealth He has shown you, and with what a draught of love and loving comfort He has intoxicated you, and, as you enter the kingdom of heaven in your heart, how He gladly comes forward to you with tender consolation. Consider and see what He has done. If, as usual, you were sad at leaving behind the pleasures of the world, then, O God, you gave the spirit of comfort. When your mind was full of doubt, He administered the spirit of strength. How many times, O merciful Comforter, did you stand by when he was overcome with fear so that he would not fall? How many times did you pour grace into his stomach when it was filled with emptiness? How many times, when he was singing, reading, or engaged in some other work intent on heaven, did you illuminate him with the light of the spiritual meaning? How many times while he was saying his prayers have you caught him up into an ineffable longing for heaven? How many times did you withdraw his mind from earthly desires and transport it to heavenly joys and the delights of paradise?

Ponder all these things in your mind, and let your whole desire be directed to God, the Comforter of your soul. Let the world grow worthless to you, and let the fleshly desire for worldly things become as dirt in your sight. You have cast yourself into the Lord's fetters: do not not proceed to throw yourself out of them, for His snares are full of joy and happy is the man who is caught in them. From worldly attractions you have turned your purpose to the very fountain of life, in it you have laid your treasure house. Do as Scripture bids in the words: <u>Where your treasure is, there let your heart be also</u>.[1] Be noble in your

nobilis animo; numquam includas eum uili marsupio, nec credas te nummorum pondere onustum posse transuolare in celum. Crede te cotidie moriturum, nec eris de crastino multum sollicitus. Vagus est enim cuiuslibet animus multis diuersarum cogitationum occupationibus circumseptus, sed soli deo cum sit applicatus suos perstringit occupationum motus, non terret eum futuri temporis sterilitas, non future famis timor excruciat. Iacta super dominum curam tuam, et ipse te enutriet qui aues pascit, lilia crescencia uestit, et cetera de terra nascencia ornat et regit. Ipse sit tui orrei fecunditas, ipse apotheca sufficiens, ipse cellarium eructans ex hoc in hoc uini fecunditatem,(1) ipse tue sit diuitie, ipse interioris mentis tue sit iocunde delicie, solus sit ipse tibi omnia, in omnibus solus sit qui te amplexetur internis uisceribus.

Agnosce uocationem tuam,(2) fili carissime, ut f.149iivb exemplis te moueam | si non potero commonicionibus assiduis. Due sorores quondam erant, Martha et Maria, domino ministrantes obsequia satis gratia. Vna laborabat, altera uacabat diuinis obsequiis et orationibus. Altera prestabat egenis obsequia. Maria nutriebat affectuum suorum desideria. Altera hospitum susceptionibus assidua; altera pedum domini rigatrix ubertate lacrimarum et orationum attentissima audiebat uerbi dei fluenta pociora, huius quidem pars potior laudatur a domino et maiore retributione digna censetur a populo.

15] MS. fecunditas 30] MS. maioris

(1) Cf.Ps.143.13, (Vg.Promptuaria eorum plena eructantia ex hoc in illud.)
(2) De Inst. Inclusarum, ch.28 (CCCM 1, p.660; P.L.32.1465).

thoughts; never keep them shut in a cheap purse, and do not think that you can fly into heaven laden with a great weight of money. Think each day your last, and then you will not be over anxious for tomorrow. For anyone's mind can wander when it is hedged about with the many concerns of different thoughts, but when it is intent on God alone, it holds in check the impulses of its concerns, the barrenness of the future does not terrify it, the fear of being hungry does not torment it. Cast your care upon the Lord, and He will nourish you, who feeds the birds, clothes the lilies as they grow, and adorns and guides all other things born of the earth. Let Him be the rich store of your granary; let Him be the storehouse to meet your needs. Let Him be your cellar throwing up out of it wine in plenty. Let Him be your riches. Let Him be the joyous delights in your mind. Let Him alone be everything to you, and in all things let it be only Him who holds you close to His inner parts.

Acknowledge your calling, my dearest son, that I may impress you with examples if my constant warnings are having no effect. There were once two sisters, Martha and Mary, who served our Lord with grace enough. The first worked, the other kept herself free for God's service and for prayers. The first was of service to the needy; Mary nourished the desires of her devotions. The first was tireless in entertaining her guests, but the other washed the Lord's feet with many tears, and, most intent on her prayers, she rather listened to the flow of God's words, and it is her part which the Lord commends and is considered by men as deserving the

Mortuus es seculo; queso uiuas deo, non enim erit otiosus et contemptibilis qui uixerit ei. Marthe uero imitatorem te esse non laudo, qui omnia linquens pro domino, nichil possidens in seculo; diuitum uero episcoporum et sacerdotum qui permultis habundant sit hec sacra et laudabilis religio: siquid superfluit super necessaria, distribuere in cibos pauperum, uiduarum, et orphanorum, et eorum quorum egestas innotuerit. Sunt quidem hodie in terra multi ore deum confitentes, operibus quidem negantes, quos cum inuenerit deus preceptis suis inobedientes, reddet eis inobediencie uicem, paucis uerbis multa complectens: Ite, maledicti in ignem eternum.(1) f.150ra Cum omnis iniquitas | opilabit os suum,(2) tunc patebit omnium ueritas, ut prout gesserit in corpore retribuatur in meritorum qualitate. Mundus in maligno positus est,(3) multa sui status directione egens; precamur enim omnes, nec est qui se abscondat a calore uultus tui, deus. Iccirco miserere nostri; tu deus noster, te enim solum expectamus saluatorem nostrum; esto brachium nostrum in mane, et salus nostra in tempore tribulacionum.(4)

Nil tibi reputes proprium, nil licet usurpare nisi ualde necessarium. Habendi terminum tibi ordo constituit quem non transgredieris; quem si auiditate preterieris transgressor ordinis reputaberis. Quid, igitur, sic coartatus ordinis angusta lege, beneficii impendes proximo? Quod habes eroga. Nichil optabilius est bona uoluntate.

5] qui: MS. quo 21] miserere: MS. miserre e add.sup.

25] MS. licent

(1) S.Matthew 25,41.
(2) Ps. 106,42.
(3) 1 John 5,19.
(4) Isaiah 33,2.

greater reward. You are dead to the world. I beg you, live for God, for whoever lives for Him will not be idle or despicable. However, I do not recommend you imitate Martha - you who have left everything behind for the Lord and possess nothing in the world; but let it be the sacred and commendable commitment of rich bishops and priests, who have an abundance in many things, to distribute what is surplus to their needs as food for the poor, widows, orphans and those whose want is known. Indeed, there are in the world today many who bear witness to God in what they say but deny Him in what they do, whom God will repay for their disobedience when He finds they are not obeying His commandments, embracing many things when He says the few words: Go, ye cursed, into everlasting fire.(1) When all iniquity shall stop her mouth,(2) then shall the truth of all things lie open, so that a man will be repayed as he deserves in accordance with the way he has lived in his flesh. The whole world lieth in wickedness,(3) and its condition is wholly devoid of righteousness. For we all pray and there is no-one who hides from the heat of your countenance, O God. For that reason: Have mercy upon us, thou art our God; thee alone do we await to be our Saviour. Be thou our arm in the morning, and our salvation in the time of trouble.(4)

You shall think of nothing as being your own property; it is not permitted to take anything unless it is truly necessary. The order has put a stop to your owning things; do not disobey it. If you disregard it out of greed, you will be considered a transgressor of the order. Therefore, being constrained in this way by the order's strait law, what help can you afford your neighbour? Give what you have. There is nothing more desirable than good-will; show it. What is more useful

Hanc prebe. Quid utilius oratione? Hanc largire. Quid humanius pietate? Hanc impende. Itaque totum mundum uno sinu dilectionis amplectere. Ibi simul omnes qui boni sunt considera et gratulare. Ibi malos intuere et luge. Ibi afflictos conspice et oppressis compatere. Ibi occurrant animo tuo pauperum miserie, orphanorum gemitus, uiduarum desolationes, tristium mestitudines, peregrinancium
f.150rb | necessitates, pericula nauigantium, uota uirginum, inolite temptationes monachorum, sollicitudo prelatorum, labor assiduus militancium; omnibus hiis tue miserationis pectus inclines. Hec impensa beneficia, deo graciora, Christo acceptiora, tue professioni aptiora, hiis quibus impenduntur fructuosiora. Huius beneficii munus tuum propositum adiuuet, non perturbat; dilectionem proximi auget, non minuit; mentis quietam seruat, non impedit. Quid hiis plura dicemus? Cum et sancti ut perfecti animos proximorum sibi ualeant comparare, munera prestant, munusculis fauorem querunt; scriptum memorant quod munera animos demulcent et uim auctoritatis inclinant. Tibi autem, qui plene mundo renunciasti, nichil habendum, nichil appetendum uel sine appetitu etiam possidendum; secundum ordinis institutionem nil arbitramur concupiscendum. Iniecisti te in compedes domini, non adicias unde eici. Iocundi sunt enim eius laquei, beatus homo qui irretitur illis. Non enim perdunt, sed de imbecillis forciores fiunt, de tepidis solidiores.

2] MS. humanus: i add.sup. 3] MS. ampletere 16] MS. adiuuat: exp.et corr.sup. 22] demulcent: c add.sup. 26] Iniecisti: i add.sup.

than prayer? Impart it. What is more human than love? Lay it out, and thus enfold the whole world in one embrace of love. There consider together all who are good, and give thanks for them. There behold the wicked, and grieve for them. There see the afflicted, and take pity on the oppressed. There let into your mind the wretchedness of the poor, the groans of orphans, the distress of widows, the sorrows of the sad, the needs of pilgrims, the perils of sailors, the prayers of maidens, the deeply rooted temptations of monks, the responsibility of superiors, the constant toil of soldiers. To all these incline your heart in compassion. These acts of kindness you perform are more pleasing to God, more acceptable to Christ, more suited to your profession and bear more fruit in those for whose sake they are done. Let your gift of an act of kindness promote your own purpose; it does not confound it. It increases one's love for one's neighbour; it does not diminish it. It preserves one's peace of mind; it does not hamper it. What more shall we say? When holy men, as if they were perfect, can win over the minds of their fellow men, they give gifts, they curry favour with little presents, they remember it is written that gifts melt the heart and cause the rigour of authority to bend. But you, who have completely turned away from the world, must own nothing. You must not desire anything nor yet possess anything without having the desire to own it; in accordance with the rule of our order we consider that you must lust after nothing. You have cast yourself into the Lord's fetters, do not proceed to throw yourself out of them, for his snares are full of joy and happy is the man who is caught in them. They do no harm; but they make the weak strong and the luke-warm resolute.

Nemo se palpet,(1) nemo sibi blandiens se ipsum fallat. Omnes mirentur in iuuentute castitatem, quam solus deus dat et conseruat
f.150va homini, quam nemo | potest adipisci sine magna cordis contritione et carnis afflictione, que [non] etiam in confectis senio et ualde debilibus infirmitate adquiritur uel seruatur nisi magno dei munere et ipsius gratia amminiculante. Considera quid sit in homine. Enerues habet uires indignus hoc beneficio, qui inter mundi delicias esse continens, inter pueros et puellas conuersans non temptari, se credens in commessationibus et ebrietatibus(2) distendi humoribus et non coinquinari, in sinu suo portare flammam et non exuri, si non sit hoc impossible nisi deo uires ministrante tu uideres.

Sed quoniam bonum est de conuersione iocunda fidelium de malo in bonum aliquid meminisse iocundum,(3) audiui de monacho quodam in initio conuersationis sue cum naturalibus incentiuis grauem habuisse conflictum, tum uiciose consuetudinis, tum suggestione callidi temptatoris. Cum multis insultibus suam sentiret periclitari pudiciciam, erexit contra se uirtutem et fortitudinem, opponens uiciis odium obscenis uoluptatibus eo usque ut non posset ei preualere inimicus. Itaque inedia macerabat corpus, et que de
f.150vb iure consueto debebantur ei cibaria sibi subtrahens motus in se etiam simplices | comprimebat, tremens superuenturos grauiores accessus. Sicque cibi

5] non: suppl. 24] odium: add.sup. 30] MS. accessuros

(1) De Inst.Inclusarum,ch.17 (CCCM 1,p.653; P.L.32.1460).
(2) Romans 13,13.
(3) De Inst. Inclusarum, ch.18 (CCCM 1, p.653-4).

Let no-one flatter himself;(1) let no-one in flattering himself be deceived. Let everyone marvel at chastity in a young man, which God alone bestows on a man and preserves in him, and which no-one can obtain without great sorrow of the heart and physical affliction; it is not gained or kept even by men worn out with old age or very weak through sickness unless by the great gift of God and the help of His grace. Consider what there is in a man: he is feeble and unworthy of this benefit; if it were not impossible for him to be continent in the midst of the delights of this world, to mix with boys and girls and not be tempted, believing he can be swollen with humours at feasts and drinking bouts(2) and not be poisoned, to carry fire at his breast and not be burned, unless he were given the power to do so by God, you would see them done.

But since it is good to remember something joyful about the joyous conversion of the faithful from evil to good, I have heard of a certain monk: that at the start of his religious life he had had a grave struggle with his natural urges, partly through his own sinful nature, partly through the temptation of the crafty enemy. When he realised his chastity was being put in jeopardy by the many assaults upon him, he raised up his virtue and strength against him, resisting sin with a hatred of lewd pleasures to such an extent that his enemy could not defeat him. He wore down his body by abstaining from food, and he even held in check the basic impulses that were in him by denying himself the foods that were his as of right, still afraid that more severe attacks would come. Because his stomach had

grown weak through lack of food and drink in this way, he wants to restore his strength, and takes a little food again; but his flesh, rearing up against the good of his peace, attacked the little virtue he had gained through his body being at peace. Plunging himself into freezing cold water he often checked the heat of his ardour. And when he felt forbidden impulses again, he chafed his body with burning nettles, and applying them to his body he overcame fire with fire, striving in every way to overpower the strong opponent whom he could feel mounting attacks on him, a tireless foe. But when all these weapons of retaliation did not suffice to withstand the spirit of lust, he did all he could. Stretched out on the ground before the feet of the Lord, he prays, wails, sighs, pleads by the grace of His death, passion, resurrection and our redemption, he entreats and implores Him either to extinguish his spirit or cure him of the impulse of temptation so that the whirlwind of lust should not envelop him again, which, being spread all around him drives against the four walls of his inner home, shakes its foundation, strikes its corners and does not let it stand with a firm foundation, since, threatening it with a fall, it had to fall. Downcast he cries out, and often wails, "I will not go; I will not rest," and the words Jacob said to the angel: <u>I will not let thee go except thou bless me</u>.[1] For a time he is sometimes afforded some relief from the fire, generally when the incentives of his body were quiet for a while; but forbidden desires enter his sinful heart. For the righteous, not to mention sinners, have many sufferings, but from all of them men are absolved by their loving Redeemer; though

miserator eorum; propter improbitatem orationi insistencium sepe filiorum lacessitus ille beneficiorum largitor munificus et peccatorum indultor, deus obnixis pulsatus precibus annuit orantibus, miseretur supplicibus. Hunc etiam fratrem monachum meminisse iuuabat illius uerbi prophetici scilicet: Propter uerba labiorum tuorum ego custodiui uias duras.(1) Duricia duriciam repellens sicque dominus, assiduis fatigatus precibus inmisit in eum castitatis beneficium, ut externas omnes uinceret uoluptates, et tunc recederet ab eo spiritus nequam fornicationis spiritum eius et animam conturbans; multis post hec annis sanctam cum sanctis ducens uitam.

Placeat igitur tibi exemplum fratris huius quo litem lite resoluit.(2) Litem enim | affectatam f.151rb desideriis peccatorum elegit dignam puniri carnis macerationibus et spiritu contribulato diuersis generum ultionibus in caritate non ficta, ut mederi carnis corruptionibus possit quis, et assiduis subueniri orationum subuentionibus. Enitere autem, frater carissime, senodoctrie et accidie in spiritum extinguere, ut utrarumque orbatus discrimine possis liber in domino respirare. Fuistis enim, dum istarum participabatis subiectione, aliquando tenebre, nunc autem conuersi ad episcopum, ad dominatorem animarum uestrarum, ad dominum conuersi ut filii lucis ambulate in omni sanctitate et iusticia et ueritate.(3) Cessantibus etenim uiciorum incitamentis de facile succedit

20] et:add.sup.

(1) non inueni.
(2) Horace, Satirarum Liber II.3,101.
(3) Ephesians 5,8.(Vg. Eratis enim aliquando tenebre: nunc autem lux in domino. Ut filii lucis ambulate: Fructus enim lucis est in omni bonitate, et iustitia, et ueritate.)

He is often provoked by the impudence of His sons who press their prayers upon Him, God, the bountiful Giver of favours and benevolent Pardoner of sinners who is buffeted with their persistent prayers, agrees to their requests and has mercy on their supplications. It also helped this brother monk to have remembered the words of the prophet, that is to say: For the words of thy lips I have kept the hard ways.(1) Thus driving hardness back with hardness, the Lord who was exhausted by his never-ending prayers bestowed on him the blessing of chastity so that he could overcome all external pleasures, and that the worthless spirit of lust which was killing his spirit and soul would depart from him. Many years after this took place he is living a holy life with the saints.

Therefore, be satisfied by this brother's example in which he resolved a struggle with a struggle.(2) For he decided the struggle he aimed to have with the desires of his sins deserved to be punished with physical affliction, a broken spirit and various kinds of punishment with an unfeigned love, so that a man could cure the corruptions of his body and remedy them with the ceaseless remedies of his prayers. But, my dearest brother, strive to extinguish the spirit of vanity and sloth within you, so that when you are out of their danger you can breathe free in the Lord. Ye were sometimes in darkness, while you were subject to them, but now that you are turned to the bishop to the Master of your souls, walk as children of light in all holiness, righteousness and truth.(3) For when the temptations to sin are over, their correction - one's

ipsarum correctio, plurimum suffragatrix; extincta namque uiciosa carnis oblectatione timetur recidiua peccati iteratio, plus cauetur et aborretur fede iterationis perpetratio. Delectare ergo in domino, et dabit tibi petitiones cordis tui. Spera in eo et ipse te enutriet et faciet tecum misericordiam.(1) Sit solidata in domino supra firmam petram bene operationis tue inmobilis firmitas, et orationis tue firme constantie unitas, ne seui hostis presse
f.151va pondere | in cassum deffluat effectus petitionis
11 pie. Deus enim fide tangitur, caritate gustatur, spe odoratur, contemplatione uidetur, orationibus a nobis inuenitur, lectionibus alloquitur. Hiis igitur oblectationum munitus presidiis, armatus suffragiis, qualem te noueris summi regis institui sollemnibus ornamentis apud te mediteris. Hec meditans non confunderis, apponens enim manum suam deus adiciet ut ab incidentibus malis ulterius firmiter cureris.

Respice igitur, domine, ad uota supplicantis ecclesie, et populum quem tibi facis esse deuotum benigno refoue miseratus auxilio, quemque tibi ceterorum ordinum decenti uirtute et ornatu morum facis esse preclarum et habendi se inter homines constituisti digniorem fac tue gratie in exequendis mandatis tuis proniorem, ut quos tue gratie dignos censuisti ministros existere in tui muneris respiratione dentur perpetua pace gaudere.

9] MS. pressa 11] MS. gustetur exp.et corr.sup.
28] dentur: MS. da

(1) Ps. 36,4-5.

best support - readily takes their place; for when the sinful delight in the flesh is at an end, you fear the recurrence of sin, you guard against it all the more and shrink from doing the foul act again. Therefore: Delight thou in the Lord, and He shall give thee thy heart's desires. Put thy trust in Him and He shall feed thee and shall be merciful unto thee.(1) Establish on solid rock in the Lord your unshakeable commitment to doing good and your undivided and unwavering attention to prayer, lest the effect of your devout supplication flows away to no avail when the savage foe's weight presses upon it. For we can touch God through faith, savour Him through love, sense His fragrance in hope, see Him in contemplation. He becomes known to us in our prayers; He speaks to us in what we read. Fortified with these delightful defences and armed with your intercessions reflect on what kind of man you know you are being made by the solemn adornments of the most high King. Reflecting on them you will not be confounded, for God will put forth His hand and ensure you are well protected, far from the ills which can assail you.

Therefore look down, O Lord, upon the prayers of your suppliant Church, and with your gracious help mercifully restore the people you make faithful unto you, and whom you distinguish from other orders for their goodly virtue and fair show of good conduct, and whom you have made worthy to live among men. Of your grace make them them more readily disposed to fulfil your commandments, that those you have deemed to be worthy ministers of your grace may be granted to rejoice in the use of your gift in everlasting peace.

Ordo hic clericalis multis hominum placens, maxime literatis, multas plebium cohortes adsiscit in unum, honesta etenim uestis clericalibus uicina indumentis, communione literalis sciencie ad obsequia in ecclesia communiter uisitata multorum mouet animos et concinnat affectus, consuetudines
f.151vb habens ordini cle|ricorum satis equales unde et hiis concinnantes moribus cura fideliori ad inuicem congaudent, ceterisque plus ordinibus multis plerumque complacent. Sed quocumque locorum ordinate distinctorum te prouocet affectus, idem in omnibus deus placetur et laudetur ab omnibus.

Vnum, fili carissime, tibi consulimus feruenter obseruare, ut[1] numquam peccatorum tuorum uel prestes securitatem, sed timens iugiter tui corporis fragilitatem habeas suspectam, et semper quasi in specula circumspectam adhibe diligenciam, et quasi accipitris timens rapinam super aquam trementis illius inspice effigiem, et decurrentis aque riuis latebras insidiancium effigiem latrunculorum. Sedet enim in insidiis ductor eorum qui mactet et perdat consilia deuotorum. Queras igitur ex omni parte munitiones fidelium que te custodiant a lapsu temporalium, ne te ducant in precipicium seui insidiatores latrocinancium.

Nichil magis cogitationes excludit inutilium uel compescit mentes laciuas infidelium quam iugis meditatio super celestia. Adsuesce etiam sic

2] adsiscit : MS. adsisciti
22] ductor: MS. ductorum 23] parte: add.in mg.
29] MS. celestium

(1) De Inst.Inclusarum, ch.20, (CCCM 1, p.654, P.L.32.1461).

This clerical order finds favour with many men, especially with those who are literate; it admits into one the many bands of common people, for its habit, being similar to clerical garments, is regarded with honour: in the fellowship of written learning at services in the church which is commonly visited it inspires the minds of many men and it unites their hearts; its customs are quite like those of the clerical order. Wherefore, being united in their conduct they rejoice together in a more faithful concern for each other, and they generally find favour with many men more than other orders. But to whichever of the places that are distinguished by order your heart calls you forth, in all of them let God be soothed the same and praised by all.

One thing, my dearest son, we fervently advise you to observe.(1) Never be complacent over your sins, but fearing them continually, treat the frailty of your body with suspicion, and always be careful to look all around you as if you were on a watch tower; and as if you were afraid of the hawk's attacking you, watch his reflection quivering above the water, and watch for the appearance of brigands who lie in wait in their hiding places by the rivers of running water. Their leader sits in ambush to slaughter and destroy the counsels of the faithful. Therefore, you must search everywhere, looking for the defences of the faithful to protect you from the fallen nature of this world, lest you are led onto a precipice by the fierce waylayers of hunters.

Nothing shuts out useless thoughts and curbs the lustful minds of the faithless more than constant meditation on heaven. Even make your mind accustomed to

animum ut non possis, etsi uelis, ad aliud diuertere mentis intuitum. Cogitanti tibi de scripturis aliquid sompnus obrepat, uigilanti
f.152ra statim aliquid de scripturis occurat | dormientis
5 herens memorie aliqua de scripturis sentencia delectet sic quod nulla tibi uacans hora sit a celesti memoria. Memorialis siquidem supernorum si te delectat gloria, proficies in ea; non te poterit curiositas humana auellere ab eius instancia, quin
10 semper manens te mente trahat ad superna. Mens enim alta adamantino lapidi similis ad se trahit queque proxima, nec a se reicit quecumque a tractu suo nouerit utiliora. Sic et omni desiderio tu tibi socies ad superna promerenda que noueris potiora.
15 Sed a salutaribus exerciciis quidam se retrahentes dimidii[1] propter nimiam ciborum abstinentiam uel uigiliarum inmansuetudinem, ne incidant in languorem, ne aliis sint oneri sibi uero dolori, affectus suos mutant proposito leuiori. Sed pauci
20 sunt quos hic hodie feruor igniuit multipharie districtionis incendio grauitatis ut minus possint quam uelint. Omnes enim sapientes sumus, omnes prouidi, omnes in hac parte discreti. Procul odoramus accessionis huius grauem consuetudinem, et
25 sic morbum corporis cauendo aspernamur ut langorem anime quem presentem timemus delicacius delitescendo declinemus, flammasque libidinum
f.152rb facilius admittamus | quam uentris rugitum exinanitione ciborum impacienter toleremus. Numquid
30 enim perfectuosius est an abstinencia uitali an langore corporali superbiens caro a uesania

16] propter: r fin.add.sup. 20] MS. odie 25] corporis: MS. coporis 26] quem: MS. quam 30] an: add.sup.
1] brahit: MS. brait

(1) De Inst.Inclusarum, ch.21, (CCCM 1,p.654, P.L.32.1561).

it so that it cannot turn its attention to other things even when it wants to. While you are thinking about something from Scripture let sleep steal upon you; on waking up straightway let something from Scripture come to mind; when you are asleep let some sentence from scripture sticking in the memory delight you so that you are never free of the memory of heaven. And if the memory of heaven's glory delights you, you will go further in it; your natural curiosity will be unable to tear you away from it, preventing you being drawn in mind to heaven when it always stays with you. Like adamant a lofty mind draws to it all that is close by, and it does not put from its path anything it knows to be useful. Thus with all your heart you must take to yourself those things you know to be best for you to get to heaven. But there are some men who draw back halfway from practices which bring salvation[1] on account of the abstinence being too much and keeping watch too rigorous, lest they grow weak and become a burden to others and a cause of misery to themselves; and they change their minds in favour of a less demanding purpose. But there are few today whom this fervour of manifold difficulty has set alight with the fire of its importance with the result that they can do less than they would wish. For we are all judicious, all cautious, all prudent in this respect. From a long way off we smell the customary grievous scent of this approach, and thus we spurn a bodily ailment by guarding against it, with the result that we avoid the weariness of the soul that we fear is at hand by taking refuge in comfort, and more readily admit the flames of lust than impatiently put up with an empty stomach's rumbling. Is there greater perfection in the proud body being restrained from its fury and chastity being

comprimatur et castitas conseruetur? Sed nimia remissio cauenda est ne forte infirmitatis occasione incurramus uoluptatum illecebras dum ciborum nos firmat inanitas. Certe si langues, si egrotas, si fame torquentur uiscera, si arescit tibi stomachus, quelibet delicie oneri magis erunt tibi quam delectationi. Delectare in domino et dabit tibi petitiones cordis; et spera in eo et ipse faciet tecum misericordiam,(1) quam scilicet ut scias quid petendum, quid non. Hec est enim omnium uirtutum fundamentum,(2) extra quod quicquid edificat quis ruine pocius patet quam eleganti structure comparandi sibi gratiam diuine potencie. Considera tui status deductionem. Inicium omnis peccati superbia est,(3) que a priscis temporibus angelum de celo, hominem de paradiso expulit. Huius pessime radicis cum multi sint rami, in duas reuertuntur species: in carnalem et spiritualem. Carnalis enim superbia est de carnalibus superbire; spiritualis uero de spiritualibus extolli. Carnalis preterea in duas subdiuiditur species: in
f.152va iactanciam et uanitatem. Vani|tatis est si seruus Christi humilis et deuotus in animo se glorietur nobilibus ortum natalibus, si se diuiciis iactat paupertatem pretulisse pro Christo, si se pauperioribus et innobilioribus preferre conetur, si se contempsisse diuitum nuptias magnum quidem hoc censens pro Christo glorietur euasisse. Est etiam quedam species uanitatis in affectata sui pulchritudine, etiam inter locum humilem parietes

2] MS. infirmitas 27] MS. contepsisse 28] hoc: MS. hec

(1) Ps. 36,4-5.
(2) De Inst.Inclusarum, ch.24, (CCCM 1, p.656, P.L.32.1562))
(3) Ecclus. 10,15.

preserved by lifegiving abstinence or by physical weakness? But excessive slackness must be guarded against in case when we are sick we run into the enticements of pleasure, until hunger builds up our strength. But if you are weak, if you are sick, if your insides are twisted with hunger, or if your stomach is grown dry, any delicacies will be more of a burden to you than a delight. Delight thou in the Lord, and He shall give thee thy heart's desire. Put thy trust in Him and He shall be merciful unto thee,(1) that is, for you to know what to ask for and what not. For this is the foundation of all the virtues, and without it whatever anyone builds is more likely to fall into ruin than to be a fine edifice to lay in store for oneself the grace of God's power. Reflect on a line of thought about your condition. The beginning of all sin is pride,(2) which from ancient times has cast the angel out of heaven and Man out of Paradise. Although the branches of this most evil stem are many in number, they fall into two categories: that of the flesh and that of the spirit. Pride of the flesh is to grow haughty over matters of the flesh, and pride of the spirit is to become swollen over spiritual matters. Furthermore, pride of the flesh is divided into two further categories: boasting and vanity. It is vanity if the humble and faithful servant of Christ glories that he was born of noble parents, if he boasts he has set poverty before wealth for Christ's sake, if he tries to put himself before the poor and lowly, or if he boasts that he has scorned marriage with the rich for Christ's sake, indeed thinking this a great thing to have avoided. There is also a kind of vanity in striving to make oneself good looking, and also in adorning the walls of a humble house with various

uariis picturis ornare, uel celaturis superiorem ornare domus partem, et imaginum uarietate decorare, faciem uero tuam multis adinuentionibus uenustare ut uere tibi possit dicere qui eam formauit: Non noui faciem quam non feci. Hoc uanitatis magnum censeo figmentum; hoc professioni tue ualde contrarium. Qua fronte gloriaberis de natalium tuorum surculis abortiuis, cum generosior sit ille cui cumplacere gestis regum filiis; qui cum diues esset pauperum se fecit propter te; exinaniuit se ipsum formam serui accipiens propter te; presepum uilitatem elegit pro te bouis et asini mansionem, cum esset dominus omnium commutauit pro te. Sed et gloriandum est tibi et sumopere applaudendum quod dei filius se filiis hominum
f.152vb pretulit propter te;| quod feditatem carnis pro uirginitatis decore eligit; quod eternas celi diuicias et celestium delicias [reiecit] ut esset paruus et modicus in conspectu hominum, uilis et deiectus in mundo humiliauit se propter te; factus obediens usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis,(1) que tunc ignominiosior et cunctis mortibus uilior esse reputabatur. Hec omnia pertulit pro te; redde uicem factis, non quidem frequentibus mortibus sed ut ait beatus Gregorius: Nemini dicit hodie dominus: Pro me morere, sed quod est ualde utile: Carnis tue uitiosa succide.(2) Circumspectis igitur omnibus que fecit pro te et ut meritis suis dignas rependas gratiarum actiones et compescatur apud te querela uox prophete: Quid retribuam domino pro omnibus que retribuit mihi?(3)

13] MS. domino 26] hodie: h add.sup. 27] MS. succide uitiosa transp.

(1) Philipp. 2,8.
(2) non inueni.
(3) Ps. 115,3.

pictures, or in adorning the upper part of the house with panelled ceilings and decorating it with a variety of images, and also to make your own appearance attractive with a lot of cosmetics, so that He who fashioned your face could justly say: I do not know the face that I have not made. I believe this to be a great invention of vanity; this is very much contrary to your profession. With what impudence do you glory in the misbegotten shoots of your parentage, when He whom you long to please is nobler than the sons of kings? Although He was rich, He made Himself poor for you. He emptied Himself, taking the form of a servant for you. He chose the dishonour of a stall for you - the dwelling of an ox and ass; although He was Lord of all, He changed it for you. But you ought to boast and greeatly applaud the fact that the Son of God gave Himself to the sons of men for you; that He chose the filth of the body instead of the glory of virginity; that He [rejected] the everlasting riches of heaven and heaven's delights to become small and ordinary in men's eyes; mean and laid low in the world, He humbled Himself for you. He was made obedient unto death, even to death on a cross,(1) which at that time was considered more shameful and dishonourable than any other death. All this He bore for you: serve Him in return; however, not in frequent deaths, but, as Blessed Gregory says: Today our Lord says to no man, "Die for me," but, what is more useful, "Cut away all vice from your body."(2) Therefore, having considered everything He has done for you, you should give Him thanks that are worthy of what He deserves from you, and keep in mind the prophet's complaint, when he asked: What reward shall I give unto the Lord for all the benefits that He hath done unto me?(3)

Accipe consilium uocis apostolice: Qui gloriatur, in domino glorietur. Non enim qui se ipsum commendat ille probatus est, sed quem deus commendat.(1) Commendent te opera tua deo placencia, ut sit omnis gloria tua sicut ait propheta:(2) Omnis gloria eius filie regis ab intus.(3) Vide quid dixit regis filie: Audi, filia, et uide, et inclina aurem tuam, ut mediteris et satagas, ut concupiscet rex speciem tuam.(4)
f.153ra 11 Attende ut gloria tua sit testimonium conscien|cie tue; sit apud te pulcherrima uirtutum uarietas; sit distinctorum colorum in unum digestorum uera unitas; et coniunctium sibi copulentur ad inuicem humilitati castitas, prudencie societur simplicitas, iungatur iusticie misericordia, adde fortitudini modestiam. In hac uarietate tue mentis oculos occupa, hanc in anima tua omni studio collatam circumferto. Texe tibi fimbriam polimitam a uertice usque ad talum, hoc est ab initio uite usque ad ipsius consummationem, de puro corde et bona consciencia et fide non ficta.

Sunt et multa penitendi genera; si non occurratur [uiciis] uenientibus in uia, si ea permiseris adolere, non poterit eis resistere, que cum irrigauerint et firma radice solo adeserint, sicut de urticis dicitur; cum enim solida mole radices sparserint, non pot-erunt de facili etiam manibus auulse; supra sepem contra solem posite, non germinare et acres punctiones manibus contrectancium irrogare; seruat enim etiam solis mutilata incendio.

5] sit: add.sup. 7] filie: MS. filia 10] sit: add. sup. 23] uiciis: suppl. 24] que: MS. qui
12] MS. distintorum

(1) 2 Corinth. 10,17-18.
(2) De Inst.Inclusarum, ch.25, (CCCM 1, p.657, P.L.32.1462).
(3) Ps. 44,14.
(4) Ps. 44,11.

Take the advice given by the voice of the apostle: He that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord. For not he that commendeth himself is approved, but whom the Lord commendeth.(1) Let all your deeds commend you by being pleasing to God so that all the glory may be yours, just as the prophet says:(2) The king's daughter is all glorious within.(3) See what he says to the king's daughter: Hearken, O daughter, and consider, incline thine ear, for you to reflect and pay attention, that the king may have pleasure in thy beauty.(4) Pay attention, so that your glory may be the testimony of your conscience. Let it be a most beautiful array of different virtues with you; let it be a true unity of different colours drawn into one. Let them be joined together with one another: chastity to humility, purity to prudence, mercy to justice, modesty to strength. Look in your mind's eye on this variety; with every effort carry around with you this collection which you have made with all your effort in your soul; weave yourself a hem of many threads from head to toe, that is from your life's beginning to its close, out of a pure heart, a good conscience and unfeigned faith.

There are many kinds of penitence. If you do not resist vices as they come along the road, if you permit them to grow, you will not be able to withstand them when they are watered and cling to the soil with a firm root, as is said about nettles. For when they have spread out their roots in a solid clump, they cannot easily be pulled up even with the hands. Placed by a wall against the sun they cannot sprout and put out their sharp thorns against the hands of anyone who tries to touch them, and it also keeps them withered up by the sun's heat.

Festinant nobis dies pro meritis nostris grauissimi peccatorum ultores; accedunt festini uehementes criminum trucidatores; ueniunt ad nos ut
f.153rb nos | perdant criminalium executores; clamant lacessite multo turbine: Ve, ue, ue, quante sunt irruencium tenebre. Audi tellus; audi magni maris limbus; audi homo; audi omne quod uiuit sub celo. Veniet, prope est dies ire, dies inuisa, dies amara qua celum fugiet, sol erubescet, luna fugabitur, dies nigrescet, mors erubescet, sidera super terram cadent. Heu miseri, heu miseri. Quid, homo, ineptam sequeris leticiam? Dies illa, dies ire, calamitatis et miserie, dies magna et amara ualde. Quando celi mouendi sunt et terra. Dum uenerit dominus iudicare seculum per ignem.(1) Clama, igitur, clama, homo, de terra: Quid ergo miserrimus, quid dicam uel quid faciam dum nil boni perferam ante tantum iudicem?(2) Sordescat tibi cura secularium. Nisi resipiscas, clades erit futura tibi in eternum.

Caue tibi, karissime, et multiformem adhibe diligentiam contra insurgentes in ordinis seueri dignitates, et insultuum malignitates absterge pietatis intuitu, obuolutiones porro in nimie edacitatis superfluitate; ingluuies enim tocius corporis et anime quietem perturbat, deuotionem
f.153va extinguit, corporee sanitatis iura | contaminat, fedas educit eructationes, uomitus prouocat, totum interioris corporis statum perturbat, quietem tollit, et tocius religionis

5] sunt: t add.sup. 21] MS. diligentem 25] MS. deuotionis 27] MS. eructuationes

(1) The opening lines of the Sequence in the Missa pro defunctis (Sarum Use).v. note.
(2) Lines from the Responsory, Libera me in the Missa pro defunctis. v. note.

Racing towards us are the days when, as we deserve, our sins will be punished most harshly. Swiftly approaching are the fierce slaughterers of trangressions. Coming to us to slay us are the executioners of transgressors. Whipped up in a great whirlwind they cry: Woe, woe, woe. How great is the darkness of your assailants. Hear, O earth; hear, O coast of the great sea; hear, Man; hear, everything that lives beneath the sky. It shall come; the day of wrath is nigh. The unseen day, the bitter day when heaven shall flee away, the sun shall turn red, the moon will be put to flight, the day shall turn black, death shall blush, the stars shall fall down to the earth. Alas, you wretches; alas, you wretches. O Man, what foolish joy will you pursue? That day, day of wrath, calamity and misery; the great day and exceedingly bitter day.When the heavens and the earth shall be moved; when the Lord shall come to judge the world by fire.[1] Cry out, therefore, cry out from the earth, O Man: Therefore what am I to say and what I am to do in my wretchedness, when I have nothing good to set before such a Judge?[2] Let your concern over worldly things become filth to you. Unless you come to your senses, your future will be eternal destruction.

Take care of yourself, dearly beloved, and take many different precautions against the things that rise up against the excellences of your strict order, and wipe away with the gaze of love the spitefulness of insults, and then the smothering of the surplus of excessive gluttony. For gluttony destroys the repose of the whole body and the mind; it puts out devotion; it corrupts the laws of physical health; it produces filthy belches; it brings on vomiting; it upsets the whole condition inside the body; it takes away peace, and it stirs up abusive animosity through the whole

contumeliosam exaggerat passionem; incentiuos generat affectus, affectuum uitiosos promit effectus, sicque per omnia diffusus corporis et anime male prosperantis in bonum ad mala distrahitur status.

Hiis accidentibus si non preuideris sedulos uitandi status, audies illud propheticum quod ait dominus maledictorum uaticinium: Propterea deus destruat te in finem, euellet te, et emigrabit te de tabernaculo tuo: et radicem tuam de terra uiuencium.(1) Hic incipiet exasperare furorem ire sue: in futuro consummabit secundum merita fructus consummationis sue. Gaudebis seculo, arridebit tibi mundus pro uoto tuo. Omnia cedunt tibi uana seculi; nulla se negant oculis tuis cupita, eo usque fauet tibi mundus et mundi blandimenta. Beatus es et bene tibi erit,(2) si bene noueris uti concessis, si bene ea dispensaueris. Nam bene dispensantem omnia mandatorum suorum genera laudat et fouet et producit in anteriora Christi misericordia. Esto igitur tibi propicius et miserere anime tue | f.153vb placens deo. Miserere dico, hoc enim uerbum sepius iteratum a Dauid pro peccatis in propheta tipum gerit copiose penitencie, et cum multus esset ipse Dauid in oculis domini, in multis se deliquisse confitens sepius iterans: Miserere, gratiam promeruit expiatus ab omni sorde. Sic te cupio, frater bone, misericordiam adipisci. De conuictu uite tue multis purgari indigebit, etsi modicum uixeris; cum unius anni infans super terram de

1] exaggerat: g add.sup. 15] fauet: MS. fauent n exp. 23] MS. iteratum in propheta tipum gerit copiose a Dauid pro peccatis penitencie

(1) Ps. 51,7.
(2) Ps. 127,2.

order; it generates provocative feelings; from the feelings it produces sinful results, and thus spread throughout everything it diverts into evil the body and mind which do not thrive on what is good.

In the face of such events, if you do not tirelessly provide yourself with the means to escape, you will hear the words of prophecy the Lord gives to those who are condemned: Therefore shall God destroy thee for ever: He shall take thee, and pluck thee out of thy dwelling, and root thee out of the land of the living.(1) Here He will begin to stir up the fury of His wrath; in the future He will complete it according to the deserts of the fruit of his completion. You will rejoice in the world; the world will smile on you in accordance with your wish. All the world's vanities shall fall to you; your eyes will not be denied the sight of anything you desire, so much so the world favours you and the charms of the world. O well is thee and happy shalt thou be,(2) if you know how to put to good use the things you have been given, if you manage them well. For the mercy of Christ commends, favours and leads to the future anyone who performs well all His different commandments. Therefore, be kind to yourself and have mercy on your soul in pleasing God. I say, have mercy, because these words, which, according to the prophet, were spoken many times by David on account of his sins, are a sign of full repentance; and though David himself was great in the eyes of the Lord, he confessed that he had done much wrong, and often repeating the words, have mercy, he earned grace and was purged from all his uncleanness. In such a way, good brother, do I desire you to obtain mercy. From the company you have kept during your life you will need to purge many things, even though you might have lived a short while; when a little child one year old will have to give an account of the many things which he has done

multis rationem redditurus sit que egit perperam. Exulta et lauda miserationes domini. Laudemus, exultemus et nos. Dicasti seruitutem tuam; uouisti uotum quo preteriri non expetit. Mutanti uitam mutare oportebit et peccandi affectum, nichil enim prodest exteriorem monachi habitum assumere nisi et interioris habitus conseruet strenuitatem. Communes delectat animos utilis animi inspectio: deum delectat discreta animorum deuotio. Facticii quippe ordinis facticie sunt adinuenciones sicut plerumque reperiuntur apud monachos, quas sibi adinueniunt quibusdam de causis, ut putant rationabiles, naturalium obliti que deus condidit, scilicet humilitatem, caritatem, et hiis similia que
f.154ra naturaliter indidit deus homini | causa salutis sue
16 seruanda. Quos quidem facticios parum credimus prodesse homini, reliquos uero sine illis ad salutem prodesse non ignoramus.

Esto igitur tue prospectionis fidelissimus indagator; abrenuncianti enim tibi seculo occurret innumerus fantasmatum incursio, infirmitates crebre et demonum illusio, cogitationum uanarum irrepens temptatio, uanitatum fantasticarum frequens oppressio, non euadit de facili nisi domini dei tui interno solatio. Accingere super femur tuum uirtutis tue potencia et gladio.(1) Nil proderit tibi predicti ordinis simulatio. A mente etenim tua sincera prodibit seruitutis tue operatio meritoria, quam si inuenerit deus plenam constancia, induet te dominus uestimento salutis et

16] facticios: ci add.sup.

(1) Ps. 44,4.

amiss on earth. Rejoice, and praise the mercies of the Lord. Let us too rejoice and jump for joy. You have dedicated to Him your service; you have vowed a vow which He does not want you to neglect. In changing your way of life you must also change your inclination towards sin, for there is no profit in putting on the outer habit of a monk if you do not also maintain the rigorous discipline of the inner habit. A useful examination of the mind pleases minds in general; God is pleased by the individual devotion of men's minds. They are, in fact, artificial inventions of an artificial order, as are often found among monks, which they devise for themselves for certain reasons, thinking them reasonable, forgetting the natural qualities God has established - namely humility, charity, and such like - with which God has naturally endowed Man for his salvation. Indeed, we believe these voluntary subjections are of little benefit to a man, and we are not ignorant of the fact that the others promote his salvation without them.

Therefore, examine most faithfully what you see lies ahead of you, for upon renouncing the world a countless number of fantasies will come to you; frequent ailments; the illusion of devils; the temptation of vain thoughts creeping in; the frequent oppression of imaginary vanities; you cannot easily escape them if you do not have the inner comfort of the Lord your God. Gird thee with the power of thy virtue and with a sword upon thy thigh.(1) Feigning the aforesaid order you will gain nothing, since a worthy performance of your service shall come forth from a mind that is unfeigned; and if God finds it unwavering, the Lord shall clothe you in the vesture of salvation,

indumento leticie circumdabit te. Esto securus de premio, quia cum neminem fallat deus promisso, a nullo uult falli a uotiuo obsequio. Redde uotum domino, dum enim uoueris et non solueris erga te causam habebit litigandi multiformis offensionis. Erexit nobis cornu salutis.(1) Expurgemus et nos maculas fermenti ueteris ut renouati conspersione et nouitate recentis predicationis, obliti ueteris| in nouitate spiritus ambulemus. Non in fermento ueteri neque in fermento malicie et nequitie, sed in azimis sinceritatis et ueritatis,(2) ut sitis sinceri et mundi corde ascendendi ad locum quo uocauit te dominus. f.154rb

Assimulare homini domum petrinam edificanti.(3) Qui edificium facere uult stabile, non super arenam edificet sed supra firmam petram. Soliditatem prius consideret terre ubi scilicet firmum fundamentum possit superponere, parietes lapideos superedificare, et tutius possit a uentorum turbine locum inhabitare. Sic et uirtutum facere uolens edificium ubi securus habitet ab insidiis demonum, quo in loco sibi construat aptum sumopere est preuidendum. Si enim firmitate non fuerit subnixum, non poterit diutine subsistere edificium. Hec quidem terra humilitate solida constat edificiis apta, quam ceteris uirtutibus precellere et fundamentum stabile confirmat humana natura. Humilitatis insigne beneficium est, qua qui bene insignitus utitur inter precipuas uirtutes connumerandus deputabitur.

12] MS. sinceres cordes 14] MS. patrinam 21] ab: MS. ad 27] precellere: l add.sup.

(1) S.Luke 1,69.
(2) 1 Corinth. 5,8.
(3) The following passages are drawn from the Anselmian De Humanis Moribus.

and he will put around you a robe of great joy. Be confident that you will get your reward, for God deceives no-one in making His promise. He wants no-one to deceive Him by offering a vow. Pay back your vow to God. As long as you have vowed and do not pay it back, He will have grounds for filing a claim against you for your great offence. He hath raised up a horn of salvation for us.(1) Let us purify ourselves of the stains of the old leaven, so that, renewed by baptism and the newness of recent preaching, having forgotten the old, we may walk in newness of spirit: Not with the leaven of malice and wickedness, but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth,(2) so that you may be pure and clean in heart to ascend to the place where the Lord has called you.

Liken yourself to a man building a house on rock.(3) Anyone who wants to make his building sure should not build it on sand, but on solid rock. First, he should consider the firmness of the earth on which he can lay a sure foundation, build stone walls on, where he may live in safety from the blast of the winds. In the same way, anyone who wants to make himself a shelter of virtues, where he can live in safety from the assaults of demons, must consider above all else the site on which he can build something suitable. For if his building did not have the support of a sure foundation, it would not last long. Indeed, it is undisputed that earth suitable for building on has been made firm with humility. Human nature confirms it surpasses the other virtues and is a sure foundation. The benefit of humility is outstanding; anyone who is outstanding in putting it into practice shall be counted worthy to be numbered among the principal virtues.

Ipsa namque uelud mons magnus exurgit clarissima;(1) in cacumine moncium [lux] splendidissima, in ualle | uero eius densitas
f.154va tenebrarum opaca. Ipse | uero princeps milicie in summis habitat, in cuius ualle sunt bestie silue infestantes uirtutum proxima queque. Qui uero hinc exiens asendere incipit et quo altius ascenderit, ei rarescentibus tenebris lux serena magis clarescit. Tunc enim bestie persequi obmittunt, honesteque persone, montis incole, obuiam ueniunt. Cumque ad cacumen montis peruenerint, inter incolas montis luce clara quiescunt.

Vallis hec profunda superbia est,(2) in qua qui magis extollitur inferius deicitur. Densitas uero tenebrarum cuique ignorancia sui est, cum quis non agnoscit quam sit contemptibilis. Male autem bestie sunt uicia, impetus in eos qui se male ignorant frequenter dancia. Nam qui in ualle superbie commanent, tenebris ignorancie sue cecantur; quibuslibet uiciorum incentiuis sepe opprimuntur. Sed qui relicta superbie nota per humilitatis gradus ascendere incipit, quo plures ex eis ascendit, eo ignorancia rarescente sui cognitio ad se redit, et in copiosam sui diffunditur sue cognitionis ubertatem. Vicia quoque non ut prius sed multo minus eum infestant, uirtutum quoque |
f.154vb grex etiam se importunum ingerit, ut in clara sui cognitione iam emeritus a sui ignorancia quiescat intrepidus.

2] lux: suppl. 4] Ipse: MS. Ipsa

(1) De Humanis Moribus,ch.99.
(2) ibid. ch.100.

For Humility, the most brilliant [virtue], rises up like a great mountain;[1] on the top of the mountains there is the most brilliant light: in its valley there is the dense shadow of darkness. The prince of hosts himself lives on its heights, and in the valley there are wild, forest creatures which molest anything virtuous. But whoever starts to climb up and comes out of this place and climbs up higher, as the darkness melts away bright light shines more upon him. Then the wild beasts give up the chase, and the good folk who live on the mountain come out to meet him. And when they have reached the mountain top, they rest among the mountain-dwellers in the brilliant light.

This deep valley is Pride,[2] into which the more one boasts the further one is cast. The thick darkness is each man's ignorance of himself when he does not know how contemptible he is. The evil creatures are the vices which frequently attack those men who unfortunately have no knowledge of themselves. For those who tarry in the valley of Pride are blinded by the darkness of their own ignorance; often they are oppressed by various sinful temptations. But the man who has left the shame of Pride behind him and begins to climb up by means of the steps of humility, the more steps he takes his ignorance fades away, his knowledge of himself comes back to him and is poured out into the rich fullness of self-knowledge. The vices also molest him much less than before, and the throng of virtues unexpectedly presses itself upon him, so that he may rest without the fear of his own ignorance of himself in the clear self-knowledge now that he has completed his service.

Primus itaque humilitatis gradus[1] est se quemque agnoscere contemptibilem spontaneam uoluntatem. Sed quia sunt plerique qui se non dolent tales esse, secundus gradus assentionis est inde plurimum dolere. Quoniam uero sunt aliqui qui se contemptibiles dolent sed aliis nolunt confiteri se tales esse, confingunt se meliores esse, confessionis ingratitudinem incurrere: ecce tercius gradus. Sunt et quidam contemptibiles se confitentes, nolentes se sic estimari, suam iusticiam statuentes, qui quartus gradus est, id est se ipsum fallere. Quintus gradus est pati se ipsum reprehensibilem, sed non tractari ut talem. Sextus quidem ille est gratanter pati uindictam pro excessibus patratis perperam. Sicque ascenditur septimus gradus in quo luce clara fit sui cognitio perfecta, in quo fundatur edificium maxime gratum, quod quidem patebit in sequentibus apercius euolutum.

Ab initio conuersionis in iuuene maxime de quibus spes habenda sit in futurum conuersationis bone hec intuenda sunt. Vt potissime clareat intuentium oculis recte discernentibus tria hec ualde necessaria:[2] frequens taciturnitas, f.155ra corporis continencia et uerecundia. Taci|turnitas, 26 ut primum taceat: extremus dicat. Continencia corporis, ut non nimis facile oculos in diuersa rotet uel pedes indiscrete moueat, sed et omnia corporis sui membra decenti consideratione

2] MS. spontanea 6] MS. contemptibilis 10] MS.uolentes

(1) De Humanis Moribus, chs.101-108.
(2) ibid. ch.140.

The first step of humility,[1] therefore, is for everyone to see that his own will is contemptible. But because the majority of men is not sorry to see themselves like this, the second stage of the ascent is to be full of sorrow for this. But because there are those who are sorry they are contemptible, but are not willing to admit as much to others and pretend they are better than they are, see, the third step is to have undergone the unwelcome experience of confessing it. And there are some men who confess that they are contemptible, but do not want to be thought of as such and claim that they are righteous; this is the fourth step, that is to say, deceiving oneself. The fifth step is to endure being contemptible but not letting oneself be treated as such. Then there is the sixth step: to accept willingly the punishment for the wrongs that one has done. And in this way the seventh step is reached, at which amidst clear light one comes into perfect self-knowledge, on which is founded the whole of the most pleasing edifice - and this will be plain, clearly unravelled in what follows.

From the outset of a conversion these qualities must be observed in a young man, especially those in whom hope must be placed for a good religious life in the future. So that it may be as clear as possible to the eyes of men of sound judgement, these three are very necessary:[2] habitual quietness, control of the body and modesty. Quietness, so as to be first to be silent and last to speak; control of the body, so as not to turn the eyes about too readily in different directions or move the feet about carelessly, but to exercise a proper control over all parts of the body.

circumferat. Hec enim iuuenilis forma uirtutis interioris effigies est maturitatis, dum uultu exteriori prefert quod habet in corde, et sinceritatis opere prodit in lucem interiora mentis secrete. Verecundia uero, ut erubescat coram hominibus cum quid agit illicite totaque facies suffusa rubore indicium det penitentis uerecundie. Corporis continencia accepta deo, spectabilis hominibus, maturitate grauis, laudanda est in iuuene, quam cum consummauerit quis usque ad finem uite, collocabit illum dominus cum diligentibus se. Trina hec medicinali opere congruencia, siquis nisu magno conetur adipisci et extorquere a seculari incendio prouehetur ad altiora supernorum ciuium dulcia fomenta sine dubio. Siquidem tacendo et sapientium doctrinam hauriendo paulatim scientiam ebibendo, diuersarum incrementis uirtutum ad spiritualem uitam per eorum documenta pertinget.

f.155rb

Nam sicut alimentis | diuersis ad perfectum sui ducitur uita hominis,(1) sic documentis dissimilibus ad spiritualem uirtutum agnitionem perducitur salus humane conuersationis ad dominum. Dum enim primitiue conuersionis immatura et solida firmatur maturitatis forma, spes concipitur perpetuitatis, et processure ulterius bone felicitatis augmento augetur fides ut inicium bonum melior fortuna sequatur, et inicialis uirtutis felix subsequatur idemptitas. Exurgat igitur adolescencie tue mera simplicitas in laudem et

12] medicinali : ci add.sup. 16] sapientium: MS. sapientiam 17] diuersarum: MS. diuersorum

(1) De Humanis Moribus, ch. 141.

For this youthful appearance of inner virtue is a sign of maturity, when a young man shows on his face what is in his heart and through his honesty brings into the open what lies hidden in his mind. Modesty too, so that when he has done wrong he will blush in front of others, and his face, being completely covered with redness, may betoken his shame and penitence. Control of the body is acceptable to God, pleasing to men, dignified in one's years of maturity, and something commendable in a young man; and when he has made it perfect up to his life's end the Lord will call him into the company of all those who love Him. This is a threefold union that is medicinal in its work; if anyone strives hard to obtain it and to wrench himself away from the warmth of the world, without a doubt he will be carried up to the highest and sweet lenitives of the citizens of heaven. Indeed, by keeping silent and by drinking in the teaching of the wise, sipping up knowledge gradually, rising through the virtues' different increments, through their lessons he will attain to the spiritual life.

For just as a man is led up to his full stature by different kinds of nourishment throughout the course of life,[1] so the well-being of a man's religious life is brought to the Lord by different lessons about the spiritual knowledge of the virtues. While in the early stages of his conversion the form of maturity is unripe and hardening up, he conceives hope of perpetuity, and with growth his faith of further good fortune to come is increased, with the result that his good beginning may become a better future, and that the virtue he started with may felicitously carry on the same way. Therefore, let your pure honesty of youth rise up to the praise and honour of your brothers, for

gloriam proximorum tuorum uehementer optatam, ut qui se tuis precibus plurimum credent adiuuari, simplici deuotione tua ad profectum senciant se eterne beatitudinis diuino nutu promoueri. Ad cuius efficatie promerendam gratiam septem sunt dona spiritus sancti:(1) timor domini, pietas, scientia, fortitudo, consilium, intellectus, sapiencia. Horum igitur donorum timor primo additur aliorum omnium quasi fundamentum; facturusque sibi uelud edificium hunc omnibus donis suis supponit fundamentum. Prius enim mentem facit trepidare, ne pro peccatis suis a deo separetur et in penis inferni a diabolo torqueatur. Huic deinde timori apponit pietatem cum
f.155va menti sic formidanti aspirat sui ipsius
16 compassionem, pieque reducit ad me|moriam quam misera sit anima a deo separata et a diabolo seducta. Dehinc pietati superponit scienciam, ut sic timeat sibi compaciens, sic scrutans undique quo saluari possit, eique spiritus sanctus cognicionem huius rei indulgenter largiatur. Exinde autem fortitudinem superimponit sciencie cum mens pauida sibique compaciens et iam quid agere debeat noticiam habens, fortis fit dono spiritus sancti dictante quid debeat agere et que didicit ab eo quibusque saluari se posse confidit. Post hec uero consilium fortitudini superedificet cum mens iam fortis ad operandum que pie uiuendo nouit esse facienda, suo spiritu dictante experimento didicit esse complenda.

5] MS. pmerendam 13] Huic: MS. Hinc 20] rei: add.sup. indulgenter: bis scr.

(1) De Humanis Moribus, ch. 131.

which they pray passionately, so that those who believe they derive great benefit from your prayers may feel your sincere devotion is advancing them with God's approval on their journey to eternal bliss. To win the grace to do this there are the Holy Spirit's seven gifts:[1] fear of the Lord, compassion, knowledge, might, counsel, understanding, wisdom. Of these gifts fear is put first as the foundation of the rest. Just as if He were about to put up a building for Himself, the Holy Spirit sets this one as the foundation stone of all His gifts. First He makes the mind tremble in case its sins separate it from God and it is tortured by the devil in the pains of hell. Then on this fear He places the spirit of compassion, when He breathes compassion for himself on the mind that is full of fear, and recalls in pity how wretched is the soul when it is separated from God and the devil has led it astray. Then upon pity He sets knowledge, in order that the mind may tremble while it is full of compassion, and, looking all around to see how it can be saved, the Holy Spirit graciously gives it understanding of how it can be done. And then on knowledge He places strength, when the mind, full of fear, full of compassion, and having been told what it has to do, grows strong when the Spirit's gift tells it what it has to do, and it believes what the Spirit has taught it what it has to do for it to be saved. But after this it builds counsel onto strength when the mind, now that it has the strength to do the things which, through living compassionately, it knows it must do, has learned from its own Spirit that they must be completed by trial.

Hec sunt quidem quinque spiritus sancti dona ad actiuam uitam pertinencia,(1) que uero secuntur, intellectus et sapiencia, ad contemplatiuam pertinent. Hec enim spiritus sancti dona prioribus quinque adiecta complent edificium. Postquam enim spiritus sanctus mentem fecerit pauentem sibique compacientem fortiterque manibus operantem aliisque id quod acceperit fideliter dispensantem, accumulat sapienciam ut edificio iam sic constructo resideat per gratiam familiamque domus interioris, id est omnes anime sensus, regat et ad obsequendum ei pro uoluntate disponat.

f.155vb Hinc | et anime qualitates(2) que prius erant instabiles, iam in bonos redigat usus. Mores quippe qualitates sunt anime ad consuetudinem redacte. Non enim tunc mores dicuntur,cum repente accedunt citoque recedunt, sed cum in anima stabili radice consistunt. Bona uero insita cum coaluerint uirtutes dicuntur:(3) mala uero cum iterum coaluerint uicia dicuntur. Tunc enim proprie haberi dicuntur cum ex consuetudine possidentur,(4) unde et homines iusti uel uitiosi dicuntur. Caue igitur ne adoleat in te uitiosa consuetudo que tibi uertatur in habitum. Habitus enim ille pernitiosus in longum cicius poterit protrahi quam breui intercapedine sopiri. Exultat igitur spiritus tuus breuibus illecebris a te mala expedire, ut siquando diabolo suadente mentem tuam in longum oporteat distrahi, regressus tuus ab inde fortius debeat timeri. Funesta est eius collusio, societas eius

18] cum: add.sup. 28] suadente: te add.sup.

(1) De Humanis Moribus,ch. 132.
(2) ibid. ch. 133.
(3) ibid. ch. 134.
(4) ibid. ch. 135.

These then are the Holy Spirit's five gifts which relate to the active life;[1] those that follow, namely understanding and wisdom, relate to the contemplative life. These two of the Holy Spirit's gifts complete the building when they are added to the previous five. For when the Holy Spirit has caused the mind to tremble, feel pity for itself, work hard with with its hands, faithfully giving others what it has received, it lays up wisdom so that through grace it may dwell in the structure that it has thus built, and may govern the household within, that is to say all the soul's senses, and rule them them so that they obey it as it wills.

Hence, properties of the soul,[2] which were at first inconstant, through regular use are now turned to good. Habits, you see, are properties of the soul which have been turned into customary practice. They are not called habits when they quickly come and quickly go, but when they are planted in the soul with a firm root. Indeed, when good things that are sown in the soul have taken root, they are called virtues;[3] but bad things, when they too have become rooted, they are called vices. When one owns these properties through constant use, they are said to be one's own habits,[4] and on their account men are either called righteous or sinful. Beware, therefore, that no sinful practice takes root in you and becomes a habit, for that pernicious habit can sooner become long drawn out than killed off in an instant. Therefore, your spirit rejoices that evil is set loose from you by short-lived charms, so that if ever it becomes necessary for your mind to be distracted from them for a long time while the devil is tempting you, your escape from distraction should be a matter of grave concern. It is deadly to collaborate with him; his company is perilous because

periculosa in persuadendo: iocunda in uitando. Gaude igitur, homo, dum perpendis talia. Gaude caro facta talis impetus nescia. Gaudeat mens humana talis consuetudinis ignara. Attentans enim talia numquam erit ei mens secura. Perfecto odio suggestiones eius odisse erit utile, accedentes
f.156ra fugere, aduenientes sta|tim a se fugare. Horum enim admissio infrunita erit diabolice societatis conciliatio.

Inter cetera uero notabilia preclare iuuentutis admissoria hec tria credimus laudanda et in iuuène notanda:(1) taciturnitatem decentem, corporis continenciam, uerecundiam laudabilem. Taciturnitas, ut libenter audiat omnia que dicentur. Modicum respondeat, premeditate tamen quod dixerit inferat. De habendo se honeste continencia, ut non leuiter oculos huc et illuc flectat, manus pedesue indiscrete moueat, sed omnia corporis sui membra decenter contineat. Diuaricatis etenim pedibus sedere in claustro uel in ecclesia signum est incontinencie et informitas regularis discipline. Verecundia, de qua paulo ante meminimus, est sic coram hominibus [cum] quid agitur illicite totus subfundatur rubore, [ut] ostendat forinsecus quod habet in mente, contritionem penitentie que multum decebit maturitatem prudentis anime.

1] iocunda: o add.sup. 14] MS. Taciturnitatem 22] ante: MS. autem 23] cum: suppl. 24] ut: suppl.
17] MS. huc et huc. 19] MS. membra

(1) De Humanis Moribus, ch. 140.

of what he can persuade you to do; it is reason for rejoicing when you avoid it. Therefore, Man, rejoice when you ponder such things. Rejoice, body, that you are made unaware of such an impulse. Let the human mind rejoice that knows nothing of such a practice. While one pays attention to such things one's mind will never be safe. To hate his suggestions with a perfect loathing will be useful - to flee them as they come, to drive them away the instant they come near. Giving into them will be to ally oneself with demons foolishly.

Among the other notable qualities of outstanding youth which admit one [to the order] we believe these three should be commended and observed in a young man:(1) the becoming habit of silence, control of the body, commendable modesty. The habit of silence, so that he may hear willingly all that is said. Let him give a modest reply, but let him present what he has to say having first given it some thought. Self-control in conducting himself properly, so that he does not turn his eyes about this way and that or carelessly move his hands and feet; but let him exercise proper control over all parts of his body. Indeed, sitting in the cloister or in the church with the feet stretched apart is a sign of a lack of control, and it does not conform with the discipline of the rule. Modesty, about which we spoke a little before, is for him to be so completely covered with redness in front of others when he has done amiss, that he shows outwardly what is on his mind - the remorse of repentance, which shall befit greatly the maturity of a prudent soul.

Vas enim nouum in primis dulcibus potibus infectum superuenientibus aliis non mutat dulcorem.(1) Sic et iuuenile cor cum fuerit doctrina salubri plenius imbutum, non potest de facili mutare statum ut uertatur in contrarium.| f.156rb Retineas itaque fixum quod in te susceperis socie doctrine memorabile documentum, ut non pertranseat auide susceptum tue correctionis incitamentum. Tacendo etenim et audiendo sapiencium doctrinam scienciam paulatim concipies, ex quibusdam eorum incrementis salutaribus edoctus ad spiritualem uitam eorum doctrinis pertingendi habeas accessum.(2)

Sicut enim alimentis uariis puer educatur(3) ut fiat etate maturior, sic uariis documentis sapientium ad spiritualem producitur uitam. Et sicut puer prius educatur simplici lacte matris, deinde solidioribus cibis, micis uidelicet, tandem crustis donec solidioribus uti ualeat cibis, sic et adultus primum in deum credere iubetur, dehinc eum diligere, deinde timere, deinde bene operari, postmodum etiam aduersa pati, quoad usque sibi quelibet documenta secure possint iniungi.

Sicque spirituali doctrina semel ad plenum imbutus nouo uasi similis esse discernitur.(4) Vt enim uas nouum potu bono semel aut bis aut sepius dulcedine affectum non facile mutat affectionis sue statum, sic nec corpus iuuenile doctrina spirituali imbutum uix perdit dulcedinis affectum etiam

4] potest: add.sup. 16] sapientium: MS. sapientum

(1) De Humanis Moribus, ch. 142.
(2) ibid. ch. 140.
(3) ibid. ch. 141.
(4) ibid. ch. 142.

For a new vessel which is first tinged with sweet liquors does not lose its sweetness when it is filled other liquids.(1) In the same way, when a young man's heart has been completely dipped in wholesome teaching, it cannot easily change and be turned into the opposite. Thus, you must keep a firm hold of any memorable lesson you receive from the teaching you get from your companions, so that the encouragement you receive from being corrected does not eagerly fade away. Indeed, by keeping silent and hearing wise men's teaching you will gradually gain in knowledge, and when you have been apprised of some of their wholesome additions to knowledge, through their teaching the way will be open for you to attain to the life of the spirit.(2)

For just as a boy is raised on various foods (3) for him to reach maturity, in the same way he is led to the life of the spirit by the various lessons of wise men. And just as a boy is first of all raised on his mother's plain milk, next on more solid foods such as bread, and finally on crusts, until he can take more solid foods, in the same way a youth is first of all told to believe in God, next to love Him, then to fear Him, then to do good, and after that even to suffer adversity, until the time when whatever lessons you please can be given him in confidence.

Thus, he is seen to resemble a new vase when he is once dipped completely in spiritual teaching.(4) For just as a new vessel which is filled once, twice or more with a good drink cannot easily get rid of its effect, in the same way a young man's body can hardly lose the effect of the sweetness

secularibus negociis occupatum. Si uero negligendo
f.156va sapientium | doctrinam contempnit, ad nullam spiritualis uite scienciam attingit. Diligenter igitur sapiencium doctrinis intende, ut ad scienciam spiritualis doctrine tibi detur pertingere.

Parcitati ciborum sedulus intende, quoniam qui superflua accipit hostem sibi nutrit, qui necessaria subtrait ciuem suum occidit.(1) Sacius tamen est aliquid superesse quam deesse quia superflua cum tedio sumuntur, necessaria uero cum periculo subtrauntur. Metam igitur, ut utrisque caueat, ponas rogo ori tuo. Scriptum namque memini me legisse ingluuiei temperamentum. Gregorius: Quinque gule species. nimius cibus, ardor edendi, hore preuentus, curatis cura fruendi, curaque curate quam uilia conficiendi.(2) Sume cibum modice, modico natura tenetur. Sic corpus refice ne mens ieiuna grauetur. Indulgere gule noli quia uentris amica; crapula non epule dissoluit uota pudica. Hoc age, frater carissime, ne mentis tue statum dissoluat distemperancia gule, que etsi multum delectat ipsas corporis uires, etiam fortes eneruat solidasque ipsarum uirtutum mentis tue ad nichilum redigit. Religionis apicem distruit et omnem serenitatem pie mentis et ordinate |
f.156vb professionis exterminat.

4] doctrinis: add.in mg. 14] Gregorius: MS. GG add.sup. 22] MS. dissouat MS. distemperanciam 25] MS. distrut

(1) v. note.
(2) v. note.

even when he is involved in business matters in the outside world. But if he is contemptuous of the teaching of the wise and disregards it, he will not attain to the knowledge of the life of the spirit. Therefore, listen carefully to the lessons of the wise, so that you may be enabled to attain to the knowledge of spiritual teaching.

Strive tirelessly for moderation in what you eat, for the man who takes more than he requires feeds himself an enemy, and the man who denies himself his needs starves his own citizen.(1) It is better to have too much than to go without, since things you have no need of are taken with loathing, but at your peril you cut back on the things you need. Therefore, I ask you to set a limit on your mouth so that you can guard against both of them. Indeed, I remember having read about the control of gluttony. Gregory: There are five kinds of gluttony: too much food; eagerness to eat; eating too soon; concern to enjoy what you care for; concern for careful preparation of poor quality food.(2) Take food in moderation; by a moderate amount nature is maintained. Give your body refreshment so that your mind is not oppressed with fasting. Do not give way to gluttony, for it is the mistress of the stomach. Drunkenness, not the feast, destroys chaste vows. Do this, my dearest brother, so that your mind is not destroyed by the distemper of gluttony. Although it delights the forces of your body, it still enfeebles the strong, and reduces to nothing the genuine strengths of the very virtues of your mind. It casts down the lofty peak of religion, and it annihilates completely the peace of a loving mind and an ordered profession.

Taciturnitate igitur sua sapiencium uerbis intendat ut a presentis uite doctrina transitum mereatur ad superna, continenciamque sui corporis, ut supra diximus, in melius producat, ut sic mentem stabiliorem ad spiritualis scientie doctrinam informare queat. Sic igitur mentis acumen cordisque flexibilem ad domini doctrinam inclines, ut docibilem inueniat te doctrine sue parentem preceptisque deuotum, ut qui docet hominem scienciam gaudeat in te salutis tue gratanter percepisse commonitorium ad utilitatem. Omne enim datum optimum et omne donum perfectum desursum est descendens a patre luminum, apud quem non est transmutatio nec uicissitudinis obumbratio.(1) Caue auaritiam quam dicunt homines idolorum seruitutem; amplectere prudenciam, fortitudinem et iusticiam atque temperanciam, in hiis enim preceptis uniuersa pendet lex et prophete,(2) quia plenitudo legis est caritas,(3) id est dilectio dei et proximi. Qui uero hiis quatuor non est preditus necessario reliquis omnibus caret uirtutibus. Iste etenim quatuor uirtutum species ceteras omnes in se complectuntur uirtutes. Nam nulla uirtus proprie uirtus dicitur nisi uel ad | prudenciam, uel ad f.157ra fortitudinem, uel ad iusticiam, uel ad temperanciam referatur. Qui enim nec prudenter intelligit, nec que intelligit fortiter agit, nec iuste uiuit, nec uitam modeste disponit, nec bonorum reliquorum capacitatem in se retinet. Vita igitur auariciam, execrare ut mortem. Habitus enim eius tibi

18] MS.pende 28] MS. uita

(1) S.James 1,17. This quotation marks the beginning of material drawn from the Anselmian discussion Utrum bono bonum siue malo malum possit esse contrarium.
(2) S.Matthew, 22,40.
(3) Romans 13,10.

Therefore, in keeping silent let him listen to the words of the wise, that he may deserve to make the passage from the teaching of this life to the heights of heaven. And, as we said before, let him put to best use the control he has over his body, so that his mind might be made more composed to be taught knowledge of the spirit. Thus, incline the sharpness of your mind and heart to the flexible teaching of the Lord, that He may find you ready to learn, willing to obey His teaching and faithful to His commandments; so that He who teaches Man knowledge may rejoice to have seen in you the warning He has given that you might be saved. For every good gift and every perfect gift is from above, and cometh down from the Father of lights, with whom there is no variableness neither shadow of turning.(1) Be on your guard against greed, which men call the service of idols. Embrace prudence, fortitude, justice and temperance, for on these commandments hang all the law and the prophets,(2) because love is the fulfilling of the law;(3) that is love of God and neighbour. Anyone who is not equipped with these four virtues necessarily lacks all the other virtues, for these four comprehend within them all the others. No virtue is properly called a virtue unless it can be traced back to prudence, fortitude, justice or temperance. Anyone who does not have a prudent understanding cannot act with fortitude on the things which he understands, nor can he live a just life, nor can he order his life with temperance, nor maintain within in himself a capacity for any other good. Therefore avoid greed. Curse it as you do death, for when the habit of greed is stamped on you, it throws

inpressus confundit animam et corpus. Quisquis enim est auarus non solum quatuor caret principalibus, uerum etiam ceteris omnibus priuat se uirtutibus. Malum enim auaricie extinguit largitatis beneficium, quo priuatus quis egregium illud decus pre ceteris elegancius in se largitatem extinguit. Igitur quicumque auarus dissipator est tante uirtutis multitudinique uiciorum subiectus, modico fermento tocius masse communitatis bona corrumpit. Quod uni dico omnibus dico. Vigilate, promittit enim dominus coronam uigilantibus. Vigilantibus enim et non dormientibus iura prodita sunt. Dormientibus uero in sompno segnicie tollitur eis et quod uidentur habere, non fascinat eos ille spiritus nequicie, ut quod segnes impuri affectant nequaquam possint apprehendere. Remissa namque seruitus odium parit remisse agentibus, serisque cultoribus merces expectata et diu protracta | tarda uenit optantibus. Militia est uita hominis super terram et sicut mercennarii dies eius.(1) Milicie sunt genera ad inuicem sese contingencia: est enim militia temporalis, est et spiritualis. Militi enim temporali congruit cum hostibus armatum congredi. Consimilibus etenim armis uariatis significatione meritorum ordinibus adipiscenda sunt causarum merita, quibus hic et in futuro multo labore adquirenda sunt fructuum bonorum recompensatione et pia merita. Miles enim temporalis congressurus cum inimicis munitus erit lorica et galea, scuto et lancea, equo decenti et

f.157rb

27] fructuum: MS. fructum

(1) Job 7,1.

into confusion your body and your soul. Anyone who is greedy does not only lack the principal virtues but also prevents himself from having any of the others. The evil of greed snuffs out the kindness of generosity, and when a man is deprived of that he snuffs out generosity within him - that glorious virtue which is fairer than all the rest. Therefore, anyone who is greedy squanders great virtue, and by being subject to many vices, with a little bit of leaven he corrupts the goodness that there is in the whole lump of the community. What I say to one I say to everyone. Watch, for our Lord promises a crown to all who watch. To those who watch and not to those who sleep are the promises made, and from those who slumber in the sleep of sloth is taken what they appear to have. The spirit of wickedness does not ensnare them, for slothful and impure men can never obtain what they desire. Slack service brings about hatred for slack workers, and for husbandmen who are behind in their planting the expected and long drawn out harvest comes late. <u>The life of man upon earth is a battle, and his days also are like the days of a hireling</u>.(1) There are [two] sorts of battle which are related to one another: one is temporal, the other spiritual. It is fitting that the temporal knight should fight his enemies wearing his armour. With arms that are similar but different in their meaning, there are rewards of trials to be won by the ranks of the worthy, for whom holy rewards also are to be gained through hard work now and in the future, when repayment will be made for good fruits. For when a temporal knight is about to fight his enemies, he will be equipped for his protection with a coat of mail, a helmet, shield, and lance, a suitable horse and saddle.

sella. Frenum habebit in capite cum duobus loris, calcaria in pedibus. Hiis omnibus munitus occursantem aggreditur hostem, persequitur fugientem, et cum tempus exigit, fugit persequentem. Frenum habet quo regatur, nam equus non semper indirectum sed quandoque ex obliquo freno ductili regitur ut possit hostem adoriri. In pedibus habet calcaria ad excitandum equm ualde necessaria, sepius enim ne gressum moueret si miles eum calcaribus non urgeret. Calcar unum habet in dextra, unum in sinistra. Sic indutus lorica
f.157va minus infestancia timebit arma, omni | corporis sui parte munita. Ornatur capud illius galea ut eius pars decenter muniatur supprema. Scutum pretenditur ut ipse totus inde protegatur. Lancea manus eius munitur ut inde hostis adhuc longe se motus uulneretur. Gladio accingitur ut idem hostis quominus dispendium paciatur. Ista utique omnia temporali militi sunt ualde necessaria. Neque enim bene armatus esse poterit si uel unum quamlibet minimum ei defuerit. Non enim proprie miles dici poterit legitimus si aliquod istorum fuerit imperfectum. Verum hec omnia que prediximus spiritualiter accepta spirituali militi nichilominus sunt necessaria. Spiritualem uero militem nostrum intelligimus interiorem hominem. Hic etenim tenetur omni tempore spiritualiter suo creatori militarem exibere honorem. Equus autem istius militis corpus ipsius est, ut sicut militi terreno equus est necessarius, sic et spirituali suum corpus. Nam quemadmodum miles cum equo suum

7] MS. adorriri
9] MS. necessari 23] MS. inperfectus

He will have a bridle with two reins on the horse's head and spurs on his feet. Protected by these he fights his foe when he is attacked, and he gives chase when the enemy is put to flight, and when the occasion demands, he retreats when the enemy pursues him. He has the bridle to guide his horse, for a horse is not always ridden in a straight line, but it is sometimes steered by the leading rein on a sidewards course to attack the enemy. On his feet he has spurs, which are very necessary to urge the horse on, for often the horse would not take one step if the knight did not prick it on with his spurs. He has one spur on the left and one on the right. Thus clothed in his coat of mail, with every part of his body protected, he will have less to fear from menacing weapons. His head is adorned with a helmet to give the uppermost part of his body adequate cover. He holds out a shield so that the full-length of his body gets protection. The lance protects his hand, so that he can injure his enemy even when he is a long way from him. He is equipped with a sword so that he will not suffer the same injury at the hand of his foe. All those items are very necessary for the temporal knight, and if he were short of any one of them, however small, he would not be well armed, nor could he really be called a true knight if any of these things were not perfect. Yet all the items we have mentioned understood spiritually are no less necessary for the spiritual knight, although they are not actually necessary. By "spiritual knight" we mean the inner man. He, of course, is bound all the time to honour his Maker in deeds of arms in a spiritual sense. This knight's horse is his own body, for just as the temporal knight must fight his foe on his horse, in the

habet impugnare aduersarium, sic et interior uigil et sagax equi sui incessor pugnam committit contra diabolum. Cum corpore etenim expugnat occurrentem
f.157vb eius temptationi|bus uiriliter resistendo, et fugientem cruciat instanter persequendo, et persequentem cum sors se offert decipit prudenter fugiendo. Hec est pugna continua inter seruum dei et eius aduersarium diabolum, ut cum se preparauerit homo ad bene uiuendum, mox diabolus totis uiribus insurgit ad decipiendum, cuius insultibus si non consenserit sed eius temptationibus uiriliter restiterit, mox eius feritatem ad nichilum redigit. Hoc est enim diaboli seueritatem adnichilare, suggestionibus eius malignis fortiter resistere. Qui si etiam in bonis operibus animo et corpore instanter perseuerauerit et ipsum quidem diabolum magnis ictibus et indomito cruciatu persecutionis mactat et perdit. Tunc enim miles Christi diabolum uidetur persequi cum in bene operando continue datur perseuerantiam boni fortiter amplecti, et cum ipsi diabolo, summa dei prouidente clementia iuste disponente omnia, datur potestas hominem persequendi et satellitibus eius que placent domino suo exequendi. Si cesserit homo et procaciter non steterit ut fructificet deo, inquietudinis artifex predam tollit deo. Sicut
f.158ra igitur prudentis militis equus | freno moderato debet regi, sic et miles Christi dimicaturus cum diabolo freno moderantie subiectum sibi corpus debet regere. Frenus quidem quo regi debet

same way the inner man is engaged in hostilities with the devil, riding into battle watchfully and wisely on his horse. And so, by manfully resisting his temptations he fights him with his body when he is attacked; and when his enemy begins to flee, he torments him by immediately giving chase. When the enemy pursues him, he gives him the slip when he has the opportunity by wisely taking flight. This is the continual struggle between God's servant and his adversary, the devil, for whenever a man prepares to lead a good life, the devil soon rises up with all his strength to ensnare him. But if he does not give way to the devil's assaults on him, but boldly resists his temptations instead, his fierceness is soon reduced to nothing. To eliminate the savageness of the devil is to withstand his wicked suggestions bravely. Any man who earnestly perseveres in doing good in body and in mind actually brings down the devil himself, destroys him with great blows and the persistent torment with which he pursues him. Christ's soldier is seen pursuing the devil, when, by continually doing good, he is granted to maintain bravely his steadfast support of goodness; and when, through God's great providential mercy which justly ordains all things, the devil himself is granted the power to pursue man and the satellites which please their master are granted power to punish him, if Man gives in to him and does not stand his ground boldly to bring forth fruit for God, the maker of disquiet carries off from God his plunder. Therefore, just as the wise knight's horse must be kept under control with a moderate use of the bridle, so the soldier of Christ, when he is about to take on the devil, must rule his body by keeping it under control with the bridle of moderation. Of course the bridle with which it must be

abstinencia corporalis est. Per abstinenciam namque debet homo interior exterioris lasciuiam refrenare et pro uoluntate sua huc et illuc flectere et quocumque uoluerit quasi subiugale suum loris constringere; huius enim freni regimine nullatenus expedite poterit cum aduersario contendere nisi abstinencie uallatus presidio et discrete actionis munimento secundum corporis sui qualitatem, homo interior prouideat abstinencie quantitatem. Alioquin non ei proueniet inde adiumentum sed uirtutis sue profectus impedimentum. Duobus loris debet equum regere et ut in directum uiam carpat ad libitum suum arcere.

2] MS. lasciuiem

controlled is bodily abstinence. For it is through abstinence that the inner man has to restrain the lust of the outer, turn it according to his will this way and that wherever he wants, and, as if it were his beast of burden, guide it with the reins; for with the control of this bridle he is quite unable to fight the enemy effectively, except the inner man, protected by the safeguard of abstinence and the defence of prudent action, make provision for as much abstinence as his body can bear. Otherwise, it will prove thenceforth to be not a help but a hindrance to the progress of his virtue. With the two reins he must control his horse and constrain it, as he pleases, to keep to the path straight ahead.

Notes on the Text and Translation

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1] locuturi...dicturi: "Being about to speak..." The use of the future participle in this way seems to have been a technique favoured by twelfth century writers. The Libellus de diuersis ordinibus et professionibus qui sunt in Aecclesia attributed to Reimbald of Liége begins: De diuersis ordinibus uel professionibus sermonem habituri...oportet ostendere. For other examples v. the Vita Anselmi of Eadmer.

2] pauca: Another conventional technique used in opening a discussion, which (as here) often belies the actual length of a work.

2] ornetur domus domini: The compilation of canonical texts known from Vatican Library MS. Ottoboni Lat.175 (fols.1-170v) opens with the statement that a canon's duty is to edify the house of God. Dom. J.Leclercq notes that this is quite different from the goal of a monk's religious life which is concerned with self-edification. ("La spiritualité des chanoines réguliers," La vita comune del clero nei secoli XI e XII: atti della settimana di studio, (Miscellanea del centro di studi medioevali III, Milan, 1962), vol.1, p.121.) The Ottoboni compilation actually refers to adorning the house of the Lord with "choice and carved stones and variegated ornaments." This work has been edited by Leclercq; v. "Une témoignage sur l'influence de Grégoire VII sur la réforme canoniale", Studi Gregoriani 6, Rome, (1959); a description of its contents is given by C.W.Bynum in "Docere uerbo et exemplo: an aspect of twelfth century spirituality," H.T.S. 31, (1979), p.36.

6] alterius magistratui: As befits a text that could have been for novices the writer emphasises the importance of submitting to another's will. The same idea is stressed at the opening of the Formula Nouitiorum attributed to David of Augsburg (1200/10-1272), sometime novice master at Ratisbonne. Te enim dedisti ei propter regnum celorum; et ideo non es tuus, sed eius. (P.L.184.1189). The Benedictine Rule likewise calls its reader to renounce his own will in the prologue that is addressed to quisquis abrenuntians propriis uoluntatibus. The combination of renouncing one's own will, submitting to another's, and being wholly dependent on the grace of God is an important feature of Bernardine spirituality. (v. Pourrat, Christian Spirituality in the Middle Ages, trans. S.P.Jacques, London, (1924),vol. 2, p.22)

9-11] The author emphasises the importance of entering the claustral life of one's own free will by using the rhetorical figures of repetitio (the repetition of spontanea), and correctio (ie substituting holocaustum for oblatio). A number of manuals and works of instruction written in the twelfth and early thirteenth century stress that religious service had to be freely undertaken. For example, v. Peter the Chanter, Verbum Abbreviatum: Coacta seruicia deo non placent. (P.L.205.288). It is possible the author has in mind the Benedictine practice of child oblation to which some Black monks were raising objections in the twelfth century. (v. M.A.Harris, "Influences on the thought of Alan of Tewkesbury", Journal of Ecclesiastical History 33, (1982) The practice of child oblation was made illegal in 1215. (v. Knowles, The Monastic Order in England, 940-1216, Cambridge, (1963), p.421.)

11f] The sacrifice of one's possessions (the wilful nede that is commended by Langland in Piers Plowman, B. xx, 48) is emphasised by S.Augustine in his teaching on monasticism. v. the Epistola ad Laetum (Ep.243,

P.L.33.1055) in which voluntary poverty is extended to giving up ties with family, and also in Sermons 355 & 356, in which he expresses his indignation that Januarius, a member of his community at Hippo, had left a will despite having made a voluntary offering of all he had once owned. Clerical poverty was the keystone of the Gregorian reforms urged in the eleventh century by those who were unhappy with the permissive regulations in the Institutio Canonicorum - the authoritative compilation drawn up at the Council of Aachen in 816, and the Regula Canonicorum of Chrodegang, Bishop of Metz, (P.L.89.1066), both of which permitted canons the usufruct of property which they held in common. The arguments advanced by the reformers are laid out in Peter Damian's tract, Contra regularios proprietarios, (P.L.145.430). The theme of pauper pauperem sequens Christum is commonplace in devotional works of the twelfth century. For specific injunctions relating to clerical poverty in the present work v.25/29-26/6, and 134/3f.

14f] Another example of the writer's use of repetitio. The fourfold use of this word might correspond with the actual promises that had to made by the order's professed. The text of a formula of profession is preserved in Paris, Bibliothéque Nationale MS. Lat. 13747, which is printed by Ch.Dereine in "Les coutumiers de Saint-Quentin de Beauvais et de Springiersbach", R.H.E.43, (1948), p.436 n.5. Ego frater N stabilitatem corporis mei ecclesiae beati N promitto coram deo et sanctis reliquiis eiusdem ecclesiae in presentiam prelatorum domini N et N et ceterorum fratrum et emendationem morum meorum, praecipue in castitate, in communione, in obedientia, secundum gratiam mihi collatam a deo et facultatem virium mearum. In another article ("Saint-Ruf et ses coutumes", R.B.59, (1949), p.180 n.5.) Dereine has observed that the extant formulae of profession from canonical houses deserve close scrutiny. For the

Arrouaisian order of profession, v. L.Milis, L'ordre des chanoines réguliers d'Arrouaise, (1969), p.464. An account of the Augustinian vows is given by Pourrat, Christian Spirituality, II, p.165. A similar play on the word uouistis to emphasise the gravity of the religious profession is found in verses on the religious life that are known from a number of early thirteenth century MSS. (B.L. Cotton Vesp.D.xix; Cotton Cleo. A.xi; Royal 8.A.xxi; and Oxford Bodleian Digby 65), and which are printed by Thomas Wright in Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets,II, R.S.59,(1872), Kraus Reprint (1964),pp.175-6.

Vovistis,fratres,vovistis; vestra rogamus,
Vivite solliciti reddere vota deo.
In maiestatem divinam peccat abunde
Quisquis quae non vult reddere vota vovet.
Vovistis domino vestros convertere mores...

The poem, entitled De uita monachorum, has been variously attributed to Alexander Nequam (by Bale and Wright), Osbern of Gloucester and Roger of Caen; modern scholarship has tended to support the last. (v. J.H.Mozley, "The unprinted poems of Nigel Wireker: an examination of manuscript Cotton Vespasian D.xix, fols.1-53", Speculum 7,(1932), pp. 398-423.)

18f] In the first of his seven letters on the canonical life Odo of S.Victor observes that the main features of a canon's profession are chastity, living in common, and obedience to his superior. (Epistola ad fratrem R, P.L.196.1399-1403) Our author's likening of a canon's promise to a betrothal is not as startling as it at first appears, for Odo himself describes how any attention man gives to the smallest sin rather than to God - his soul's spouse - makes him a fornicator.

1] The details of the oath taken by the sons of Jonadab, the son of Rechab, are found in Jeremiah 35,6-10, where the Rechabites inform the prophet that they have sworn not to drink wine, build houses, sow seeds or plant vineyards. No mention is made of abstaining from meat. S.Jerome alludes to the Rechabites' vow in his letter to the monk Rusticus: Filii Ionadab qui vinum et siceram non bibebant. (Lettres, ed. Jérome Labourt, Paris,(1961), p.120,l.24); but he does not refer to meat.

4f] Emphasis is placed here (as elsewhere, eg p.135f) on the Augustinian notion of Man's total dependence on the grace of God. For an illustration of Augustine's teaching on grace and the monastic life, v. his Enarratio in Psalmo 132 (translated with notes by George A.Lawless, O.S.A., in "The Monastery as Model of the Church", Angelicum 60, (1983), pp.258-274, esp.pp.270-2), and also on Psalm 75,16: Unum (ie. making a vow) sit ex professione tua; aliud (the completion of the vow) ex adiutorio dei perficietur. (P.L.36.967)

5f] This skilful tripartite division of the uses of the gift of grace suggests our author had had some formal training in rhetoric. The idea of dividing one's subject into the categories of honesta, utilis, and necessaria is drawn from S.Ambrose's De Officiis Ministrorum, Bk.2, ch.6 (P.L.16.109), which was itself modelled on the De Officiis of Cicero. Our author introduces a further rhetorical flourish in using prepositions in his first two divisions, the dative case in his third, and the ablative in the fourth division. One is reminded of Beryl Smalley's observation that, "A Victorine was firmly persuaded that all good things go in threes"; but unlike

Victorine writers on the religious life our author does not habitually make divisions in his subject matter.

12] necessaria: either f.sg. following the last division: "necessary in contemplation - indeed very necessary for [the] order", or n.pl.(as cetera necessaria 1.19-20). The latter reading avoids the need to emend discenda to agree with gratiam (understood), and makes for a better reading with digesta and composita, but one loses the transference of both sound and sense from one clause to the other. Peter of Celle devotes the last section of his De Disciplina Claustrali (P.L.202.1124-1144) to a discussion of those aspects of the religious life which he deems necessary: namely, silence, reading, confession and prayer. The author of the customary of Saint - Quentin of Beauvais announces his intention of covering: ea tamen quae magis utilia seu necessaria et minus superflua sunt. (v Ch. Dereine, R.H.E.43, p.435.)

14] Augustino: It is interesting that no reference whatsoever is made in the Admonitio to S.Benedict. The Cluniac author Peter of Celle links the names of Augustine and Benedict as the founders of the cloistered life in his treatise on it written for Richard of Salisbury, canon of the Austin house at Merton. (v.Introduction, p.xxix)

18] disciplina: No definition is given of this term which occurs frequently in the work. Unlike many Medieval writers our author does not offer definitions out of habit. But v. Hugh of S.Victor, De Institutione Nouitiorum: Disciplina est conversatio bona et honesta, cui parum est mala non facere; a definition which holds good with respect to appearance, behaviour, speaking and eating.

20f] clemencia: Out of mercy (to his readers) the author will begin his work with some comments about the

chapter meeting to make clear that the claustral discipline is severe and painful. The essence and aim of the religious life has just been identified as purity (castimonie mundicia); now the author describes the rigorous means by which this is achieved.

23] Neither the Admonitio nor the Rule of S.Augustine makes clear what duties were to be performed at this hour. For details v. the surviving customals of Austin convents. The Springiersbach customary contains a very detailed account. (C.C.C.M.48,pp.17-26.) The canons of that house dressed as soon as they heard the signal for work to begin. When their beds had been made, they went in procession to the church where they chanted the seven penitential psalms, a litany and other psalms with corresponding prayers for the departed. Having washed they could make their confessions to a priest. When the second signal for Prime was given, they had to return to the church to recite the psalmody of that office. This was followed by Prime of the Blessed Virgin, during which preparations were made for the morning Mass. After Mass the brethren sat in chapter listening to details of feast days in the week ahead, the duties assigned them, and, occasionally, to a sermon. The claustralis censura, at which faults were proclaimed and accusations were made, followed directly.

24] prelatus: This term designating the head of the community is used a number of times throughout the work along with the terms prepositus and prior, as in the customals of Austin houses. The term prelatus is very early, since it is found in the compilation of canons which constitute the Rule of Aachen, (ed. Werminghoff, M.G.H. Leges, Concilia, vol.2,i, Hanover, (1906),); the term prepositus is derived from the text of the Rule of S.Augustine, but was also used by Chrodegang in the rule he drew up for the canons in his own household. (v.Regula Canonicorum, ch.46: Quamuis omnes qui

praesunt praepositi rite dicantur, usus tamen obtinuit eos uocari praepositos qui quamdam prioratus curam sub aliis praelatis gerunt.) Ludo Milis has noted the confusion these terms can cause by being interchangeable. ("Ermites et chanoines réguliers au XII siècle", C.C.M. 22, (1979), p.66 n.232.) He gives the example of Gervais, head of the convent at Arrouais, being called praepositus even though he was actually its abbot. Other conventual officials to whom reference is made in the present work are the precentor, almoner, cellarer and preceptor.

24] Loquendum est: A detailed description of the proceedings in the chapter is found in the Liber Ordinis of S.Victor. (C.C.C.M.1, pp.153-163.) There it was the abbot who said: Loquimini de ordine uestro. Customals and works written for the instruction of novices, such as David of Augsburg's Formula Nouitiorum (P.L.184.1191), usually explain the process of the claustralis censura in detail. In this work many of those details are treated in the sections that quote from the Rule of S.Augustine. At this stage the writer is concerned to impress upon his reader how seriously the subjects of confession and punishment are treated in the cloister.

26-28] The MS clearly has the abbreviated form of hec written after socordia as after redeant two lines above. Since the reading hec ad memoriam reducta is awkward, (the repetition of hec being crude and intrusive), it is possible that the abbreviation for hec has actually been confused with the mark for non (n̄);v.frontispiece.

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1-6] There was a long tradition of seeing the cloister not only as a house of correction, but also as a

prison. (v. J.Leclercq, "Le clôitre est-il un prison?", R.A.M. 47.) Although these threats might seem very harsh to the modern reader, and the writer's stern and contemptuous description of human failings too rigid, at least the novice who read them could have not been left in any doubt as to what he could expect. Using rhetorical devices of assonance and repetition the author here emphasises the elements of the claustral life, which, according to Dom Aelred Squire, lead to "a separation from the world," which is "of its nature primarily that interior separation from the unchristian ways of acting and thinking." (Aelred of Rievaulx: a study, London, (1969) p.55.) Worth noting are the writer's favourite figures of rhetoric: repetitio (Hic..hic...hic), chiasmus (inhonestus...mentisque), and the jangling rhymes of uicia, inania, dispendia.

3] domus: i.e. the chapter house. Domus means room or chamber - part of the house. v. 3/21.

9] sola: could be taken with either misericordia or domus. The latter is preferred because of its emphatic position at the beginning of the clause.

21f] Relique domus...seruant: On domus v. 3/7 above. This is an unfortunately ambiguous sentence. Since reliquus = alter, (v. DuC.), we could have: "They maintain the custom of their order's other house", or "Other houses keep their own order's custom," neither of which suits the context. Ordinis sui could also mean "of their own congregation". v. Dobson, Origins.A.W. p.54. n.1.

27] A similar observation is found in the De Claustro Anime attributed to Hugh of Fouilloy. Gaudent multi claustralium cum de regibus fabulantur, dum casus militum narrant, dum pro illis loquuntur, a quibus non agnoscuntur, multorum partes defendunt, promultis irascuntur, pro multis litigant, ignorant tamen quod

negant aut affirmant. (P.L.176.1075) The tension between the call to religion and the attractions of the secular way of life is well illustrated in the urbane and sophisticated Dialogus inter dehortantem a curia et curialem, printed by Peter Dronke in his discussion of Peter of Blois at the court of Henry II, Mediæval Studies 58, (1976), pp. 206-9. Towards the end of the twelfth century the Austin canons were in particular favour at the royal court. (v.Knowles, Monastic Orders, p.359, and Dickinson, Origins:Canons, pp. 125-130.) On the close associations between the royal family and the canons of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, v. D.S.Luscombe, "Aldgate Priory and the Regular Canons of Twelfth century England", La vita comune del clero, vol.2, pp.86-89.

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2] sententiarum: refers to collections of extracts drawn from the authoritative texts of the Fathers. The handbook par excellence of this sort was the Liber Sententiarum of Peter Lombard, the "master of the sentences", written in 1152 (v. Smalley, Study of the Bible, p. 64), but which was not itself regarded as authoritative until the meeting of the fourth Lateran Council in 1215.

5] It is interesting our author like so many canonical writers names Augustine as but one of a number of patristic exponents of the apostolic life. In any case, references to individual authors are rare before the twelfth century (v.Dickinson, Origins:Canons, p.54).

9] distinctio: properly a technical term from the schools used by men trained in universities to refer to the practice of arranging scriptural quotations to illustrate a word's range of meanings. As manuals used by preachers in the composition of sermons such

collections of "distinctions" came to be indispensable. In this context it refers to the definition of the religious life provided by Augustine in the rule that bears his name.

11] pseudo clericus: Bl. pseudoclericus ="faux clerc," attested in the work of Ratherius,(10th.c); v.too Gerhoh of Reichersberg, Liber de Aedificio Dei, ch.25. Ipsi enim pseudo-canonici semetipsos ualde faciunt inexpugnabiles. (P.L.194.1259).

19] Some of the order's leading lights actually drew up customals for their houses from bits and pieces culled from works which took their fancy. For example, v. the practice of Robert of Bethune, Prior of Llanthony, as described by his biographer: quicquid ordinis uel religionis uspiam indagare potuisset, compilabat et cauta suggestione primitiuis usibus sensim adiungebat. (Dickinson, Origins:Canons, p.172 n.2)

28] doctrinaliter: Bl. gives: "magistralement, theoriquement," RMLW gives: "systematically, scientifically."

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8] pulmentaria: cf. the Reg.Ben.,ch.39: Ergo duo pulmentaria cocta fratribus omnibus sufficiant. v. too the Springiersbach customs: Porro duo adminus generalia fercula cottidie sunt prouidenda. (C.C.C.M.48,ch.127) On the meaning of pulmentaria v.Bl. & RMLW, which give: "dish of potage", and L&S., which gives: "anything eaten with bread - a savoury."

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10] According to the Springiersbach customal (ch.136), the canons proceeded to the church chanting Miserere mei deus (Ps.50).

11f] The Springiersbach customal (ch.137) notes that it was only the brethren who went to church after the meal who were free to read. The cellarer and his assistants had to eat later and sing Graces while the rest were reading in silence.

12f] It is unfortunate that our author has not left us any specific record of titles of libros doctrinales. P.Delhaye has drawn attention to the great value in this respect of an anonymous twelfth century text - the Epistola anonyma ad Hugonem amicum (P.L.213.268), which describes how young novices who have no learning are prepared for the elementary stages of lectio diuina. ("L'organisation scolaire au XIIe siècle", Traditio 5, (1947), pp.211-268) First of all the names of the books of scripture were learned along with their arrangement and the manner in which each was to be read. Next came the Fathers Isidore and S.Jerome, glosses for the explication of difficult items of vocabulary, and some of S.Augustine's works to establish an historical context. Next came the so-called "Sapiential" books and the works of the prophets, which were read along with the Fathers' explanations of them. S.Jerome's own educational programme is described in P.L.22.876. No mention is made here of Pagan literature, which, one finds, is expressly forbidden in the Formula Nouitiorum (P.L.184.1195).

14] liber moralis: presumably refers to the moral interpretation of a text. The respective concerns of each of the four methods of interpreting holy writ are neatly expressed in the short mnemonic attributed to

Nicholas of Lyra.

Littera res docet, quid credas allegoria,
Quid agas moralis, quo tendas anagogia.

magistri formam: A similar notion is described in Aelred of Rievaulx's Tractatus de Iesu Puero duodecenni, where a close identification is made between the physical growth of Jesus and the spiritual development of the faithful. Sit igitur corporalis eius natiuitas spiritualis nostrae natiuitatis, id est sanctae conuersionis exemplum. (P.L.184.856)

16-22] It is interesting to compare the words of Odo of S.Victor on the educative role of the cell. Instruit plane si sit qui intendat, si sit qui in ea sedet spiritu sancto illustratus instruitur, cum in ea positus diuersis tentationibus agitatur sed per dei graciam liberatur. Videmus plerosque illiteratos in cellulis habitantes de moribus subtiliter disputare diaboli occultas insidias mirabili celeritate deprehendere amare et quaerere. Non docuit eos magistrorum eloquentia, sed spiritus sancti gratia et tentationum experientia. (Epistola 2, P.L.196.1403-4) The idea is commonplace among monastic authors; cf. Peter of Celle, De Disciplina Claustrali, ch.1, Iesus uero magister magnus et bonus cuius cathedra est in caelo, et scola in mundo. And v. S.Bernard: In schola Christi sumus in qua duplici doctrina erudimur. (P.L.183.121) The secular schools attracted considerable adverse comment from the cloistered; eg.v. the words found in the anonynous Monachelus, known from one MS. Utinam, puerule, illius sciencie apicem possem attingere quem quidam monachus Marcer nomine prudenter attinxit, qui numquam Donatellum se legisse fatebatur. Multi quidem claustralium grammatice non mediante ad intelligentiam perueniunt scripturarum suis exponentibus magistris. (ed.J.Leclercq, "Deux opuscules sur la formation des jeunes moines", R.A.M. 33, (1957), pp.387-399.) However, their strongest criticism was

reserved for the advanced schools of the newly founded universities. A vigorous expostulation in one of the letters of Peter of Celle suffices to illustrate the kind of comment that was made. O Parisius, quam idonea es ad capiendas et decipiendas animas. In te retiacula uitiorum, in te malorum decipula. (Epistola 73, P.L.202.519) The involvement of the Augustinian canons in education is obscure. The earliest official record of their association with the universities appears to be an ordinance of the order's General Chapter of 1325 recommending that able novices should be sent to the schools. (v. H.E.Salter, "Chapters of the Augustinian Canons", O.H.S. 74, (1922), p.13.) By the fifteenth century the order had its own college at Oxford University (v. E.Evans, "S.Mary's College in Oxford for Austin Canons", Oxfordshire Archaeological Society Report, (1928), pp.367-391); but large convents had long before then sent their able men to other colleges there. (These two references I owe to Nicholas Orme, English Schools in the Middle Ages, London, (1973).)

26f] Cf.154/19-21. A similar instruction is found in the Liber Ordinis of S.Victor in its section covering the behaviour of the brethren during periods of silence. Vestimenta sua circa se stringant, immoderate tibias non extendant, nec crura diuaricent.(C.C.C.M. 61, ch.31, pp.147-8) Hugh of S.Victor alludes to this during his discussion of feast days: nos oportet...pedes ab excursu et discursu stringere. (De Institutione Nouitiorum, P.L. 176.926)

28] columpne: v. also 114/15-16.

29] ore uespertine: The beginning of the liturgical day. Reference is made to it again in the Rule of S.Augustine.

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2] uigilias mortuorum: The office of the dead consisted of Vespers, Mattins and Lauds, known respectively as Placebo, Dirige and Exultabunt from the first words of the texts with which they began. For an account of the development and structure of the office v. J.B.L.Tolhurst, The Monastic Breviary of Hyde Abbey, Winchester, vol.6, H.B.S. London, (1942), pp.107-113, 152-173. The Springiersbach customary mentions the singing of uigilias mortuorum cum placebo immediately after None had been said. (C.C.C.M.48, p.85).

3] A discussion of the antiquity of vigils occupies a whole chapter in the Regula Canonicorum of Chrodegang. (P.L.89.1066) The authorities cited there are: Isaiah 26, De nocte uigilat spiritus meus ad te, deus; David, Media nocte surgebam ad confitendum tibi,(Ps.118); S.Matthew and S.Luke.

6] inibi quiessencium: "begging the help of those who are at rest in that place" refers to the prayers of the departed. The Chapter House was the customary place of burial for men of importance. (v.J.C.Dickinson, "The Origins of S.Augustine's, Bristol, Essays in Bristol and Gloucestershire History, ed. P.McGrath and J. Cannon, Bristol, (1976), pp.108-126; in this essay reference is made to the discovery of a grave stone in the Augustinian's chapter house in the Anglican cathedral at Bristol during the excavations of 1713.)

8] These words are found in a prayer for the votive Mass ad repellendum tempestatem in the Missale de Lesnes, (ed. Dom Philip Jebb, H.B.S. 95, Worcester, (1962), p.147), which reads: A domo tua quesumus domine spirituales nequicie repellantur, et aeriarum discedet malignitas tempestatum. But this prayer was not exclusively Arrouaisian; v. the same text verbatim in

the Sarum Missal, (ed. F.H.Dickinson, reprinted Farnborough, (1969), col.820.).

22] An allusion to the parable of the marriage feast of the king's son. v. S.Matthew 22,1-14, and 94/6.

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21] Cf. the same idea in John of Fruttuaria's Liber de ordine uite et morum institutione: ita neque agrestem nec rusticanam naturam imitandam esse censeo. (P.L.184.566.)

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7f] The idea is commonplace; cf. Isidore, Liber Sententiarum, Bk.2, ch.23. (P.L. 83.621): Peccatum admittere cadere est in puteum. v.too: Aperta est fouea perditionis: facile illuc labitur, qui modo caute se non custodit. Peccatum et iniquitas, stultum et uanum, facile modo illuc impellunt in quo semel immersi non resurgunt in perpetuum. Meditatio 5 (P.L.158.734).

14] Cf. S.Jerome, Breuiarum in Psalmos, (P.L.26.1074): Tabernacula non habent fundamentum sed pertranseunt. Tamen qui peccator est, numquam incolit terram, sed inhabitat et possidet. A more extensive search through patristic commentaries might produce our author's actual source. The pseudo-Raban Maur Allegoriae in Sacram Scripturam (P.L.112.) has nothing useful to say on tabernacula.

16] A method of exposition which could have been suggested by Peter Comestor's sermon Ad Claustrales (Sermo 32, P.L.198.1799), in which the old habit of sin -rebellis consuetudo antique conuersationis et prauae -

is shown to turn sour the new life of the cloister - nouitatem uitae reddit unsuauem - by means of the simile: ut puta si comederis uuam acerbam dentes, obstupescunt. Though our author's meaning is fairly clear, the syntax of the Latin is confused.

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12f] Estima...unius hore: An example of the conventional medieval meditation on the last things. The purpose behind such grim descriptions is clearly explained by Peter of Celle in his De Panibus (ed.Gérard Martel, S.C. 240). Parat meditatio mortis, quae uelut nouacula acuta radit renascentia quotidie superflua desideria carnis. A number of highly popular works of the twelfth century laid great emphasis on the theme nihil certius morte: nihil hora mortis incertius. (v.A.Wilmart, Aut.Spir. p.179f).

22] It was a common device in devotional works of the eleventh and twelfth century alike to draw attention to the Lord's love of righteousness. Cf. Verum est quod asseris quia deus iudex iustus, diligens aequitatem, malis operibus et peccatis tormenta irrogat; sed tamen secundum eamdem iustitiam, qua perseuerantes in malitia punit, resipiscentes a malis, bonaque opera facientes, aeterna mercede remunerat. Meditatio 3, (P.L.158.730.).

25] Sedebis solitarius: This text is quoted by Peter of Celle in his discussion of the institution of the claustral life, in which he sees certain scriptural events as prefigurations (quales praeuios) of the cloister. These include: Jonah in the whale's belly, Christ in hell, John the Baptist in the desert, and finally, the prophet Jeremiah: In claustro Ieremias sanctificatus in utero qui sedet solitarius et tacet, et leuat se super se, non elatione sed contemplatione; qui tollit iugum suaue et onus leue, ut sit mitis corde. (P.L.202.1111) In his use of this reference from

Lamentations our author successfully evokes the peacefulness of the Austin cloister which is most attractive. Similarly, later Augustinian writers call attention to this aspect of their religious life. Dame Helen Gardner has drawn attention to the sense of "enforced quietness" that one finds in the work of the Austin mystic, Walter Hilton. This spirit, she observes, was still alive in England in the seventeenth century; and by way of illustration she quotes briefly from A Heavenly treatise of the divine love of Christ by John Preston, Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, which echoes the descriptions in the Admonitio of the peace that could be found with God in the cell. "Oh, if you loved the Lord, you would never be better than when you are at prayer. And you would goe to prayer as you would goe to speake with your dearest friend." (v."Walter Hilton and the Mystical Tradition in England", Essays and Studies of the English Association 22, (1936), pp.103-127.)

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12f] The same line of thought is found in the ancient monastic homily attributed to Eusebius of Emesa, printed by Migne among the works of Caesarius of Arles (P.L.67.1067-9) and Eucher of Lyons (P.L.50.855-6). Solemus annos nostros et spatia temporum quibus nunc uiuimus supputare: non te fallat quicunque ille es numerus dierum quos hic relicto corporaliter saeculo consumpsisti. And v. too the anonymous Meditatio de humana conditione (P.L.184.488): Dum enim libenter ac iucundissime moratur homo in mundo, diuque se uicturum arbitratur.

14] atropos: The name Atropos means "inevitable", and here referes to the third of the three Moerae (along with Clotho, the spinner, and Lachesis, the disposer of lots) - the Greek goddesses of fate whom the Romans

identified with their native Parcae. Not only did they have power to determine Man's destiny but also to predict it. The meaning in this sentence is difficult to unravel and is best read as an adjectival phrase describing Atropos.

20] gnothi seauton: MS. gnotis eliton. The injunction "Know thyself" was often made in twelfth centrury works of instruction, and has generated a large amount of contemporary scholarly discussion. Although many generations have sought to come to terms with this dictum, (v. Pierre Courcelle, "Connais-toi toi meme": De Socrate à saint Bernard, 3 vols, Paris, (1974-5), recent work on the discovery of the individual in the twelfth century suggests that the writers of that century could be said to have claimed the maxim "Know thyself" as their own. (v Colin Morris, The Discovery of the Individual 1050-1200, London, (1972).) The corrupt text of the Greek: Γνῶθι σεαυτόν appears as Noti seliton in John of Salibury's Policraticus, and M.-Th.d'Alverny's edition of Alan of Lille's Sermo de Trinitate gives the quotation (amazingly) as nottys elittos! Despite the muddled spellings, the quotation made an enormous impression. Geoffrey Shepherd has noted that Augustine's teaching that the knowledge of self was implicit in the knowledge of God had "the power of a new revelation in this later age". (Ancrene Wisse, parts six and seven, Nelson, (1959), p.xxvii). The traditional reason for the Christian adoption of this element of pagan wisdom stems from the doctrine that Man, retaining God's image in which he was created, has lost the resemblance or likeness of God through his sin. In accordance with Augustinian teaching on the soul, (which consists of the three faculties of memory, intellect and will), God's likeness can be recovered through Man's efforts to find His likeness in the memory.

23] punge aculeo spirituali: cf. punge aculeis tristicie.

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14-17] Note the author's use of the rhetorical figure compar (balancing clauses of equal length), repetitio, and exornatio similiter cadens in the similar inflexions of the clauses ending sectamini and execramini.

15] contemplatio: This term is used in a general sense here and elsewhere in the work without definition. Other works of direction, such as the Scala Claustralium written (c.1150) by Guigo II, ninth prior of the Grande Chartreuse, usually define the spiritual exercises in relation to one another. Thus Guigo describes four rungs - reading, meditation, prayer and contemplation - which the cloistered climb to reach heaven. The last is defined as mentis in deum suspensae eleuatio, aeternae dulcedinis gaudia degustans. (v.either P.L.40.997-1004 (based on the Milan edition of 1475), or P.L.184.475-484 (the Venice edition of 1495).)

page 15.

1] priori tuo: The term "prior" was eventually borrowed by the canons from Benedictine practice. In time the canonical communities submitted to the influence of one of more of the monastic orders: especially to the rigorous practice of the Cistercians. (v. Ludo Milis, "Ermites et chanoines", C.C.M.22, (1979), p.66.)

2f] The sense of the scriptural passage is turned on its head here, the words "thief in the night" referring

not to Christ's second advent, but an assault mounted by the devil. This quotation is put to similar use in the Anselmian De Custodia Interioris Hominis (printed by R.W.Southern & F.S.Schmitt in Memorials of S.Anselm, pp.355-60), from which was derived the late twelfth century Middle English tract Sawles Warde. It is an ideal foundation for teaching concerned with the defence of the soul, and Medieval writers produced ingenious elaborations of it to show how the devil could be shut out of the heart. For example, v. the twelfth century address of Berengar, who is as yet unidentified, written for a community of hermits. Oportet ut habeat canem in ostio cellae, qui semper latret contra uitium, ne illo dormiente fur possit perfodere domum. Canis est inuocatio gratiae, canis latrans est intenta supplicatio. (ed. R.B.C.Huygens, "Textes latins du XIe au XIIIe siècle, Studi Medievali, Ser.III, 8,i, (1967),p.499.)

page 16.

1-29] Anselmus Iohanni priori: v. Dom.F.C.Schmitt, ed. S.Anselmi Opera Omnia, vol.5, Thomas Nelson & Sons, Edinburgh, (1951), Epistola 450, pp.397-8. Schmitt put the date of the letter between 1106 and 1109, the year of Anselm's death. Formerly numbered Letter III.151, the letter is extant in three MSS. (Lambeth 59, s.xii^{1}, once at Christ Church, Canterbury, where it was probably written; Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll. 135, s.xii^{1}, once at Bury St.Edmund's; and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat.14762, s.xii, once owned by the Victorines of Paris, v. Cat.SV. p.154,item EE15.) For the very scant information about Prior John that survives, v. Knowles, Heads of Houses, p.28. The letter is quoted to lend authority to our author's remarks about composing peace of body and mind. It is indeed remarkable such a letter was known to him, and that, unlike his other sources, he has quoted from it so

closely (There are, however, more textual variants in it than any of the other witnesses.) Moreover, apart from Biblical quotations and one or two short tags from Gregory, this is the only source which is acknowledged in full. Five alterations are made: inter plebeios is substituted for saeculares homines; frequens is added to describe contentio; for contentio vero monachorum we have Concordia uero religiosorum claustralium, perhaps because our author was not familiar with that meaning of contentio.

page 17.

1f] This is the first in a series of quotations from the De Officiis Ministrorum of S.Ambrose. The quality of modesty which is commended later in the Admonitio (151/5,154/13) was much respected by the authors of works of instruction. v. also the quotation of this passage from Ambrose in the Liber de ordine uite et morum institutione by John of Fruttuaria, (P.L.184.562.)

27-18/17] Our author's adaptation of this passage from Ambrose has made obscure the simple argument of the original, which reads simply: Primum est igitur, si fieri potest, ut morum tranquillitas usu quodam, affectione, proposito, in naturam uertatur. Our author has changed the idea of converting calmness of conduct into actual calmness of disposition by adding the clause que sors dubia...nobis fantastice dependent on in naturam conuertere. According to our author's version, tranquillitas morum is not itself to be changed into tranquillitas naturae, but is actually become the agent of the change.

page 18.

6f] The simplicity of the original is lost because of our author's additions. The original argument consisted of three steps: 1) anger should be overcome by making oneself disposed to being calm by acting calmly; 2) failing that, to use one's reason, if the onset of anger could be foreseen; 3) if the mind were unable to reason, to deal with anger by meditating upon it.

23f] The reference to the tongue's lying in wetness is a favourite of medieval writers. Peter of Celle uses it in his De Disciplina Claustrali, ch.18,(P.L.202.1124) as does Hugh of Fouilloy in the De Claustro Anime, Bk.2,ch.6 (P.L.176). The writer of the Middle English Ancrene Wisse likewise observes: Þe tunge is slubbri for ha wade in wete ant sliht lihtliche forð from lut word in to monie. (ed. J.R.R.Tolkien, E.E.T.S. 249, (1962), p. 40.) In her work, "Latin Elements in the Ancrene Riwle", (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Birmingham, 1956, p.72.) Sister Ethelbert notes that these words are found in Peter Lombard's Commentary on the Psalter (P.L.191.389), and Peter the Chanter's Verbum Abbreviatum (P.L.205.196-7). She observes that the idea derives ultimately from S.Augustine. (v. Sermon 180, ch.1, P.L.38.978: Lingua facilitatem habet motus, in udo posita est, facile in lubricis labitur; and his Enarratio in Ps.38, P.L.36.414.). Our author has added to the idea by commenting on the lack of restraint exercised on the tongue by the teeth and the lips. Cf. 65/17-20; 96/11-13.

page 20.

8] subsannat: The monk of Farne writing in the mid-fourteenth century considered this term obscure enough to explain it in his Meditatio ad crucifixum.

subsannacio occulta est derisio, cum aliud uidelicet aliquis uocatur ironice quam a deridente fore creditur. ed. Hugh Farmer, Studia Anselmiana 41, 4th Ser.,Estratto, p.168.

10] "Discretion" here does not simply mean prudence, but also the act of making the decision to align one's soul with the way of God. The term is frequently found in the work of the mystical writer Richard of S.Victor, (v.R.Javelet, Image et ressemblance au XIIe siècle: De saint Anselme à Alain de Lille, Strasbourg, (1967), vol,2 p.278, n.2.), and assumed a degree of importance among the Cistercians. S.Bernard defines it as ordinatio caritatis, commending it in the following terms: Est ergo discretio non tam uirtus, quam quaedam moderatrix et auriga uirtutum, ordinatrxque affectuum, et morum doctrix. (Sermon 49 on the Song of Songs, Sancti Bernardi Opera, ed. J.Leclercq, C.H.Talbot, and H.Rochais, Rome, (1958), vol.2 pp.73-8. and P.L.183.1016) Hugh of S.Victor in his highly popular introduction to the religious life, the De Institutione Nouitiorum, defines discretion as: quoddam fundamentum et principium sancte conuersionis, maintaining it to be the means by which men can keep doing good. The quality is highly commended by Alexander Nequam, one of the Augustinian order's most distinguished scholars: Optima enim moderatrix est discretio. (v. R.W.Hunt's The Schools and the Cloister, ed. M.T.Gibson, Oxford, (1984) p.11 n.49.)

21] memoralis: The same spelling is found later, v. 52/24.

page 21.

15f] v. note 10/25. This is another of the work's most attractive sections describing the close relationship the soul can enjoy with God when it is at peace. One of

the most widely read devotional works of the Middle Ages, the so-called "Golden Epistle" of William of S.Thierry, addressed to the Carthusian brethren at Monte Dei, similarly celebrates the importance of the cell as the meeting place of God and the soul. Cella terra sancta, et locus sanctus est, in qua dominus et seruus eius saepe colloquuntur, sicut uir ad animum suum. (P.L.184.314.)

22] lectulus Salamon: This text is explained by the Cistercian, Gilbert of Hoiland (d.1172), in his Sermon 16 on the Song of Songs (P.L.184.92), in which he likens Solomon to Christ who is our peace. The sexaginta fortes are a symbol of the great effort required to preserve peace. In illustrating this point Gilbert quotes S.Luke 11,12 (Dum enim fortis armatus custodit cordis atria, in pace sunt omnia que possidet.), which has been quoted twice by our author. Thomas of Froidmont uses the text to illustrate the point our author has made earlier (21/3f): that superiors are charged with the task of preserving the peace of the faithful committed to their care. (Liber de modo bene uiuendi, P.L.184.1234.)

23] numerus: Why this number should should suggest this is unclear; perhaps our author had in mind a tradition of exegesis which has not been acknowledged. Cf.Thomas of Froidmont's interpretation: Sexagenarius numerus secundus gradus est et significat continentiam uiduarum. (P.L.184.1239.)

29] uermibus: These comments probably derive from a bestiary or some tradition of scriptural exegesis. Cf. Isidore, Etymologiarum, Bk.12, ch.5 (P.L.82.449): uermis...in directum corpusculi sui partes gradatim porrigendo contractas, contrahendo porrectas motam explicat, sicque agitatus perlabitur. Among many interpretations the pseudo-Raban Maur Allegoriae in Sacram Scripturam states that the mention of a worm can

refer to: conscientia damnatorum; reproborum conscientia in aeternum eos corrodet. (P.L.112.1075.)

page 23.

8-24/6] The Liber de uita contemplatiua was a very popular work in the Middle Ages. Its author, Julian Pomerius, sometimes called pseudo-Prosper, settled in Arles where he taught rhetoric to the sons of senators. He was Caesarius' master (on whose work, the Sermo ad Sanctimoniales, v.note p.94. below). Although he was well read in pagan literature and the philosophy of the Stoics, he professed himself unlettered. His best known work was composed during the last years of his life at the request of Bishop Julian of Carpentras (or Avignon [?]). Despite its title much of it is concerned with aspects of the active life, and it would therefore have made appropriate reading for a canonical audience, whose order often offered opportunities for active and contemplative work alike. (Though apparently not in the case of the audience of the Admonitio.) The section of the work from which our author has drawn this description of Charity has been commended as "an excellent ascetic treatise" in itself. Pomerius' teaching generally reflects "an Augustinianism that is wide, moderate, and thoroughly practical in character", (v. F.Cayré, Manual of Patrology, trans. H.Howitt, Paris, (1940), vol.2, p.182) all of which would have proved attractive to canonical authors.

26-24/1] Karitas...compaginatis: These lines are not found in the version printed by Migne (P.L.59.493), which reads instead: Quam fides concipit, ad quam spes currit, cui profectus omnium seruit.

page 24.

1] compaginatis: A common term used to describe the fraternal bond between the cloistered. cf. Peter of Celle, De Disciplina Claustrali, ch.9: uno spiritu conglobati, tanta ligantur compagine. (P.L.202.1115.)

24-5] regionem dissimilitudinis: An expression deriving ultimately from Plato, with which many medieval readers probably became familiar through S.Augustine's description of his own estrangement from God in the Confessions: et inueni longe me esse a te in regione dissimilitudinis.(Confessions, Bk.7, ch.10.) The idea was drawn into the Cistercian's spiritual system through S.Bernard's use of it, and thus gained in popularity. Leclercq (The Love of Learning and the Desire for God, trans. C.Misrahi, London, (1978) refers to a bibliography of works using the expresson which is to be found in Magistri Petri Lombardi Sententiae in IV Libris distinctae, 1,1, Prolegomena, Grottaferrata, (1971), p.100).

page 25.

5] This is the first scriptural quotation found in the account of the twelve degrees of humility in the Rule of S.Benedict. Our author has derived the idea for a brief description of the importance of the custody of the eyes from Benedict's second quotation from the Bible (Domine, non est exaltatum cor meum, neque elati sunt oculi mei.), which is not actually quoted in the Admonitio. His extrapolation of this text has probably been suggested by a source which has not been identified. In discussions of the custody of the heart first place is usu-ally given to the eyes (v. John of Fruttuaria, Liber de ordine uite et morum institutione, ch.6, (P.L.184.573): Prima namque tela sunt oculorum.), for with the eyes one could take the first step towards

sin. This idea, which is very common in Christian works of the Middle Ages, was reworked from the notion of the "five loves" celebrated in Classical poetry, and which was defined by Donatus in his commentary on the Eunuchus of Terence: Quinque lineae sunt amoris, scilicet uisus allocutio, tactus, osculum siue suauium, coitus. For further illustration of the use of this topos in both Classical and Christian works and a short list of modern discussion, v. Bella Millett, Hali Meiðhad, E.E.T.S. 284, (1982), p.34, note 8/8-20.

29-26/8] Non habes proprium: Our author urges his readers to focus their attention on the heavenly kingdom which is to be their reward, and also on men's worldly needs, which they do not have the means to relieve. This passage is important, since it affords further evidence of the Augustinian attitude towards the service of neighbour. The canons' clerical, rather than monastic, status entitled them to undertake pastoral work among the faithful living in the parishes whose churches they served, but to what extent they did so is unclear. Jean Leclercq has carefully drawn the line between the canons' motive for study and that of the monks. "Ils doivent étudier, non point, comme les moines, afin de mieux prier, de mieux connaître le Seigneur qu'ils servent, mais afin de prêcher. Ils sont placés à la tête du peuple chrétien. Ils doivent corriger, consoler, nourrir, reprendre; ils sont lumière, ils s'acquittent du sacerdoce, ils sont juges, ils lient et délient, ils annoncent la parole de Dieu." (La vita commune, p.121.) Evidently our author did not think it desirable they should perform all these tasks for the people (v.134/2-3). Nevertheless, he was concerned that generosity should flourish among them; the solution outlined below (26/1-8) was probably suggested by the work of Aelred (v.134/29-135/18). Not all twelfth century Augustinian houses would have so willingly accepted the poverty enjoined by our author, preferring instead to follow the moderate regulations

of the Aachen compilation and the Regula Canonicorum of Chrodegang. Even in the thirteenth century recalcitrant houses still needed to be admonished. Chapter 46 of the Council of Oxford (held in 1222) records the words of Archbishop Stephen Langton, who stressed that no religious should have the wherewithal to need to draft a will. (v. David Wilkins Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae, London, (1737), folio, vol.1, p.593.)

9-31/16] With the exception of some additional passages, most of the following is based closely on the seventh chapter of the Rule of S.Benedict which is concerned with the subject of humility. This is the only example of our author's use of material from that rule in his work. Our author has omitted Benedict's introduction to his teaching on humility which explains that one must learn to practice the virtue to perfection by ascending through twelve degrees of humility. "We must set up a ladder of our ascending actions like unto that which Jacob saw in his vision, whereon angels appeared unto him, descending and ascending. By that descent and ascent we must surely understand...that we descend by self-exaltation and ascend by humility. And the ladder erected is our life in this world...the sides are...our body and soul." (Reg.Ben.p.39) It is curious that this kind of detail has been omitted, especially in view of the popularity of the image of the ladder in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century because of its use in the Bernardine Declamationes ex S.Bernardi Sermonibus. (P.L.184.461) For a step by step account of the Anselmian path of humility v.150/1-17.

14] Scrutans: This verse of scripture is quoted to emphasise the importance of humility's first rung, that is the fear of God. Our author has made additions to the Benedictine Rule in the couple of lines dealing with righteousness (Sic enim...assecuturus gratiam.)

page 27.

8] quorum uia sancta: The author's way of expressing the idea behind the scriptural quotation which he has omitted. "There are ways which to men seem right, but the ends thereof lead to the depths of hell." (Proverbs 16,25.)

18] The Benedictine Rule reads simply: mors secus introitum delectationis posita est.

25] expectans expectabit: This adaptation from Ps.39 is not quoted in the Rule. Benedict states simply that God might not choose to act immediately, but is able to forestall His judgement in order to give Man a chance to make amends (quia pius est et exspectat nos conuerti in melius); but the Admonitio sounds a much harsher note, and pictures God holding back in order to build up more evidence with which to prosecute His judgement.

page 28.

3] A quotation from the Cathemerinon II of Prudentius. Not composed for use in church, the Cathemerinon or "Hymns for the day" was written by Prudentius (348-413) towards the end of his life to explain aspects of Christian doctrine. These words form three lines of the third stanza of the hymn Lux ecce surgit aurea adapted for liturgical use in the office of Lauds for Thursday. (v. Joseph Connelly, Hymns of the Roman Liturgy, London, (1957), p.24; and also Guido Maria Dreves, Analecta Hymnica Medii Aeui, Leipzig, (1888), vol.2 p.32, no.10.)

71 The use of this line of scripture is strongly recommended to novice masters by the Cistercian writer, Adam of Perseigne. v.Epistola ad Osmundum, S.C. 66.

8] A recapitulation of the tripartite schema with which the work opened. The additional clause non omnibus accepta introduces the second step of humility, defined by Benedict as, "that a man not love his own will, nor delight in fulfilling his own desires". (Reg.Ben. p.43.) The short description of this degree in the Rule is expanded here so that some practical advice may be set before the reader.

18] Voluntas...coronam: Dom Justin McCann in his edition of the Rule notes that that these words occur in the Acts of the Martyrdom of SS.Agape, Chionia, and Irene in the Acta Sanctorum for the 1st April 250. He also notes the appearance of the tag Voluntas habet poenam, necessitas ueniam in the work of S.Optatus of Milevis (4th.c.).It is not clear whether our author himself introduced the glosses on the terms "self-will" and "necessity", which try to make clear the distinction between the voluntary act of sinning which is punishable, and the sinful course of action forced upon the faithful.

21] The third degree of humility states, "that a man...subject himself to his superior in all obedience, imitating the Lord." No clear distinction is made here between the third degree and the fourth, which is concerned with continuing to be obedient in the face of "difficulties, contradictions, and even injustice". (Reg. Ben. p.43.)

page 29.

11] gratiam gratiarum: This example of the use of the figure polyptoton, one of our author's favourite devices, is not found in the Rule.

27] Our author's account of the fifth degree of humility in which the religious must "humbly confess and conceal not from his abbot any evil thoughts that enter his heart, and any secret sins that he has committed." (Reg. Ben. p.45.)

page 30.

10] statim...tui: a paraphrase of the Rule's quotation from Ps.31,5.

11] Si humiliari: corresponds with the sixth degree of humility in the Rule; our author omits the words which prescribe that "a monk be content witht the meanest and worst of everything." (Reg.Ben. p.45.)

16] se uiliorem: The seventh degree of humility states that a monk should not only declare himself lower and of less account than all others in his speech, but should also believe it in his heart. (Reg.Ben.p.45.)

23] De preteritis: This detail does not figure in the the Benedictine teaching about the degrees of humility.

25] "The ninth degree of humility is that a monk restrain his tongue and keep silence." (Reg.Ben. p.47.)

29f] "The tenth degree of humility is that he be not ready and prompt to laughter." (Reg.Ben. p.47.)

30] in inrisu: (Vg. in risu) This is likely to be a scribal error, but has been preserved since it still makes sense.

page 31.

1f] "The eleventh degree of humility is that a monk, when he speaks, should do so gently and without laughter, humbly and seriously, in a few and sensible words and without clamour. It is written: A wise man is known by the fewness of his words." (Reg.Ben. p.47.) Our author only touches on the details of this degree and does not even supply a scriptural quotation by way of illustration. His treatment of the twelfth degree seems flawed, and it is possible something has been missed by homoioteleuton, for the Rule itself makes the point quite clearly: "The twelfth degree of humility is that a monk should not only be humble in heart, but should also in his behaviour always manifest his humility to those who look upon him." (Reg.Ben. p.47.)

5] illius uiri: refers to the the penitent publican in the Gospel of S.Luke, 18,13.

6] qui...leuare: The Rule puts these words into the mouth of the publican: Domine non sum dignus ego peccator leuare oculos meos ad caelos. Our author follows the text of the Gospel and compresses the text of the Rule.

28] munera: MS. munia (?) RMLW lists munium as doubtful, and suggests it could mean function, defence. The emended form munera suits the context well.

page 32.

2] Vitula Effraim: This passage becomes clear when one examines the argument of S.Gregory in the Moralia in Iob, from which it is likely our author drew his material. In considering the subject of men's desires for the transitory things of this life, Gregory shows

how desires that are sub sensibus cause men to suffer hardship, and quotes from the Lamentations of Jeremiah: "He hath filled me with bitterness, he hath made me drunken with wormwood", in order to show that anyone addicted to worldly pleasures is filled with bitterness. Taking the argument a step further - that many men continue to prefer worldly pleasure however bitter it may turn out to be - Gregory quotes at length from the passage in Hosea to which our author alludes in his reference to the calf Ephraim. ("And Ephraim is an heifer that is taught, and loveth to tread out the corn.") For this reason men are invited to take on Christ's yoke. So popular were the neat aphorisms in Gregory's work that many of them were quite commonplace. Peter of Blois uses the same reference in a letter of advice to a clerk who had vowed to enter a religious order. Et tu, si iugo domini assuescere uelis, factus tamquam uitula Ephraim docta diligere trituram, affectabis quod times, cupies quod uereris. (P.L.207.33)

4] In the Middle Ages, as today, bitter cures were thought to be efficacious. Wormwood was used in so many combinations with other herbs as well as by itself that it seems to have been regarded as a general panacea. v.Pliny, Natural History, Bk.27,45-53, ed. W.H.S.Jones, Loeb Classical Library, vol.7,pp.417-423. An exhaustive account of the properties of the plant is found in the Middle English herbal, Agnus Castus (ed.G.Brodin, Essays and Studies on English Language and Literature 6, Uppsala, (1950), pp.122-3.), in which it is confidently asserted: " ȝe vertu of ȝis herbe is to conforte ȝe stomak and clense ȝe herte." The Ancrene Wisse writer contrasts the sweetness of sin with the bitterness of confession, supporting the idea with etymologies of Hebrew words. (v. Salu, p.137) The anonymous author of the so-called "Dublin Rule" (known from Trinity College,Dublin MS. 97) states that all the Saviour's teaching is bitter to the body but sweet to

the soul. (v. P.L.Oliger, "Regulae tres reclusorum et eremitarum Angliae saec.XIII-XIV", Antonianum 3, Rome, (1928), pp.151-190.

23f] Unfortunately, our author has omitted much of Gregory's explanation.(Moralia in Iob, Bk.20,41,78. ed. M.Adriaen, C.C.S.L. 143A, p.1061.) The organ represents the voices of preachers because its pipes are likened to their mouths. The comparison between the harp and the good deeds of men who live good lives is based on the idea that the strings' tension can be likened to the mortification of the flesh practised by good men in the hope of the life to come. Since harp strings must be adjusted lest they grow slack and become unplayable, but on the other hand can sound harsh if they are kept too taut, moderation of personal discipline is enjoined.

page 33.

4f] Cf. 117/21; 159/27-160/7. The idea of comparing the body to a horse is often found in works of spiritual advice. Cf. the address to a hermit written in the thirteenth century containing a suitable quotation from Ovid. Currit equus, sed scriptum est: Non nocet admisso subdere calcar equo. Unde et idem uir in alio loco satis eleganter lusit: Acer et ad palmae per se cursurus honores, si tamen horteris, fortius ibit equus...Equi dei estis, ad cursum uocati estis, sessor uester Christus est, frenum uestrum est silentium, calcaria quae uos stimulant timor et amor. (ed. R.B.C.Huygens, "Textes latines du XIe et XIIIe siècle", Studi Medievali Ser.3, 8,(1967), p.497.) And v.too S.Bernard's use of the idea in which he demonstrates that there are three horses which carry man up to heaven: grieving out of contrition, fervour out of worship, and longing out of love. (Sententiarum Liber II,149, P.L. 184.1152; and also his Parabolae,

(P.L.183.757-761): calcaria bonorum exemplorum, frenum discretionis, habenae temperantiae. And also v. the Breuis Commentatio in Cantica, no.23 (P.L. 184.425.), in which the horses are harnessed to symbolical chariots, the saddles, reins, and whips being symbolical too. These examples I owe to J.Leclercq, "L'art de la composition dans les sermons de S.Bernard", Studi Medievali Ser.3,7,i, (1966), pp.143-7, who vouches for their authenticity. v. too Peter Comestor, Sermon 32, Ad Claustrales (P.L.198.1796-1800). Asinus est caro nostra cui debetur uirga et onus et habitum: hic in itinere regendus est et castigandus ne impinguatus, incrassatus, dilatatus recalcitret et inobediens fiat.

page 34.

18] On the subject of negligence, v.88/7f.

27] A line of thought suggested by Job 30,14. quasi rupto muro et aperta ianua irruerunt super me.

page 36.

13f] The notion of God forsaking Man for a while to test him is explored later. (v.89/11.) The Ancrene Wisse writer lists this as the sixth comfort in the face of temptation. Six reasons are offered in that work for God's withdrawing from Man. (v. Salu p.102)

24] The subject of the verbs in this quotation is Sapientia.

26] Lectio diuina: v.too 97/3f. The practice of "prayerful reading" has been well described by Beryl Smalley, Study of the Bible, pp.26-36, and Jean Leclercq, Love of Learning and the Desire for God, passim. The advice which our author gives later in the

work about reading is drawn from S.Jerome and Aelred.(v.119-120, 136/25.) Our author is quite restrained in his description of the value of reading, in contrast with some writers who heap up lavish praise on it. By way of illustration v. Peter of Celle's De Afflictione et Lectione, in which reading is described in the following terms: fossam uermibus scaturientem laqueum strangulantem, and the reader is bidden: Exquire ergo in horto lectionis ualentis herbas et medicinales contra immissiones quae fiunt per angelos malos ne ueneno eius afflatus et inflatus pereas.Sume nihilominus de armario librorum missilia quibus percussus percussorem tuum repercutias. (ed.J.Leclercq, La Spiritualite de Pierre de Celle, 1115-1183, Paris, (1946), p. 233.) For the cloistered the art of reading did not involve the perusal of a text along with a commentary as in the schoolroom; it was rather an attempt to memorise the words of scripture and all levels of their meaning so that they would be imprinted on the mind. Reading was often accompanied by meditation in the same way eating is followed by digestion. Sicut cibus inutilis est sine digestione, sic parum prodest lectio sine meditatione. (Peter of Celle, Sermon 69, P.L.202.857.)

28] accidia: For an account of the phenomenon and its relationship to the other vices in patristic works v. S.Wenzel, The Sin of Sloth: Acedia in Medieval Thought and Literature, University of North Carolina Press, (1967). The notion was conceived in the fourth century among the ascetics of Egypt, whose chief literary figure, Evagrius of Pontus, observed that sloth was the result of the monk's monotonous routine, dreary environment, and constant striving against temptation. The dissemination of the idea and the name is due largely to the influence of John Cassian.

page 37.

28] The idea of God or a priest acting as a physician is often found in the work of S.Jerome and a number of the early fathers, such as Clement of Alexandria and John Cassian. Examples are quoted by E.Molland, "Ut sapiens medicus: Medical vocabulary in S.Benedict's Regula Monachorum," Studia Monastica 6 (1964), pp.273-298. The subject is explored by Rudolph Arbesmann, O.S.A., in "The concept of Christus Medicus in S.Augustine," Traditio 10, (1954); esp. pp.9-13 on humility.

page 38.

6] The idea of inheritance is central to the Fathers' definition of a cleric. Extracts from their teaching on this point were gathered by the Aachen reformers, and can be found in Canon 98 of the Aachen compilation. eg. from the De Ecclesiasticis Officiis of Isidore. Cleros sors interpretatur, unde et hereditas Grece cleronomia appelatur et heres cleronomus. (ed. Werminghoff. M.G.H. p.377)

14] A recommendation found in the Rule of S.Augustine (Praeceptum VII,3).

28-39/7] It has long been noted that regular canons' writings adumbrate an interest in the care of their fellow men. (v.J.Leclercq's remarks on this with regard to the compilation in the Ottoboni MS lat.175, in La vita comune, p.121.) C.W.Bynum focussed on this aspect of works of instruction prepared for the cloistered with the aim of demonstrating that an interest in the edification of neighbour was peculiar to the Austin canons. (Docere uerbo et exemplo, v. note 1/2, and her article, "The spirituality of Regular Canons in the

Twelfth Century: a new approach," Med.& Hum. 4, (1973), pp.3-24.)

page 39.

22] prepositorum: Here means simply "superiors", but it is difficult to know precisely what was meant by such terms since they varied in meaning from house to house. Joy Russell-Smith observes that the Barnwell customal uses this word, "in a vague sense in connection with the sub-prior", and that the description of Walter Hilton as a "chanon and governoure of Thurgarton" probably meant he was a praepositus. (Dominican Studies 7, (1954), p.203 n.87)

25f] An interesting parallel to this comment concerning the superiors' responsibility is found in a letter written by Senatus, Prior of Worcester (1189-1196), to Roger, Bishop of Worcester, in which he emphasises how important it is to show penitents mercy without being too lax. Prudentie erit et cautela modificare rigorem canonum cum dolore penitentium ut non insolescant sub facilitate uenie nec fatigati desperent sub mole pene. Hinc canones penitentiales dispensabiles esse sanxerunt patres, nunc de rigore penam ad terrorem, nunc de misericordia pene rigorem ad mansuetudinem emolliunt. In matters of penitence there was a noticeable tendency towards liberalism in the late twelfth century. (v. P.Delhaye, "Deux textes de Senatus de Worcester sur la pénitence," R.T.A.M. 19, (1952), pp.203-224.

page 41.

9f] This version of a passage from the Moralia differs in a number of respects. The original reads: Nullus quippe perfectus est, qui inter proxiorum mala patiens

non est. Qui enim aequanimiter aliena mala non tolerat, ipse per impatientiam testis est, quia a boni plenitudine longe distat. (C.C.S.L.143A p.) The MS reads inter malos fuit, probably by dittography. Our author has tried to balance Gregory's proximorum mala with the words paciencie sue bonum, thus reversing the word order for the sake of chiasmus. The words non tolerat appear to have been changed to paciens pertulerit for alliterative effect.

15f] Exemplis...: This sentence is not in the source though all the actual examples are. Our author has been selective in quoting these examples, and has put them in a different order, contriving to keep together the Biblical examples, those drawn from nature, and finally the image of the furnace.

24] tritura: One would usually expect an appositional gen.of definition: in arte triture. It is possible the author has misread his exemplar or source which reads, Sic in arte tritura areae; the reading has been kept however on account of the triple rhyme tritura...grana...spina.

page 42.

6] This short passage on footsteps seems to follow on naturally from 37/24: habes insidiantes qui anticipabunt gressus tuos.

21-43/1] v. S.Gregory, Moralia in Iob, bk.21,ch.7,12. (C.C.S.L.143A, p.1074; P.L.76.197).

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2-3] Aurum...culpe: v.Moralia in Iob, Bk.18,ch.44,71. (C.C.S.L.143A, p.936; P.L.76.80)

3-5] Sed...appetentem: v.Moralia in Iob, Bk.21, ch.7,12. (C.C.S.L.143A, p.1074; P.L.76.197.)

23-24] ab ipso...pacatum: cf. S.Augustine, Enarratio in Ps. 74. (P.L.36.953) et ita quia impossibile est fugere a dei irato nisi ad deum placatum.

24-28] Inter...presumptionem: These words (based on the text Deut.24,6), appear in a number of medieval works of instruction. They are found in MS. Lincoln 201, a twelfth century collection of Bernardine sermons and sententiae. Duae sunt molae inter quas molitur Christianus ut de eo quasi de frumento fiat panis Christi scilicet spes et timor. Quicumque enim timet et non sperat, desperens est. Qui autem sperat et non timet, negligens est. Hinc dictum est: Non accipias pro pignore superiorem molam et inferiorem. (Deut.24,6) Hoc ad praelatos dicitur qui aliquando debent [urere], id est poenam subditis comminari, aliquando lucere, id est uitam aeternam polliceri. (v. H.Rochais, "La collection de textes divers dans manuscrit Lincoln 201, et S.Bernard", Sacris Erudiri 15, (1964), pp.15-19.) There is an echo of the notion in S.Anselm of Canterbury's Meditatio II. O peccator respira ne desperes. Spera in eo quem times. Affuge ad eum a quo aufugisti. (P.L.158.722) The identification of the mill-stones as hope and fear is found in the pseudo-Raban Maur, Allegoriae in Sacram Scripturam, (P.L.112.1000). And v. the use of this idea in the Ancrene Wisse. Ah hope ant dred schulen aa beon imengt togederes. Þ is forte bitacnin wes i Þe alde lahe ihaten Þet te twa grindelstanes ne schulde namon twinnin. (ed. J.R.R.Tolkien, E.E.T.S.249 (1962), p.170.) And v. too E.J.Dobson, Moralities on the Gospels: a new source of Ancrene Wisse, Oxford, (1975), p.165, n.63. None of these other works has taken the full account one finds in Gregory's Moralia in Iob: Superior autem et inferior, mola est spes et timor. Spes quippe ad alta

subuehit, timor autem cor inferius premit. Sed mola altera inutiliter habeatur. In peccatoris itaque pectore incessanter debet spes et formido coniungi, quia incassum misericordiam sperat, si non etiam iustitiam timeat; incassum iustitiam metuat. (P.L.76.687)

26-28] Spes...presumptionem: There is a quotation quite similar to this in the Ancrene Wisse. Spes sine timore luxuriat in presumptionem. Timor sine spe degenerat in desperationem. (ed.Tolkien, E.E.T.S.249, (1962), p.170.) But according to Sister Ethelbert ("Latin Elements of the Ancrene Riwle", p. 252.), there are two quotations here: the first has not been traced, but the second appears to come from the pseudo-Gregory, In Primum Regum Expositiones, Bk.5,ch.20,11 (P.L.79.332). Timor quidem sine spe in desperationem praecipitat. Attention is drawn in Sister Ethelbert's thesis to a comparable passage in S.Augustine's Sermones de Scriptura, Sermon 10 (ed. D.A.B.Caillau, Paris, (1842), p.362). Nam spes sine timore presumptio est, timor sine spe desperatio est.

page 44.

1-3] Timor...furibundi: The source of this has not been identified; it could be the author's own invention. For the meaning of contractus v. RMLW which gives contraitus, s.xv. "cripple"; Niermeyer gives "afflicted with rheumatism"; and contractus could also be used to describe the hand of a mean man - a use which presumably developed from the expression manus contrahere. (v. the notes to Aelred of Rievaulx's De Institutione Inclusarum by John Ayto and Alexandra Barratt, E.E.T.S. 287, (1984), p.131.) For an example of this usage in the Admonitio, v. ne contracte manus coadlicet in dando uerecundiam paciantur in retribuendo.(124/5)

6-8] Timor...affigi: For a similar idea, v. Peter of Celle, De Disciplina Claustrali, ch.6: Debet claustralis ligno affigi. (S.C.240, p.160; P.L.202.110) There it is treated with much greater attention to detail. Peter strongly affirms the centrality of the cross to the spiritual discipline of the cloister. Plane tota forma claustralis disciplinae emanauit de cruce. And v. also Anselm of Laon's Letter to Héribrand, Abbot of S.Laurence of Liège: Clauis uirtutum pelluntur claui uitiorum; clauis iustitiae configitur iustus cruci penitentiae. Claui iustitiae sunt peccatorum recordationes, et singulae cordis contritiones. Primus et maximus clauus qui parat uiam aliis est timor domini. (P.L.162.1390) Our author does not focuss his reader's attention on the cross itself, and, unlike Peter of Celle, he does not identify the confinement of the cloistered with Christ's restriction of movement on the cross, even though it was fashionable to do so towards the end of the twelfth century. (v. Mi bodi henge wiþ þi bodi neiled o rode. The Wooing of our Lord, ed. W. Meredith Thompson, E.E.T.S.241, (1958), p.36; and v. also: Beo ȝe ibunden inwiþ fowr large wahes? ant he in a nearow cader, ineilet o rode, i stanene þruh bicluset hetefeste. Ancrene Wisse, ed. G.Shepherd, p.16. (Both these references I owe to Professor Shepherd.) And v. the application of the same notion in the address of the unidentified Berengar to a hermit group. Ascendistis cum domino crucem, sed uidete ne cum sinistro latrone descendatis de cruce. Bonum est crucifigi cum domino, sed optimum est consummari in domino. (ed. R.B.C.Huygens, Studi Medievali, Ser.3, 8,(1967),p.501.)

page 45.

6] Cf. the verses quoted in Alan of Lille's, Summa de arte predicatoria, ch.3, De contemptu sui.

(P.L.210.117): Forma bonum fragile est, quantumque accedit ad annos,/ Fit minor, et spatio carpitur ipsa suo.

14] Cf. the following with Sermon 31, De fallacia mundi, in the very popular series of thirteenth century pseudo-Augustine Sermones ad fratres in eremo. (P.L.40.1290-1292)

page 47.

1f] The comparison between the decline of man's powers and the ageing of the world - a literary topos favoured by numerous writers from antiquity - is related to the idea of the seven ages of the world that correspond with the seven days of Creation. The sixth day represented the time after the Incarnation of the Saviour, and the seventh the end of time when Man was to be judged. Although, by his own account, such an event should have been welcomed by the faithful, our author's account of the imminent death of the world seems to be tinged with sadness as he looks back to a golden age when the earth was opulentia rerum pinguis. M.-D.Chenu has drawn attention to a similar show of pessimism in the work of the twelfth century historian, Otto of Freising. Mundum....iam deficientem et tanquam ultimi senii extremum spiritum trahentem cernimus. Chronica, Bk.5, prologue. (La théologie au douzième siècle, Études de philosophie médiévale 45, Paris, (1957), p.77.) On the use of this topos in the monastic literature of the period v. Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century, ed. Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable with Carol Lanham, Oxford, (1985), p.41, note 19.

26f] The writer now quite properly turns his attention to the rule - the statement par excellence of all that is necessary in his order as well as the means by which

his audience may fit themselves for the world to come having rejected the concupiscenciis, miseriis, et funestis attrocitatibus of earth that have just been described. Giles Constable, discussing the theme of renewal with reference to the religious life in the twelfth century, comments, "the Rule provided the means for man to recover his true nature and thus to bridge the region of dissimilitude between the condition in which he was created and that into which he had fallen as a result of sin." (Benson and Constable, Renaissance and Renewal, p. 62.

26] commentum: not attested in DML; RMLW has "commentary,treatise"; Sout. "commentary". In this case we are presented not with a commentary on the Rule but a substantial number of the provisions of the Rule of S.Augustine itself, to which several additions have been made. The text presented here appears at times to be a free paraphrase of the Rule. Although it is presented in the MS without paragraph breaks, divisions have been made for the sake of clarity on the basis of the most recent critical edition of the texts prepared by Luc Verheijen in La règle de S.Augustin. His system of numbering each "chapter" and section of the Rule which has been imposed on the text is noted in the apparatus. Sections which are similar to the Rule in its more familiar form in gist only are noted only for the sake of comparison (eg. p.48 n.6. cf.Praeceptum.). For a full list of all the sections of the Rule that are covered in the Admonitio v. Index.

page 48.

7-10] The opening lines of the short text that has come to be known as the Regula secunda, Ordo Monasterii, De ordine monasterii (as in De Bruyne's ed., R.B. 42,(1930), pp.316-341.), Regula ad seruos dei (Migne's ed. P.L.32.), and the Disciplina Monasterii

(by Mandonnet in his discussion of the Rule in S.Dominique, vol.2, Paris, (1937).). They are followed here by the text of the Praeceptum or Regula tertia, (otherwise known as the Commentary, or simply as the Regula Augustini) - the arrangement Verheijen has called the Regula recepta. However, a number of the provisions contained in the Ordo which are not found in the Regula recepta are in fact given in the Admonitio under the title De opere cotidiano (v. p.64). But not all of the Rule is here: it seems that intransigent conservatives or strict ascetics refused, like S.Géraud of Sales, "to pass over one jot or tittle of the holy rule of Augustine". (Dickinson, Origins:Canons,p.271)

111 obseruare: MS.obseruari. Most versions of the Rule read: Haec sunt quae ut obseruetis praecipimus in monasterio constituti. (Verheijen notes only two MSS that have obseruare, and two with obseruari.) Our author appears to have forgotten to change the verb in adaptating the text of the Rule he was using.

14-15] Verheijen has attempted to vouchsafe the authenticity of the Rule on the basis of the echo of Acts 4,32-5 in the Praeceptum presenting the same combination of details as the allusion to this passage from scripture in Possidius' biography of Augustine and in no other text in Latin or Greek. (v. Reg.Aug.vol.2, pp.90-95.) Although it is possible Possidius derived the quotation in this form from the Rule (or vice -versa), it also possible that Possidius and the Rule's author had a common source. Verheijen has argued furthermore that these lines from Acts, ch. 4 adumbrate an important element in Augustine's thought about the monastic life that is clearly evinced in his well authenticated works (the Sermo Denis, Contra Faustum, De opere monachorum, and Enarratio in Pss.131 & 132 - on which v. G.Lawless, "Psalm 132 and Augustine's monastic ideal," Angelicum 59, (1982), pp.526-539). He has pointed to an interesting line of progression in

Augustine's work from an "individual, non-collective" interpretation of the expression cor unum to the understanding of the "collective and fraternal dimension" it has - an understanding, he suggests, that was awakened in Augustine's mind by Paulinus' Letter 30. (v. "S.Augustine's Monasticism in the light of Acts 4,32-35", The S.Augustine Lecture 1975, Villanova University Press, (1979).) It is interesting our author neither follows Augustine in his habit of adding in deum to Acts 4,32 ("The multitude of believers had but one soul and one heart tending towards God"), nor of keeping the soul - heart word order, which Verheijen (ibid.) thinks is characteristic of his writing.

16] consorcio: can be either d.sg of consortium, or n.sg.of consortio as an interjection.

18-20] An example of our author's compression of the original: et distribuatur unicuique uestrum a praeposito uestro uictus et tegumentum, non aequaliter omnibus quia non aequaliter ualetis omnes, sed potius unicuique sicut cuique opus fuerit. Sic enim legitur in...

27-30] These lines are not found in any other version of the Rule that is known.

page 49.

1-6] Note the author's use of rhyming clause endings: seculo...monasterio...gratuito...beneficio...collegio.. ...consortio. Mandonnet (op.cit., p.180) comments that the fact personal poverty was not matched by common wealth was remarkable. He draws attention to some interesting passages in Augustinian customals. The customal of Marbach notes: Nouiter quis ueniens ad canonicam professionem...propriis exuatur uestibus et monasterii induatur, ut hoc seculari habitu deposito,

potusque inedia languescente stomacho reparare uolens sue debilitatis incommoda, resumens cibos, quantulamcumque uirtutis suscepisset [per] corporis quietem infestabat caro erigens se contra quietis bonum. Frigidis enim se aquis immergens temperabat sepe caloris estum. Cumque iterum illicitos sentiret motus, urticis ardentibus confricabat corpus, et inde carni apponens, incendium incendio superabat; omnibus modis enitens fortem superare incentorem quem irruentem in se et irremissum senciebat impugnatorem. Post hec autem omnia cum non sufficerent contra spiritum fornicationis ultionis armamenta, fecit quod potuit. Consternatus ante pedes domini orat, plorat, suspirat, supplicat per mortis sue, passionis, resurrectionis et nostre redemptionis gratiam adiurat et optestatur ut aut spiritum extinguat aut ab hoc impetu temptationis sanet, ne de cetero inuoluat eum fornicationis turbo, qui circumquaque diffusus concutit quatuor parietes domus interioris, turbat fundamentum, quatit angulos, non sinit firma radice
f.151ra subsistere quod casum | minitans oportet cadere. Tristis clamat et eiulans crebro: Non abibo, non quiesco, et quod dixit Iacob angelo: Non dimittam te nisi benedixeris mihi.(1) Prestatur ad horam quandoque incendii refrigerium, cum plerumque paululum carnis stimuli [quiescebant], sed affectiones illicite pectus inuadunt criminosum. Sunt enim multe tribulationes iustorum nedum peccatorum, sed de omnibus hiis absoluit eos pius

3] per: suppl. 8] inde: MS. unde 27] quiescebant: suppl.
15] MS. eb resurrectionis

(1) Genesis 32,26.

ad Christi paupertatem et inopiam se descendisse cognoscat. The Regula Portuensis opens with a long discussion about the poverty of the Apostles based upon Peter Damian's work. It is important to note that it was not the Austin canons only who had hearkened to the call to poverty; evidence of the burgeoning of lay communities similarly dedicated to poverty is found in the bull of Urban II issued in 1191 (P.L.151.336), and the Chronicon of Bernold of Constance (P.L.148.1407-8).

21-50/4] These lines are not found in any version of the Rule of S.Augustine.

page 50.

26] precentore: This detail is not found in the Rule of S.Augustine. No mention is made of a precentor in the customals of Arrouaise, Springiersbach, or S.Victor.

page 51.

2-9] This detail appears to be the author's own comment.

6] argumenta: DML.(Fasc.1, p.124) has: arguments, proofs, syllogisms etc. and also war-engines.

21-52/3] These lines are not found in the Rule of S.Augustine.

4] The detestable perversity referred to in other versions of the Rule is concerned with the poor becoming indolent and indulgent through being nourished on a rich diet while those who were rich are burdened with the heavy work.

12f] This is a short description of the processus peccati, which one find described in greater or lesser detail in works of different kinds. Cf.Isidore, Liber Sententiarum, Bk.2, ch.23, (P.L.83.621): Cogitatio namque praua delectationem parit, delectatio consensionem, consensio actionem, actio consuetudinem, consuetudo necessitatem. v. too S.Augustine, De Sermone domini in monte, Bk.1, ch.12, 35, (P.L.34.1247): Sicut ergo tribus gradibus ad peccatum peruenitur, suggestione, delectatione, consensione. A thorough account is found in the Sentences from the so-called "school" of Laon, that is to say the body of material associated with the teaching of Master Anselm and his brother Ralph. propassio, id est subitus motus...passio, id est delectatio...consensus, qui est duplex: quo peccatum dum facere uolumus, formidine pene uitamus et quo eadem expulsa, opportunitatem faciendi querimus...actus, qui est similiter duplex: alius est qui peccatum committit sed cum timore,...alius est qui cum peccatum perpetrat non timet...consuetudo, in qua sepe est aliorum corruptio...desperatio. (ed. Odo Lottin, Psychologie et Morale aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles, Louvain, (1954), vol.5, p.304, no.453.

25] rediuationem: not recorded in any lexicon; possibly an error Cl.rejuuenatio, rediuentatio.

page 53.

10f] An interesting, though appalling, caution on the dangers of over-indulgence. Nevertheless, our author's remarks seem to be made in the spirit of the age. For example, Alexander Nequam bewails the effects of eating and drinking to excess in his De Naturis Rerum,ch.192,in the words: O quot incommoditates crapulam sequuntur. Among the ill effects which he describes it can have on the body are: amarae eructationes, nocturnae illusiones, foetidae

egestiones, imbecillitas membrorum languentium. (ed. Thomas Wright, R.S. 34, London, (1862), p.353.)

13] Cf. ut dicit Ieronimus:Venter mero estuans de facili spumat in libidinem, in the Summa de Penitentia of Serlo, in Medieval Studies 58, (1976), p.83. Serlo also makes a reference to the liver: Et Esicius super Leuiticum, tercio: Iecur ministrat uim operationis renibus. v. also Peter the Chanter, Verbum Abbreuiatum, (P.L.205.332.) Venter enim mero aestuans de facile labitur in libidinem.

14] gecurque morbidum: v.the verses in the hymn Summae Parens clementiae appointed for Matins on Saturday:

Lumbos jecurque morbidum
Flammis adure congruis.

(ed.Rev'd.Joseph Connelly, Hymns of the Roman Liturgy, London, (1957), p.12.)

19f] For a list of similar ailments caused by heavy drinking v.p.145/24.

page 54.

7f] Something seems to be missing. Perhaps the scribe has accidentally omitted a passage relating to the words of Ps.126,1. Nisi dominus edificauerit domum, in uanum laborauerunt qui edificant eam.

11f] For more detailed treatment of a canon's habit v.104/23-105/4.

17] sinceris amictibus: Presumably refers not to almuces but to amices. DML. amictus/ um / a gives generally, garment, robe, or, specifically the amice - the large square of white linen worn around the shoulders or set upon the head. The Latin was influenced by almucia and vice versa, confusion arising

out of the letter a which seems to be the Arabic article. The almuce was a fur lined garment, shaped like a hood, and worn about the shoulders for protection against the cold. (For detailed accounts of the development of the shape and use of this article of clothing v. Edwin C. Clark, "English Academical Costume," The Archaeological Journal 50, (1893), and E.T.Beaumont, Ancient Memorial Brasses, O.U.P., (1913), reprinted in Charles A.Franklyn's Academical Dress from the Middle Ages to the Present Day, W.E.Baxter, (1970), pp.23, 59-60, 62.) The above commentators note that the almuce came to be reserved for high ranking members of the clergy. For its use among regular canons v. DML note from J.W.Clark, Observances of Barnwell, Cambridge, (1897); in yeme tamen urgente frigore de nocte, liceat illis gestare almucia simplicia de panno nigro ultra colli medium protensa.

19] Pulla uestis: "dark coloured". (pulla is actually glossed as blaco in the Mercian Old English glosses, ed. H.Sweet, A Second Anglo Saxon Reader, Oxford, (1887), p.65.) v. Peter of Blois's remarks on the variety of the religious orders. Christus diuisus non est; siue in alba siue in pulla ueste in omni professione et ordine...acceptus est illi. (P.L.207.304)

21] Members of the ordo canonicus were expressly forbidden to wear the cowl. v. Regula Canonicorum, ch.53. (P.L.89.1081-2)

23-29] Campana...uirgineo: These words (fol.127rb. ll.21-30) are written in a rather larger hand and are more widely speaced than the rest of the text, though they are probably the work of the same scribe.

page 55.

18] The Latin is very awkward; Reg.Aug. reads: Sed ecce lateat et a nemine hominum uideatur, qu id faciet de illo desuper inspectore, quem latere nichil potest?

26] No specific examples of places where women are likely to be seen are given in the Rule except for the church.

page 56.

6-7] sicut assolet: Our author neither registers any disapproval of this nor does he welcome such close friendships, unlike John of Fruttuaria, v. the Tractatus de uite ordine et morum institutione (P.L.147.477-480) Magnum enim huius uitae solatium est, ut habeas cui pectus tuum aperias: cum quo arcana participes: cui committas secreta cordis tui ut ames et sequaris eum: qui tibi paterna pietate in tristibus compatiatur, in persecutionibus adhortetur, et in prosperis gratuletur. Although our author refers a number of times to the bond of brotherly love, there is no expression in his work of the concept of friendship, which is celebrated in Walter Daniel's account of Aelred and his circle at Rievaulx.

page 57.

10] erugo uel tinea: None of the versions of the Rule examined by Verheijen has any reference to erugo. Our author's addition of this word suggests he had at the back of his mind the text of S.Matthew 6,19. Nolite thesaurizare uobis in thesauros in terra: ubi aerugo et tinea demolitur: et ubi fures effodiunt et furantur. In this context aerugo, "rust" is hardly apposite; perhaps there has been some confusion between erugo and eruga (DuC. pro hirudo, sanguisuga, uel tinea.). The combination aerugo et tinea was often used in Medieval literature to convey a general impression of decay. (v. Bella Millet, ed. Hali Meiðhad, E.E.T.S.284, p.15/23

and note.) No mention is made of the arrangements for washing clothes. Other versions of the Rule state the brethren's habits should be washed at the superior's discretion either by members of the community themselves or by fullers. The Rule notes that excessive zeal for clean clothes can bring about uncleanness in the soul. The Gilbertine canons were actually forbidden to wash frequently. Generally, the canons seem to have been divided over this practice: the temper of the age stirred many of them, like Geoffrey du Chalard, to put up with lice ridden garments, while others more moderate in their observances regarded such excess as mere negligence and no proof of virtue. (v. Ludo Milis, "Ermites et chanoines", C.C.M.22, (1979), pp.53-54.)

page 58.

23f] The original has been rephrased. Aegrotantium cura, siue post aegritudinem reficiendorum, siue aliqua imbecillitate, etiam sine febribus laborantium, uni alicui debet iniungi.Clearly something has been omitted by the scribe which should have come before the series of words in the genitive.

page 59.

7] singulis: here seems to agree with fratribus; but v.the Rule: Codices certa hora singulis diebus petantur.

17] It was customary to state that there were three forms of murder. v. Alexander of Canterbury, Similitudines, ch.148: Tria sunt genera homicidii...interfectio fratrum, detractio, odium. (P.L.159.685)

page 60.

26] subiectis: All the witnesses of the Praeceptum examined in Verheijen's manuscript survey have ab eis ueniam apart from those manuscripts which constitute his "Ashburnham group" that read: a uobis suditis. The similarity is insufficient to suggest a connexion with that group for our author's text.

page 61.

4-6] ut...unguento: The words are not found in any other version of the Rule.

7] Preceptoris: The term "preceptor" is not used in the Rule of S.Augustine to refer to any convent official. The two military orders of Knights Templars and Hospitallers used it to specify either the Grand Master of their order or the head of a community. (v.Bl.) However the word seems to have had the general sense of "teacher" (Bl.1.) or "abbot" (v.Bl.5).

11] Preposito: Used more than any other term in the Rule to designate a superior. Other versions refer at this point to the presbyter: multo magis presbytero, qui omnium uestrum curam gerit. The writer of the Springiersbach customal includesa chapter on the confusion caused by having different names for the head offical of a convent. He says that presbyter was Augustine's term for the abbot, and the title praepositus was the equivalent of prior.

page 62.

16] spirituales doctrine: The Rule has spiritalis pulchritudinis amatores, "lovers of spiritual beauty",which Lawless believes is an echo of

Augustine's early interest in beauty that is evinced in his anti-Manichaean treatise On the Magnitude of the Soul. (The Monastic Legacy of S.Augustine, p.83)

21] libelli: Augustine's name for the Rule, if the work is authentic. The term "Rule" is first found in a MS of the late sixth - early seventh century.

page 63.

9-10] de...titulo: a verbose expansion of the Rule which reads simply: doleat de praeterito, caueat de futuro.

15] alia directionis opera: The second part of the work is not listed separately in the thirteenth century lists of contents written in plummet and ink on the inside leaf of the codex, but the fifteenth century label pasted on the back of the volume recognises the division between the Admoniciones ad claustrales and the Ibid de opere cotidiano. It is not certain whether the latter consists wholly of extracts from other works as the author's comment here suggests. If so, some of his borrowings have still to be identified. Those which have been traced are: sections from the Ordo Monasterii, the Praeceptum, S.Augustine's sermon De uita et moribus clericorum, the Pseudo-Senecan De uerborum copia, Caesarius of Arles's Sermo ad Sanctimoniales, Jerome's letters to Eustochium, Demetriades, and Furia, Aelred of Rievaulx's De Institutione Inclusarum, and the Anselmian De Humanis Moribus.

page 64.

1f] The second section of the work takes its title from the first of the provisions quoted from the Ordo

Monasterii. In all five sections from this document are found in the Admonitio. Section two, which gives details of the psalmody appointed to be sung has been omitted, as has section seven which is concerned with the allowance of wine on Saturday and Sunday. (With regard to these v. Verheijen, Reg. Aug.vol.2, pp. 143-147.) Some canonical communities were not bound by the injunctions of this text, either because they were considered too strict or because its authenticity was doubted. (Introduction, pp.lxiii-lxix.) In any case, thepsalmody appointed in the Ordo would have been quite anachronistic in the twelfth century (Verheijen, op.cit., pp.149-151.), and the Admonitio is not the only version of the Rule to have omitted it. (Verheijen, [Reg.Aug.vol.1, p.131.], describes another example from the twelfth century: MS.Monacensis lat. 17174.)

2] operentur: It would be impossible to reconstruct in detail a canon's typical day from these lines, which take no account of seasonal differences. At Springiersbach the year was divided into three periods. In the first (during the months of Autumn and Winter when one meal only was taken), work was done from morning till Sext and after the meal, which was eaten after None; the second period, that of Lent, saw work being done until Terce, and was resumed when that office had been sung; finally, in Summertime a similar arrangement to the second was followed. (v. C.C.C.M. 48, pp.94-109.) For the Springiersbach canons' defence of the performance of manual work, v.Dereine, R.H.E. 43, (1948), p.439, who has printed as footnotes several of the objections to it proposed by monastic and moderate canonical authors alike.

page 65.

1f] The Rule itself makes no mention of talking while doing business, but treats separately the question of talking out of idleness. Sins associated with the mouth and the tongue occupy most space in the work (v. 18/23 & note). Alexandra Barratt has shown the same is true in the Ancrene Wisse in her short study of the treatment of the custody of the senses and the sense organs in thirteenth century manuals. ("The five wites and their structural significance in Part two of the Ancrene Wisse", Medium Aevum 56, (1987), 12-24.)

page 66.

1-15] These details are not found in the Rule.

16f] The Ordo Monasterii does not make any reference to the reception of noblemen into the community. This section seems to have been suggested by details in the Praeceptum (I,7), which were treated by our author earlier in the Admonitio. For examples of the admission of wealthy postulants into an Austin community, v. details in The Cartulary of Cirencester Abbey,Gloucester, ed. C.D.Ross, London, (1964), esp. nos.518-9, in vol.2,p.457; 652, vol.2,p.550, and in the introduction Ross's remarks on the order's recruiting from the land owning classes.

page 67.

27] certis: According to Mandonnet's theory that the Praeceptum could have been a commentary on the Ordo, the Rule's provision that psalms be sung at the horis constitutis referred to the arrangements laid out in the Ordo. Verheijen however urges a general interpretation in the sense of "usual, customary"- the sense implied by our author's use of certis. (Verheijen, Reg.Aug. vol.2, p.152.).

page 68.

7-11] Reg.Aug.reads: Et nolite cantare, nisi quod legitis esse cantandum; quod autem non ita scriptum est ut cantetur, non cantetur. (Praeceptum II,4.) This section of the Rule merits long passages of explanation from Richard of S.Victor in the De questionibus regule Sancti Augustini (ed. Colker, Traditio 18, pp.181-227) and the Bridlington master in the Dialogue based on Richard's work, and also by the author of the Expositio in regulam Sancti Augustini. (P.L.176.881-924.) The latter's concern is that changes should not be made secundum arbitrium diuersorum, but that precedent should be kept (firmiter seruandum est secundum scripta et instituta maiorum.). In the Bridlington Dialogue there is a thorough and very erudite exposition of this proviso, noting the ancient practice of the Jews in their recitation of the lessons. Attention is turned to the question of inserting unauthorised additions into the liturgy, and everything is supported with reference to the enactments of the Council of Braga held in 561 to the effect that: Nichil aliud in ecclesia legatur aut cantetur nisi que auctoritatis diuine sunt et sanctorum Patrum sanxit auctoritas. (Bridlington Dialogue, p. 106.) Finally, the question whether what cannot be sung may be read is examined, and it is argued that although this has the appearance of truth (quamuis uerisimile sit), Augustine did not mean his words to be interpreted thus. Luc Verheijen (Reg.Aug. vol.2, pp.151-152-3.) notes that the words legitis and scriptum est in the Praeceptum usually refer to sacred scripture, and he suggests on this basis that this provision might refer not to the arrangements described in the Ordo, as Mandonnet maintained, but to Biblical works; that is to say the Psalms, Canticles and Lessons should be sung, and all else read - an interpretation he believes is supported by the Regula Pauli et Stephani (P.L.66.594).

page 69.

4-5] alterum...fex: This terse comment is not found in the Rule. No source for it has been identified.

6f] This short definition is found in the Verbum Abbreuiatum of Peter the Chanter, himself a secular canon: monachus dicitur custos unius. (P.L.205.368-70). This passage serves as a further illustration of the notion that the canons' writings adumbrate an interest in the edification of their neighour, which was mentioned earlier, v.38/28-39/7 and note. But so keen was the interest in the "apostolic life" in this period that such a concern was not to be restricted to members of the religious orders alone; v. Pope Innocent III's statement about the layman's duty to his neighbour. Omnis homo habens intellectum, illud scilicet talentum quod nequam seruus fodit in terram, si non est solitarius, si habitat cum hominibus, officium habet docentis, quia debet fratrem suum quem uidet errare a ueritatis uel morum uia, ad rectam uiam docendo reducere.(quoted by M.-D.Chenu in La théologie au douzième siècle, Etudes de philosophie médiévale 45, Paris, (1957), p.237, n.2.)

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1-9] Our author introduces his next major source: an extract from S.Augustine's sermon De uita et moribus clericorum suorum (Sermo 355, P.L.39.1568-1574),which gives a short account of the inception of the lay community at Hippo and the community of clerics established in his episcopal household. Along with Sermo 356, which treats the same topic, this sermon was used by the Aachen reformers in the compilation De Institutione Canonicorum, Capitula canonum 112-113 (M.G.H.pp. 385-394). From the ninth century onwards one

or both of these sermons was included in MSS of the Rule attributed to Augustine. Verheijen notes that the earliest example is Vatican MS.lat. Palat.211 (Reg.Aug.,vol.1, p.121). Six of the twenty-two MSS affiliated by Verheijen as members of the "Ashburnham group" (Reg.Aug.,vol.1, p.131-2) contain passages[5] from them, though only two (Carolopolitanus 13, s.xiii and British Library,lat. 13747, s.xii) quote from the first alone. Verheijen has interpreted the appearance of these sermons in MSS of the Rule as evidence of a new period in the Rule's history - the time it began to attract a specialised audience. "La Règle de saint Augustin va devenir la Règle de spécialisation qui veulent se mettre a l'école de saint Augustin: les Chanoines Réguliers d'abord." (ibid. vol.2, p.215) The text of this sermon in the Admonitio is occasionally quite different from the versions printed by Migne in the Patrology and Werminghoff in M.G.H; attention is drawn to variations in the notes that follow.

5] This text is actually cited by Augustine in the following sermon.

10] Non...dominari: These words are found neither in Migne nor Werminghoff.

12-13] Contentus...mea: Apparently the addition of our author.

26-27] magis...esset: These words do not appear in Migne or Werminghoff.

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1-4] Sed...exponere: Cf.the original which reads simply: Sed, ut dixi, domino seruus contradicere non debet.

11-12] Necdum...dispositio: These words are not found in the original, and can be translated either in the first or third person singular.

14] prepositi: Clearly written in MS, but possibly an error for propositi.

25-74/3] Sic...pietatis: Neither the version in P.L. nor M.G.H. has anything which resembles this.

page 74.

4-11] ne lasciuiret...deputantes, solis...ministrare: These words do not appear in the P.L. text or in M.G.H. There it is stated simply: Perueni ad episcopatum, uidi necesse habere episcopum exhibere humanitatem assiduam quibusque uenientibus siue transeuntibus, quod si non fecisset episcopus inhumanus diceretur. (P.L. 39.1570) The adv. melius has been supplied to accompany quam. Of this idea there is no trace in the P.L. text of Sermo 355. It is interesting to note the example of rhyming clausulae in actitare...ministrare. On the vb. actitare, v. DML. (Fasc.1). For the use of the expression vitam actitare ("lead one's life", or simply "live")in the twelfth century, cf.Dunstanus qui...vitam solitariam monachus actitarat. (William of Malmesbury, De gestis pontificum Anglorum, II,191).

16-75/2] Delegit...proposito: This passage seems to be our author's own comment.

24] The MS (fol. 132vb ll.10-13) clearly reads Huius institutionis me laudet auctorem Augustinum. sed si cecus oberrauerit, nullius laudo excessum. This could be an error caused by confusion with the earlier line (fol.132vb l.1): non laudet auctorem Augustinum, or with the line in the source (ch.5, P.L.39.1572): Nemo me laudet, sed nemo etiam uituperet that comes in a

reference to Augustine's refusal to accept testamentary bequests to his church - the passage directly preceding the section about failing to keep a vow which is quoted in the Admonitio (75/1-76/1). It is possible the scribe has allowed an English word to slip into his text. (On M.E. adv. me, "but" - the strong exclamation in the "A.B.dialect" to be compared with O.Fr. mes (Lat.magis) v. S.R.T.O.d'Ardenne, E.E.T.S. 248, (1961), p.113.)

page 76.

4-79/14] Continencie...impartiri: The following has been drawn from a work which became associated with Seneca in the Middle Ages, and which enjoyed a wide circulation in a large number of recensions under the three names: Formula honeste uite, De quattuor uirtutibus cardinalibus, and De uerborum copia. L.D.Reynolds notes the irony in the Formula receiving the attribution to Seneca since the work is likely to have produced as a result of Martin of Braga's plagiarising some lost Senecan piece. (v.The Medieval Tradition of Seneca's Letters, Oxford, (1965), p.112.) The text of Martin's work is in P.L.72.23-28. (For a list of the MSS. v. Incipits of Latin Works on the Virtues and Vices 1100-1500 A.D., compiled by M.W.Bloomfield, B.G.Guyot, O.R.Howard and T.B.Kabealo, Cambridge, Massachusetts, (1979), no.4860, p.410.) Comprising nine chapters treating Prudence, Magnanimity, Continence, Justice, the moderation of Prudence, the moderation of Strength, the moderation of Temperance and how Justice should be moderated, Martin's tract acquired the second title. The third title is derived from the ninth letter in the series of so-called "Letters of Seneca to S.Paul", which reads: Misi tibi librum de uerborum copia. This letter-collection was first mentioned by S.Jerome, who, like John of Salisbury and Vincent of Beauvais, thought they were genuine. (v.J.E.Sandys, A History of Classical

Scholarship from the sixth century before Christ to the the end of the Middle Ages, Cambridge, (1906), p.653.) In a report on a recent survey of more than ninety MSS, which shows there are no fewer than twelve recensions of the De uerborum copia, Jeannine Fohlen has provided a detailed review of scholars' suggestions concerning the relationship of the Formula and the the De uerborum copia. ("Un apochryphe de Sénèque mal connu: Le De uerborum copia", Medieval Studies 42, (1980), pp.138-205.) The majority of the MSS witness the "recension régulière", that is, an adapted version of the Formula followed directly by a florilegium of sentences drawn from nos. 1-88 of Seneca's Letters to Lucilius. Reynolds (ibid.) observes that the De uerborum copia probably took shape from the eleventh century onwards, when the Formula began to circulate under Seneca's name as the De quattuor uirtutibus cardinalibus. Fohlen's survey includes but one eleventh century MS. from the abbey of S.Ouen de Rouen, and only four MSS. of the twelfth century, but one of which is English in origin. The other earliest English MSS have West Midlands connexions and are discussed in the introduction (p.cvii.). Unfortunately, our author's borrowing from the section De Continencia is insufficient to identify the recension of the copy from which he worked, but a number of his phrases seem to be closer to Migne's text of the Formula than the critical edition of the De uerborum copia printed in Fohlen's article.

In the following textual notes A=Admonitio, F=Formula in Migne, and S=De uerborum copia in Fohlen.

4] A adds felicitatem, but follows F in word order.S. has Si diligis continenciam.

5] collige: F.& S. constringe.

6] non quantum: as F. S.has et q.

16] sed..conditus: F.& S. nec ad uoluptatem sed ad cibum accede.

17-18] non...irritent: F.& S. simply sapores.

18-19] Edacitatem...redime: F.& S.Desideria tua paruo redime.

19-21] ut transeat...componas: F.& S. quia hoc tantum curare debes, ut desinant: (F.atque quasi ad exemplar compositus diuinum,) a corpore ad spiritum, quantum potes (F. te festina reducere.) S. abducere.

22] Si continencie delegeris studium: from F. Si continentiae studes... not found in S. Habita non amene sed salubriter.

24] ut non dominum...innotescere: from F. nec dominum esse uelis notum a domo, sed domum a domino. S. does not have this piece.

26-28] Non...uelis: from F. Non tibi ascribas quod non eris nec quod es; nec maius quam es uideri uelis. S. does not have this piece.

27-28] ut...honesta: F.ne paupertas tibi immunda sit; not in S.

29] leuitas: clearly written in A.; F. reads lenitas. A quotation from this passage found in Alan of Lille's Summa de Arte Predicatoria (P.L.210.161) reads leuitas similarly.

29-77/1] Si...honeste: F.& S. both read Si res exigue sunt, non sint tamen anguste.

page 77.

1] A.omits Nec tua defleas, nec aliena mireris found in F.& S.

2-3] F.& S. do not have the rhyming triplet fugito...precito...precaueto.

8] magnus: F.immodicus; S. non modicus.

10-15] Contemptibilem...facilitate: not in S. but F. has a similar account.

16-17] uox...desidia erit: These words are clearly attributed to Seneca in the De Custodia Cordis of Hugh of S.Cher. (v. G.Hendrix, "Three Pseudo-Bernardine texts restored to their true author, Hugh of S.Cher", R.T.A.M. 48,(1981), p.195.)

18] Ludant: MS.Laudent. emended from F.& S. et cum ab aliis luditur.

20-78/3] Memini...ad inopinata: Not part of the Senecan tract. I have been unable to trace the source of this story. There is no exemplum of this type listed in J.-Th.Welter's thorough account in L'exemplum dans la littérature religieuse et didactique du moyen âge, Geneva, (1973), reprinted from 1927.

24-5] saltatores, mimi, balatrones: v. J.D.A.Ogilvy, "Mimi, surrae, histriones: Entertainers of the early Middle Ages", Speculum 38, (1963), pp.603-619; and also v. J.W.Baldwin, Masters, Princes, and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and his circle, Princeton, (1970), ch.9, p.198. Baldwin notes the terms joculatores (jongleurs), histriones (actors), mimi (mimes), and scurre (buffoons) and the like were used interchangeably, and comments, "an imprecision of terminology reflects contemporary realities". During

the Middle Ages a vast corpus of literature deeply critical of actors was amassed and incorporated into the great authoritative works such as the Decretum of Master Gratian. According to the canonists, ecclesiastical hostility to entertainers was based on their putting their bodies to shameful use as prostitutes. (v. the Summa of Rufinus: Ystriones dicuntur qui ludibria sui corporis exercent et gesticulatione et motu corporis et transformatione uultus gestus aliorum representant.) For Peter's own view v. the Verbum Abbreuiatum (P.L.205.153-6).

page 78.

23] Esto...blandus: The same words are found quoted in the Regula eremitarum (Cambridge Univ.Library MS. Mm.VI.17, item 6): Cunctis benignus sit, nemini blandus. (ed. P.L.Oliger, Antonianum 6, Rome, (1928), p.303.)

23f] Some lines found in both F.& S. have been omitted here, possibly because they do not suit an audience of cloistered religious. Mobilis esto non leuis; constans, non pertinax. Alicuius rei scientiam te habere nec ignotum sit, nec molestum. Omnes tibi pares facies; sed inferiores superbiendo non contemnes. Superiores recte uiuendo non metuas. In reddenda officiositate, neque negligens neque exactor appareas.

25] ultor clemens: The first example of our author's text following S. verbatim rather than F. which has cultor clementiae.

26] Clemencia est, ut ait Seneca: Along with Anselm's Letter to John of Bath and a couple of references to S.Gregory's Moralia this is one of the few quotations in the Admonitio that is re-ferred to its source. It is strange that this short definition should be attributed

to Seneca while the long passage in which it stands goes unacknowledged. Neither F. nor S. have this definition, which is derived ultimately from the De Clemencia of Seneca the younger (ed. François Préchac, Paris, (1961), II,1 (II,3).) The original reads: Clementia est temperantia animi in potestate ulciscendi uel lenitas superioris aduersus inferiorem in constituendis poenis. This quotation could have come into the Admonitio by way of a marginal gloss on the author's copy. It is not unlikely that the author would have had some knowledge of Senecan works from a florilegium, since the Cistercians, following up their interest in the subject of amicitia, were behind a small revival of the study of Senecan and pseudo-Senecan literature. (v. B.P.McGuire, S.C.H. 22,(1985), p.152 n.13.)

29] Again a long passage is omitted which is found in both F.& S. :sed potius his qui per speciem simplicitatis ad nocendum aliquibus subrepunt oppositissimus. Ad iram tardus, ad misericordiam pronus, in aduersis firmus, in prosperis cautus et humilis: occultator uirtutum, sicut alii uitiorum, Vane glorie contemptor, et bonorum quibus preditus es non acerbus exactor.

page 79.

2-10] ut...dono: not in F. or S.

11] facie: not in F. (Seuerus non saeuus) or S.(seuerus ac serius). As regards A. iudex serus, if this were an error, it would be unlikely to be for iudex seuus; though iudex serius would make sense, the MS. is quite clear. This also provides another example of our author's introduction of rhyming clauses into his source.

15-94/12] No major sources have been identified in the pages that follow.

29] cordis triclinio: For a brief discussion of this kind of expression in Medieval literature, v. E.R.Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, trans. W.R.Trask, Routledge, (1979), ch.7, pp.128-144, esp. pp.136-8. There are other examples in the Admonitio, all of which are rather tame compared with the metaphors used by some writers, eg. Peter the Venerable's "belly of the mind", and Aldhelm's "vulva of regenerating grace".

page 81.

3f] For other examples of our author's treatment of this idea v. 36/13f.

page 83.

28-84/1] A difficult and confusing passage (especially quod...fastigium) apparently intended to show how an ostensibly good religious profession can fall apart as a result of a long-harboured evil thought. For fastigium, v. RMLW: in pl.= "endeavours"; L&S: IIa, "highest degree", "summit".

page 86:

8] v. Exodus 33,20 "And he said, Thou canst not see my face: for there shall no man see me and live". And v. 1 Timothy 6,16. Qui solus habet immortalitatem et lucem inhabet inaccessibilem, quem nullus hominum uidit, sed nec uidere potest. One of the sentences asscoiated with the teaching of Anselm of Laon is concerned with the question: Quomodo uideatur deus. The answer draws on the words of Augustine: Non ergo corporeis oculis, sed anime oculis deus suam permittit uisionem quam capacem ueritatis et sapientiae constituit.

page 88.

19] feriare: not in Oxon., Sout., Diamd.; Nymr. has feriari a deponent vb. "cease work", "have a holiday", "take a pause".

21f] Probably derived from the De uerborum copia, (text S.) Cogitationes uagas et inutiles et uelut somnio similes non recipies. (Medieval Studies 42, (1980), p.192,l.17)

page 89.

6] faciam: Cl.fascia, L&S. II,D. "zone of earth".

page 90.

2-3] These lines from Jerome seem to have become a commonplace in works of instruction. Cf. the Responsio domini abbatis ad peticionem domini L, (British Library MS. Harley 230, fol.170, s.xiv.) ed. Antonia Gransden, E.H.R. 75, (1960), pp.464-7. who notes the words ne diabolus te inueniat otiosum appear in the office for the benediction of hermits according to the Rule of S.Paul, the first hermit. And v. the Ancrene Wisse: As sein Ierome leare ȝ. ne beo ȝe neaver longe ne lihtliche of sum þing allunges idel. for anan rihtes þe feond beot hire his were. (E.E.T.S. 249, p.216) And the verse Exhortacio bona ad religiosos attributed to Alexander Nequam. (Madrid, Bibl. de Palacio MS.II.488, Bodleian Library micro-film dep.1682.)

sic operare
Angelus ut Sathane nichil in te spectat inane.

page 91.

10] Dauid: The anonymous Tractatus de statu uirtutum (P.L.184.791-812) cites David in a list of examples of humble men. Similarly, canon 103 of the Aachen compilation, the Institutio Canonicorum (M.G.H.p.379) discusses the conduct of subditi sub pastorali regimine

with reference to David's humility as described in S.Gregory's Pastoral Care, III,ch.4.

19] Samuele: The account of the anointing of King David is to be found in 1 Kings 16,13. (A.V. 1 Samuel 16,13).

page 93.

6-7] MS. ac si largirie: There is a small cross alongside these words on the outer edge of the leaf of the MS, and the letters an have been written a little higher, close to the very edge of the page. A short line has been drawn between si and largirie as if to indicate one word had been intended, but no lexicon has any form silargiria, or silangiria. (v. DuC. siligeria for Cl. secale -is, n. "grain", "rye", or "spelt"; sigillarius, for custos sigilli; and RMLW records the doubtful readings siliginarius, silaginarius, "corn-controller".)

7] fomes: (literally "tinder" or "touchwood") The term fomes peccati is often found describing concupiscence - Man's natural inclination to sin.

22-3] Cf. Volucres sacrificio insidiantes daemones sunt, siue immundae cogitationes quas instantia orationis et cxautela discretionis abjicere debemus. Allegoriae in Vetus Testamentum, of pseudo-Raban Maur, Bk.2 (P.L.175.646) v.too the similar use made of the story of Abraham's sacrifice related in Genesis 22 by Peter Comestor in his Sermo ad Claustrales (Sermo 32, In Festo S.Augustini, P.L.198.1796-1800). There three uolatilia quae abigit Abraham represent mordaces curae, quae non cessant succurere, et cribrare sanctum uiri propositum.

page 94.

16-17] Mementote: These questions were three methods of exciting compunction in the soul (v.Moralia in Iob Bk.23, ch.22,41.); here they introduce material drawn from Caesarius of Arles's Sermo ad Sanctimoniales. (P.L.67.1121-1125). There is a form of the sermon adapted for a male audience known as the Epistola ad quosdam Germanos (P.L.67.1153-60), which is not the version to which our author had access.

22] incentiua uitiorum: Caesarius has luxuriam.

26] Our author has the more grave Moneo for Rogo, and changes the apostrophe. (uenerabiles filiae in the source)

page 95.

1] incentiua: A term used often in the Admonitio, which our author here prefers to the source's peccata.

8-10] quorum...tendere: These words are not found in the source.

page 96.

6-13] uitet...incontinencia: This short passage is not found in the sermon.

10-13] v.also 18/23; 65/17-20.

26] v. 90/2 and note.

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3] v. 36/26 and note. Much of the material selected by the Aachen reformers to go into the compilation for the direction of canons contains references to reading. For example, v. S.Jerome's Letter to Paulinus: Semper in manu tua sacra sit lectio; and his Letter to Nepotianus on the life of the clergy: numquam de manibus tuis sacra lectio deponatur. (M.G.H. pp.371-2.) This reference to reading has not been taken from Caesarius' sermon; his treatment of the subject is quoted below, 97/20-29.

11] nutriat et nutrita: An example of the rhetorical figure traductio.

20] The quotation from S.John's Gospel marks the return to material adapted from Caesarius.

24-5] ut tuta...disciplina: These words are not in the source.

26] ornamenta: The source has annulos et dectralia - words which were probably thought unsuitable for an audience of men.

26-7] hominis...excitancia: These words have been added to the source.

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2-3] ne...commaculare: These words are found neither in Migne's text nor in the Aachen extract.

5] discere: for Cl. dicere. Cf. discentis for dicentis, 98/25.

8] Incorrectly punctuated in the MS. captiuum.certe non est tutum. Congredi...

9] This idea is propounded elsewhere in the Admonitio. It is one of the sources of consolation the Ancrene Wisse writer suggests his readers should reflect on in the face of temptation. In the opening chapter of his Liber de ordine canonicorum regularium (P.L.188.1093) Anselm of Havelberg claims the devil has been appointed to put to the test the whole canonical order which, he observes, has lapsed through the sloth of its superiors and the treachery of false brethren.

14-16] Caesarius has: Contra reliquia uitia oportet nos omni uirtute resistere; contra libidinum uero non expedit repugnare sed fugere. On the use of this passage which resolves the apparent contradiction between the Apostle Paul's words and the advice of S.James, Resistite autem diabolo et fugiet a uobis (James 4,7), v. Bella Millett, Hali Meiðhad, E.E.T.S.284, (1982), p.35, note 8/29. And v. Berengar's Letter to Hermits: Melius est euadere fugiendo quam uinci resistendo. The writer of this piece feels that an explanation is required: Bella dei discreta sunt a bellis seculi. In bello seculi fugiens arguitur de ignauia, in bello dei fugiens laudatur ab industria. (Huygens, Studi Medievali, Ser.III. 8, (1967), p.500.)

18] pugil egregius: for pugnatrix egregia.

21f] Our author has omitted Caesarius' discussion of the corruption of humility, chastity ansd virginity through the sin of pride. This source is resumed at 102/25.

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11f] This is the second time our author turns our attention to death and Judgement (v.p.10), and in so doing presents one of the most dramatic passages in the work which is carefully wrought with many rhetorical figures.

12] ad non esse merendi: merendi appears to depend on tempus which is understood. The spelling causes an ambiguity: mereo-merere - " time of not deserving to be;" or maereo-maerere - "time of grieving not being".

22] copiam: MS. copium could be from adj. cops - copis, "abundant," requiring a noun to be supplied.

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3] Cf. p.156/8-9.

3f] The following is probably drawn from or at least is indebted to the Moralia in Iob of S.Gregory.

10] v.Job 2,8. Qui testa saniem radebet, sedens in sterquilinio. The explanation of this verse given in the Moralia is: Quid enim per testam nisi uigor districtionis, quid per saniem nisi fluxus illicite cogitacionis accipitur? Testa ergo saniem mundare est mortalitatis cursum fragilitatemque pensare et putredinem misere delectationis abstergere.

14f] The comparison of Man's purification and the refining power of a furnace is a common one derived ultimately from scripture. (v.Wisdom 3,5-6. In paucis uexati in multis bene disponentur: quoniam deus tentauit eos et inuentit illos dignos se. Tamquam aurum in fornace probauit eos.) v. S.Augustine, Enarratio in Ps. 61,6 (P.L.36.738): Fornax ista, ibi palea, ibi

aurum, ibi ignis, ad hanc flat aurifex; in fornace ardet palea et purgatur aurum etc. Much is made of the comparison by Honorius in his Quid uasa honoris et quid uasa contumeliae? in which the cloister itself is seen in terms of a furnace. Caminus temptationis est uita claustralis, cuius ignis est districtio regularis. This short, but very interesting, work has been edited by Marie O. Garrigues, "Bref témoignage sur la vie monastique du XIIe siècle", Studia Monastica 16, (1974), pp.45-53.

28] dauitici eulogii: With regard to the prompt forgiveness of David v. the short discussion in Peter Damian's manual, De perfecta monachi informatione, chs.5-6, (P.L.145.725-6), in which Damian investigates why David's sins of adultery and murder were forgiven after he had made a brief confession, though Saul was not forgiven for his failure to obey despite his long confession.Iste siquidem duntaxat id quod praemissum est: Peccaui domino, ille autem: Peccaui, inquit, quia praeuaricatus sum sermones domini et uerba tua, timens populum et obediens uoci eorum, atque idipsum postmodum repetens ait: Peccaui.

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2-3] beata meretrix: S.Mary of Magdala, whose repentance is related in S.Luke 7,36-50. Mary Magdalen became a common type of repentance and a powerful figure in devotional literature. Though many Patristic writers praised her, her cult was particularly popular in the twelfth century when the Life of S.Mary Magdalene and S.Martha began to enjoy a wide circulation. Twelfth century authors who wrote in praise of her include S.Anselm of Canterbury and S.Bernard. For a stirring account of the effect the mention of the weeper had on a medieval audience v. the anonymous Vita Gundulphi, written 1114-1124 (ed. Rodney

Thomson, Toronto Medieval Latin Texts 7, (1977), p.33, ll.47-59). Ludo Milis has attributed the popularisation of her cult not to religious communities, but to hermits. (v."Ermites et chanoines," C.C.M. 22, (1979), p.50 n.92.)

3] lacrimas, lacrimis: note the use of gradatio (same word closing one clause and opening the next), and polyptoton (cases of the noun brought together).

25] Our author returns to his use of material from Caesarius' Sermo ad Sanctimoniales.

28] malagmata: for source: medicamenta.

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16-18] Vnde...corde: These words are not found in the source.

20] uel...mente: not found in the source.

25-27] Munias...reuoluite: These words are not found in Caesarius' sermon.

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2-4] Cf. Alexander of Canterbury's rather more picturesque elaboration of S.Matthew 12,34 in the popular Similitudines, ch.41, (P.L.159.621) in which the heart is described as a grind-stone producing wheat from its opening just as the mouth gives utterance to words.

5-6] ut prodeuntes...alios informare: A fine illustration of Professor Caroline Bynum's contention that the works of canonical writers adumbrate a concern

for members of the order to edify their neighbours in word and action. (v. "Docere verbo et exemplo", and Med.& Hum.4, (1973),pp.3-24.)

23-105/11] The second and most detailed account of the clothing of a canon found in the Admonitio. (v. also 54/14-22.) The details in this and the earlier passage accord with the details in the Rule of S.Augustine which states simply: Non sit notabilis habitus uester, nec affectetis uestibus placere sed moribus. (Praeceptum IV,1) This passage replaces the brief reference to clothing in Caesarius' sermon. No reference is made here to the "clean amices" mentioned earlier, but once again he refers to the dark outer garment, surplice or rochet, lamb-skin lined cassock and ankle-length alb, adding this time a reference to a "clean shirt". For a discussion of the significance of these garments for determining the identity of our author's order, v. Introduction (iv). An enactment of the Synod of Rheims of 1148, at which Eugenius III presided, required a bishop to ensure that canons in his diocese conformed to the standard of canonical dress. The Synod's recommendation is summarised by Adam the Scot, once a canon at the Premonstratensian house at Dryburgh who later joined the Carthusians at Witham, in his De ordine et habitu canonicorum Praemonstratensium: Praecipimus ut tam episcopi quam clerici neque in superfluitate seu inhonesta uarietate colorum, aut fissura uestium, neque tonsura, intuentium quorum forma et exemplum esse debeat offendunt aspectum. (P.L.198.403) Although our author declares he is describing what he considers to be a sufficient amount of clothing to keep out the cold, his list does not include footwear. Hugh of Fouilloy in the De Claustro Anime (P.L.176.1056) does so: Sufficiant igitur unicuique fratrum nostrorum tunicae duae, pellicea una super pellitium, pelles siue pallium, cappa, femoralia, caligae, pedules, et propter labore scapulare. The distinctive garment of the canon he

takes to be the cope. Cappa canonici et cuculla monachi non differunt a pallio militis. Further evidence on this point is found in the anonymous Liber de poenitentia et tentationibus, (P.L.176.1070) whose author scorns certain religious orders, denoting each of them with an article of clothing. Vae a scapulari Cisterciensium, uae a cuculla Cluniacensium, uae a tunica Praemonstratensium, uae a camisia Regularium. The symbolism of the canons' garments is described in Anselm of Havelberg's Liber de ordine canonicorum regularium, (P.L.188.1103). There the rochet is described as toga linea candida talaris et ampla, whose whiteness is emblematic of innocence in life and purity of body, and the length of which is a symbol of a canon's perseverance in doing good. Anselm also notes that the strings or flap of the tunic (lingua tunicae) should be loose (aperta), in token of a canon's willingness to give a good account of himself in teaching or edifying his neighbour; but the shirt-strings had to be done up to symbolise the need to keep the tongue from gossip. On the whiteness of canonical dress, v. Peter of Celle, De Disciplina Claustrali, ch.10. Vestimenta sunt ut nix; uestimenta claustralis disciplinae sunt regularis obseruantiae. Quare nix? quia extinguunt desideria et incentiua carnis, quia castigant afflictione, sed dealbant remuneratione. (P.L.202.1116.) For inventories of the contents of a canon's wardrobe, v. the Historia Fundationis preceding the cartulary of Aldgate Priory in Glasgow University MS. Hunterian 215, fols. 2v-3r, which has recently been printed as an appendix to the only edition of the cartulary by Gerald A.J.Hodgett, London Record Society, vol.7, (1971), p. 227; and v. too Bodleian Charters, ed.W.H.Turner & H.O.Coxe, p.x, in which is quoted an account of the dress and furniture required by the religious on moving into Tonbridge Priory. The dress of the Austin canons is illustrated in the frontispiece to Dickinson's Origins:Canons, from Oxford MS. Bodley 265. Eusebius Amort, one of the Augustinians' greatest

scholars, prints details of a canon's wardrobe from the fifteenth century Statuta et Cerimoniale Canonicorum Regularium per Diocesin Frisingensem, in his Vetus disciplina canonicorum regularium et saecularium, 2 vols. Venice, (1747), vol. 2, pp. 709-710.

29] Skin-lined garments such as this were certainly used by the poor. For a contemporary witness v. Sermon 13 in the Bernardine collection published by Rochais and Binont from MS.Lincoln 201. Tempore namque hiemis induunt diuites uulpinas et marturinas, grisias et uarias pelles ut frigus ad eos accessum non habeat; pauperes uero agninis pellibus et grossioribus indumentis quoquomodo frigus remouere nituntur.

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1] structura: either structura - ae f. "an arrangement" in apposition to pellicea, or fut.pt. struo; for its late Lat.(passive) meaning, v. L&S. II.B,3, "to be fitted with", and v.too RMLW, structus uestium, "suit of clothes".

2] comes: usu. "companion". Though an article of clothing can be deemed a "trusty companion", it is possible comes here has late Lat. meaning "tutor", "pedagogue" with reference to the symbolic significance of the garment's strings. (v. note on Anselm of Havelberg's exposition, 105/11) On comes as a personal metaphor in Medieval literature, v. E.R.Curtius, European Literature, p. 131.

12-107/17] Sunt et huiusmodi...premia feliciter: The author resumes adapting closely the sermon of Caesarius.

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2-3] The rhyming words at the end of the clauses extinctio...extirpatio are not found in the source.

7f] This long list has been drawn from the source, but our author has changed the tense, and has omitted two entries (rabiem concitat, casus exaltat), and has substituted suscitabit for thesaurizat.

22-23] affectata et pruriens simultas [?]: Probably corrupt like the passage above and quite different from the source which reads: libidinis carcer, honestatis portus et ignominiae naufragium; uirginitatis mater, et hostis immunditiae; integritatis dignitas et fornicationis abdicatio.

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12-13] The triplet fugite, aspernamini, expellite is not in the source.

15] combellator: v. Isaiah 41,13 and Jeremiah 20,11. Noli timere, quia tecum sum bellator et adiutor fortis.

19f] Cf.10/25.

29] ad lapidem Christum: Cf.Ps.136,9;and v. 110/16 and note.

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25] Caribdim: For another example of the use of this figure from Classical mythology in Christian literature v. S.Jerome, Ep. 130,7 : nauigamus enim...per hoc mare magnum et spatiosum...ubi loca periculosa Scylla et Charybdis.

26-110/10] Honustus...misericordiam: There follows a long adaptation (in the MS. seven cols. of text) of S.Jerome's Epistola ad Eustochium. (ed. Jérome Labourt, Saint Jérome, Lettres, Paris,(1949), vol.1, p.112.) The letters of Jerome afforded their readers valuable advice on numerous aspects of the religious life and were very popular throughout the Middle Ages.

26] Honustus: MS. originally Honusta showing that the source was adapted at first hand for a male audience.

27] Stadium: For an explanation of the comparison of the cloister with a stadium v. Peter of Celle, De Disciplina Claustrali, ch.11. Stadium dicitur a stando, quia qui in claustro est, stare debet in uirtute cum omni sollicitudine non in uitiis cadere. Stadium autem est in quo omnes currunt, sed unus accepit brauium. (P.L.202.1116)

30] quietus dormit: for securus ingreditur in the source.

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5] hostibus: has been added for rhetorical effect (gradatio and polyptoton).

9] securus: MS. secura.The author has forgotten to change the gender of his source.

15] appropinquabunt: The source reads appropinquabit as in Vg.

16-17] The source reads simply: Quodsi eorum te multitudo turbauerit.

18-20] clames...cogitationum: These words are not in the source.

21] teshaurum: for thesaurum - a typical Medieval spelling.
26] irrequietus: is an addition, not found in the Vg. nor the source.

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Our author has omitted the fifth section of his source and twenty lines of the sixth which deal with the strict discipline S.Paul inflicted on his body, and give a warning in reference to the story in S.Matthew 5,28 that there were virgins who were negligent as well as those who were vigilant.
12] The curious reference to medicus cannot be explained by reference to the source.
17] qui allidit...ad petram: These words are often found in works of direction. v. also S.Jerome's Epistola ad Demetriadem (P.L.22.11145) and the Regula Monachorum (P.L.30.340), and also the pseudo-Jerome Homilia ad Monachos (P.L.30.318) In this work v.107/29; 115/15.

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4] tenentem...sompnus: A piece of advice that is found in other works of S.Jerome, v.J.Labourt, Léttres, 52,7; 79,9; 125,11 (P.L.22).

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3-6] Cf. the opening of the work: spontaneumque domino uouistis holocaustum; nemo coegit inuitos: spontanee subistis iugum paupertatis Christi.

19-117/3] Nemo...effici: This marks the beginning of our author's adaptation of material from Aelred of Rievaulx's De Institutione Inclusarum. This work enjoyed a wide circulation in England in the twelfth century, and was often mistakenly attributed to S.Anselm. (v. C.H.Talbot, C.C.C.M.1, p.636) It has also been noted that it was commonly attributed to Augustine. (v.G.G.Coulton, Five Centuries of Religion, Cambridge, (1923), vol.1, p.355) Many passages from this work were used by the compilers of religious rules and the authors of works of spiritual direction, including the thirteenth century Regula Reclusorum written by Walter the hermit, sometime Austin canon (v. Oliger, Antonianum 9, (1934); the so-called "Dublin Rule" extant in Trinity College, Dublin MS. 97 (v. Oliger, Antonianum 3, (1928); the Ancrene Riwle; the anonymous Speculum Inclusorum probably the work of a Carthusian around the second half of the fourteenth century (v.Oliger, Lateranum New Ser., 4,1); the Responsio domini abbatis ad peticionem domini L (printed by Gransden, E.H.R. 75, (1960), pp.464-467); the Speculum Nouitii by the Cistercian, Stephen of Sawley (ed. E.Mikkers, C.O.C.R. 8, (1946); and quotations can be found from it in Hugh of S.Victor's De Arrha Anime (P.L.176.954), and Alcher of Clairvaux's De Diligendo Deo (P.L.40.851). The work proved so popular that it was translated; two Middle English versions extant in the massive Vernon MS. and Oxford MS. Bodley 423 have been edited by John Ayto and Alexandra Barratt, Aelred of Rievaulx's De Institutione Inclusarum: two English versions, E.E.T.S.287, (1984). Nor was interest in his work confined to these islands. Although Aelred's importance on the continent should not be overstated, (v. Sir R.W.Southern, Medieval Humanism, Oxford, (1970), p.159, who notes "on a European view he is a figure of mainly local interest".) the research of Dom Anselm Hoste into the MSS of Aelred's work has shown that forty six of the sixty eight witnesses of the Speculum Caritatis are in

continental libraries. (v. R.Thomson, Past & Present 101, (1983), p.10) The possibility that the work exercised the hearts and minds of the Carthusians is discussed by Barrett in the Journal of Theological Studies 23, (1977), pp.531-2. It is not surprising that the work had such a widespread and profound effect on religious life in England throughout the Middle Ages. Laying aside the spurious approval it gained in being attributed to Anselm and Augustine, the work's intrinsic literary worth and the reputation of its author built up by his biographer, Walter Daniel, were more than enough to assure its popularity. One of the work's recent editors, Charles Dumont, (S.C. 76, (1961) has noted that there had never before been a work like it, in which was presented a systematic meditation focussing on the mysteries of Christ's life and ministry. Dom Aelred Watkin, however, does not believe it to be as fine as his De Spirituali Amicitia written roughly about the same time. (Pre-Reformation English Spirituality, ed. J.Walsh, London (1965), ch.5 p.64)

19f] This passage concerned with the Augustinian teaching about Man's complete dependance on the grace of God (ch.17) is found again in the Admonitio, v. 136/1-15.

21] ex carnis afflictione: All other MSS. of the work have either et or carnisque; ex has not been emended here on the grounds that it makes sense as it stands, even though the sentence does not run smoothly. The whole passage is uneven because our author has omitted the words: illos tamen tanto dono indignos iudicat, qui aliquid laboris pro eo subire detrectant, uolentes inter delicias casti esse.... In the Admonitio the lines 27-117/1 (qui...exuri) have no vb. on which to dep end. Reading quibus (for MS. qui), the phrase difficile quidem et impossiblile autumo can follow.

Our author has added some touches of his own to this passage, viz. carnis 1.28; diffusas 1.28. The reading coinquinari 1.31 is shared only with British Library MS.Digby 218, s.xiii-xiv (once at Merton College). His addition of pueros 1.29 is interesting, since only one other MS. of the work has this reading (Rijksuniversiteit MS.104, s.xiv, formerly in the Charterhouse of Utrecht), but no link between them can be assumed.

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2] Cf.the source: Difficile hoc, utrum autem impossible, tu uideris, and the second version of this: Si non sit impossibile nisi deo uires ministrante tu uideres.

8-118/20] This passage is based upon ch. 18 of the De Inst. Inc., and like the section above is found a second time in the Admonitio. (136/18f) Both versions differ considerably from other MS witnesses, and, in some lines, from one another; furthermore, both of them contain mistakes. It could not be said our author had improved upon the original, if one were to assume that these adaptations were produced from one good copy of the work. It is unlikely he was attempting to recall Aelred's original from memory: if that had been the case one would have expected a much freer, and probably more felicitous, narrative.

13f] The orginal reads simply: erexit se contra se, et aduersus carnem suam immanissimum concipiens odium, nihil magis quam quod eam afflictaret expetebat.

18] fomenta carnis: for source: quae ei de iure debebantur.

21] For a full explanation of this metaphor v. 160-161; an earlier example of its use is found above. (33/4f)

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1] ingluuies: MS.ingluuia not attested in any lexicon.

4] compescendam...fornicationem: Aelred has simply, spiritus fornicationis.

6] plasmatoris: It is interesting our author has preferred this term to the more personal form of address, Jesus, in the source, especially at a time when the Cistercians' devotion to the Holy Name was proving attractive.

10] intime securitatis munimen: another example of our author's preference for a verbose expression rather than the straightforward term securitas in the source.

21-119/16] Hiis...expellere: This passage is not drawn from the De Inst. Inc.

26] The words ex intimo affectu have been substituted for the usual scriptural ex tota mente. The term affectus had become an important word in the Cistercians' understanding of psychology. Gilson notes that it refers to "one of four fundamental emotions out of which all the others are composed. These are: amor, timor, gaudium, and tristitia." The Mystical Theology of S.Bernard, trans. A.H.C.Downes, London, (1940), p.101.

27] consumant: for Cl. consummant.

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16-120/4] Semper...saginent: This passage is based on Aelred's De Inst. Inc. ch.20, (C.C.C.M.1, p.654; P.L.32.1461).

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1-4] The difficulty here could be the result of a mistake in the author's adaptation. The source reads: Dormientis somnia haerens memoriae aliqua de Scripturis sententia condiat.

10-23] lectulo...excipiat: De Inst. Inc., ch.16, (C.C.C.M. 1,p.651-2). This short passsage is preceded by a commendation of virginity that would not have been a suitable text for a male audience. Our author has omitted Aelred's "bridge" between these sections (the words pudicitiam tuam commenda deo), and has written instead cogitationum...mussitationes.

13] armatus: MS. gives correction for armata showing that the author was working from a copy of the text which had not previously been adapted for male readers.

18] dissolutior: MS.difficultior. late Lat. for Cl.difficilior ? None of the MSS. has any variant of dissolutior for which difficultior could be a scribal error.

28-121/6] decet meminisse...ociosis uerbis: This passage is based on S.Jerome's Epistola ad Demetriadem, ch.7, ed. Jérome Labourt, Lettres, Paris, (1961), vol.7, p.176.

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1] inhieris: The source reads: inisti pactum cum aduersario tuo, dicens ei: Renuntio tibi, diabole et seculo tuo, et pompe tue et operibus tuis. There seems to be no reason why the verb is subj. here; in any case the moods are often used interchangeably in Med.Lat. The presence of h is confusing, making ineo - "to enter upon" look like inhio - "gaze upon". Cf.: laboriosum certamen inhisti (127/9).

4-6] unde...uerbis: Our author's compression of his source material loses the full effect of the legal terms Jerome uses to make clear it is the devil who has the right to hand the sinner over to God the Judge for taking something that was his. Our author omits the point that the sinner has to pay the penalty for his crimes down to the last penny. The adj. infausto might have come into the text here from the expression infausto uaticinio some lines later in the source.

7f] The orginal has been altered to effect the triple rhyme persuasio...officio...accessorio. There is also a change of emphasis here, for the source reads: Haec dicta sint non infausto contra te uaticinio, sed prouidi cautique monitoris officio, ea quoque in te, quae tuta sunt formidantis. The change of the position of sed could be a scribal error, however, for our author's first clause pauidi cautique monitoris does not follow on naturally from segniter.

10f] A paraphrase of Eccles.10,4: Si spiritus, inquit, potestatem habentis ascenderit super te, locum tuum ne demiseris.

15f] Our author has omitted Jerome's explanation of the quotation from Ps.39, which he relates to the importance of preserving chastity in women. Also omitted is an ingenious explanation of Ps.103,18, which

is not found in the extract from this letter in the Institutio Sanctimonialium.

17] The image of the snake's shedding its scales is not found in the source.

20f] At this point Jerome follows a different line of counsel, and stresses the importance of not letting the faults in one's thoughts become faults in practice - the idea of the so-called processus peccati which our author covered earlier in the work. Jerome quotes Biblical texts to support this idea, and these texts are likened to little flowers plucked from Scripture's fair garden. He then proceeds to advise Demetriades to keep shut the cell of her heart - a line of advice our author has included. The counsel that is drawn from the quotation of Ps.18,13-14 does not figure in the extract in the Institutio Sanctimonialium.

26f] After the reference to the destroyer of Egypt our author omits more material from the original, in which one finds a discussion of the salvation of the Hebrews' first born in Egypt, the importance of penitence, and ascetical practices, at which point our author returns to his source.

27f] Our author has expanded on Jerome's treatment of the images of warfare, but has omitted his references which illustrate the importance of fasting; ie. references to the Fall being brought about the eating of an apple, the fasts of Elijah and Moses, and the forty day fast of the Saviour.

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18] Two quotations appear to have been joined together. Jerome's Letter reads:.....eius super umbilicum uentris. Aduersum iuuenes et puellas, aetatis

ardore abutitur, et inflammat rotam natiuitatis nostre, et implet illud Osee: Omnes adulterantes, quasi clibanus corda eorum.

24f] Sicque: Epistola ad Demetriadem, ch.11, (Labourt, p.181). Jerome's reference to the fiery furnace of Nebuchadnezzar and a discussion of matters not relevant to male cloistered are omitted.

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2] ad superba: Jerome has summa. After scandentibus three items have been omitted from the letter. Firstly, the short phrase nec tamen si sola fuerit uirginem poterit coronare; next the story of the foolish virgins awaiting the bridegroom; and finally, a note that the subject of fasting is a major topic which has been fully considered by other authorities. This section provided our author with the words; Disce...feditas, since the recipient of the letter, Demetriades, is pointed to other writers: ut discas quid boni habeat continentia, et quid e contrario mali saturitas.

5f] Scurrilitatis: Epistola ad Demetriadem, ch.13 (Labourt, p.183) Our author has omitted chapter 12 of the letter which gives its reader details of how to imitate Christ, her betrothed. Instead our author has supplied further material on fasting.

25f] The source for this section is again the Letter to Demetriades, ch.14, (Labourt, p.184). Perditae mentes hominum uno frequenter leuique sermone temptant claustra pudicicie.

28] Our author has omitted Jerome's words of reservation about discussing greed: superflua reor te monere contra auaritiam.

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8] de prelatorum consuetudine: For a similar comment on the almsgiving of the higher clergy v. the Moralities on the Gospels: a new source of Ancrene Wisse, Oxford, (1975), ed. E.J.Dobson, p.180 no.80. Et sicut manus domini erant affixe, perforate, extente, sanguine irrigate, ita sacerdos et prelati ecclesie debent habere manus extentas ad pauperes perforatas largitate. Qui enim dapsilis est dicitur habere manus perforatas.

12f] The source reads: Laudent te esurientium uiscera, non ructantium opulenta conuiuia.

21] ut: is not followed by a subj.vb.

27-8] It should be noted that these lines drawn from the Letter to Demetriadem, ch.15 are not found in the extracts from the letter that were put into the Aachen compilation - the Institutio Sanctimonialium.

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6-13] Audi...legumina: The source of this passage is S.Jerome's Epistola ad Furiam, ch.10 (ed.Jérome Labourt, Lettres, Paris, (1961), vol.3, p.33; P.L.22.1555), which has the sub-title De uiduitate seruanda. Parts of this letter are also found among the extracts which make up the Institutio Sanctimonialium (M.G.H.p.431). This quotation comes from Jerome's discussion of chastity. It seems, however, that our author was mainly interested in finding details about eating and drinking.

6-7] In the Ms. these lines are punctuated: Audi medicum salutis. temperate medicinam irroganti. They

pose a number of problems: in view of the words about diet which follow, it is unlikely the author intends a reference to the "doctor of salvation," (i.e. to Christ); if temperate does not agree with salutis, it takes on a curious meaning as an adv. qualifying irroganti; if one assumes this pres.participle to mean "demanding", one must take as understood a participle such as consulentem agreeing with medicum; if, on the other hand, irroganti is read as "imposing" - its usual meaning, it seems likely medicum has been written for medico taking the dative from Aude in the sense of "take heed of," "obey," (L & S. Audio, II,c.), giving: "Obey the doctor when he prescribes a medicine...".

11-16] legumina...olerum: The former refers to dry vegetables and the latter to greens and root vegetables.

19-126/6] nihilque...exercendum: Epistola ad Furiam, ch.10, ed.Labourt, p.34.

19] A modified version of Jerome: nihil sic inflammat corpora et titillat membra genitilia nisi indigestus cibus, ructusque conuulsus. In the full text of the letter one finds an apology for the immoderate language: Malo apud te, filia, uerecundia parumper quam causa periclitari. Labourt, however, believes this is the addition of an indignant scribe rather than Jerome's own.

25] A commonplace; cf. Job 14,19. Lapides excauant aquae, et alluuione paulatim terra consumitur.

27] inpreceps: Bl. impraeceps for praeceps.

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5] Our author has changed Jerome's advice (istud pensum domino tuo redde, nec ante quieti membra concedas quam calathum pectoris tui hoc subtegmine inpleueris.), probably because he considered the reference to needlework inappropriate for his male audience. The letter continues with further advice on reading commentaries on scripture, but our author finishes his quotation from it at the point at which the Aachen extract comes to an end.

14] Susanna uoce: Cf. John of Fruttuaria in the Liber de ordine uite et morum institutione refers to Susanna, quoting: Tacebat in periculis Susanna. (Daniel 13,42.)

24] penitencium oratio: Ps.37 is one of the seven penitential psalms.

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21] The full quotation our author (or his source) has in mind is: Miserere mei domine quoniam tribulor; conturbatus est in ira oculus meus, anima mea, et uenter meus.

23-4] nam...uerum: This maxim is derived ultimately from the Disticha de Moribus of Cato (ed. M.Boas, Amsterdam (1952), p.101.), and was known to John of Salisbury (Policraticus, Bk.7, ch.7, ed. Webb, vol.2, p.117), and the Ancrene Wisse writer, who has: Impedit ira animum ne possit cernere uerum. (E.E.T.S. 249, (1962), p.64, l.20). These references I owe to Sister Ethelbert's work, Latin Elements of the Ancrene Riwle.

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16] perparte: v. RMLW, perpars for propars - "by apportionment".

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3] discentes: Cf. 98/5,25.for dicentes.

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18-19] cum iam modico tempore uixeris: These words are not found in the source, and might be taken as evidence of the age of the writer's audience.

25f] This is quite different from the text of Aelred's address, in which comparisons are set up between him and his sister. Verumtamen et me nolo aemuleris, ualdeque putes erubescendum, si post flagitia, in illa uita tibi fuero inuentus aequalis, cum saepe uirginitatis gloriam interuenientia quaedam uitia minuant, et ueteris conuersationis opprobrium morum mutatio et succedentes uitiis uirtutes obliterent.

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9f] dedisti: The verbs in the following main clauses have been changed from the 3rd to the 2nd person to continue the chain of direct addresses to Christ which began earlier (130/13).In the translation a number of verbs have been changed to the 3rd person to make it easier to follow.

23-5] Iniecisti...illis: This injunction does not figure in this source material. They are found later in the work (135/30), where, as here, they emphasise the

importance of a novice's submitting in humility to the restraints imposed on him.

page 133.

4-8] Vagus...motus: These lines appear to have been added to the source.

19f] The two sisters, Mary and Martha, who figure in the Gospel story (S.Luke 10,38-42), are often found as symbols of the contemplative and active way of life respectively in Medieval literature. (On Aelred's own attitude towards them v. Aelred Squire, "Aelred of Rievaulx and the Monastic Tradition concerning Action and Contemplation," Downside Review 72, (1954), pp.289-303.) Ludo Milis ("Ermites et chanoines," C.C.M.22, (1979), p.70) makes some interesting observations on the distinction between the rôles of Mary and Martha with reference to canonical communities. He suggests that no distinction was drawn at all initially in those communities which had begun as hermit groups, noting the first reference he has been able to trace is in the Life of S.Stephen of Obazine. There is a recommendation in the foundation history of Arrouaise that practical work be undertaken by the conuersi, leaving to the canons "Mary's better part". Furthermore, it is likely that ideas differed as to what constituted an active life or a mixed life for a religious. Of interest are the comments of Richard of S.Victor in the De quaestionibus regulae S.Augustini solutis (ed. Colker, Traditio 18, (1962), p.216), where he notes that the two lives caanot be separated though they are distinctive. Que nimirum uite singule sunt et tamen separari non recte queunt: in actione quippe requirenda est comtemplacio dei; in ocio cogitanda utilitas proximi.

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5f] diuitum...sacra religio: Cf.Aelred: Ad ipsos spectat eleemosynarum largitio, quorum est terrena possessio, uel quibus credita est rerum ecclesiastiarum dispensatio. Quae enim sacrosanctis ecclesiis a fidelibus collata sunt, episcopi, sacerdotes et clerici dispensanda suscipiunt. For our author's earlier admonitions on this topic v.Non habes proprium quod imperciaris egeno...nil superesse licet quod alteri largiamini. (25/29-26/6); and cf. Peter of Blois's remarks in a sermon addressed to a cloistered audience: Non reliquistis, fratres, ut pauperibus ministretis, sed ut uobis tanquam pauperibus ministretur. (P.L.207.744).

13] Ite...ignem eternum: Vg.Discedite a me. Ite is a common reading in twelfth century works. (eg. the Bernardine Declamationes, P.L.184.442; Thomas of Froidmont's Liber de modo bene uiuendi, P.L.184.1305; and the pseudo-Jerome, Regula ad Monachorum, P.L.30.417.)

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26f] Cf.132/23-5

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1f] For our author's previous version of this passage from ch.17 of the De Inst. Inclusarum v.116/19.

18f] For the earlier version of the story of the monk v.117/8.

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8] Duricia duriciam: Another example of our author's use of the figure polyptoton (cases of the same noun brought together).

16] The full quotation is: Nil agit exemplum, litem quod lite resoluit - "an example proves nothing when it solves one issue by creating another". It is likely the author owes his knowledge of this quotation to a commonplace book or proverbial wisdom rather than to a detailed knowledge of Horace.

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11f] Deus...alloquitur: Cf. S.Jerome's Epistola ad Eustochium..... The quotation is found in numerous works of direction: v. the De questionibus in regulam sancti Augustini solutis, (ed. Colker, Traditio 18, p.219, 1.28.) and also the Bridlington Dialogue: Cum enim oramus cum domino loquimur; cum autem legimus nobiscum dominus loquitur. (p.163); and v. Twelfth Century Homilies in Ms.Bodley 343, ed. A.O.Belfour, E.E.T.S. 137, Pt.1, p.48.

20f] It is not clear whether this prayer has been formulated by our author for this work or borrowed by him from a collection of collects used by his order. A search through the customals of Augustinian convents has shed no light on this question.

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2] maxime literatis: Despite the growth of cathedral schools in the twelfth century, the monasteries continued to provide an excellent educational opportunity, especially if one joined a house whose

senior members were interested in scholarship. In the Chronicle of Jocelyn of Brakelond are presented the arguments against electing to the abbacy any man known to be unsympathetic to learning. (The Chronicle of Jocelyn of Brakelond, ed. H.E.Butler, Nelson's, (1949), pp.11-13.) Of the canonical houses in England, Cirencester could boast a fine tradition of scholarship in its abbot, Alexander Nequam. (v. R.W.Hunt, The Schools and the Cloister, Oxford (1984); and v. also David Postles, "The Learning of the Austin Canons: the case of Oseney Abbey", Nottingham Medieval Studies, (1985), pp.33-43.) Our author's remarks on the attractiveness of his order are of great interest. Not only clerks but laymen were attracted to living according to a rule, as can be illustrated by reference to the Chronicon of Bernold of Constance: His temporibus [c.1091] in regno teutonicorum communis uita multis in locis floruit, non solum in clericis et monachis religiosissime commanentibus uerum etiam in laicis, se et sua ad eamdem communem uitam deuotissime offerentibus. (P.L.148.1407. This reference I owe to M.-D.Chenu, La théologie au douzième siècle, Paris, (1957), p.238, n.1).

7] satis equales: In legal theory regular canons, even the most austere and contemplative, were secular clergy although they belonged to a religious order. v. Dobson, Origins:AW., p.47.

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7-14] Memorialis...potiora: These lines are not found in Aelred.

10] adamantino lapidi: For a useful bibliography of early writings on the stone adamant, v. Peter Kitson, "Lapidary traditions in Anglo-Saxon England: part I, the background; the Old English Lapidary", Anglo Saxon England, 7, (Cambridge), pp.24-5.

15-31] The author's compression of his source obscures the sense of this passage. The original reads: ....quidam a salutaribus exercitiis quodam retrahuntur timore, ne uidelicet propter nimiam abstinentiam uel uigilias immoderatas incidant in languorem, et ita afficiantur aliis oneri sibi autem dolori. Haec excusatio nostra in peccatis nostris. Quam pauci, quam pauci sunt hodie, quos talis feruor igniuit. Omnes sapientes sumus, omnes prouidi, omnes discreti. Procul odoramus bellum, et sic morbum corporis antequam sentiatur formidamus, ut languorem animae quem presentem sentimus territi negligamus, quasi tolerabilius sit flammam libidinis quam uentris tolerare rugitum, aut non multo melius sit continuo languore carnis uitare lasciuiam, quam sanum et incolumen in eius redigi seruitutem. Quid enim interest utrum abstinentia an languore caro superbiens comprimatur, castitas conseruetur?

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7f] The quotation from Ps.36 is not found in the De Inst. Inclusarum at this point.

10] In the De Inst. Inclusarum the sentence: Hoc est certum ac securum uirtutum omnium fundamentum refers to an earlier comment on the importance of preserving chastity which withers without humility. (C.C.C.M. 1, p.656.)

10-143/2] Hec...domus partem: Based upon ch.24 of the De Inst.Inclusarum, (C.C.C.M.1, p.656-7, P.L.32.1462).

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3] faciem...uenustare: These words are not found in the source.

7-18] Qua fronte...delicias: Cf.De Inst. Inclusarum, ch. 24, (C.C.C.M.1, p.656,, P.L.32.1462).

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22-31] Sunt et...incendio: These lines are not found in the De Inst. Inclusarum.

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1-19] For the last time our author turns his reader's attention to the events of Doomsday. The source for this section has not been identified, though it is similar in tone to some passages in the Meditations attributed to S.Anselm. (v. esp. Meditatio II, P.L. 158.722.)

12f] The words Dies illa dies irae are the earliest reference to the Sarum Sequence in the Mass of the Dead - lines which provide the opening of the famous thirteenth century hymn written by Thomas of Celano. (v. The Church of our Fathers, ed.G.W.Hart and W.H.Frere, London ,(1904), vol.4, p.204, n.56.) The words Dum ueneris iudicare saeculum per ignem are a late addition to the Responsory, Libera me. (v.Fernand Cabrol, Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de liturgie, Paris, (1907), vol.1, "Absoûte", p.203.

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1-2] affectus, affectuum: A further illustration of our author's liking for the figure of polyptoton. Here he adds the device of paronomasia (play upon the sound of words) with effectus (l.2)

28] conuictu uite tue: A difficult expression to translate. For conuictus DML. gives: a) living together, companionship; b) company, retinue; c)

(allowance of) food, and battels. No evidence of the last meaning - a word from the universities - is adduced here (or in RMLW.) from sources earlier than the sixteenth century; though it suits the context here: "purged from your life's account". More likely, however, is the earlier meaning, as found in Aelred's De Inst. Inclusarum: ...feminarum et effeminatorum familiaritatem atque conuictum infra metas necessitas cohibeamus.(C.C.C.M. 1, p.656, l.657.)

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4-5] Cf.11/7 & 95/14.

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13f] Most of the material that follows has been drawn from the De Humanis Moribus printed by Sir R.W.Southern and Dom F.S.Schmitt in Memorials of S.Anselm, London, (1969). (For further details about the provenance and composition of this very popular collection of similitudes v. Introduction, p.lxxvii and ciii.)

19] a uentorum turbine: No mention is made of the wind in the source; the addition of this detail is effective since it provides a link with the idea of the insidiis demonum.

24f] Anselm explains the comparison in the following terms: Hec itaque solum uel terra pura est humilitas, cuius cunctis uirtutibus congruit natura easque uelut firmum fundamentum sustentat.

25f] The sense is clearer in the original, which reads: Tamdiu enim uirtutes aliae subsistere ualent, quamdiu firmamentum humilitatis retinent.

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2] clarissima: supplied, presumably by our author, to complement splendissima. The source reads: in cuius cacumine lux splendidissima, in ualle uero profunda densitas est tenebrarum magna.

3] The vb. est before tenebrarum has been omitted.

3-12] Our author has made numerous additions to his source at this point.

7-8] quo altius..ei...magis: The points of comparision between these adverbs have been changed from the source which has: quo altius...eo rarescentibus...lux ei clarescit.

20] quibuslibet uiciorum incentiuis: A characteristic example of our author's style; the source reads simply: uitiis.

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1f] Cf. the earlier account of the twelve rungs of humility in the adaptation of chapter seven of the Rule of S.Benedict (Reg.Ben. p.25ff.). With regard to this account Sir R.W.Southern (The Making of the Middle Ages, London (1967), p.219) has observed that Anselm introduced "a new set of steps of Humility and made them stages in a logical progression." He admits that this arrangement does not appear to have been influential, but notes: "the urge towards logical arrangement and a new doctrine of spiritual progress was not a peculiarity of S.Anselm - it was part of the

equipment of the age for which he prepared the way." The explanation of these degrees of humility is much clearer in the two early MSS. of the De Humanis Moribus than in our author's adaptation.

4] assentionis: for Cl. ascensio-is, f.

18-19] quod quidem...apercius euolutum: Unlike Anselm our author provides no further explanation of the degrees of humility, even though he has quoted these lines which promise to do so. In the source an explanation is couched in the form of a simile that is found in ch. 109. It gives an account of a master's relationship with a servant, who, having committed a crime, fails to humble himself in any of the seven ways that have been described.

23f] This material is used again later (154/10f), where it is expressed in a crisper and clearer account. Three qualities are noted by John of Fruttuaria in his Tractatus de ordine uite et morum institutione. There it is noted that uerecundia, taciturnitas and obediencia are particularly desirable qualities to be found in a young man. (P.L.184.561)

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1-5] Hec enim...mentis secrete: These lines are not found in the source.

8-12] Corporis...diligentibus se: These lines have been added to the source material.

12f] Our author has elaborated on his source, which reads simply: Ad haec itaque tria iuuenis quisque nitatur, quia unoquoque eorum ad altiora prouehitur. Our author has contrived to give two clauses rhyming endings.

24f] Our author's words of explanation are not as clear to understand as the brief account in the source, in which each stage of a man's progress in taking physical nourishment is compared closely with a child's being taught first of all to believe in God, then to love Him, and finally to suffer for Him.

27] pie uiuendo: Anselm keeps to the order of the Holy Spirit's gifts and has pie timendo.
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1f] For a similar account of the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, v. the Speculum Ecclesie of S.Edmund Rich of Abingdon, ch.9, ed. H.P.Forshaw, Auctores Britannici Medii Aevi, III, p.54.

10] familiamque domus interioris: A very elaborate tract concerned with this notion of the "household within" is found in the Anselmian tract De custodia interioris domus (ed. Southern & Schmitt, Memorials, pp.354-360), on which was based the Middle English treatise, Sawles Warde (ed. J.A.W.Bennet & G.V.Smithers, Early Middle English Verse and Prose, Oxford, (1974), pp.247-261).

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10f] The following lines do not relate to the previous paragraph, but repeat the advice given earlier (v.150/20). The argument appears to be more tightly organised in the second version, and rhythmic elements like notabilia...admissoria, laudanda...notanda, that are favoured elsewhere by our author have been introduced. A more concise explanation of the importance of each quality is provided.

19] Cf. 6/25-28 and note.

24] Peter of Celle similarly emphasises the importance of redness in his discussion of confession in the De disciplina claustrali; v. too S.Bernard, Sermones de Sanctis, n.10, (P.L.183.435): Gratissima sane gemma in diademate, micans in capite stella, rubor in facie hominis ue-recundi. On this text the Ancrene Wisse writer based his commendation of redness: ne delite3 mon so muchel uorto biholden ase de3 godes eie þ rude of m nnes nebbe 3et sei3 ariht his sunnen. (This ref. I owe to Sister Ethelbert, Latin Elements of the Ancrene Riwle, p. 249.)

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1f] v. Horace, Epistolae, Bk.1,ii, 69: Quo semel est imbuta recens seruabit odorem | testa diu. And v. the Speculum Humilitatis attributed to the Austin canon, Thomas of Freckenham: Sicut et uase corrupto liquor infusus consueuit corrumpi. (ed. C.H.Talbot, Studia Monastica 1, (1959), p.130.) The idea is to be found in the Ancrene Wisse: 3ef eoile schet of a feat 3et ter wule leaven in sum hwet of þe licur. (E.E.T.S. 249, (1962), p.164.) An interesting parallel to this idea of a young man's being "stained" in the wisdom of his elders is found in the Tractatus de ordine uite et morum institutione ch.3, (P.L.184.566), where the salutary influence of the old on the young is compared to the spreading of dye.(qui magisterio quodam et ductu uite colorant mores adolescenciam, et uelut murice probitatis inficiunt.)

14f] Cf. S.Bernard's outline of a novice's physical and spiritual development. (Sermo de diuersis, 8,7-9, P.L.183.564-565.); v. too a similar late twelfth century expression of this educational theory linked with Medieval learning about the physiognomy of Man in the De Medicina Anime attributed to Hugh of Fouilloy: Docet physica quatuor ese uirtutes humanae complexioni

ministrantes, uidelicet appetiuam, retentiuam, digestiuam et expulsiuam; ministrant enim uirtuti nutritiuae...Quod primum enim puer nascitur, necesse est ut lacte nutriatur, donec per incrementa temporis pasci ualeat fortioribus alimentis. Per igitur lacte nutritur, quoties de humilitate Christi nouiter conuersus eruditur. Ex hoc siquidem ubere abstracto de sinu diuinae pietatis, propinantur teñeritudini nostrae laç uerae humilitatis, donec illo pane charitatis possimus perfrui. (P.L.176.1194)

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7-9] Cf. Si enim nutris corpus nimium, exibes impium inimicum anime tue. Iterum si nimio nutris corpus quam decet, occidis ancillam domini, ut ait Gregorius, in the "Dublin Rule", Trinity College, Dublin MS. 97 (ed. P.L.Oliger, Antonianum 3, (1928), p.174. The Gregorian reference is to the Explanation of the Book of Kings, Bk.4, 13-14 (P.L.79.243), and Bk.4,47, (P.L.79.266). The idea is also found in an earlier work in the same codex - the De questionibus regule sancti Augustini solutis, ch.11: Sic etenim uicia corporis ieiunio perimenda sunt ne uirtutes anime perimantur: Etsi hostis perimendus, ciuis tamen est nichilominus alendus; incaute uero ciuis alitur si per hoc hosti robur augetur. (ed. M. Colker, Traditio 18, (1962), P.213.). Also v. the Speculum Humilitatis attributed to Thomas of Freckenham: Incarceratus in corpore infirmo, inclusus in carcere putrido semper cum hoste quem nec interficere licet nec nutrire libet. (ed. C.H.Talbot, Studia Monastica 1, (1959),p.133. And v. the Bernardine Meditationes Piissime, which became very popular in the thirteenth century: A corpore fugere non possum nec ipsum a me fugare. Circumferre illud necesse est quoniam alligatum est mihi, perimere non licet, sustentare cogor; et cum illud impingueo, hostem meum aduersum me nutrio. (P.L.184.503) Grauis lucta et graue periculum est aduersus domesticum hostem pugnare,

maxime cum nos aduenae simus, et ille ciuis. Bultot suggests the idea derives from S.Bernard's third sermon for the sixth Sunday after Pentecost. (v. Sacris Erudiri 15 (1964), p.256-292).

14f] The source is identified here by the addition of the letters GG written above the stop. Gregory (Moralia in Iob Bk.30,18,60, P.L.76.556) reads: Sciendum praeterea est quia quinque nos modis gulae uitium tentat. Aliquando namque indigentiae tempore praeuenit, sed cibos lautiores quaerit; aliquando quaelibet quae sumenda sint praeparari accuratius expetit, aliquando autem et quantitate sumendi mensuram moderatae refectionis excedit. Non numquam uero et abiectius est quod desiderat, et tamen ipso aestu immensi desiderii deterius peccat. Our author has condensed this text, or one like it, into a short, but inelegant, mnemonic. The same idea is evidently behind the account of the five t ypes of greed in the Ancrene Wisse, which reads: To earliche hatte ȝet an. ȝet oȝer to esteliche. ȝet ȝridde to frechliche. ȝet feorȝe hatte to muche. ȝet fifte to ofte. I drunch mare ȝen i mete beoȝ ȝeos gris iferhet. (E.E.T.S. 249, (1962), p.106.) The Latin version of the Ancrene Riwle has: prepropere edere, nimis deliciose, nimis edaciter, nimium, nimis sepe. (E.E.T.S. 216, (1944), p.72.) Similar verses that have been attributed tentatively to William of the Mounts, Chancellor of Lincoln, are to be found in British Library MS. Royal 7.A.ix. fol.26r. Pre, propere, laute, nimis ardenter, studiose. (This reference I owe to Sister Ethelbert's thesis, "Latin Elements of the Ancrene Riwle," p.152.) The same words (punctuated as prepropere, laute, nimis, ardenter, studiose) are found in the Summa de penitentia of the unidentified Master Serlo (ed. from four MSS. by J.Goering, Medieval Studies 38, (1976), pp.1-53).

17-18] The verse Sume cibos modice, modico natura tenetur;/ Sic corpus refice, ne spiritus inde grauetur is found in a collection of Latin epigrams known from B.L. MS. Arundel 507, thought to have been drawn from various sources by a Durham monk (possibly Richard of Sedgebrook). They are printed by C.Horstman in Yorkshire Writers, Richard Rolle of Hampole, London, (1895), vol.1, Appendix 2, p.429, ll.405-6. Horstman notes a similar collection of 280 verses extant from B.L. Royal 17.C.xvii.

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11] Our author begins to draw on the Anselmian discussion whether any good can be opposed to good or evil to evil. His interest in this Anselmian material seems to be for its treatment of the moral issues related to the four cardinal virtues and not for its philosophical speculation. The point about greed with which our author begins is introduced by Anselm to illustrate his notion that two evils such as excessive abstinence and unrestrained indulgence are at odds with one another. The preliminaries to the discussion have been omitted. Briefly, Anselm states that good is the opposite of evil, God is the summum bonum and incommutabile, in support of which is quoted the text from S.James included in the Admonitio.

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19f] The final section of the work as we have it is an adaptation of the Anselmian comparison of the spiritual knight with the temporal knight. This section provides the explanation for the earlier unexplained references to the importance of "controlling one's horse", that is the body.

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24-6] The original is clearer: Sed plerumque miles Christi eius ad modicum cedit uesaniae, ut adhuc domino suo fructificare. Iuxta quod idem ipse dominus de membris ipsius diaboli suos discipulos admonuit dicens: Si uos persecuti fuerint in una ciuitate, fugite in aliam. Quod cum miles facit, ipsum diabolum prudenter illudit. Non enim fugit quia eum timeat, sed ut domino suo adhuc praedam acquirat. Our author's compression of his source and the omission of many points of

comparison between the two knights suggest he was in haste to complete his adaptation and the work.

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13] The work ends here abruptly. No explanation is given of the following points of reference which are explored in the source: the significance of the two reins for the spiritual knight; the saddle of meekness; the interpretation of the two spurs as the fear of hell and the desire for heaven; and the kind of account of the protective virtues symbolised by clothing that is found in S.Paul's Letter to the Ephesians, in which are mentioned the chain coat of good deeds, the helmet of good hope, the shield of faith, the lance of providence, and the two edged sword of God's word dealing out both fear and solace.

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The following letters have been used to identify the four hands in which the longest marginal notes are written:

(a) (b) (c) (d)

Small marks like nota and fingers drawn in plummet are not recorded in this list, even though they occur frequently. All line numbers refer to the columns in the MS.

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1.21. (a) nota de capitulis religiosorum

fol. 112 v.b:

1.6. (a) nota contra parliamenta religiosorum

1.33. (a) nota contra religiosos qui non delectan tur in libris doctorum

fol. 113 r.a:

1.21. (a) nota qualiter religiosi se debent habere in refectorio

fol. 113 r.b:

1.6. (a) nota contra gulosos religiosos

1.12. (a) nota de bonitate abstinencie a ob...(?)

1.31. (a) nota qualiter religiosi post prandium se debent habere

fol. 113 v.a:

1.1. (b) Nota quid claustralibus evenit per inspeccionem assiduam librorum

1.12. (c) nota modum sedendi in claustro
1.21. (c) De modo inclinandi ante capitulum

fol. 113 v.b:

1.19. (d) nota de diligenti custodia circa nouitios (?)

1.33. (d) nota quomodo psalmodia debet in choro cantari

fol.114 r.a:

1.7. (b) nota hic de dupplici genere nouitiorum

fol. 114 r.b:

1.20. (c) nota de acerbitate peccati

fol. 114 v.a:

1.10. (c) nota qualiter homo debet recordari de exitu uite sue
1.26 (c) nota etiam qualiter sedebis in claustro

fol. 114 v.b:

1.23. (b) nota de fallacia huius seculi

fol. 115 r.a:

1.4. (c) nota de meditacione quam monachus debet habere in claustro

fol. 115 r.b:

1.9. (c) Nota hic quamdam similitudinem inter feditatem exteriorem et feditatem interiorem

fol. 146 v.a:

1.13. (a) [?] nota de uirtute sacre scripture