

PARADOSIS

*Contributions to the History of Early Christian Literature and Theology*

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XXI

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JOHN EDWARD CHISHOLM, C. S. SP.

THE PSEUDO-AUGUSTINIAN HYPOMNESTICON  
AGAINST THE  
PELAGIANS AND CELESTIANS

VOLUME II

Text edited from the Manuscripts

1980

THE UNIVERSITY PRESS FRIBOURG SWITZERLAND

PARADOSIS is intended as a series of studies in ancient Christian literature and theology. The Greek term, already familiar to the earliest Christian writers, has been adopted as a title since it is convenient for quotation and reference, while at the same time serving to cover contributions in various languages. It implies, furthermore, both a principle and a programme. Christian theology is by its nature rooted in the past. Only in so far as it remains in living contact therewith is it capable of further growth. Hence any study, however unassuming, that throws light on tradition or its sources becomes by the very fact a contribution to the theology of the present.

OTHMAR PERLER.

Fribourg, Switzerland.

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*Edited by Othmar Perler*

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TO  
MY MOTHER  
and the Memory of my Father

## PREFACE

The present work is the long-promised sequel to *The Pseudo-Augustinian Hypomnesticon against the Pelagians and Celestians*, Volume I, Introduction, which was published in 1967 as Number XX in the series *PARADOSIS* (*Beiträge zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur und Theologie*). In the Preface of that volume reference was made to a second volume which was projected to contain the first critical edition of the text of the *Hypomnesticon*, and to appear as Number XXI in the *PARADOSIS* series. Delay in the completion of the critical edition was due to a number of factors, not least being the difficulty of tracking down and examining all the numerous manuscripts of the text.

To Professor Othmar Perler, my former Professor of Patrology in the University of Fribourg, Switzerland, I wish to express my profound gratitude not merely for the inspiration and encouragement he always gave, but also for the patient efforts he made to bring my work to its fulfilment. Professor Ludwig Bieler, my former Professor of Palaeography and Late Latin, University College, Dublin, and his successor, Professor Maurice P. Sheehy, merit my special thanks for the painstaking assistance and invaluable suggestions they made in the preparation of this critical edition.

Finally, I should like to express my indebtedness to Professor Bernhard Bischoff of Munich, the late Professor E.A. Lowe of Princeton University, Mr. Neil Ker, formerly Reader in Palaeography, Oxford, and Dr. R.W. Hunt, Keeper of Western Manuscripts, Bodleian Library, Oxford, for their unfailing kindness in supplying helpful information concerning manuscripts of the *Hypomnesticon*.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

CCL	<i>Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina</i> (Turnhout 1953 ff.).
CLA	<i>Codices Latini Antiquiores</i> (Oxford 1934 ff.).
CPL <sup>2</sup>	<i>Clavis Patrum Latinorum</i> , Sacris Erudiri III, 2nd edition (Steenbrugge 1961).
CSEL	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum</i> (Vienna 1866 ff.).
CVL	<i>Codices Vaticani Latini</i> (Rome 1902 ff.).
Divjak	Divjak, Johannes, «Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke des heiligen Augustinus, Band IV. Spanien und Portugal» in <i>Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Sitzungsberichte</i> , 292. Band (Vienna 1974).
DTC	<i>Dictionnaire de théologie catholique</i> (Paris 1903 ff.).
Hy <sup>p</sup> <sup>1</sup>	<i>The Pseudo-Augustinian Hypomnesticon against the Pelagians and Celestians, I. Introduction</i> (Paradosis. Beiträge zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur und Theologie, XX). By John E. Chisholm, C.S.Sp. (Fribourg 1967).
Ker <sup>2</sup>	<i>Medieval Libraries of Great Britain. A List of Surviving Books</i> . Edited by N.R. Ker, 2nd edition (London 1964).
LTK	<i>Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche</i> , 2nd edition (Freiburg i.Br. 1957 ff.).
Kurz	Kurz, Rainer, «Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke des heiligen Augustinus, Band V/1. Bundesrepublik Deutschland und Westberlin Werkverzeichnis» in <i>Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Sitzungsberichte</i> , 306. Band (Vienna 1976).
Mazz.	Mazzatinti, G. and A.Sorbelli, <i>Inventarii dei Manoscritti delle Biblioteche d'Italia</i> (Forli 1890 ff.).
Oberleitner	Oberleitner, Manfred, «Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke des heiligen Augustinus, Band I/2. Italien» in <i>Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Sitzungsberichte</i> , 267. Band (Vienna 1970).
PL	<i>Patrologia latina</i> , edit. J.P.Migne (Paris 1844 ff.).
RB	<i>Revue Bénédictine</i> (Maredsous 1884 ff.).
Römer	Römer, Franz, «Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke des heiligen Augustinus, Band II/2. Großbritannien und Irland» in <i>Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Sitzungsberichte</i> , 276. Band (Vienna 1972).
TLL	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Latinae</i> (Leipzig 1900 ff.).

# INTRODUCTION

## § 1. THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE HYPOMNESTICON

As originally planned, the *Hypomnesticon* was to consist of five *Responsiones* corresponding to the five principal Pelagian errors listed in the *Praefatio*; but later a sixth *Responsio* was added to deal with the problem of predestination. Being an addition to a work which in itself formed a whole, and dealing with a new, though cognate problem, this sixth *Responsio* easily became detached from the other parts, and gradually came to be treated as an independent work. This explains the fact that manuscripts containing all six parts together are relatively rare, and that it is necessary to treat the sources of the sixth *Responsio* separately. But the manuscript tradition of the *Hypomnesticon* reveals a more curious feature. By what seems to have been either an historical accident or a deliberate suppression, a manuscript containing but four *Responsiones* – and these the first four – became the exemplar of a very numerous family of manuscripts, including the entire English manuscript family of the work.

Hence it is convenient to discuss the manuscripts of the *Hypomnesticon* according as they contain 1) the entire work in six *Responsiones*; 2) the first five *Responsiones*; 3) the first four *Responsiones*; 4) the sixth *Responsio* alone; 5) incomplete manuscripts; 6) extracts and quotations.

## 1) Manuscripts containing the six Responsiones

P *PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale, Lat. 2034* is one of the earliest manuscripts containing the *Hypomnesticon*, and is a most important witness to a very early form of the text of that work. The codex is described by P.H. Lauer in *Bibliothèque nationale. Catalogue général des manuscrits latins*, Tome 2 (Paris 1940) p. 288, and also by E.A. Lowe in *CLA 5* (Oxford 1950) p. 7. The origin of the manuscript is unknown. It is true that it shows some Corbie symptoms, e.g. the letter 'b' with a horizontal line from the upright connecting the following letter, but it is not possible from the evidence to state with certitude that the codex definitely derived from that abbey. At any rate, judging by the script, it seems likely that the north-east of France was the place of its origin. Dom G. Morin first brought the manuscript into prominence when, in 1896, he published the opusculum of Caesarius of Arles, *Contra eos qui dicunt quare aliis det deus gratiam aliis non det*, which is found in the codex <sup>1</sup>, and thereafter periodical allusions occur, e.g. P. Legay, «Traité dogmatique de Césaire d'Arles» in *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses* 10 (1909) p. 187; RB 46 (1934) p. 190 ff.; E. Lesne, *Propriété ecclésiastique* 4 (Lille 1938) p. 502, No. 8 and p. 506, No. 4; *Scriptorium* 15 (1961) p. 19–20.

The manuscript is a pre-Caroline parchment minuscule, 163 ff., 305 × 210 mm., late VIIIth century, containing the following works: f. 1–2 and f. 162–163 (XI/XIIth century addition) Cassiodorus's *Historia tripartita*; f. 3 St. Augustine's *Enchiridion*, preceded by a table; f. 60<sup>v</sup>; f. 67–125; f. 61–63<sup>v</sup>, and f. 125<sup>v</sup>–131<sup>v</sup> the *Hypomnesticon*; f. 63<sup>v</sup>–67 Caesarius of Arles' *Contra eos qui dicunt quare aliis det deus gratiam aliis non det*; f. 131<sup>v</sup> Vigilius Thapsensis' *De unitate Trinitatis*; f. 151<sup>v</sup> *Miracula in imagine Veronicæ* (incomplete); f. 152<sup>v</sup> *De amicis*; f. 158<sup>v</sup> St. Augustine's sermon *Sicut dominus voluit*. The codex bears the ex-libris of Saint-Martial of Limoges <sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. RB 12 (1896) p. 437–443; *S. Caesarii episcopi Arelatensis opera omnia* 11 (Maredsous 1942) p. 159–164.

<sup>2</sup> L. DELISLE in his *Les manuscrits de Saint-Martial de Limoges* (Limoges 1895),

An important peculiarity of (P) from our point of view is its presentation of the *Hypomnesticon*. It begins by introducing *Responsio VI* in impressive majuscules on the lower half of f.60<sup>v</sup>: *Incipit de libro sancti Agustini id est de hypomnesticon in responsione sexta de predestinatione*. Then on the next folio, where the opening chapter of the *Responsio* would be expected, is found instead a scribal note in red ink: *qua Pelagius arguitur quod curru inanium questionum iactetur* [an allusion to the phrase: *iactatus curru inanium quaestionum*, in chapter 4 of the *Responsio*] followed by chapter 2 from the words: *Iam apertius disseramus...* The *Responsio* is abandoned in the middle of f.63<sup>v</sup> after the words: *ut laus sit unicuique a deo vel poena* of chapter 4, and immediately there follows Caesarius of Arles' anti-Pelagian opuscle, *Contra eos qui dicunt...* This ends in the middle of f.67, whereupon the *incipit* of the *Hypomnesticon* is given in small uncial script: *Incipit liber ipomnesticon sancti agustini episcopi id est commemoratorium contra Pelagianos sive Caelestianos hereticos*. The *Praefatio* and the six *Responsiones* are now set out in their proper order. The portion of *Responsio VI* given at the beginning is not repeated, but is referred to at the appropriate place in chapter 2 of *Responsio VI* with the words: *Locus iste iam cum superius scriptus est usque in eum locum ubi dicit ut laus sit unicuique a deo vel poena* (f.125<sup>v</sup>). Whatever explanation can be given for this extraordinary procedure<sup>1</sup>, one thing is clear, namely, that already *Responsio VI* was looked upon as a distinctive part of the entire work, sufficiently important to be given existence independently of the other parts, and this before the IXth century Predestinationist controversy had broken out in France<sup>2</sup>. A lacuna in the text of the *Hypomnesticon* occurs on f.123, at line 1, i.e. from *unus deus et trinitas operatur. Quisque ergo* of *Responsio V*, chapter 7, to *propter solam vero symbuli formulam* of chapter 8 of the same *Responsio*. The colophon (f.131<sup>v</sup>) is given in the form: *Explicit ipomnesticon sancti agustini contra Pelagianus*.

Finally, it should be noted that the quire-marks in this codex are in the right-hand lower corner of the last page of each quire; they are signed with a capital or uncial letter followed by a Roman numeral.

p. 55 reproduced a catalogue of Saint-Martial of Limoges that had been published in Paris in 1730, and identified No. 128 of that catalogue with (P).

<sup>1</sup> The dislocation of portions of the text of the *Hypomnesticon* in the places mentioned above in relation to (P) is not due to a misplacement of the leaves of the codex before binding. Such a fault may have occurred in the exemplar used by the scribe of (P).

<sup>2</sup> This controversy is dealt with in *Hyp*<sup>1</sup>, p. 41–48.



This characteristic together with other scribal features led Professor E. A. Lowe to conclude that the scribe who wrote the *Hypomnesticon* in (P) copied the text from a much earlier manuscript, probably one of the VIth century<sup>1</sup>. For this reason we may consider (P) to be a witness to a very early form of the text of the *Hypomnesticon*.

- v *VATICANUS*, Lat. 491 is described by A. Reifferscheid in *Bibliotheca Patrum Latinorum Italica*, 1 Band (Vienna 1870) p. 442–43<sup>2</sup>; by Marcus Vattasso and Pius Franchi de' Cavalieri in CVL, Tome I (Rome 1902) p. 371–72; more completely by E. A. Lowe in CLA, I (Oxford 1934) p. 3, No. 5a and 5b, with a reproduction of f. 37; and Oberleitner, p. 266. The codex consists of 52 leaves, ca. 265 × 197 mm., but because f. 19 is numbered 18<sup>a</sup> – presumably because of a mistake – the foliation led Lowe to conclude that the codex consists of 51 leaves. Written carelessly in a debased Irish minuscule, it derives from north Italy, possibly Bobbio, and is ascribed by Vattasso-Franchi de' Cavalieri and by Lowe to the second half of the VIIIth century.

The contents are: f. 1 *Sancti Augustini expositio quarundam propositio-  
num ex Epistula ad Romanos*; f. 14 *Expositio epistulae ad Galatas*; f. 34 *Liber Hypomnesticon sancti Augustini episcopi, id est, Commemoratorium  
contra pelagianos sive caelestianos hereticos*; f. 50<sup>v</sup> *Item quid domus [corr.  
domnus] Cessar[is] [corr. Caesaris] sensit contra eos qui aiunt quare aliis  
det deus gratiam aliis non det*. As Lowe pointed out (*loc. cit.*) *Ambrosia-  
ster in epistulas Pauli*, now Florence, Laur. Ashburnham 60 (16), was  
formerly part of V, i.e. quires VI to XV, and occupied a position in  
this manuscript between Augustine's *Expositio epistulae ad Galatas* –  
with which the quire-marks are continuous – and the *Hypomnesticon*.  
However, Reifferscheid, Vattasso-Franchi de' Cavalieri and Lowe did

<sup>1</sup> On 13th October, 1964, I discussed (P), or rather the sections of it containing the *Hypomnesticon* with Professor E. A. Lowe, who was working in the Manuscript Department of the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, that day. On that occasion he drew my attention to the quire-marks and other scribal features of the codex. He concluded with the remark that the manuscript was probably a copy of a VIth century exemplar. Interesting light is thrown by Lowe on the significance of quire signatures and other features for dating early manuscripts in «Some Facts about our Oldest Latin Manuscripts» in *The Classical Quarterly*, XIX (1925) p. 197–208, and «More Facts about our Oldest Latin Manuscripts» in the same review, XXII (1928) p. 43–62. Both articles are reproduced in E. A. Lowe *Palaeographical Papers 1907–1965*. Edited by Ludwig Bieler, Vol. 1 (Oxford 1972) p. 187–202; 251–274.

<sup>2</sup> The description can also be found under the title, «Die römischen Bibliotheken. 6. Die vaticanische Bibliothek» in *Sitzungsberichte der kais. Akad. der Wiss. Phil. - hist. Classe* 63 (Vienna 1870) p. 594–95.

not observe that an eight-leaf quire is missing from V between f.41 and f.42, according to the present faulty foliation. A clue to the omission – apart from an examination of the text – is given by the numeral *I* inscribed in the middle of the lower margin of f.41<sup>v</sup> and *III*, instead of *II* in the same position on f.49<sup>v</sup>. In any case, as a result of this lacuna fourteen chapters of the *Hypomnesticon*, i.e. from *misericordia domini peragere* of chapter 8, *Responsio III*, to *sed iterum respondetis* of chapter 7, *Responsio IV*, are missing from this codex, and this is a serious loss from our point of view, both because (V) is one of the two earliest surviving manuscripts containing the *Hypomnesticon*, and because its readings in many places are particularly helpful in reconstructing the text.

The text of (V) is very similar to that of (P). Nevertheless, there is no question of an immediate dependence of one on the other, and the variants between them are such as to exclude the possibility of their being two immediate copies of the same exemplar. The intermediaries linking them with a common ancestor are probably more numerous in the case of (V) than in the case of the other manuscript. A noteworthy feature of the two manuscripts is the association in both of the *Hypomnesticon* with Caesarius of Arles' anti-Pelagian opuscle, *Contra eos qui dicunt... non det.* The *incipit* of our work (f.50<sup>v</sup>) appears in the form: *In Xristi nomine incipit hypomnesticon sancti augustini episcopi id est commemoratorium contra pelagianos sive caelestianos hereticos.* At the end (f.50<sup>v</sup>) the work is summarily dismissed with the word *Finit.*

PARIS, *Bibliothèque nationale*, Lat. 12220 is an early IXth century codex deriving from the Benedictine Abbey of Saint-Pierre of Corbie in the north-east of France <sup>1</sup>. It is first mentioned in a catalogue of the Corbie library compiled about 1200 A.D. <sup>2</sup> We find it listed again in

<sup>1</sup> Though L. DELISLE in his *Inventaire des manuscrits latins conservés à la Bibliothèque nationale sous les numéros 8823–18613* (Paris 1863–1871) p. 41 and J. ZYCHA in CSEL 25 (1891) p. xxiv–xxv and A. GOLDBACHER in CSEL 58 (1923) p. xlii–xliii assign this manuscript to the Xth century, I concluded from an examination of the script that it is early IXth century. In a private communication Professor Bernhard Bischoff of Munich informed me that he dates it the first half of the IXth century. He believes that the manuscript was probably written, not in Corbie, but somewhere in the east of France.

<sup>2</sup> This catalogue is found in MS. 520 (f.2) of the Collection of Queen Christina of Sweden in the Vatican Library. The text was first published by L. DELISLE in *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes* 21 (1860) p. 499–511; later by the same author in *Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale*, Tome 2 (Paris 1874) p. 432–440. Gustav Becker published it in 1885 in *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui* (Bonn) p. 277–285; as did also E. COYECQUE in *Catalogue général des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements*, Tome 19 (Paris) 1893 p. xx–xxx.

another catalogue of the same Corbie library that was drawn up in 1621<sup>1</sup>. From Corbie the codex was transferred in 1638 to the Abbey of S. Germain des Prés, Paris, and during the French Revolution it was deposited in the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, where it has since remained.

In view of the importance of this manuscript for the work in hand, and of the fact that no palaeographical description of it has been published, it may not be irrelevant to add the following description. It is true that both Joseph Zycha and Albert Goldbacher made cursory references to the manuscript in CSEL 25 (1891) p. xxiv–xxv and CSEL 58 (1923) p. XLII–XLIII respectively, but their allusions are inadequate, and Joseph Zycha's reference to the quire-marks is misleading.

It is a parchment manuscript, 300×215 (230×160) mm., 154+1 ff. with 23 to 27 long lines to the page; gatherings are predominantly of eights, but the last quire has four folios, and the ninth and fourteenth quires have seven. Curiously the text in these last two quires is intact. The quire-marks have been cut away by a binder except in the case of the 11th, 12th, 17th, 19th and 20th quires which are signed with the letters P, Q, V, Y and Z. This means that besides the fly-leaf, three quires, i.e. probably 24 folios, are missing at the beginning. As the nine missing chapters of the first work, namely, the *Liber sancti Augustini episcopi adversus quaestiones Adimanti*, would not fill these three quires, there must have been some other item at the beginning of the codex when it was first produced. The fly-leaf at the end gives, perhaps, an indication of a missing item by referring to the first item in the codex as *following*, i.e. a work which presumably went before: *sequitur liber sancti Augustini episcopi adversus quaestiones Adimanti*. This lost item is not named, but it can nevertheless be identified with a high degree of probability by comparing the codex with the XIIth century Codex 1441 to be found in the Biblioteca Universitaria, Padua. The contents of this codex and their arrangement resemble those of (C) so closely that there can be very little doubt that the first item in the Padua manuscript was also the first item in its Paris counterpart. That item is Augustine's *De natura boni libri II*. Together with the nine missing chapters of the *Adversus quaestiones Adimanti* it would neatly fill the three quires that were originally at the beginning of (C).

<sup>1</sup> The catalogue is now to be found on ff.43–50 of Paris BN Lat. 13071. In this catalogue (C) is listed No. 44.

Ruling was with a hard point, four bifolios being ruled together, normally from the outside of the quire; prickings are at the side of the page; two bounding lines are visible, and generally the words are widely spaced. The script is a bold pre-Caroline minuscule in two different hands; abbreviations are few; the *incipits* are in red ink and are typical of the IXth century Corbie manuscripts. Interesting marginal notes are of frequent occurrence, for example, on f.21<sup>v</sup>, f.27, f.30, f.40. The codex bears the ex-libris of both Corbie and S.Germain des Prés on f.1: *Liber S. Petri Corbeiensis* (at the bottom of the folio) and *Sancti Germani a Pratis N. 251, olim 216* (at the top). The contents are: f.1 ... *nec verbum eius habetis in vobis* (Book 1, chapter 9 of St. Augustine's *Contra Adimantum Manichaei discipulum* [PL 42, 135 ff.]); f.31<sup>v</sup> *Expositio quarundam propositionum ex epistola Pauli apostoli ad Romanos*; f.50 *Eiusdem ad Galatas expositio*; f.88 *Liber beati Augustini contra Pelagium et Celestinum quod appellatur Ypometricon*; f.129<sup>v</sup> *De predestinatione disputatio contra eosdem*; f.135<sup>v</sup> *De psalmo vicesimo secundo expositio*; f.138<sup>v</sup> *Incipit libellus sancti Augustini adversus Pelagianos ad Sixtum presbyterum*; f.149<sup>v</sup> *Eiusdem epistola ad Hilarium episcopum*; f.150<sup>v</sup> *Concilium Carthageniense ad Innocentium episcopum*; f.152 *Rescriptum ad episcopos Carthagenenses sancti episcopi Innocentii*.

Especially noteworthy in this manuscript, so far as the *Hypomnesticon* is concerned, is the peculiar Latin version of many of the Old Testament quotations used. Occasionally where (P) and (V) follow the Vulgate – *Responsio II*, chapter 1 offers a striking example in the quotation of Gen 3, 16–19 – (C) uses a version found nowhere else outside the *Hypomnesticon*. There is every reason to believe that in these quotations (C) is more faithful to the original than (P) or (V). With slight modifications, the Old Testament quotations of (C) are found to prevail in the subsequent manuscript tradition of the work – the three later Italian collateral relatives of (V), which will be discussed in their proper place, are exceptions – a fact which sufficiently indicates the oblivion in which (P) and (V) remained. The close association of St. Augustine's *Expositio quarundam propositionum ex epistola ad Romanos* and the *Epistolae ad Galatas expositio* with the *Hypomnesticon* in (V) and (C) is very significant. Finally, it should be noted that the *incipit* in (C) has all the appearance of being an afterthought. It is wedged into the right-hand margin on f.88 thus:

INCIPIT liber  
beati agustini [*corr.* augustini]  
contra pelagium  
et caelestium quod  
appellatur  
Ypometricon

The work ends on f.135<sup>v</sup> with the simple colophon: EXPLICIT DEO GRATIAS.

- M** MONTE CASSINO, *Biblioteca dell' Abbazia, Cod. 162* was described by A. Reifferscheid in *Bibliotheca Patrum Latinorum Italica*, Tome 2 (Vienna 1871) p. 339–341 <sup>1</sup>. A fuller description is to be found in *Bibliotheca Casinensis seu Codicum Manuscriptorum qui in tabulario Casinensi asservantur series*, Tome 3 (Monte Cassino 1877) p. 389–395, with a reproduction in colour of the opening sentences of the *Hypomnesticon* on Table XX, opposite p. 384. The foliation of the manuscript that is given in the foregoing works has been changed, and for accuracy in this regard D. Mauro Inguañez, *Codicum Casinensium Manuscriptorum Catalogus*, Vol. 1 (Monte Cassino 1915) p. 249–250, must be consulted. Cf. CSEL 58 (1923) p. xxxiii; Oberleitner, p. 44. The codex is ascribed to the second half of the XIth century by E.A. Lowe in *The Beneventan Script. A History of the South Italian Minuscule* (Oxford 1914) p. 345. It is a parchment codex, 265×195 mm., 164 ff. with 26 long lines to the page, and contains almost exclusively works by St. Augustine in the following order: p. 1 *Retractationum liber I*, cap. 26; p. 10 *De diversis quaestionibus* as far as *Quaestio 62* inclusive; p. 89 *De quantitate animae*; p. 155 the *Hypomnesticon*; p. 241 the Pseudo-Augustinian *De salutaribus documentis fragmentum...*; p. 243 *De Trinitate, liber 8*; p. 245 *Epistulae*; p. 261 *De unitate Trinitatis*; p. 300 *De praesentia dei*; p. 312 *Sermones*. The beautiful Beneventan script in which the codex is written is most impressive, but dampness has seriously affected a number of pages, and the deciphering of the text of the *Hypomnesticon* in these places is made somewhat difficult.

p. 155 Incipit liber primus ypomnesticon Sancti augustini episcopi. Adversarii catholicae fidei... p. 241 indebitam praerogare. Amen.

<sup>1</sup> The description can also be found under the title, «Die Bibliothek von Monte Cassino» in *Sitzungsberichte der kais. Akad. der Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe*, 71 (Vienna 1872) p. 71–73.

**m1** *MANTUA, Biblioteca Comunale, D.III.12 (N° 438)*. Cf. Oberleitner, p. 134–35. This is a carefully written XIth century parchment codex, 275×167 mm., 1+219 ff. with 36 long lines to the page. It contains twelve works, all of them attributed to St. Augustine: f.1<sup>v</sup> *Contra epistolam Parmeniani libri III*; f.57 *Epistola 53*; f.69<sup>v</sup> *De cura pro mortuis gerenda liber I*; f.82<sup>v</sup> *De coniugiis adulterinis libri II*; f.105<sup>v</sup> *De bono coniugali liber I*; f.120 the *Hypomnesticon*; f.158 *De gratia Christi et de peccato originali libri II*; f.178<sup>v</sup> *Adversus quinque haereses*; f.187<sup>v</sup> *De haeresibus*; f.202<sup>v</sup> *De correctione Donatistarum liber*; f.213<sup>v</sup> *Epistola 238*; f.218 *De creatione primi hominis tractatus*. The text of the *Hypomnesticon* in this codex is rather closely related to that of (C), but it has a number of readings which it shares with a distinctive group of Italian manuscripts which will be discussed later. It derives from the Monastery of St. Benedict de Padolirone, as the entry on the first folio indicates: *Liber Monasterii Sancti benedicti de padolirone. 222*.

f.120 Incipit liber hypomnesticon augustini contra pelagianos. Et celestianos. Hereticos. Adversarii catholice fidei... f.157<sup>v</sup> indebitam praerogare. Then (in a later hand) is added the colophon: Explicit liber ipomnesticon augustini contra pellagianos et celestianos hereticos.

**c** *ROME, Biblioteca dell' Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana, 41-E-39 (Rossi, 291)* is an XIth century parchment codex. Cf. Oberleitner, p. 215–16.

Of the fourteen items contained in this volume, the *Hypomnesticon* is the first (f.1–42<sup>v</sup>), and it is immediately followed by the *Quid domnus Caesarius sensit contra eos qui dicunt quare aliis det deus gratiam aliis non det*, which we already found accompanying the *Hypomnesticon* in two earlier manuscripts, namely, (P) and (V). It is with the latter that the Corsini text is more closely associated, as appears directly from the order of the two associated works; the *Hypomnesticon* in both is followed immediately by Caesarius's opusculum, and the word 'sensit' in the *incipit* of (V), rather than 'senserit' in that of (P) is copied in the Corsini manuscript. What makes this manuscript particularly valuable is the fact that it supplies the serious lacuna in (V) resulting from the loss of a quire between f.41 and f.42 according to the present faulty foliation.

186×118 mm., 2+131. 32 long lines to the page.

f. In Christi nomine incipit Liber ypomnesticon sancti augustini episcopi, id est, commemoratorium contra pelagianos sive caelestianos Haereticos. Adversarii catholice fidei... f. 36<sup>v</sup> in saecula saeculorum. Amen Explicit.

f. 37 Incipit de praedestinatione disputatio contra eosdem. Licet latius de gratia et libero arbitrio iam superius disputatum sit, addere etiam hoc... f. 42<sup>v</sup> indebitam praerogare. Finit Deo gratias.

The *incipit* of the sixth *Responsio* and its opening sentence are surprising because they differ from those of (P) and (V), and conform rather to those of the Franco-Italian family of which (C) is the earliest known member.

- m MONTE CASSINO, *Biblioteca dell' Abbazia, Cod. 166* must be associated with (M). It belongs to the following century, i.e. the XIIth, and is ascribed by E. A. Lowe (*op. cit.*, p. 345) to the second half of that century. Descriptions are to be found in the places noted in the case of (M), and a reproduction in colour of a fragment of the text is found on Table XXI, opposite p. 398 of *Bibliotheca Casinensis...* (*supra cit.*, p. 400–401).

250 × 170 mm., 302 pp., 2 columns of 39 lines to the page. The present pagination is defective because the librarian in numbering p. 181 wrote 191. Hence the number of pages in the codex given by D. Mauro Inguañez (*op. cit.*, p. 252) is incorrect. Six works from the pen of St. Augustine, together with the *Hypomnesticon*, are found in this volume: p. 1 *Contra Academicos, liber I – III*; p. 55 *De beata vita*; p. 73 *De immortalitate animae*; p. 86 *De ordine*; p. 130 *De quantitate animae*; p. 173 the *Hypomnesticon*; p. 243 *De nuptiis et concupiscentia*.

The text of the *Hypomnesticon* in this codex is practically identical with that of (M), and it is clear that it is a copy. Nevertheless, it has a useful function to fulfil in deciphering portions of (M) that have become illegible as a result of dampness.

- p1 PARIS, *Bibliothèque nationale, Lat. 12223*, though early XIIth century, has the distinction of being the earliest extant manuscript containing Ambrosiaster's *Quaestiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti*. Cf. A. Souter, *Pseudo-Augustini Quaestiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, CSEL 50 (1908) p. xxvii; P. Legay, *Revue critique d'histoire et de littérature*, Tome 68 (1909) p. 84–85.

What Souter had to say of the *Quaestiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti* is true also of the *Hypomnesticon*, namely, «textum satis bonum exhibet; manifestum est eum descriptum esse ex codice aliquo diligentissime correcto ita ut aliqua serae latinitatis indicia scriptoris propria delerentur» (*op. cit.*, p. xxvii). There is no doubt that the text of the *Hypomnesticon* found in this codex is closely related to that of (C), and is in its turn the parent of Paris BN Lat. 15303.

In the absence of any published palaeographical description, I append the following notes. It is a rough parchment codex, 285×200 (220×150) mm., 116 ff., with a folio containing a fragment (IXth century) of a commentary on Ezechiel on both sides at the beginning and a XII/XIIIth century bifolio at the end. The first 48 folios have 40 long lines to the page and the remainder 35 lines. The codex seems to contain two separate books bound together, the first containing the part having 40 long lines to the page, i.e. ff.1–48, and the second having 35 lines, i.e. ff.49–116, written throughout by the same scribe. Originally the items of the first part alone were listed at the beginning of the codex (f.1), and later the contents of the second part were added to the list. Nevertheless, to judge by the *incipit* on f.48<sup>v</sup>, the second part was added to the first very soon after this latter was written. On f.48<sup>v</sup> can be seen faint traces of an erased entry (probably XIIth century): *In isto libro habet prior Sancti Germani de Pratis memoriale... Alexandri*. This seems to indicate that the codex was in the Abbey of S.Germain des Prés already in the XIIth century, and that consequently it was probably produced there. The parchment is rough and the script inelegant. Gatherings are of eights, but the 7th and 15th quires contain six folios. Ruling was done with a hard point, and prickings are at the side of the page. No quire marks are to be seen, doubtless because they were cut away by a binder. On f.1 is the ex-libris: *Sancti Germani a Pratis N. 764 ol. 219*. The contents are: f.1<sup>v</sup>–28<sup>v</sup> the *Hypomnesticon, Responsiones I–V*; f.28<sup>v</sup> *De praedestinatione Disputatio (Responsio VI)*; f.33 *Expositio S. Augustini de Psalmo XXII*; f.35<sup>v</sup> *Libellus Sancti Augustini ad Xystum presbyterum adversus Pelagianos*; f.44<sup>v</sup> *Eiusdem epistola ad Hilarium Episcopum*; f.45 *Concilium diversorum episcoporum ad Innocentium episcopum Romanum*; f.46<sup>v</sup> *Rescriptum ad Episcopos Karthaginenses Sancti episcopi Innocentii*; f.48<sup>v</sup> *Quedam Questiones sancti Augustini de veteri et novo Testamento* – preceded by the *capitula* (f.48–54<sup>v</sup>); f.110 *Altercatio inter orthodoxum et Luciferianum a sancto edito iheronimo*. The link between this manuscript and (C) already mentioned as evident from a textual comparison between them is unmistakably clear also from a comparison of their contents.

f.1<sup>v</sup> Incipiunt Quinque Responsiones sancti Augustini contra Pelagianos et Celestianos. Adversarii catholice fidei... f.28<sup>v</sup> in omnibus nobis. Explicit Responsio quinta. Incipit De Praedestinatione Disputatio contra eosdem. Licet latius... f.33 indebitam praerogare. Explicit disputatio.



f1 FLORENCE, *Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana*. S. Marco 636. Parchment. 261×169 mm., 1+221+1 ff. 32 long lines to the page. Cf. Berthold L. Ullman and Philip A. Stadter, *The Public Library in Renaissance Florence*. Niccolò Niccoli, *Cosimo de Medici and the Library of San Marco* (Padua 1972) p. 153, No. 245; Oberleitner, p. 106. As the ex-libris in a XVth century hand on f.1<sup>v</sup> indicates, this XI/XIIth century codex derives from the Dominican convent of San Marco in Florence: *ex hereditate Nicolaj de Nicolis doctissimi viri* († 1437). It contains works ascribed to St. Augustine and St. Ambrose such as the *De doctrina Christiana*; *De fide catholica*; *Epistola Sancti Ambrosii ad sororem de rebus gestis in ecclesia Mediolanensi*; and the *De baptismo*. The *Hypomnesticon* occurs as the sixth item, f.174–215<sup>v</sup>, preceded by a collection of five prayers and followed by the *Epistola Augustini ad Hesychium de fine saeculi*. What is particularly noteworthy about the text of the *Hypomnesticon* in this codex is its close relation to that of Mantua, Biblioteca Comunale, D.III.12 (ml), and to a group of other Italian manuscripts.

f.174 Incipit Liber Ypomnesticon [Augustini<sup>1</sup>] contra Pelagianos et Celestianos hereticos. Adversarii catholice fidei... f.210 in omnibus nobis. Explicit Responsio V. Incipit De Predestinatione Disputatio contra eosdem. Licet latius... f.215<sup>v</sup> indebitam prerogare. Explicit De predestinatione Disputationum contra Hereticos.

ROYES, *Bibliothèque municipale*, No. 414 is an Augustinian miscellany written in a clear, bold XIIth century hand. Parchment. 330×245 mm., 152 ff. with 2 columns of 30 lines. Cf. *Catalogue Général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques des Départements*, Tome 2 (Paris 1855) p. 184–85. It is typical, in its coloured initials and general presentation, of the XIIth century products of Cistercian scriptoria. The pains taken by the scribe to produce a faithful copy are evidenced by the frequency with which he left blank spaces for passages which were doubtful in his exemplar. These were later filled in when some other source was consulted. In general, the text of the *Hypomnesticon* in this manuscript is close to that of (C), but it is certainly not a direct copy. So far as text is concerned, it is representative of the XIIth century French copies of the *Hypomnesticon* which show in their variants that a more or less standardized text had evolved from earlier manuscripts of which (C) is an example. The codex derives from Clairvaux, as we

<sup>1</sup> 'Augustini' was added by a second hand.

learn from the Catalogue of Clairvaux monastery compiled in 1472 – now Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, No. 521.

Besides the *Hypomnesticon* (f.81<sup>v</sup>–123<sup>v</sup>), the volume contains the *De natura et origine animae* (f.1–15), some epistles; the *Liber contra adversarios legis et prophetarum* (f.38–81<sup>v</sup>), and the *Contra questiones adimanti discipuli manichei* (f.123<sup>v</sup>–152). It is worthy of note as indicating a probable link between this manuscript and (C) that in both the *Hypomnesticon* is closely associated with St. Augustine's *Contra Adimantum Manichaei discipulum*.

f.81<sup>v</sup> Incipit liber aurelii Augustini contra Pelagianos [corr. Pelagianos] et Celestianos hereticos. Adversarii catholice fidei... f.117<sup>v</sup> in omnibus nobis. Incipit de predestinatione disputatio. Licet latius... f.123<sup>v</sup> indebitam prerogare. Explicet.

t1 *PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale, Lat. 2099* is a late XIIth or early XIIIth century copy of the foregoing manuscript. It contains exactly the same works in the same order, benefits from the corrections already made in (t), its exemplar, and accurately reproduces practically all its errors and omissions. The provenance of the codex cannot be determined with certainty as the first two folios are missing and no ex-libris is to be found elsewhere in the volume. However, the script, the initials, and general presentation resemble (t) to such a degree that it very probably had the same place of origin as (t), namely, the scriptorium of Clairvaux. The *Hypomnesticon* is found in f.71<sup>v</sup>–112.

m2 *MANTUA, Biblioteca Comunale, D.III.9 (N° 435)*. This miscellany dates from XII/XIIIth century, and is described by P.O.Kristeller in the first volume of his *Iter Italicum* (London 1963) p. 269, and also in Oberleitner, p. 134. It is a parchment codex, 272×174 mm., 1+141 ff. with 32 long lines to the page. Among the works which it includes is St. John Chrysostom's Homilies on St. Matthew's Gospel, with the *Hypomnesticon*, f.102–141<sup>v</sup> coming at the end. So far as the text of the *Hypomnesticon* is concerned, it is closely related to (ml), and that to such a degree as to be very probably an immediate copy.

p2 *PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale, Lat. 15666* contains a wide range of patristic writings from a variety of authors, including Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, Quodvultdeus, Pelagius and Gennadius. By far the greatest number of works derives from Augustine. The codex is XIIIth cen-

tury, parchment, 270×185 mm., 355 ff. with 2 columns of 51 lines. Immediately preceding the *Hypomnesticon*, f.152<sup>v</sup>–166<sup>v</sup>, is the *De unitate Trinitatis* of Vigilius Thapsensis, a work which is associated with the *Hypomnesticon* in (P). The text of the *Hypomnesticon* in the codex is very close to that of (t). Another feature it shares with (t) is that in both codices the *Hypomnesticon* is immediately followed by Augustine's *Contra Adimantum Manichaei discipulum*.

f.152<sup>v</sup> Liber Augustini Aurelii episcopi contra pelagianos et celestianos hereticos. Adversarii fidei catholice... f.165 in omnibus nobis. Licet latius... f.166<sup>v</sup> indebitum praerogare. Explicit Disputatio Augustini Aurelii episcopi de predestinatione contra pelagianos et cet.

- pr *PRAGUE, Universitní Knihovna, XIII.D.13*. Cf. Joseph Truhlář, *Catalogus Codicum manu scriptorum Latinorum qui in C.R. Bibliothek publica atque universitatis Pragensis asservantur*, Pars posterior (Prague 1906) p. 229. This XIII/XIVth century parchment manuscript contains a collection of Augustine's works, towards the end of which is the *Hypomnesticon*. The text of the latter belongs to the family of which (pl) is an example.

285×195 mm., 224 ff., 2 columns of 44 lines.

f.194 Incipit liber augustini contra pelagianos et celestianos hereticos. Adversarii catholice fidei... f.211 in omnibus nobis. Licet latius... f.214 indebitam gratiam predestinationis prerogare.

- b2 *BARCELONA, Biblioteca del Cabildo, Codex 5 (MS. 1593 fol.)* is described under the heading Codex 5 in a manuscript catalogue, *Codicum Capitularis archivi Barchinonensis Sedis Elenchum... a P. Jacobo Caresmar, labente saeculo XVII confectum... et de novo redactus anno MCMVII ab Alphonso Ramirez...*, which is lodged in the capitular archives of the Cathedral. Cf. Divjak, p. 170–71. The codex is XIVth century, parchment, and contains an extensive collection of St. Augustine's works. The text of the *Hypomnesticon* found in this volume is quite definitely related to that of (P) and (V), and yet it has affiliations with the quite different group of which (C) is the earliest extant representative. This indicates rather unusual strains of influence in this manuscript.

305×215 mm., 132 ff. + 3, 2 columns of 46 lines.

f.112<sup>v</sup> Incipit ypomnesticon. Adversarii catholice fidei... f.129 in omnibus nobis. Addere etiam hoc quam maxime... f.132 indebitam prerogare.

- u *UTRECHT*, *Rijksuniversiteit Bibliotheek, Eccl. 124* (antea 296m) is described in *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Universitatis Rheno-Trajectinae* (Utrecht 1887) p. 18. It is a parchment manuscript of the XVth century bearing the ex-libris: *Pertinet Monasterio Regularium in Trajecto*. The text of the *Hypomnesticon* belongs to the group headed by (p1).

390×260 mm., 161 ff., 2 columns of 42 lines.

f.48 Incipit ypomnosticon id est commemoratorium sive memoriale beati augustini episcopi contra pelagianos et Celestianos... f.72<sup>v</sup> Explicit yponosticon id est commemoratorium sive memoriale beati augustini episcopi contra pelagianos seu celestianos. Dicitur autem yponosticon liber abbreviatus vel abbreviatio longae materie.

- es *EL ESCORIAL*, *Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo, b-III-4* is a beautifully written XVth century parchment codex. It is described by G.Loewe and W. von Hartel in *Biblioteca Patrum Latinorum Hispaniensis*, Band I (Vienna 1887) p. 34f. (Cf. *Sitzungsberichte der kais. Akad. der Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe III* (Vienna 1886) p. 448–49); by P.Guillermo Antolín, O.S.A., in *Catálogo de los Códices Latinos de la Realbiblioteca del Escorial*, Vol. 1 (Madrid 1910) p. 171–73); and in Divjak, p. 191. The text is very carefully written, and belongs to the group of manuscripts of which (f1) is the earliest extant representative. On the fly-leaves are to be found the following notes: *Es del Monasterio de sant Lorenzo el Real. Truxose del Archivo de Simancas. Tuvo el P. Juan de Mariana, enviole en 9 de agosto de 1585.*

330×210 mm., 170 ff., 31 long lines to the page.

f.124 Incipit liber ypomnesticon sancti Augustini contra Pelagianos et Celestianos hereticos... f.165 Explicit Responsio Quinta. Incipit de Predestinatione disputationum contra eosdem. Licet lacius... f.170<sup>v</sup> indebitam prerogare. Explicit liber de Predestinatione disputationis Sancti Augustini contra Pelagianos et celestianos hereticos.

- f2 *FLORENCE*, *Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. XIII, Cod. VII*. Cf. A.M.Bandini, *Catalogus Codicum Latinorum Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae*, Vol. I (Florence 1774) cols. 41–42; Oberleitner, p. 71–72. The foliation given by both authors is inaccurate. This superbly written parchment manuscript dates from 1491 as the inscription at the end indicates: *Anno salutis MCCCCLXXXXI opus hoc celeberrimum Florentiae absolutum est...* Besides the *Hypomnesticon* it contains St. Augu-

stine's *Contra Faustum Manichaeum*; the *Contra Felicem Manichaeum*: and the *De opere monachorum*. The text of the *Hypomnesticon* is very closely related to that of (f1).

380 × 255 mm., 265 ff., 34 long lines to the page.

f.194 Incipit liber ypomnesticon divini Augustini contra Pelagianos et Celestianos hereticos. Adversarii catholice fidei... f.228 in omnibus nobis. Explicit responsio quinta. f.228<sup>v</sup> Incipit de praedestinatione disputatio contra eosdem. Licet latius... f.234 indebitam precare. Divini Augustini episcopi Hipponensis de praedestinatione contra Pelagianos et Caelestianos Disputatio feliciter explicit.

- f3 FLORENCE, *Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Fiesole, Cod. XV*. Parchment. Cf. A.M.Bandini, *Bibliotheca Laurentiana seu Catalogus Manuscriptorum qui iussu Petri Leopoldi... in Laurentianum translati sunt...*, Vol. 2 (Florence 1792) cols. 629–32; CSEL 42 (1902) p. xi; CSEL 58 (1923) p. LXVII; Oberleitner, p. 89–90. In this great XVth century collection of St. Augustine's works we encounter a text of the *Hypomnesticon* which is remarkably similar to that of (f2). In fact, it is quite clear from a study of the variants that the three Florentine manuscripts, (f1), (f2), and (f3) form a very closely related group.

360 × 260 mm., 329 ff. 2 columns of 50 lines.

f.275<sup>v</sup> Incipit Liber ypomnesticon Sancti Augustini. Contra pelagianos et Celestianos hereticos. Adversarii catholice fidei... f.295<sup>v</sup> in omnibus nobis. Explicit Responsio Quinta. Incipit de Predestinatione disputatio contra eosdem. Licet latius... f.299 indebitam precare. Explicit.

- y1 VENICE, *Biblioteca Nazionale di S. Marco, Cod. L.II.3 (2113)* Parchment. Cf. Oberleitner, p. 364–65. In this massive collection compiled at Bassarione in 1471 we encounter a text of the *Hypomnesticon* which bears a striking resemblance to that of (es), and both, in their turn, are closely related to the three Florentine manuscripts mentioned above as forming a distinctive group. Preceding the *Hypomnesticon* in this volume is St. Augustine's *De adulterinis coniugiis*, and following it is the *De unico baptismo*.

407 × 282 mm., 2 + 339 + 1 ff., 2 cols. of 54 lines.

f.136<sup>v</sup> Aurelii Augustini episcopi liber ypomesticon contra Pelagianos et Celestianos hereticos incipit. Adversarii catholice fidei... f.154<sup>v</sup> in omnibus nobis. Ypomnesticon Aurelii Augustini hyponensis episcopi contra pelagianos et celestianos hereticos explicit. Eiusdem liber de pre-

destinatione disputationum contra eosdem incipit. Licet latius... f.157<sup>v</sup> indebitam prerogare. Aurelii Augustini liber de predestinatione disputationis contra pelagianos et celestianos hereticos explicat.

## 2) Manuscripts containing Responsiones I-V

As a result of a fire which occurred on 31st May, 1944, in Metz, the earliest known 5-*Responsio* version of the *Hypomnesticon*, i.e. Metz, *Bibliothèque municipale*, No. 145, was lost <sup>1</sup>, and the only information now available about this manuscript is contained in *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des Départements*, Tome 5 (Paris 1879) p. 61-64.

It was a Xth century miscellany deriving from St. Arnulf, Metz, and included works by St. Isidore, Pope Gelasius, St. Prosper of Aquitaine, and St. Cyprian. It began, as does the much later Spanish manuscript (es) <sup>2</sup>, with St. Isidore's *In libros veteris et novi testamenti prooemia*. The *Hypomnesticon* was listed as the tenth item thus: *Incipit liber Ippomnesticon Sancti Augustini episcopi contra Pelagianos et Caelestianos libri quinque. Incipit Adversarii catholice fidei...*

p3 PARIS, *Bibliothèque nationale*, Lat. 14476 is a XIIth century codex from the Abbey of S. Victor, Paris, and is listed by Claude de la Grandrue in the catalogue of the Library of S. Victor which he drew up between 1513-1514 <sup>3</sup>. In describing the manuscript, Claude simply transcribed the contents as entered on the verso of the front fly-leaf, and gave the old press-mark, i.e. CC 3 <sup>4</sup>.

As it exists today, the volume includes what were three distinct codices, the first, ff.1-100<sup>v</sup>; the second, ff.101-132<sup>v</sup>, containing the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, Tome 53. *Manuscrits des bibliothèques sinistrées de 1940 à 1944* (Paris 1962) p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> This manuscript was discussed earlier on p. 16.

<sup>3</sup> This catalogue is now Paris BN Lat. 14767. On f.74 of the catalogue (p3) is mentioned, its contents listed, and the old press-mark CC 3 given.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. L. DELISLE, *Inventaire des Manuscrits de l'abbaye de Saint-Victor conservés à la Bibliothèque Impériale sous les numéros 14232-15175 du Fonds Latin* (Paris 1869) p. 17.

*Hypomnesticon*; and the third, ff.133–379, containing Augustine's *De Trinitate*, and a few other items. On f.1 and f.101 is the ex-libris of S. Victor. The text of the *Hypomnesticon* is very similar to that of (p1). 300×225 mm., 279 ff., 2 columns of 32 lines.

f.102 Incipiunt V responsiones Sancti Augustini contra Pelagianos. Adversarii catholice fidei... f.132<sup>v</sup> in omnibus nobis.

- t4 *TORTOSA, Biblioteca de la Catedral, A.C.T. 86* presents a text of the *Hypomnesticon* which is contaminated and difficult to classify precisely beyond saying that it belongs to the broad Franco-Italian family of which (C) is the earliest extant exemplar. Cf. H. Denifle and A. Chate-  
lain, «Inventarium codicum manuscritorum Capituli Dertusensis» in *Revue des Bibliothèques* 6 (1896) p. 17; B. Bertomeu, *Los Códices Medie-  
vales de la Catedral de Tortosa* (Barcelona 1962) p. 235–38; Divjak, p. 275. It is a parchment codex of the XIIth century in which the *Hypomne-  
sticon* is preceded by Augustine's *De spiritu et littera* and followed by his *De diversis quaestionibus* LXXXIII.

298×210 mm., 6+256 ff., 2 columns of 48 lines.

f.136<sup>v</sup> Incipit Augustini contra Pelagianos. Adversarii catholice fidei... f.153 in omnibus nobis. Explicit.

- p4 *PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale, Lat. 15289*. This XIIIth century parch-  
ment manuscript contains an unusual collection of patristic writings,  
including two copies of the *Contra sermonem Arianorum* (PL 42, 683–  
708), and Ambrosiaster's *Quaestiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti*. What  
is particularly remarkable about it from our point of view is the fact  
that the *Hypomnesticon* is referred to in the *explicit* (f.31) as 'libellus  
ad Xystum'. Only one other extant manuscript of the *Hypomnesticon*  
associates the work with the name of Xystus and that is Benevento,  
Biblioteca Capitulare, MS. IV.10, which will be dealt with in the section  
treating of incomplete manuscripts. The explanation for the unusual  
allusion to Xystus in the *explicit* of the *Hypomnesticon* in (p4) seems  
to be clear enough from a comparison between it and (p1). The textual  
relation between the two manuscripts is unmistakable, and the contents  
reveal a relation also. Thus in (p1) the *Hypomnesticon* is followed, with  
only a small break, by the *Libellus Sancti Augustini ad Xystum presby-  
terum adversus Pelagianos*, which in turn is immediately followed by  
*Eiusdem epistola ad Hilarium Episcopum*. In (p4) immediately after the  
*explicit* appended to the *Hypomnesticon*, i.e. *Explicit libellus ad Xystum*,

we find *Incipit eiusdem epistola ad hylarium episcopum*. What appears, therefore, to have taken place in (p4) is that the scribe, either by mistake or design, omitted the *Libellus ad Xystum* which he found in his exemplar, but put its *explicit* at the end of the *Hypomnesticon*, and then proceeded to transcribe the *Epistola ad Hilarium*.

360 × 250 mm., 294 ff., 2 columns of 47 lines.

f.16 Incipiunt quinque responsiones sancti austini contra pelagianos et celestianos. Adversarii catholice fidei... f.31 pro omnibus nobis. Explicit libellus ad Xystum.

- p5 *PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale, Lat. 15294* is certainly curious. For one thing, it contains a version of the *Hypomnesticon* clearly belonging to the Anglo-Norman family, which will be discussed later, and yet, unlike all but two other members of that numerous family, it has *Responsio V*. It contains an extensive collection of sermons attributed to St. Augustine, and a considerable collection of other works belonging to a number of patristic writers. The *Hypomnesticon* occurs towards the end preceded by Augustine's *De fide et operibus* and followed by some letters. It is a XIIIth century parchment codex which – as the ex-libris on f.454<sup>v</sup> indicates – formerly belonged to the library of the Sorbonne, Paris.

370 × 250 mm., 450 ff., 2 columns of 54 lines.

f.400<sup>v</sup> Incipit liber yponosticon augustini. Adversarii catholice fidei ... f.411. in omnibus nobis.

- p6 *PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale, Lat. 15655* is intimately related to the foregoing manuscript. It is also XIIIth century, and its version of the *Hypomnesticon* belongs likewise to the Anglo-Norman family, even though it also contains *Responsio V*. The text was carefully worked over by a scholar – probably XIVth century – who entered in the margins readings proper to the large Franco-Italian family already alluded to. The contents include 112 letters belonging to St. Augustine's correspondence, together with a number of his anti-Pelagian and other works. The *Hypomnesticon* is preceded by the *De haeresibus* and is followed by the *Contra Maximinium haereticum Arianorum libri II* (PL 42, 743–814).

340 × 240 mm., 3 ff. + 553 pp., 2 columns of 49 lines.

p. 440 Incipit liber yponosticon Augustini. Adversarii catholice fidei ... p. 465 in omnibus nobis. Explicit yponosticon sancti augustini.



t3 *TOLEDO, Biblioteca del Cabildo 14-13 (XLI-108)*. Cf. D. José M<sup>a</sup> Octavio de Toledo, *Biblioteca de la Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos III, Catálogo de la Librería del Cabildo Toledano*, I<sup>a</sup> Parte (Madrid 1903) p. 39-40; Divjak, p. 270. It is a XIIIth century parchment codex containing but one other work besides the *Hypomnesticon*, namely, St. Augustine's *De consensu Evangelistarum*. The version of the *Hypomnesticon* found in the codex belongs to a predominantly French group of which (p1) is the earliest extant specimen

327 × 215 mm., 103 ff., 2 columns of 40 lines.

f.1 Adversarii catholice fidei ... f.24<sup>v</sup> in omnibus nobis.

p7 *PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale, Lat. 15303* is a XIIIth century parchment codex bearing the ex-libris of the Sorbonne. On the fly-leaf the entry runs: *Iste liber est collegii pauperum magistrorum Parisiis in theologica facultate studentium*. Cf. L. Delisle, *Inventaire des Manuscrits de la Sorbonne conservés à la Bibliothèque Impériale sous les numéros 15176-16718 du Fonds Latin* (Paris 1870). The manuscript contains diverse works by St. Augustine and St. Jerome, with the *Hypomnesticon* placed at the beginning. The text of the latter is so close to that of (p1) that its derivation from that manuscript is well-nigh certain.

360 × 230 mm., 166 ff., 2 columns of 47 lines.

f.2 Incipiunt quinque responsiones sancti augustini contra pelagianos et celestinos. Adversarii catholice fidei ... f.20<sup>v</sup> in omnibus nobis.

g1 *ERLANGEN, Universitätsbibliothek, 170*, besides the first five *Responsiones* of the *Hypomnesticon*, contains also the sixth *Responsio* in another part of the codex. Cf. H. Fischer, *Katalog der Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen*, I Band (Erlangen 1928) p. 186-89. It is a XIVth century parchment codex bearing on f.1 the ex-libris: *Liber Sanctae Mariae in Fontesalute*, and on f.222 in a XVth century hand: *Liber beate Virginis Mariae in Monasterio Hailsbrunne*. It is a miscellany containing works by St. Augustine and others.

305 × 220 mm., 221 ff., 2 columns of 41/42 lines

f.2 Incipiunt V Responsiones augustini contra pelagianos. Adversarii catholice fidei ... f.16 in omnibus nobis.

p8 *PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale, Lat. 15300* contains two XIVth century codices bound together, presumably because both were devoted almost exclusively to works of Augustine. It bears the ex-libris of the Sorbonne (cf.

f.186<sup>v</sup>). The first codex comprised ff.1–132<sup>v</sup> and the second ff.133–186<sup>v</sup>. It is in the second that the *Hypomnesticon* is to be found as the last item, and is preceded by the *De doctrina Christiana*; *De natura boni*; *De utilitate credendi*; and *Epistola 140*. Spaces left blank for the *incipit*, a number of initials, and possibly also the *explicit* were never filled in by the illuminator. The text of the *Hypomnesticon* belongs to the same group as (p1).

370 × 260 mm., 186 ff., 2 columns of 59/60 lines.

f.177 [A]dversarii catholice fidei ... f.186<sup>v</sup> in omnibus nobis.

- p9 *PARIS, Bibliothèque Mazarine, No. 1639 (541)* is a very extensive XIVth century collection of patristic writings, including, besides works of Eusebius, Cassian, St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, St. Augustine, and others, a text of the *Hypomnesticon* that shows a very close relation to (p1). Cf. A. Molinier, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la bibliothèque Mazarine*, Tome 2 (Paris 1886) p. 139. On the first folio it bears the ex-libris of the College of Navarre, Paris: *Pro libraria Regal[i] Collegii Campaniae alias Navarrae, Parisiis fundati*. Parchment.

295 × 215 mm., 329 ff., 2 columns of 52 lines.

f.282 Incipiunt responsiones sancti augustini contra pelagianos.

Adversarii catholice fidei ... f.296<sup>v</sup> in omnibus nobis.

- v *VATICANUS, Lat. 656 (olim 2430)* is a XIVth century parchment codex containing works of St. Anselm and St. Augustine, besides the *Hypomnesticon*. Cf. CVL, Tomus I, p. 510–12; Oberleitner, p. 273–74. Special importance attaches to this manuscript despite its late date, and this is due to its being one of the three extant descendants of the VIIIth century (P)–(V) group. Though not a direct lineal descendant of (V), (v) belongs to the same branch of the group, and plays an important role in supplying lacunae in the much earlier manuscript. Unfortunately, the text is incomplete, and ends on f.157<sup>v</sup>, col. 1. with the words ‘nisi operante spiritu sancto patris et filii’ of *Responsio V*, chapter 7.

395 × 254 mm., 199 ff., 2 columns of varying numbers of lines.

f.147<sup>v</sup> In Kristi nomine amen. Incipit liber yponnesticon sancti augustini episcopi, id est, commemoratorium contra Pelagianos et Celestianos hereticos. Adversarii catholice fidei ... f.157<sup>v</sup> nisi operante spiritu sancto patris et filii.

- t2 *TURIN, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, D.II.16 (Pas.lat.CXCIX; Cos. 419)* has every appearance of being a late XIVth century copy of the foregoing manuscript (v). It shares the same omissions and addi-

tions – while adding others peculiar to itself – and ends imperfectly at exactly the same point in chapter 7, *Responsio V*, i.e. with the phrase ‘nisi operante spiritu sancto patris et filii’. Parchment. Cf. Mazz. XXVIII, p. 48; Oberleitner, p. 243–44.

345 × 230 mm., 108 ff., 2 columns of 50 lines.

f. 70 In Xristi nomine incipit liber yponesticon sancti augustini episcopi, id est, commemoratorium contra pelagianos et celestianos hereticos. Adversarii catholice fidei ... f. 84<sup>v</sup> nisi operante spiritu sancto patris et filii.

- c1 *CESENA, Biblioteca Malatestiana, D.X.2*. Parchment. s.XV. Cf. Zazzeri, *Sui codici e libri a stampa della Biblioteca Malatestiana di Cesena* (Cesena 1887) p. 110–11; Oberleitner, p. 57. The text of the *Hypomnesticon* presented in this manuscript is contaminated, but it belongs to the broad and numerous Franco-Italian family of which (C) is the earliest known representative.

357 × 240 mm., 264 ff., 2 columns of 47 lines.

f. 234 Incipit eiusdem [Augustini] yponosticon. Adversarii catholicae fidei ... f. 251<sup>v</sup> in omnibus nobis. Beati Augustini yponosticon explicit.

- r *ROUEN, Bibliothèque municipale, No. 480 (A 447)* is a XVth century derivative of (p3) on paper. It belonged to Saint-Ouen of Rouen. Cf. H. Omont, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, Tome 1 (Paris 1886) p. 103. The original press-mark of the codex was A. 404, and it contains the *Hypomnesticon* as its second item. It is significant that, as in the case of (p3), the work immediately preceding the *Hypomnesticon* is St. Augustine's *De consensu Evangelistarum*.

216 × 138 mm., 238 ff., 30/31 long lines to the page.

f. 145 Incipiunt quinque responsiones sancti augustini contra pelagianos. Adversarii catholice fidei ... f. 186<sup>v</sup> in omnibus nobis.

- b5 *BURGO DE OSMA, Biblioteca de la Catedral, MS 71*. Parchment. s.XV. Cf. Divjak, p. 179–80.

393 × 213 mm., 281 ff., 33 long lines to the page.

f. 237 Responsiones contra pelagianos. Adversarii catholice fidei ... f. 268<sup>v</sup> in omnibus nobis <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> I have been unable to visit Burgo de Osma to examine this manuscript, and all efforts made by me to have a microfilm made of MS 71 have so far failed. Through the kind offices of the Spanish ambassador in Dublin, I received a promise that a microfilm of the manuscript would be sent to me, but it never arrived.

**K** *KOBLENZ, Landeshauptarchiv, Ms 701/144. Parchment. s.XV. Cf. Kurz, p. 132. This collection of Augustine's works formerly belonged to the library of the Canons of St. Augustine, Niederwerth, near Koblenz. In 1584 it came into the possession of the Jesuit house in Koblenz.*

208 × 140 mm., 323 ff., 31 long lines.

f.260 Incipit tractatus beati Augustini episcopi contra peligianos et celestianos hereticos. Adversarii fidei catholicae ... f.297<sup>v</sup> omnibus nobis. Amen. Explicit. Deo gratias.

**n1** *NÜRNBERG, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. Cent. I, 54. Parchment. XVth century. Cf. Ernst Kyries, Die Nürnberger Klostereinbände der Jahre 1433 bis 1525 (Bamberg 1940) p. 45; Kurz, p. 135. This collection of Augustine's works was copied from Erlangen 170 (g1), and its version of the Hypomnesticon reproduces that of the Erlangen manuscript. Thus, besides the first five Responsiones, it contains a portion of the sixth in another part of the codex. It belonged to the Dominican house in Nürnberg.*

320 × 220 mm., 192 ff., 2 columns of varying numbers of lines

f.178<sup>v</sup> Incipiunt V responsiones sancti Augustini contra Pelagianos. Adversarii catholice fidei ... f.192<sup>v</sup> in omnibus nobis.

### 3) Manuscripts containing Responsiones I-IV

In this very numerous family, we encounter a version of the *Hypomnesticon* which is quite distinctive, and which remained, in spite of superficial divergencies, remarkably homogeneous throughout its entire traceable history, i.e. from the XIth to the XVth century. The origins of the family are obscure, but they probably recede beyond the XIth century from which the earliest extant witness derives, and there are solid reasons for believing that Normandy was the region from which the version was diffused. It is very remarkable that this 4-*Responsio* version was widely diffused in England, whereas the 6-*Responsio* and 5-*Responsio* versions seem to have been unknown in that country. Certainly no trace of them is to be found among the extant English manuscripts<sup>1</sup>. At any

<sup>1</sup> As will appear later, copies of *Responsio VI* are common in England, but *Responsio V* occurs only once, i.e. in London BM <Royal Ms> 5 C.V. In this case

rate, the 4-*Responsio* version seems to have been introduced into England from Normandy shortly after the Conquest, and thereafter was copied assiduously in different monastic centres.

A peculiar feature of this 4-*Responsio* version family is that the themes of the 5 *Responsiones* are invariably announced in the normal manner in the *Praefatio*, and yet at the conclusion of the IVth *Responsio* we almost invariably find the colophon: *Explicit Responsio IV Aurelii Augustini doctoris contra Pelagianos et C(a)elestianos hereticos. Yp(p)omnoston liber explicit* – as though the *Hypomnesticon* contained but four *Responsiones*! Whether the absence of the fifth – and, of course, the additional sixth – *Responsio* in these manuscripts was due originally to an accidental omission in an exemplar, or to a deliberate suppression, cannot be determined with any confidence from the evidence available.

The Maurist editors of the *Opera omnia* of St. Augustine refer to a manuscript from the Benedictine Abbey of Saint-Évroult-d'Ouche which had all the signs of being an early member of the Anglo-Norman family, but which is unfortunately now lost<sup>1</sup>. In the Appendix to the *Opera omnia*, where the Maurists give their edition of the *Hypomnesticon*, they refer to the lost codex as *Ebrulphensis codex* and *Uticensis codex S. Ebrulphi*<sup>2</sup>, and judging by the variant readings from it which they quote, and also from catalogue descriptions of the contents<sup>3</sup>, there seems to

the Vth *Responsio* was copied into the codex a century or more after the codex was first produced. It was entered on folios accidentally left blank by the original scribe or scribes.

<sup>1</sup> That the Maurists should have been acquainted with this manuscript is readily understood from the fact that members of their order undertook the reform of S. Évroult in 1628, and remained there till they were dispersed during the French Revolution. It is possible that the manuscript was lost or destroyed during the Revolution.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Sancti Augustini operum*, Tomus X (Paris 1690), col. 14, g; col. 27, b; col. 30, k of the Appendix.

<sup>3</sup> The codex is listed in *Catalogus bibliothecae S. Ebrulfi Uticensis circa anno 1140 conscriptus ex MS 145 eratus [aratus]*, which was copied into Paris BN Lat. 13073 in 1682. The reference to the codex containing the *Hypomnesticon* is first found on f. 5. On f. 29 of the same manuscript the codex is numbered 81 under the heading *Catalogus Manuscriptorum Codicum bibliothecae S. Ebrulfi collectus anno 1682 et in ordine redactus anno 1682*, and the contents are given thus: *S. Jeronimus contra Jovinianum; Augustini contra Pelagianos et Caelestianos haereticos ypomnoston liber; Signa Judicii ex Jeronimo*. De Montfaucon alluded to the same Codex 81 of S. Évroult in the section entitled «Catalogus Codicum MSS Bibliothecae Monasterii S. Ebrulphi Uticensis» in *Bibliotheca bibliothecarum Nova*, Tome 2 (Paris 1739) p. 1269, and gives the same contents in a slightly different form: *S. Hieronymi contra Jovinianum in 4º; Ibid. S. Augustini contra Pelagianos et Caelestianos haereticos; Signa Judicii ex Hieronymo*. Cf. L. DELISLE, *Histoire Générale de Paris. Le Cabinet des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Tome 2 (Paris 1874) p. 405; *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, Tome 34 (Paris 1873) p. 262.

be good reason for believing that this Norman manuscript would have cast interesting light on the problem of the diffusion from Normandy of the *Hypomnesticon* in England. Since it is numbered 81 in the catalogues of the Évrault library, I shall refer to it as Évrault 81.

Though a small group of the earliest extant manuscripts of the Anglo-Norman family would suffice to reconstruct the exemplar – which has its importance in establishing the critical edition – nevertheless, in order that the history of the transmission of the text be more complete, all the manuscripts of the family which I have located will be included in the following survey <sup>1</sup>.

- a1 LONDON, *British Museum, Harley Misc 865* is the earliest extant witness of the Anglo-Norman family. Cf. *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, Vol. 1 (London 1808) p. 463; N.R. Ker, p. 166; Römer, p. 172. According to F. Wormald, *Decorated Initials in English MSS from A.D. 900 to 1100* (Oxford 1945) p. 135, the manuscript dates from the last quarter of the XIth century, and derives from the Benedictine Abbey of St. Albans, Herefordshire. There is good reason to believe that it is a copy of the lost Codex 53 which belonged to the Benedictine Cathedral Priory of Holy Trinity or Christ Church, Canterbury, and contains the same five works in exactly the same order, namely, the *De mysteriis* and the *De sacramentis* of St. Ambrose, a *Sermo de corpore et sanguine Christi* ascribed to Isidore, the *Adversus Iovinianum* of Jerome, and the *Hypomnesticon* <sup>2</sup>. Moreover, the occurrence of the

<sup>1</sup> My decision in this regard was very much influenced by remarks of N. R. Ker in *English Manuscripts in the Century after the Norman Conquest* (Oxford 1960) p. 12: «... MSS which have no value in establishing the text can further our understanding of their dissemination. Unfortunately, the editors of critical editions of the Fathers have paid as a rule little or no attention to the MSS of English origin. Their editions do enable us, however, to discover without much trouble that the English MSS often have readings in common which are not recorded from any continental MS.»

<sup>2</sup> The Canterbury Codex 53 is known to us from an entry in the catalogue of Christ Church library that was compiled during the period of office of Henry of Eastry as prior, i.e. between 1284 and 1331. This catalogue is now to be found in London, BM Cotton MS. Galba E iv, ff. 128–147. The entry referring to Codex 53 occurs on f. 129, col. 3, and lists the contents as follows:

53 Ambrosius de mysteriis, primus, lib. i.

*In hoc vol. cont.:*

Ambrosius de Sacramentis, lib. i.

Sermo beati Ysodori de corpore et sanguine Domini.

Ieronimus contra Iovi(ni)anum hereticum, libri ii.

Augustinus contra Pelagianos et Celestianos, lib. i.

A printed edition of the Christ Church catalogue is given by M. R. JAMES in *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover* (Cambridge 1903) p. 13–142, and the contents of the lost Codex 53 are on pages 21 and 22.

two last-mentioned works, i.e. the *Adversus Iovinianum* and the *Hypomnesticon*, in exactly the same order and proximity in the lost Évrault 81 alluded to earlier doubtless indicates a link between (a1), the lost Christ Church Codex 53 and the Benedictine Abbey of Saint- Évrault in Normandy.

A particularly important feature of the manuscript, so far as the part containing the *Hypomnesticon* is concerned, is the occurrence of the insular symbol *lr* for 'autem' in the phrase 'Grā ē *lr* heretice' of *Responsio IV*, chapter 6 (f.88). Though the word 'autem' occurs frequently enough in the *Hypomnesticon*, this is the only occasion on which the *lr* sign is used for it in his copy by the Harley scribe, and no one else to my knowledge used the symbol here in transcribing the work save the scribe who wrote Lincoln, Cathedral Library, MS. 134 <sup>1</sup>. The occurrence of 'autem' in this phrase – or some faulty version of the *lr* sign – is a peculiar feature of practically all extant English manuscripts containing the *Hypomnesticon* – Salisbury, Cathedral Library, 35 and Cambridge University Library, Ii.1.29 are exceptions – and serves to differentiate them from their continental counterparts <sup>2</sup>. In fact, one of the more useful variants in classifying the English manuscripts of the *Hypomnesticon* is the precise form given in them to the phrase 'gratia est *lr* heretice'. Speaking of the *lr* sign Ker wrote: «... some English scribes persisted in using the symbol as late as about 1080s» <sup>3</sup>, and implies that it was rare after that date. The English manuscripts of the *Hypomnesticon* support this implication, and the renderings which some of the scribes make of the *lr* sign, for example, 'hoc' and 'haec' around 1100 A.D. indicate that the symbol had become a source of confusion, and incidentally of helpful variants, by that time <sup>4</sup>.

286 × 190 mm., 90 ff., 36 long lines. Parchment.

f.69<sup>v</sup> Aurelii Agustini Doctoris contra Pelagianos et Celestianos hereticos yppomnosticon Liber incipit. Adversarii catholicae fidei ... f.90 subvenerit salutaris. Explicit Resonsio [*corr.* Responsio] ·IIII· Aurelii Augustini Doctoris contra Pelagianos et Celestianos Hereticos Yppomnosticon Liber explicit.

<sup>1</sup> On f.105 of this Lincoln manuscript the phrase is given exactly the same form as in the Harley manuscript.

<sup>2</sup> We already find here a striking confirmation of Ker's remark quoted above, p. 26, fn.1, namely, «that English MSS... have readings in common which are not recorded from any continental MS.» Certainly the English manuscripts of the *Hypomnesticon* give ample evidence to support this view.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *op. cit.* p. 22–23; 50.

<sup>4</sup> Precise details of the more important of these variants will be given in the description of the individual manuscripts.

b BRUSSELS, *Bibliothèque royale*, 444–52 is the closest extant relative of (a1), and like it was written in the last quarter of the XIth century. That it is English and belonged to the Benedictine Abbey of St. Augustine, Canterbury, admits of no doubt<sup>1</sup>. The codex was described by J. van den Gheyn in *Catalogue des manuscrits de la bibliothèque royale de Belgique*, Tome 2 (Brussels 1902) p. 136–37, no 1103, but no indication was given of its English provenance. It is a collection of anti-Pelagian treatises mainly by St. Augustine, with the *Hypomnesticon* followed by Jerome's *Adversus Iovinianum* near the end. On f.1 is found the note: *Reddatur Augustino Hunnaeo Maglenano*. Again on f.151<sup>v</sup> we find: *Sum Augustini Hunnaei. Ex dono M.N. Aug. Hunnaei sum Bibliothecae Societ. Jesu, Lovanii*. The similarity between the text of the *Hypomnesticon* in (a1) and this manuscript is so close that at first blush it would appear that one is an immediate copy of the other. Closer scrutiny, however, shows that this cannot be the case, and that the two manuscripts are rather copies of the same proximate exemplar. The kind of consideration which rules out the possibility of the Brussels manuscript depending on (a1) is the correct reading 'Paulo fidei magistro' in the former (f.92) for the faulty 'Paulo fidei magistro' in the latter (f.71). On the other hand, the faulty reading 'grā é hoc heretice' of the Brussels manuscript (f.107) for 'grā é hr heretice' of the Harley one (f.88), among other considerations effectively excludes any question of the latter depending on the Brussels copy. The Harley scribe had no doubt whatever about the hr sign. He drew its sloping lateral stem with decision, and gave it a slightly greater length than would be expected, as if to ensure against its being misinterpreted. The Brussels rendering of the sign by 'hoc' constitutes a double blunder, symbolological and gram-

<sup>1</sup> The English origin of this manuscript became immediately evident to me when I first examined it in 1965. The distinctive variants of the English branch of the Anglo-Norman family were so striking in its text of the *Hypomnesticon* that I contacted Mr. N. R. Ker, then at Oxford, without delay, and sent him a microfilm copy. He identified it with the 'lost' No. 373 listed in a XVth century catalogue (now Dublin, Trinity College, Ms. D.1.19) of St. Augustine's Abbey Library, Canterbury. Ker pointed out to me, firstly, that the contents of No. 373 agreed exactly with those of the Brussels manuscript; and, secondly, that the secundo folio reference given in the catalogue, i.e. the opening word 'interioris' was matched by the opening word of the corresponding folio in the Brussels manuscript. For the reference to No. 373 in the catalogue of St. Augustine's, see Dublin, Trinity College, Ms. D.1.19, f.19 and f.21. The catalogue was published by M. R. JAMES in *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover* (Cambridge 1903) and the references to No. 373 are to be found on p. 225–26 and 228 of his work. Cf. Ker<sup>2</sup>, p. 40.



matical, and is unique. Its absurd 'hoc' is transformed by later scribes into 'haec' to agree with 'gratia'. This transformation is first encountered in Salisbury, Cathedral Library, 197, written around 1100. Chronologically, therefore, it seems reasonable to place the Brussels manuscript between the Harley one (a1) and the Salisbury manuscript.

340 × 240 mm., 153 ff., 2 columns of 37 lines.

f. 90<sup>v</sup> Aurelii Augustini doctoris contra Pelagianos et Celestianos hereticos yppomnosticon liber incipit ... f. 109 Explicit responsio ·IIII· Aurelii augustini doctoris contra Pelagianos hereticos yppomnosticon liber explicit.

- a2 *SALISBURY, Cathedral Library, 197*, according to N.R. Ker, "Salisbury Cathedral Manuscripts and Patrick Young's Catalogue" in *The Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, Vol. LVIII (1949) p. 154, was probably written between 1089 and 1125, during the time St. Osmund was Bishop of Salisbury. The manuscript is typical of the early Salisbury books with its coarse and often imperfect parchment, its narrow margins, meagre decoration and mediocre script. In the catalogue of the Library, *Catalogus MSS. Bibliothecae Sarum*, compiled around 1622 by Patrick Young, it is listed number 7. At some unknown date after 1622 the manuscript was alienated from the Cathedral Library and seems to have been in the possession of the Loveday family of Williamscoote, Oxfordshire, for a long time. A portion of the manuscript found its way to the British Museum where it still remains as Royal Appendix I. The portion of the manuscript which was at Williamscoote was bought from Thomas Loveday in 1959, and was restored to the Cathedral Library in that year. Cf. Römer, p. 320–21.

300 × 220 mm., 58 ff., 39/40 long lines. The initials and headings are in the same ink as the text.

f. 10 Augustini aurelii doctoris contra pelagianos et celestianos hereticos yppomnosticon liber incipit ... f. 24<sup>v</sup> manifeste hec se contra con <sup>1</sup>

*LONDON, British Museum, Royal Appendix I* contains the missing portion of (a2). The colophon on f. 1 reads: *Aurelii Augustini doctoris contra Pelagianos et Celestianos hereticos yppomnosticon liber explicit*, and the text begins precisely where it had been interrupted in the Salis-

<sup>1</sup> The text ends imperfectly at this point in chapter 6 of *Responsio IV*.

bury portion of the codex, i.e. with the phrase 'cupiscentia proelia peregissee testatur'. A second colophon is given on f.2<sup>v</sup> thus: *Explicit liber responsionis ·IIII· Aurelii Augustini doctoris contra Pelagianos et Celestianos hereticos. ꝥꝥomnosticon liber explicit*. In a later hand is added: *Liber V et VI in MS desiderantur*; and following the text of the *Hypomnesticon* is St. Jerome's *Altercatio Luciferiani et Orthodoxi*. I shall designate the manuscript by the same *siglum* as that used for the Salisbury portion, i.e. (a2). No confusion can arise when it is recalled that Royal Appendix I continues the text of Salisbury, Cathedral Library 197 after the phrase 'manifeste hec se contra con' of chapter 6, *Responsio IV*. Cf. Römer, p. 204.

- a3 *SALISBURY, Cathedral Library, 35* is closely related to the foregoing manuscript of Salisbury, but it is not a direct copy. It was written at Old Sarum in the early XIIth century, was damaged during the War years, 1939–1945, and was repaired in 1955. Cf. Römer, p. 315–16.

It is a parchment codex, 310×220 mm., 135 ff., 2 columns of 45 lines. The capitals, *incipits* and *explicit*s are in red and black ink, but the ornamentation is very sparse. The *Hypomnesticon* is the second item, and is preceded by the *Speculum* and followed by the *Sermo de Catechismo*.

f.51 Aurelii Augustini doctoris contra Pelagianos et celestianos hereticos ꝥꝥomnosticon liber incipit ... f.66<sup>v</sup> Explicit Responsio ·IIII· Aurelii Augustini Doctoris contra pelagianos et celestianos hereticos ꝥꝥomnosticon liber explicit.

- a4 *LONDON, British Museum, Cotton Appendix 56*. Parchment. s.XII. Cf. Ker<sup>2</sup>, p. 207; N.R.Ker, *Catalogue of MSS. containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford 1957) n. 224. It is a miscellany of unrelated fragments that survived the burning of Ashburnham House, London, in 1731, and were presented to the British Museum in 1735. The volume as it now exists contains 121 folios written in different hands and originating at different times. The first item, a fragment of St. Augustine's *De Doctrina Christiana*, ff.1–4, derives from Worcester, but of the origin of the second item, namely, the *Hypomnesticon*, and the subsequent items nothing is known. The portion of the codex containing the *Hypomnesticon* was written most probably in the first quarter of the XIIth century. It shows two different hands, i.e. ff.5–22<sup>v</sup> are written in the first hand, and ff.22<sup>v</sup>–32 in the second.

210×150 mm., 121 ff., 24/29 long lines.

f.5 Aurelii Augustini doctoris contra Pelagianos et Celestinos hereticos ÿppomnosticon liber incipit ... f.32 subvenerit salutaris. Explicit responsio ·IIII· Aurelii Augustini Doctoris contra Pelagianos et Celestianos hereticos ÿppomnosticon liber explicit.

The text of the *Hypomnesticon* is very close to that of (a1), but is not a direct copy.

- a5 *LINCOLN, Cathedral Chapter Library, MS. 134* is described by R.M. Woolley in *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library* (London 1927) p. 26; Römer, p. 135. It is an early XIIth century parchment manuscript, and contains, besides the *Hypomnesticon*, the *De mysteriis* and the *De sacramentis* of St. Ambrose, letters of Fulbert of Chartres, and *varia*.

220×140 mm., 125 ff., 28 long lines to the page.

f.85 Aurelii Augustini doctoris contra Pelagianos et Celestianos hereticos ÿppomnosticon liber incipit ... f.108 Explicit responsio ·IIII·<sup>a</sup> Aurelii Augustini doctoris contra Pelagianos et Celestianos hereticos ÿppomnosticon liber explicit.

The text is remarkably similar to that of (a1), even more so than is that of (b). Moreover, the presence in both the Harley (a1) and this Lincoln codex of the *De mysteriis* and the *De sacramentis* of St. Ambrose, together with the *Sermo Isidori episcopi de corpore et sanguine Christi*, and the telling use of the *Ir* sign in *Responsio IV*, chapter 6, already mentioned <sup>1</sup> are significant indications of the proximate relation between them. Yet one hesitates to claim that the Lincoln manuscript is an immediate copy of the Harley one for several reasons, one of which is the difficulty of explaining convincingly how the correct reading 'Paulo fideli magistro' found in the Lincoln (*Responsio I*, chapter 2) could have derived from the incorrect 'Paulo fidei magistro' of the Harley manuscript. After all, Lincoln 134 is certainly not a copy of (b), and this manuscript, though ever so close to Harley 865 (a1) has the 'Paulo fideli magistro' reading. The indications are that there was at least one copy of the *Hypomnesticon*, now missing, which served as the exemplar of Harley Misc. 865 (a1), Brussels 444–52 (b) and Lincoln 134 (a5). This was possibly the lost Codex 53 of Christ Church, Canterbury, referred to above, p. 26.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 27.

ro ROUEN, *Bibliothèque municipale*, N° 478. Parchment. s.XII. Cf. B. de Montfaucon, *Bibliotheca bibliothecarum nova*, Tome 2 (Paris 1739) p.1241; *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements*, Tome I (Paris 1886) p. 101. It is a miscellany of St. Augustine's works. The script is a beautiful Caroline minuscule, but the codex was badly affected by damp, and the writing on some of the folios was effaced. Fortunately, the part containing the *Hypomnesticon* is perfectly legible. The volume bears the ex-libris of the Abbey of Fécamp, Normandy, with the press-mark E. No 29.

405 × 280 mm., 102 ff. (f.52 bis), 2 columns of 37 lines.

f. 83<sup>v</sup> In nomine Trino Divino orditur yppomnosticon Aurelii Augustini contra Pelagianos et Caelestianos hereticos ... f.101<sup>v</sup> subveniret salutaris.

In this codex we encounter the earliest extant French member of the Anglo-Norman family. The version of the *Hypomnesticon* is very similar to that of the English branch of the family, but yet contains a considerable number of readings which diverge from the English ones, and reproduce typically continental forms; for example, the phrase 'nos sollicitudine respondendi' (opening sentence of the *Praefatio*) invariably found in the English manuscripts is replaced by the very common continental form 'nos sollicitudine repugnandi', and the revealing phrase 'gratia est Ir heretice' in its different versions is given the typically continental rendering 'gratia est heretice'. In many respects Rouen 478 appears to be an intermediary between the English manuscripts of the *Hypomnesticon* and the continental ones. The curious form 'yppomnosticon' for 'hypomnesticon' which is found in a number of the early English manuscripts occurs also in Rouen 478. Immediately preceding the *Hypomnesticon* in this codex is St. Augustine's *Enchiridion*.

a6 OXFORD, *Bodleian Library*, Bodl. 149. Parchment. s.XII. Cf. F.Madan and H.H.E.Craster, *A Summary Catalogue of Western MSS. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, Vol. II, Part I (Oxford 1922) p. 118; Römer, p. 230. The codex comes from Exeter Cathedral Church of St. Peter, and contains various works of St. Augustine. In 1602 it was presented to the Bodleian Library by the Dean and Chapter of Exeter. The text is very similar to that of (a1) and (b) and (a5). It improves the form of the telltale phrase 'gratia est hoc heretice' of (b), and renders it 'gratia est hec heretice'. In *Responsio I*, chapter 2 it has the reading 'Paulo fidei magistro', and so diverges from (a1) <sup>1</sup>. As in the case of Rouen 478

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 28 and p. 31.

(ro), the *Hypomnesticon* is immediately preceded by St. Augustine's *Enchiridion* in this codex. Perhaps we may see in this another link between the English manuscripts of the *Hypomnesticon* and Normandy.

310 × 215 mm., 70 ff., 2 columns of 36 lines.

f. 30 Aurelii Augustini Doctoris contra Pelagianos et Celestianos hereticos ypognosticon liber incipit ... f. 50 subvenerit salutaris.

- *SAN MARINO*, *Huntington Library*, *HM 31151*. Parchment. s. XII. Cf. E. G. Millar, *The Library of A. Chester Beatty. A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts. Text*, Vol. I (London 1927) p. 96–97; Ker<sup>2</sup>, p. 19; Römer, p. 330. The manuscript was written in the Benedictine Abbey of St. Edmund, and on the paste-down at the beginning is found the note: *Liber Monachorum Sancti Edmundi* ... with the pressmark A. 10. It is identifiable with No. 42 in the medieval catalogue of St. Edmund's<sup>1</sup>. The manuscript became the property of A. Chester Beatty in 1920, and was part of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, until 1968 when it was purchased for the Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

304 × 207 mm., 174 ff., 2 columns of 36 lines.

f. 139 Aurelii Augustini doctoris contra Pelagianos et Celestianos hereticos hypognosticon liber incipit ... f. 157<sup>v</sup> subvenerit salutaris. Amen.

An extensive lacuna, unnoticed by the scribe, occurs in the text of the *Hypomnesticon* in this manuscript between the word 'bonum' and the word 'quam' on f. 156, col. 1, line 11. This means the loss of most of chapter 5, the whole of chapter 6, and nearly half of Chapter 7 of *Responsio IV*.

- †5 *TOURS*, *Bibliothèque municipale*, No. 300. Parchment. s. XII. Cf. *Catalogue des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France, Départements*, Tome 37, I<sup>re</sup> partie (Paris 1900) p. 220–22; E. K. Rand, *A Survey of the Manuscripts of Tours*, Vol. I (Cambridge, Mass. 1929) p. 202.

The codex seems to contain what were originally two distinct volumes, the first of which ended with f. 48, and contained the *Hypomnesticon* as its first item, followed by homilies of St. Gregory, and St. Anselm's *Cur deus homo*. At present the codex contains nine gatherings of eights + 3, but at least one quire is missing between f. 8 and f. 9, with the result that the text of the IVth *Responsio* of the *Hypomnesticon* is incomplete:

<sup>1</sup> Cf. M. R. JAMES, «On the Abbey of St. Edmund at Bury» in *Cambridge Antiq. Soc.*, No. 28 (1895) p. 24–25.

it ends with chapter 4 of that *Responsio* on f.8<sup>v</sup> with the words ‘corpora vestra castigaretis. Immo inpudienti’. The manuscript bears the ex-libris of Saint-Martin, No. 67; *numéro ancien* 216.

The text of the *Hypomnesticon* found in this manuscript is so similar to that found in the English branch of the Anglo-Norman family as to give every impression that it derived from that branch; all the characteristically English variants are to be found in it. It has the same reading as (a1) and Cambridge, Pembroke 135 in the phrase ‘Paulo fidei magistro’ (*Responsio* I, chapter 2), and it has the same form of ‘Caelestianos’ in the *incipit* and Praefatio as we find in the *incipit* of Cambridge, Pembroke 135, namely, ‘Scelestianos’. Unfortunately, the loss of the second quire of the codex robs us of its version of the ‘gratia est in heretice’ phrase of *Responsio* IV, chapter 6.

265 × 180 mm., 75 ff. (ff. 1–48 and 67<sup>v</sup>–71 have 2 columns of 49 lines; ff. 49–67 have long lines, and ff. 72–75 have 3 columns).

f. 1 Aurelii Augustini doctoris contra Pelagianos et Scelestianos hereticos hyponosticon liber incipit ... f. 8<sup>v</sup> Immo inpudienti <sup>1</sup>

- a7 CAMBRIDGE, *Peterhouse*, 149. Parchment. s. XII<sup>ex</sup>. Cf. M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Peterhouse* (Cambridge 1899) p. 177; Römer, p. 81. The codex is now lodged in Cambridge University Library. Of the four items in this codex, the first three are works of St. Jerome. The *Hypomnesticon* is immediately preceded by Jerome’s *Adversus Iovinianum*, as occurred in the lost Évrault 81, in the lost Christ Church Codex 53, and in (a1) <sup>2</sup>.

300 × 197 mm., 135 ff., 2 columns of 34 lines.

f. 110<sup>v</sup> Aurelii Augustini doctoris qua [corr. contra] Pelagianos et Celestianos hereticos yponosticon liber incipit ... f. 135<sup>v</sup> Aurelii Augustini qua [corr. contra] Pelagianos et Celestinos [corr. Celestianos] hereticos hyponosticon liber explicit.

- a8 CAMBRIDGE, *Gonville and Caius College*, 149 (199) Parchment. s. XII<sup>ex</sup>. Cf. M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Gonville and Caius College*, Vol. I (Cambridge 1907) p. 169–71; Ker <sup>2</sup>, p. 192; Römer, p. 62. The codex comes from Waltham Augustinian Abbey of Holy Cross.

<sup>1</sup> As was mentioned above, the text ends imperfectly at this point towards the close of chapter 4 of *Responsio* IV.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 25, fn. 3; p. 26–27.

235 × 170 mm., 149 + 1 ff., 25 long lines to the page.

p. 96 Aurelii Augustini Doctoris egregii contra Pelagianos et (p. 97) Celestianos hereticos: *ypomnoston* liber incipit ... p. 155 Aurelii Augustini doctoris egregii contra Pelagianos et Celestianos hereticos *ypomnoston* liber explicit.

- a9 OXFORD, Bodleian Library, Bodl. 705. Parchment. s. XIII<sup>th</sup>. Cf. F. Madan and H. H. E. Craster, *op. cit.*, p. 428; Römer, p. 243. This miscellany of St. Augustine's works comes from the Royal Collegiate Chapel of St. George, and was presented to the Bodleian Library by the Dean and Canons of Windsor in 1612. The text is remarkably similar to that of (a8).

325 × 235 mm., 98 ff., 2 columns of 36 lines.

f. 39 Aurelii Augustini doctoris contra Pelagianos et Celestianos hereticos *ypomnoston* liber incipit ... f. 58 Explicit Responsio quarta Aurelii Augustini doctoris contra Pelagianos et Celestianos hereticos *ypomnoston* liber explicit.

In this codex the *Hypomnesticon* is preceded by the *Enchiridion* of St. Augustine, a combination which occurs in exactly the same way in the Rouen manuscript (ro) and also in (a6).

- a10 LONDON, Lambeth Palace Library, 499. Parchment, s. XIII<sup>th</sup>. Cf. M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace* (Cambridge 1932) p. 691; Ker <sup>2</sup>, p. 197; Römer, p. 212–13. The manuscript originated in the Cistercian Abbey of B. V. M. of Stanlow, Cheshire, and was removed in 1296 to the Abbey of Whalley. It is a book of collections in four parts with the *Hypomnesticon* in the third of these.

230 × 180 mm., 2 + 301 ff., 48 long lines to the page.

f. 165<sup>v</sup> Incipit *ypomnoston* beati Augustini, id est, liber abbreviatus contra Pelagianos et Celestianos hereticos ... f. 177 subvenerit salutaris. Quam nobis praestare dignetur qui vivit et regnat per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen. Explicit *ypomnoston* beati Augustini, id est, liber abbreviatus contra Pelagianorum et Celestianorum heresim ubi in tertia responsione contra eorum errorem sufficienter agit de gratia et libero arbitrio.

- a11 CAMBRIDGE, Pembroke College, 135. Parchment. s. XIII<sup>ex</sup>. Cf. M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Pembroke College, Cambridge* (Cambridge 1905) p. 134; Römer, p. 76. It is

an Augustinian miscellany of unknown origin. At present it is lodged in Cambridge University Library. As was already observed, the form 'Scelestianos' for 'Caelestianos' in the *incipit* of this manuscript links it with Tours, Bibl. mun. 300 (t5), and its rendering of the phrase 'Paulo fidei magistro' by 'Paulo fidei magistro' in *Responsio I*, chapter 2, links it with Harley 865 (a1) <sup>1</sup>.

340×220 mm., 355+1 ff., 2 columns of 68 lines.

f.275 Incipit liber Augustini qui dicitur yponosticon. Est contra Pelagianos et Scelestianos hereticos ... f.285 Explicit yponosticon.

- a12** LONDON, *British Museum*, <Royal Ms> 5 D.X. Parchment. s.XIII<sup>ex</sup>. Cf. *British Museum. Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections*, Vol. 1 (London 1921) p. 111–12; R.W.Hunt, «Manuscripts containing the indexing symbols of Robert Grosseteste» in *The Bodleian Library Record*, IV (1952–53) p. 247–48; 251–52; Römer, p. 194. The codex comes from the Benedictine Abbey of B.V.M. and St.Benedict, Ramsey, and belonged to Simon, Abbot of Ramsey (1316–1342), though it seems to have been written before his time. Hunt, in fact, ascribes it to the second half of the XIIIth century. Besides a collection of St. Augustine's works, it contains an unusual medley of other writings.

380×255 mm., 1+203 ff., 2 columns of 69 lines.

f.63 Aurelii Augustini doctoris contra Pelagianos et Celestianos hereticos yponosticon liber incipit ... f.69/69<sup>v</sup> Explicit responsio IIII Aurelii Augustini doctoris contra pelagianos hereticos. Ypomnesticon liber explicit.

- a13** OXFORD, *Bodleian Library*, Bodl. 150. Parchment. s.XIII<sup>ex</sup>. Cf. F.Madan and H.H.E. Craster, *op. cit.*, p. 119; R.W.Hunt, *art. cit.*, p. 252; Römer, p. 230–31. The codex derives from Exeter Cathedral Church of St.Peter, and seems to have belonged to John Grandison, Bishop of Exeter (1327–1369), who gave it to the Cathedral Library. It was presented to the Bodleian Library by the Dean and Chapter of Exeter in 1602. It is a miscellany of treatises attributed to St. Augustine.

300×215 mm., 2+264 ff., 2 columns of 44 lines.

f.68<sup>v</sup> Incipit yponosticon, i.e. Liber abbreviatus [in the margin, and in a different hand *add.* contra Pelagianos et Celestianos] ... f.83<sup>v</sup> subvenerit salutaris.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 34.



The text of the *Hypomnesticon* in this codex is very close to that of Cambridge, Gon. and Caius 149 (a8).

- p10** *PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale, Lat. 17398*. Parchment. s.XIII. This Augustinian collection contains a text of the *Hypomnesticon* which belongs to the continental branch of the Anglo-Norman family. Immediately preceding the *Hypomnesticon* is Augustine's *De mendacio*, and immediately following it is his *De magistro*.

320×220 mm., 147 ff. 2 columns of 38 lines.

f.86 Augustini doctoris contra pelagianos et celestianos hereticos yppomnosticon liber incipit ... f.102 subvenerit salutaris.

The text of the *Hypomnesticon* in this manuscript is identical with that of the English branch of the Anglo-Norman family in almost every detail. It should be remarked, however, that the touchstone phrase 'gratia est heretice' (*Responsio IV*, chapter 6) on f.100, col. 2, lin. 23/24 diverges from the usual English forms.

- a14** *OXFORD, Merton College, 36*. Parchment. s.XIII. Cf. H.Coxe, *Catalogus Codicum MSS. qui in Collegiis Aulisque Oxoniensibus hodie adservantur*, Pars II<sup>a</sup> (Oxford 1852) p. 24–25; F.M.Powicke, *The Medieval Books of Merton College* (Oxford 1931) p. 236; Römer, p. 303–304. It is a collection of treatises ascribed to St. Augustine. The text of the *Hypomnesticon* in this codex was very carefully supervised.

320×220 mm., 307 ff., 2 columns of 54 lines.

f.21 Adversarii catholice fidei ... f.32 subvenerit salutaris.

The text of the *Hypomnesticon* is related to that of Oxford, (Bodl.) Bodl. 150 (a13). Despite the absence of a title, the *Hypomnesticon* is implicitly ascribed to Augustine by the fact that the codex as a whole purports to be a miscellany of his writings.

- a15** *LONDON, British Museum <Royal Ms> 5 C.V*. Parchment. s.XIII<sup>ex</sup>. Cf. *British Museum. Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections*, Vol. I (London 1921) p. 108; Römer, p. 191–92. The manuscript comes from Sempringham Priory of B. V. M., Lincolnshire.

365×215 mm., 307 ff., 2 columns of 60/63 lines.

f.87 Adversarii catholice fidei ... f.96<sup>v</sup> subvenerit salutaris.

In addition to *Responsiones I–IV* of the *Hypomnesticon*, this codex contains a copy of *Responsio V*. Judging by the script in which the Vth *Responsio* is written, it is obviously a later addition. Besides, the folios

are ruled differently from the rest; the word 'protoplastus' is spelt 'prothoplastus', and not, as in the section containing *Responsiones I–IV*, 'prothoplaustus'; and there are 63 lines to the page instead of 61 as in the folios immediately preceding. This addition was made possible by the fact that three pages of the fifth gathering of twelve leaves were originally left blank, as was also part of f.57<sup>v</sup>. What is now marked f.60 and the following folios form an additional collection of works of St. Augustine. This manuscript is the only one in England in which I have encountered *Responsio V* of the *Hypomnesticon*<sup>1</sup>.

- v7 *VATICANUS*, *Lat. 818*. Parchment. s.XIII<sup>ex</sup>. Cf. CVL, Tome 2, Pars prior, p. 171; Oberleitner, p. 274–75. This manuscript is certainly not of Italian origin, and seems, judging by the script, to come from the north of France. The text belongs to the Anglo-Norman family, but it is very carelessly written, and abounds in scribal errors of all kinds.

310 × 215 mm., 60 ff., 2 columns of 64 lines.

f.44 *Adversarii catholice fidei* [in the margin the word 'yponosticon' is inserted] ... f.52 *subvenerit salutaris*.

- a16 *LONDON*, *British Museum* <Royal Ms> 5 C. VI. Parchment. s.XIV. Cf. *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections*, Vol. I (London 1921) p. 109; Römer, p. 192–93. The codex comes from the Benedictine Priory of B.V.M., Worcester, and on f.1 it bears the ex-libris of that monastery: *Liber monasterii Wygornie*. It comprises, for the most part, works of St. Augustine.

360 × 230 mm., 246 ff., 2 columns of 60 lines.

f.176 *Aurelii Augustini contra Pelagianos yponosticon* ... f.186 *subvenerit salutaris*.

- a17 *OXFORD*, *Merton College*, I. Parchment. s.XIV. Cf. H.Coxe, *op. cit.*, p. 1–2; F.M.Powicke, *op. cit.*, p. 113; Römer, p. 297–98. Coxe gives incorrect folio references in the case of the *Hypomnesticon* in this codex. The work begins on f.324<sup>v</sup>, and not on f.330<sup>v</sup>, as Coxe stated. The volume contains 64 items, the first 63 of which are ascribed to St. Augustine. Two known works of Prosper of Aquitaine, namely, the *Pro Augustino responsiones ad capitula obiectionum Vincentianarum* (f.290–91)<sup>2</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 24, fn. 1.

<sup>2</sup> As this work of Prosper of Aquitaine must necessarily be mentioned frequently in what follows, I shall abbreviate the title thus: *Pro Aug<sup>o</sup>... Vinc.*

and the *Sententiae ex operibus S. Augustini* (f.98 and *seq.*) are found in this manuscript, and both of them are attributed to St. Augustine. The scribe appears to have been very careless in copying the *Hypomnesticon* into his manuscript, and became increasingly so from *Responsio III* onwards. His copy abounds in errors.

458 × 255 mm., 368 ff., 2 columns of 80 lines.

f.324<sup>v</sup> Incipit Liber Sancti Augustini contra Pelagianos et Celestianos hereticos qui vocatur yponosticon ... f.331<sup>v</sup> Explicit[a] est Responsio aurelii Augustini doctoris contra Pelagianos et Celestinos hereticos yponosticon liber explicit.

- a18** *OXFORD, Merton College, 35.* Parchment. s.XIV<sup>in</sup>. Cf. H. Coxe, *op. cit.*, p. 23; F.M. Powicke, *op. cit.* p. 164; Römer, p. 303. The codex contains works of St. Augustine, St. Anselm, Hugh of St. Victor, Giles of Rome, together with some astronomical works.

223 × 145 mm., 246 ff., 2 columns of 50 lines.

f.1 Aurelii Augustini doctoris egregii contra quinque hereses yponosticon id est abbreviatus liber incipit ... f.13 Aurelii Augustini doctoris contra Pelagianos et Scelestianos yponosticon liber explicit.

The text of the *Hypomnesticon* in this manuscript is very similar to that of Cambridge, Gonville and Caius, 149 (a8).

- a19** *OXFORD, Merton College, 37.* Parchment. s.XIV<sup>in</sup>. Cf. H. Coxe, *op. cit.*, p. 25; Römer, p. 304–5. The codex contains 46 works attributed to St. Augustine. At the end of the volume is found the inscription: *Caucio M. Ricardi Elyngdon exposita domui scolarium de Merton in Oxonia pro xx<sup>s</sup> in festo S. Fredeswyde anno Dni millesimo ccc<sup>o</sup> quinquagesimo.*

330 × 200 mm., 380 ff., 2 columns of 50 lines.

f.247<sup>v</sup> Incipit Liber beati Augustini qui dicitur yponosticon ... f.301 subvenerit salutaris.

- a20** *OXFORD, Bodleian Library, Bodl. 568.* Parchment, s.XIV<sup>in</sup>. Cf. F. Madan and H.H.E. Craster, *op. cit.*, p. 159; Römer, p. 240–41. The origin of the codex is unknown. In 1604 it was presented by William Ballow to Christ Church, Oxford. The contents are theological treatises ascribed to St. Augustine.

270 × 220 mm., 3 + 318 ff., 2 columns of 55 lines.

f.206 Incipit liber beati Augustini qui dicitur yponosticon contra Pelagianos et Scelestianos hereticos ... f.214 Explicit yponosticon Augustini.

**a21** OXFORD, Bodleian Library, Bodl. 238. Parchment. s. XIV. Cf. F. Madan and H. H. E. Craster, *op. cit.*, p. 183; Ker <sup>2</sup>, p. 148; Römer, p. 234–35. In James's *Ecloga* (1600) this codex is entered as MS No. 250, New College, Oxford. It was presented by Dr. Thomas James in 1601. Of the works contained in the volume, eleven are treatises attributed to St. Augustine, and among them is found a copy of the *Hypomnesticon*.

380 × 250 mm., 1 + 263 ff., 2 columns of 75 lines.

f. 174 Eiusdem contra Pelagianos hereticos yponosticon i.e. abbreviatus liber incipit ... f. 181 subvenerit salutaris.

**a22** CAMBRIDGE, University Library, Kk. 2. 14. Parchment. s. XIV. Cf. *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge*. Edited by the Syndics of the University Press, Vol. 3 (Cambridge 1858) p. 608; Römer, p. 39–40. The folio numbers given in the catalogue for the *Hypomnesticon*, i.e. 110a–120a are incorrect. They should read f. 115–125. The origin of the codex is unknown.

326 × 233 mm., 2 + 350 ff., 2 columns of 60 lines.

f. 115 Aurelii Augustini contra Pelagianos <sup>1</sup> hereticos yponosticon, id est, abbreviatus liber incipit ... f. 125 subvenerit salutaris.

**p11** PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale, Lat. 1974. Parchment. s. XIV. Cf. C. Lambot, RB 65 (1955) p. 210, n. 1; RB 66 (1956) p. 156–58; *Mélanges de Ghellinck* I (Gembloux 1951) p. 257 ff.; A. Souter, *The Earliest Latin Commentaries on the Epistles of St. Paul* (Oxford 1927) p. 146. The codex has the ex-libris: *Colbert 908* and *Regius 3633*<sup>7</sup>. On f. 369<sup>v</sup> there is a *tabula* of the *Hypomnesticon* with the heading: *Item liber augustini contra Pelagianos et Celestianos vocatus yponosticon*.

350 × 240 mm., 370 ff., 2 columns of 53 lines.

f. 181<sup>v</sup> Aurelii Augustini doctoris contra Pelagianos et Celestianos hereticos yponosticon liber incipit ... f. 193 Explicit responsio quarta aurelii augustini doctoris contra Pelagianos et celestianos hereticos yponosticon liber explicit.

**a23** LINCOLN, Cathedral Chapter Library, 159. Parchment. s. XIV<sup>ex</sup>. Cf. R. M. Wooley, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library* (London 1927) p. 123–24. Römer, p. 136–37. Between f. 286<sup>v</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> In the margin the words 'et Celestianos' are added with an indication that they are to be inserted after 'Pelagianos' in the *incipit*.

f.287 there is a gap in the text of the *Hypomnesticon*. The missing passage extends from 'sine lege enim peccatum' of Responsio IV, chapter 5 to 'vacandum abstinere' of chapter 7. The text is closely related to that of London, BM <Royal Ms> 5 D.X, i.e. (a12).

375 × 255 mm., 340 ff., 2 columns of varying numbers of lines.

f.279 Aurelii Augustini doctoris contra Pelagianos et Celestianos hereticos yponomosticon incipit ... f.287<sup>v</sup> Explicit responsio IIII Augustini doctoris contra Pelagianos et Celestianos hereticos ypomonosticon liber.

- a24** CAMBRIDGE, *University Library*, *Ii.1.29*. Parchment. s.XV. Cf. *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge 1858) p. 348–49; Römer, p. 32–33. The text is closely related to that of the foregoing manuscript and, therefore, also to (a12). The *incipit* is a later addition inserted in the margin, but the *explicit* was written by the scribe who copied the text of the *Hypomnesticon*.

254 × 162 mm., 258 ff., written in different hands. 2 columns with varying numbers of lines.

f.86 Aurelii Augustini doctoris contra Pelagianos et Celestianos hereticos ypomonosticon liber incipit ... f.95 Explicit Responsio IIII Aurelii Augustini doctoris contra Pelagianos et Celestianos hereticos ypomonosticon liber explicit.

- a25** CAMBRIDGE, *Peterhouse*, *113* is now lodged in Cambridge University Library. Parchment. s.XV. Cf. M.R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Peterhouse* (Cambridge 1899) p. 130; Römer, p. 79–81. The codex consists mainly of works attributed to St. Augustine. Its origin is unknown. On f.16<sup>v</sup>–17<sup>v</sup> is a *tabula* of the *Hypomnesticon* which begins with the words: *Tabula super yponosticon Aug<sup>i</sup>. Amen*, and ends: *yponosticon libellus abbreviatus*.

300 × 215 mm., 246 ff., 2 columns of 44 lines.

f.210 Incipit liber contra Pelagianos et Celestianos haereticos ... f.224<sup>v</sup> subvenerit salutare. Explicit.

- va** VALENCIA, *Biblioteca universitaria*, *27*. Parchment. s.XV. Cf. Gutiérrez del Cano, *Catálogo de los Manuscritos existentes en la Biblioteca Universitaria de Valencia*, I (Valencia 1913) p. 9–10; Divjak, p. 284–85. It is a collection of St. Augustine's works. The text of the *Hypomnesticon* belongs to the Anglo-Norman family.

327 × 225 mm., 192 ff., 2 columns of 44 lines.

f.129 Aurelii augustini doctoris contra pelagianos et celestianos hereticos yppomnosticon liber incipit ... f.141<sup>v</sup> Explicit ·IIII· responsio Aurelii Augustini doctoris liber yppomnosticon contra pelagianos et celestianos hereticos.

- 17 TRIER, *Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 156/1213*. Parchment and paper. s.XV. Cf. Max Keuffer, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek zu Trier, Zweites Heft, Die Kirchenväter-Handschriften* (Trier 1891) p. 68–71; Kurz, p. 133. In this extensive miscellany of Augustine's writings is to be found a text of the *Hypomnesticon* which belongs to the Anglo-Norman family.

295 × 215 mm., 267 ff., 2 columns of 48 lines.

f.193 Aurelii Augustini doctoris contra pelagianos et celestianos hereticos yppomnosticon liber incipit.

Adversarii catholice fidei ... f.209 subvenerit salutaris.

#### 4) Manuscripts containing Responsio VI alone

- G ST.GALL, *Stiftsbibliothek, 29*. Parchment. s.IX and XIII. Cf. G.Scherrer (alias Scherer), *Verzeichnis der Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek von St.Gallen* (Halle 1875) p. 15; G.Becker, *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui* (Bonn 1885) p. 32; cf. p. 43–46; P.Lehmann, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands u. d. Schweiz*, I Band (Munich 1918) p. 75; A.Goldbacher, CSEL 53 (1923) p. LXVI; A.Bruckner, *Scriptoria Medii Aevi Helvetica II, Schreibschulen der Diözese Konstanz. St.Gallen I* (Geneva 1936) p. 56–57. The volume actually contains within its covers three distinct codices written at widely different times, and it is with the second of these, namely, p. 45–176, which contains the *Hypomnesticon*, that we are concerned here. Written in a very legible pre-Caroline hand, this codex, i.e. p. 45–176, dates from the first quarter of the IXth century<sup>1</sup>, and we learn from a catalogue of the same century giving the

<sup>1</sup> Professor B.Bischoff of Munich University kindly informed me in September 1964, that this codex could well have been written around 800 A.D. He also said that it was most probably copied in the monastery of St.Gall itself.

contents of the library of St.Gall that the manuscript was in the library at that time; cf. G.Becker, *op. cit.*, p. 32; 43–46. The items contained in the codex are: Prosper of Aquitaine's *Epistola ad Rufinum* (p. 45–64); the same Prosper's trio of works in defence of Augustine, *Pro Aug<sup>o</sup> responsiones ad capitula obiectionum Gallorum calumniantium*; *Pro Aug<sup>o</sup> ... Vinc.*; *Pro Aug<sup>o</sup> responsiones ad excerpta Genuensium* (p. 64–120); St.Augustine's *De octo Dulcitii quaestionibus* (p. 120–59); and *Responsio VI* of the *Hypomnesticon* (p. 159–75).

190×125 mm., 130+1 pp. [i.e. p. 45–176 according to the present foliation]. 26/28 long lines to the page.

p. 156 Incipit de predestinatione disputatio ·VI· ypomnostichon contra Pelagianos. Addere etiam ... p. 175 prerogare. Amen. Explicit ypomnostichon <sup>1</sup> liber contra Pelagianos seu Celestianos hereticos.

- B** BOULOGNE-SUR-MER, *Bibliothèque municipale*, No. 48. Parchment. s.IX<sup>th</sup>. Cf. *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des Départements* IV (Paris 1872) p. 603–4. This codex did not originate in the north of France, as the ex-libris of the Abbey of S.Bertin which it bears might lead one to suppose, but in western Germany, or perhaps more precisely in Alsace <sup>2</sup>. Nevertheless, to judge by the X/XIth century ex-libris on f.128<sup>v</sup>: *Hunc librum Gerbodo* <sup>3</sup> *advocatus, die Sancto Paschae dedit sancto Petro et sancto Bertino. Si quis illi abstulerit, anathemate Dei subjaceat*. The codex was offered to the Abbey of S.Bertin at least in the XIth century and possibly earlier <sup>4</sup>. The contents are identical with those of St.Gall 29 and, with one exception, follow exactly the same order. The text of the *Hypomnesticon* in the manuscript is remarkably similar to that of the same St.Gall manuscript, and the title given to the work in both is identical. St.Gall 29 certainly does not depend on Boulogne-sur-Mer 48, but the possibility of the latter depending on the former is by no means excluded. The least that can be said is that both manuscripts derive from a proximate ancestor.

290×195 mm., 128 ff., 29 long lines to the page.

<sup>1</sup> A second hand changed 'ypomnostichon' into 'ypognostichon' at this point.

<sup>2</sup> Professor B.Bischoff suggested to me that Alsace was probably the place of origin of this manuscript.

<sup>3</sup> The name was erroneously deciphered by the editor of the *Catalogue général des manuscrits...* (*supra cit.*, p. 604). He gives the name 'Serbodo' instead of 'Gerbodo'.

<sup>4</sup> I find that the signature of a certain *Gerbodo advocatus* occurs on several of the chartes of S.Bertin under the dates 975, 986 and 1042. Cf. D.Haiguère, *Les chartes de Saint-Bertin*, Tome 1 (1886) p. 20; 25 and 26.

f.118<sup>v</sup> Incipit de praedestinatione Disputatio sexta ypomnostichon. Addere etiam ... f.128<sup>v</sup> Explicit ypomnostichon Liber contra Pelagianos seu Caelestianos hereticos. Amen.

- L** LYONS, *Bibliothèque municipale, No. 611*. Parchment. s.IX. Cf. *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France XXX* (Paris 1900) p. 160–61. It is a miscellany containing works by St. Augustine and others, and was written somewhere in the southern half of France in the first half of the IXth century. Two parts are discernible in the codex, the first of which (f.1–88) originally comprised 12 quires (one of these is now missing) and contains works by St. Augustine and St. Jerome. The second part (f.89–135) contains *Responsio VI* of the *Hypomnesticon*; St. Augustine's *Expositio psalmi xxii*; the Epistle to Sixtus; the Epistle to Hilary; the tract *De videndo deo*; and a commentary on the Parable of the Good Samaritan. The text is very good despite misspellings and various grammatical faults. So far as the contents are concerned, a comparison between the second part and Paris BN 12220 makes the close relation existing between the two unmistakable. Furthermore, a textual comparison on the basis of the VIth *Responsio* of the *Hypomnesticon* points clearly to the fact that Lyons 611 and the Paris manuscript derive from a close common ancestor.

225 × 175, 135 ff., 25 long lines to the page.

f.89 Incipit de praedestinatione disputatio contra eosdem. Licet latius ... f.98 praerogare. Explicit Deo Gratias.

- p12** PARIS, *Bibliothèque nationale, Lat. 13344*. Parchment. s.IX. Cf. L. Delisle, *Cabinets des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale*, Tome 2 (Paris 1874) p. 434; *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes* (1860) p. 502; *Mélanges Ghellinck I* (Gembloux 1951) p. 257 ff. The codex derives from the Abbey of Corbie, and is listed No. 68 in the catalogue of Corbie library that was written about 1200<sup>1</sup>. Later it was transferred to S. Germain des Prés, and the ex-libris of that abbey is to be found on f.1: *Ex libris S. Germani a Pratis N. 1307, olim 579*. It is written in a clear, neat pre-Caroline minuscule with occasional insular symptoms. Faults of orthography abound, and the version of *Responsio VI* which it contains, though not too distantly related to that of Paris BN 12220 (C), is very much inferior to it by reason of its numerous scribal errors.

<sup>1</sup> This catalogue was described above, p. 6, fn. 2.



230 × 165 mm., 98 ff., 24/26 long lines.

f. 69<sup>v</sup> Incipit de praedestinationibus adversum Caelestium beati Augustini [corr. Augustini]. Addere etiam ... 79<sup>v</sup> Explicit Liber De Praedestinationibus Beati Augustini episcopi Hipponerigiensis Provincia Africanae.

- K** KÖLN, *Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek*, Cod. Dom. 79. Parchment. s. IX<sup>med</sup>. Cf. Philippus Jaffé and Guilelmus Wattenbach, *Ecclesiae Metropolitanae Coloniensis Codices Manuscripti* (Berlin 1874) p. 26; Kurz, p. 133. The contents of this codex are identical with those of St. Gall 29 and Boulogne-sur-Mer 48, and are in exactly the same order. Textually the manuscript is closely related to these two manuscripts, but it has distinctive variants, e.g. the omission of the word 'poena' (Page 110, line 15), which shows it to be among the close ancestors of Besançon 174 and the entire English family of manuscripts containing the sixth *Responsio*. On the other hand, variants such as 'confiteatur' for 'confutetur' (Page 108, line 4) show that the German manuscripts Leipzig 267, Munich 7949 and Harburg Cod. II, i, 2<sup>o</sup>, 200 are among its descendants.

260 × 210 mm., 57 ff., 25 long lines.

f. 49 Incipit de predestinatione disputatio VI augustini yponostichon adversus Pelagianos seu Celestianos hereticos. Addere etiam ... f. 57<sup>v</sup> indebitam praerogare. Amen. Explicit yponosticon liber contra Pelagianos seu Celestianos hereticos.

- b1** BESANÇON, *Bibliothèque municipale*, No. 174. Parchment. s. XI<sup>2</sup>. Cf. *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques de France*, XXXII (Paris 1897) p. 122. It is a late XIth century manuscript which was purchased in Italy by a certain Abbé de Billy whose *cachet* it bears, and was acquired by the municipal library of Besançon in 1850. Besides the VIth *Responsio* of the *Hypomnesticon*, the codex contains St. Augustine's *De catechizandis rudibus* together with some fragments from works of the same author. The text resembles that of St. Gall 29.

203 × 140 mm., 34 ff., 26 long lines to the page.

f. 27 Incipit de predestinatione disputatio ·VI· Augustini yponostichon adversus Pelagianos seu Celestianos. Attendere etiam ... f. 34<sup>v</sup> Explicit yponosticon Liber contra Pelagianos seu celestianos Hereticos.

- tr** TROYES, *Bibliothèque municipale*, No. 1532. Parchment. s. XI/XII. Cf. *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques*, Tome 2 (Paris 1855) p. iv; 644. This extensive miscellany contains works of

St. Prosper of Aquitaine, St. Augustine and others. The script is provincial and unlike that of monastic scriptoria. The codex became the property of the Fathers of the Oratory of Troyes and was transferred by a governmental decree dated 1803 to the municipal library of Troyes.

195 × 130 mm., 278 ff., 30 long lines to the page.

f.158<sup>v</sup> The *Hypomnesticon* begins without a title: Addere etiam ... f.163<sup>v</sup> prerogare.

A study of the variants of this manuscript shows with certainty that so far as the *Hypomnesticon* is concerned it is a close derivative of Boulogne-sur-Mer 48 (B).

- e1 *HEREFORD, Cathedral Library, O.III.I.* Parchment. s.XII<sup>th</sup>. Cf. A.T. Bannister, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Hereford Cathedral Library* (Hereford 1927) p. 27; Ker <sup>2</sup>, p. 92; Römer, p. 126.

The codex comes from the Benedictine Abbey of St. Peter, Gloucester, and on f.159<sup>v</sup> bears the ex-libris of that abbey: *Liber abbacie beati Petri Gloucestrie* ... In it we encounter the earliest extant English version of the VIth *Responsio* of the *Hypomnesticon*. The contents of the codex show clearly that it is related to St. Gall 29 and Boulogne-sur-Mer 48. On the other hand, the version of *Responsio VI* which it contains shows no less clearly that it is related to Besançon 174. The first item in the codex is the *Epistola ad Rufinum* of St. Prosper of Aquitaine, and the work immediately preceding the VIth *Responsio* of the *Hypomnesticon* is the *De octo Dulcitii quaestionibus*. The title which appears over the *Responsio* of the *Hypomnesticon* was added very much later – perhaps in the XIVth century – in a space left blank for a title. It is erroneous, and confounds the *Hypomnesticon* with Augustine's *De praedestinatione sanctorum*.

255 × 170 mm., 2 + 159 ff., 28 long lines.

f.56<sup>v</sup> Incipit Augustini liber de predestinatione sanctorum ... f.64<sup>v</sup> Explicit liber de predestinatione sanctorum.

- e2 *DURHAM, Cathedral Library, B.IV.12.* Parchment. s.XII<sup>th</sup>. Cf. R.A. B. Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts to the End of the 12th Century* (Oxford 1939) p. 59; Ker <sup>2</sup>, p. 68; Römer, p. 111–12. The link between this codex and the continental ones, St. Gall 29 and Boulogne-sur-Mer 48 on the basis of similarity of contents is even more evident than in the case of Hereford O.III.I already discussed. In the Durham manus-

cript we find the three works of Prosper of Aquitaine, *Pro Augustino responsiones ad capitula obiectionum Gallorum calumniantium*; *Pro Aug<sup>o</sup> ... Vinc.*; *Pro Augustino responsiones ad excerpta Genuensium*, together with Augustine's *De octo Dulcitii quaestionibus* immediately preceding the *Hypomnesticon*. The fact that these works are in exactly the same order in both the Durham manuscript and the two continental ones is very significant. Textually, Durham B.IV.12 is almost identical with Hereford O.III.I., and both manuscripts must be very close to the continental exemplar upon which the entire English family of texts of *Responsio VI* depends.

243 × 173 mm., 188 ff., 30/33 long lines in different hands.

f.76<sup>v</sup> Addere etiam ... f.81<sup>v</sup> indebitam prerogare. Amen.

- h** *SAN MARINO, Huntington Library, HM 31151*. Parchment. s.XII. Since this codex contains a copy of the first four *Responsiones* of the *Hypomnesticon*, it was already described in Section 3), p. 33. Among the English manuscripts containing the *Hypomnesticon* it shares with Oxford, Merton College I and Cambridge University Library Ii.1.29 the distinction of containing both *Responsiones I–IV* and *Responsio VI*, and it is unique among them in being the only one to present *Responsio VI* immediately after *Responsiones I–IV*. It is, therefore, the only English manuscript which betrays awareness of the object corresponding to the words 'huic operi' in the opening phrase: 'Addere etiam hoc quam maxime huic operi oportet'. This is very significant.

f.157<sup>v</sup> Augustini contra pelagianos de predestinatione divina. Addere etiam ... f.162 indebitam praerogare. Amen.

- y2** *VENICE, Biblioteca Nazionale di S.Marco, L.II.69 (2196)*. Parchment. s.XII. Cf. J. Valentinelli, *Bibliotheca Manuscripta ad S.Marci Venetiarum digessit*, Tome I (Venice 1861) p. 233–35; Oberleitner, p. 366. This codex from S.Michele di Murano contains a version of the *Hypomnesticon*, *Responsio VI* which approximates to that of St.Gall 29, but a number of its readings point to a more remote ancestor. Augustine's *In Ioannis epistolam ad Parthos tractatus x* precedes the VIth *Responsio* in the codex, and the *De Disciplina Christiana* follows it.

277 × 173 mm., 1 + 160 ff., 30 long lines.

f.97 Item eiusdem dicta Augustini De praedestinatione. Addere etiam ... f.101<sup>v</sup> indebitam prerogare.

- s3 STUTTGART, *Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. Theol. 2º, 207*. Parchment. s.XII. Cf. *Scriptorium* 19 (1965) 115, No. 18; Kurz; p. 133. In this collection of mainly Augustinian works the *Hypomnesticon* is placed immediately after the *De octo Dulcitii quaestionibus*, and this is one of many features linking it with St. Gall 29 and Boulogne-sur-Mer 48.

250×180 mm., 141 ff., 30 long lines.

f.103<sup>v</sup> Disputatio ypomenesticon. Addere etiam ... f.109 indebitam prerogare.

- fu FULDA, *Hessische Landesbibliothek, Cod. Aa 23*. Parchment. s.XII. Cf. Karl Löffler, *Die Handschriften des Klosters Weingarten* (= *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, Beiheft 41, Leipzig 1912) p. 74; Kurz, p. 132. The manuscript comes from the Benedictine monastery of Weingarten in the south of Germany, and judging by the script and ornamental initials was written in the monastery in the first half of the XIIth century. In all, the volume contains twenty-seven works, most of them from the pen of St. Augustine. The *Hypomnesticon* appears towards the end, and is immediately preceded by the *De octo Dulcitii quaestionibus*. A clue to the close link between the text of the *Hypomnesticon* in this manuscript and that of Stuttgart 2º 207 is given in the *incipit* where the unusual form, 'ypomenesticon', found in the latter is repeated. A further comparison of the variants they have in common shows that the Fulda text is copied from that of the Stuttgart manuscript.

306×212 mm., 78 ff., 48 long lines.

f.74<sup>v</sup> Disputatio ypomenesticon. Addere etiam ... f.76<sup>v</sup> indebitam prerogare.

- k1 KÖLN, *Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek. Cod. Dom. 77*. Parchment. s.XII. Cf. Philippus Jaffé and Guilelmus Wattenbach, *Ecclesiae Metropolitanae Coloniensis Codices Manuscripti* (Berlin 1874) p. 25; Kurz, p. 132. The title given to the VIth *Responsio* of the *Hypomnesticon* in this Augustinian miscellany is odd, i.e., *De moribus Manicheorum*, and occurs nowhere else. On the first folio of the manuscript, written in a XVth century hand, is found the ex-libris: *Iste liber est facultatis arcium Symon de Outdorp Notarius et Studii Colonicusis Bedellus*.

245×160 mm., 117 ff., 34 long lines.

f.48 Incipit de predestinatione de moribus Manicheorum. Addere etiam ... f.54<sup>v</sup> indebitam prerogare. Explicit de predestinatione.

- h1 *HEILIGENKREUZ, Stiftsbibliothek, Codex 241*. Parchment. s.XII/XIII. Cf. B.Gsell, «Verzeichnis der Handschriften in der Bibliothek des Stiftes Heiligenkreuz» in *Xenia Bernardina Pars Secunda. Handschriften-Verzeichnisse I. Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Cistercienser-Stifte*, I. Band (Vienna 1891) p. 181–82. The association of Augustine's *De octo Dulcitii quaestionibus* with the *Hypomnesticon*, which was already encountered in several earlier codices, occurs in this one also. This association gives one indication of the family to which the version of the VIth *Responsio* found in the Heiligenkreuz manuscript is likely to belong, i.e. that of which St.Gall 29 is the earliest extant witness.

230 × 180 mm., 108 ff., 28 long lines.

f.103 Incipit De predestinatione Disputatio ypomnesticon. Addere etiam ... f.108 indebitam prerogare. Explicit disputatio de predestinatione.

- e3 *STOWMARKET, Helmingham Hall, L.J.VI*. Parchment. s.XIII. Cf. M.R. James, *Manuscripts from Essex Monastic Libraries, Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society*, N.S. XXI (1933) p. 36; N.R. Ker, *More Manuscripts from Essex Monastic Libraries, ibid.* XXIII (1954) p. 298–310; Ker<sup>2</sup>, p. 170. This manuscript is now the property of Lord Tollemache, Helmingham Hall, Stowmarket, Suffolk. It comes from the Augustinian Abbey of St.Osyth (Chick), Essex, and bears the ex-libris of that abbey in a XVth century hand on the fly-leaf: *Liber monasterii sancte Osi the virgine marturis et reginae ordinis canonicorum sanctissimi Doctoris Augustini*. That it is not very early XIIIth century seems apparent from the fact that the first line of writing on the pages is below, and not above, the first ruled line. Nevertheless, in appearance it is very much in the tradition of XIIth century English monastic books. Immediately preceding *Responsio VI* of the *Hypomnesticon* are Augustine's *De octo Dulcitii quaestionibus* and Prosper of Aquitaine's *Pro Aug<sup>o</sup> ... Vinc.*

290 × 200 mm., 1 + 216 + 1ff., 2 columns of 40 lines.

f.73v Aurelii Augustini liber contra Pellagianos de Predestinatione incipit. Addere etiam ... f.77 indebitam prerogare. Amen. Explicit de Predestinatione contra Pellagianos.

- e4 *SALISBURY, Cathedral Library, 100*. Parchment. s.XIII. Cf. Römer, p. 317–18. It is an Augustinian miscellany that was copied in Old Sarum itself. As in the case of the foregoing manuscript, the sixth *Responsio* is immediately preceded by Prosper's *Pro Aug<sup>o</sup> ... Vinc.*

290×195 mm., 175 ff., 2 columns of 47 lines in two different hands, the first producing f.1-141<sup>v</sup>; the second f.142-174<sup>v</sup>.

f.12<sup>v</sup> Augustini contra Pelagios liber incipit de Predestinatione. Addere etiam ... f.14<sup>v</sup> indebitam prerogare. Amen.

- d1** *ROME, Biblioteca Angelica, 70.* Parchment. s.XIII. Cf. H.Narducci, *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum praeter Graecos et Orientales in Bibliotheca Angelica olim Coenobii Sancti Augustini de Urbe*, Tomus prior (Rome 1893) p. 24–26; Oberleitner, p. 205. The codex consists mainly of works of St. Augustine. Immediately preceding *Responsio VI* of the *Hypomnesticon* is the *Pro Aug<sup>o</sup> ... Vinc.*

294×222 mm., 76 ff., 2 columns of 55 lines.

f.37 Liber eius [Augustini] incipit contra pelagianos de predestinatione. Addere etiam ... f.39 indebitam prerogare. Amen.

- Lp** *LEIPZIG, Universitäts-Bibliothek, 267.* Parchment. s.XIII. Cf. R.Helsig, *Katalog der Handschriften der Universitäts-Bibliothek zu Leipzig IV*, I. Band (Leipzig 1928) p. 379–81. This miscellany of Augustine's works bears the ex-libris: *Liber veteris celle [Altzelle] Sancte Marie. Responsio VI* of the *Hypomnesticon* is preceded by St. Augustine's *De octo Dulcitii quaestionibus*.

350×250 mm., 159 ff., 2 columns of 34/36 lines.

f.156 Incipit de predestinatione liber yponesticon beati Augustini episcopi adversus pelagianos. Addere etiam ... f.159<sup>v</sup> indebitam prerogare. Explicit yponesticon sancti augustini episcopi contra pelagianos seu celestinos hereticos.

- m6** *MUNICH, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 7949 (Kaish. 49).* Parchment. s.XIII. Cf. *Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis secundum Andreae Schmelleri indices composuerunt C.Halm, G.Thomas, G.Meyer*, Tomi I, pars III (Munich 1873) p. 209. Besides *Responsio VI* of the *Hypomnesticon*, this codex contains Augustine's *De diversis quaestionibus lxxxiii*; *De agone Christiano*; *De doctrina Christiana*. It derives from the Cistercian monastery of Caesarea (Kaisheim).

300×245 mm., 109 ff., 2 columns of 33 lines.

f.52 Incipit de predestinatione disputatio eius ·VI· ypostichon adversus pelagianos seu celestinos hereticos. Addere etiam ... f.56 indebitam prerogare. Amen. Explicit liber sancti augustini episcopi ypostichon contra pelagianos seu celestinos hereticos.

- g<sup>2</sup> *ERLANGEN, Universitätsbibliothek, 179*. Parchment, s.XIII. Cf. H. Fischer, *Katalog der Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen*, I. Band (Erlangen 1928) p. 197–98. Like the foregoing manuscript, this codex contains Augustine's *De diversis quaestionibus lxxxiii*; *De agone Christiano*; *De doctrina Christiana*; and the text of the VIth *Responsio* is practically identical in both. On f.1 it bears the ex-libris: *Liber Sancte Marie V. in hailsbrunn* (in a XVth century hand); on f.102<sup>v</sup>: *Liber sancte marie halsbrun* (in a XIIIth century hand); and on f.197<sup>v</sup>: *Liber hic est Sancte Marie virginis in Fontesalutis* (in a XVth century hand).  
240 × 165 mm., 197 ff., 26 long lines (f.1–80); 27 long lines (f.81–197).  
f.94<sup>v</sup> Incipit de predestinatione disputatio eius ·VI· yponostichon adversus pelagianos seu celestinos hereticos. Addere etiam ... f.102<sup>v</sup> indebitam prerogare. Amen. Explicit liber sancti Augustini episcopi yponostichon contra pelagianos seu celestinos hereticos.
- d<sup>2</sup> *ROME, Bibliotheca Angelica, 159 (B.6.12)*. Parchment. s.XIII<sup>ex</sup>. Cf. H. Narducci, *op. cit.*, p. 84–87; Oberleitner, p. 206. The codex consists mainly of works of Augustine. Prosper of Aquitaine's *Pro Aug<sup>o</sup> ... Vinc.* follows *Responsio VI* of the *Hypomnesticon*.  
320 × 226 mm., 312 ff., 2 columns of 50 lines.  
f.261 Aurelii Augustini liber contra Pelagianos de predestinatione sanctorum incipit. Addere eciam ... f.263<sup>v</sup> indebitam prerogare. Amen. Aurelii Augustini de predestinatione contra pelagianos liber explicit.
- p<sup>13</sup> *PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale, Lat. 15660*. Parchment. s.XIII. This codex presents an unusual collection of works, but it has this in common with a number of others already discussed, namely, that it associates the VIth *Responsio* of the *Hypomnesticon* very closely with another work of Prosper of Aquitaine. Thus the work immediately preceding the *Responsio* of the *Hypomnesticon* in this volume is Prosper's *Sententiae ex operibus S. Augustini*.  
285 × 195 mm., 70 ff., 2 columns of 79 lines.  
f.40<sup>v</sup> Aurelii Augustini de predestinatione sanctorum. Addere etiam ... f.41 indebitam prerogare. Amen. Explicit.
- e<sup>5</sup> *OXFORD, Bodleian Library, Bodl. 136*. Parchment. s.XIII–XIV. Cf. F. Madan and H. H. E. Craster, *op. cit.*, p. 106; Römer, p. 229–30. The codex was presented to the Bodleian Library by Dr. Thomas James in 1601. Of its origin nothing is known.

295 × 230 mm., 4 + 312 ff., 2 columns of 58 lines.

f.138<sup>v</sup> Liber Augustini contra Pelagianos de predestinatione incipit. Addere etiam ... f.140 indebitam prerogare. Expliciunt libri beati Augustini de predestinatione.

- e19 *YORK, Minster Library, Cod. XVI.K.4.* Parchment. s.XIII/XIV. Cf. Römer, p. 327–328. This codex contains a number of different parts bound together to form an extensive miscellany of patristic and ecclesiastical writings. The sixth *Responsio* is to be found in the tenth part of the volume, and presents a text of the *Responsio* derived from Durham, Cathedral Library, B.IV.12 (e2).

160 × 85 mm., v + 211 ff., 2 columns of 22/23 lines.

f.26<sup>v</sup> Addere etiam ... f.37<sup>v</sup> indebitam prerogare.

- e6 *DURHAM, Cathedral Library, B.II.28.* Parchment. s.XIV<sup>th</sup>. Cf. Ker <sup>2</sup>, p. 67; Römer, p. 108. A curious feature of this codex is the fact that the VIth *Responsio* of the *Hypomnesticon* is added to the *De octo Dulcitii quaestionibus* as though it were an appendix of this work. The title of the *De octo Dulcitii quaestionibus* is repeated in the top margin of the folios containing the text of the *Responsio*, and in the list of contents given on f.203, the former work is mentioned, but not the latter. The version of the *Hypomnesticon* in this codex is a copy of that found in Durham, B.IV.12 (e2). On f.203 is to be found the ex-libris: *Liber sancti Cuthberti de Dunelm ...*

250 × 160 mm., 4 + 203 ff., 2 columns of 37 lines.

f.198<sup>v</sup> Addere etiam ... f.203 indebitam prerogare. Amen.

- Lz *LEIPZIG, Universitäts-Bibliothek, 230.* Parchment. s.XIV. Cf. R. Helsing, *op. cit.*, p. 331–32. It is a collection of works attributed to Augustine. Immediately preceding *Responsio VI* is the *Pro Aug<sup>o</sup> ... Vinc.* ascribed to Augustine.

284 × 190 mm., 216 ff., 2 columns of 42/47 lines.

f.110 Augustinus contra pelagianos de predestinatione. Addere etiam ... f.112<sup>v</sup> indebitam prerogare. Amen.

- g3 *ERLANGEN, Universitätsbibliothek, 170.*

This manuscript contains a copy of *Responsiones I–V* and was already described on p. 21. Elsewhere in the codex is found a copy of the VIth *Responsio* from which several passages, including the first chapter, are missing.



f.109 De predestinatione contra pelagianos et celestianos. a prenitendo [praemittendo] ... f.100 indebitam predestinationis prerogare.

- e7 OXFORD, Merton College, 1. Parchment. s.XIV. This manuscript was described already on p. 38–39. The *siglum* e7 designates f.175–176<sup>v</sup> of the codex.

f.175 Aurelii Augustini episcopi liber contra Pelagianos de predestinatione incipit ... f.176<sup>v</sup> indebitam prerogare. Amen. Explicit.

- p14 PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale, Lat. 14295. Parchment. s.XIV. The works collected in this volume range over a wide variety of subjects, and come from many different authors. The association of the *Expositio augustini de psalmo xxii* with *Responsio VI* of the *Hypomnesticon* points to a relation between this manuscript and the French family containing Paris, BN Lat. 12220 (C) and Paris BN Lat. 12223 (p1). An examination of the text confirms this relation in an unmistakable way.

390 × 270 mm., 2 + 250 + 2 ff. 2 columns of 54 lines.

f.28<sup>v</sup> Disputatio Augustini de predestinatione contra pelagianos. Licet latius ... f.31 indebitam prerogare.

- s1 SUBIACO, Biblioteca di S.Scolastica, Cod. ccciv (311). Parchment. s.XIV. Cf. Mazz. I, p. 219; Oberleitner, p. 239–40. As in the case of Rome, Biblioteca Angelica 70 (d1), this manuscript presents a copy of Prosper of Aquitaine's *Pro Aug<sup>o</sup> ... Vinc.* immediately following *Responsio VI* of the *Hypomnesticon*.

140 × 110 mm., 1 + 166 + 1 ff., 42 long lines.

f.70<sup>v</sup> Incipit liber de predestinatione ad Pelagianos. Addere etiam ... f.73 indebitam prerogare. Explicit liber de predestinatione contra Pelagianos.

- v8 VATICANUS, Ottob. lat. 459. Parchment. s.XIV. Cf. *Inventari Codicum Manuscriptorum Latinorum Bibliothecae Vaticanae Ottobonianae*, Pars I, Ottob. lat. 1–1676; Oberleitner, p. 314–15. Again in this manuscript we find Prosper of Aquitaine's *Pro Aug<sup>o</sup> ... Vinc.* associated with the *Hypomnesticon*.

320 × 220 mm., 1 (chart.) + 57 ff., 2 columns of 56 lines.

f.4 Aurelii Augustini de predestinatione contra Pelagios liber incipit. Addere etiam ... f.6 indebitam prerogare. Amen. Explicit de predestinatione contra pelagianos.

- e8 *OXFORD, Merton College, 19*. Parchment. s.XIV. Cf. H.Coxe, *op. cit.*, p. 16; Römer, p. 301–2; It is a miscellany containing works by Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, and St. Augustine. William Reid donated the codex to Merton College. The VIth *Responsio* begins without a title, but a later hand added an *incipit* in the margin: *Aurelii Augustini Liber contra Pelagianos De predestinatione incipit*; and at the end the same hand adds: *Explicit contra Pelagianos de predestinatione*.
- e9 *CAMBRIDGE, University Library, Ff.4.8*. Parchment. s.XIV. Cf. *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, Vol. 2 (Cambridge 1857) p. 43; Römer, p. 28–29. This codex contains two copies of *Responsio VI* of the *Hypomnesticon*, and in order to distinguish them, I shall designate the first by the *siglum*, e9, i.e. f.138–140<sup>v</sup>; and the second by the *siglum*, e10, i.e. f.282<sup>v</sup>–285. 308 × 206 mm., 309 ff., 2 columns of 55 lines.  
f.138 Aurelii Augustini liber contra pelagianos de predestinatione incipit ... f.140<sup>v</sup> indebitam prerogare. Amen.
- e10 *CAMBRIDGE, University Library, Ff.4.8, f.282<sup>v</sup>–285*. The codex has been described in the foregoing entry, and the reason for the second *siglum* to indicate the second copy of *Responsio VI* in the codex has been explained. The copies are closely related, but are not identical.  
f.282<sup>v</sup> Aurelii Augustini Liber contra pelagianos de predestinatione incipit. Addere etiam ... f.285 indebitam prerogare. Amen.
- v1 *VATICANUS, Lat. 9949*. Paper and parchment. s.XIV<sup>ex</sup>. Cf. CVL – Codices 9852–10300 (Rome 1914) p. 188–89; Oberleitner, p. 293. 221 × 147 mm., 1 + 150 ff., 34 long lines.  
f.68<sup>v</sup> Incipit sermo beati Augustini de predestinatione. Addere etiam ... f.74 indebitam prerogare.
- b3 *BARCELONA, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms. 124 (20–4–19; X–8–28)*. Parchment. s.XIV/XV. Cf. Divjak, p. 176. This manuscript has the distinction of being the earliest extant witness to Prosper of Aquitaine's authorship of the VIth *Responsio* of the *Hypomnesticon*. 215 × 155 mm., 2 + 93 + 1 ff.  
f.53<sup>v</sup> Prosper de predestinatione. Addere etiam ... f.59<sup>v</sup> indebitam prerogare.

- pg *PRAGUE, Universitní Knihovna, I. F. 39*. Paper. s. XV. Cf. J. Truhlář, *Catalogus Codicum Manu Scriptorum Latinorum qui in C. R. Bibliotheca publica atque universitatis Pragensis asservantur*, Pars prior (Prague 1905) p. 270. The codex contains miscellaneous sermons.  
215 × 145 mm., 471 ff., 33/35 long lines.  
f. 457<sup>v</sup> Sequitur tractatus beati Augustini de predestinatione contra Pelagianos ... f. 464<sup>v</sup> indebitam prerogare. Explicit tractatus beati Augustini de predestinatione contra Pelagianos hereticos.
- pe *PRAGUE, Universitní Knihovna, XIII. G. I.* Paper. s. XV. Cf. J. Truhlář, *op. cit.*, Pars posterior (Prague 1906) p. 258. Both this copy of *Responsio VI* and the preceding one (pg) derive from the same exemplar.  
215 × 150 mm., 140 ff., 30 long lines.  
f. 106 Sequitur Tractatus Beati Augustini de predestinatione contra Pellagianos. Addere etiam ... 113<sup>v</sup> Explicit tractatus beati Augustini de predestinatione contra pellagianos hereticos.
- e11 *CAMBRIDGE, University Library, Ff. 2. 32*. Parchment. s. XV. Cf. *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, Vol. 2 (Cambridge 1859) p. 355–56; Römer, p. 27–28. It is a collection of works ascribed to St. Augustine.  
323 × 210 mm., 147 ff., 44 long lines.  
f. 111 Incipit Liber beati Augustini yponensis episcopi de predestinatione contra Pelagianos ... f. 114 indebitam prerogare. Amen.
- d3 *ROME, Bibliotheca Angelica, 43 (A. 5. 21)*. Chart. s. XV. Cf. H. Narducci, *op. cit.*, Tomus prior, p. 16; Oberleitner, p. 204. The codex contains for the most part works of St. Augustine.  
224 × 146 mm., 185 ff., 31 long lines.  
f. 47 Augustinus de predestinatione. Addere etiam ... f. 52 Explicit sermo Beati Augustini de predestinatione.
- v2 *VATICANUS, Lat. 488*. Parchment. s. XV. Cf. CVL, Tomus I, p. 369–70; Oberleitner, p. 265. This codex has the peculiarity of containing a portion of the sixth *Responsio*, i.e. from the beginning to ‘... haec minime responsa sufficiunt audi et alia’ of Chapter 3, placed before Prosper of Aquitaine’s *Pro Aug<sup>o</sup> ... Vinc.*, and a complete text of the *Responsio* immediately following Prosper’s work.  
294 × 200 mm., 1 + 150 ff., 2 columns of 35 lines.  
f. 53 Incipit Liber aurelii Augustini contra Pelagianos de predestinatione. Addere etiam ... f. 58<sup>v</sup> indebitam prerogare. Amen.

v3 *VATICANUS*, *Lat. 500*. Parchment. s.XV. Cf. CVL, Tomus I, p. 382–83; CSEL, 42 (1902) p. xix; CSEL, 60 (1913) p. xvi; Oberleitner, p. 268–69. In this volume are to be found what were originally two distinct codices, the first comprising f.1–166, and the second f.167–419. It is in the second codex that the sixth *Responsio* is found, associated in this case also with Prosper's *Pro Aug<sup>o</sup> ... Vinc.* The latter work was, as usual, attributed to Augustine in the *incipit*, but a later hand corrected the error. Then in the case of the sixth *Responsio* a marginal note in the same hand made a similar correction: *Credo et hoc quod sequitur esse Prosperi non Augustini*. The text of the VIth *Responsio* is practically identical with that of Vaticanus, *Lat. 488* (v2).

382×257 mm., 419 ff., + f.15a, 137a and 139a. 27 long lines.

f.374 Incipit liber Aurelii Augustini contra Pelagianos de predestinatione. Addere etiam ... f.379<sup>v</sup> indebitam prerogare. Amen.

v4 *VATICANUS*, *Lat. 501*. Parchment. 1452 A.D. (f.1). Cf. CVL, Tomus I, p. 383–84; CSEL 60 (1913) p. xvi; Oberleitner, p. 269. There are many indications to prove the existence of a very close relation between this manuscript and Vaticanus, *Lat. 500* (v3). Not merely are the contents very similar, and the version of the VIth *Responsio* practically identical, but the attribution of the *Responsio* to Prosper of Aquitaine is quite categorical in both. As in the case of (v3), the *Pro Aug<sup>o</sup> ... Vinc.* and the VIth *Responsio* were both originally ascribed to Augustine, but the error was corrected in both manuscripts, the only difference being that in Vaticanus, *Lat. 501* the correction was made by the original scribe, and not by a later hand.

445×313 mm., 309 ff., 2 columns of 47 lines.

f.301 Incipit liber Prosperi Aquitanici [before correction: Augustini] contra pelagianos de Predestinatione. Addere etiam ... f.305 indebita progare. Amen. Explicit liber Prosperi Aquitanici de Predestinatione. Bartholomeus de Medemblic scripsit <sup>1</sup>.

v5 *VATICANUS*, *Lat. 555*. Parchment. s.XV. Cf. CVL, Tomus I, p. 416–17; Oberleitner, p. 272. Three different manuscripts are bound together in this volume, the first containing f.1–40, the second f.41–88, and the third f.89–116. The sixth *Responsio* is the second item in the first manuscript, the first being its usual accompaniment, the *Pro Aug<sup>o</sup> ... Vinc.*

<sup>1</sup> Reference is made to the insertion of Prosper's name to replace Augustine's in Vaticanus, *Lat. 500* and *501* in *Hyp<sup>1</sup>*, p. 63, n. 1.

235 × 166 mm., 1 + 116 ff., 39 long lines to the page.

f.4<sup>v</sup> Addere eciam ... f.9<sup>v</sup> indebita progare. Amen. Laus aeternae sit trinitati et gratiarum actio in saecula saeculorum.

- e12 *DURHAM, Cathedral Library, B.II.29*. Parchment. s.XV. Cf. T.Rud, *Codicum Manuscriptorum Ecclesiae Cathedralis Dunelmensis Catalogus Classicus* (Durham 1825) p. 124–27; Ker<sup>2</sup>, p. 67; Römer, p. 108–109. It contains a work entitled *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus* of Gennadius together with a collection of works attributed to Augustine.

330 × 210 mm., 2 + 412 ff., 2 columns with varying numbers of lines.

f.349 Aurelii Augustini liber contra Pelagianos De predestinatione incipit ... f.352<sup>v</sup> indebitam prerogare. Amen. Explicit liber beati Augustini De predestinatione.

- e13 *CAMBRIDGE, Trinity College Library, 164 (B.5.18)*. Parchment. s.XV. Cf. M.R.James, *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College Cambridge*, Vol. 1 (Cambridge 1900) p. 216; *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover* (Cambridge 1903) p. 507, 513, 514; Ker<sup>2</sup>, p. 33; Römer, p. 95–96. The manuscript comes from the Benedictine Cathedral Priory of Holy Trinity or Christ Church. Prosper's *Pro Aug<sup>o</sup> ... Vinc.* follows the VIth *Responsio* in this codex.

385 × 280 mm., 221 ff., 2 columns of 53 lines.

f.149<sup>v</sup> Aurelii Augustini liber contra Pelagianos de predestinatione incipit ... f.150 indebitam prerogare. Amen. explicit de predestinatione contra Pelagianos.

- e14 *CAMBRIDGE, Gonville and Caius College, 69*. Parchment. s.XV. Cf. M.R.James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Gonville and Caius College*, Vol. 1 (Cambridge 1907) p. 62; M. van den Hout, CCL 46, p. XLIX; Römer, p. 60. Prosper's *Pro Aug<sup>o</sup> ... Vinc.* precedes *Responsio VI* in this manuscript.

295 × 215 mm., 1 + 235 ff. (470 pp.), 2 columns of 43 lines.

p. 126 Aurelii Augustini Liber contra Pellagianos de predestinatione incipit ... p. 133. indebitam prerogare. Amen.

- e15 *CAMBRIDGE, University Library, Ii.1.29*. Parchment. s.XV. This manuscript was already described in the section dealing with manuscripts containing *Responsiones I–IV*, i. e. p. 41. All that need be noted here is that the VIth *Responsio* is followed in the codex by Prosper's *Pro Aug<sup>o</sup> ... Vinc.*

f.251 Liber contra Pelagianos de predestinatione incipit ... f.254 indebitam prerogare. Amen. Explicit De predestinatione Contra Pelagianos.

- e16 LONDON, *Lambeth Palace Library, Cod. 50*. Parchment. s.XV. Cf. M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace* (Cambridge 1932) p. 68–71; Römer, p. 206–7. The old foliation shows that eleven quires are missing at the beginning, and from the list of contents given on the fly-leaf it can be gathered that the missing folios contained five works by St. Anselm.

380 × 245 mm., 1 + 287 ff., 2 columns of 40 lines.

f.166<sup>v</sup> Incipit liber Aurelii Augustini contra Pelagianos de Predestinatione. Addere etiam ... f.170<sup>v</sup> indebitam prerogare. Amen.

- p15 PARIS, *Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 506 (530 T.L.)*. Paper and parchment. s.XV. Cf. *Catalogue des manuscrits de la bibliothèque de l'Arsenal*, Tome I (Paris 1885) p. 357. It is a miscellany deriving from the Abbey of S. Victor, Paris, and bearing the ex-libris of that abbey on f.1.

300 × 210 mm., 409 ff. with varying numbers of lines to the page.

f.126<sup>v</sup> Incipit Disputatio Augustini de Predestinatione contra Pelagianos. Licet latius ... f.131 indebitam prerogare.

- me MELK, *Bibliotheca monasterii, 610 (124; C.2)*. Paper. s.XV. Cf. V. Stauffer, *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum qui in Bibliotheca Monasterii Mellicensis O.S.B. servantur I* (Vienna 1889) p. 192–94.

292 × 220 mm., 288 ff., 2 columns of 36 lines.

f.36<sup>v</sup> Disputatio yponesticon Sancti Augustini. Addere etiam ... f.67 indebitam prerogare. Explicit disputatio yponesticon augustini.

- vt VITERBO, *Biblioteca Capitolare, Cod. Chart. 23*. 1431 A.D. Cf. Oberleitner, p. 381. This manuscript contains a compendium of the theology of Albert the Great and several works of Augustine.

300 × 150 mm., 194 ff., 37 long lines to the page.

f.189<sup>v</sup> Incipit liber sancti augustini de predestinatione contra pelagianos et vocatur liber de predestinatione.

- y3 VENICE, *Biblioteca Nazionale di S.Marco, L.II,11 (2066)*. Chart. s.XV. Cf. J. Valentinelli, *Bibliotheca Manuscripta ad S.Marci Venetiarum digesta* ... (Venice 1861) p. 41; Oberleitner, p. 363. It formerly belonged to the Monastery of S.Giovanni in Viridario, and is related to the XIIth

century, Venice, S.Marco, L.II.69 (y2), which was discussed on p. 47. In both manuscripts we find the VIth *Responsio* associated with Augustine's *In Ioannis epistolam ad Parthos tractatus*.

200×150 mm., 119 ff., 30 long lines.

f.97 Item eiusdem dicta Augustini De predestinatione. Addere etiam ... f.101<sup>v</sup> indebitam prerogare. Explicit dicta augustini episcopi de predestinatione.

f.2 Sanctus Augustinus de predestinatione. Addere etiam ... f.9 indebitam prerogare. Amen.

- f4** FLORENCE, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Fiesole, X. Parchment. s.XV. Cf. A.M.Bandini, *Bibliotheca Leopoldina Laurentiana seu Catalogus Manuscriptorum qui iussu Petri Leopoldi ... in Laurentianum translati sunt, etc.*, Vol. 2 (Florence 1792) col. 608–19; CSEL 42 (1902) p. x; CSEL 58 (1923) p. LXVII; Oberleitner, p. 88–9. *Responsio VI* is immediately preceded by Prosper's *Pro Aug<sup>o</sup> ... Vinc.* in this manuscript. At the end of the *Responsio* the scribe added the curious colophon: *Explicit prodigium*.

370×260 mm., 304 ff., 2 columns of 50 lines.

f.224<sup>v</sup> Addere etiam ... f.228 indebitam prerogare. Amen. Explicit prodigium.

- Ln** LILIENFELD, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 105 (Kl.M.Z.). Parchment. s.XV. Cf. C.Schimek, «Verzeichnis der Handschriften des Stiftes Lilienfeld» in *Xenia Bernardina*, Pars secunda, Erster Band (Vienna 1891) p. 514. Augustine's *De octo Dulcitii quaestionibus* precedes *Responsio VI* of the *Hypomnesticon* in this codex.

248×146 mm., 102 ff., 32 long lines.

f.95 Incipit De predestinatione disputatio ypomnesticon. Addere etiam ... f.100 indebitam prerogare. Explicit Disputatio De Predestinatione.

- m3** MANTUA, Biblioteca Comunale, D.III.3 (429). Parchment. 1468 A.D. Cf. P.O.Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, Vol. 1 (London 1963) p. 273; Oberleitner, p. 133–34. On the bottom margin of f.1 is the ex-libris: *Iste liber est monachorum congregationis Sanctae Iustinae de observantia deputatus fratribus nostris in monasterio Sancti Benedicti de Padolirone signatus numerus 946*. On f.3, col. 1, at line 12 an extensive lacuna, unnoticed by the scribe, in the text of *Responsio VI* occurs, i.e. from 'crucifige' of chapter 5 to 'constitueretur' towards the middle of chapter 6. The text of the *Responsio* resembles that of Besançon 174 (b1).

300 × 220 mm., 300 ff., 2 columns of 35 lines.

f.1 Incipit de Predestinatione Disputacio ypomnesticon sancti Augustini episcopi. Addere etiam ... f.4<sup>v</sup> indebitam prerogare. Explicit.

- m4** *MILAN, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Cod. M.3 SUP.* Parchment. s.XV. Cf. Oberleitner, p. 152–53.

183 × 132 mm., 3 + 161 + 1 ff., 2 columns of 35 lines.

f.118 Incipit liber beati Augustini de predestinatione. Addere etiam ... f.122 indebitam prerogare. Explicet de predestinatione.

- v9** *VATICANUS, Lat. Chig., A.IV.95 (213–1523 ant.).* Parchment. s.XV. Cf. Oberleitner, p. 306.

175 × 130 mm., 1 + 105 ff., 2 columns of 43 lines.

f.17 Aurelii Augustini liber contra Pelagianos de predestinatione incipit. Addere etiam ... f.20 indebitam prerogare. Explicit tractatus beati Augustini de predestinatione contra pelagianos.

- c2** *CESENA, Biblioteca Malatestiana, D.IX.3.* Parchment. 1453 A.D. Cf. Zazzeri, *Sui codici e libri a stampa della Biblioteca Malatestiana di Cesena* (Cesena 1887) p. 105–6; Oberleitner, p. 54–55. The version of *Responsio VI* in this volume is remarkably close to that of the English family. The date of this manuscript is given on f.251.

375 × 253 mm., 251 ff., 2 columns of 47 lines.

f.27 Incipit Liber Aurelii Augustini Contra Pelagianos De Predestinatione. Lege feliciter. Addere etiam ... f.30<sup>v</sup> indebitam prerogare. Explicit liber Aurelii Augustini episcopi De Predestinatione. Feliciter.

- e17** *OXFORD, Brasenose College, Cod. 12.* Parchment. s.XV. Cf. Römer, p. 290. The close association of Prosper of Aquitaine's *Pro Aug<sup>o</sup> ... Vinc.* with *Responsio VI* which was found to occur so frequently in the manuscripts already examined occurs in this one also.

180 × 125 mm., 1 + 231 ff., 2 columns of 44 lines.

f.163<sup>v</sup> Addere etiam hoc ... f.167 indebitam prerogare. Amen.

- w** *WÜRZBURG, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. M.ch.q. 159.* Paper. s.XV (an. 1457). Cf. P. Lehmann, «Die Bibliothek des Klosters Amorbach» in *Studien u. Mitt. z. Gesch. d. Ben.-Ordens* 48 (N.F. 17) 1930, p. 270–295; B. Lambert, O.S.B., *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana manuscripta. La tradition manuscrite des œuvres de Saint Jérôme* (Steenbrugge 1969–) T. 1A, p. 310;



T. 4B, p. 165; Hans Thurn, *Die Handschriften aus Benediktinischen Provenienzen*, 2 Band, Erste Hälfte, *Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Würzburg* (Wiesbaden 1973) p. 24–25; CCL XIII, 2, p. 114; Kurz, p. 133. The VIth *Responsio* in this manuscript is preceded by the *De octo Dulcitii quaestionibus* of St. Augustine, and is followed by the *Epistola ad Rufinum de gratia et libero arbitrio* of St. Prosper of Aquitaine.

200 × 140 mm., 219 ff., 27 long lines.

f.117<sup>v</sup> Incipit de predestinatione disputatio sexta ypomnosticon. Addere etiam ... f.130<sup>v</sup> indebitam prerogare. Explicit ypomnosticon liber contra pelagianos seu celestianos hereticos.

- ha *HARBURG*, *Fürstlich Oettingen-Wallersteinische Bibliothek und Kunstsammlung Schloß Harburg*, Cod. II, 1, 2<sup>o</sup>, 200. Parchment. s. XV (an. 1476). Cf. D. Germain Morin, «Notes sur plusieurs manuscrits de la bibliothèque princière d'Oettingen-Wallerstein à Maihingen» in RB X (1893) p. 169–170; Kurz, p. 132. The manuscript contains several works of St. Augustine with a text of the *Hypomnesticon* followed by the *De octo Dulcitii quaestionibus*. It was written by Michael Staynprunner, a monk of the Benedictine Abbey of Holy Cross in Donauwörth. When the abbey was secularized in 1803, the manuscript found its way into the library of Prince Oettingen-Wallerstein.

405 × 280 mm., 498 ff., 2 columns of 30 lines.

f.408<sup>v</sup> Augustinus de predestinatione. Addere etiam ... f.414<sup>v</sup> indebitam prerogare. Amen. Finit Augustinus de predestinatione sanctorum.

- k2 *KÖLN*, *Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek*, Cod. Diöz. 82. Parchment. s. XV. Cf. Kurz, p. 133. Judging by the variants of its version of the *Hypomnesticon* it belongs to the group of which Paris BN Lat. 12220 (C) is the earliest extant example.

210 × 150 mm., 148 ff., 39 long lines.

f.106 Incipit liber beati Augustini episcopi de predestinatione. Licet latius ... f.111 indebitam prerogare. Explicit.

- n2 *NÜRNBERG*, *Stadtbibliothek*, Ms. Cent. I, 54. Parchment. s. XV. This manuscript was described on p. 24, and its derivation from Erlangen 170 (g1) was mentioned. The version of *Responsio VI* which it gives is incomplete.

f.82<sup>v</sup> De predestinatione contra Pelagianos. Addere etiam ... f.83 sunt in quibus (chapter 4).

- t8 TRIER, Stadtbibliothek, Ms 147/1192. Parchment. s.XV. Cf. Max Keuffer, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek zu Trier, Zweites Heft, Die Kirchenväter-Handschriften* (Trier 1891), p. 47–49; Kurz, p. 133. So far as the text of the *Hypomnesticon* is concerned, it belongs to the same family as Besançon 174 (b1).

212×150 mm., 193 ff., 25 long lines.

f.27 De predestinatione sanctorum contra Pelagianos. Addere etiam ... f.34<sup>v</sup> indebitam prerogare.

- t9 TRIER, Seminarbibliothek, Ms. 96. Parchment. s.XV. Cf. J.Marx, *Veröffentlichungen der Gesellschaft für Trierische Geschichte und Denkmalpflege*, IV. *Handschriften-Verzeichnis der Seminar-Bibliothek zu Trier* (Trier 1912) p. 74–75; Kurz, p. 133. This manuscript is a very close relative of the foregoing, i.e., Trier 147/1192.

247×165 mm., 189 ff., 36 long lines.

f.178 Liber beati Augustini yponensis episcopi de predestinatione sanctorum contra Pelagianos. Addere etiam ... f.182 indebitam prerogare<sup>1</sup>.

## 5) Incomplete Manuscripts

There is a certain arbitrariness about the selection of manuscripts included under the title of this section, and a fair number of manuscripts which are strictly speaking incomplete were described elsewhere. In general, convenience dictated the choice. If manuscripts were nearly complete and belonged recognizably to one or other of the foregoing sections, they were normally given place there; if they were not, they are included here.

- b4 BENEVENTO, *Biblioteca capitularis*, MS.IV.10. Parchment. s.IX/XI. Cf. E.A.Lowe, *The Beneventan Script* (Oxford 1914), p. 335–36; Oberleitner, p. 21. Benevento IV,10 is a composite codex with f.1–174 form-

<sup>1</sup> I have been unable to examine the following two manuscripts referred to by Kurz (*op. cit.*, p. 133): KÖLN, Hist. Archiv d. Stadt, W f<sup>o</sup> 144, which contains a XIIth century copy of the VIth *Responsio* with the title: *Contra Pelagianos et Celestianos*, and the *incipit*: Addere etiam... (f.54–59<sup>v</sup>); KUES, Bibl. d. Nikolaus-Hospitals, Ms. 29, which contains a XIIth century text (incomplete) of *Responsiones I–IV*.

ing one part and f.175–273 forming the other. Lowe maintained that the first part – which is the part containing the portion of the *Hypomnesticon* – belongs to the Xth century, and that the second part belongs to the XIth <sup>1</sup>. From a study of the script of the first part, I am inclined to agree with Oberleitner who considered that it should be ascribed to the IXth century <sup>2</sup>.

The codex contains a fragment from Chapter 8, *Responsio III*, of the *Hypomnesticon*, and what is particularly remarkable about it is its title: *Sermo s.augustini episcopi ex libro tertio yponysticon ad Xistum urbis rome presbiterum contra pelagianos*. Here we find an association of the *Hypomnesticon* with the name of Xystus which we already noticed in Paris BN, Lat. 15289 (p4), and was discussed on p. 19. Two possible explanations suggest themselves to account for this curious association in the case of the Beneventan manuscript. Firstly, a group of manuscripts belonging to the Franco-Italian family, i.e. Paris BN, Lat. 12220 (C); BN, Lat. 12223 (p1); BN, Lat. 15289 (p4) contain the *Libellus sancti Augustini adversus Pelagianos ad Xystum presbyterum* in close proximity to the *Hypomnesticon*. It would have been a simple matter for a scribe taking the Beneventan fragment from such a type of manuscript to confuse the *incipits* or *explicitis*. Secondly, the subject-matter and the titles of the *Libellus* and the *Hypomnesticon* have so much in common in any case that elements in the title of one could easily stray into the other.

330×265 mm., 238 ff., 2 columns of 27 lines.

f.18 *Sermo s.augustini episcopi ex libro tertio yponysticon ad Xistum urbis rome presbiterum contra pelagianos*. Homo iste quidam ipse est humanum genus ... f.20 confirmabit, solidabitque. Ipsi imperium in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

pa *PADUA, Biblioteca Universitaria, Cod. 1441*. Parchment. s.XII. Cf. Oberleitner, p. 192. This manuscript contains the first three *Responsiones* of the *Hypomnesticon* and a small portion of the fourth. The version

<sup>1</sup> Cf. R. GRÉGOIRE, «Repertorium liturgicum Italicum» in *Studi medievali*, 3rd series, 9 (1968) p. 478.

<sup>2</sup> Professor L. Bieler, whom I consulted about the date of this portion of the manuscript considers that it is much earlier than the Desidorius type of Beneventan script, and that it is rather similar to the facsimile of Reginensis 1823 (s.IX) – Ehrle-Liebaert, plate 11. Virginia Brown, who is preparing the 2nd edition of E. A. Lowe's *Beneventan Script*, informed me that Dr. Lowe never seems to have changed his mind about the date of Benevento IV, 10.

of the *Hypomnesticon* shows different strains, but it belongs to the numerous Franco-Italian family of which (C) is the earliest extant copy.

292 × 200 mm., 95 ff., 37/39 long lines.

f.64<sup>v</sup> Adversarii catholice fidei ... f.80<sup>v</sup> ante culpam eius delinquens (*Responsio IV*, chapter 2).

- a26** OXFORD, Bodleian Library, *Laud Misc. 158*. Parchment. s.XII. Cf. F.Madan and H.H.E.Craster, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, Part I (Oxford 1922) p. 13; R.W.Hunt, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford* (Oxford 1953) p. 133; Römer, p. 273. This codex came from the Church of B. V. M. at Erbach, near Mainz. It was acquired by Archbishop Laud (†1644) in 1638, and was donated by him to the Bodleian Library in 1639. The text of the *Hypomnesticon* ends with the third *Responsio*.

365 × 270 mm., 239 ff., 2 columns of 33 lines.

f.222 Incipit liber sancti Augustini contra pelagium et celestium qui appellat ypomnisticon unius et trini. Adversarii catholice fidei ... f.235 lingue terminum posuit.

Besides the first three *Responsiones*, this manuscript also contains a fragment of the VIth *Responsio*. It begins on f.239 'Addere etiam hoc ...' and ends on the same folio with the words 'O homo tu quid es?' at the beginning of chapter 3.

- a27** CAMBRIDGE, University Library, *Ii.6.11*. Parchment. s.XIII. Cf. Römer, p. 37. This miscellany contains some sermons of Augustine together with a fragment of the *Hypomnesticon*, and also writings by other authors. Of its origin nothing is known. The fragment, though it ends shortly after the middle of chapter 1 of the first *Responsio* gives the clearest evidence of belonging to the English branch of the Anglo-Norman family.

167 × 116 mm., 119 ff., 2 columns of 38 lines.

f.118 Aurelii Augustini contra Pelagianos et celestianos heretici hypomnesticon abbreviatus liber incipit. Adversarii catholice fidei ... f.119 que est enim perditio vivorum (*Responsio I*, chapter 1).

- e18** CAMBRIDGE, Peterhouse, 254. Parchment, s.XIII. Cf. Römer, p. 87. This manuscript contains a very small fragment of the VIth *Responsio* of the *Hypomnesticon*. It begins in the second column of f.65 with the opening words of chapter 1, and ends half way through the chapter at the bottom of the column.

225 × 145 mm., 200 ff., 2 columns of 36/42 lines.

f.65, col. 2 Addere etiam ... homine de hominibus falsa.

- g<sup>4</sup> *ERLANGEN, Universitätsbibliothek, 180*. Parchment. s.XIII. Cf. H. Fischer, *Katalog ... (supra cit.)* I.Band, p. 198–200. It is a miscellany containing Augustine's *De Trinitate*, various opuscula and excerpts, and the third *Responsio* of the *Hypomnesticon*.

215 × 155 mm., 213 ff., 2 columns of 30/31 lines.

f.201 Ex libro quinque responsionum responsio tertia contra eos qui dicunt homines per liberum arbitrium tanquam per se sibi sufficientes implere quod velint vel etiam meritis operum a deo gratiam unicuique dari. Respondemus neminem posse ... f.210<sup>v</sup> lingue terminum posuit.

- c<sup>3</sup> *ROMA, Biblioteca Casanatense, Cod. 804 (C.VI.49)*. Parchment. s.XIII/XIV. Cf. Oberleitner, p. 212–13. Among the works of Augustine, Jerome and Boethius collected in this codex is to be found a fragment of the VIth *Responsio* on f.116<sup>v</sup>.

171 × 130 mm., 2 + 197 ff. + f.149 *bis*, 150 *bis*. 38/41 long lines.

f.116<sup>v</sup> Augustinus in libro contra Pelagianos de predestinatione. Novimus nonnumquam ... indebitam prerogare. (*Responsio VI*, chapter 7–8).

- m<sup>5</sup> *MILAN, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Cod. 1.113 INF*. Parchment. s.XIV. Cf. Oberleitner, p. 144–45. The fragment of the *Hypomnesticon* in this codex gives a portion of the VIth *Responsio* from the beginning of the second chapter.

272 × 196 mm., 242 ff., 2 columns.

f.99<sup>v</sup> Predestinatio a promittendo ... f.100<sup>v</sup> indebitam prerogare.

- vc *VALENCIA, Biblioteca Universitaria, 32 (620)*. Parchment. s.XIV. Cf. G. del Cano, *Catálogo de los Manuscritos ... (supra cit.)* I, p. 13–14; Divjak, p. 287–90. In this extensive collection of excerpts from writings ascribed to Augustine we find a portion of the VIth *Responsio* that is identical in length with that of Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, 1, 113. INF (m<sup>5</sup>) above. Thus it begins with chapter 2 and continues to the end of the *Responsio*. The text belongs to the Franco-Italian family we have been associating with (C). Two foliations are used in the manuscript, and I have used the one on the recto of the folios. Extensive extracts from the *Hypomnesticon* are to be found in another part of the codex.

285 × 190 mm., 267 ff., 2 columns of 60 lines.

f.229<sup>v</sup> Ex Libro De predestinatione contra Pelagianos. Predestinatio a premittendo ... f.230<sup>v</sup> indebitam prerogare.

- a28** LONDON, *British Museum* <Royal Ms> 5 C.V. This manuscript contains *Responsiones I–IV*, and was described on p. 37–38. In another part of the codex, and in a later hand, is to be found the only text of the Vth *Responsio* which is to be encountered in the extant English manuscripts of the *Hypomnesticon*. A marginal note on f.57<sup>v</sup> reads: *Hec est pars finalis Libri yponosticon Augustini*.

f.57<sup>v</sup> Respondemus: Multum quidem ... f.59 in omnibus nobis. Explicit yponosticon.

- v6** VATICANUS, *Lat.* 488. This XVth century manuscript was described above on p. 55. It contains the first two chapters and part of the third of the *Hypomnesticon*, *Responsio VI*, placed before Prosper's *Pro Aug<sup>o</sup> ... Vinc*, and a complete text of *Responsio VI* immediately following Prosper's work.

f.47 Addere etiam ... f.48 hec minime responsa sufficiunt audi et alia.

## 6) Manuscripts containing Extracts and Quotations

### a) Extracts

Manuscripts containing extracts from the *Hypomnesticon* are not numerous, and are almost valueless so far as the reconstruction of the text is concerned. Nevertheless, an account of them is given here because of their interest for the manuscript tradition of the text.

- m7** MUNICH, *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*, 22001<sup>c</sup> (*Wess.<sup>c</sup> I*). Parchment. s.XII. Cf. *Catalogus Codicum Latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis secundum Andreae Schmelleri* ... (*supra cit.*) Tomi II, pars IV (Munich 1881) p. 17. The manuscript comes from the monastery of St. Benedict in Wessobrunn, and contains homilies taken from the writings of the Fathers to serve for the time between Pentecost and Advent.

320 × 230 mm., 162 ff., 2 columns of 46 lines.

f.120 Extractae augustini in libro ypomnesticon in responsione tertia. Dum de libero arbitrio ... f.120<sup>v</sup> qui vocavit nos ... saecula saeculorum. Amen.

- s2 *SAN GIMIGNANO, Biblioteca Comunale, Ms. 14.* Parchment. s.XII. Cf. Mazz., Vol. lxxxviii (Florence 1972), p. 74–97. This codex contains an extensive collection of extracts from Latin patristic writings. The authors most frequently cited are Augustine, Prosper of Aquitaine, Origen and Hilary. Fifteen extracts from the *Hypomnesticon* representative of all six *Responsiones* are to be found scattered throughout the collection.  
270×195 mm., 1+230+1 ff., 28/30 long lines.  
f.26<sup>v</sup> Mors itaque privatio vite est ... edere suasit illicita (*Responsio I*, chapter 4), etc.
- t6 *TOURS, Bibliothèque municipale, No. 247.* Parchment. s.XIII. Cf. M. Collon, *Catalogue des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements*, Tome 37, 1<sup>re</sup> partie (Paris 1900) p. 178–80. It is a miscellany composed principally of extracts from Augustine, John Damascene, Boethius, Isidore, and others. Extracts from the first five *Responsiones* of the *Hypomnesticon* are found on f.223<sup>v</sup>–224<sup>v</sup>. Tours, Bibliothèque municipale, 300 is the apparent source of the extracts from *Responsiones I–IV*. The extracts from *Responsio V* are very few in number, and form a later addition. The codex derives from the cathedral of Saint-Gatien in Tours.  
149×104 mm., 5+514 ff.+1, 2 columns of varying numbers of lines.
- p16 *PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale, Nouv. Acq. 899.* Parchment. s.XIII. This diminutive codex contains extracts from *Responsiones I–V* on f.39<sup>v</sup>–40<sup>v</sup>.
- p17 *PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale, Lat. 2114.* Parchment. s. XIII/XIV. Cf. P.H.Lauer, *Bibliothèque nationale. Catalogue général des manuscrits latins*, Tome II (Paris 1940) p. 324–25. Formerly the codex belonged to the Dominican friary of Orange, and afterwards to the Dominican house at Avignon, as the ex-libris on f.1, 59<sup>v</sup> and 290<sup>v</sup> indicates. It contains extracts from *Responsiones I–V*.  
265×190 mm., 292 ff., 2 columns.  
The extracts from the *Hypomnesticon* are found on f.215<sup>v</sup>–220.
- ve *VALENCIA, Biblioteca Universitaria, 32 (620).* This manuscript was described on p. 65–66. The extracts from the *Hypomnesticon* are to be found on f.197–201<sup>v</sup> according to the numbering on the recto side of

the folios. They are taken from *Responsiones I-III* and *Responsio V*. In the case of the first three *Responsiones*, the text belongs to the Anglo-Norman family, while that of the extracts from *Responsio V* belongs to the Franco-Italian family.

as *ASSISI, Biblioteca Comunale, Cod. 406*. Chart. s. XIV. Cf. Mazz., Vol. iv (Florli 1894) p. 88; Oberleitner, p. 20. The codex contains extracts from all six *Responsiones*.

160×118 mm., 166+4 ff., 30 long lines.

f.137<sup>v</sup> Liber yponosticon. Adversarii catholice fidei ... f.142<sup>v</sup> nisi datum fuerit illi a patre meo. Explicit.

### b) Quotations

There are two reasons why quotations from the *Hypomnesticon* need be given no more than a summary treatment here. The first is that they are practically valueless so far as the critical edition of the text is concerned; the second is that in chapter 4 of *Hyp*<sup>1</sup> copious references were made to quotations, beginning with the earliest known ones, namely, those of Gottschalk of Orbais in the IXth century to those of the XVIIth century. The number of quotations alluded to in that chapter is far from being complete, but it is representative, and gives some idea of what may be expected from such a source. What I propose to do here is to supplement the treatment of the quotations given in *Hyp*<sup>1</sup> by a discussion of some significant ones which came to my notice since writing it.

Pride of place must be given to the quotations made by Peter Lombard (†1160), who by quoting from the *Hypomnesticon* in his *Sententiae in IV Libris Distinctae* assured for the former an entry into the numerous commentaries on the *Sententiae* which proliferated during the centuries immediately following his life-time<sup>1</sup>.

The first quotation from the *Hypomnesticon* which I found in the *Sententiae* occurs in Liber I, Dist. XL, cap. 2 where Peter is dealing with reprobation and the effect of predestination. The text reads:

<sup>1</sup> The statement I made on p. 49 of *Hyp*<sup>1</sup>: «Quotations [after the IXth century] occur but rarely, and not at all before the advent of St. Thomas Aquinas», must be amended in the light of what I discovered since, and describe above.



Unde Augustinus *Ad Prosperum et Hilarium*: «Haec, inquit, regula inconcusse tenenda est, peccatores in peccatis praescitos esse, non praeparatos, poenam autem esse praeparatam»<sup>1</sup>.

Peter mistakenly refers to Augustine's *De praedestinatione sanctorum ad Prosperum et Hilarium* as the source of the quotation: it actually derives from the *Hypomnesticon Responsio VI*, chapter 6, where the text reads:

Tenenda est igitur inconcusse huius disputationis regula, quae divinis testimoniis claruit, peccatores in malis propriis antequam essent in mundo, praescitos esse tantum, non praedestinos; poenam autem eis esse praedestinatum secundum quod praesciti sunt.

Peter's variant readings, 'praeparatos' for 'praedestinos' and 'praeparatam' for 'praedestinatum' are not found in any of the manuscripts of the *Hypomnesticon*. They are due to the influence of the passage in the *De praedestinatione sanctorum* which serves as the general source for the question Peter is handling: Quis sit praedestinationis effectus? That passage is the first paragraph of chapter 10 of the *De praedestinatione* and the relevant fragments in it are: 'praedestinatio est gratiae praeparatio' and 'praedestinatio dei quae in bono est, gratiae est, ut dixi, praeparatio: gratia vero est ipsius praedestinationis effectus'. (PL 44, 974–75).

The second quotation from the *Hypomnesticon* made by Peter Lombard in the *Sententiae* occurs in Liber II, Dist. XXX, cap. 7, and reads:

Augustinus quoque in libro *De natura et gratia* de hoc eodem sic ait: Omnes, ut ait Apostolus, *peccaverunt*: utique vel in se ipsis, vel in Adam; quia sine peccato non sunt, vel quod originaliter attraxerunt, vel quod malis moribus addiderunt. Peccatum enim primi hominis non solum ipsum, sed omne nocuit genus humanum, quia ex eo damnationem simul et culpam suscepimus<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Sententiae in IV Libris Distinctae*, Editio 3a, Tom. I, Pars II. Liber I et II Rome 1971) p. 286–87: PL 192, 632. Peter quotes the same text in his *In epistolam ad Romanos*, 7, 29 with slight differences, e.g. after 'praeparatam' he adds the phrase 'secundum quod praesciti sunt', which is part of the original text (cf. PL 191, 1450A). There is an allusion to the same text in Liber I, Dist. XXXVI, cap. 2 of the *Sententiae*:

Praecognovit enim deus ab aeterno quosdam futuros malos, et eorum malitiam, ut ait Augustinus, praescivit, sed non praeparavit.» (*Op. cit.*, p. 260: PL 192, 619–20. Cf. Augustine, *De praedestinatione sanctorum*, cap. 10).

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 449: PL 192, 721. Peter quotes an expanded form of this text in his *In epistolam ad Romanos*, cap. 3, vers. 22–26:

Peccatum enim primi hominis non solum ipsum, sed etiam omne vitiavit genus humanum, quia ex eo omnes damnationem simul et culpam suscepimus, peccaverunt ergo omnes cum ex uno peccatore omnes nascuntur peccatores. *Et egent*, adhuc quotidie, *gloria dei*, id est, iustitia dei, non sua (PL 191, 1361A).

The portion of this extract which is found in the *Hypomnesticon* reads:

Et ideo peccatum eius [protoplasti] non solum ipsum, sed omne nocuit genus humanum, cum eius damnationem simul et culpam suscepimus (*Responsio II*, chapter 4).

Next, in Dist. XXXVII, cap. 1 of the same Liber II is to be found a cluster of fragments from the *Hypomnesticon* as follows:

Quod vero mali actus non sint naturae, Augustinus videtur notare in prima responsione contra Pelagianos, ita dicens: «Opera diaboli, quae vitia dicuntur, actus sunt non res.» Item in quarta: Omne malum natura non est, sed accidens alicui [alicui *add. ex in editione Aleaume apud* PL 192, 742] defectu boni. Quam ob rem quod natura non est, deus non fecit, quia natura est omne quod fecit.» Item: «Omne quod natura bonum est, deus ex nihilo fecit, non diabolus» <sup>1</sup>.

In the *Hypomnesticon* the fragments read:

Opera vero eius [diaboli] mala quae vitia dicuntur, actus sunt, non res (*Responsio I*, chapter 5).

Omne enim malum natura non est, sed actus verissime accidens defectu boni (*Responsio IV*, chapter 1).

Omne enim quod natura bonum est deus summe bonus ex nihilo fecit, non diabolus (*Responsio IV*, chapter 1).

The final quotation <sup>2</sup> from the *Hypomnesticon* made by Peter in the *Sententiae* is the longest, and is found in Liber IV, Dist. XXI, cap. 7:

Unde Augustinus: «Veritatem dicit deo poenitens, quando nihil illi de commissis sceleribus celat; non quod, etsi voluntate celaverit, deus ignoret, sed veritatem sibi ab eo dici vult [dici vult ab eo *Aleaume in editione sua apud* PL 192, 897] consequatur. Si vero mente aliqua exciderit [exciderint, *Aleaume, loc. cit.*], confitetur veritatem deo, cum generaliter dixerit: Deus, qui nosti occulta cordis, et opera mea et delicta a te non sunt abscondita, quibus veniam largiaris [precor, *add. plurimae editiones*]. Et haec est veritas confitentis quam diligit deus» <sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 544: PL 192, 741–42. Cf. Augustine, *De perfectione iustitiae hominis*, cap. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Besides the above quotations, there is an explicit allusion to the *Hypomnesticon* in Liber II, Dist. XXVI, cap. 7 of the *Sententiae* (*Op. cit.*, p. 477: PL 192, 713):

Non negamus tamen multa, ante hanc gratiam et praeter hanc gratiam, ab homine fieri bona per liberum arbitrium, ut tradit Augustinus in *Responsionibus contra Pelagianos*, ubi dicit homines per liberum arbitrium agros colere, domos aedificare et alia plura bona facere sine gratia cooperante (*Responsio III*, chapter 4).

<sup>3</sup> *Apud Doctoris Seraphici S. Bonaventurae... Opera Omnia ...edita studio et cura PP. Collegii a S. Bonaventura Ad Claras Aquas*. Tomus II (Florence 1885), p. 545: PL 192, 897.

This extract is taken from Responsio V, chapter 1 of the *Hypomnesticon* where it reads:

Quia veritatem dicit deo iam poenitens quando nihil illi de commissis suis sceleribus celat: non quod etsi voluntate celaverit deus ignoret, sed veritatem sibi ab eo dici deus vult, ut veniam consequatur. Si vero aliqua mente exciderit confiteri, veritatem dicit, ut cum generaliter dixerit: Deus, qui nosti occulta cordis, tu scis opera mea, et delicta mea a te non sunt abscondita, quibus veniam largiaris. Et haec est utique veritas confitentis quam diligit deus.

The textual tradition of the *Hypomnesticon* to which Peter Lombard gives witness in the quotations discussed above is that of the Franco-Italian family whose earliest extant member is (C), and it is scarcely surprising to find that commentators on the *Sententiae* quote the texts of the *Hypomnesticon* as they found them in Peter's work. For this reason a detailed examination of the innumerable commentaries on the *Sententiae*, however valuable from other points of view, would serve no useful purpose here, save perhaps in the case of those which draw upon texts of the *Hypomnesticon* other than those quoted by the Master. St. Bonaventure's commentary is one of these, and I shall take it as representative of others of the same class <sup>1</sup>. For the sake of clarity I shall place Bonaventure's citations and the corresponding texts as found in the *Hypomnesticon* in parallel columns; and for the sake of completeness I shall include both allusions and explicit quotations.

*Bonaventure*

*Text in the Hyp. <sup>2</sup>*

1 ... sicut dicit Augustinus *praedestinare* idem est quod *praordinare* (*Op. cit.*, Tomus I, p. 704).

Praedestinatio quippe a praemitendo et praeveniando vel praordinando futurum aliquid dicitur (*Resp. VI*, chap. 2).

2 Augustinus de Quinque Responsionibus: «Cum de libero arbitrio loquimur, non de parte animae loquimur, sed de tota» (*Op. cit.*, Tomus II, p. 597).

Cum de libero arbitrio agimus, non de parte hominis agimus, sed de toto (*Resp. III*, chap. 5).

<sup>1</sup> Bonaventure's commentary on the *Sententiae* was written immediately before that of Aquinas, the most likely dates of composition in the first case being 1250–52 (cf. LTK, II, p. 582), and in the second case 1253–55 (cf. DTC, 15, col. 637). The text of Bonaventure's commentary is to be found in *Doctoris Seraphici S. Bonaventurae... Opera Omnia... edita studio et cura P.P. Collegii a S. Bonaventura Ad Claras Aquas*, Tomus I–IV (Florence, 1882–89), and it is to this source that reference will be made in what follows.

<sup>2</sup> The text of the *Hypomnesticon* quoted above is from my edition.

- 3 Et hoc est quod dicit Augustinus de Quinque Responsionibus: «Liberum arbitrium dicitur ab *arbitrando*, quia a rationali parte, quid eligat quidve recusat, nomen accepit» (*Loc. cit.*, p. 598).
  - 4 ... patet per Augustinum, qui dicit quod «gratia se habet ad liberum arbitrium sicut sessor ad equum» (*Ibid.*, p. 600).
  - 5 ... sicut dicit Augustinus de Quinque Responsionibus: «Cum de libero arbitrio loquimur, etc., as in 2. above (*Ibid.* p. 605).
  - 6 Augustinus dicit quod «gratia se habet ad liberum arbitrium, sicut sessor ad equum» (*Ibid.*, p. 642).
  - 7 Item Augustinus: «Gratia se habet, etc., as in 4. above (*Ibid.*, p. 645).
  - 8 Item, cum omnis maledictio sit poenae vel culpae, et *semen erat maledictum*, secundum quod dicitur Sapientiae duodecimo, et Augustinus exponit in libro Hypognoticon (*Ibid.*, p. 755).
  - 9 ... et hoc ipsum videtur Augustinus dicere contra Pelagianos ubi dicit, «*Qualis terrenus, tales et terreni*; hoc quomodo nisi per seminis sparsionem?» Et post: «Semen ergo vitiatum est, sicut scriptum est, *Semen erat maledictum ab initio*.» Et post clarius: «Vitium contrahi non potest protoplasti nisi seminis effusione» (*Ibid.*, p. 756).
  - 10 Item Augustinus in libro Quinque Responsionum: Credite, malum ex diabolo, non bonum ex deo esse libidinem (*Ibid.*, p. 767).
  - 11 Augustinus in libro de Quinque Responsionibus: «Poenitentia est quaedam res optima et perfecta, omnes defectus revocans ad perfectum» (*Ibid.*, Tomus IV, p. 320).
- Arbitrium scilicet ab arbitrando rationali consideratione vel discernendo quid eligat, quidve recuset, puto quod nomen accepit (*Resp. III*, chap. 4).
- Recte namque arbitror comparari liberum arbitrium iumento... gratiam vero sessori (*Resp. III*, chap. 11).
- As in 2. above.
- As in 4. above.
- As in 4. above.
- This is a general allusion to *Responsio II*, chap. 2.
- Qualis terrenus, tales et terreni*. Et hoc quomodo nisi per seminis sparsionem? (*Resp. II*, chap. 1). Semen ergo vitiatum est, non vitium, sicut scriptum est: *Semen enim maledictum ab initio* (*Resp. II*, chap. 2).
- ... vitium trahi non potest protoplasti, neque esse homini sine seminis effusione (*Loc. cit.*).
- ... credite malum ex diabolo, non bonum ex deo esse libidinem (*Resp. IV*, chap. 4).
- Paenitentia ergo res est optima et perfecta, quae defectos revocat ad perfectum (*Resp. III*, chap. 9).

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>12 Tertia Augustini in libro Quinque Responsionum: Poenitentia est quaedam res optima, etc., as in 11. above (<i>Op. cit.</i>, p. 330).</p> <p>13 Augustinus in libro Quinque Responsionum: «Poenitentia, etc., as in 11. above (<i>Ibid.</i>, p. 337).</p> <p>14 ... poenitentiam condignam, «quae omnes defectus reducit ad perfectum» (<i>Op. cit.</i>, p. 392) <sup>1</sup>.</p> | <p>As in 11. above.</p> <p>As in 11. above.</p> <p>This is an allusion to the same text as in 11. above.</p> |
|---|--|

The manuscript tradition to which Bonaventure gives witness in his quotations from the *Hypomnesticon* is very similar to, if not identical with, that of Peter Lombard. They belong to the same broad Franco-Italian family.

<sup>1</sup> This text of the *Hypomnesticon* giving a definition of *paenitentia* seems to have been a favourite one of Bonaventure. Not only does he use it four times in the commentary on the *Sententiae*, but he cites it three times in his *Sermones*; cf. *Sermones de Tempore*: Dominica tertia post Pentecosten, Sermo IV (*Op. cit.*, Tomus IX, p. 372); Dominica Sexta post Pentecosten, Sermo I (*Op. cit.*, p. 380); Dominica XXI post Pentecosten, Sermo I (*Op. cit.*, p. 437).

## § 2. THE PRINTED EDITIONS

The first printed edition of the *Hypomnesticon* was published by Jean Amerbach (alias Amorbach) in 1506 at Basle in the Xth part of his *Opera omnia* of St. Augustine <sup>1</sup>. The title given to the *Hypomnesticon* in this edition is: *Divi Aurelii Augustini hipponensis episcopi libri hypomnosticon contra pelagianos 7 celestianos*, and it is preceded by the note:

«Liber hyponosticon contra Pelagianos est: partes habet sex vel parvos partiales libros sub vocabulo responsionum quia praesupposuit sex errores sive errorum propositiones contra quos loquitur. Non annumeratur in libro retractationum: utilis tamen est contra dictam heresim, et subtilis ac difficilis et theologus valde. Haec Bartholomeus de Urbino in suo indiculo librorum Augustini.»

It is impossible to know the precise manuscripts used for this edition, but judging by its variants it is certainly based on manuscripts belonging to the Anglo-Norman and also the French family of texts <sup>2</sup>.

In 1528/29, again at Basle, but this time published by Johann Froben, another edition of the *Opera omnia* of Augustine appeared, and this contained an edition of the *Hypomnesticon* produced by Erasmus. The *Hypomnesticon* is in Tome VII, p. 926 ff., with the title: *Divi Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis episcopi libri Hypognosticon contra Pelagianos et Celestianos*. So far as the *Hypomnesticon* is concerned, Erasmus did

<sup>1</sup> In 1529 the text of Amerbach's edition of the *Hypomnesticon* was published in Cologne by a certain Hero Alopecius who used Eucharius Cervicornus's ornamental frame for the title-page (cf. HEITZ and ZARETZKY, *Kölner Büchermarken*, No. 85). At least one copy of this rare book is in the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Paris, where it is given the shelf-mark CC 1201, inventaire 1142, pièce 3. It is possible that the volume marked CC 1200, inventaire 1141, pièce 1 belongs to the same edition of the *Hypomnesticon*.

<sup>2</sup> Damasus Trapp, O.E.S.A., has some interesting observations to make in connexion with the use of manuscripts by the first printers in his *Augustinian Theology of the 14th Century. Notes on Editions, Marginalia, Opinions and Book-Lore* (Louvain 1956) p. 155. This study is a reprint from *Augustiniana* VI (1956) p. 146-274.

little more than touch up the text of Amerbach here and there, not, it would seem, from any new manuscripts examined by him, but simply from marginal notes given by Amerbach and from his own conjectures. Hence, Erasmus's edition scarcely marks any progress in the amelioration of the text.

The edition of the *Opera omnia* of St. Augustine which Claude Chevalon published in Paris in 1531 also contains in its VIIth tome an edition of the *Hypomnesticon*. This third edition adheres closely to that of Erasmus, and introduces only very rare changes into the text. The Lyons edition of the *Opera omnia*, Tome VII, Pars Posterior (1562) contains a text of the *Hypomnesticon* which is but a reimpression of the Chevallon edition, and the same is true of Gulielmus Merlin's edition, Tome VI, Paris, 1571.

The VIIth tome of the *Opera omnia* published by the Louvain theologians at Antwerp in 1576 contains a new edition of the *Hypomnesticon*, but here again very little improvement can be noticed in relation to the earlier editions. These latter, particularly those of Erasmus and Amerbach are seen to be used as the principal sources.

With the Maurist edition of the *Opera omnia* of St. Augustine (Paris 1679–1700) we meet the last edition of the text of the *Hypomnesticon*<sup>1</sup>. It is found in the Appendix to the Xth tome with the title: *Hypomnesticon contra Pelagianos et Caelestianos vulgò Libri HypognosticΩn*.

Despite its imperfections, the text in this edition is substantially sound, and marks a very notable improvement on all the earlier editions. Furthermore, from the indications given by the editors, it is possible to draw up a list of the principal codices used by them in establishing the text. This list certainly shows that the Maurists were in possession of sound manuscript witnesses. The list is as follows:

a) *Codex Corbeiensis* The Maurists refer to this manuscript as the 'antiquissimum exemplar' of the *Hypomnesticon* – cf. *op. cit.*, Tomus X, Appendix, col. 1–2; col. 8, h. It can be easily identified with Paris, BN Lat. 12220, which was described above on p. 6–9.

<sup>1</sup> The Maurist text of the *Hypomnesticon* was, of course, frequently reprinted by a variety of publishers since it first appeared, and was reproduced by Migne in PL 45, 1611–1664. Migne made only the slightest alterations in the text of the Maurist edition, e.g. he substituted the forms 'spiritualis' and 'spiritualiter' for 'spiritalis' and 'spiritaliter', though the Maurist forms have the support of the manuscripts.

b) *Codex Germanensis* This is referred to by the Maurists explicitly *loc. cit.*, col. 1–2. It is now Paris BN Lat. 12223, and its description was given above on p. 11–12.

c) *Germanensis codex longe antiquior* This is likewise referred to by the Maurists in col. 1–2, *loc. cit.* It is now Paris BN Lat. 13344, and its description was given above on p. 44–45.

d) *Codex Victorinus* is mentioned in the same place as the foregoing manuscript, i.e. col. 1–2. It is now Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, No. 506, and its description is to be found on p. 58.

e) *Codex Sorbonicus* is also mentioned in col. 1–2. It is now Paris BN Lat. 15303, and was described above on p. 21.

f) *Codex Ebrulphensis* This codex, as was mentioned earlier, has been lost. For an account of it, see the discussion above on p. 25–26; 27. The Maurist editors refer to the manuscript in the same Appendix, col. 14, g; col. 27, b; col. 30, k, and the variants they give show that it belonged to the Anglo-Norman family.

g) *Codex Remigianus* This codex has also been lost. Reference to it is available in *MSS Codicum qui in bibliotheca S. Remigii Remsis insigniores habentur indiculus*, i.e. folio 9 of the manuscript Paris, BN Lat. 13070. The date given to the codex is 800, and among its contents are the *Pro Augustino responsiones ad capitula obiectionum Gallorum*, and the *Pro Aug<sup>o</sup> ... Vinc.* The Maurist editors refer to it in the Appendix, col. 12,f; col. 41,d.

h) *Codex Colbertinus* The Maurists refer to this codex in the Appendix, col. 44,1. It is now Paris, BN Lat. 2099, and was described on p. 14.

Besides the foregoing manuscripts, the Maurist editors refer to some others which they term ‘recentiores aliquot’ (cf. Appendix, col. 1–2). They also made use of the editions of Amerbach, Erasmus and of the Louvain theologians, and frequently cite their readings.

### *The Present Edition*

As a very general guide in the preparation of the present edition, Paul Maas’s *Textkritik* (English translation by B. Flower, Oxford, 1958) was consulted, though a number of the principles advocated by the author had to be modified to such a degree that he would probably have found



it difficult to note any perceptible influence of his work on my edition. At any rate, Maas's usage in the case of such terms as 'original', 'archetype', 'exemplar', 'manuscript tradition' and of the signs < > for conjectural additions was accepted.

Following Maas's suggestion (p. 21), all the witnesses that were available to me are described at the beginning, the principal witnesses, of course, receiving more detailed treatment.

A special effort was made to examine the relation existing between the witnesses in order to trace the manuscript tradition of the *Hypomnesticon*, and to establish the *stemmata codicum* provided in § 5<sup>1</sup>. However, because of the great number of witnesses involved, it was found to be impracticable to demonstrate in each case the relation between the manuscripts by adducing detailed lists of distinguishing variants peculiar to them. Quite frequently a mere statement of the fact of the relation was made, and the grounds for the statement were presented in the *apparatus criticus*. Thus, from a comparative study of the variant readings of the first and sixth *Responsiones* given in the *apparatus criticus*, it is possible to find justification for all the branches of the *stemmata*. It may very well be objected that this method necessitated the inclusion of an excessive number of variants in the *apparatus criticus*. This I do not believe to be the case. Despite the present rather widespread vogue, which would dictate parsimony where the inclusion of variants in the *apparatus criticus* of critical editions is concerned, I risked the charge of prolixity and worse in an endeavour to include variants with many different kinds of significance, e.g. palaeographical, philological, grammatical, biblical and doctrinal, in the hope of assisting scholars in different fields of research, and also of helping towards a better understanding of the entire question of the transmission of patristic texts<sup>2</sup>.

Among the manuscripts used in preparing this edition, special importance was attached to (P) not merely because it is one of the earliest extant witnesses, but also because of the likelihood of its being a wit-

<sup>1</sup> Though these *stemmata* are, I believe, solidly based on the extant manuscripts examined by me, they nevertheless suffer from those inevitable limitations of all *stemmata* so well explained by MAURICE BÉVENOT, S. J., in *The Tradition of Manuscripts* (Oxford 1961) p. 5-7.

<sup>2</sup> I find in retrospect that the views on the transmission of patristic texts to which I have been led by my work are very similar to those described by Maurice Bévenot, *op. cit.* p. 1-7.

ness to the earliest known form of the Hypomnesticon <sup>1</sup>. Another reason for partiality in respect of (P) is the fact that its text does not exhibit the apparent retouching and occasional embellishment to be found in (C) and all its very numerous relatives in the Φ family <sup>2</sup>. Nevertheless, as was already remarked, (P) gives indications of a certain unreliability where biblical quotations are concerned <sup>3</sup>. For this reason its readings of scriptural quotations were frequently discarded in favour of those in (C).

Because of its very close relation with (P) and its early date, (V) was regarded as particularly important. Then (c), (v) and (t2), close relatives of (V), acquired special significance because they help supply the extensive lacuna in (V) already mentioned <sup>4</sup>.

So far as the Anglo-Norman family of manuscripts is concerned, (a1), (a2), (a3), (b) and (ro) are decisive for establishing the exemplar; and because of the family's links with the (P) and (V) group, it proved to be useful in confirming readings in that group.

As the earliest extant representative of the Φ family, and because of the care with which it was written (C) was accorded a privileged position and was of great value in reconstructing the text of the *Hypomnesticon*. The Paris manuscripts, (p1), (p3) and the Troyes manuscript (t) in certain places help to emend (C) where it is defective.

The Monte Cassino manuscript (M), in spite of contamination, was of service in many places in helping towards making a choice of readings.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 5 above.

<sup>2</sup> The introductory phrase at the beginning of *Responsio VI*, «Licet latius de gratia et libero arbitrio iam superius disputatum sit», found in (C) and its numerous relatives in the (Φ) family – and in some other manuscripts because of what I believe is contamination – is an excellent example of embellishment. At first sight this phrase may appear to be more acceptable than the blunt «Addere etiam hoc quam maxime huic operi oportet» of (P). Contextually, however, that is in relation to the *Responsio* which it purports to introduce, the phrase in (C) would have a better chance of being accepted as authentic if it could have been «Licet latius de praedestinatione iam superius disputatum sit». But in relation to what went before this would make little sense. Besides, in the case of its reading in this instance, (P) is powerfully supported by independent witnesses such as (G) with its many relatives and (p 12).

<sup>3</sup> A good example to prove the point is (P)'s substitution of the Vulgate for the Old Latin version in the extended passage, Gn 3, 16–19, quoted in *Responsio II*, chapter 1. When a fragment from this passage is quoted shortly afterwards, i.e. in chapter 2 of the same *Responsio*, (P)'s reading is the Old Latin one! The scribe responsible for substituting the Vulgate for the Old Latin text in the initial extended quotation forgot to make the necessary alteration in the fragment from it which is quoted so soon afterwards. Cf. p. 8 above.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. above p. 5–6; 10; 22. Incidentally, (c), (v) and (t2) are of great interest as examples of contamination.

Of the manuscripts containing the sixth *Responsio* alone, the earliest ones, namely (G), (B), (L) and (K), proved to be of most value in establishing the text of that *Responsio*.

No facile rule was found to determine the selection to be made among the variant readings of the manuscripts. In practice the choice was very frequently between the reading supported by (Θ) and that supported by (Φ), and then, other things being equal, a presumption was made in favour of the former, particularly when it was supported by the Anglo-Norman group and the Monte Cassino manuscript (M).

The basic division of the text of the *Hypomnesticon* into six parts corresponding to the six *Responsiones* with a preface is clearly indicated in the manuscripts, and presented no problem. Chapter divisions first made their appearance with the Louvain edition of 1576, and were reproduced by the Maurists and by Migne. Based on the doctrinal content of the individual *Responsiones*, these divisions are satisfactory, and I found no valid reason for altering them, and the same holds, with practically no exceptions, in the case of the paragraph divisions which were first introduced by the Maurists <sup>1</sup>.

Of the earlier editions, the variant readings given by Amerbach, Erasmus, Chevallon, the Lyons editors, the Louvain theologians, and the Maurists were normally recorded in the *apparatus criticus* together with the manuscript sources of the editors' variants when these could be located. Of course, some of the variants found in the editions appear to have been conjectures of the editors, and naturally have no basis in the manuscripts. On the other hand, it should be recalled that the Maurists had access to at least two manuscripts which appear to be no longer extant <sup>2</sup>.

The orthography presented some difficulty as it is impossible to determine from the manuscripts the original forms. The forms found in the manuscripts are very varied, and reflect the influence of diverse epochs and places. As a practical solution it was decided to conform as closely as possible to the forms found most consistently in the best of the earliest manuscripts, particularly where these forms agreed with those otherwise known to have been common at the time the *Hypomnesticon* was written. In case of doubt forms sanctioned by classical dictionaries

<sup>1</sup> The title of the *Hypomnesticon* and that of the main divisions are considered separately in § 5 because of the special problems to which they give rise.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above p. 25 and p. 76.

were chosen. Proper names were retained in the form given them in the best manuscripts, and variants likely to be of interest to the philologue are given in the *apparatus criticus*.

The punctuation of the text was not always easy, and the manuscripts gave very little help in the matter. On the whole, the punctuation employed by the Maurists in their edition of the *Hypomnesticon* is satisfactory, but their use of the colon and semi-colon does not conform with modern usage, and was often abandoned. What was aimed at in the punctuation adopted was to make the text as intelligible as possible.

### § 3. TITLE AND DIVISIONS

Two distinct titles are to be expected in the manuscripts of the *Hypomnesticon*, namely, one to designate the work as a whole, and the other to distinguish the special sixth *Responsio*. In the former case three principal forms of the title are found:

1. Hypomnesticon sancti Augustini episcopi, id est, commemoratorium contra Pelagianos sive Caelestianos haereticos.
2. Quinque responsiones sancti Augustini contra Pelagianos et Caelestianos.
3. Aurelii Augustini doctoris contra Pelagianos et Caelestianos haereticos yppomnosticon.

Of these titles the one most likely to have appeared in the archetype<sup>1</sup> is a simplified version of the first. For one thing, it is the earliest attested and is supported by Paris BN Lat. 2034 (P); Vat. Lat. 491 (V); Rome, Corsiniana 41-E-39 (c); Vat. Lat. 656 (v); Turin D. II. 16 (t2), and partly by Monte Cassino 162 (M) and 166 (m); Mantua D. III. 12 (m1); Florence, S. Marco 636 (f1); Med. Laur. Plut. XIII, VII (f2); Med. Laur. Fies. XV (f3); Venice, S. Marco L. II. 3 (y1); Utrecht 124 (u); Escorial G-III-4 (es), among others. Besides, it presents the term 'hypomnesticon' in its pure Latinized form as against the third title with its corrupt 'yppomnosticon'. The second title does not appear before the XIIth century, and is supported by Paris BN Lat. 12223 (p1); 14476 (p3); 15289 (p4); 15303 (p7); Erlangen 170 (g1); 180 (g4); Rouen 480 (r). It seems to be a late heading improvised for the 5-*Responsio* versions of the *Hypomnesticon*. It certainly did not figure in the archetype, and may safely be dismissed. The case with the third title is similar. It is proper to the Anglo-Norman family of manuscripts, and has no witness earlier than the late XIth century.

<sup>1</sup> I am using the term *archetype* in the sense defined by PAUL MAAS, *op. cit.*, p. 2-3, i.e. the exemplar from which the first split originated.

Assuming that some form of the first title given above appeared in the archetype, the question arises as to the precise form it was given there. One thing is clear from an examination of the manuscript tradition and that is that the explanatory phrase ‘id est, commemoratorium’ was not in the archetype. That it was not in the original admits of no doubt. If the author felt that the Greek term ὑπομνηστικόν in the title of a book destined for Latin readers required a Latin equivalent, common sense would have suggested dropping the Greek term altogether in favour of the Latin equivalent. On the other hand, the presence of the term ‘hypomnesticon’ in the original title would naturally have prompted some informed and helpful scribe sooner or later to add a Latin equivalent for a difficult enough Greek term. Was this Latin equivalent in the archetype? I doubt it very much for the reason that its presence in the manuscript tradition is far too restricted: it is confined to the small – though important – P-V family<sup>1</sup>. Had the explanatory phrase been in the archetype it would have been too useful to have been overlooked or abandoned, and would have been widely diffused.

All the evidence then seems to lead to the conclusion that the title in the archetype was: *Hypomnesticon sancti Augustini episcopi contra Pelagianos sive Caelestianos haereticos*. It now remains to examine whether it was also in the original. This question is not so easily answered. On account of the fact that the *Hypomnesticon* was not written by Augustine – and this fact admits of no doubt – it may seem improbable that his name should have figured in the original title. This problem was discussed in *Hyph*, p. 45–46 and there it was explained, on the suggestion of the IXth century author of the *Liber de tribus epistulis*, that the inclusion of Augustine’s name in the title need not necessarily mean that the author wished it to be thought that his book was actually written by Augustine, but simply that it contained the substance of Augustine’s teaching on the questions discussed. Considering the use made of Augustine’s name in the titles of his books by Prosper of Aquitaine, and granting that the same Prosper is the author of the *Hypomnesticon*, it seems reasonable to conclude that Augustine’s name in the title was original, and that it should be retained. Eliminating the words ‘sancti’ and ‘episcopi’ from the title as likely later additions and as departures from the usage of Prosper of Aquitaine in naming his works – cf. his

<sup>1</sup> The XVth century Utrecht 124 (u) is an interesting exception. Both in its *incipit* and *explicit* after the word *ypomnesticon* it adds *id est, commemoratorium sive memoriale*. Cf. above p. 16.

*Epigrammata in obtrectatorem Augustini* and the three works whose titles begin with the words *Pro Augustino responsiones* ... – we are left with the following:

*Hypomnesticon Augustini contra Pelagianos sive Caelestianos haereticos*. This I accept as the original title <sup>1</sup>.

### *The Title of the Sixth Responsio*

In the case of the additional sixth *Responsio* four main forms of the title are found in the manuscripts:

1. Responsio VI de praedestinatione.
2. De praedestinatione disputatio contra eosdem.
3. De praedestinatione disputatio sexta hypomnesticon.
4. Aurelii Augustini liber contra Pelagianos de praedestinatione.

Of these four titles the first is the earliest to appear, and is supported by Paris BN Lat. 2034 (P) and Vat. Lat. 491 (V). The second is well attested, and has the support of Paris BN 12220 (C); Lyons 611 (L); Rome, Corsiniana 41–E–39 (c), and others. Nevertheless, it has this against it that it contains a reference to the Pelagians and Celestians, i.e. *contra eosdem*, whereas the VIth *Responsio* – unlike the others – makes no reference whatever to either the Pelagians or the Celestians, and deals with specifically Semi-Pelagian problems. Besides, its use of the word ‘disputatio’ rather than ‘responsio’ may be considered to render it suspect. The third title, with minor variations, is witnessed to by St. Gall 29 (G), Boulogne-sur-Mer 48 (B), Köln 79 (K), and Besançon 174 (b1), but the inclusion of the word ‘disputatio’ instead of ‘responsio’ would seem to weaken its claim to being original. The last of the four titles is supported by members of the English family of manuscripts, but as there are no witnesses earlier than the XIIth century, its weight is slight. Moreover, the exemplar of the English family does not seem to have carried a title at all. Finally, the use of the word ‘liber’ instead of the term ‘responsio’ which is given in other parts of the *Hypomnesticon* is perhaps another argument against it. Of the four titles, therefore, the one I accept as original is the first, i.e. *Responsio VI. De Praedestinatione*.

<sup>1</sup> Whether the term ‘Hypomnesticon’ was used originally in the Greek form for the title cannot be known from the manuscripts. These invariably give Latinized forms, and I have decided to retain the best of them.

*Note.* A curious fact about the title of the *Hypomnesticon* is that despite the overwhelming witness of the manuscripts, the term by which the work was most widely known in the XVIth, XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries was 'hypognosticon' <sup>1</sup>. Already in the IXth century this latter term was occasionally used in naming the work, though 'hypomnesticon' was more common at that time <sup>2</sup>. Among the writers who gave the name 'hypognosticon' to it are Johann Eck <sup>3</sup>, Thomas de Lemos <sup>4</sup>, Robert Bellarmine <sup>5</sup>, Joannes Garnier <sup>6</sup>, Natalis Alexander <sup>7</sup>, Ellies du Pin <sup>8</sup>, Cardinal Sfondrati <sup>9</sup>, Tillemont <sup>10</sup>, Johannes Raab <sup>11</sup>, and William Cave <sup>12</sup>. In the editions of Amerbach, Erasmus, Chevallon and the Louvain theologians 'hypognosticon' is the term that appears in the title and, with the exception of Amerbach, also in the text of the *Praefatio*. The Maurist editors used two words in the title thus: *Hypomnesticon contra Pelagianos et Caelestianos vulgò Libri Hypognosticon*.

The word 'hypognosticon' appears to be of very late coinage, and no example of its use earlier than the IXth century seems to exist. Furthermore, it is as an alternative title for the *Hypomnesticon* that it most frequently occurred, and Erasmus referred to it as 'titulus insolens' <sup>13</sup>. The word is not given in the *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*, but it is found in TLL, vol. VI, col. 3158, where it is noted as an alternative title for the *Hypomnesticon*; no other use of the word is recorded in the TLL <sup>14</sup>. Similarly A. Blaise in his *Dictionnaire Latin-Français des*

<sup>1</sup> Of all the manuscripts examined by me, the only one with the term 'hypognosticon' in the title is the XIIth century Oxford (Bodl.) Bodl. 149 (a6).

<sup>2</sup> Pardulus of Laon, in the letter he addressed to the church of Lyons in connexion with the Predestinationist dispute, entitled the work 'hypognosticon' – cf. *Liber de tribus epistulis*: PL 121, 1052B. The author of the *Liber*, though he normally used the word 'hypomnesticon' for the work, employed the form 'hypognosticon' also – cf. PL 121, 1055C.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Hyp*<sup>1</sup>, p. 50.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 51.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *loc. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 52, n. 3.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 56.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *Nouvelle bibliothèque des auteurs ecclésiastiques*, Tome 3 (Paris 1689) p. 816.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 59.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 60.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 60, n. 4; 61.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *Scriptorum ecclesiasticorum historia literaria*. Editio novissima. Vol. I (Basle 1741) p. 248.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Erasmus's note 'Ad lectorem' in *Septimus tomus operum divi Aurelii Augustini...* (Basle 1528) p. 925.

<sup>14</sup> Lawrence of Durham, O.S.B. (1154), used the title 'Hypognosticon' for a very extensive theological work in verse which he composed – cf. M. L. Mistretta, *The Hypognosticon of Lawrence of Durham* (New York 1941); Karl Langosch, «Überlieferungsgeschichte der mittellateinischen Literatur» in *Geschichte der Text-*



*auteurs chrétiens* (Strasbourg 1954) p. 398 also notes it as the title of the *Hypomnesticon*: «titre d'un ouvrage pseudo-augustinien, var. Hypomnesticon». The verb from which the word derives is γιγνώσκω, and both this and the adjective γνωστικός which is formed from the verb are, of course, classical. Then by analogy with ὑπομνηστικόν, it would seem, the particle ὑπό was added to the adjectival form to produce ὑπογνωστικόν.

The word 'hypomnesticon' in its turn derives from the verb ὑπομνήσκω meaning 'remind one'; 'mention'; 'suggest' <sup>1</sup>. This gave rise to the adjectival form ὑπομνηστικός from which the substantive τὸ ὑπομνηστικόν was produced. The secular and ecclesiastical uses of this latter term are given both by the *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae* and Liddel and Scott <sup>2</sup> and there is little doubt that the word had been in use for a long time before it was employed by the author of our work. From the Greek the word was given the Latinized form 'hypomnesticon' – the form we find it given in the two earliest extant manuscripts, i.e. Paris BN Lat. 2034 (P) and Vat. Lat. 491 (V). Other Latinized forms, more or less corrupt, also occur in the manuscripts, e.g. 'ypomnosticon', 'ypponosticon', 'ypomnostichon', 'ypomnisticon', 'ypomnosticon', and even 'ypomonosticon'!

Latin equivalents given for the word 'hypomnesticon' are 'commemoratorium' <sup>3</sup> 'memoratorium' <sup>4</sup>, 'commonitorium' <sup>5</sup>, 'commentarium' <sup>6</sup>, 'memoriale' <sup>7</sup>.

The best English equivalent is 'memorandum' <sup>8</sup>.

*überlieferung der antiken und mittelalterlichen Literatur*, Band II (Zurich 1964) p. 79–80.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. LIDDEL and SCOTT, *A Greek English Lexicon* (1940) p. 1890.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Thes. Graec. Ling.*, IX, p. 387; *Loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> The word 'commemoratorium' as the Latin equivalent of 'hypomnesticon' is given in the *incipits* of Paris BN Lat. 2034 (P); Vat. Lat. 491 (V); Rome, Corsiniana 41–E–39 (c); Vat. Lat. 656 (v); Turin D.II.16 (t2) and Utrecht 124 (u).

<sup>4</sup> This is the Latin equivalent suggested by the author of the IXth century *Liber de tribus epistulis*: PL 121, 1044.

<sup>5</sup> The Maurist editors suggested this substitute in *Sancti Augustini... operum Tomus X*, Appendix, col. 1–2.

<sup>6</sup> *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*, IX, p. 387.

<sup>7</sup> This equivalent is given together with 'commemoratorium' in the *incipit* of Utrecht 124 (u). It is also mentioned in *Thes. Ling. Graec.*, *loc. cit.*

<sup>8</sup> LIDDEL and SCOTT, *A Greek English Lexicon* (1940) p. 1890; A. SOUTER, *A Glossary of Later Latin to 600 A.D.* (Oxford 1949) p. 179.

### *The Divisions*

The division of the *Hypomnesticon* into six parts derives from the author, and so far as the first five parts are concerned the division was already announced in the *Praefatio*. The final part of the work is, as was pointed out, a subsequent addition dealing with a new problem not specifically treated in the earlier sections, and therefore forming a separate part.

In the manuscripts the name most frequently given to each of the first five parts of the *Hypomnesticon* is 'responsio', and it is found that all the earliest and best manuscripts have this word in the *incipits* and *explicitis* of the individual divisions of the work. Hence it can be concluded that the term was certainly in the archetype. Furthermore, there is special reason to believe that it derived from the author, since the term 'responsio' was given by Prosper of Aquitaine to the parts in several of his works, i.e. the *Pro Augustino responsiones ad capitula obiectionum Gallorum calumniantium*; *Pro Augustino responsiones ad capitula obiectionum Vincentianarum*; *Pro Augustino responsiones ad excerpta Genuensium*.

In Monte Cassino 162 (M) and its copy Monte Cassino 166 (m) the term 'liber' is found instead of 'responsio' to designate the parts of the *Hypomnesticon*, but since this is a very rare exception it may be unhesitatingly dismissed<sup>1</sup>. The same holds for the work 'capitulum' instead of 'responsio' used in the XVth century Venice, S. Marco L.II.3 (y1).

It is true that a number of manuscripts of the Anglo-Norman family have no title for the individual *Responsiones* of the *Hypomnesticon*, and that others were given one only by a later hand, e.g. Oxford, Merton I (a17); Merton 36 (a14); Bodleian Laud Misc. 158 (a26); Cambridge, Peterhouse 113 (a25); Cambridge Peterhouse 149 (a7); London, Lambeth Palace Libr. 499 (a10); Vat. Lat. 818 (v7). Nevertheless, all the early manuscripts of the Anglo-Norman family bear *incipits* and *explicitis* which include the term 'responsio' for the individual divisions of the *Hypomnesticon*, so that it is quite certain that the exemplar of the Anglo-Norman family had the term.

In the printed editions the division of the *Hypomnesticon* into chapters first appeared in the edition of the Louvain theologians (Antwerp 1576). These chapter divisions were reproduced by the Maurists, and hence they naturally find a place in Migne. As was already remarked, they are preserved unchanged in the present edition.

<sup>1</sup> Rouen 478 (ro) has the word 'liber' for the parts of the *Hypomnesticon* in the *incipits*, but in the *explicitis* it has the word 'responsio'.

## RATIO LEGENDI

### *Voces Abbreviatae*

<i>a.</i>	anno
<i>add.</i>	addidit (-erunt)
<i>Al. et al.</i>	alter
<i>Amb.</i>	Ambrosius
<i>cf.</i>	confer
<i>codd.</i>	codices
<i>corr.</i>	correxerunt (-erunt)
<i>ditt.</i>	dittographia
<i>edd.</i>	editiones
<i>elim.</i>	eliminavit (-erunt)
<i>eras.</i>	erasit (-erunt)
<i>exc.</i>	excepto (-is)
<i>exp.</i>	expunxit (-erunt)
<i>fort.</i>	fortasse
<i>hap.</i>	haplographia
<i>hom.</i>	homoeoteleuton
<i>incl.</i>	includitur, inclusus
<i>lin.</i>	linea
<i>mg.</i>	(in) margine
<i>m. p.</i>	manu prima
<i>om.</i>	omisit (-erunt)
<i>p. et pag.</i>	pagina
<i>praem.</i>	praemisit (-erunt)
<i>repet.</i>	repetivit (-erunt)
<i>s.</i>	saeculo
<i>tr.</i>	transtulit (-erunt)
<i>typ.</i>	typographus
<i>VL</i>	Forma generalis versionis Veteris Latinae
<i>Vulg.</i>	Vulgata versio, ed. R. Weber, <i>Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Versionem</i> (Stuttgart 1969).
<i>Weber</i>	<i>Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Versionem</i> , ed. R. Weber.

## § 4. INDEX CODICUM ET EDITIONUM

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Θ	Exemplar codicum P V c v t2
α	Exemplar codicum a1-25,27 b E81 H p5,6,10,11,17 t5,6,7 v7 va ve
Ω	Exemplar α ro
Ψ	Exemplar Θ Ω
π	In casu <i>Responsionum I-IV</i> designat exemplar codicum g1,4 n1 p1,3,4,7,8,9 r t3 u In casu <i>Responsionis V</i> designat exemplar codicum g1 n1 p1,3-9 r t3,6 vc u In casu <i>Responsionis VI</i> designat exemplar codicum p1,14,15 g3 m5 vc u
γ	Exemplar codicum es f1,2,3 y1
δ	Exemplar codicum γ m1,2
Φ	Exemplar codicum π δ a26 b4 C c1 k k2 L p2,12 pa pr t t1,4
Σ	Exemplar codicum e1-18 h
Γ	Exemplar codicum Σ B b1 fu G K me s3 tr y2 <i>recc.</i>
Δ	Exemplar Θ Γ
f	Consensus codicum f1,2,3
M	Consensus codicum M,m
m	Consensus codicum m1,2
t	Consensus codicum t t1
V	Consensus codicum c t2 V v
recc.1	Consensus codicum c2,3 d1,2,3 f4 g2 h ha Lp Lz m3,6 n2 p13 pe pg s1 t8,9 v1-6,8,9 vt w
recc.2	Consensus codicum h1 k1 Ln m4 u y3
recc.	Consensus <i>recc.1</i> et <i>recc.2</i>



## SIGLA EDITIONUM

- Am editio Iohannis Amorbachii (alias Amerbach): Opera S. Augustini, t. X (Basileae 1506).  
 Er editio Erasmi: Opera S. Augustini, t. VII (Basileae 1528).  
 Ch editio Claudii Chevallonii: Opera S. Augustini, t. VII (Parisiis 1531).  
 Ly editio Lugdumensis: Opera S. Augustini, t. VII, Pars Posterior (Lugduni 1562).  
 Lov editio Theologorum Lovaniensium: Opera S. Augustini, t. VII (Antverpiae 1576).  
 Mr editio Benedictinorum e Congregatione S. Mauri: Opera S. Augustini, t. X, Pars Secunda (Parisiis 1690).  
 PL editio J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, t. 45 (Parisiis 1845). Paginae editionis Mignei in margine editionis praesentis adnotantur.  
 edd. editiones supra laudatae.

## SIGLA CODICUM S. SCRIPTURAE

Sigla codicum S. Scripturae generatim ex opere D. Roberti Weber, *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Versionem* (Stuttgart 1969) desumuntur. In casu libri Genesis autem, sigla quae in *Vetus Latina. Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel nach Petrus Sabatier neu gesammelt und herausgegeben von der Erzabtei Beuron. 2. Genesis.* von Bonifatius Fischer (Freiburg 1951-54) inveniuntur, in apparatus proferuntur. Porro quantum ad Psalmos, sigla D. Roberti Weber, *Le Psautier Romain et les autres anciens psautiers latins (Collectanea Biblica Latina X)* (Romae 1953) primo loco, et D. Henri de Sainte Marie, *Sancti Hieronymi Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos* (Romae 1954), data occasione, adhibuntur. Denique, paucis in locis, scilicet in casu In 19,6 et Act 1,16-20, sigla P. Augustini Merx, *Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine*, ed. 3a (Romae 1938) exscribuntur.

## COMPENDIA LIBRORUM S. SCRIPTURAE CITATORUM

Gn Ex Dt Ios Idc II Sm Tb Est Iob Ps Prv Sap Sir Is Ier Bar Ez Dn  
 Os Am Ion Za Mt Mc Lc Io Act Rm I-II Cor Gal Eph Phil Col I-II Tim  
 Tit Hbr Iac I-II Pt I Io Iud Apc

# DECLARATIO SIGNORUM IN APPARATU CRITICO OCCURRENTIUM

- ] lectionem ipsius textus designat de qua aliquid notatur vel cui  
refertur varia lectio alterius formae.  
~ transposuit (erunt): inversa verba designat.  
< > his uncis inclusa sunt quae supplenda videntur.  
² post sigla codicum, e.g. P² V², manum correctricem indicat.

## *I. Codices pro Responsionibus I-IV*

a1-27	n1
b; b2;4;5	P; p1-11;16;17; pa; pr
C; c; c1	r; ro
E81; es	s2
f1-3	t; t1-7
g1;4	u
H	V; v; v7; va; ve
k	y1
M; m; m1;2;7	

## *II. Codices pro Responsione V*

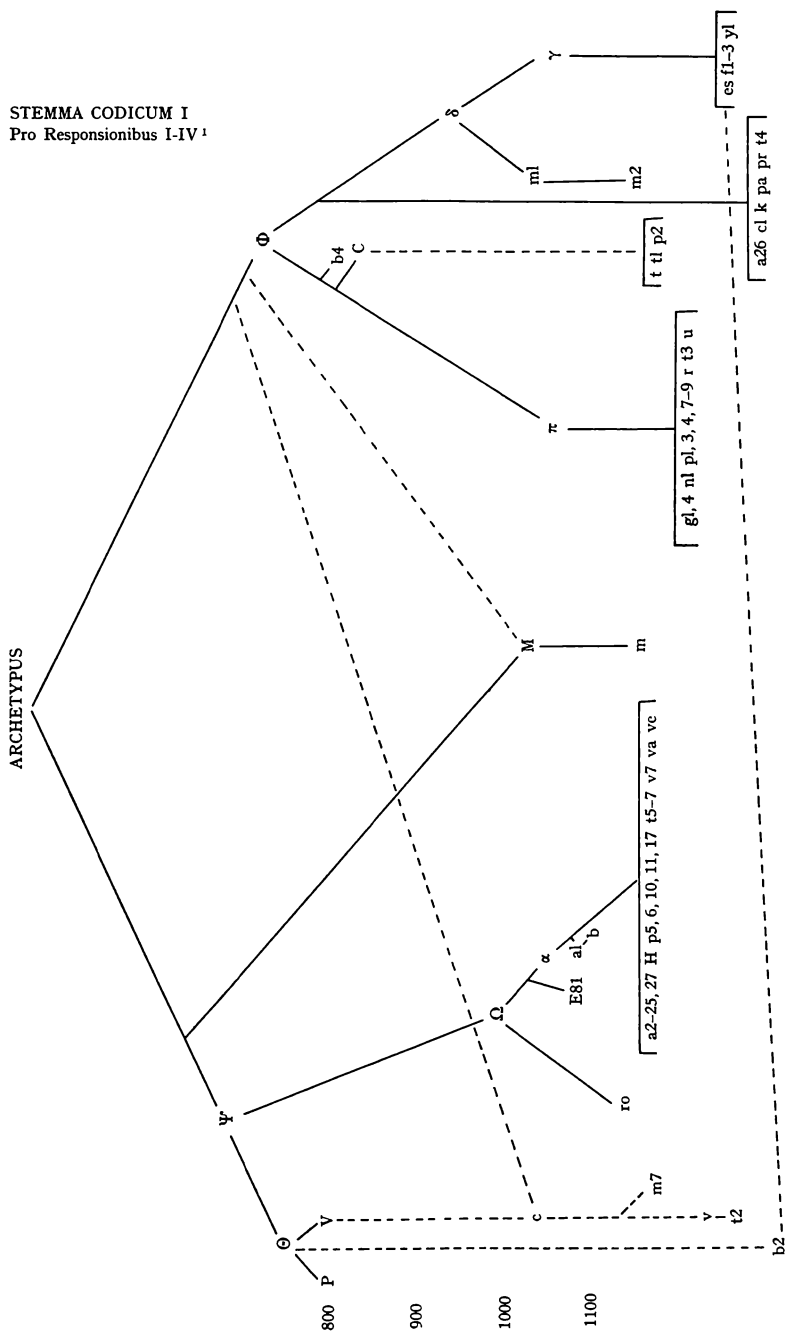
a28; as	n1
b2;5	P; p1-9;16;17; pr
C; c; c1	r
es	s2
f1-3	t; t1-4;6
g1	u
k	V; v; ve
M; m; m1;2	y1

## *III. Codices pro Responsione VI*

as	L; Ln; Lp; Lz
B; b1-3	M; m; m1-5; me
C; c; c2;3	n2
d1-3	P; p1;2;12-15; pe; pg; pr
e1-18	s1-3
es	t; t1;3;9; tr
f1-4; fu	u
G; g2;3	V; v1-6;8;9; vc; vt
h; ha; h1	w
K; k1;2	y1-3

## § 5. STEMMATA CODICUM

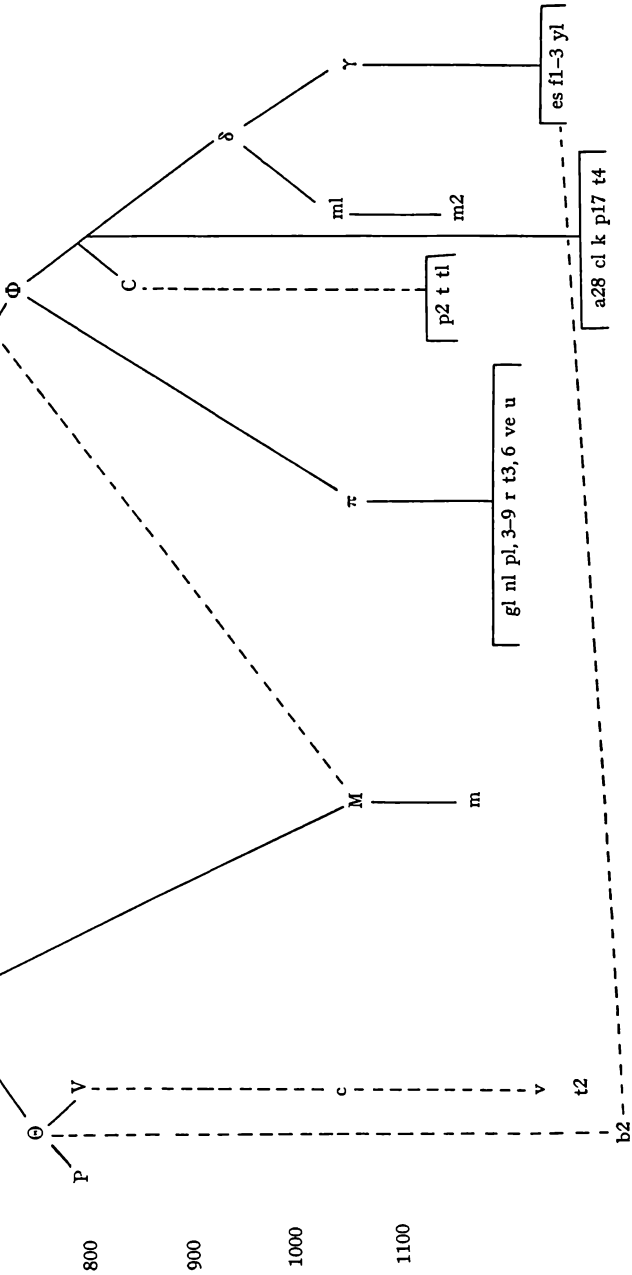
STEMMA CODICUM I  
Pro Responsionibus I-IV <sup>1</sup>



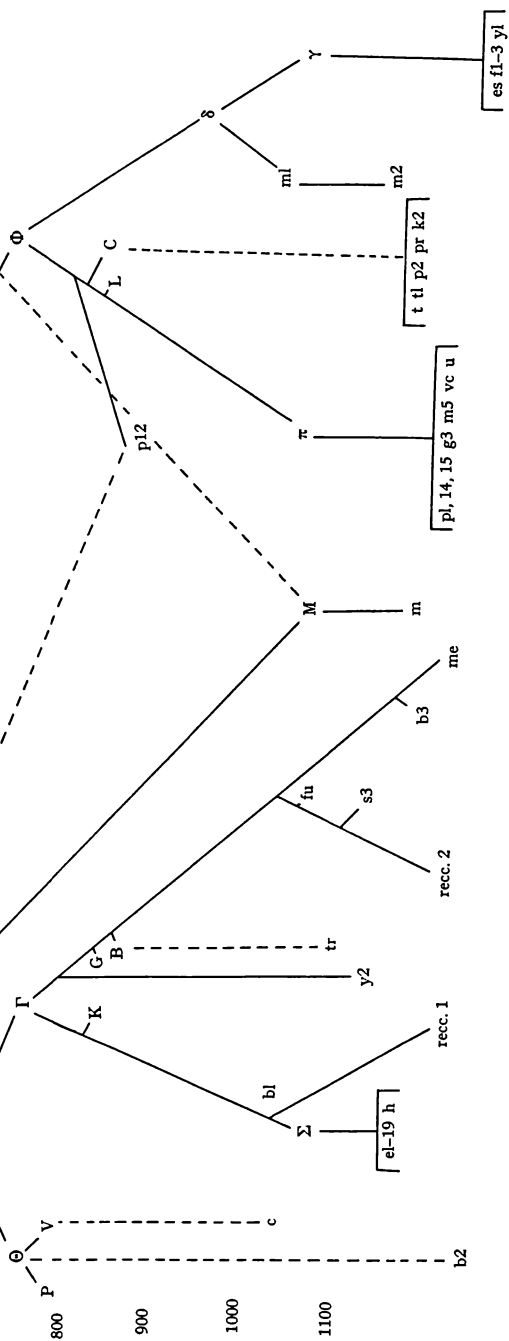
<sup>1</sup> Codices as p16 s2, qui excerpta ex *Hypomnesticon* continent, et b5 (cf. p. 35\*, fn. 1) a stemmatibus excluduntur.

STEMMA CODICUM II  
Pro responsione V

ARCHETYPUS



# ARCHETYPUS



SANCTI PROSPERI AQUITANI  
(Pseudo-Augustini)

HYPOMNESTICON AUGUSTINI  
CONTRA PELAGIANOS  
SIVE CAELESTIANOS HAERETICOS







HYPOMNESTICON AUGUSTINI  
CONTRA  
PELAGIANOS SIVE CAELESTIANOS HAERETICOS

PL 45  
1611-12

Adversarii catholicae fidei, dum contra regulam veritatis diabolicis  
armis pugnare nituntur, nos sollicitudine repugnandi faciunt cautiore. 5  
Se vero decipiunt antequam nostrorum valeant aliquem vulnerare. Cum  
enim caeci evacuare thesauros fidei certant, spe fidei vacuati, faciunt  
plenitudine fidei ecclesiam opitulante gratia gloriari. Et dum in hypo-  
crisi | vigilant nocituri, de quibus propterea dictum esse puto per pro- PL 1613  
phetam: *Ablatus est somnus ab oculis eorum; non enim dormiunt nisi* 10  
*male fecerint*, nos quodammodo excitant dormientes, ut arrepto clypeo  
veritatis, falsitatibus eorum corde resistere vigilemus, evangelica tuba  
nostris auribus personante: *Vigilate et orate, ne intretis in temptationem*.  
Confidunt ergo haeretici Catholicam inpugnantes, in virtute sua, id est  
in audacia cordis sui, gratia desolati, et in abundantia divitiarum 15  
suarum, in operibus scilicet voluntatis suae gloriantur. Sed *deus dissipat*  
*ossa hominum sibi placentium: confusi sunt, quoniam deus sprexit eos*.

8 Cf. Hbr 10,22 || 10/11 Prv 4,16 || 11 Cf. Is 21,5 || 13 Mc 14,38 || 14/16 Cf. Ps 48,7  
|| 16/17 Ps 52,6

*Titulus*: Cf. *supra* p. 81-83.

4 fidei catholicae ~ p2 *edd.* (exc. Mr) || 5 pugnandi P (*corr. fort. m.p.*) V (*corr.* V<sup>2</sup>)  
m; respondendi α *edd.* (exc. Lov Mr) || 6 aliquem nostrorum valeant ~ V (*corr.*  
V<sup>2</sup>) | aliquem valeant ~ P V<sup>2</sup> v t2 b2 f2 g1 || 7 concertant Φ M b2 *edd.* | evacuati  
M f || 8 plenitudinem P (*corr.* P<sup>2</sup>) Ω *edd.* (exc. Mr) | ecclesiae P (*corr.* P<sup>2</sup>) C (*corr.*  
C<sup>2</sup>) Ω *edd.* (exc. Mr) | gratia] *praem.* dei Ω *edd.* | Et] *om.* Ω b2 | epocrisin P; hypo-  
crisin Ω; ypochrissi V || 9 profetam V || 12 falsitati *edd.* (exc. Lov Mr) | resistente  
π *edd.* (exc. Am Er) || 13 insonante Φ M *edd.* | Vigilate P | timptationem P; temta-  
tionem V || 14 Confundunt P | Catholicam] *praem.* fidem V; *add.* fidem *edd.* (exc.  
Mr) | inpugnantes] *add.* ecclesiam π b2; *praem.* ecclesiam f p2 | sua] *add.* ecclesiam  
Ω || 15 desoluti V (*corr.* V<sup>2</sup>) | et] *om.* Θ | habundantia P || 16 in ... suae] *om.* V  
| voluptatis γ b2 | gloriantes t pa p2 pr *edd.* | dissipavit (*cum* α γ δ ζ *med Ga*) Φ  
Ω M *edd.* || 17 quoniam] quia (*cum Ro*) δ π t *edd.* (exc. Mr) | deus] dominus (*cum*  
ΘHG) C δ t pa t4 c1 *edd.*

Confidamus et nos resistentes eis in gratia domini, quae est gloria nostra, redimens nos a circumdantibus nos, et intellectum dans nobis, et instruens nos in via hac qua ingredimur, firmando super nos oculos suos; quia in domino salutari nostro et gloria nostra, deus auxilii nostri, et spes nostra in deo est.

Sed iam de quibus, vel contra quos, ista praedixerim oportet consequenti narrare semone, atque eorum perversis dogmatibus, in quantum  
 25 sua nos gratia dominus dignatus fuerit instruere, respondere. Igitur contra Pelagianos et Caelestianos haereticos, quos dominus tales futuros suo vitio ante constitutionem mundi praescivit, et exortos in mundo iudicio iusto damnavit, sermo nobis est respondendi. Istos ostendebat apostolus Petrus in epistula sua secunda futuros dicens: *Fuerunt vero*  
 30 *et pseudoprophetae in populo, sicut et in vobis erunt magistri mendaces, qui introducent sectas perditionis, et eum, qui emit eos, dominum negant: superducentes sibi celerem perditionem. Et multi persequentur eorum luxurias, per quos via veritatis blasphemabitur: et in avaritia fictis verbis*  
 PL 1614 *negotiabuntur: quibus iudicium iam olim non cessat: | perditio eorum non*  
 35 *dormitat.* Igitur de magisterio gratiae dei confidens his respondendum, tanquam hypomnesticon, abbreviatum hunc facere curavi libellum. Quem si quis legere voluerit, non verborum mediocritatem contempletur, sed fidei rationem; et si placet, ad deum, qui docet hominem scientiam, gratias referat. Si qua vero sunt quibus nolentes erravimus, si tamen  
 40 sunt aliqua corrigenda, intuitu caritatis, deo iudice, corrigat; sed is

19/20 Cf. Ps 31,7-8 || 21/22 Cf. Ps 61,8 || 27 Cf. Io 17,24 || 29/35 II Pt 2,1-3 || 38 Cf. Ps 93,10

18 Confundamus P f es | glori V || 20 qua] quam (cum k) C tpa t4 pr edd. | gradimur (cum ε x λ Ga) π | confirmando edd. (exc. Mr) || 21 domino] deo (cum Vulg.) Φ edd. | salvatore V<sup>2</sup> c v t2; salutare (cum Vulg.) Φ P Ω M edd. | nostro] nostrum (cum Vulg.) Φ P Ω M edd. || 24 sermonem P (corr. P<sup>2</sup>) || 25 nos sua ~ Φ v t2 edd. | Igitur] om. C || 26 Pelagianus P (corr. P<sup>2</sup>) | Caelestianus P (corr. P<sup>2</sup>) p1 pa; Scelestianos t3,4 a11 | hereticus P (corr. P<sup>2</sup>) || 27 et] om. Θ Ω b2 | exortus P || 30 populo] add. suo δ | nobis (cum Θ<sup>A</sup>) Θ t4 pr g1 u || 31 introducunt (cum FILRSX\*) α; introducentes M | dominum] deum (cum Q Σ<sup>A2</sup> Ω O<sup>gloss</sup> W 59) edd. (exc. Mr) | negent (cum Λ) ro || 32 sequentur (cum Vulg.) Φ v7 edd. | luxorias P (corr. P<sup>2</sup>) || 33 blasphemabitur P | in] su (?) V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>); sua c v t2 | verbis] add. de vobis (cum Vulg.) Φ edd. || 34 negotiabantur V | iam] om. (cum PS-HIL-A) V | perditio] praem. et (cum Vulg.) α π f b2 t4 edd. (exc. Am) || 35 dormit δ | Igitur] Ideo v | magisterio] magnitudine (in mg.: al. magisterio) edd. (exc. Lov Mr) | dei] fidei f | respondendo b2 es y1 || 36 tanquam] tam M | ipomnesticon P; yppomnesticon Ω; yponosticon p5,6 c1 u; hyponosticon t5; hypognosticon edd. (exc. Mr) | libellum curavi ~ Φ t5 edd. || 37 mediocritatem verborum ~ f | midiocritatem V || 38 ad] a P (exp. P<sup>2</sup>) | deum] deo P<sup>2</sup> Ω; dominum V || 39 quibus] praem. in Φ M edd. || 40 aliqua sunt ~ p5,6 Lov; aliqua sint edd. (exc. Lov Mr) | is] his P (corr. P<sup>2</sup>) δ b2

cuius sensus est catholicus corrigendi. Si autem nihil sciens vel invidiosus, vitiare quae sana sunt non praesumat, quia mecum stabit ante tribunal Christi, rationem redditurus, quisquis ille fuerit.

Huius ergo dogmatis ista sunt nefanda blasphemia:

- I «Adam», inquit, «sive peccasset, seu non peccasset, morituum 45  
fuisse».
- II «Tamen peccatum eius neminem nisi solum nocuit ipsum.»
- III «Posse hominem per liberum arbitrium, tanquam per se sibi suffi-  
cientem, implere quod velit, vel etiam meritis operum a deo gratiam  
unicuique dari.» 50
- IV «Libidinem naturale esse bonum, nec in ea esse quod pudeat.»
- V «Et parvulos baptizatorum filios non trahere originale peccatum,  
neque perituros a vita aeterna, si sine sacramento baptismi ex hac  
vita migraverint.»

O malum dogma, quod pacis inimicus invenit! O dogma, per quod 55  
scinditur matris unitas ecclesiae renatorum! O dogma, quod sub nomine  
Christi evertere et mutare Christi nititur fundamenta! O dogma, cui  
nefanda sunt *nomina mille, mille nocendi artes!* Arma contra legem  
sumit ex lege; in pugnat evangelium ex evangelio pugnans; et in sui  
perniciem de veris mendacia fingens, provocat ad mendacium veritatem. 60  
Sed haec sibi sunt poena, quae inordinate proferens putat esse victoriam;  
ut in eis quod scriptum est inpleatur: *Per quae enim quis peccat, per  
haec et torquetur.*

42/43 Cf. Rm 14,10; 12; II Cor 5,10 || 58 Verg. *Aen.* VII, 337-8 || 62/63 Sap 11,17

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41 cui  $\Phi$  *edd.* | est sensus ~ p5,6 | corrigendi P (*corr.* P<sup>2</sup>) | nil  $\Omega$  | invidiosus] *add.* est  $\Omega$  Mr; *add.* fuerit *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) || 43 fuerit] *add.* Explicit prologus f || 44 Huiusmodi *edd.* | istae P<sup>2</sup>  $\Omega$  | sunt] est  $\Phi$  *edd.* | est ista Lov | nefandae blasphemiae P<sup>2</sup>  $\Omega$  b2 || 45 seu] sive  $\Theta$  t p2,3,8,9 t3,4 b2 g1 c1 es *edd.* || 48 Posse] *praem.* Et t pa *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) | sufficienter Er || 49 vellit P (velit P<sup>2</sup>); vellet V c; *om.* v t2 || 51 naturalem f || 52 Et] *om.*  $\Phi$  Mr | baptizatorum filios] *om.*  $\Phi$  Mr || 53 sacramentum P | baptismi V || 56 unitas] *add.* et ro | renatorum] regeneratis (*in mg.*: renatorum) *edd.* (*exc.* Lov Mr) || 57 Christi<sup>2</sup> et mutare ~  $\Phi$  Mr | nititur Christi<sup>2</sup> ~ p5,6 *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) || 58 mille<sup>2</sup>] *om.* *per hapl.* P  $\Omega$  || 59 et] *om.*  $\Theta$  || 61 sunt sibi ~ *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) | proferentes putant  $\Omega$  || 63 et torquetur] extoritur V (*extoricitur* V<sup>2</sup>)

## RESPENSIO I

PL 1613

*Caput 1* «Adam ergo», inquit, «sive peccasset, seu non peccasset, moriturum fuisse». Respondemus: Falleris, haeretice, falleris, non ita est; aut si ita est, et non falleris, divinis adstrue documentis. Sed absit  
5 ut in scripturis sanctis auctorem mortis deum valeas reperire. Scriptum est enim: *Nolite zelare mortem in errore vitae vestrae; quoniam deus mortem non fecit, nec laetatur in perditione vivorum. Creavit enim ut essent omnia; et sanabiles nationes orbis terrarum.* Item in eodem libro: *Deus*, inquit, *creavit hominem inextinguibilem, et ad imaginem suam fecit illum.*  
10 *Invidia autem diaboli mors introivit in orbem terrarum.* Si vides, vide mortem non a deo auctore, sed per errorem vitae venisse hominibus in paradiso deliciarum positis, id est cum per rationem animae, qua boni et vitales fuerant instituti, erraverunt a mandato divino invidia, scilicet seductione, serpentis. Audi testantem prophetam deum mortem non  
15 fecisse, sed in libro Geneseos protoplasto futuram, si contigisset lignum vetitum, praedixisse. Sic enim scriptum est: *Et dixit dominus Adae: De omni ligno quod est in paradiso edetis. De ligno autem scientiae boni et mali non edetis; qua die autem manducaveritis, morte moriemini.* Haec audis, et auctorem dicere mortis deum audes? Mors igitur ex invidia  
20 diaboli veniens introivit in orbem terrarum, et deo iudice iusto, pro  
PL 1615 poena in peccatore permissa est dominari. | Recte enim perdidit vitam,

6/8 Sap 1,12-14 || 8/10 Sap 2,23-24; cf. Gn 1,27; Sir 17,1 || 11 Cf. Sap 1,12 || 16/18 Gn 2,16-17 (sec. VL; cf. Vet. Lat. 2, p. 46-48) || 19/20 Cf. Sap 2,24

2 ergo inquit] *om.* Am | seu] sive Θ Φ *edd.* (cf. *supra* lin. 45) || 3 Respondimus P || 4 si] *add.* non P V (*eras.* V<sup>2</sup>) b2 | astrue P; asstrue V | documentis] sacramentis M a11,16,19,21,22,23 v7 || 5 repperere P; repperire P<sup>2</sup> C M p1; repertorem V || 6 est] esse V | enim] *om.* V | errorem (*cum* C) Ω M pr g1 es; terrore (*cum* Σ) f || 8 sanabiles] *add.* esse voluit (*cum* C) P<sup>2</sup>; *add.* fecit (*cum* Σ Λ S M Φ c) π b2 *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) | Item] *add.* et *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) | eodem] *add.* prophetae Ω || 9 et] *om.* Ω | illum] illud P || 10 intravit V a10,11,15,16,19,22,23 p6 va | vide] de V c; *om.* v || 11 morte V c | a] *om.* Φ; ab M | deo] *om.* M | auctorem P | sed] *om.* P | hominis V c || 12 posititis M | rationem] errorem b2 | qua] quia f || 13 fuerant] erant *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) | scilicet] *add.* ac V t2; *add.* et Ω C<sup>2</sup> t m<sup>2</sup> pa<sup>2</sup> p5 pr c1 *edd.* || 14 Audis C Ω π t t4 b2 g1 *edd.* | testantem] testamenti V; testante M δ *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) | propheta M δ *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) | morte P || 15 protoplausto P (*corr.* P<sup>2</sup>); protuplausto V; protoplausto c M<sup>2</sup>; prothoplausto π | futura M | si contigisset] scilicet cum tetigisset V | contegisset P M || 16 dominus] deus (*cum* IR 5,23; KA Λ b PIR) P || 17 edatis (*cum* AM par 56 [Var], Hel [Var]) Am Er || 18 manducaveritis] manducetis V (*corr.* V<sup>2</sup>); manducabitis (*cum* AM par 56; IR 5,23,2) v t2; *add.* ex eo (*cum* Vulg.) Θ Ω b2 u | morte] *om.* π || 18/9 Haec audis] Hinc m || 19 audis] audes P (*corr.* P<sup>2</sup>); auditis y1 es; audiens g1 | mortis dicere ~ Ω π t pa *edd.* | Mors] *praem.* Et t4 Mr || 20 deo] ideo (*in* mg.: al. deo) *edd.* (*exc.* Lov Mr) || 21 peccatorem Ω C<sup>2</sup> *edd.* | perdidit] perdit V (*corr.* V<sup>2</sup>)

qui mortem noluit, ne vitam perderet, cavere praedictam. Tamen verax et misericors dominus non laetatur in perditione vivorum. Quae est enim perditio vivorum nisi mors? Sed vivorum male viventium, qui in secunda morte peribunt; non vivorum iustorum, id est requirentium 25 deum, quibus tantum propter peccatum Adae, quod traxere nascentes, mors non secunda, sed prima debetur. Si ergo, secundum vos, deus auctor est mortis, laetari debet in occasu vivorum tanquam in opere suo bono, quia scriptum est: *Laetabitur dominus in operibus suis*; quia nihil odians fecit, sed omnia quae fecit valde bona; sicut scriptum est: 30 *Diligis enim omnia quae sunt, et nihil odisti horum quae fecisti: nec enim odians aliquid constituisti.*

*Caput 2* Vel cur contra eam de eius obnoxio peccato corpore carnem suam absque noxa suscepit, si eam ipse iaculum corpori fecit? Nihil enim contrarium sibi, dum mundum faceret, deum fecisse cognoscimus. 35 Nam ut inimicam mortem vinceret, vel eius peccatum, ideo deum, dei filium, hominem suscepisse, si oculos caligine mortis non perdidistis, adtendite. *Nam quod impossibile erat legis*, inquit Paulus, vas electionis, *PL 1615 in quo infirmabatur per carnem, misit deus filium suum in similitudinem carnis peccati, et de peccato damnavit peccatum in carne.* Quid est autem 40 impossibile legis, nisi quod sibi nec oboedientem nec perfectum facere poterat deputatum, et nec peccatum tollere, nec mortem vincere praevalerat? Sed quare id implere non posset, subiungens ait, *in quo infirmabatur per carnem.* Iubendo enim infirmo et non iuvando infirmatur, quia per carnem, id est per concupiscentias carnis ex peccato venientes, 45

22/23 Cf. Sap 1,13 || 25 Cf. Apc 2,11 || 25/26 Cf. Ps 13,2; Rm 3,11 || 29 Ps 103,31 || 30 Cf. Sap 11,25 | Cf. Gn 1,31 (sec. VL) || 31/32 Sap 11,25 || 37 Cf. Iob 10,21 (sec. Vulg.) || 38/40 Rm 8,3 || 38 Cf. Act 9,15 || 43/4 Rm 8,3

22 morte V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>) | perderit P (corr. P<sup>2</sup>) | cavere praedictam ne vitam perderet ~ edd. (exc. Mr) || 27 non secunda sed] om. V (add. V<sup>2</sup>) || 29 quia<sup>2</sup>] praem. et Φ edd. || 30 bona] add. sunt Θ edd. (exc. Mr) | sicut] sic enim edd. (exc. Mr) || 31 Diligens P; Delegis V; Diliges M | enim] om. V | et] om. Lov | horum] orum V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>); eorum (cum c) δ edd. || 34 suam] om. Φ Mr | noxam P | suscipit V (corr. c t<sup>2</sup>) | corpori iaculum ~ edd. (exc. Mr) | corporis t pa a26 p2 pr edd. || 35 contrarium] praem. in C Ω π δ t4 c1 edd. (cf. pag. 159, lin. 151); contrario P | dum sibi ~ t | cognoscimus P || 36 eius] add. matrem edd. (exc. Am) | deum] om. Ψ edd. (exc. Mr) || 37 caliginem P (corr. P<sup>2</sup>) | mortis] om. M | perdedistis P (corr. P<sup>2</sup>) || 38 legi (cum SK Λ Φ c) edd. (exc. Mr) || 39 quo] quod P (corr. P<sup>2</sup>) | similitudine Φ Mr || 40 Quid est] Quidem P (corr. P<sup>2</sup>) | autem est ~ α | est om. a2 || 41 legi edd. (exc. Mr) || 42 depotatum P (corr. P<sup>2</sup>) | et] om. edd. (exc. Mr) || 43 id] idem V | id implere] adimplere π γ | possit Θ M t π edd. (exc. Mr) || 44 carnem] add. fort. per ditt. quia per carnem M | iuvando] iuvando P (corr. P<sup>2</sup>); iudicando m f es || 45 quia] om. t u

50 quas solo arbitrio libero homo vincere non pōtest, nisi cum praecedente  
 gratia dei legis factor esse non poterit; sicut ait idem apostolus: *Lex  
 enim nihil ad perfectum adduxit*. Quid est ergo dei filium venisse in  
 similitudinem carnis peccati, nisi non habens caro eius ullum peccatum  
 55 sicut nostra? dicente Petro apostolo: *Qui peccatum non fecit*, id est  
 non habuit, *nec dolus inventus est in ore eius*. Dicendo enim *in simili-  
 tudinem carnis peccati* illam absque peccato, nostram vero peccatricem  
 ostendit. Nam ille ideo in similitudinem, quia non per libidinis usum  
 ut nos, sed spiramine mystico ex virginis utero in vera natus est carne.  
 60 *Et de peccato*, inquit, *damnavit peccatum in carne*, de humana videlicet  
 peccatrice natura: peccatricem dico, non deo auctore, sed homine  
 delinquente; carnem, ut dixi, suscipiens absque culpa, et hanc innoxiam  
 crucifigens, peccatum, quod nos damnaverat per inoboedientiam in  
 Adam terreno, in Adam caelesti oboediente damnatur. Nos enim peccato  
 65 morimur victi; Christus autem innocens mori voluit, ut moriendo mortem  
 captivaret et vinceret. Quodammodo enim eam sibi passus est dominari,  
 cum patienter se occidendum eius obtulit voluntati. Sed cum mors in  
 inferno cum iniquis videret et iustum, non habens unde eidem sicut  
 et ceteris insultaret, resurgentem tenere non valuit; quin immo victa,  
 65 prostrata est atque damnata. Et ideo Apostolus extollens victoriam  
 Christi de morte, servis eius gaudens adnuntiat: *Christus surgens a  
 mortuis iam non moritur, mors illi ultra non dominabitur*. Quod enim  
*mortuus est peccato, mortuus est semel: quod autem vivit, vivit deo*. Haec

47 Cf. Iac 4,11 || 47/8 Hbr 7,19 || 50/1 I Pt 2,22; cf. Is 53,9 || 55 Rm 8,3 ||  
 66/8 Rm 6,9-10

46 libero arbitrio ~ V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>) α p4,6,7,8,9 t3 b2 g1 | libero] om. M | vincere V |  
 non] om. V | nisi] praem. et Ω | cum] om. δ; enim edd. (exc. Lov Mr) || 47 dei] om. Θ |  
 factor legis ~ δ | poterit] potest Ω M | sicuti C M t ro pa t4 c1 Mr; sicut et edd. (exc.  
 Mr) | idem ait ~ a2 || 48 nihil] iram C; post perfectum tr. t y1 edd. (exc. Mr) | filium  
 dei ~ edd. (exc. Mr) || 49 similitudine Φ M edd. (exc. Am) || 50 nostram C | Qui] om.  
 M || 51 inventus est dolus ~ (cum Vulg.) p3,8,9 t3 g1 u | est] om. V | Dicente V (corr.  
 V<sup>2</sup>) es y1 | in] om. δ | similitudine C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) t p1,3,8,9 pa t3,4 g1 y1 c1 edd. (exc.  
 Am) || 53 similitudine C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) δ t4 g1 edd. (exc. Am) || 54 spiramine] praem.  
 aut P; praem. in Φ edd.; praem. a Ω | ex] in Ψ || 55 de<sup>2</sup>] et P; om. V c | humanam  
 P<sup>2</sup> | videlicet P; videlicet V; add. non C<sup>2</sup>; add. et per hoc V || 56 peccatrice] om.  
 P; peccatrice V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>) | natura] om. Θ δ; naturam edd. (exc. Mr) | peccatricem]  
 add. fort. per ditt. peccatricem t p2 edd. (exc. Mr); om. δ || 58 in] per P b<sup>2</sup>; om. V ||  
 59 terrem V | caeleste P V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>) || 61 enim modo ~ Ω | eam] om. V p5 || 62 paten-  
 ter V | occidendo Θ | obtulit P | Sed] add. eum Ω p3,8 t3 g1 u || 63 infernum P t5 |  
 inquis V | viderit P (corr. P<sup>2</sup>) | et] om. α | eidem] ei α || 64 et] om. P Ω M | insult-  
 are M | resurgentem] praem. et π | quidimmo P || 65 damnata] add. est C | excol-  
 lens P; excolens V c || 66 servus V | resurgens (cum R C c) δ π a2,3 edd. | a] ex (cum  
 Vulg.) t4 p5 g1 || 67 non dominabitur ultra ~ t4 Mr | enim] autem δ C t t4 || 68 mor-  
 tuos<sup>1</sup> P | peccato] peccator V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>) | mortuos<sup>2</sup> P | Haec] Hoc edd. (exc. Mr)

dicendo quid aliud nos intellegere voluit quam deum mortem non fecisse,  
nec laetari in perditione vivorum, qui absque peccato, ut eam vinceret 70  
in infirmitate carnis, voluit habere consortium mortuorum? Unde si  
invidia diaboli per peccatum mortem in orbem terrarum introisse non  
credideritis, nihil aliud adstruitis nisi deum mortem fecisse, propterea  
ut peremptis hominibus, quibus suam donavit imaginem, nasceretur ei  
cum ea necessitas dimicandi vel etiam moriendi et resurgendi. Sed 75  
absit hoc a fide catholica, quae per unum hominem peccatum intrasse  
in mundum, et per peccatum mortem, et ita in omnes homines pertran-  
sisse credit, Paulo, fideli magistro, docente et Christum mortuum propter  
peccata nostra, et resurrexisse propter iustificationem nostram, re-  
conciliantem nos in suo corpore deo patri per crucem. Erubescite ergo 80  
et conticescite. In vestra enim morte perpetua deum accusatis, in morte  
diabolum excusatis; et hoc ideo quia non deum, sed diabolum timetis  
offendere. Dicite ergo, si deus mortem fecit, cur Christus deus mortuum  
Lazarum flevit secundum carnem? Non enim quod ipse fecerat dolere  
debuit, sed dolens eum et plorans, ostendit, quos deus vitales fecerat, 85  
diabolum per culpam fecisse mortales; quem ideo suscitavit, ut diabolum  
nihil se occidendo profecisse cognoscat; nec quisquam hominum ad deum  
pertinens de morte desperet, quia | deo dormiunt, quos diabolus perisse PL 1616  
putabat. *Nolo*, ait per prophetam Ezechielem dominus, *mortem pecca-*

69/70 Cf. Sap 1,13 || 72 Cf. Sap 2,24; Rm 5,12 || 76/8 Cf. Rm 5,12 || 78/9 Cf.  
Rm 4,25 || 79/80 Cf. Eph 2,16; Col 1,22 || 83/4 Cf. Io 11,35 || 89/95 Ez 18,32;  
cf. Ez 18,23

69 intelligere nos ~ *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) | voluit] vult C || 70 qui] quia P C Ω δ | vinciret  
P V (*corr.* V<sup>2</sup>) || 71 voluit] noluit Am Er || 72 diabuli P (*corr.* P<sup>2</sup>) || 73 credideritis  
C (*corr.* C<sup>2</sup>) | adstruetis P pa; instruitis V | deum] *om.* M || 74 ut] *om.* V; autem δ  
quibus] *om.* V c | nasceretur] *praem.* ut V || 75 neccessitas V | dimigandi P (*corr.* P<sup>2</sup>)  
et resurgendi] *om.* V (*add.* V<sup>2</sup>) || 76 absit] *add.* absit (*bis*) Φ Mr | unum] unum V  
introsse V; introisse δ c || 78 credit] credite m es y1; *add.* credite f | fideli] fidei  
a1,7,10,11,14,15,18,21,25 t5 p4,11 v7 c1 Lov (Mr<sup>m</sup> minus recte notat: Editi *fidei*.  
At MSS. fideli) | docente] dicente V || 79 et] ac *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) | reconcilians *codd.*  
(*exc.* t p2,9 u a27); reconciliando a27 || 80 Erubescite P | ergo] rogo C Ω δ t *edd.* ||  
81 et] *om.* P (*add.* P<sup>2</sup>) | vestram Ψ u *edd.* (*exc.* MR) | morte<sup>1</sup>] mortem Ψ u *edd.* (*exc.*  
Mr) | perpetuam Ψ u *edd.* (*exc.* Mr); perpetuum M | morte<sup>2</sup>] mortem P Ω || 82 ideo]  
*add.* facitis P<sup>2</sup> | timitis V || 82/3 offendere timetis ~ π || 83 Dicitis γ | si] *om.* γ  
morte M p1 || 84 flevit Lazarum ~ *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) | dolore P || 85 quos] quod C (*corr.*  
C<sup>2</sup>); *praem.* quia P<sup>2</sup> | vitalis P || 86 diabolum] diabolus P; diabolus V | fecit Θ;  
fecisset m1 t y1 m2<sup>2</sup> | diabolus P (*corr.* P<sup>2</sup>) || 87 nil Ω | proficisse Θ | cognuscat P;  
agnoscat V g1 | quisquis Θ || 88 desperet V; speret f | desperet de morte ~ π ||  
89 ait] inquit *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) | profetam V | Ezechielem P a1 p1; Ezechielem V;  
Hiezechielum M pa ro; Iezechielem f1,2 p2; Ihezechielem m; Hyezechielem es;  
Hiechielem t; Edsechielem a2; Azechielem a3 | peccatoris] peccatores V; *add.* non  
vult P (*exp.* P<sup>2</sup>)

90 *toris, sed ut revertatur et vivat.* Si eius, ut praedicatis, auctor est deus, cur eam dicendo *Nolo* repellit a peccatore, et non patitur quod suum est permanere? Mortem nolo, inquit, peccatoris, quam ego ei non feci, sed ipse eam sibi, dum in me praevaricator extitisset, invenit; sed *revertatur et vivat*, id est vitam me miserante recipiat, quam se peccante 95 perdiderat.

*Caput 3* Nulli itaque fidelium dubium esse potest, primos homines factos sic fuisse vitales, ut si in libertate animae, qua immaculati creati sunt, serpentis contempsissent seductionem mortiferam, vita fruerentur aeterna; si vero secuti essent, amitterent. Quibus propterea praedixit 100 deus, ne vetita contingerent, ut quicquid victis postea contigisset adversum, non praemonenti, sed sibi inoboedientibus inputarent. Numquid enim, cum delinquentibus mortem futuram praedixisset, quod futurum erat ipsum fecisse credendum est? Quid enim eam cavendam praemonuit, si eius in eorum occasu factor est ipse? Sed nec eis per diabolum 105 veniens peccantibus succedere valuisset, nisi dominus iudicio iusto in vindictam propter inoboedientiam permisisset. Igitur ut moriantur homines, poena peccati est; ut revertantur ad vitam, domini miserantis est. Sed ille recipit vel redit ad veram vitam, qui per bonam conversationem ex gratia dei venientem, sanguine Christi sanctificatus ingreditur 110 in regnum caelorum, et quasi reversus in regionem suam domino placiturus, de qua peccato fuerat exulatus, gaudens et exultans morti, dicit animae suae: *Convertere anima mea in requiem tuam, quia dominus benefecit mihi. Quoniam eripuit animam meam de morte, oculos meos a*

108/9 Cf. Iac 3,13; I Pt 2,12 || 112/5 Ps 114,7-9

90 convertatur (cf. Ez 18,23) V || 91 quor P C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) m fl | eam] ea P (exp. P<sup>2</sup>) | patiat V (patiuntur V<sup>2</sup>) | suum] illorum V || 92 feci] dedi Θ || 93 extetisset V | sed<sup>2</sup>] add. ut V (cf. lin. 90 supra) || 94 recipit V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>) | quam] quae P || 95 perderet P || 96 dubium] om. f || 97 factos] om. P (add. P<sup>2</sup>) | vitales fuisse ~ t p2 pa | ut] om. V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>) t2 | libertatem Ω | qua] praem. in V || 98 serpentes P (corr. P<sup>2</sup>) | contempsisset C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) | vitam P || 99 aeternam P | sequuti P; seducti V || 100 deus] dominus C M | ut] om. V (add. V<sup>2</sup>) | quidquid Θ M u Mr | victis] vetitis Ψ M; eis f | contegisset P; cotingissent V; contigissent M c (corr. c<sup>2</sup>) || 101 inobidentibus V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>) || 102 futuram praedixisset quod] om. δ || 103 eam] om. M | cavendum V Am Er Ly; cavenda M; caveri Ω Lov | 104 eius] ei C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>); add. auctor P<sup>2</sup> | factor] factus V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>) P b2 || 105 valuis V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>) | nisi] ni V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>) | dominus] deus α | iusto iudicio ~ π t || 106 morientur V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>) || 107 miserantis V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>); miserantes P || 108 recepit P (corr. P<sup>2</sup>) | recipit vel] om. a26 edd. || 109 ex] praem. et P | dei gratia ~ α | veniente C π pa t4 y1 c1 | sanguinem P || 111 qua] quo Am Er | exsolatus Θ | insultans α π M t pa b2 edd. || 113 mihi] tibi (cum Vulg.) Θ π | eripuisti V



lacrimis, pedes meos a lapsu. Placebo domino in regione vivorum. Placebo unde? Quia dominus benefecit mihi. Nam et peccator recipit vitam, non 115 autem redit ad vitam. Reditus enim vitae in regno caelorum est, quod omnis in peccatis suis, vel sine baptismo moriens, non potest possidere. Recepit enim vitam in corpore iam corpore non moriturus, sed ita victurus in corpore, ut sit mortuus vita, vel corpore vivendo semper in poena, et vita et corpore cum diabolo, mortis auctore damnato. 120 Unde et dominus in evangelio his qui ad sinistram erunt in die iudicii, id est inpiis et peccatoribus: *Ite, inquit, in ignem aeternum, quem paravit pater meus diabolo et angelis eius.* Iustis vero qui a dextris erunt: *Venite benedicti patris mei, percipite regnum paratum vobis ab origine mundi. Et tunc illi, ait, ibunt in supplicium aeternum, iusti vero in vitam aeternam.* 125 In qua vita glorificati, id est mutati de corruptione in incorruptionem, de mortalitate in immortalitatem, fulgebunt, et cum Christo in perpetuum regnantes, exultabunt damnatae morti dicentes: *Absorta est mors in victoria. Ubi est mors victoria tua? Ubi est mors aculeus tuus?*

*Caput 4* Mors itaque privatio vitae est, nomen tantum habens, non 130 essentiam; et ideo deus eius auctor esse dici non potest. Quicquid enim deum fecisse dicimus, habet essentiam, id est species est. Essentia enim dicitur ab eo quod est, quae tantum de solo deo dici debet, secundum illud quod dictum est in Exodo Moysi: *Dices eis, id est populo, qui est misit me ad vos.* Tamen et de ceteris creaturis dici potest, quod habeant 135 essentiam; sed non sicut de deo, qui initium non habet quod est, sed

116/7 Cf. Io 8,21 || 122/3 Mt 25,41 || 123/5 Mt 25,34 || 125 Mt 25,46; cf. Dn 12,2 || 126/7 Cf. I Cor 15,53; Mt 13,43; Dn 12,3 || 28/9 I Cor 15,54-55 || 134/5 Ex 3,14

114 pedis P | regionem (cum Stutt. H.B.II,12) P || 115 peccator] post vitam tr. π | recepit P (corr. P<sup>2</sup>) es || 116 redditus P | regnum Θ C δ u || 117 omnes P (corr. P<sup>2</sup>) | bap̄tismo V || 118 Recipit P; Recipiet V u | enim] vero Φ M Mr; ergo c1 | iam corpore<sup>2</sup>] om. per hom. Ψ<sup>1</sup> edd. (exc. Mr) || 119 victurus] dicimus V | ut] om. V (add. V<sup>2</sup>) | mortuos P | vel] om. Θ | vivendo] vivens edd. (exc. Mr) || 121 his] iis Ω Ch Ly Lov Mr | a sinistra C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) π; a sinistris g1 es; ad sinistra t4 || 122 inquiet t p2 | praeparavit V t t4 edd. || 122/3 pater meus paravit ~ a2,4,8,9,10,13 17,18,20,22,27, v7 || 123 Iustis] Iusti V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>) C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) | a] ad P t | dexteram t || 124 percipite] possidete (cum Vulg.) Ψ<sup>1</sup> M b2 || 125 illi] om. Ω | ait] om. Θ b2 u | ibunt] add. impii Ω | vero] autem π || 127 et] ac edd. (exc. Mr) | perpetuo V ro || 128 insultabunt Φ M b2 edd. | Absorta V || 129 victoriam<sup>1</sup> α Lov Mr | Ubi ... tua?] om. Ψ<sup>1</sup> p2 b2 | mors<sup>2</sup>] om. M | aculeus] stimulus (cum Vulg.) Θ edd. || 130 vita P (corr. P<sup>2</sup>) | habens] add. et V || 131 esse] om. Θ | Quidquid Θ Mr || 132 species] speciem P | est] eius α m t4; om. Θ || 133 ab] om. V (add. V<sup>2</sup>) || 134 illud] om. Θ | dictum] scriptum t p2 edd. | Dices P || 135 dici potest] om. V (add. V<sup>2</sup>) | habent V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>) || 136 sicuti Ω | non habet] om. Ψ<sup>1</sup>

ex quo accipientes a deo initium, quod sunt esse coeperunt. Mors ergo nihil est nisi nomen recedente vita; sicuti fames escarum defectus, sitis  
**PL 1617** egentia potus, tenebrae absentia lucis, sterilitas defectus | fetus, silentium  
 140 vocis absentia, inopia privatio facultatum, et si qua sunt alia quae rerum privatione nihil esse nisi nomen inveniuntur. Opinor namque quod ideo mors hoc vocabulum accepit, eo quod morsu quodammodo venenosi serpentis, id est diaboli, in paradiso Adam fuerit interemptus. Tunc enim serpens morsu decepit Adam, quando eum per concupiscentiam  
 145 mordere, hoc est edere, suasit illicita; et, ut dixi, propterea mors quasi a morsu nomen accepit. Unde et dominus in Osee propheta morti minitans dicit: *Ero mors tua, o mors! Ero morsus tuus, inferne!* Mors et infernus in diaboli persona dicta intelleguntur, quia per ipsum delinquenti homini accidit mors, id est privatio vitae; et per ipsum peccatores convertuntur in infernum, tanquam in eius carcerem, ubi damnatus est ipse.

Sed quaerendum est, quemadmodum Christus deus, dei filius, mors extitit mortis, et morsus inferni. Sine dubio cum in suscepta carne, in qua suum mors nihil habebat – ut ipse ait: *Venit princeps huius mundi*,  
 155 *et in me non habet quicquam* – temptatus post baptismum in deserto, eius non oboedivit concupiscentiis, ubi ait: *Dic lapidibus istis ut fiant panes*, et cetera. Vel quod se clavorum morsu iustus et innocens affigi passus est cruci, et ore lanceae transforari. Os autem lanceae dixi secundum quod dictum est de peccatoribus: *Et cadent in ore gladii*. Et lancea  
 160 utique gladius est. Et quod descendens in infernum velut in ore mortis,

147 Os 13,14 || 147/53 Cf. Os 13,14 || 154/5 Io 14,30 || 155/6 Cf. Mt 4,1-11; cf. Mc 1,12-13; Lc 4,1-13; Ps 105,14 || 156/7 Mt 4,3 || 157/8 Cf. Hbr 7,26 || 158 Cf. Io 19,34 || 159 Lc 21,24; cf. Sir 28,22

137 a deo] *exp.* C<sup>2</sup>; *om.* t p2 *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) || 138 recedente] praecedente P | sicut Θ | famis P | defectu P p1, 4,7 ro || 139 sterilitas V c | defectu P | fetus] fructus *edd.* (Mr<sup>ms</sup>: In MSS fetus) || 140 si] *om.* C (*add.* C<sup>2</sup>) | qua] quae Am | alia] talia Θ || 141 Namque opinor ~ V | quod] *om.* Ψ (cf. pag.190, lin. 421) || 142 accipit V eo] *om.* t | mirsu V (*corr.* V<sup>2</sup>) || 142/3 serpentis venenosi ~ α || 143 paradisum M fuerat V (*corr.* V<sup>2</sup>) || 144 decipit V C (*corr.* C<sup>2</sup>) || 145 hoc] id Ω | et] *add.* ideo π ut] *om.* V | dixit Er | propterea] *om.* p3 t3 g1 p8 u || 146 Osee C a1 || 147 tuus] tuos P | inferne] infernae C (*corr.* C<sup>2</sup>) || 148 quia] qui V || 149 accedit Θ C t<sup>2</sup> π ro *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) | privatio] praevaricatio P ro || 150 convertur P (*corr.* P<sup>2</sup>) | in<sup>2</sup>] *om.* V (*add.* V<sup>2</sup>) || 152 deus] *om.* P π || 153 extetit P (*corr.* P<sup>2</sup>) | et] sed C (*corr.* C<sup>2</sup>) pa dubia V | cum] quod α Lov Mr; *om.* ro; deus Am Er Ch Ly | in<sup>2</sup>] *om.* V (*add.* V<sup>2</sup>) || 154 suum] sumus M; *om.* a26 p11 | habeat P (*corr.* P<sup>2</sup>) C | Venit] *add.* enim (*cum Vulg.*) π m c | mundi huius ~ (*cum Vulg.*) p3,4,8 t3,4 g1 c1 u a26 *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) || 155 habebat P; habebit V c ro | bap̄tismum V || 156/7 panes fiant ~ (*cum Vulg.*) π m Am Er Ch Ly || 157 morsui M || 158 et] *om.* P | lanceae] *add.* et C (*exp.* C<sup>2</sup>) | perforari Ω || 159 ore] os C t m pa | Et<sup>2</sup> ... 160 est] *om.* p1,3,7 || 160 descendens] discens V (*discendens* V<sup>2</sup>) | velut in ore] veluti mors π δ t4 | ore] os *edd.*

unde dicit in Psalmo: *Non absorbeat me profundum; neque urgeat super me puteus os suum*, id est infernus. Detineri eum fuit a diabolo impossibile. Unde hominem quem suscepit pro homine, id est carnem suam, quae non vidit corruptionem, die tertia suscitans, tanquam Ionam ex ore ceti produxit; quia hoc fuit infernus Christo, quod Iona cetus, 165 dicente ipso domino: *Sicut enim Ionas fuit in ventre ceti tribus diebus et tribus noctibus; ita erit et filius hominis in corde terrae tribus diebus et tribus noctibus*. Morsus ergo factus est inferni, cum se ab eo tanquam escam, id est carnem suam suscipi passus est, qua non satiaretur, sicut de peccatoribus; sed absorberetur, propter quod dictum est: *Absorta 170 est mors in victoria*. Sed et illud testimonium quod est in Amos propheta puto propterea dictum esse, cum peccanti populo dominus promittens futura mala dicit: *Et si celaverint se ab oculis meis in fundo maris, ibi mandabo serpenti, et mordebit eos*. Quid est enim, *Et si celaverint se ab oculis meis in fundo maris*? Id est et si permanserint in operibus malis, 175 avertentes se ab oculis meis, a praeceptis scilicet spiritalibus, quia oculi dei spiritus dei, qui legem, id est praecepta, dedit. *In fundo maris*, in altitudine videlicet desperationis. *Ibi mandabo serpenti, et mordebit eos*, ibi in eadem desperatione contemptus mandabo, potestatem dabo serpenti, hoc est diabolo qui ab initio | serpens est nominatus. *Et mordebit 180 eos*, morsu utique diversarum concupiscentiarum quo peccantes occidit, PL 1618 morsu utique diversarum concupiscentiarum quo peccantes occidit, mortificabit eos. Sed morsus mortem fecit. Non autem mors est sicuti ferae bestiae, vel omne genus animalium iracundorum. Morsu suo nonnumquam mortificant homines, et tamen non ipsae sunt mors, sed

161/2 Ps 68,16 || 163/4 Cf. Act 2,31 || 166/8 Mt 12,40; cf. Lc 11,30 || 168/9 Cf. Os 13,14 || 170/1 I Cor 15,54 || 173/5 Am 9,3 || 177/87 Cf. Am 9,3

162 Detereri P; Detenere V (Deteneri V<sup>2</sup>) | eum] om. Φ | a diabolo fuit ~ p2 || 163 suam] add. ponere V c || 165 coeti Ψ<sup>2</sup>; caeti C || 166 domino] add. suo Er Ch Ly | Iona C M t4 | fuit Ionas ~ m y1 es || 167 et<sup>2</sup>] om. (cum Vulg.) C Ω M || 169 suscepi P (corr. P<sup>2</sup>) | satietur C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) || 170 dictum est] elim. P<sup>2</sup>; om. Ω | Absorta ... 171 est<sup>1</sup>] om. per hom. P Ω M b2 || 171 in<sup>1</sup>] om. t | victoria] add. tua (cum G) t; victoriam Lov Mr || 172 propterea] elim. P α || 173 maledixit P Ω; maledixit b2 | se] om. P (add. P<sup>2</sup>) | profundo (cum Vulg.) Θ b2 f2 u || 174 celaverint P || 175 profundo (cum Vulg.) V t (corr. t<sup>2</sup>) y1 b2 u || 176 spiritalibus PL || 177 dei<sup>1</sup>] domini t; add. sunt π edd. | qui legem] om. f | profundo Θ t4 b2 || 178 altitudinem P (corr. P<sup>2</sup>) | videlicet] scilicet V | desperationis Θ | Ubi V c || 179 desperatione Θ; desperationem C | contemptos V; conceptus Am | serpentes P || 180/1 mordebit eos] om. C (add. C<sup>2</sup>) δ t4 pa c1 | mordebit, eo morsu Er Ch Ly (in mg.: aliās, mordebit eos) || 182 mortificavit P M b2 | morsu π t m y1 es pa edd.; mors t3 | facit C M t p2,3,8 t3,4 g1 c1 u edd. | est] om. M | sicut Θ u || 183 bestiae feriae (sic) ~ a14 v7 | iracundarum Θ m ro b2 p11; iracundarum M; add. quae P<sup>2</sup> edd. || 184 ipsa Φ M edd.

185 morsu insanabili mortem, id est privationem faciunt vitae, quemad-  
modum etiam ictus gladii, percussio lapidis, vel quicquid potest homi-  
nem occidendo vita privare.

*Caput 5* Illud praeterea praetermittere non debeo, ne forte aliquis  
inimicorum veritatis, qui non sit rationum certarum quaesitor, sed  
190 quaestionum perplexarum ad subversionem audientium inventor atque  
propositor, dicat: «Si nihil est mors nisi nomen, quemadmodum superius  
disputasti, eo quod mors Christum iustum in inferno cum iniquis viderit,  
et quia in eo peccatum non fuit, resurgentem tenere non valuerit, ut  
eidem sicut ceteris peccantibus insultaret, et ideo victa, prostrata atque  
195 damnata est; si ergo nihil est, videre, tenere, insultare, vel vinci, prosterni  
et damnari quomodo potest quod nihil est?» Respondemus: Ipsum  
nihil, quid est? Quia interdum cum nominamus nihil, addimus 'est',  
sicut 'est' illud de evangelio: *Et sine ipso factum est nihil*. Nihil, sub-  
stantia est, an nomen substantia carens? Solet enim dici, ut praefatus  
200 sum, a plurimis, dum aliquid despicitur, aut pro parvo aestimatur, vel  
certe quod penitus non sit: «nihil est». Cum ergo dicimus 'nihil' nomen  
insubstantiale nominamus. Cum vero addimus 'est' rem significamus.  
Cur ergo nomen insubstantiale, id est 'nihil', tanquam vere aliquid sit  
dicimus, addendo 'est'? Omne enim quod dicimus 'est', esse aliquid  
205 aestimamus. Tamen cum aliquoties dicimus: 'Nihil est', pro consuetu-  
dine locutionis ad 'nihil' addimus 'est', cum nomen tantum sit 'nihil',  
et non res. Sic et de morte pro consuetudine verbi, vel ad comparationem  
agentis dicimus: «Videt mors, agit aliquid, insultat», vel «damnata est,  
victa est», et quicquid illud est quod dici possit, quia mors faciat aut  
210 patiat. Cum ergo haec de morte dicantur, omnia ad auctorem mortis,  
per quam privatio vitae facta est, diabolum referuntur. Ipse enim quae

198 Io 1,3

185 privationem] putationem P | vitae faciunt ~ a11,14,15 v7 || 187 vitam C  
(corr. C2) π || 191 Si mors non est nisi δ | nisi nomen] om. α || 192 infernum P ||  
195 insultare tenere ~ π || 196 nihil] non V (corr. V2) | Respondimus P | Ipsum]  
om. Θ || 197 quid est?] quidem Θ | quid] quod Er || 198 substantia ... 199 nomen]  
insubstantiale est nomen t p2 Am Er Ch Ly (in mg.: Al. substantia est, an nomen  
substantia carens?) || 199 carnes P (corr. P2); cernens V c || 200 despicitur P (corr.  
P2) V | aestimatur P (corr. P2) | 201 quod] om. f || 202 vero] ergo M g1 || 204 dici-  
mus<sup>1 et 2</sup>] dicemus P (corr. P2) || 205 cum] om. γ c1 | aliquoties C2 Ω M π t edd.  
(exc. Lov) || 206 ad 'nihil'] post 'est' tr. edd. (exc. Mr) || 207 verbi] om. p1,3 | con-  
paratione P (corr. P2) || 208 dicemus P | aget P (corr. P2); agentes M | aliquid agit  
~ edd. (exc. Mr) || 209 illud] aliud Ω | posset δ | quia] quod V || 210 ergo] om. Θ ||  
211 quam Θ M c1 Am Er | diabolum] praem. de V c; diabulo P (corr. P2); diabolo V c

ad mortem pertinent, aut facit dum captivat et perimit, aut patitur dum vincitur et damnatur. Diabolus enim natura est angelus; sed quod natura est, opus dei est; quod vero diabolus, vitio suo est, utendo male naturae suae bono. Opera vero eius mala quae vitia dicuntur, actus 215 sunt, non res; quae tanquam per se agere dicuntur aliquid, cum ea et per ea totum agit diabolus, vel damnata dicuntur, cum ipse pro his damnatur, pro quibus etiam damnatur et homo, cum per liberum arbitrium his inlectus trahit adsensum. Et ideo haec in futuro saeculo non erunt, quia in auctore suo diabolo damnabuntur, cum ille scilicet 220 damnatus in gehenna, ut peccent homines, amplius potestatem haec agere non habebit.

## RESPONSIO II

PL 1617

*Caput 1* Item, «peccatum», aiunt, «Adae neminem nocuit nisi solum ipsum». Respondemus: Si peccatum primorum hominum solis obfuit illis et nemini nostrum, quemadmodum quae illis pro peccato lata est in nos sententia pertransivit, in quos non transivit et culpa? Nisi forte 5 secundum vos iniustus deus, qui expertes eorum delicti, passus est nos eorum poenae vinculo conligari. Haec est enim in illis post peccatum divina sententia, postquam scilicet suasor ad praevaricandum maledictus est serpens: | *Mulieri autem dixit deus: Multiplicans multiplicabo maerores* PL 1618 *tuos et gemitum tuum. In tristitiis paries filios, et ad virum tuum conversio* 10

4/5 Cf. Rm 5,12 || 9/16 Gn 3,16-19 (sec. VL; cf. Vet. Lat. 2, p. 69-74)

212 captivavit V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>) c | perimet P (corr. P<sup>2</sup>) | patiatu[r] P (corr. P<sup>2</sup>) M || 213 vincetur P (corr. P<sup>2</sup>) || 214 utenda V | male] malla V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>) || 215 bonum P C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) Ω M t (corr. t<sup>2</sup>) γ t3,4 pa || 217 eam γ | agat α Lov Mr; aget ro | damnata] damnatio pa Am | pro his] om. V (add. V<sup>2</sup>) || 218 pro ... damnatur<sup>2</sup>] om. per hom. C | etiam] om. edd. || 219 inlectu V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>); intellectis Am Er Ch Ly | tradit Φ edd. | adsensus M | saeculo] add. iam Φ edd. || 221 ut] aut γ Explicit responsio prima Θ Φ α; Ypomnesticon liber primus explicit M; Responsio prima finitur ro

Incipit responsio secunda Φ P; Incipit secunda V α; Incipit liber secundus M ro 2 aiunt] autem P (corr. P<sup>2</sup>) | Adae aiunt ~ edd. || 3 Respondemus] om. Ψ | priorem Θ | offuit Θ || 4 neminem M | illis<sup>2</sup>] in illos Φ edd. | illata Ω || 5 in ... transivit] om. per hom. b2 | quos] quibus Ψ M | Nisi] add. in fl,2 || 6 qui] quod V | delicto Θ M ro b2; delicta δ || 7 vinculo conligari] astringi vinculo pr edd. | est] add. nos Θ || 8 ad] om. Am Er | praevaricando Am Er || 9 deus] om. (cum Vulg.) Ψ | Multiplicans] om. (cum Vulg.) Ψ | maerores ... 10 tuum<sup>1</sup>] aerumnas tuas et conceptus tuos (cum Vulg.) Θ b2 || 10 tristitia Ω δ edd. (exc. Mr: Mr<sup>ms</sup> Editi, In tristitia. MSS In tristitiis: juxta Graec LXX) | filios] add. tuos V | et<sup>2</sup>... 11 tua] et sub viri potestate eris Θ b2

*tua, et ipse dominabitur tui. Et Adae dixit: Quoniam audisti vocem mulieris  
 tuae, et manducaſti de ligno, ex quo praeceperam tibi de hoc ſolo ne mandu-  
 cares, maledicta terra in operibus tuis. In maeroribus manducabis ex illa  
 PL 1619 omnibus diebus | vitae tuae. Spinās et tribulos germinabit tibi, et edes foenum  
 15 agri. In ſudore vultus tui edes panem tuum, donec revertaris in terram  
 de qua ſumptus es; quia terra es et in terram ibis. Hac nos poenae ſententia  
 conligatos ipſa ſibi humana natura totum per orbem terrarum diſfuſa  
 teſtimonium perhibet, dum ſe paternis cruciatibus ſanctae legis teſti-  
 monio pervidet laborare. Quod qua iuſtitia, ſi haeredes peccati parentum  
 20 non ſumus, patiamur? Si vobis ſolis aequitas ſuppeditat naturalis, qua  
 iuſtiora ſint iudicia veſtra quam dei, inter nos et deum residentes in  
 ſuperbiae ſolio iudicate. Nullum enim hominum tam amatorem vel  
 defenſorem ſui erroris ad dei iudicia reprehendenda, vel etiam refellenda,  
 diabolus potuit invenire niſi Pelagium et Caeleſtium novae legis iura  
 25 tradentes. Adam igitur factus eſt abſque peccato natura. Cum vero  
 peccavit homo, natura peccavit, et facta eſt natura iam peccatrix, id eſt  
 vitium habens peccati, non ipſa effecta vitium vel peccatum. Poſt  
 peccatum ergo homo peccator dictus eſt, non homo peccatum. Peccator  
 enim a peccando, non a non peccando, dicitur. Et ideo peccator homo  
 30 genuit hominem ſine dubio peccatorem, quia de natura, ut dixi, peccato  
 vitiata non niſi natura naſcitur vitioſa, id eſt peccatrix, ſecundum quod  
 ait apoſtolus Paulus: *Qualis terrenus, tales et terreni*. Et hoc quomodo  
 niſi per ſeminis ſparſionem?*

32 I Cor 15,48

11 dominatur C | tui] tibi (cum O) P | Quoniam] Quia (cum Vulg.) Θ | mulieris]  
 uxoris (cum Vulg.) Θ || 12 manducaſti] comedisti (cum Vulg.) V b2; commedisti P |  
 ex] de δ | de hoc ſolo] om. (cum Vulg.) Θ b2 y1 | manducares] comederes (cum  
 Vulg.) V b2; commedisti P || 13 opere tuo (cum Vulg.) Θ b2 | In ... 14 tuae] In  
 laboribus coles eam cunctis diebus vitae tuae (cum Vulg.) Θ b2 || 14 edes ... 15 agri]  
 comes herbas terrae (cum Vulg.) Θ b2 || 15 tui] om. M | edes] vſceris (cum Vulg.)  
 Θ b2 | tuum] om. Θ b2 || 16 de] ex Φ | terra] pulvis (cum Vulg.) Θ b2 | terram]  
 pulverem (cum Vulg.) Θ b2 | ibis] reverteris (cum Vulg.) Θ b2 | Haec f | poena C  
 (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) || 17 natura humana ~ Θ b2 || 18 perhibet] praeſebet C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) M π δ t |  
 teſtimonio] teſtimonium P (corr. P<sup>2</sup>); teſtimo C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) || 19 qua] quia V Ω;  
 quam M | iuſtitiam M; iniuſtitia c | parentum peccati ~ π Am Er Ch Ly ||  
 20 patimur edd. (exc. Mr) || 21 vos V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>) | reſedentes P (corr. P<sup>2</sup>) V | in ...  
 22 iudicate] om. V (add. in mg. V<sup>2</sup>) || 22 hominem edd. | tam] iam C t | vel] quam M ||  
 23 reſtellenda V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>); repellenda γ || 24 poteſt M | Caeleſtinum V || 25 abſque  
 ſine b2 | Cum ... 26 natura<sup>1</sup>] om. per hom. Ω || 27/8 Poſt peccatum] om. per hom. δ ||  
 28 non] vel Ω || 29 a<sup>1</sup>] om. V (add. V<sup>2</sup>) C (add. C<sup>2</sup>) | non<sup>1</sup>] add. homo edd. (exc. Am) |  
 non<sup>1</sup> ... peccando<sup>2</sup>] om. per hom. δ | non<sup>2</sup>] om. edd. (exc. Am) || 30 peccato] pecca-  
 torum δ || 31 ſecundum ... 32 terreni] repet. M || 32 Paulus] om. Φ M | talis f ||

*Caput 2* Sed ais mihi e diverso veniens: «Ergo semen peccatum est?» Iam superius dixi, quia cum peccavit homo, natura peccavit cuius sunt 35 semina. Et semen ergo vitiatum est, non vitium, sicut scriptum est: *Semen enim erat maledictum ab initio*. Maledictum videlicet post peccatum, quia *Maledicta*, inquit, *terra in operibus tuis*. Sed vitium trahi non potest protoplasti, neque esse homini sine seminis effusione; quod confirmat Apostolus dicens: *Per unum hominem peccatum intravit in 40 mundum, et per peccatum mors, et ita in omnes homines mors pertransiit, in quo omnes peccaverunt*. Solus autem dominus Iesus Christus absque semine ex virgine natus est homo, et expers delicti factus est deus et homo. Audis itaque per unum hominem peccatum intrasse in mundum, et per peccatum mortem, et ita in omnes homines pertransisse, in quo 45 omnes peccaverunt, et audes dicere, haeretice: «Adae peccatum nulli nisi soli nocuit ipsi?» Et vere tunc soli nocuit, cum solus esset ipse et Eva, mulier eius. Sed in illis unis omnes eramus, quia natura humani generis erant, sicuti nunc in omnibus uni sunt, quia natura eorum sumus.

*Caput 3* Sed respondentes dicitis, ut dicere consuestis: «Apostolus, si 50 voluisset intellegi quia per seminum conceptionem dicebat peccatum in omnes homines pertransisse, non per unum hominem dixisset, sed per duos homines, quia sine femina de solo masculo homo nasci non potest». Si cordis oculos non amisistis, adtendite dictum esse: *Iam non sunt duo, sed una caro*. Et iterum: *Erunt duo in carne una*. Nam ideo per 55 unum hominem, dixit Apostolus, quia cum in viro suo mulier una sit caro, in semine progenies inputatur. Audite adhuc et alium sapientissimum dicentem ad vestram confusionem: *Ex muliere initium factum est peccati, et per illam omnes morimur*. Ecce, haeretice, factum est tibi satis, per duos homines in humanum genus peccatum vel mortem per- 60 transisse.

37 Sap 12,11 || 38 Gn 3,17 (sec. VL; cf. Vet. Lat. 2, p.71-72) || 40/2Rm 5,12. || 44/6 Cf. Rm 5,12 || 54 Cf. Eph 1,18 || 54/5 Mt 19,6; cf. Gn 2,24 || 58/9 Sir 25,33

36 Et] om. Θ u || 37 maledictum<sup>1</sup> erat ~ Θ edd. || 38 inquit] om. Θ | terra inquit ~ π | atrahi M || 38/9 non potest trahi ~ V Θ Mr || 39 protoplausti P (corr. P<sup>2</sup>); protoplaus V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>) | homi V (homini V<sup>2</sup>); hominem P<sup>2</sup>; homo Φ Mr | sine] nisi π Mr; om. δ | quod] quam P || 40 intravit peccatum ~ es y1 Mr || 40/1 intravit in mundum peccatum ~ M || 41 ita] om. V (add. V<sup>2</sup>) | ita et ~ P b2 | mors<sup>2</sup>] om. M t || 43 ex virgine] om. fort. per hom. Ψ | natus] factus Θ | et<sup>1</sup> ... 44 homo] om. per hom. M | factus] natus C; om. δ || 47 ipsi] ipso P || 48 unis] unius P (corr. P<sup>2</sup>) || 49 sicut Ψ edd. (exc. Am) | nunc] in uno Θ ro; om. α | in] add. nobis α edd. | uni] praem. illi α edd. || 50 respondite P<sup>2</sup> | dicetis V; dicentes P | consuistis Θ; consuevistis edd. (exc. Mr) || 60 umanum M

*Caput 4* Sed quid adhuc dicturus sis, sicut soletis dicere, novi: «Peccatum», inquis, «per unum hominem in mundum intrasse, Apostolus, non seminis propagatione, sed morum imitatione, dixit». Respondeo:

- 65 Si peccatum morum imitatione constat, | quem imitatus est diabolus  
 PL 1620 ut delinqueret, dicite qui primus invenitur esse peccator? Quia si de  
 Adam interrogavero, respondebitis forsitan, quod sit diabolus imitatus.  
 Esto, Adam ut peccaret, fuisse diabolus imitatum. Dicite mihi, diabolus  
 quem imitatus sit, quia peccatum morum imitatione constare defenditis.
- 70 Sed quid inmoror sciens nihil vos responsuros? Quem enim dicturi  
 estis imitatum fuisse, cum auctor sui lapsus ipse sit? Adam certe pec-  
 casse, nihil aliud legimus in libro Geneseos, nisi quod inoboediens extitit  
 divinum servare praeceptum. Cain ergo primogenitus filius eius quem  
 sit imitatus, dum fratrem occidit, homicidium facere, ut ostendatis
- 75 interrogo. Quattuor enim fuisse tunc homines legimus, Adam scilicet  
 et Evam, ipsum Cain et Abel, fratrem eius. Et ex his neminem fecisse  
 primo homicidium invenimus nisi, ut dixi, Cain. Dic ergo, haeretice,  
 unde hoc didicerit, quemve fuerit imitatus, si morum ex altero in alterum  
 transire constat imitatione peccatum, et non conceptione contractum?
- 80 Omne enim quod imitandum est, aut videtur oculis, aut certa relatione  
 concipitur. An excusabis homicidium non esse peccatum? Et quid  
 nequius? Dic iam, dic totiens interroganti mihi, Cain quem viderit, a  
 quo narratum audierit homicidium perpetrandum? Sed constrictus vin-  
 culo veritatis, nec ianuam propositionis tuae patentem inveniens et
- 85 exeundi, ad ostium sermonis apostoli Pauli repedabis, ut iter rectum,  
 si velis, possis incedere atque mihi interroganti dicere veritatem. Vere  
 non morum imitatione, sed seminis sparsione constat per unum hominem  
 peccatum intrasse in mundum, et per peccatum mortem, et ita in omnes

63 Cf. Rm 5,12 || 73/4 Cf. Gn 4,8 (sec. VL; cf. Vet. Lat. 2, p. 84) || 87/9 Cf. Rm 5,12

62 quid] *om.* Θ | solitis V; soletes P (soles P<sup>2</sup>); soles C<sup>2</sup> || 63 intrasse in mundum  
 ~ V | Apostolus] *add.* vero P<sup>2</sup> π; autem C<sup>2</sup> || 64 propagationem V C<sup>2</sup> π | imita-  
 tionem] imitationem C<sup>2</sup> π || 66 peccator esse ~ g1 Mr || 68 ut Adam ~ M | diabolus  
 fuisse ~ *edd.* || 69 sit] fuerit Φ Mr | morum] proximi Φ | deditis V; conteditis  
 c v t2 || 71 estis] *add.* diabolus C<sup>2</sup> | certe] vero α || 71/2 nihil aliud peccasse ~ Ω ||  
 73 praeceptum] mandatum α || 74 ostenditis V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>) || 75 tunc fuisse homines  
 ~ Ω y1 *edd.* (exc. Mr) | homines] horis V || 76 eius] suum *edd.* (exc. Lov Mr) | Et]  
*om.* Θ || 77 primum P || 78 deditit V P (corr. P<sup>2</sup>) | alterum in altero ~ C y1 es ||  
 79 constat] *add.* in P || 80 emitatum V; imitatum P | certe Θ || 81 excussabis V;  
 excusatis Φ || 82 Dic<sup>1</sup>] *om.* C t p2 | Dic iam] Dicam M π | dic<sup>2</sup>] *om.* V | toties  
 P C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) PL (non Mr) | viderit] *add.* aut V || 83 perpetratum α t Lov Mr ||  
 84 tuae propositionis ~ *edd.* (exc. Mr) | invenies Θ π δ t Am Er | et] *om.* Ω M *edd.* ||  
 85 exeundo P | ostium] ianuam Φ *edd.* | trepedabis V || 86 vellis Θ | veritatem  
 dicere ~ V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>) || 88 introisse δ | et<sup>2</sup>] *om.* C (*add.* C<sup>2</sup>)



homines pertransisse in quo omnes peccaverunt. Ex peccatore ergo Adam, genitore suo, Cain primus peccatum in utero matris adtraxit, 90 et tertius homo natus est peccator ex utero eius. Mens interna patrio peccato erat iam captiva diabolo; inde inbutus est zelum; inde invidiam habuit et livorem; inde non morum imitatione homicidium, sed voluntate praecipitatus admisit. Qui enim unum peccatum, id est diabolus, praevaricantibus primis infixit hominibus, ipse per hoc quod omnes, absque 95 solo, ut supra dictum est, Christo, nascendo traxerunt, illicit etiam cetera, dum ei per liberum consentitur arbitrium, committi peccata. Peccatum ergo protoplasti omnes trahimus, non morum imitatione, sed seminis conceptione, sicut scriptum est: *Ecce enim in iniquitatibus conceptus sum, et in delictis peperit me mater mea.* Constat etiam et 100 imitatione morum peccata, imitando scilicet malos. Sed ut quis imitetur malos, naturae est vitium depravatae, qua natus est malus, id est malitiosus, non natura a deo conditus malus. Ob hoc enim et natura filii irae ab Apostolo iam baptizati fuisse dicimur. Omnis enim carnaliter nascens natura filius irae recte dicitur, quia natura est primoplasti, 105 quae prior in illo propter delictum iram iudicis dei iusti suscepit. Si enim delictum eius, per quod, ut dixi, ad iram dominum provocavit, non traheremus, numquam natura filii irae diceremur. Et ideo peccatum eius non solum ipsum, sed omne nocuit genus humanum, cum eius damnationem simul et culpam suscepimus. Eius enim nos vulneratos 110 esse delicto vas probat electionis, cum dicit: *Non enim est distinctio: omnes enim peccaverunt, et egent gloria dei.* Dicendo omnes nullum exceptit,

99/100 Ps 50,7 || 103/5 Cf. Eph 2,3 || 108 Cf. Eph 2,3 || 111 Cf. Act 9,15 || 111/2 Rm 3,22-23

90 atraxit V; contraxit edd. || 91 patrio] paterno V; patri P || 92 iam erat ~ α | captivata Ω edd. (exc. Mr) | diabolo] praem. a Θ M Ω edd. (exc. Mr) | est] add. in Ω edd. (exc. Mr) | zelo t<sup>2</sup> b2 || 93 et] inde δ | inde] om. δ || 94 ammisit V; amisit P | peccatum] om. V | id est] idem edd. (exc. Lov Mr) || 95 ipse] praem. et edd. (exc. Lov Mr) || 96 dictum est supra ~ Θ | illicite Θ edd. (exc. Lov Mr) || 97 dum ei] et γ | arbitrium consentitur ~ b2 edd. | committit δ edd. (exc. Lov Mr) || 98 protoplasti C | imitationem P || 99 seminum Φ | enim] om. (cum He) V (add. V<sup>2</sup>) | in] om. (cum α) t || 100 Constant Ω M b2 pr edd. (exc. Mr) | et<sup>2</sup>] ex Θ || 101 imitationem C | peccare C<sup>2</sup> | Sed ... 102 malos] om. per hom. Φ || 102 malos] add. quod C<sup>2</sup> | natura V | est<sup>1</sup>] om. δ | vitio Ω | depravata V δ | qua natus] factus P; effectus V; quantus M; quo factus Ω Am Er; qua factus edd. (exc. Am Er) | est<sup>2</sup> om. δ | id est<sup>3</sup>] et edd. || 103 et] om. V C δ pr || 104 Omnes V P<sup>2</sup> || 105 nascens] nascimur Θ | filios V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>) | protoplasti Θ edd.; primi prothoplasti b2 y1 es || 106 iusti iudicis dei ~ f | iuste Ω M edd. | suscipit V || 107 eius] eorum Θ | ira P | dominum] deum α || 108 irae filii ~ C t δ || 109 sed] add. et Φ | nocuit] om. f || 110 damnatione Θ edd. | suscipimus V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>) || 111 Non] om. V (add. V<sup>2</sup>) | enim] om. δ || 112 gloriam C | Dicendo] add. enim t | excipit P (corr. P<sup>2</sup>) edd. (exc. Lov Mr)

quin immo totum declaravit genus humanum. Peccaverunt enim omnes,  
cum ex uno peccatore omnes nascimur peccatores. Propter quod iterum  
115 idem dicit Apostolus: *Nam iudicium ex uno in condemnationem*. Ex  
PL 1621 quo | uno, nisi ex Adam, vel eius uno peccato? In qua condemnatione,  
nisi in culpa eius, qua ille est condemnatus? Quid est autem, *Et egent*  
*gloria dei*, nisi gratia dei per Christum, qui est gloria dei patris? Et quid  
est *egent*? Id est nemo idoneus per se, quod carnaliter nascitur, vel  
120 operibus meritorum vitam recipit perditam, nisi per dominum nostrum |  
PL 1622 Iesum Christum spiritualiter renascatur, qui venit patris et sua sanc-  
tique spiritus indebita misericordia salvare et quaerere quod perierat?  
Quid enim perierat? Numquid animalia inrationabilia? Aut *numquid de*  
*bubus cura est deo*? Utique humanum genus per peccatum, propter  
125 quod se sponte immaculatus morti tradens atque resurgens, gratiae  
gratuitae largitate a peccato vel morte redemit.

### RESPONSIO III

PL 1621

*Caput 1* Iterum, «Posse», dicunt, «hominem per liberum arbitrium,  
tanquam per se sibi sufficientem, implere quod velit, vel etiam meritis  
operum a deo gratiam unicuique dari». Respondemus: Neminem posse  
5 per se sibi, id est per liberum arbitrium, sufficere implere quod velit,  
recte dicimus, nisi protoplastum solum potuisse, cum voluntas liberi  
arbitrii fuisset sana eidem ante culpam. Lex enim eidem in paradiso  
constituto non poneretur servanda, nisi liber esset tam velle eandem

115 Rm 5,16 || 117/8 Rm 3,23 || 118 Cf. Phil 2,11 || 121/2 Cf. Lc 19,10 || 123/4  
I Cor 9,9

115 idem] item P | Apostolus dicit ~ Ω | in] om. C (add. C<sup>2</sup>) || 116 quam condem-  
nationem V || 117 autem] enim Φ | Et] om. Ch Ly || 118 gloria<sup>1</sup>] gloriam P (corr. P<sup>2</sup>)  
V M | gratiam M π | dei<sup>2</sup>] add. patris Ψ edd. | per] add. Iesum edd. | qui] quid M |  
est] add. in b2 Lov Mr || 119 nascitur carnaliter ~ edd. (exc. Am Mr) || 120 recepit  
C ro || 121 spiritualiter PL] suae Θ || 122 quaerere et salvare ~ α || 123 Quid ...  
perierat?] om. per hom. V | irrationalia α edd. | Aut] om. π || 124 bobus α π b2  
edd. | propter] om. Φ || 126 largitate] om. V (add. V<sup>2</sup>)  
Explicit responsio secunda Ψ π δ; Finit responsio secunda C; Ypomnesticon liber  
secundus explicat M

Incipit responsio tertia Θ; Incipit tertia C α; Incipit liber tertius M ro  
2 Item M pr v || 3 tanquam om. Φ M b2 | per] om. V c | vellit P (corr. P<sup>2</sup>) V || 4 a  
deo] om. Θ | gratia P | Respondimus P || 5 per se] disse P; de se V c; et se v |  
sufferre P | vellit P (corr. P<sup>2</sup>) V || 6 protoplaustum P C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>); prothoplaustum v  
voluntates C<sup>2</sup> || 7 sana] praem. et Φ; sanae C M c | eidem] idem C M c; item t; ei Φ ||  
8 servanda] secunda V α M edd. (exc. Lov Mr) | eadem Ψ M (corr. M<sup>2</sup>) edd. (exc. Lov Mr)

quam nolle servare, sicut scriptum est: *Et locutus est dominus Adae*  
*dicens: De omni ligno quod est in paradiso edetis; de ligno autem scientiae* 10  
*boni et mali non edetis*, et cetera. Dicendo ergo dominus, *De omni ligno*  
*quod est in paradiso edetis*, taliter velle permisit. Et vetando, *De ligno*  
*autem scientiae boni et mali non edetis*, huiusmodi nolle praemonuit.  
Sed eum et velle et nolle praedocuit, cui ad utrumque posse liberum  
donaret arbitrium; quo male utens incautus, dum sponte serpenti 15  
praebet suadenti consensum, domini praeteriit praeceptum; amisso pos-  
sibilitatis bono, solum ad velle potitus est vulneratum. Hoc ergo vulnere  
cuncti libero claudicamus arbitrio, nec implere nobis naturaliter sufficit  
posse bonum; quia iam, ut superius disputavi, de natura vitata peccato,  
id est de protoplastis hominibus, quorum sumus et ipsi natura, in 20  
quibus est vitata libertas, homo voluntatis sanae, perfecto videlicet  
libertatis arbitrio quo sibi sufficiat, non potest exoriri.

*Caput 2* Nam ut calcatius liberum arbitrium cum possibilitatis bono,  
quo valeret implere quod voluisset, Adam factum intellegas, audi quid  
dicat scriptura sancta in libro Ecclesiastico: *Deus*, inquit, *ab initio* 25  
*fecit hominem, et reliquit illum in manu consilii sui. Adiecit mandata et*  
*praecepta; si volueris mandata conservare, conservabunt te, et fidem facere*  
*beneplacitam in perpetuo. Adposuit tibi ignem et aquam; ad quod volueris*  
*porrigere manum tuam. Ante hominem est vita et mors, bonum et malum;*  
*et quod voluerit dabitur illi.* Quid est autem, *Et reliquit illum in manu* 30  
*consilii sui*, nisi: Dimisit eum in possibilitate liberi arbitrii sui? In  
manu enim possibilitas intellegitur. Ipsa est prima gratia, qua primus  
homo stare potuisset, si servare domini mandata voluisset. Hac ergo  
per inobedientiam desolatus, deo iudice iusto, factus est serpenti, id

9/13 Gn 2,16-17 (sec. VL; cf. Vet. Lat. 2, p. 46-48) || 25/32 Sir 15,14-18

9 quam] -que edd. (exc. Lov Mr) || 10 paradiso V (parodyso V<sup>2</sup>); paradyso α ||  
11 et<sup>2</sup> ... 12 edetis] om. per hom. M v || 12 vetando V || 13 huiusmode p1,7 | nolle]  
om. v || 14 eum] cum edd. | et<sup>1</sup>] om. v | praedocuit] praem. praemonuit P Lov Mr;  
docuit Lov Mr || 15 quo] quod P C Ω M t Am Er || 16 suadenti] uadenti V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>)  
praeteriit P Mr | ammissa V (ammissio V<sup>2</sup>) || 17 solum] add. arbitrium α edd.  
potius P M b2 c; putius V | vulneratus c v || 19 quia iam] quoniam t | ut] om. Θ ||  
20 protoplaustis C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) V<sup>2</sup>; prothoplaustis v | ipsi] ipsum Θ || 21 sane Am Er  
videlicet] add. et Θ || 23 libero arbitrio Φ || 25 dicit edd. (exc. Lov Mr) | inquit P ||  
26 reliquid P || 27 volueris] add. autem P<sup>2</sup> | servare (cum c) edd. || 28 in perpetuo  
beneplacitum ~ π | perpetuum (cum Vulg.) C t edd. | Apposui edd. (exc. Lov Mr) ||  
29 est] om. (cum Vulg.) Θ || 30 et<sup>1</sup>] om. (cum Vulg.) Θ | voluerit] placuerit (cum  
Vulg.) Θ | dabitur] praem. ei (cum Vulg.) Θ | illi] ei Φ | manus V || 31 Demisit V ||  
32 possibilitatis M; add. arbitrii Am Er || 33 mandata domini ~ Φ b2 edd. | Hac]  
Hanc P M b2; Haec C π || 34 deo] homo edd. | iusto iudice ~ V; iudicio iusto edd.

- 35 est diabolo, cui maluit oboedire quam deo, captivus. Et ideo scriptum est: *A quo enim quis superatus est, huic et servus addictus est*; et iterum: *Omnis qui facit peccatum, servus est peccati*. Quod confirmat apostolus Paulus iam baptizatis dicens: *Cum essetis servi peccati, liberi fuistis* PL 1622 *iustitiae*, videlicet alieni eratis a iustitia. Per se | ergo homo lapsus facere
- 40 potuit, quia voluit; sed non sicut per se lapsus est, continuo a lapsu per se, id est per propriam voluntatem, consurgere valuit, nisi manu domini misericordissima, quando eius placuit pietati, fuisset erectus. Propter quod scriptum est: *Allevat dominus omnes qui ruunt, et erigit omnes elisos*. Quod si homo propria voluntatis virtute, et non per do-
- 45 minum, sibi sufficit elisus adsurgere, quo in paradisum, de quo ino-boediens pulsus est, deo reconciliandus redeat, ergo Christus gratis mortuus est. Et quid ad sanos medicus venire voluit, vel cur se ad salvandum atque quaerendum quod perierat venisse dixit, quia secundum dogma vestrum nihil perditum, nihil quod sanaret invenit?
- 50 *Caput 3* Te igitur, sancte Paule apostole, vas electionis, magister gentium, quaeso, cur Christus in mundum venerit, dicas, ut sciamus quid haereticis, qui adventum eius nihil profuisse humano generi, quod per se sibi sufficere praedicant, respondere debeamus. *Fidelis sermo*, inquit, *et omni acceptione dignus, quia Christus Iesus venit in hunc mundum*
- 55 *peccatores salvos facere, quorum primus ego sum*. Audis, haeretice Pelagiane, pelago perditionis demerse, sive Caelestiane, caelesti iudicio periture, vas electionis veritatis tuba canentem? Christus Iesus venit in hunc mundum peccatores salvos facere, quorum se primum esse dicit;

36 II Pt 2,19 || 37 Io 8,34 || 38/9 Rm 6,20 || 43/4 Ps 144,14 || 46/7 Cf. Gal 2,21 || 47 Cf. Mt 9,12 || 47/48 Cf. Lc 19,10 || 50 Cf. Act 9,15 || 50/1 Cf. I Tim 2,7 || 53/5 I Tim 1,15 || 57 Cf. Act 9,15 || 57/8 Cf. I Tim 1,15

35 maluit] ma voluit P (maluit voluit P<sup>2</sup>) | captivus quam deo ~ π || 36 huic] hic V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>); huius c v t2 | addictus] dictus V (adictus V<sup>2</sup>) c v t2 || 38 essetis] estis V || 39 ergo] enim Ω || 39/40 potuit facere ~ Θ || 40 putuit V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>) | a] om. V C Ω M | lapsu] om. V; lapsus α C<sup>2</sup> t || 42 pietate P (corr. P<sup>2</sup>) || 43 corruunt V (corruunt V<sup>2</sup>); corruunt (cum Vulg.) c v t2 edd. | erigit V || 44 allisos Θ | propriae P (corr. P<sup>2</sup>) V C<sup>2</sup> α edd. (exc. Mr) || 45 sibi] om. Φ edd. (exc. Lov) | assurgere P<sup>2</sup> C<sup>2</sup> t | quo<sup>1</sup>] quod C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) t; qua edd. (exc. Lov Mr) | paradiso P Φ M b2 | oboediens P (corr. P<sup>2</sup>) || 46 expulsus V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>) c v t2 || 47 Et] om. ro | quid] utquid] α edd. | sanos] nos π || 48 atque quaerendum] om. per hom. Ψ | quia] qui Lov Mr || 49 nihil<sup>2</sup>] om. Mr | salvaret Lov Mr || 51 mundo P | venit V c || 53 sufficere V | praedicat P (corr. P<sup>2</sup>) p1,7 | respondere debeamus] responderemus P; respondemus V; respondeamus Ω edd. (exc. Mr) || 54 Iesus Christus ~ edd. || 55 peccatores] praem. optime V | Audi edd. (exc. Lov Mr) | Pelagiane haeretice ~ edd. (exc. Mr) || 56 dimerse V | Caelestianae P | caeleste P || 57 tubam V C π M b2 || 58 facire V | primum se ~ V c

et conaris adstruere, cum praedicas hominem naturaliter posse quod velit, Christum nullum in eo vulnus quod curaret, nullam infirmitatem 60 invenisse, quam gratiae suae gratuita medicamento sanaret. In tantum estis in stultitiae profundum demersi, ut non intellegatis Christum dominum ad nostram reparationem, reformationem, redemptionem reconciliationemque, formam servi suscipere voluisse? Quid enim opus erat deo, ut si status integer naturae maneret humanae, carnem suscipere 65 nostram, contumelias a Iudaeis perpeti mortemque? Utique omnia pro nostra salute dignatus est sustinere dominus bonus et misericors pro servis malis et inpiis, liber pro captivis, iustus pro iniustis, vita pro mortuis, spes pro desperatis, reconciliatio pro offensis, sicut dicit Iohannes apostolus de eo: *Ipse est propitiatio pro peccatis nostris; non pro 70 nostris autem tantum, sed etiam pro totius mundi*. Item apostolus Petrus: *Qui peccata, inquit, nostra ipse pertulit in corpore suo super lignum, ut peccatis mortui iustitiae viveremus, cuius livore sanati estis. Eratis enim sicut oves errantes*. Item ipse in eadem epistula: *Quia et Christus semel pro peccatis nostris mortuus est, iustus pro iniustis, ut nos offerret deo 75 mortificatos carne, vivificatos autem spiritu*. Audis electos et idoneos testes spiritu dei loquentes Christum propitiationem pro peccatis mundi venisse, peccata nostra propterea pertulisse in corpore suo super lignum, ut iustitiae viveremus, eius livore nos esse sanatos, qui | eramus sicut oves PL 1623 errantes. Audis semel pro peccatis nostris mortuum iustum pro iniustis, 80 ut nos offerret deo, id est peccato exules revocaret ad deum, et in tenebris conscientiae tuae tractans eructas nebulas, quibus lumen verum tetrare conaris, et dicis: «Posse hominem per liberum arbitrium, tanquam per se sit idoneus, implere quod velit?» Idem ipsum est enim quod flagitatis voce superba: «Si volo, sanctus sum; si volo, pecco; si volo, non pecco.» 85

60 Cf. Lc 10,33-34 || 64 Cf. Phil 2,7 (cf. Vet. Lat. 24,2, p. 120) || 70/1 I Io 2,2 || 72/4 I Pt 2,24-25 (cf. Vet. Lat. 26/1, p. 123-24) || 74/6 I Pt 3,18 (cf. Vet. Lat. 26/1, p. 142-45) || 77/81 Cf. I Io 2,2; I Pt 2,24-25; I Pt 3,18

60 vellit P (corr. P<sup>2</sup>) V || 61 gratuito edd. (exc. Lov Mr) || 62 in] om. M | profundo M || 63 redemptionem] om. per hom. V (add. V<sup>2</sup>) || 64 -que] om. Φ edd. | suscepisse V; suscepisse c || 65 ut] om. α t b2 edd. | humanae maneret naturae ~ α || 66 contumeliosam Ω; add. sustinere et per crucem Φ M b2 Mr; add. sustinere edd. (exc. Mr) | mortemque] mortem quae P Φ Ω M b2 edd. || 67 est] om. V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>) | sustinere] suscipere V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>) c v t2 || 69 offendentibus Φ edd. (exc. Am Er) | dicit] om. V (add. V<sup>2</sup>) || 70 est] om. V (add. V<sup>2</sup>) || 71 Petrus apostolus ~ α || 78 peccata] praem. et Ω | propterea] om. Ω || 79 ut] add. peccatis mortui V | eius] add. -que V || 80 iustus C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) || 81 exsules peccato ~ α | vocaret V || 82 tuae] om. C | eructuas V | verum lumen ~ α | tetrare] detrahare Ω edd. (exc. Mr) || 84 enim] add. et illud Φ edd. || 85 sum sanctus ~ Θ | volo<sup>3</sup>] nolo edd. (exc. Mr)

Nihil videlicet aliud adstruitis ista dicendo nisi, ut superius iam dictum est, Christus veniens nihil nobis praestitit, nihil salutis, nihil adiutorii contulit, mors eius nihil profuit nobis, salus nostra naturalis est nobis. Talia praedicantibus fides catholica dicit anathema. Credit enim quod  
 90 salus hominis ex deo sit Christo, cuius vulnere liberum nostrum curatur, et reformatur arbitrium vulneratum, qui aversos a se gratuita gratia sua convertit ad se, et ut deo placeant in operibus bonis, operatur in eis et velle et posse; quorum cursum in hac vita propter futuram veram vitam misericordia praeveniando et subsequendo perficit ipse. Igitur  
 95 liberum arbitrium hominibus esse certa fide credimus et praedicamus indubitanter.

*Caput 4* Sed cur liberum dicatur arbitrium est paululum disserendum. Arbitrium scilicet ab arbitrando rationali consideratione, vel discernendo quid eligat, quidve recuset, puto quod nomen accepit. Vel ideo liberum  
 100 dictum, quod in sua sit positum potestate, habens agendi quod velit possibilitatem, quod est vitalis et rationalis animae motus. Sed huiusmodi, ut ante iam dixi, fuit in homine protoplasto, cum ante peccatum maneret inlaesus. Non enim per aliud contraxit offensam, nisi per id quo potuit, ne delinqueret, resistere suadenti. Per velle ergo malum recte  
 105 perdidit posse bonum, qui per posse bonum potuit vincere velle malum. Quem iuste deus iam delicto captivum voluntati depravatae dimisit, ut haec eidem esset poena in non faciendo quod vellet, qui semper, si deo fuisset oboediens, sufficere potuisset ad omne bonum quod voluisset. Malum itaque velle non ex naturae suae conditione bona habuit, tanquam  
 110 ex congenito malo, ut Manichaeus credit, sed ex accidenti desiderio

92/3 Cf. Phil 2,13 (cf. *Vet. Lat.* 24/2, p. 155) || 94 Cf. Ps 58,11; Ps 22,6

88 est] *om. edd. (exc. Lov Mr)* || 89 Credite P ro | enim] *om. C* || 90 Christus Φ *M* b2 Mr || 91 reformatur] resumatur P; resumitur V c | qui aversos a] quia ut Θ || 92 et] *om. Θ* | placeat V c | in<sup>1</sup>] *om. edd.* || 94 vitam] *praem. mirifice V c* | perfecit P ro (*corr. ro*<sup>2</sup>) | ipse] ipsum *t edd. (exc. Lov Mr)*; *add. De Libero Arbitrio Θ; add. Diffinitio Libri Arbitrii p1,7* || 95 inesse C || 97 dicatur liberum ~ *edd. (exc. Mr)* | arbitrium dicatur ~ Ω | diserendum V; deserendum P (*diserendum P*<sup>2</sup>) || 98 scilicet] *om. edd. (exc. Mr)* | ab] *om. V* | rationabili P<sup>2</sup> α || 99 recusat V (*corr. V*<sup>2</sup>) | puto] *praem. et Φ* | Vel] *om. Lov Mr* | liberum] *add. arbitrium edd. (exc. Lov Mr)* || 99/100 dictum liberum ~ P || 100 positum sit ~ *edd. (exc. Mr)* | potestatem P (*corr. P*<sup>2</sup>) || 102 iam] *om. α M* | dixit *M* | fuit] *om. M* | protoplausto V<sup>2</sup> || 103 alium Θ; illud *edd. (exc. Mr)* | id] *om. Ω E81* || 104 quo] quod *codd. Am (sed cf. lin. 381 infra)* || 105 qui ... bonum<sup>2</sup>] *om. per hom. V* || 107 eidem] idem P | vellit V; velit Φ *M* b2 *edd.* | qui] quae Φ α || 108 dotuisset] posset Lov || 109 itaque] utique Lov Mr | bona] bono V || 110 congenito] cognito Θ *M* | accidente Θ; accedenti *t Am Er*

pravo quod concepit, videlicet cum iam, ut superius dixi, ad manducandum vetitum lignum, quod nolle debuit, ad sensum serpenti, id est diabolo, praebuit; quod tanquam a radice vitiata omnis ex illo orta humana propago contraxit, absque solo Christo, qui adventu spiritus sancti, non humano semine, ex carne virginis factus est caro. Per peccatum ergo liberum arbitrium hominis possibilitatis bonum perdidit, non nomen et rationem.

Est, fatemur, liberum arbitrium omnibus hominibus, habens quidem iudicium rationis, non per quod sit idoneum quae ad deum pertinent sine deo aut inchoare vel certe peragere, sed tantum in operibus vitae praesentis tam bonis quam etiam malis. Bonis dico, quae de bono naturae oriuntur, id est velle laborare in agro, velle bibere et manducare, velle habere amicum, velle habere indumenta, velle fabricare domum, uxorem velle ducere, pecora nutrire, artem discere diversarum rerum bonarum, velle quicquid bonum ad praesentem pertinet vitam; quae omnia non sine gubernaculo divino subsistunt, immo ex ipso et per ipsum sunt, vel esse coeperunt. Malis vero, ut est velle idolum colere, velle homicidium, velle adulterium facere, res alienas deripere, deum viventem in saecula blasphemare, velle turpiter vivere, velle maleficia discere, velle inebriari et luxuriose vivere, velle quicquid non licet vel non expedit operari. Sed ista non pertinent ad substantiam vitae praesentis, quia non sunt a deo; immo male desiderata maculant vitam quae est a deo. Ista sunt zizania ani|mae carnisque, quae inimicus homo, id est diabolus, dormitante Adam, dei videlicet praeceptum non conservante, in libero seminavit arbitrio, in quibus proclivior et paratior est quam in prosperis vulnerata et depravata voluntas. Ista sunt diaboli opera, quae Christus dei patris verbum, quod est gladius bis acutus,

133/5 Cf. Mt 13,25

111 quod] *om.* Φ Ω *M* *edd.* | cum] eum *M*; ut ro | iam ut] iam *P* (sicut iam *P*<sup>2</sup>; sicut iam Ω; ut iam ~ *edd.* || 113 ex] *om.* *P* | illa Φ *edd.* (*exc.* *Mr*) |horta *P* *C* (*corr.* *C*<sup>2</sup>) || 114 contaxit *P* | adventum *P* (*corr.* *P*<sup>2</sup>) *V*; adventus *C* (*corr.* *C*<sup>2</sup>) || 115 non] in *V* *c* || 116 possibilitas *C* (*corr.* *C*<sup>2</sup>) | non] *om.* Θ || 118 Est] Esse *C*<sup>2</sup> *t* *edd.* (*exc.* *Mr*); *add.* ut *P*<sup>2</sup> | hominibus omnibus ~ Φ || 119 iudicium] dicitum *C* (*corr.* *C*<sup>2</sup>) | quod] quo *C* (*corr.* *C*<sup>2</sup>) *p*1 | ad] a *P* | deum] deo *P*; dominum *V* *c* | pertinet *C* || 120 vel] aut Ω *edd.* || 121 quae] quia *P* || 122 manducare et bibere ~ *edd.* | et] velle Ω || 124 velle] *om.* Ω || 125 velle] vel Ω | quidquid Θ *Mr* || 126 subsistent *P* (*corr.* *P*<sup>2</sup>) || 127 sunt] *om.* *C* | vero] *add.* dico Φ *edd.* | velle] *om.* Θ || 128 velle<sup>1</sup> ... 129 saecula] *om.* Ω | alienas] *add.* velle *edd.* | diripere] dissipare Θ || 129 saecula] *add.* et *C*<sup>2</sup> (*eras.* *C*<sup>3</sup>) || 130 luxuriose *C* | quidquid Θ *Mr* || 131 vita *V* || 133 Istae *V* *c* || 135 liberum] *edd.* (*exc.* *Lov* *Mr*) | seminavit] minavit *V* (*corr.* *V*<sup>2</sup>) | arbitrium] *edd.* (*exc.* *Lov* *Mr*) | proclivior *V*

in hunc mundum veniens, ex virgine natus, de credentium libero arbitrio gratuita sua gratia amputat, idoneam in eisdem ad credendum praeparans voluntatem, per quam possint tam dei patris quam suam sanctique spiritus unitam peragere voluntatem.

Nam ea esse opera diaboli et per Christum tolli, dilectus Christi Iohannes probat apostolus in epistula sua dicens: *Qui facit peccatum, ex diabolo est; quoniam ab initio diabolus peccat. In hoc apparuit filius dei, ut dissolvat opera diaboli.* Item apostolus Petrus in Actibus Apostolorum inter cetera de Christo ait: *Qui pertransiit benefaciendo et sanando omnes oppressos a diabolo, quoniam deus erat in illo.* Item apostolus Paulus ad Hebraeos: *Qui cum sit, inquit, splendor gloriae et figura substantiae eius, portansque omnia verbo virtutis suae, purgationem peccatorum faciens, sedet ad dexteram patris.* Item in eadem epistula: *Si enim sanguis hircorum et taurorum, et cinis vitulae aspersus, inquinatos sanctificat ad emundationem carnis; quanto magis sanguis Christi, qui per spiritum sanctum semetipsum obtulit immaculatum deo, emundavit conscientiam nostram ab operibus mortuis ad serviendum deo viventi?* Perge adhuc, haeretice, et tantis doctoribus veritatis resistens, dic liberum arbitrium sic ex Adam susceptum, ut medicina Christi non indigens, per se sibi sufficiat implere quod velit. Audis dei filium apparuisse, ut opera dissolveret diaboli. Audis eum ideo pertransisse, ut benefaciendo sanaret omnes oppressos a diabolo. Audis verbo virtutis suae purgationem peccatorum fecisse. Audis sanguine suo offerendo se immaculatum deo, mundasse conscientiam nostram ab operibus mortuis ad serviendum deo viventi; et gratiae eius ingratus existens, sanum te

139/40 Cf. Prv 8,35 (sec. LXX) || 143/5 I Io 3,8 || 146/7 Act 10,38 || 148/50 Hbr 1,3 || 150/4 Hbr 9,13-14 || 157/8 Cf. I Io 3,8 || 158/9 Cf. Act 10,38 || 159/60 Cf. Hbr 1,3 || 160/2 Cf. Hbr 9,14

138 credentium] add. cordibus Ω | libero arbitrio] liberum arbitrium ro; om. α || 139 credendum] crescendum Φ | praeparat C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) || 141 unitam] cunctam Θ; iunctam b2; vitam M; iustam α add.; tutam ro || 143 apostolus probat ~ V edd. (exc. Mr) | peccatum] add. servus est peccati C || 146 et sanando] om. per hom. M || 147 in] cum pl || 149 portansque] portans quodque (sub influxu A Fo) C || 150 sedet] sedens Θ; sedit (cum GAR) C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) M ro || 151 sanguis] sanguinis V | ircorum C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) || 152 emundationem V || 153 deo immaculatum ~ Θ | emundabit V (cum co<sup>2</sup> G); et mundavit (cum FSK) Am Er || 154 vestram (cum GAFSKΘ) Θ | ab operibus mortuis] om. Ψ M b2 | Perge] Per C (Si C<sup>2</sup>) || 155 et] eras. C<sup>2</sup> | resistens] resistat C (resistis C<sup>2</sup>) || 157 vellit P (corr. P<sup>2</sup>) V | filium] add. sic Lov Mr | apparuisse] venisse Ω || 158 desolveret V; dissolvat α | ideo eum ~ edd. (exc. Mr) || 160 fecisse] faciens Φ | sanguinem suum edd. (exc. Mr) | se] add. deo α | immaculatam Am; immaculatam hostiam edd. (exc. Am Mr) || 161 emundasse p1,7 || 162 existis Θ



naturaliter putas liberum arbitrium possidere? Si sanus est homo, ut Adam a deo primo fuerat institutus, et, ut ais, nullum vitium postea ex illo delinquente contraxit exortus, interrogo de quo dei filius apparens opera dissolvit diaboli? Quem pertranseundo et benefaciendo sanavit oppressum a diabolo? In quo purgationem peccatorum fecit? Cuius mundavit conscientiam ab operibus mortuis ad serviendum deo viventi? Nisi forte falsa haec apostolos, qui sunt in ecclesia catholica clarissima lumina, praedicasse dicatis, experimentum videlicet quaerentes eius qui in eis locutus est Christi. Quid enim orbat lumine veritatis non dicere praesumatis, qui nec legi dei nec prophetis vel evangelio Christi eiusque apostolis spiritu dei canentibus credere vultis, peccato primi hominis humanum genus mortale factum ceterisque arbitrio libero depravato obnoxium subiacere peccatis, dei quoque filium ad hoc salvandum, reparandum atque vivificandum venisse in similitudinem carnis peccati, sustinuisse mori, resurrexisse a mortuis.

*Caput 5* Igitur cum de libero arbitrio agimus, non de parte hominis agimus, sed de toto, quia cum peccavit homo primus, non parte aliqua, sed tota qua conditus est natura deliquit. Numquid enim interdum cum tantum animam nominamus, corpus aut spiritum separamus ab anima? Aut cum spiritum dicimus, animam separamus et corpus ab spiritu? Vel cum corpus appellamus, seiungimus spiritum animamque a corpore? Vitiato ergo libero arbitrio, totus homo est vitiatus, per quod absque adiutorio gratiae, deo quod placeat, nec valet incipere nec perficere sufficit. Praevenitur autem medicina, id est Christi gratia, ut sanetur et reparetur in eodem vitiata atque praeparetur voluntas, quae semper indigens adiutorio inluminante gratia salvatoris possit tam deum cognoscere.

165/6 Cf. I Io 3,8 || 166/7 Cf. Act 10,38 || 167 Cf. Hbr 1,3 || 168 Cf. Hbr 9,14 || 170/1 Cf. II Cor 13,3 || 176 Cf. Rm 8,3 || 186/7 Cf. Prv 8,35 (sec. LXX)

164 primum  $\Psi$  *edd.* | et] *om.*  $\Theta$  || 165 exhortus  $C t$  || 166 dissolvit opera  $\sim \alpha$  | pertransiendo  $C$  || 167 oppressos  $P$  || 168 mundavi  $V$ ; emundavit *edd.* || 169 apostolis  $P$ ; apostoli  $V c$  || 170 eius] *om.*  $\Phi$  | quae  $C t$  || 171 Christus  $C M$  *edd.* (*exc.* Lov Mr) | lumini  $M^2$  | non dicere] contradicere  $M$  || 174 mortalem  $C$  | libero arbitrio  $\sim \alpha t$  *edd.* | depravatum  $\Phi$  || 175 subiacere] sibi iacere  $M$  | hunc  $C^2$  | salvandum] sanandum  $\alpha$  || 176 reparandum] *add.* -que  $V$  | atque] ac *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) | similitudine *edd.* || 177 mori] morti  $P$  (morte  $P^2$ ) || 178 ageremus  $\Theta$  || 179 primus homo  $\sim \pi t$  | parte] *praem.* in  $\Theta$  *edd.* || 180 delinquit  $V$  || 181 aut] et  $V$  | ab ... 182 separamus] *om.* *per hom.*  $P$  || 182 Aut] Et  $V$  | ab] a  $V$  (*corr.*  $V^2$ ) *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) || 184 ergo] *om.*  $\Phi$  | arbitrio libero  $\sim C M t$  || 185 quod deo  $\sim$  *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) || 186 medicina] *om.*  $\Omega$  | id est] idem  $\Omega$  || 187 in eodem] in eo  $p1,7$ ; eius  $\Omega$ ; *om.*  $V$  vitiata] *praem.* natura  $C^2$  | praeparatur  $C M \pi$  | quae] qua  $P C M \pi c$ ; quia  $V$  || 188 adiutorium  $P M$ ; in adiutorium  $\Phi$  Mr

scere quam secundum eius vivere voluntatem. Cum enim dicit per  
190 prophetam dominus: *Et dabo vobis cor novum et spiritum novum*, quid  
aliud significat nisi voluntates hominum lapsas praevaricatione veteris  
hominis per Christum novum hominem reparari et praeparari ad domini  
voluntatem, sicut scriptum est: *Praeparatur voluntas a domino*.<sup>2</sup> Item,  
apostolus Paulus: *Deus est*, inquit, *qui operatur in vobis et velle et*  
195 *perficere pro bona voluntate*, ea utique quae est in eis, ut dixi, a domino  
tam reparata quam praeparata ut esset bona; in qua se iam fidelis homo  
cognoscens inluminatum, ut ad dei semper sit paratior voluntatem,  
securus clamat ad eum dicens: *Cor mundum crea in me deus, et spiritum*  
*rectum innova in visceribus meis*; et, *Revela oculos meos, et considerabo*  
200 *mirabilia de lege tua*; et, *Notam fac mihi, domine, viam in qua ambulem*;  
et, *Domine, ad te confugi*; *doce me facere voluntatem tuam, quia tu es*  
*deus meus*. Quod si vox ista iam credentis non est, *quomodo invocabunt in*  
*quem non crediderunt*? Non ergo homo voluntate sua adhuc in vitio  
liberi arbitrii claudicans praevenit deum, ut cognoscat et quaerat eum,  
205 gratiam tanquam meritis accepturus. Sed praecedit, ut iam dixi, mise-  
ricordissima gratia sua deus hominis ignorantis et necdum se quaerentis  
voluntatem liberi arbitrii, ut eum se scire et quaerere faciat, sicut dicit  
Iohannes apostolus in epistula sua: *Scimus quoniam filius dei venit, et*  
*dedit nobis sensum, ut cognoscamus verum deum, et simus in vero filio*  
210 *eius*. *Hic est deus verus et vita aeterna*. Et David in psalmis: *Deus meus,*  
*miserecordia eius praeveniet me*; et, *Deus, tu convertens vivificabis nos*.  
Et dominus in evangelio discipulis suis: *Non vos me elegistis, sed ego*  
*vos elegi*. Item Iohannes apostolus: *In hoc*, inquit, *apparuit caritas dei*

190 Ez 36,26 || 193 Prv 8,35 (sec. LXX) || 194/5 Phil 2,13 || 198/9 Ps 50,12 ||  
199/200 Ps 118,18 || 200 Ps 142,8 || 201/2 Ps 142,9-10 || 202/3 Rm 10,14 || 208/10  
I Io 5,20 || 210/1 Ps 58,11 || 211 Ps 84,7 || 212/3 Io 15,16 || 213/7 I Io 4,9-10

189 eius] *add.* debeat Θ | dicat Am Er || 190 vobis] in vos Φ *edd.* | et<sup>2</sup>... novum<sup>2</sup>] *om. per hom.* Ω || 191 praevaricationes C (*corr.* C<sup>2</sup>) || 192 Christum] nomen ro; *om.* α | domini] dei Φ *edd.* || 193 Item] Iterum *edd.* || 194 inquit est ~ ro || 195 ea] et Ω || 196 reparata] creata Ω | fidelis] ipse Ω || 197 semper] *post* voluntatem tr. Ω | sit paratior] perficere possit Ω || 198 securus] secutus Mr | ad eum] ad m̄ P | et] *om.* Φ (*cum* A\*S moz\*) || 200 domine] *om.* (*cum Vulg.*) Φ | ambulam V || 201/2 deus meus es ~ (*cum* γ) π || 204 claudicans] claudicante Φ Ω b2 *edd.* (*cf. lin. 18 supra, et pag. 148, lin. 7*) | quaerat] desideret Ω | eum] *om.* Φ; deum a2; eam *edd.* (*exc. Lov Mr*) || 205 tanquam gratiam ~ Lov Mr | meritis] *praem.* pro α *edd.* | accepturus] *add.* si quis cecidit Ω | praecedit] *om.* Ω; praecepit π || 206 sua] *om.* M | nondum *edd.* (*exc. Mr*) | se quaerentis] sequenti C (*sequentis* C<sup>2</sup>); se quaerenti π || 207 voluntatem] libertatem Θ || 208 apostolus] *om.* Φ || 210 deus<sup>1</sup>] *om.* Θ M | verus deus<sup>1</sup> ~ Ω *edd.* | David] Dabit C (*corr.* C<sup>2</sup>) | psalmo *edd.* (*exc. Mr*) || 213 elegi vos ~ Θ a26

in nobis, quoniam filium suum unigenitum misit deus in mundum, ut  
vivamus per eum. In hoc est caritas, non quasi nos dilexerimus deum, sed 215  
quoniam ipse prior dilexit nos, et misit filium suum propitiationem pro  
peccatis nostris.

Caput 6 Nullum autem hominis esse meritum in accipienda gratia ad  
salutem, Paulus apostolus docet scribens ad Ephesios: *Deus autem, ait,*  
*qui dives est in misericordia, propter nimiam caritatem suam qua dilexit* 220  
*nos, et cum essemus mortui peccatis, convivificavit nos Christo, cuius*  
*gratia estis salvati. Propter nimiam, ait, caritatem suam qua dilexit nos,*  
non propter nostram, quasi priores dilexerimus eum, *cum essemus mortui*  
*peccatis.* Item post pusillum in eadem epistula: *Gratia enim estis salvati*  
*per fidem, et hoc non ex vobis: dei donum est, non ex operibus, ut ne quis* 225  
*glorietur.* Item ad Timotheum: *Noli itaque erubescere testimonium domini*  
*nostri, neque me vinctum eius: sed conlabora evangelio secundum virtutem*  
*dei, qui nos liberavit et vocavit vocatione sancta, non secundum opera*  
*nostra, sed secundum propositum suum et gratiam, quae data est nobis*  
*in Christo Iesu ante tempora saecularia.* | Audis ante tempora saecularia, 230  
quando in dei erat homo praescientia; et non in saeculo, quia nondum  
erat saeculum; et praeponis dono eius opera voluntaria, caecus veritati  
resistens?

Quaerens enim tuam iustitiam statuere, iustitiae dei subiectus esse  
non potes. Item ad Titum: *Cum autem benignitas, inquit, et humanitas* 235  
*apparuit salvatoris nostri dei, non ex operibus iustitiae quae fecimus nos,*  
*sed secundum suam misericordiam salvos nos fecit, per lavacrum regene-*  
*rationis et renovationis spiritus sancti, quem effudit in nos abunde per*  
*Iesum Christum.* Quid ad haec adhuc, haeretice, respondebis? Quid,

219/24 Eph 2,4-5 || 224/6 Eph 2,8-9 || 226/30 II Tim 1,8-9 || 234/5 Cf. Rm 10,3 ||  
235/9 Tit 3,4-6

214 unigenitum] *om.* α || 216 prior ipse ~ Mr || 218 esse hominis ~ *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) |  
accipiendam gratiam P C (*corr.* C<sup>2</sup>) t π; accipiendam gratiam Am || 218/219 ad salu-  
tem] *om.* π || 219 ait] *om.* α || 221 cum ... 222 nos] *om.* a2 || 222 salvati estis ~ M |  
ait] *om.* V; *add.* salvati C | caritatem ait ~ t || 224 pusillum C (paullum C<sup>2</sup>);  
paullum M | 225 dei] *add.* enim (*cum* Vulg.) *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) | non<sup>2</sup>] *praem.* et C t ||  
226 itaque] ita Am Er || 227 nostri] *add.* Iesu Christi Θ || 228 liberabit V | voca-  
bit V || 229 gratia P | est] *om.* α || 230 Audis ... saecularia<sup>2</sup>] *om.* *per* hom. M ||  
231 deo C | homo erat ~ P Ω b2 | praesentia t (*corr.* t<sup>2</sup>) | necdum M || 232 pro-  
ponis Am || 234 Quaeris V (*corr.* V<sup>2</sup>) | iustitiam] *om.* M || 235 Cum autem] *om.* π ||  
237 misericordiam suam ~ V (*corr.* V<sup>2</sup>) α || 238 nobis (*cum* GRS) Θ || 239 haere-  
tice adhuc ~ *edd.* (*exc.* Mr)

240 inimice gratiae, adhuc contra gratiam tanto magistro gentium teste,  
quod nullis hominum meritis detur, excogitabis opponere? Rogo, quid  
conamini resistere vera praedicanti tam excellenti doctori, qui non de  
se in se, sed ex deo coram deo in Christo evangelium praedicans loquitur,  
id est in simplicitate et sinceritate dei, et non in sapientia carnali? Nam  
245 quod vera adnuntiet, audite eum adtestantem, et nolit esse increduli,  
sed fideles. *Deus, ait, et pater domini nostri Iesu Christi scit, qui est bene-*  
*dictus in saecula, quod non mentior;* et iterum: *Veritatem dico in Christo,*  
*non mentior, testimonium mihi perhibente conscientia mea in spiritu*  
*sancto;* itemque: *Veritatem dico, non mentior, doctor gentium in fide et*  
250 *veritate.* Auditis, *non mentior,* et tanquam mentientem redarguitis, cum  
ex vestro dogmate perverso, quod ille non ita esse praedicat, meritis  
hominum gratiam dari adnuntiatis. Immo videte, quia non tantum  
Paulum, sed et Christum in eo loquentem redarguitis.

*Caput 7* Sed respondes mihi inquires: «Si non unusquisque pro sua  
255 voluntate, qua nos dicimus eum inquisisse deum, accipit gratiam, sed  
praevenit voluntatem eius sua gratia, quo in eum credere possit, cur  
ergo non hoc in omnibus operatur? An personarum acceptor est deus?»  
Si gratiae inluminatione sensus tuus, haeretice, a tenebris insipientiae  
esset detectus, crederes tantum testimoniis divinis, quae ante iam dixi,  
260 vel quae non dixi, et in sanctis scripturis reperiuntur innumerabilia,  
deum nullis meritis hominum gratiam suam dare, per quam se eis  
ostendat ad credendum et serviendum sibi; et non quaereres, immo  
non discuteres, deum quare id non in omnibus operatur, quia bene

240 Cf. I Tim 2,7 || 242/3 Cf. II Cor 2,17; Rm 15,18 || 244 Cf. II Cor 1,12 ||  
245/6 Cf. Io 20,27 || 246/7 II Cor 11,31 || 247/9 Rm 9,1 || 249/50 I Tim 2,7 ||  
253 Cf. II Cor 13,3; Rm 15,18 || 257 Cf. Act 10,34

240 inimice] munitae *edd.* (*exc.* Lov Mr) | gratiae] *add.* dei p2 Ch Ly Lov || 241 ap-  
ponere V a26; adponere M Er Ch Ly; exponere Ω b2 Am (*in mg. Al.* apponere) ||  
244 sapienti V || 246/7 scit] *post* saecula *tr.* M || 247 Christo] *add.* Iesu Θ *edd.*  
(*exc.* Mr) || 249 dico] *add.* in Christo C Mr | doctor ... 250 mentior] *om.* *per hom.*  
C || 250 Audistis Θ *edd.* (*exc.* Lov Mr) || 251 quod] *add.* ita V || 253 Paulum] se Ω  
et] ad C (*corr.* C<sup>2</sup>); *om.* V a26 || 254 respondis P M; respondens V Ω *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) |  
inquires] ques V (*inques* V<sup>2</sup>); inquires Ω c v t2 *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) | non] *om.* P (*add.*  
*post.* unusquisque P<sup>2</sup>) | pro] *om.* C (*add.* C<sup>2</sup>) || 255 accepit V M || 256 eius] *add.*  
deus Θ M b2 | quo] qua *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) | credere possit] crederet Ω || 257 non hoc  
ergo ~ Φ *edd.* | hoc] *om.* Ω | deus] *om.* V || 258 gratia V | a] *om.* Φ *edd.* (*exc.*  
Am Er) || 259 detectus] delectus P; exutus Φ *edd.* (*exc.* Am Er) | tanti V (*tantis*  
V<sup>2</sup>); tantis Θ || 260 vel] *add.* aliquibus V | scripturis sanctis ~ π | scripturis] *add.*  
ubi Ω | repperiuntur P C (*corr.* C<sup>2</sup>) | innumerabilia] innarrabilia Ω; inenarrabilia  
a4,8 ro<sup>2</sup> || 261 deum] domini Ω | eis] ei Φ M || 262 et<sup>2</sup>] *om.* Ψ || 263 deus π *edd.* |  
non id ~ P | in] *om.* V | quia] qui Ω *edd.* (*exc.* Mr)

et iuste semper omnia quaecumque vult operatur, et voluntati eius  
nemo resistit, propter quod omnia quaecumque voluit fecit. Ideo cur hoc 265  
illi operetur, illi non operetur, metuentem me et tremementem iudicia eius  
inscrutabilia et inreprehensibilia nolo interrogas: quicquid enim lego  
credo et veneror, non autem discutio. Quis est enim homo qui respondeat  
deo? Numquid dicit figmentum ei qui se finxit: Quare me sic fecisti?  
Habet enim potestatem figulus luti ex eadem massa aliud vas quidem 270  
facere in honorem, aliud in contumeliam. Sed interroga eum qui dixit:  
*Nemo venit ad me, nisi pater qui misit me adtraxerit eum*; et, *Non omnes*  
*capiunt verbum, nisi quibus datum est*; et, *Vobis datum est nosse mysterium*  
*regni caelorum, ceteris autem non est datum*; et, *Nemo novit filium nisi*  
*pater, neque patrem quis novit nisi filius, et cui voluerit filius revelare*; 275  
et, *Sicut pater suscitavit mortuos et vivificat, ita et filius suscitavit mortuos et*  
*vivificat quos vult*; et, *Quia spiritus ubi vult spirat*; et, *Quia non potest*  
*homo a se facere quicquam, nisi datum illi fuerit desuper*. Item interroga  
eum qui dixit: *Quia vobis datum est pro Christo, non solum ut in eum*  
*credatis, sed etiam ut pro illo patiamini*; et, *Non volentis neque currentis,* 280  
*sed miserentis est dei*; et, *Cui vult miseretur, et quem vult indurat*. Et quia  
spiri|tus sanctus dona carismatum suorum dividit singulis prout vult, PL 1627  
non prout volunt. Et quibus voluit, non qui voluerunt, notas facere  
divitias gloriae sacramenti sui. Istae sunt universae viae domini investi-  
gabiles, misericordia et veritas, quas si scire quaesieris, Paulum interroga, 285  
et respondebit tibi dicens: *Noli altum sapere, sed time*; quia, *Quis cognovit*  
*sensum domini, qui instruat eum? Aut quis consiliarius eius fuit? Aut*

264/5 Cf. Ps 113,11; Est 13,9; Rm 9,19 || 266/7 Cf. Rm 11,33 || 268/71 Cf. Rm  
9,20-21 || 272 Io 6,44 || 272/3 Mt 19,11 || 273/4 Mt 13,11 || 274/5 Mt 11,27 ||  
276/7 Io 5,21 || 277 Io 3,8 || 277/8 Io 3,27 || 279/80 Phil I,29 (cf. Vet. Lat. 24/2,  
p. 85-86) || 280/81 Rm 9,16 || 281 Rm 9,18 || 282 Cf. I Cor 12,11 || 283/4 Cf. Col  
1,27 || 284/5 Cf. Ps 24,10; Rm 11,33 || 286 Rm 11,20 || 286/7 I Cor 2,16; cf. Rm  
11,34 || 287/9 Rm 11,34-36

264 vult] om. Ω || 265 fecit] om. V c || 266 me metuentem ~ Φ | metuendum et  
tremendum me t || 267 scrutabilia C (corr. C²) | incomprehensibilia Φ edd. | noall P  
(corr. P²) | quodquod P; quidquid M v t2; quotquot Ω; quia quod Φ edd. | enim] om.  
Φ edd. || 268 credo] om. C | vereor Ω Am Er | Quis] Quid C Am | est] se V | enim]  
om. p1,7 || 269 ei] om. p1,7 | Quare] Quid α || 270 quidem vas ~ edd. (exc. Mr) ||  
276 suscitavit mortuos et] om. per hom. Θ | ita] sic α edd. (exc. Mr) || 277 quos vult  
vivificat ~ (cum Vulg.) Θ || 278 a se] a seipso V | quidquam π edd. | fuerit illi ~  
edd. (exc. Mr) || 279 Quia] om. Φ edd. | datum] donatum C α edd. (exc. Mr) || 280 ut  
etiam ~ Φ edd. || 281 et¹] om. a2 || 282 charismatum V c edd.; karismatum α π ||  
283 voluit] voluerit edd. | voluerunt] voluerint edd. (exc. Mr) | facere] fecit edd.  
(exc. Am Er); add. deus Φ edd. (exc. Am Er) || 285 quas] quae Ψ | quaeris Φ edd.;  
volueris Ω || 286 Nolite V (corr. V²) | Altum sapere noli ~ C t ro edd. | quia] om. Ω ||  
287 domini] add. aut Ω | qui] quis Ω | qui instruat eum] om. V | instruxit π Ch Ly Lov

*quis prior dedit ei, et retribuetur ei? Quoniam ex ipso, et per ipsum, et in ipso sunt omnia: ipsi gloria in saecula.* Interroga etiam David, et dicet  
 290 tibi: *Quis sapiens, et intellegit haec? aut, Quis loquetur potentias domini, auditas faciet omnes laudes eius?*

Ista igitur cum facit deus inconprehensibilis et investigabilis atque inenarrabilis, non personarum acceptione facit, nec iniusto iudicio, sed plane iusto, alto, secretoque. Haec est fides catholica, quam si sequi  
 295 velis, non eris de iudiciis dei inconprehensibilibus curiosus et contentiosus, sed eris cum Catholicis humilis et mansuetus. Non ut dicas deo interrogando: *Quae est voluntas tua?* sed tremendo, *Fiat voluntas tua: Quia potestas dei est, et tibi, domine, misericordia.* Modo enim quia iudicia dei in operibus eius ab homine narrari non possunt, ideo iniustus est  
 300 deus? Immo iustus et inconprehensibilis iudicio iustitiae suae, et inreprehensibilis operatione voluntatis suae. Taceat reprehensibilis, mendax, et iniustus homo, ut faciat inreprehensibilis, verax, et iustus quaecumque voluerit deus. Tamen si adtendas ad peccatum primorum hominum, quo massa humani generis damnari meruit, quia secundum testimonium  
 305 Pauli apostoli, *Ex uno omnes in condemnationem*, poteris agnoscere iudicia dei esse iustissima. Inde est enim malum meritum in hominibus, tam in parvulis quam in maioribus praecedens iudicia dei, ut iusto eius iudicio puniantur. Quare autem in hoc, ut dixi, malo merito praecedenti non omnes puniuntur, aut cur inde non omnes salvantur, ego serviens  
 310 domino in timore et exultans cum tremore, misericordiam ei et iudicium canto, quia iudicium facit praecedente causa, salutem vero donat ac misericordiam praeveniendo malam causam. Res igitur eius sumus.

290 Ps 106,43 || 290/1 Ps 105,2 || 293 Cf. Rm 2,11 || 297 Mt 6,10 || 298 Ps 61,12-13 ||  
 305 Rm 5,16 || 309/10 Cf. Ps 2,11 || 310/1 Cf. Ps 100,1

288 ei<sup>1</sup>] illi (cum Vulg.) Ω t edd. || 289 saecula] add. saeculorum V | dicit C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) Ω || 290 Quis<sup>1</sup>] Qui (cum RI) ro | intellegit C α; intelligit ro | loquitur P M || 292 cum] non C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) || 293 nec] om. V || 294 altoque secreto t edd. (exc. Mr) | -que] om. α | Haec] praem. quia t edd. (exc. Mr) || 295 vellis P (corr. P<sup>2</sup>) V || 298 misericordia] add. tua V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>) || 299 enarrari M | est] om. Ω || 300 iustus] add. est Φ edd. | iudicio ... inreprehensibilis] om. per hom. V || 301 suae] om. V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>) c || 302 ut] et V || 302/3 deus quaecumque voluerit ~ edd. (exc. Mr) || 303 si tamen ~ Φ Am; si tantum p7 edd. (exc. Am) | ad] om. Φ Mr || 304 quia] qui ro | secundum] om. C || 305 Pauli] praem. est C | Ex] add. quo Φ edd. (exc. Lov Mr) | omnes] add. transierunt edd. (exc. Lov Mr) | cognoscere edd. (exc. Mr) || 306 enim] om. Ω || 307 ut] et Φ || 307/8 iudicio eius ~ π || 308 puniatur V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>) C | Quare ... 309 puniuntur] om. per hom. Θ | in] om. M | ut] om. M || 309 non inde ~ Θ M || 310 et<sup>1</sup> ... tremore] om. per hom. C | exultans] add. ei (cum Ro et Vulg.) π | ei] om. V; eius α || 311 cantabo Ω edd. (exc. Mr) | ac] om. Φ edd. || 312 misericordia Φ Mr

Oculus tuus, utquid haeretice, nequam est? Habet potestatem pater-familias iustus et misericors de re sua facere quod vult, id est de reo mortis iudicis est quam vult ferre sententiam. 315

*Caput 8* Audi tamen adhuc calcatius, ut ad propositum superioris disputationis revertamur: quia homo vulneratus libero arbitrio per Adae peccatum, sine gratia dei, id est per se solum sanare se non potest, nec sponte ad paradysum reverti, sanctorum numero sociandus; nec eum gratiam meritis ullis accipere, sed totum sua misericordia deum peragere. 320 *Homo quidam, ait dominus in evangelio, descendebat ab Hierusalem in Hiericho, et incidit in latrones, qui etiam despoliaverunt eum, et plagis inpositis abierunt, semivivo relicto. Accidit autem ut sacerdos quidam descenderet eadem via, et viso illo, praeteriit. Similiter et Levita, cum esset secus locum et videret eum, pertransiit. Samaritanus autem quidam* 325 *iter faciens, venit secus eum, et videns eum misericordia motus est. Et adproprians alligavit vulnera eius, infundens oleum et vinum; et inponens illum in iumentum suum, duxit in stabulum, et curam eius egit. Et altera die protulit duos denarios, et dedit stabulario, et ait: Curam eius habe, et quodcumque supererogaveris, ego cum rediero reddam tibi. Homo iste* 330 *quidam ipse | est humanum genus; descendens ab Hierusalem in Hiericho, PL 1628* id est de paradiso in hunc mundum. Hierusalem enim hebraice dicitur, latine vero 'visio pacis' interpretatur. Recte ergo in visione pacis paradysum dicimus. Ante enim quam peccaret homo, in visione pacis erat, hoc est in paradiso, ubi quicquid videbat pax erat et laetitia. Inde 335 *descendens*, id est humiliatus et miser factus per peccatum, *in Hiericho*, in mundum videlicet: Hiericho enim in qua mundus ponitur luna interpretatur, quia sicut luna oritur et occidit, ita et mundus, cum in eo orta occidunt, et iterum oriuntur. *Incidit in latrones*, in diabolum et angelos eius: per inoboedientiam etenim, ut saepe dictum est, primi 340

313 Cf. Mt 20,15 || 321/30 Lc 10,30-35 || 330/52 Cf. Lc 10,30

313 utquid] et quid P 314 id est] idem P; om. edd. (exc. Mr) || 315 ferre] facere P || 316 calcatus] altius Θ || 317 vulnerato α p3 Lov || 318 id est] idem Θ || 320 gratia P | meritis gratiam ~ Ω | accipere] add. mirifice V || 321 Homo ... (pag. 165, lin. 309) damnaretur] deest quia quoternio hoc in loco ex codice excisa fuit V | ierusalem c; irlm α t; ierlm ro || 322 Hiericho P; iericho Ω c || 324 descenderat C p11 || 329 eius] illius Φ || 330 cum] dum π M || 331 quidem Ω | ipsum c v t2 a4,8 || 332 in] ad C M t Mr || 333 vero] autem π edd. | in] om. v | visionem M v || 334 peccasset c v t2 || 335 quidquid P M Mr || 337 enim] om. Ω | quam Θ M b2 || 339 latrones] add. id est c v t2 edd. (exc. Mr) || 340 angelis P | etenim] enim Φ edd. | est] add. propter peccatum P2; add. per peccatum α

hominis, diabolus humanum genus despoliavit et vulneravit, morum  
scilicet ornamentis et bono possibilitatis liberi arbitrii perduto. In illo  
enim peccante plagam fecit, in nos vero plagas, cum per unum illius  
peccatum, quod nascentes trahimus, superaddimus multa peccata. Quid  
345 est autem, *Relicto eo semivivo abierunt?* Recte dictus est semivivus:  
habebat enim vitalem motum, id est liberum arbitrium vulneratum,  
quod ei solum ad aeternam vitam, quam perdidit, redire non suffi-  
ciebat; ideo et semivivus dicitur. Iacebat ergo humanum genus vul-  
neratum in mundo. Sed cur iacebat, dicite, si per se surgere poterat  
350 vel sanari, nullius indigens adiutorio? Sed iacebat vulneratus, quia vires  
ei propriae ad surgendum, quo sanandum se medicum, id est deum  
requireret, non sufficiebant. *Descendens sacerdos eadem via, cum videret  
illum, praeterivit. Similiter et Levita cum videret eum, pertransiit.* In his  
duobus, id est sacerdote et Levita, duo tempora intelleguntur, legis  
355 scilicet et prophetarum. In sacerdote lex, per quam sacerdotium et  
sacrificia instituta sunt. In Levita vaticinium prophetarum, quorum  
temporibus omne humanum genus sanari non potuit; quia *regnavit  
mors ab Adam usque ad Moysen, etiam in eos qui non peccaverunt in  
similitudinem praevaricationis Adae, qui est forma futuri*, id est etiam  
360 in omnibus sanctis et in parvulis, qui praevaricati non sunt sicut Adam;  
et tamen propter peccatum praevaricationis, quod nascentes ex eo  
traxerunt, tanquam chirographo paterno constricti, stipendium peccati  
moriendo solverunt. *Stipendium enim peccati mors.* Et quia *per legem  
cognitio peccati*, non abolitio. Lex enim iubet ut cognoscat se homo  
365 peccatorem esse, quod antea ignorabat, non peccatum tollit. Ideo et  
Apostolus: *Nam concupiscentiam*, inquit, *nesciebam, nisi lex diceret:  
Non concupisces. Lex itaque nihil ad perfectum adduxit.* Quia *si ex lege  
iustitia, ergo Christus gratis mortuus est. Si enim data esset lex, quae  
posset vivificare, vere ex lege esset iustitia. Sed conclusit scriptura omnia*

352/7 Cf. Lc 10,31-32 || 357/9 Rm 5,14 || 362/3 Cf. Rm 6,23 || 363 Rm 6,23 ||  
363/4 Rm 3,20 || 366/7 Rm 7,7 || 367 Hbr 7,19 || 367/8 Gal 2,21 || 368/71 Gal 3,21-22

346 habet π || 348 et] om. Θ | et ideo ~ α || 349 mundum Θ π t | se] add. non M |  
potuerat c v t2 || 350 nullius] add. erat π | vulneratum α || 351 ei] eius v | quo]  
add. ad α edd. (exc. Mr) || 352 requerere edd. (exc. Lov Mr) || 354 id est] om. M p3 ||  
356 sacrificia] sacrificii iura Ω | In] Et P || 357 salvari Am Er || 358 eos] eis α ||  
359 similitudine P M edd. (exc. Am) || 362 cyrografo P; chyrografo C; cirografo M ||  
363 enim] praem. est π Ch Ly Lov || 365 antea] ante v; om. b4 Mr | non] nostrum  
P (non super nostrum add. P2); add. nostrum c v t2 | Et ideo ~ c v t2 | et] om. Ω ||  
368 enim] om. M || 369 possit C | esset] add. et Θ



*sub peccato, ut promissio ex fide Iesu Christi, qui omnia peccata tollit, 370 daretur credentibus. Plenitudo enim legis et prophetarum Christus, qui venit non solvere legem et prophetas, sed adimplere.*

Sacerdote ergo et Levita pertranseuntibus, *iter faciens Samaritanus venit secus eum. Samaritanus ipse est salvator Christus, quia Samaritanus 'custos' interpretatur, cui recte dicimus, Custodi me, domine, 375 ut pupillam oculi; sub umbra alarum tuarum protege me. Quid est autem, venit secus eum? Id est venit in similitudinem carnis peccati, non ut ille qui iacebat in carne peccati; ideo secus eum, quia in similitudinem. Et videns eum, misericordia motus est: et videns eum, quid? iacentem. Numquid surgentem et currentem? Et ideo misericordia motus est, 380 quia in eo, quo curari dignus esset, meritum nullum invenit. Et adproprians alligavit vulnera eius. Quid est, alligavit vulnera eius? Sicut scriptum est, Qui non noverat peccatum, pro nobis peccatum fecit. De peccato scilicet damnavit peccatum in carne. | Infundens oleum et vinum ait, PL 1629 hoc est chrisma sanctum et sanguinem suum. Et inposuit illum in iumentum suum, in adiutorium videlicet gratiae incarnationis suae; quia, 385 sicut scriptum est, Hic peccata nostra portavit, et pro nobis doluit. Et duxit in stabulum, scilicet donans ei fidem ad credendum in se, duxit in ecclesiam suam, quae omnibus ambulanti in via fidei, tanquam stabulum patet ad succedendum. Et altera die, quasi tempore alio, post 390 resurrectionem utique et ascensionem suam; protulit duos denarios, videlicet novum et vetus testamentum, in quibus unum nomisma dei regis est. Et dedit stabulario, Paulo apostolo, qui est vas electionis, cui sollicitudo est omnium ecclesiarum. Et ait, Curam illius habe, id est*

370 Cf. Io 1,29 || 371 Cf. Rm 13,10 || 371/2 Cf. Mt 5,17 || 373/81 Cf. Lc 10,33 || 375/6 Ps 16,8 || 377 Rm 8,3 || 381/90 Cf. Lc 10,34 || 383 II Cor 5,21 || 383/4 Cf. Rm 8,3 || 387 Is 53,4 || 390/404 Cf. Lc 10,35 || 392/3 Cf. Mt 22,19-21 || 393 Cf. Act 9,15 || 394 Cf. II Cor 11,28

370 Iesu ... tollit] om. M | omnia] om. Ω || 373 praetereuntibus edd. (exc. Mr) | iter ... Samaritanus] om. Ω || 374 Samaritanus<sup>1</sup>] add. iste Ω M edd. (exc. Mr) || 375 interpretatur custos ~ π || 377 Id est] om. Φ Mr | similitudine C edd. | non ... 378 peccati] om. per hom. Ω π || 378 iacebat] latebat edd. (exc. Mr) | ideo] sed edd. (exc. Mr) | similitudine C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) α π edd. || 379 Et<sup>1</sup>] om. Ω | eum<sup>1</sup>] add. quia C t | et<sup>2</sup>] om. Ω edd. | quid] inquit t | iacentem] om. Θ || 380 surgentem] volentem Φ | et<sup>1</sup>] ac Ω || 381 nullum meritum ~ π | adproprians C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) || 382 Quid ... eius] om. per hom. M | Sicut ... 383 fecit] om. Φ || 383 Qui] Quia P (Quia qui P<sup>2</sup>) | De] praem. Et pl || 384 ait] om. C edd. || 385 crisma P || 388 duxit<sup>1</sup>] om. Φ | ad credendum] credendi α | in se] om. P || 389 ecclesia sua C<sup>2</sup> || 392 videlicet] praem. duo Θ M ro b2 edd. (exc. Mr) | vetus et novum ~ Φ edd. | testamenta edd. (exc. Mr) | numisma Θ (corr. P<sup>2</sup>) π edd. || 394 est<sup>1</sup>] manet M | illius] eius edd. (exc. Mr) ||

395 quae ad fidem meam pertinent, quomodo eum oporteat ad plenam  
sanitatem pervenire, doce illum. *Et quodcumque supererogaveris, dum  
rediero reddam tibi*: si quid ergo super evangelium tanquam miseri-  
cordiam consecutus ut esses fidelis, ad eius utilitatem sapueris, dum  
rediero iudicaturus mundum, et unicuique redditurus secundum opera  
400 sua, reddam tibi. Quid est autem quod super legem et evangelium plus  
Paulus erogavit? Illud puto quod ipse ait ad Corinthios, *De virginibus  
autem praeceptum domini non habeo, consilium autem do tanquam mise-  
ricordiam consecutus ut sim fidelis*; vel illud etiam ubi de coniugibus ait,  
*Nam ceteris ego dico, non dominus*, et cetera.

405 Ista interim iam a maioribus ecclesiae catholicae tractatoribus dicta  
vel exposita sunt. Sed tunc a nobis limes fidei sanae defenditur, quando  
termini, quos posuerunt sancti patres, non transferuntur, immo ob-  
servantur et defensantur a nobis. Ecce quemadmodum curatur hominis  
liberum arbitrium vulneratum. A die ergo adventus sui dominus, quo  
410 venit salvare vulneratum iacentem, usque ad diem reditus sui, quo  
iudicaturus est mundum, stabulario curam habere iubet sibi traditi  
sauciati, significans quod a die, quo datur homini a deo per motum  
misericordiae eius, non per meritum, quod in vulnerato non invenitur,  
ut sanetur, usque ad diem adsumptionis eius sub cura nisi gratiae  
415 fuerit, ad perfectum pervenire non posse. Sicut stabularius eius Paulus  
docet, scribens ad Philippenses: *Confidens hoc ipsum, quia qui coepit  
in vobis opus bonum, perficiet usque in diem Iesu Christi*. Item Petrus  
apostolus in epistula sua prima: *Deus autem, inquit, omnis gratiae, qui  
vocavit nos in aeternam suam gloriam in Christo Iesu, modicum passos*  
420 *ipse perficiet, confirmabit, solidabit: ipsi inperium in saecula saeculorum*.

397/8 Cf. I Cor 7,25 || 399/400 Cf. Mt 16,27; Rm 2,6; Ps 61,13; Sir 16,15 || 401/3  
I Cor 7,25 || 404 I Cor 7,12 || 416/7 Phil 1,6 || 418/20 I Pt 5,10-11

395 pertinet C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) | oporteat eum ~ α | oportet M Lov || 400 plus] om. Θ ||  
401 quod puto ~ Ch Ly Lov | ad] apud C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) π t || 402 misericordia C (corr.  
C<sup>2</sup>) || 403 consecutus] add. a domino (cum Vulg.) Φ edd. | sim] essem M | illud]  
add. quod C<sup>2</sup> | ubi] om. C || 405 interim] add. quae C<sup>2</sup> | a] om. C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) | trac-  
tatoribus] om. C || 407 patres] add. nostri Θ || 407/8 a nobis] ante immo tr. edd.  
(exc. Lov Mr) || 840 defenduntur Θ | a nobis] om. C || 409 A die ... 410 vulneratum]  
om. per hom. v t2 || 410 salvare] sanare Φ c edd. | quo] quae P || 412 quo] qua Φ Mr |  
datur] datus est Θ || 413 quod] add. si P || 414 ad] in P M | nisi sub cura ~ edd.  
(exc. Am Er) | curam a1 ro | gratia Ω || 415 possit Am Er | Paulus] om. Ω ||  
416 qui] om. P || 417 bonum] add. perficere C t Mr | Christi Iesu ~ (cum Vulg.)  
α edd. || 418 inquit] post gratiae tr. edd. (exc. Mr) || 419 gloriam suam ~ edd. ||  
420 solidabit confirmabit ~ Θ ro | solidabit] add. -que (cum Ac) P π b2 edd. |  
ipsi] add. gloria et (cum GRc) edd. | in saecula] om. M | saeculorum] add. Amen  
(cum Vulg.) Φ edd.

*Caput 9* Quid etiam aliud ostenditur et in ove illa perdita ex centum ovibus, nisi liberum arbitrium, possibilitatis bono vitio primi hominis perduto, a iustorum errasse consortio, nec per se ad cortem, id est ad paradysum de quo exivit, fidelium numero resociandum posse reverti, nisi indebita gratia sua, utique voluntate sua, bonus pastor Christus, 425 qui pro ovibus animam suam posuit, de deserto errantem, hoc est de isto mundo, in quo homo divini praecepti desertor exulatus est, et errat libero arbitrio in operibus diaboli, humeris suis superinpositum, in adiutorium videlicet fidei et caritatis suae, revocaverit? Hoc enim, ut dixi, ipse dominus probat, cum in parabola volens hominem intellegi, 430 ovem dicit errasse, quae non sponte redierit, sed a pastore requisita ad ovile proprium eius sit humeris reportata. Vel cum vulneratum a latronibus non proprio gressu, sed iumento superinpositum ad stabulum dicit esse delatum. Quod magister ille gentium gratia fidei inluminante videns, de se praesumentibus dicit: *Igitur non volentis, neque currentis,* | 435 *sed miserentis est dei.* PL 1630

Sed ais mihi: «Si non volentis, neque currentis est invenire deum, quomodo scriptum est in psalmis: *Et ex voluntate mea confiteor illi:* et iterum in Apostolo, cum in figura vasorum de peccatoribus dicit: *Si quis ergo emundaverit se ab istis, erit vas in honore sanctificatum,* 440 *et utile domino ad omne opus bonum semper paratum?* Accipe fidei rationem: alia causa est adhuc non credentis in deum, alia iam credentis. De non credente et adhuc deum ignorante, ut cognoscat et credat in quo opera bona nulla sunt, dictum est: *Non volentis neque currentis, sed miserentis est dei.* Quia in vanitate sensus tenebris obscuratum habens 445 intellectum, liberi arbitrii lumen verum quod inluminat omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum, videre non potest, nisi deus propter

425/6 Cf. Io 10,11 || 426/32 Cf. Lc 15,4-5 || 434 Cf. I Tim 2,7 || 435/6 Rm 9,16 || 438 Ps 27,7 || 440/1 II Tim 2,21 || 444/5 Rm 9,16 || 446/7 Cf. Io 1,9

422 boni π || 423 errasse] esse C t p2 | consortium M | curtem P t Am Er; cohortem M π Ch Ly Lov || 424 sociandum π || 425 indebita sua gratia ~ α; in sua debita gratia ro | sua<sup>2</sup>] om. Φ Mr || 426 ovibus] omnibus P; nobis Ω | errantem ... 427 isto] om. per hom. ro || 427 isto] om. Ω | exsolatus P; exulatus C Ω; exulans Lov || 428 errat] erat P C || 429 videlicet] scilicet t p2 edd. || 432 ovile] cubile C Ω t Am | vulnerato C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) || 433 iumento] iumento P || 434 Quod magister] Cum magis M gratiae M || 439 dicitur α || 440 mundaverit (cum AFSK) c Mr; mundavit v t2 | honorem (cum Vulg.) Ω edd. || 441 et] om. M || 442 in deum] om. Lov Mr | deum] deo t p1 edd. (exc. Lov Mr) | alia iam credentis] incredentis M || 443 et<sup>1</sup>] id est Φ edd. || 445 dei] ante miserentis tr. ro | sensus] add. atque edd. (exc. Mr) || 446 omnem] om. π

suam misericordiam, qui dixit de tenebris lumen splendescere, inluxerit  
in corde eius, ad inlumptionem scientiae claritatis dei in facie Christi  
450 Iesu, ut ablato velamine, id est nebula peccati de corde eius, converti  
possit ad deum, qui spiritus est. Cum autem acceperit spiritum domini,  
erit in eo libertas ad domini capessenda praecepta, quia ubi spiritus  
domini ibi et libertas. Habet autem thesaurum istum in vase fictili, in  
corpore scilicet suo terreno, ut sublimitas sit virtutis dei, et non ex  
455 ipso. Et ideo non volentis neque currentis, sed miserentis est dei. Fit  
hoc etiam *multifarie multisque modis* in his qui iam deo serviunt, cum  
gratiae eius miseratione subito ad ea perveniunt bona, quae non volu-  
erunt neque cucurrerunt.

Iam vero credentis, id est inluminati atque reparati in libero arbitrio  
460 per gratuitam gratiam salvatoris vox est: *Et ex voluntate mea confitebor  
illi*. Sed ut possit eidem confiteri non in se, sed in domino gloriatur,  
cum dicit: *Dominus adiutor meus et protector meus; in ipso speravit  
cor meum, et adiutus sum, et refluviit caro mea*. Propterea sequitur:  
*Et ex voluntate mea confitebor illi*. Sua est utique omnis fidelis voluntas  
465 bona, cum in eo per Christum ut esset bona, de lapsu est reparata.  
Quapropter quicquid vult bonum, quicquid potest, a domino est. *Quia  
sine me*, ait dominus in evangelio discipulis suis, *nihil potestis facere*.  
Item in eodem evangelio, id est secundum Iohannem: *Non potest homo  
a se facere quicquam, nisi datum illi fuerit desuper*. Item apostolus Paulus  
470 ad Corinthios: *Fiduciam autem talem, inquit, habemus per Christum  
ad deum: non quod sufficientes simus cogitare aliquid a nobis, quasi*

448/50 Cf. II Cor 4,6 || 450/1 Cf. II Cor 3,16-17 || 451 Cf. Io 4,24 || 452/3 Cf.  
II Cor 3,17 || 453/4 Cf. II Cor 4,7 || 455 Cf. Rm 9,16 || 456 Cf. Hbr 1,1 (multifarie  
cum ASKΛΦ; cf. Weber, p. 1834) || 460/1 Ps 27,7 || 461 Cf. I Cor 1,31 || 462/4  
Ps 27,7 || 466/7 Io 15,5 || 468/9 Io 3,27 || 470/4 II Cor 3,4-6

449 inlumptionem P (corr. P<sup>2</sup>) | faciem Φ M b2 || 451 deum] dominum Φ edd. ||  
452 capessenda domini ~ Θ b2 edd. (exc. Mr) || 453 et] om. Φ | autem] om. P c ||  
454 scilicet] videlicet Φ edd. | sit sublimitas ~ c v t2 || 455 Et] om. Φ Mr | dei  
est ~ M | Fit] Sic pl; add. et α; Fiet ro Am Er || 456 etiam] add. cum Θ | multi-  
fariam α | deo] Christo M || 457 gratiae] gratia et Θ b2; gratia ro | subito] om. t ||  
458 currebant C (om. C<sup>2</sup>) || 459 in] om. Ψ M b2 | est] om. α | in] om. C || 460 grati-  
am] vitam P M ro b2 | salvatoris] salvati Θ | Et] om. c v t2 || 461 gloriatur in  
domino ~ edd. (exc. Lov Mr) | gloriatur P (corr. P<sup>2</sup>) C c ro v t2 || 462 et] om. Ω |  
in] praem. et (cum Ro) P edd. (exc. Lov Mr) | speravi Ω || 463 cor meum] om. Ω |  
Propterea sequitur] om. Θ || 464 fidelis] om. Ω edd. (exc. Mr) || 465 de lapsu] di  
lapsa P; dilapsa Ω c || 466 domino] deo α || 467 discipulis suis] om. M | nihil]  
om. P (corr. P<sup>2</sup>) || 468 Item ... 469 facere] om. per hom. M || 469 se] add. ipso c v t2 |  
quicquam] aliquid C δ t edd. | ei fuerit datum π | fuerit illi ~ edd. (exc. Mr)  
apostolus] in epistola c v t2 || 470 inquit talem ~ π | habemus inquit ~ Θ ||  
471 ad] a P (corr. P<sup>2</sup>)

*ex nobis, sed sufficientia nostra ex deo est: qui et idoneos nos fecit ministros novi testamenti, non littera, sed spiritu. Littera enim occidit, spiritu autem vivificat.*

Ita ergo et illud est quod dicit Apostolus: *Si quis ergo emundaverit* 475 *se ab istis, erit vas in honore sanctificatum, et utile domino ad omne opus bonum paratum.* Cum enim deliquerit iam redemptus per gratiam baptismi propria voluntate, et in peccatis suis permanens ex hoc migraverit mundo, efficitur vas ligneum, quod facile devoretur ab igne gehennae; aut certe fictile, quod comminui possit virga recta, virga regni Christi, 480 id est iudicio aequitatis eius; quem, sicut dicit Apostolus, benignitas dei salvandum ad paenitentiam adduxerit: secundum quod iterum ad Timotheum dicit: *Ne forte det illis deus paenitentiam ad cognoscendam veritatem, et resipiscant a diaboli laqueis, a quo captivi tenentur ad ipsius voluntatem;* et cibaverit eum pane lacrimarum, potumque dederit ei 485 in lacrimis in mensura. Emundat se ab huiusmodi vasis, quia cum dei misericordia se praeveniente agit et ipse satis per liberum arbitrium ut | mundetur. Sola autem voluntate sua si praesumat mundari non potest, PL 1631 immo nec ex corde paeniteri compellitur, quia Petrum nisi dominus respexisset nunquam paenitentia motus amare flevisset. Paenitentia 490 ergo res est optima et perfecta, quae defectos revocat ad perfectum. Sed *omne datum optimum*, Iacobus inquit apostolus, *et omne donum perfectum desursum est, descendens a patre luminum, apud quem non est commutatio, nec momenti obumbratio.* Oportet ergo ea orare paenitentem, quae ad eius emundationem expediunt. Quod ut faciat, unde sit 495 audi. *Similiter autem*, ait Apostolus, *et spiritus adiuvat infirmitatem nostram. Nam quid oremus, sicut oportet, nescimus; sed ipse spiritus postulat pro nobis*, id est postulare nos facit gemitibus inenarrabilibus.

475/7 II Tim 2,21 || 479/80 Cf. Ps 2,9; Ps 44,7; Hbr 1,8 || 481/2 Cf. Rm 2,4 || 483/5 II Tim 2,25-26 || 485/6 Cf. Ps 79,6 || 486/7 Cf. Ps 58,11 || 489/90 Cf. Lc 22,61-62 || 492/4 Iac 1,17 (cf. Vet. Lat. 26/1, p. 15-16) || 496/8 Rm 8,26

475 et ergo ~ ro | mundaverit (cum AFSK) C π t edd. || 476 honorem (cum Vulg.) Ω edd. | sanctificatum] ante in tr. edd. (exc. Mr) || 476/7 bonum opus ~ Mr || 477 per gratiam] gratia c v t2 || 479 devorabitur Ψ b2 edd. (exc. Mr) || 480 certe] om. Ω || 481 sicut] si ut α || 482 iterum] item edd. (exc. Lov Mr) || 483 Thimotheum P || 484 a2] om. P (add. P2) || 485 panem (cum α γ δ ζ moz) P (corr. P2) || 486 in2] et Ω edd. | mensuram (cum δ moz med) Θ M b2 | Mundat C π Mr | -modi] mundi P | deo Φ || 487 agit] ait C (corr. C2) || 488 emundetur edd. (exc. Er Mr); emendetur Er | emundari π || 489 poenitere Ω edd. || 492 inquit] itaque C (ait C2); ait M || 494 transmutatio (cum Vulg.) C || 495 mundationem Φ edd. (exc. Am Er) | expediant Θ b2 | Quod] Quae Θ || 496 autem] om. π | ait] add. Paulus C t edd. | Apostolus] add. Paulus π || 498 est] add. spiritus edd. (exc. Mr)

*Caput 10* Est igitur liberum arbitrium, quod quisque esse negaverit  
500 Catholicus non est; et quisque sic esse dixerit, quod sine deo bonum  
opus, id est quod ad eius sanctum propositum pertinet, nec incipere,  
nec perficere possit, Catholicus est. Quibus enim dicitur in psalmis nisi  
liberum arbitrium habentibus: *Venite, filii, audite me; timorem domini*  
*docebo vos?* Item a domino in evangelio discipulis: *Omnis qui audit*  
505 *verba mea haec, et facit ea;* et iterum: *Vos amici mei estis, si feceritis*  
*quae ego mando vobis.* Et ab Apostolo Corinthiis: *Hoc enim vobis utile*  
*est, quia non solum facere, sed et velle coepistis; nunc vero et facto perficite,*  
*ut quemadmodum promptus est animus voluntatis, ita sit et perficiendi.*  
Et multa alia, quae tam in veteri quam in novo testamento continentur;  
510 quae nimis, propter fastidium lectionis, longum est enarrare. Quomodo  
autem unicuique secundum sua opera redderetur in die iudicii, nisi  
liberum esset arbitrium? Et ideo *non est personarum acceptio apud*  
*deum. Quicumque enim sine lege peccaverunt, sine lege et peribunt; et*  
*quicumque in lege peccaverunt, per legem iudicabuntur.* In omni itaque  
515 opere sancto prior est voluntas dei, posterior liberi arbitrii, id est ope-  
ratur deus, cooperatur homo. Quod si dicas, ut dicere consuesti: «Quia  
ego prior volui, deus voluit», iam meritum facis, ut gratia ex operibus  
iam non sit gratia, sed merces. Hoc loco redarguit te Apostolus dicens:  
*Si autem gratia, iam non ex operibus; alioquin gratia iam non est gratia.*  
520 Gratia igitur donatur, non redditur, quia si redderetur quasi ex debito,  
non ab Apostolo, *non ex operibus*, sed ex operibus diceretur.

*Caput 11* Omnis ergo Christianus, cui iam donatum est posse per  
gratiam ut dei faciat voluntatem, abundare debet in operibus bonis,

503/4 Ps 33,12 || 504/5 Mt 7,24 || 505/6 Io 15,14 || 506/8 II Cor 8,10-11 || 511 Cf.  
Mt 16,27; Rm 2,6; Ps 61,13; Sir 16,15 || 512/4 Rm 2,11-12 || 519/21 Rm 11,6 ||  
523 Cf. II Cor 9,8

499 quisquis *edd.* (*exc.* Am) | esse] *add.* non Ω || 500 Catholicus .. dixerit] sed  
confessus fuerit videlicet Ω | quisquis *edd.* | sic] *om.* M || 502 enim] *om.* c v t2 |  
nisi] sine M || 503 habentibus liberum arbitrium ~ Θ || 504 discipulis] *om.* C ||  
505 mea] *om.* α | faciet *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) | iterum] item *edd.* (*exc.* Lov Mr) || 506man-  
davi a2 || 507 quia] qui Φ *edd.* | coepistis] *add.* ab anno priore (*cum Vulg.*) Φ *edd.* ||  
vero] autem α || 508 ut] et C | et perficiendi sit ~ π Mr || 511 opera sua ~ Ψ b2 |  
sua] *add.* et C | reddetur C || 512 arbitrium esset ~ a2,4,8 || 513 et<sup>1</sup>] *om.* (*cum*  
SKAc) Φ *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) || 515 operatur] operatus est Θ || 516 cooperatur] quo  
operatur C | dicas] dicat C (dicatis C<sup>2</sup>) | consuestis Φ *edd.* (*exc.* Lov Mr) || 517 deus  
voluit] *om.* ro || 518 reddarguit P; redargui C (*corr.* C<sup>2</sup>) || 519 ex] *om.* Ω ||  
521 non<sup>1</sup>] nam π; *add.* diceretur Θ M b2 | ab ... diceretur *om.* b2 | non<sup>2</sup>] *eras.* C<sup>2</sup>;  
*om.* Er Ch Ly | operibus<sup>1</sup>] gratia *edd.* (*exc.* Lov Mr) | sed ex operibus] *om.* *per hom.*  
Ω δ Lov || 522 ergo] *om.* Ω | iam] tam P

quia labor eius non erit inanis in domino. Sic tamen ut non in se, sed  
semper in domino gloriatur, cuius, ut dixi, gratia eruditur abnegare 525  
inpietatem et saecularia desideria, ut sobrie, pie et iuste vivere possit  
in hoc saeculo, sicut dicit Apostolus scribens ad Titum: *Apparuit enim*  
*gratia dei salvatoris nostri omnibus hominibus, erudiens nos, ut abnegantes*  
*inpietatem et saecularia desideria, sobrie et iuste et pie vivamus in hoc*  
*saeculo, expectantes beatam spem et adventum gloriae magni dei et salvatoris* 530  
*nostri Iesu Christi.* Nemo sit segnis et remissus ad serviendum deo,  
nec sic de gratia confidat, tanquam deus liberi arbitrii eius, quod per  
mortem filii sui reparavit et sibi praeparavit, opera non requirat: immo  
declinet a malo, et faciat bonum. Vigilet, petat, quaerat, pulset, con-  
tendat vincere saeculum, deo placere, sic ut dum per mundi pelagus 535  
currit, quemadmodum saepenumero dictum est, anchoram gratiae cervi-  
cibus revinctam fiducia liberi arbitrii non solvat. Quia sive in prospero  
cursu ne extollatur, seu in tempestate temptationum ne mergatur,  
eius gubernaculo, quoadusque | ad portum paradisi perveniat, poterit PL 1632  
permanere securus, ut cum inpleverit cursum, fidenter dicat cum apostolo 540  
Paulo: *Bonum certamen certavi, cursum consummavi, fidem servavi.* Haec  
enim ille cum diceret, non in se, sed in domino gloriabatur. Ipse enim  
dixit: *Ut qui gloriatur, in domino gloriatur.* Quomodo enim potuit bonum  
certamen certare, cursum consummare, fidem servare, ante iam dixerat:  
*Non autem ego, sed gratia dei mecum.* Amputavit autem omnem humanam 545  
gloriam, et dedit soli deo gloriam, cum iterum dicit: *Ut non simus*  
*fidentes in nobis, sed in deo, qui suscitavit mortuos;* et iterum: *Gratia autem*  
*dei sum id quod sum.*

524 Cf. I Cor 15,58 || 524/5 Cf. I Cor 1,31; Ier 9,23 || 525/7 Cf. Tit 2,12 || 527/31  
Tit 2,11-13 || 533/4 I Pt 3,11; cf. Ps 33,15 || 534 Cf. Mt 7,7 || 541 II Tim 4,7 ||  
543 I Cor 1,31 || 545 I Cor 15,10 || 546/7 II Cor 1,9 || 547/8 I Cor 15,10

524 in se] ex sese P; in sese Ω c || 525 eruditus Ω || 526 iuste et pie ~ edd. (exc.  
Am) || 527 scribens] om. π || 528 dei] eras. C² | nostri salvatoris ~ M ro Mr |  
nostri] add. in Am Er || 529 et²] om. c v t2 | pie et iuste ~ c v t2 || 530 dei magni  
~ edd. (exc. Mr) | et²] om. C (add. C²) t Mr || 531 nostri] om. α; add. domini edd.  
(exc. Mr) | Nemo] Non α || 533 et sibi praeparavit] om. per hom. Θ | opera] praem.  
id est Θ || 534 quaerat petat ~ edd. | quaerat] add. et ro || 535 sic ut] etenim Ω ||  
536 quemadmodum] add. sicut P² | -numero] eras. P²; om. edd. (exc. Mr) || 537 re-  
vectam α Am Er; revictum ro | fiducia] om. Φ; ducia M || 538 seu] sive c edd. ||  
539 eius] praem. per π | gubernaculum C π | portam a2,4 va | poterit] praem. non  
Ω Am Er || 540 ut] et Ω edd. (exc. Mr) || 540/1 Paulo apostolo ~ Θ || 542 glorie-  
tur P (corr. P²) | Ipse ... 543 gloriatur] om. per hom. Θ || 543 Ut] om. Ω | qui]  
quid C (corr. C²) || 545 ego autem ~ Θ edd. || 546 gloriam²] om. Ω edd. (exc. Mr) ||  
547 deo] domino c m1,2 | suscitavit c v t2 m1,2 π

Recte namque arbitror comparari liberum arbitrium iumento, unde  
550 et dictum est: *Velut iumentum factus sum apud te*; gratiam vero sessori.  
Quia sicut iumentum animal vivacissimum, ut dometur ad opus homini  
necessarium, de armento vagum adprehenditur, et incipit per curam  
domantis se ad eius proficere voluntatem. Ita et liberum arbitrium, quod  
vulneratum vivit in homine, gratia dei adprehenditur de armento  
555 luxuriae saeculi, in quo pastore diabolo vagabatur per incongruas  
voluptates. Pastorem diabolum dixi secundum Zachariam prophetam  
de eo dicentem: *O pastor et idolum!* Adprehenditur ergo gratia, ut dixi,  
ad domandum liberum arbitrium, ut malae conversationis deposita  
feritate humilietur, et ut ad oboediendum in opus domino necessarium  
560 corrigatur; et ita per eius semper curam incipiat in dei proficere volun-  
tatem. Sicut enim iumentum illud, dum in via dirigitur, sessoris manu  
regitur, ut iter rectum sive leviter seu cursu, id est secundum sedentis  
in se voluntatem possit incedere, quoadusque ad locum perveniat  
destinatum. Ita et liberum arbitrium, dum in via, id est in Christo, quia  
565 ipse ait: *Ego sum via, veritas et vita*, esse coeperit, gratiae regimine  
regitur, ut in semitis domini recto corde, sive patientia caritatis, seu  
fervens spiritu, id est secundum divisiones gratiarum spiritus, qui per  
gratiam dividit singulis prout vult, possit ambulare quoadusque ad  
promissum regnum caelorum perveniat. Ideo et in Psalmis ait: *Spiritus*  
570 *tuus bonus deducet me in terram rectam*. Et ut illud cum aliquoties  
sub sessore pastum largioribus cibariis incumbens freno, cursu extollitur,  
sessoris flagello caeditur, ut secundum eius ambulet voluntatem. Simi-  
liter et liberum arbitrium, dum homo gratiae dei inmemor in prosperis

550 Ps 72,23 || 557 Za 11,17 || 565 Io 14,6 || 567 Cf. Rm 12,11 | Cf. I Cor 12,4 ||  
568 Cf. I Cor 12,11 || 569/70 Ps 142,10

549 liberum arbitrium comparari ~ *M* α || 550 gratia *Am Er* || 551 dominetur π |  
hominis Ψ b2 || 554 armento] *add.* et Φ *Mr* || 555 luxuriae *C* (luxoria *C*<sup>2</sup>); luxuria  
π t δ | quo] *add.* sub *P*<sup>2</sup> *edd.* (exc. *Mr*) | pastore ... 556 voluptates] *om.* *per hom.*  
Ω | diabolo ... 556 Pastorem] *om.* *per hom.* ro | vagatur *C* π t || 556 voluntates *t*  
*edd.* (exc. *Mr*) || 557 dicentem de eo ~ Θ | ergo] igitur α; *add.* homo *P*<sup>2</sup> | gratia]  
*add.* dei *P*<sup>2</sup> || 558 ad] *om.* Φ *Mr* | ut] *add.* et *t* *edd.* || 560 incipit *C* π t *Mr* | in] ad *C*  
π t *Mr* | voluntate *Am Er* || 561 iumentum illud] ille Φ | viam α *Am* || 562 leniter  
c v t2 *edd.* | seu] sive Θ | cursim *edd.* | id est] *om.* *edd.* | secundum] *om.* Ω || 563  
voluptatem *P*; voluntate Ω || 564 in<sup>2</sup>] *om.* *C* *M* π t *Mr* || 565 coeperit esse ~ *edd.*  
(exc. *Mr*) || 566 ut] et *P* | semitis] se *C* t | patientiae *P* | seu] sive *edd.* || 567 fervente  
*edd.* || 568 ad] *om.* *C* || 569 promissum] propositum t | et] *om.* Θ; haec Φ || 570  
deducit *P* (corr. *P*<sup>2</sup>) *C* (corr. *C*<sup>2</sup>) | ut] *om.* *P* c | ille Φ | aliquoties *P*<sup>2</sup> *C*<sup>2</sup> *M* Ω π δ t  
*edd.* || 571 pastu Ψ *M* b2; pastus Φ | largiores *P* (largioris *P*<sup>2</sup>); largioris Ω c v t2 |  
cibariae Ψ *M* b2 | freno *P* (corr. *P*<sup>2</sup>) || 573 homo] dono Θ ro; donorum Φ *M* b2



efficitur, et tanquam de sui possibilitate gloriatus extollitur; eius flagello corripitur, cum in variis tribulationibus et afflictionibus paululum 575 subiugatur, ut humiliatus homo in sua infirmitate ad gratiae recurrat auxilium. Sicut ergo homo sedens in iumento, cum peregerit iter quod incessit, dicit: «Feci hodie, ut puta, triginta milia», cum illo sedente iumentum cucurrerit triginta milia. Sed non ea cucurrisset, nisi a sessore tam directum in via quam gubernatum fuisset. Recte ergo sessor, quem 580 gratiae figuravi, dicit: «Feci triginta milia.» Ipse enim fecit, qui iumentum facere fecit; tamen utrisque labor itineris inputatur. Ita gratia et liberum arbitrium: peragit sine dubio iter fidei liberum arbitrium dum dei Christianus facit praecepta, sed non, ut supra dixi, sine gratia dirigente vel gubernante; propter quod dicit in Psalmis: *Dirige in* 585 *conspectu tuo viam meam*, et, *A domino gressus hominis diriguntur*. | Itaque nec gratia sine libero arbitrio agit hominem habere beatam PL 1633 vitam, nec liberum arbitrium sine gratia. Et tamen parvulos sine usu liberi arbitrii facit gratia habere beatam vitam. Eos autem qui iam rationis capaces sunt praevenit atque docet, ut bonum velint et possint. 590 Scriptum est enim in Actibus Apostolorum: *Et aperuit deus cor Lydiae purpurariae, ut audiret ea quae dicebantur a Paulo*. Item in evangelio post resurrectionem de duobus euntibus in via: *Tunc*, inquit, *aperuit illis sensum, ut intellegerent scripturas*. Et in Psalmis: *Beatus homo quem tu erudieris domine, et de lege tua docueris eum*. Et in propheta 595 Ezechiele dominus: *Et facio*, ait, *ut faciatis voluntatem meam, et in praeceptis meis ambuletis*.

585/6 Ps 5,9 || 586 Ps 36,23 || 591/2 Act 16,14 || 593/4 Lc 24,45 || 594/5 Ps 93,12 || 596/7 Ez 36,27

574 glorians P<sup>2</sup> || 575 et afflictionibus] *om. per hom.* Θ || 576 infirmitate] humilitate Φ *edd. (exc. Lov Mr)* || 577 pergerit P (perrexerit P<sup>2</sup>) M; perregerit C (perrexerit C<sup>2</sup>); perageret ro; pergit c || 578 ut] *om.* C (*add.* C<sup>2</sup>) π γ t | puto π t; pote c | triginta] xxx P (xxx<sup>ta</sup> P<sup>2</sup>); xxx<sup>a</sup> M; xxx<sup>ta</sup> fl | miliaria fl v *edd. (exc. Mr)*; milliaria Mr | ille *codd. (exc. t p2)* | sedens ille ~ c v t2 | sedens *codd. (exc. t p2)* || 579 treginta P (*corr.* P<sup>2</sup>); xxx M; xxx<sup>a</sup> m; xxx<sup>ta</sup> fl | miliaria fl<sup>2</sup> *edd. (exc. Mr)*; milliaria Mr || 580 directus *codd. (exc. t p2)* | gubernatus *codd. (exc. t p2)* | quem] quam P (*corr.* P<sup>2</sup>) || 581 gratia Ω *edd. (exc. Mr)* | figurat *edd. (exc. Mr)* | treginta P (*corr.* P<sup>2</sup>); xxx M; xxx<sup>a</sup> m; xxx<sup>ta</sup> fl | miliaria fl *edd. (exc. Mr)*; milliaria Mr || 582 tamen] *praem.* et *add.* | Ita] *add.* et Φ *edd.* || 583 liberum] *om.* Ω π t p2 | arbitrium] *om.* Ω π t p2 *edd. (exc. Mr)* || 584 Christianus dei ~ π || 585 dicitur *edd. (exc. Mr)* || 586 tuo] meo (*cum Vulg.*) Ω | meam] tuam Ω (*cum Vulg.*) | dirigentur M t || 587 nec] *om.* C | arbitrio] *add.* non C<sup>2</sup> | agit] facit Ω *edd.* || 589 habere] *om.* c v t2 | beatam] *add.* perpetuam aeternamque Ω; *add.* et perpetuam aeternamque *edd. (exc. Mr)* | vitam] *add.* possidere c v t2 || 593/4 illis] *ante* inquit *tr. edd.*; *post* sensum *tr.* c v. t2 || 596 Ezechihelo P (Ezechihelo P<sup>2</sup>) α; Ezechielo C M fl ro | faciam (*cum Vulg.*) P<sup>2</sup> C<sup>2</sup> π *edd. (exc. Am Er)*

Caput 12 Dono igitur gratiae dei patris, et Christi eius, sanctique  
spiritus, iustos qui fuerunt ante legem, vel sub lege, tam electos quam  
600 gubernatos fuisse, ex multis testimoniis accipe pauca. In libro Geneseos:  
*Noe autem, ait, invenit gratiam ante dominum deum.* Statimque sequitur:  
*Noe homo iustus, et consummatus erat in genere suo, et placuit deo.* Nota  
igitur, post inventam gratiam, deo donante, iustum et consummatum  
dictum esse et placuisse deo, non ante gratiam. Salvatur ergo per elec-  
605 tionem gratiae a consortio iniquorum, quibus iuste iratus inducturus  
erat diluvium deus, non actu meritorum, cum in Adae praevaricatione  
natus sit reus. Aqua enim illi diluvii baptismum fuit, et arca ecclesia.  
Non solum autem illi, sed et uxori eius et filiis et nuribus secum in  
reparatione hominum conservatis. Liquet ergo hanc illi salutis fuisse  
610 fidem per gratiam habenti praeputium, quae nunc est per Christum  
in praeputio gentium. Quia et ille et nos gratia salvi facti sumus, ut  
dicit Apostolus, *non ex operibus, ne quis glorietur.*

Item illic dominus ad Abraham: *Noli timere, Abraham; ego protegam  
te; merces tua magna erit nimis.* Protegam te, gratia utique mea, quia  
615 priusquam me invocares, vocavi te, ut exires de terra et cognatione  
tua, et invocares me. Ideo et ipse Abraham ad dominum, cum ei appa-  
ruisset ad ilicem Mambre: *Domine, ait, si inveni gratiam ante te, ne  
transeas puerum tuum,* et cetera. Per gratiam ergo, quae non est ex  
operibus, dictum est ei, *merces tua magna erit nimis,* quia nemo prior  
620 dedit deo, et retribuetur ei. Quod confirmat Apostolus dicens: *Quid ergo*

601 Gn 6,8 (sec. VL; cf. Vet. Lat. 2, p. 106) || 602 Gn 6,9 (sec. VL; cf. Vet. Lat. 2, p. 107) || 604/5 Cf. Rm 11,5 || 605/9 Cf. Gn 7,7 || 611 Cf. Eph 2,8 || 612 Eph 2,9 (cf. Vet. Lat. 24/1, p. 67-9) || 613/4 Gn 15,1 (sec. VL; cf. Vet. Lat. 2, p. 170) || 615/6 Cf. Gn 12,1 (sec. VL; cf. Vet. Lat. 2, p. 151-2); cf. Act 7,3 || 616/7 Cf. Gn 18,1 (sec. VL; cf. Vet. Lat. 2, p. 194) || 617/18 Gn 18,3 (sec. VL; cf. Vet. Lat. 2, p. 196) || 618/9 Cf. Rm 11,6 || 619/20 Cf. Rm 11,35 || 620/2 Rm 4,1-2

598 igitur] autem Φ Mr | eius ... 599 spiritus] om. Ω || 600 ex ... testimoniis] om. Ω | Genesis Φ edd. || 601 Noe ... 613 illic] om. P Ω M b2 | ait ... 602 homo] om. Am Er; add. in mg. Ch Ly || 604 et] om. c v t2 | Salvatur] Salvator C2 t p1; Salvatus c v t2; Salvandum edd. || 605 gratiae] add. assumpsit eum t p2 edd. (exc. Am); add. assumpsit cum eum Am || 607 illi] post baptismum tr. t p2 edd. | baptismus edd. | archa δ π t p2 || 608 illi] add. fuit edd. (exc. Mr) | et] om. edd. (exc. Lov Mr) | filiis] finis per errorem typ Mr (corr. PL) | nuribus] mulieribus edd. (exc. Mr) | secum] secundum C (corr. C2) π || 609 reparationem t edd. | Liquet] Licet C (corr. C2) δ c p1 (corr. p12) t v t2 edd. (exc. Mr) | ergo] om. edd. (exc. Mr) || 613 ad Abraham dominus ~ a2,4,8 va | Noli ... Abraham] om. per hom. Ω || 614 merces] praem. et (cum Vulg.) P2 c v t2 α t p2 edd. | quia] qua fort. per errorem Mr || 616 Ideo] om. Φ c v t2 || 617 Mambræ C Ω || 618 est] om. M || 619 est] om. P | ei et c v t2 | prius C (corr. C2) t p1 || 620 ei] illi P M | confirmans C δ c | dicit C2 δ c

*dicemus invenisse Abraham patrem nostrum secundum carnem? Si enim Abraham ex operibus iustificatus est, habet gloriam, sed non apud deum.*

Item in Genesi de Ioseph cum venditus esset Putiphar spadoni: *Vidit autem dominus eius, inquit, quod esset dominus cum eo, et quia quaecumque faciebat, dominus prosperabat in manibus eius; et invenit Ioseph gratiam ante dominum suum.* Non ex se habuit, sed invenit, domino utique donante, qui erat cum eo, et prosperabat opera eius, et somniorum interpretationem ei donaverat. Item cum missus esset in carcerem: *Et erat, ait, dominus cum Ioseph, et perfudit eum misericordia, et dedit ei gratiam ante principem carceris.* De qua gratia non in se gloriabatur, sed in domino, cuius donum esse sciebat, cum dicit Pharaoni de interpretando somnio eius: *Sine deo non respondebitur salutare Pharaoni.* Item in Exodo: *Dominus autem, ait, dedit gratiam populo suo coram Aegyptiis, et adcommo- daverunt illis, et praedati sunt Aegyptios.* Quomodo enim eis dedis- sent, quos odio habebant, vasa sua aurea et argentea, vel vestem, nisi donum gratiae fuisset? PL 1634

Item in eodem libro Moyses ad dominum: *Ecce tu mihi dicis, inquit, Deduc populum tuum hunc; tu autem non demonstrasti mihi, quem simul dimittas mecum: et dixisti mihi, Scio te prae omnibus, et gratiam habes apud me. Nunc ergo, si inveni gratiam in conspectu tuo, ostende mihi temetipsum manifeste ut videam te, ut sim inveni- ens gratiam ante te, ut sciam quia populus tuus et gens haec habeat gratiam apud deum.* Sed ex dono, non ex se. Denique cum dicit, *Si inveni gratiam in conspectu tuo, invenisse se, non habuisse gloriatur.* Et cum dicit: *Ostende mihi temetipsum manifeste ut videam te, ut sim inveni- ens gratiam ante te, quid aliud indicat nisi: Ut dum te videro manifeste, cognoscam non meis fuisse meritis, sed dono gratiae tuae? Ideo et ait, ut sim inveni- ens*

623 Cf. Gn 39,1 (sec. VL; cf. Vet. Lat. 2, p. 402) || 624/6 Gn 39,3 (sec. VL; cf. Vet. Lat. 2, p. 403) || 629/30 Gn 39,21 (sec. VL; cf. Vet. Lat. 2, p. 408) | 630/1 Cf. I Cor 1,31 || 632 Gn 41,16 (sec. VL; cf. Vet. Lat. 2, p. 421) || 633/4 Ex 12,36 || 634/6 Cf. Ex 12,35 || 637/48 Ex 33,12-13

621 dicimus (cum R) P<sup>2</sup> Ω M b2 | enim] ergo P || 623 Putifar P (Phutiphar P<sup>2</sup>) ro; Putifreti C (Putifare C<sup>2</sup>) p1 f1; Phutifreti c; Petefret M; Phutifar t; Phutiphar edd. || 626 habuit] add. gratiam P<sup>2</sup> || 627 utique domino ~ c | dante c v t2 || 628 dona- verit C || 629 Et] om. M | ait] add. scriptura P Ω edd. (exc. Mr) | ait scriptura ante Et tr. Ω edd. (exc. Mr) || 631 Faraoni P C ro || 632 Faraoni P C ro || 633 ait] om. P M edd. (exc. Mr) | suo] om. (cum Vulg.) Φ edd. || 634 et<sup>1</sup>] ut P || 635 eis] om. Ω | dedisset C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) | sua] om. π || 636 gratiae] add. suae P || 638 tuum] meum Ch Ly; om. Lov Mr || 639 mittas (cum VL) M t p1 || 639/40 apud habes ~ p1 || 641 ante te gratiam ~ P b2 | ante] apud edd. (exc. Mr) || 642 ut] et M | habet P C<sup>2</sup> | Sed] add. et hoc Ω || 643 dono] deo Φ edd.; add. tuo P<sup>2</sup> || 644 se] om. P (add. P<sup>2</sup>) C t (add. t<sup>2</sup>) p1; post non tr. M || 646 quid] qui C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) || 647 mei fuisse meriti Φ edd.

PARADOSIS

*Contributions to the History of Early Christian Literature and Theology*

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XXI

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JOHN EDWARD CHISHOLM, C.S.Sp.

THE PSEUDO-AUGUSTINIAN HYPOMNESTICON  
AGAINST THE  
PELAGIANS AND CELESTIANS

VOLUME II

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*gratiam ante te. Item post pusillum ait ad dominum: Nisi ipse exeas nobiscum, ne me educas hinc; et quomodo sciatur vere, quia inveni gratiam*  
650 *apud te ego et populus tuus, nisi tu pariter nobiscum fueris, et gloriabimur ego et populus tuus prae omnibus gentibus, quae sunt super terram? Gloria-*  
*bimur, quomodo? Non in nobis, sed in te, a quo accepimus gratiam*  
*gloriandi. Item dominus ad Moysen: Et hoc verbum tibi, quod dixisti, faciam: invenisti enim gratiam in conspectu meo, et scio te prae omnibus.*  
655 *Sed ideo faciam, quia miserante me invenisti gratiam meam, non ex*  
*Adam peccante natus habuisti tuam. Nam et cum dicit dominus Iesu*  
*filio Nave: Sicut eram cum Moyse, sic ero tecum; et non derelinquam te,*  
*neque despiciam te, quid aliud dicit, nisi ut ait Moysi: Invenisti gratiam*  
*in conspectu meo, et scio te prae omnibus? Non enim locum eius accepisset,*  
660 *nisi ut ille ante dominum gratiam invenisset.*

*Item in libro Iudicum: Et dixit angelus domini ad Gedeon: Quoniam dominus erit tecum, et percuties Madian tanquam virum unum. Et dixit ad eum Gedeon: Si inveni gratiam ante oculos tuos, et facies secundum*  
*ea quae loqueris mihi, et cetera. Id est, quoniam me idoneum non agnosco*  
665 *implere quae promittis, et vidisse te, non fuit meritorum meorum, nisi*  
*esset donum dei. Ideo et ait: Si inveni gratiam ante oculos tuos. Dono*  
*enim dei eum vidisse angelum, vox divina confirmat, cum paventem*  
*et trementem consolatur dicens: Pax tibi sit, ne timeas, non morieris.*  
*Id est, ut videres angelum, gratiae meae fuit; quapropter in pace vives,*  
670 *et facies quae tibi adnuntiavit. Item in Regnorum libro secundo: Et*  
*dixit rex David ad Sadoch sacerdotem: Circumage arcam domini in civi-*  
*tatem; si invenero gratiam ante dominum, reducet me, et videbo eam et*

648/51 Ex 33,15-16 || 653/4 Ex 33,17 || 657/8 Ios 1,5 || 661/64 Idc 6,16-17 ||  
666 Ex 33,13 || 668 Idc 6,23 || 670/3 II Sm 15,25 || 673 Cf. Ps 48,7

648 pausillum C f1; pauxillum c; pausililum y1; paululum P Ω b2 | Nisi] *add. et*  
*edd. (exc. Mr) || 650 nobiscum pariter ~ α || 651 Gloriabimur] om. edd. (exc. Mr) ||*  
652 *quomodo] quoniam edd. (exc. Mr) || 653 tibi] om. Φ c v t2; post faciam (lin.*  
654) *tr. α; post dixisti tr. ro || 656 dominus] om. Φ c v t2; add. in Ω; add. ad edd.*  
*(exc. Mr) || 656/7 Iesum filium edd. (exc. Mr) || 657 Moysi P; Moysen C M | ero]*  
*add. et Φ edd. || 659 locum eius] Moysen locum C (Moysi locum C²) δ; locum*  
*Moysi π; Moysi locum t p2 edd. || 660 dominum] deum Φ edd. || 661 Et] om. edd.*  
*(exc. Mr) || 662 percutiens C (corr. C²) | unum virum ~ P || 663 et] ut t p2 edd.*  
*(exc. Mr); om. π | facias C (corr. C²) t p2 edd. (exc. Mr) || 664 coetera Ω; etc. edd. |*  
*Id est] Idem P (corr. P²) | idoneum me ~ π | cognosco Ω || 665 imple P Ω*  
*fuit] fuisse P | meritum meum Ω || 666 et] om. Ω | Donum Θ || 667 enim] esse P ||*  
668 *sit tibi ~ α || 669 Id est] Item P | videris P (corr. P²) C (corr. C²) | vivis P*  
*(corr. P²) C (corr. C²) M c p1 || 670 et] om. C (add. C²) | annuntiavi Ω edd. (exc.*  
*Am Mr) | libro Regum P b2 | libro] om. Ω edd. (exc. Mr) || 671 Sadoc C | civi-*  
*tate (cum RCr) Φ || 672 inveni c p1,7 v t2 | reduces edd. (exc. Lov Mr) | eam]*  
*eum P b2*

*decorem eius.* Id est, non enim confido in virtute mea liberare me, sed in gratia dei, quam donare in eius est potestate. Ideo et ait: *Si invenero gratiam ante dominum;* quod confirmat in Psalmis ipse dicens: *Gloriam 675 et gratiam dabit dominus.*

Quid enim evidentius de gratia et operibus dici potuit, vel probari, quam quod dictum est Hieremiae prophetae? Aut si nomen eius in eodem loco tacuit, numquid non gratia sua gratuita hoc operatus est deus in illo, cum ei dicit: *Priusquam te formarem in utero novi te; et 680 priusquam exires de vulva sanctificavi te, et prophetam in gentibus posui te?* Plane manifestat gratiae donum, et non ex operibus. Quae enim eius erant opera necdum formati in utero, necdum nati ex utero? Igitur non ex operibus, sed ex vocante dictum est ei: *Priusquam te formarem in utero novi te, et priusquam exires de vulva sanctifi-* 685 *cavi te, et prophetam in gentibus posui te.* Ecce vere non volentis neque currentis, sed miserentis est dei. Item in Hieremia: *Et det,* ait, *dominus virtutem nobis, et inluminet oculos nostros, et vivamus sub umbra Nabuchodonosor regis Babylonis, et sub umbra Balthasar filii eius, et serviamus eis multis diebus, et inveniamus gratiam in conspectu eorum.* Quia peccatis scilicet 690 nostris, quibus traditi sumus in manus eorum, requiem invenire non meremur, donec inveniamus gratiam per quam veniam possimus accipere. Ideo iterum subsequens dicit: *Exaudi, domine, orationem nostram et deprecationem nostram, et eripe nos propter te, et da nobis gratiam ante faciem eorum, qui nos abduxerunt. Eripe nos,* ait, *propter te, et da nobis 695 gratiam.* Id est, quia potestas et misericordia tibi est, et iuste humiliasti nos, ob hoc gratiam ut dones petimus, propter te, non propter nos, quos in captivitatem malis praecedentibus meritis tradidisti.

675/6 Ps 83,12 || 680/2 Ier 1,5 || 684 Cf. Rm 9,12 || 684/6 Ier 1,5 || 686/7 Cf. Rm 9,16 || 687/90 Bar 1,12 || 693/6 Bar 2,14

673 liberare P Ω edd. (exc. Mr) || 674 Ideo] *praem.* Et P || 675/6 Gratiam et gloriam ~ p1,7 edd. (exc. Lov Mr) || 676 et gratiam] *om.* δ | dabit] *add.* nobis C δ c t v t2 || 677 gratia et] gratiae Φ M c v t2 edd. (exc. Lov Mr) || 678 quam] *om.* Ω | Ieremiae Ω; Jeremiae Mr || 681 priusquam] antequam (*cum Vulg.*) M | posui] dedi (*cum Vulg.*) M π || 682 manifestum Θ b2 Am Er; manifeste C Ω t p2 δ | gratiae] *add.* suae P2 | donum] *add.* dicit P2; *add.* est b2 || 683 erant eius ~ P M Ω b2 edd. (exc. Mr) || 684 vocante] voluntate C (*corr.* C2) t p2; *add.* deo P2 | ei] *om.* P Ω || 685 priusquam] antequam (*cum Vulg.*) M || 686 posui] dedi (*cum Vulg.*) M π | vere] *om.* α; vero ro Am || 687 est] *om.* C | ieremia P2; Jeremia Mr || 688 et] ut (*cum Vulg.*) edd. (exc. Mr) || 689 Baltasar P | eis] ei p1,7 || 690 peccatis] *praem.* in edd. (exc. Lov Mr) || 691 quibus] *praem.* pro edd. (exc. Am Mr) || 692 donec] donet M δ π Mr | inveniamus] *om.* Φ M Mr | gratiam] *add.* accipiamus t p2 | veniam] *om.* Φ M Mr | possimus] *add.* requiem M | accipere] invenire M; *om.* Φ Mr || 693 iterum] item edd. || 694 et<sup>1</sup>] *om.* C || 695 eorum] illorum c v t2 || 698 quos] quod C (*corr.* C2)

Item in Salomone: *Labia*, inquit, *iustorum distillant gratiam*, hoc est,  
700 dono gratiae grata et iusta loquuntur. Non enim distillant gratiam,  
nisi fonte gratiae rigarentur. Item illic: *Qui diligit disciplinam, diligit*  
*seipsum; qui autem odit increpationes insipiens est; melior qui invenit*  
*gratiam ante dominum*. Quia videlicet diligere disciplinam, et oboedire  
705 gratiae fuerit eruditus. Ideo iterum ipse dicit: *Cor viri cogitat recta, ut*  
*a deo corrigantur gressus eius*. Cogitat enim iam recta, qui invenit gratiam  
ante dominum; et corrigit gressus eius dominus, cum in eo et non in se  
confidens dicit: *Perfice gressus meos in semitis tuis, ut non moveantur*  
*vestigia mea*. Item in libro Sapientiae: *Quoniam gratia dei est*, ait, in  
710 *sanctis illius*. Ecce generaliter dictum, neminem sanctorum sine gratia  
dei fuisse vel esse; sed ut in eis sit ad confirmandos eos, acceperunt  
gratis per fidem quae a deo est, non habuerunt ante fidem. Quia, ut ait  
David: *Pro nihilo salvos facies eos*

Item in libro Tobī: *Ego autem*, ait, *custodivi animam meam, ne mandu-*  
715 *caream de escis illorum*. Et quoniam memor eram dei in toto corde meo,  
*dedit mihi summus deus gratiam penes Salmanasar regem, et emebam*  
*illi omnia, iens in regionem Mediam, usque dum mortuus est*. Quod vero  
praeposuit dicens: *Quoniam memor eram dei in toto corde meo*, ne pro-  
prium esse videretur, et non donum, quod memor esset dei, continuo  
720 subiungens ait: *Dedit mihi summus deus gratiam*, ut confirmaret eius  
dono, non meritis, se dei memorem fuisse, et locum dilectionis ante  
regem Salmanasar invenisse. Praeparatur enim voluntas a domino,  
a quo omne datum optimum, et omne donum perfectum est, *ut omne*  
*os obstruatur, et subditus fiat omnis mundus deo; quia ex operibus non*  
725 *iustificabitur omnis caro coram illo; quia iustitia dei praeventu miseri-*

699 Prv 10,31 (sec. LXX) || 701/3 Prv 12,1-2 || 705/6 Prv 16,9 || 708/9 Ps 16,5 ||  
709/10 Sap 4,15 || 713 Ps 55,8 || 714/20 Tb 1,12-14 || 722 Prv 8,35 (sec. LXX) ||  
723 Cf. Iac 1,17 || 723/5 Rm 3,19-20 || 725/6 Cf. Rm 3,22

699 distillat C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) || 701 illic] dicit α || 702 seipsum] sensum (cum Vulg.) Φ edd.  
| increpationem P<sup>2</sup> || 703 dominum] deum C || 705 iterum] item edd. (exc. Lov Mr)  
| recta] rectum Φ edd. (exc. Mr) | ut] om. C || 706 a deo] apud deum C; a domino  
Θ b2 || 709 est] om. P; post ait tr. Ω M c edd. (exc. Mr) || 711 confirmandos] conser-  
vandos P M Ω b2 || 713 eos] illos P || 714 Tobiae edd. | ait] om. P M π || 715 illo-  
rum] eorum edd. | eram] fui edd. (exc. Mr); etiam Mr (corr. PL) | meo] add. et P ||  
717 iens] gens C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) ens δ | regionem] om. α; regione t p2 ro | Moedia α; Moe-  
dian ro; Medicam C t p1,2 || 719 quod] quo P; quia α || 720 ut] om. P | confirmat  
P || 721 meriti ro Am; merito edd. (exc. Am Mr) | se] sed C Ω; et M δ π t (corr.  
t<sup>2</sup>) || 722 regem] om. P || 723 omne<sup>2</sup>] om. ro || 724 fiat] sit P || 725 iustificatur P  
C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) | praeventum Ω M; praeventus Lov

cordiae *per fidem Iesu Christi* apparuit *super omnes qui crediderunt*. Ideo et subiungens, inquit idem Apostolus: *Iustificati gratis per gratiam ipsius, per redemptionem quae est in Christo Iesu, quem proposuit deus propitiationem per fidem in sanguine ipsius, et cetera*. Ecce audisti: *Iustificati gratis per gratiam dei*. Noli ei praeponere opera propria, nec 730 ex eisdem gloriari, quia, ut iam superius dictum est: *Ex operibus non iustificabitur omnis caro coram illo*.

*Caput 13* «Ergo», inquires, «damnas opera liberi arbitrii bona, quia dicis iustitiam ex operibus non deberi. Si ita est, cur nobis praecipitur 735 ab Apostolo, abundare in operibus bonis, quia labor noster non erit inanis in domino?» Audi, haeretice stulte et inimice fidei veritatis, opera liberi arbitrii bona, quae ut fiant praeparantur | per gratiae prae- *PL 1636* ventum, nullis liberi arbitrii meritis, sed ipsa faciente, gubernante et perficiente ut abundant in libero arbitrio, non damnamus, quia ex his vel huiusmodi homines dei iustificati sunt, iustificantur, iustificabuntur 740 in Christo. Damnamus vero auctoritate divina opera liberi arbitrii, quae gratiae praeponuntur, et ex his tanquam meritis in Christo iustificari extolluntur. *Quis enim prior dedit ei, et retribuetur illi?* Paulus hoc dicit, non a se, sed in se Christo loquente. Pelagius non credit. Dic, haeretice, cui est dicendum anathema? Immo dicat Paulus ore suo, 745 proferente Christo sententiam: *Sed licet nos, aut angelus de caelo evangelizet vobis, praeterquam quod evangelizavimus vobis, anathema sit. Sicut praediximus, et nunc iterum dico: Si quis vobis evangelizaverit praeter id quod accepistis, anathema sit*. Ille in spiritu dei dicit extollentibus se de se: *Quis prior dedit ei, et retribuetur illi?* Tu in sapientia carnis, quae 750 inimica est in domino, respondes: «Ego prior dedi deo, et retribuit mihi.» Quid deinde restat ut audias nisi anathema?

727/30 Rm 3,24-25 || 731/2 Rm 3,20 || 734/6 Cf. I Cor 15,58 || 743 Rm 11,35 || 743/4 Cf. II Cor 13,3 || 746/9 Gal 1,8-9 || 750 Rm 11,35 || 750/2 Cf. Rm 8,7

727 subiungit Ω | inquit] *om.* C (*add.* C<sup>2</sup>) Ω || 729 propitiationem] iustificationem P (*corr.* P<sup>2</sup>) | audistis c v t2 || 733 inquires P<sup>2</sup> ro | damnabas P (*damnabis* P<sup>2</sup>); *damnabis* c || 734 praecipit *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) || 735 abApostolo] Apostolus *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) || 737 praeventam P<sup>2</sup> || 738 nullo ... merito *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) | sed] et δ M c v t2 | ipse C (ipso C<sup>2</sup>) t; ipso *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) || 742 gratiae] gratis P | iustificati Ω Lov || 743 illi] ei ro || 744 Pelagius] *praem.* Sed Ω || 746 Christo proferente ~ α | angelus] *add.* ait *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) || 747 quod] *om.* Ω || 748 praedixi α | iterum] item Am || 749 se] *om.* P || 750 ei] illi Φ *edd.* | illi] *om.* *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) | in] *om.* *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) || 751 domino] deum Φ Mr; deo c v t2 *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) | respondis P | retribuet C (*corr.* C<sup>2</sup>) *edd.* (*exc.* Mr)



Sed clamas iterum, et dicis: «Si nullum est meritum operantis, quomodo scriptum est: *Et tu reddes unicuique secundum opera sua?* Ausculta, et intellege, si tamen aures habeas audiendi, et cor non sit induratum intellegendi. Propter liberum arbitrium quo bona et mala operantur homines, dictum est unicuique reddi secundum opera sua. Habet enim homo malum meritum, cum vitio suo iam baptizatus declinat a bono et facit malum, id est cum derelinquit deum, et diligit saeculum, sicut fecisse Deman et Hermogenem testatur Apostolus; vel cum etiam quis in toto spem habens in vanis simulacris, deum verum cognoscere non vult; quem in hoc saeculo habet potestatem, si velit summus deus, tam per indebitam gratiam qua iustificat inpium salvare, quam etiam cum se avertit, iudicio iusto traditum in reprobum sensum, futuro gehennae supplicio reservare, ut reddat ei secundum opera sua. Habet nihilominus et bonum meritum, cum in omnibus gratiae dei bona in se operanti non resistit, sed cooperator existit, et omnem spem suam habet in illam; cum aurem suam et cor deo loquenti intus, hoc est in interiore homine praebet, et non foris in malo saeculo perstrepenti, quod meritum non habet propter praesentem vitam, tanquam in praesenti saeculo recepturus; sed propter futuram veram vitam, quae erit in saecula saeculorum; quia si in hac vita tantum in Christo speramus, miserabiliores sumus omnibus hominibus. Spes enim quae videtur non est spes: nam quod videt quis, quid sperat? Si autem quod non videmus, speramus, per patientiam expectamus. Quapropter de meritis Christianus extolli in hoc saeculo non debet, quia nemo in hac vita positus gloriabitur purum se habere cor, nec quisquam dicit se esse sine peccato.

754 Ps 61,13; cf. Mt 16,27 || 755/6 Cf. Mt 13,9; Io 12,40 || 757 Cf. Mt 16,27; Rm 2,6 || 758/9 Cf. Ps 36,27; Ps 33,15; I Pt 3,11 || 759/60 Cf. II Tim 4,10; II Tim 1,15 || 763 Cf. Rm 4,5 || 764 Cf. Rm 1,28 || 765 Cf. Mt 16,27; Rm 2,6 || 772/3 Cf. I Cor 15,19 || 773/5 Rm 8,24-25 || 776/7 Cf. Prv 20,9

754 reddis *M* | unicuique] singulis  $\Phi$  c v t2 *Mr* || 755 habes  $\Psi$  *M* *edd.* (*exc.* *Mr*) || 756 quo] quod *P* (*corr.* *P*<sup>2</sup>) || 757 reddis *C*; reddes t p2 *edd.* (*exc.* *Lov* *Mr*) || 759 derelinquit] reliquit *C* (relinquit *C*<sup>2</sup>); relinquit  $\delta$   $\pi$  t p2 *Mr* || 760 Deman *edd.* | quis] *om.*  $\Phi$  || 761 in toto] totam  $\Omega$  | vanis simulacris] vanissimo lucro  $\Omega$  | verum] vero  $\Theta$  *C* (*corr.* *C*<sup>2</sup>)  $\delta$  | agnoscere *edd.* (*exc.* *Mr*) || 762 quem] *add.* cognoscendi  $\Theta$  *M* b2 *edd.* (*exc.* *Mr*); *add.* cognoscendo  $\Omega$  | tam] tanquam *ro* || 763 quam] quem *ro* || 764 advertit  $\Theta$  || 764/5 supplicio gehennae  $\sim \pi$  || 765 reddat ei] *post* sua *tr.*  $\pi$  *Mr* || 767 operandi *C* | cooperator] quo operator *C* (*corr.* *C*<sup>2</sup>) || 768 illam] illum *P* *ro* *edd.* (*exc.* *Lov* *Mr*); illo  $\alpha$  *Lov* | hoc est] *om.* *P* | interiora *C* (*corr.* *C*<sup>2</sup>) || 769 foras *P* *M* b2 | malis  $\Psi$  *M* b2 *edd.* (*exc.* *Mr*) | saeculi *P*<sup>2</sup> | perstrepenti *P* (perstrepenti *P*<sup>2</sup>) || 771 recepturos *P* (*corr.* *P*<sup>2</sup>) || 772 speramus] sperantes sumus  $\Theta$  *M* b2 || 775 Christianis *C* (*corr.* *C*<sup>2</sup>) || 776 quia nemo] quis (*cum* *Vulg.*)  $\Omega$  || 777 se habere purum  $\sim$  *edd.* (*exc.* *Mr*) | dicit *P*<sup>2</sup>

In praesenti namque labor indictus est, ut fiant merita per auxilium gratiae, non praemissorum redditio meritorum. Ideo et Apostolus: *Non quod iam, inquit, acceperim, aut iam perfectus sim; sequor autem si 780 comprehendam, in quo et comprehensus sum a Christo Iesu, et cetera.* Quicquid ergo homo in praesenti fuerit consecutus, donum est, non meritum. Cum autem corruptibile hoc induerit incorruptelam, et mortale hoc induerit immortalitatem, ubi | iam nulla erit malorum cupiditas, *PL 1637* sed perfecta iustitia, ut sit deus omnia in omnibus; tunc meritum *785* reddetur iustis secundum opera sua, quorum per totam saeculi vitam meritum omne fuit gratia, ut gaudentes iam, merito dicant animae suae: *Benedic, anima mea, dominum; et omnia interiora mea, nomen sanctum eius. Benedic, anima mea, dominum; et noli oblivisci omnes retributiones eius. Qui propitius fit omnibus iniquitatibus tuis, qui sanat 790 omnes languores tuos, qui redimit de interitu vitam tuam, qui coronat te in miseratione et misericordia.* Audis, Pelagiane, in miseratione et misericordia, et caecus extolleris pro meritis solarum virium tuarum te coronandum? Intellege miseratione et misericordia dei, non in actione meritorum, animam coronari. *795*

*Caput 14* Omnes igitur sancti dei, quos superius memoravi, vel non memoravi, qui ante adventum fuere incarnationis domini nostri Iesu Christi, fide non alia, nisi quae nunc est, salvi facti sunt. Quia cum diceret Apostolus in epistula ad Hebraeos: *Fide intellegimus aptata esse saecula verbo dei, ut ex invisibilibus visibilia fierent. Fide plurimam 800 hostiam Abel quam Cain obtulit deo, per quam testimonium consecutus est*

779/81 Phil 3,12 (cf. *Vet. Lat.* 24/2, p.196-200) || 783/4 Cf. I Cor 15,53 || 785 Cf. I Cor 15,28 || 785/6 Cf. Mt 16,27; Rm 2,6 || 788/95 Ps 102,1-4 || 799/806 Hbr 11,3-6

778 namque] *add.* saeculo P<sup>2</sup> | merita] meri P (*corr.* P<sup>2</sup>) || 779 Ideo] *praem.* Et C | et] *elim.* C<sup>2</sup> || 780 acciperim P (*corr.* P<sup>2</sup>) | acceperim inquit ~ α || 781 comprehendar ro || 782 Quidquid P (*corr.* P<sup>2</sup>) M Mr | praesenti] *add.* saeculo P || 784 malorum nulla erit ~ Ω || 785 sit] sint Ω | deus] *om.* Ω || 786 redditur P M Ω | totum C (*corr.* C<sup>2</sup>) || 787 gaudentis P || 788 domino (*cum moz Ga*) P C || 789 sanctum] *om.* P || 790 propitius fit] propitiabitur t (*corr.* t<sup>2</sup>) p1,7 v | tuis] suis C (*corr.* C<sup>2</sup>) || 791 languores tuos] infirmitates tuas (*cum Ga*) Φ Am (*in mg. Al.* languores tuos) Er (*in mg. Al.* languores tuos | redemit (*cum Ro*) C (*corr.* C<sup>2</sup>) p1,7 *edd. (exc. Lov Mr)* | interito P (*corr.* P<sup>2</sup>) || 792 misericordia<sup>1</sup> et miseratione<sup>1</sup> ~ (*cum β γ med Ga*) Am Er || 793 extollens C (*corr.* C<sup>2</sup>) | virium] virtutum P Ω Am (*in mg. Al.* virtutum) Er (*in mg. Al.* virtutum) | te] *om.* M || 794 miseratione] *praem.* in α | miserationem et misericordiam ~ c v t2 | in actione] inflatione C Mr; in factione Ω *edd. (exc. Mr)* || 795 anima α | coronatam t p2 || 796/7 vel non memoravi] *om. per hom.* Θ b2 || 797 nostri] *om.* M δ π c v t2 || 798 salvi facti] salvificati Am Er | Quia] Quod *edd. (exc. Mr)* || 799 dicerit P (*corr.* P<sup>2</sup>) | apta C c v t2 || 800 dei verbo ~ α

esse iustus, testimonium perhibente muneribus eius deo, et per illam defunctus adhuc loquitur. Fide Enoch translatus est, ne videret mortem, et non inveniebatur, quia transtulit illum deus; ante translationem enim testimonium habebat placuisse deo. Sine fide autem, ait, impossibile est placere deo. Sic et de ceteris, quos lectionis ordo commemorat. Sed non sola fide, immo et gratia, quae nunc per Christum donata est; quia nec fides sine gratia, nec gratia sine fide, dicente Apostolo ad Timotheum: *Superabundavit autem gratia domini nostri cum fide et dilectione, quae est in Christo Iesu*. Nam eandem, ut dixi, esse fidem, quae salutem contulit cognoscendo deum, et illis et nobis, apertissime demonstrat Apostolus scribens ad Galatas: *Prius autem, ait, quam veniret fides, sub lege custodiebamur conclusi in eam fidem, quae revelanda erat*. In eam utique, quae semper temporibus tacitis erat in dei servis per dei verbum, et  
815 revelanda erat in gentibus per incarnatum idem verbum; quia, ut ait iterum Apostolus ad Hebraeos: *Iesus Christus heri et hodie, ipse et in saecula*. Tempora itaque mutata sunt, non fides.

Iustificatio ergo per fidem Iesu Christi data est, datur, dabitur credentibus. Quae fides donum est, sicut et gratia, non merces; quia, ut  
820 superius commemoravi dixisse Apostolum: *Superabundavit gratia domini nostri cum fide*. In quo enim nostrum fides, priusquam veniret, erat quae, sicut dixit Apostolus, revelanda erat? Nemo penitus gloriatur fidem se ex proprio sensu genuisse in se, per quam deo credere possit; sed agnoscat, tam ante legem quam sub lege et post legem, fidem quae  
825 est in Christo Iesu per inluminationem gratiae, quae a deo patre est

808/10 I Tim 1,14 || 812/3 Gal 3,23 || 814 Cf. Rm 16,25 || 816/17 Hbr 13,8 || 818/9 Cf. Rm 3,22 || 820/1 I Tim 1,14 || 821/2 Cf. Gal 3,23

803 adhuc] ad hoc ro | adhuc loquitur] adloquitur P || 804 illum] eum t p2 || 805 autem] om. Ω | est] om. (cum GF) C (add. C<sup>2</sup>) Mr (add. PL) || 806 deo] om. (cum GAKCo) C (add. C<sup>2</sup>) ro t p2 | sola] solum Ω edd. (exc. Mr) || 807 quae ... 808 gratia<sup>1</sup>] om. per hom. C || 810 eadem C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) | ut dixi] dixit Ω | contulit] add. in Φ edd.; add. ad c v t2 || 811 cognoscendum Φ c v t2 Mr | nobis] add. hanc Ω || 812 Galathas Ω c i v t2 | ait] om. α | ait quam] antequam ro || 813 eam<sup>2</sup>] ea P C i ro b2 | utique] add. fide P<sup>2</sup> || 815 idem] eundem Φ || 816 Christus Iesus ~ P Ω b2 | ipse] add. et ipse C (est loco et ipse add. C<sup>2</sup>) | et ipse ~ t p2 edd. (exc. Mr) || 817 itaque] autem P; utique Φ; add. autem b2 || 818 ergo] igitur Ω; itaque M | datur] elim. C<sup>2</sup> et loco eius add. et || 819 Quae] Quia Ω || 820 commemoravi] dixi Φ || 821 nostri] add. Iesu Christi Φ c v t2 edd. (exc. Am Er) | nostrum] nostra Ω Am Er | fides] add. illius P<sup>2</sup> | veniret] add. ipse P<sup>2</sup> || 822 quae] quia α; quoniam P ro b2 Am Er | sicut] ut Φ M c v t2 | Apostolus] add. ipsa fides in illo P<sup>2</sup> | Nemo] add. igitur P<sup>2</sup> || 823 se fidem ~ edd. (exc. Mr) | deo] post possit tr. Φ c v t2 edd. | posset Φ c v t2 Mr || 824 agnoscit Am | lege] legem P (corr. P<sup>2</sup>) || 825 Iesu Christo ~ C π Mr | quae] om. Φ | est] om. Φ

unicuique revelata ad salutem. Quod apertissime in evangelio dominus noster et salvator ostendit, ubi dicit discipulis suis: *Quem me esse dicunt homines filium hominis?* et cetera. *Vos autem, inquit, quem me esse dicitis?* Respondens Petrus ait: *Tu es Christus filius dei vivi.* Respondens ait dominus: *Beatus es, Simon Bar-Iona, quia non caro et sanguis revelavit tibi, sed pater meus qui in caelis est.* Ecce clarum fidei donum. An non est donum, cum dicitur: *Quia non caro et sanguis revelavit tibi, sed pater meus qui in caelis est?* Item apostolus Paulus ad Galatas: *Cum autem placuit, ait, ei qui me segregavit de utero matris meae, et vocavit per gratiam suam, ut revelaret filium suum in me, ut evangelizarem eum in gentibus.* Cognoverat quippe in evangelio quid Petro responderit dominus se confitenti, ideo et dixit: *Cum autem placuit ei, qui me segregavit de utero matris meae, et vocavit per gratiam suam, ut revelaret filium suum in me,* tanquam diceret: Non caro et sanguis mihi dei filium revelavit, sed pater qui in caelis est, ideo non dixit: Cum voluissem ego, sed, *Cum placuit ei, qui me segregavit de utero matris meae, et vocavit, non per meritum meum, sed per gratiam suam.* Unde et iterum dicit in alia epistula sua: *Misericordiam consecutus sum, ut essem fidelis.* Item ad Ephesios, ubi dicit: *Huius rei gratia ego Paulus vincitus Christi Iesu pro vobis gentibus,* et inter cetera sequentia: *Per evangelium, ait, cuius factus sum minister secundum donum gratiae dei, quae data est mihi.* Audi et crede, Pelagiane, secundum donum gratiae unumquemque esse fidelem, non secundum meritum propriae voluntatis.

*Caput 15* Sed ais mihi, quia oculis haeretico dolore turbatis intendere lumen non potes veritatis: «Et nullum est prorsus meritum propriae

827/33 Mt 16,15-17 || 833/5 Gal 1,15-16 || 837/9 Gal 1,15-16 || 839/40 Cf. Mt 16,17 || 841/2 Gal 1,15 || 843 I Cor 7,25 || 844/5 Eph 3,1 (cf. Vet. Lat. 24/1, p. 104-105) || 845/6 Eph 3,6-7 (cf. Vet. Lat. 24/1, p. 110-13)

826 revelatam P π δ α edd.; add. esse π | Quod] Ut Ω edd. (exc. Mr) || 827 suis] om. P | me] om. α edd. (exc. Mr) || 827/8 dicunt homines esse ~ (cum Vulg.) α edd. (exc. Mr) || 829 filius] om. π | vivit M | Respondens<sup>2</sup>] add. autem α | Respondens ait] Et Φ M edd.; om. ro || 830 dominus] illi P<sup>2</sup>; add. ei α | non] post sanguis tr. (cum Vulg.) M c t ro v t2 || 831 est in caelis ~ M edd. (exc. Mr) || 832 non] post sanguis tr. (cum Vulg.) C<sup>2</sup> c π δ t p2 v t2 || 833 est in caelis ~ P C edd. (exc. Mr) | Galathas Ω C<sup>2</sup> Am || 834 complacuit ro | segravit P (corr. P<sup>2</sup>) || 835 evangelizaret P (corr. P<sup>2</sup>) || 836 responderat α; responderet ro Am || 837 confiteri Ch Ly || 838 ut] et C || 839 filium dei ~ edd. (exc. Mr) || 842 suam] add. ut revelaret filium suum in me π | Unde] om. π | iterum] item Am; idem edd. (exc. Am Mr) || 843 sua] om. Φ M c v t2 Mr || 844 Iesu Christi ~ P M || 845 gentibus] om. P | ait] om. π || 846 dei] om. P || 847 donum gratiae] gratiam t || 847/8 fidelem esse ~ Φ edd. || 848 meritum] donum Ω || 849 ais] agit ro | quia] qui Ω | oculus δ | turbatus δ || 849/50 intendere] post potes tr. Ω || 850 veritatis non potes ~ Θ b2 edd. (exc. Mr) | potes] potestis Φ | Et] Ergo Lov Mr

voluntatis, si discernas inter voluntatem et gratiam? » Audi ergo breviter: Propriae voluntatis tunc est meritum bonum, quando gratiae donum praecedit uniuscuiusque voluntatem, et operatur ut meritum faciat homo ex propria voluntate. Ut evidentius ergo cognoscas donum esse  
855 gratiam et fidem, quae perditum hominem revocant ad salutem, audi Apostolum Ephesiis praedicantem: *Gratia salvi facti estis per fidem, et hoc non ex vobis: dei donum est, non ex operibus, ut ne quis glorietur.* Omnes igitur qui fuere, vel sumus, et futuri sunt, per unicam fidem et gratiam quae est in Christo Iesu, in deum crediderunt, credimus, et  
860 credituri sunt, salutem receperunt, recipimus, et recepturi sunt. Sine Christo enim nemo hominum poterit in deum credere vel adipisci salutem, sicut dicit in Actibus Apostolorum Petrus apostolus de Christo, increpans infidelium insaniam Iudaeorum: *Hic est lapis, qui reprobatus est a vobis aedificantibus, qui factus est in caput anguli, et non est in alio aliquo*  
865 *salus: nec enim nomen aliud est sub caelo datum hominibus, in quo oporteat nos salvos fieri.* Quamobrem et apostolus Paulus scribens Corinthiis, id est ostendens eadem fide, iisdem sacramentis, quibus et nos et patres omnes fuisse redemptos, dicit: *Nolo enim vos ignorare, fratres, quoniam patres nostri omnes sub nube fuerunt, et omnes mare transierunt, et omnes*  
870 *in Moysen, hoc est per Moysen, baptizati sunt in nube et in mari, et omnes eandem escam spiritalem manducaverunt, et omnes eundem potum spiritalem biberunt. Bibebant autem de spiritali consequente eos petra; petra autem erat Christus.* Item ad Corinthios secunda: *Habentes autem eundem spiritum fidei, sicut scriptum est: Credidi, propter quod locutus*

856/7 Eph 2,8-9 || 863/66 Act 4,11-12 || 868/73 I Cor 10,1-4 || 873/5 II Cor 4,13

851 gratiam et voluntatem ~ π | gratiam] *add.* inter est P; in te. Quid est? c; quid est? δ v t2; est C M π t p2 *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) || 852 Propriae] *praem.* meritum ro || 853 faciet C (*corr.* C2); fiat Ω || 854 homo] *om.* P Ω M b2 | per propriam voluntatem Φ c v t2 *edd.* || 855 quae] qua ro | revocavit Am Er || 856 Ephesiis] ad Ephesios Ω Am Er | salvi facti] salvati (*cum Vulg.*) Φ Mr || 857 dei] *praem.* sed P2 | donum dei ~ π | ut] *om.* a1 (*add.* a12) *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) || 858 Omnis P | fuere] fuerit P | et] vel π | unitam Ω; unitatem C t p2 Am (*in mg. Al.* uncam Er) Ch Ly | fidei C2 t p2 Am (*in mg. Al.* fidem) Er Ch Ly || 859 et1] *ad* t p2 | deum] dominum α; domino ro | crediderunt] *om.* Θ M ro π δ *edd.* (*exc.* Lov Mr) || 860 salutem ... sunt2] *om.* *per hom.* π *edd.* (*exc.* Lov Mr) | receperunt] *om.* Θ M C t p2 ro | recepimus P (*corr.* P2) ro Lov Mr || 861 hominum] *om.* Φ || 863 insaniam C (*corr.* C2) || 865 datum est sub caelo ~ P M Ω; est datum sub caelo c v t2 | oportet P M || 866 et] *om.* P Ω || 867 id est] idem P M | eandem fidem c v t2 *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) et2] *om.* Φ Mr | patres] *add.* nostri ro; *add.* nostros *edd.* || 868 fratres] *add.* ait P M Ω *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) || 869 sub ... omnes1] *om.* *per hom.* P || 870 Moysen1] Moyse (*cum Vulg.*) Φ Mr | baptizati sunt] *ante hoc tr.* π || 871 eandem] *om.* P | spiritualement PL || 871/2 spiritalem potum ~ P || 872 spiritualement PL | Bibebant] Biberunt *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) | spiritali PL || 873 Corinthios] *add.* in epistola P2 π

*sum; et nos credimus, propter quod et loquimur.* Omnem vero amputavit 875  
inperitorum suspensionem ancipitem, et nostram defensionem nullo  
haereticorum ariete quassandam muro vallavit, cum scribit Ephesiis:  
*Unum corpus et unus spiritus, sicut vocati estis in una spe vocationis*  
*vestrae. Unus dominus, una fides, unum baptisma, unus deus et pater*  
*omnium, qui super omnes et per omnia et in omnibus nobis.* Item illic 880  
post pusillum: *Donec occurramus,* ait, *omnes in unitatem fidei et agni-*  
*tionis filii dei, in virum perfectum, in mensuram aetatis plenitudinis*  
*Christi.* Nota dictum, haeretice, *omnes, et in unitatem fidei.* Sed *fidei*  
quae est in Christo Iesu, quae cum gratia, ut superius probavimus,  
gratis, non meritis, a deo patre ad salutem omnibus credentibus est 885  
tributa. Haec magisterio gratiae, quae | est in Christo Iesu domino PL 1639  
nostro, de gratia et libero arbitrio dicta sufficiant. Immo gratias deo,  
qui, quantum voluit donando, quod voluit fari permisit, et ubi voluit  
tacendum, linguae terminum posuit.

## RESPONSIO IV

PL 1639

*Caput 1* Item aiunt: «Libidinem naturale esse bonum, nec in ea esse  
quod pudeat.» Respondemus: Libido non est naturale bonum in homi-  
nibus, sed per peccatum primorum hominum accidens malum atque  
pudendum, cuius non deus auctor est, sed diabolus. Quod vos errantes, 5  
et alios in errorem mittentes, ideo naturale esse bonum dicitis, quia

878/80 Eph 4, 4-6 || 881/3 Eph 4,13

876 defensionem] definitionem P α Lov Mr; diffinitionem ro || 877 quassando α |  
cum] circum P (sicut P<sup>2</sup>) M; om. ro | scripsit P Ω b2; scribsit M || 878 et] om. P ||  
880 et<sup>2</sup>] om. P || 881 pausillum C δ; pauxillum C<sup>2</sup> π | ait] inquit Ω; om. π || 885 gratis]  
om. Ω || 886 adtributa Θ Ω b2 | Haec] add. de Er Ch Ly || 889 posuit] add. Amen C  
Explicit responsio tertia P Ω c; Finit responsio Φ; Explicit liber tertius ypomnes-  
ticon sancti Augustini M;

Incipit responsio quarta P; responsio quarta π t p2; Incipit quarta C α c; Incipit  
quartus M; Incipit liber quartus ro.  
5/6 Cf. II Tim 3,13

2 Libidinem] add. in homine Ψ δ b2 Mr | naturale] add. in homine edd. (exc. Mr)  
| bonum] add. Libidinem naturale esse bonum P (elim. P<sup>2</sup>) | nec ... 3 pudeat] om.  
ro | ea] eo α || 3 Respondemus] praem. Et edd. (exc. Mr) | Libidinem Ω M b2 | Libi-  
do ... bonum] om. P | non] om. M ro b2 | est] esse Ω; om. M b2 | hominibus] add.  
non esse b2 || 4 per] om. C δ | peccato C<sup>2</sup> | accedens P ro | malum] add. est M<sup>2</sup> |  
adque M || 5 diaboli P || 6 errore M | ideo] praem. et P M ro | bonum esse ~ edd.

deum pestis huius auctorem creditis, non diabolus. Omne enim quod natura bonum est, deus summe bonus ex nihilo fecit, non diabolus. Nos autem libidinem non naturale bonum, sed naturale esse malum dicimus credimusque. Naturale autem malum sic dicimus, non quia sit naturae deo opifice congenitum, sed quod a peccante natura transeat in peccatricem naturam, id est quod sit naturae peccantis vitium, non ipsa natura. Omne enim malum natura non est, sed actus verissime accidens defectu boni. Quamobrem quod natura non est, deus non fecit, quia natura est omne quod fecit. Hoc ergo malo in Adam, qui male bonum illicitum concupivit, ut dixi, humana natura est vitiata, quod omnis trahit ex Adam seminatus. Sed forsitan quaeris a me dicens: «Et quemadmodum potuit malum serpentis, hoc est diaboli, in bonum hominis transire naturae?» Ausculta: Serpentis nonnunquam venenato flatu hominem et mori novimus statim, et ut mori possit graviter perur-  
 10 guer. Quapropter interrogo, responde, quomodo potest alienae naturae virus flatile humanae sic praevalere naturae, ut omnes artus eius flatu mortifero farciat, et vitalem flatum ex ea cogat exire? Sed novi quia nihil dicturus eris. Peccato enim protoplasti non credis miseram factam  
 15 esse humanam naturam et mortalem, unde potest qualibet accidente adversitate facile deprimi vel occidi. Audi igitur: Sicut nunc in peccatore serpentis flatu pestifero venenum infligitur, et per illud mori conpellitur, et a Marso, id est incantatore, inspectus adflaticius dicitur, quia serpens, inquit, illum adflavit, et statim pro salute eius parat antidotum, quod  
 20 possit superare venenum; ita tunc in peccante Adam, cum serpenti,

19/20 Cf. Dt 8,15

7 quod] *add.* in δ c v t2 || 9 libidinem] *om.* P Ω M ro | bono P (*corr.* P<sup>2</sup>) || 10 sic] sit Ch Ly || 11 transierit Φ c v t2 *edd.* || 12 id est] idem P || 13 ipsa] *om.* Φ; *post* natura<sup>1</sup> *tr.* c v t2 | non est natura<sup>2</sup> ~ *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) | non] nostra P | verissime] *om.* Φ M v t2 b2 *edd.* || 14 accedens P (*corr.* P<sup>2</sup>) Ω | non?] *eras.* P<sup>2</sup> || 15 Hoc] *praem.* Et Am Er | malum Θ c ro v t2 | qui] quia c v t2 || 17 omnes P<sup>2</sup> | trahit ro (*in mg.* trahit) | Adam] *om.* Φ Ω M *edd.* | seminatus] semine natus Φ Ω M *edd.* || 18 Et] *om.* *edd.* | potuit] *om.* α | hoc] id Ω || 19 naturae] *add.* obiectis c v t2 || 20 flato P || 22 virus ... naturae] *om.* *per hom.* δ | flato P || 23 mortiferos Ly | fartiat ro Am; faciat Θ Φ M c v t2 Ch Ly; fauciat b2; inficiat C<sup>2</sup> t2 | et] ut Mr || 24 Peccato] Per peccatum *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) | non] si Am Er || 24/5 esse factam ~ v t2 *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) || 25 accedente P<sup>2</sup> Ω || 26 adversitate] infirmitate *edd.* (*in mg.* Al. adversitate Am Er) | igitur] ergo *edd.* | peccatorem Ω || 27 illum P ro b2 Am Er Lov || 28 a] idem *edd.* (*exc.* Lov Mr) | Morsu Ω; Morso v t2 b2; Morsus *edd.* (*exc.* Lov Mr) | id est] ab *edd.* (*exc.* Lov Mr) | adflaticius] afflatu cuius ro; afflatus *t* *edd.* (*exc.* Lov Mr); afflatitius Lov Mr; *add.* esse *edd.* (*exc.* Lov Mr) || 29 illum inquit ~ Φ c v t2 *edd.* | parat] per C | antidotum P; anthydotum α | quo Φ c v t2 *edd.* || 30 venenum superare ~ Φ c v t2 *edd.*

id est diabolo, magis suadenti, quam deo praemonenti ne faceret, sese incautus oboediens praeuisset, avertente se ab illo irato deo, fraudifero flatu venenosa et mortifera libido infixata est, tanto eum deinceps opprimens dominatu, ut etiam peccare nolentem, sicut venenum trahit ad mortem, peccare, id est malum velle, incitaret invitum. Hinc peccator, hinc vitiatu vitiosusque factus et dictus est, hinc privationem meruit vitae. Contra hoc venenatu malum ne praeualeat, inspiciente dei misericordia, remedium velut antidotu, per Iesum Christum donata est gratia, ne omnis homo penitus interiret. Quod si credere non vis, quaero ut dicas, quomodo potest molli sibilo serpens venenum, ut perimat, homini propinare, quod contingere hominum nullus ignorat? Sed quantumlibet tergiverseris, intercedente peccato et diaboli serpentis malo, natura humana potuit captivari, sicut et serpentis terreni potest flatili veneno exanimari; quia sic illud potuisse transire credimus, sicuti istud posse fieri | cognoscimus et videmus; quod penitus nec illic potuisset nec hic, si natura nostra inculpabilis permansisset.

45  
PL 1640

*Caput 2* Quaerendum est igitur, cur hoc malum de quo agitur libido dicatur. Sine dubio a libendo, id est a libitu, per derivationem libido est nuncupata. Sed ais mihi: «Ergo omne quod libet libido est?» Respondeo: Non omne quod libet, libido est, sed omne quod male libet, libido est. In bono enim libitu libido dici non potest, sed voluntas, de ratione scilicet mentis naturalis exoriens. In malo vero libitu non voluntas est, sed voluptas, quam fecit transgrediens protoplasti voluntas, cum scilicet illicitum male libuit suadente serpente, cuius sibilo venenoso, ut supra iam dixi, hunc morbum quem non habuit ante culpam eius delinquens natura concepit, et per coitum seminum transmisit in posteros. Factos enim primos homines absque libidinis malo, scriptura sancta testatur

58/9 Gn 2,25 (sec. VL; cf. *Vet. Lat.* 2, p. 55-56)

31 id] hoc Φ | magis] malum Am Er | sese] sise P || 32 incautus] incautum et Ω | oboedientem ro; om. Ω *edd.* | praestitisset Φ | fraudefero P (*corr.* P<sup>2</sup>) || 33 venenosae P Ω | et] om. P Ω | mortis fera α | inflicta C<sup>2</sup> *edd.* || 34 dominato P | traheret Ω || 35 peccare] om. Ω | velle] *add.* et Θ | incitare M || 36 hinc<sup>2</sup>] in C || 37 deo C (*corr.* C<sup>2</sup>) || 37/8 misericordia inspiciente dei ~ Φ *edd.* || 38 velut] id est Φ *edd.* | anthidotum P α; antydotum M || 39 non credere ~ *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) || 40 quaeso *edd.* | serpentis p1,7 || 41 homini] hominem p1,7 || 42 et] sub *edd.* || 43 sicut] om. Φ | et] om. *edd.* || 45 sicut Φ M *edd.* | illud α || 46 possuisset P || 47 quur C ro || 48 libito P (*corr.* P<sup>2</sup>) Ω | derivationem] nuncupationem Ω || 49 Respondeo ... 50 est] om. *per hom.* t p2 || 50 sed ... 51 est] om. *per hom.* C δ π || 51 libitu] libeto P (*corr.* P<sup>2</sup>); libito Ω || 52 libeto P (*corr.* P<sup>2</sup>); libito Ω || 53 protoplausti V || 56 semen transivit *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) || 57 homines primos ~ π | absque] om. p1; a p2



cum dicit: *Et erant ambo nudi, Adam et mulier eius, et non confundebantur*. Quid est *et non confundebantur*? Id est, nullis ad peccandum, sicuti contigit post peccatum, libidinis stimulis urgebantur. In voluntate enim eorum creatus erat licitus genitalium usus ad gignendos videlicet filios, non in voluptate luxuriae. Post peccatum vero hanc eisdem accidisse ipsa iterum scriptura demonstrat dicens: *Et aperti sunt oculi eorum, et scierunt quia nudi erant, et consuerunt folia fici, et fecerunt sibi tegumenta*. Sed numquid clausis oculis erant creati, quia dictum est: *Et aperti sunt oculi eorum*? Quod si clausi fuerunt oculi eorum, quomodo verum erit quod scriptum est: *Et vidit mulier quia bonum est lignum ad escam, et quia optimum est videre oculis, et speciosum ad intuendum*?<sup>2</sup> Aperti ergo erant oculi eorum ad intuendum opera domini, quae valde bona creavit: clausi vero erant ignorantia mali, quod creator bonorum omnium non creavit. Sed aperti sunt conscientia delicti pulsante, vel cum in se viderent, id est sentirent, iam nudati animae carnisque pace motum quendam turpissimum atque praecipitem noviter accidisse. Unde confusi ad fici folia cucurrerunt, et his libidinis pudore sollicitata membra texerunt. Quod si naturale bonum est secundum vos ista libido, et nihil est in ea quod pudeat, quaero, qua ex causa post transgressionem naturalia membra texerunt, et non sicut ante peccatum fuerant permanserunt, quando utique nudi erant, et non confundebantur? Nihil enim deus unde confunderetur homo, cum eum plas- maret ad suam imaginem, in eius forma creavit. Quod si non secundum fidem nostram de accidentis malo libidinis post peccatum confusi sunt, secundum dogma vestrum deus in eis fecit unde confunderentur, nec enim aliud dicitis, cum turpissimae libidinis deum esse auctorem praedicatis.

63/6 Gn 3,7 (*sec. VL; cf. Vet. Lat. 2, p. 61-2*) || 67/9 Gn 3,6 (*sec. VL; cf. Vet. Lat. 2, p. 60*) || 69 Cf. Gn 3,7 ||

58 mulier] uxor (*cum Vulg.*) c v t2 || 59 Quid ... confundebantur] *om. per hom. p11 b2 | et]* *om. Ω Φ v t2 edd.* | peccandum] peccatum C t p2 Am (*in mg. Al. peccandum*) || 60 sicut *edd.* | urgebantur P<sup>2</sup> C<sup>2</sup> α π t p2 b2 *edd.* || 61 gignendum t p2 || 62 voluntate α || 63 ipsa] *om. Ω | iterum] item Am Er || 64 sciverunt edd. (exc. Am) | ficus C edd. (exc. Lov Mr) || 65 tegumen Ω || 66 Et] om. P Ω M | Quod] Sed Θ || 68 est] et C (add. C<sup>2</sup>) | videri t *edd.* | intuendum] intendendum Φ || 69 erant ergo ~ M | intuendum] tuendum C (*corr. C<sup>2</sup>*) π | dominus P || 70 erant] *add. ad C<sup>2</sup> | ignorantia mali quod] ignorantiam aliquod P (ignorantia quod P<sup>2</sup>) C || 71 Sed] Et Ω Am | delicta C | pulsanti Ω || 72 animi P || 73 noviter] non vir C || 75 sollicita Θ; solidata δ | est bonum ~ α || 76 et] *om. c v t2 | est] om. P (post ea add. P<sup>2</sup>) Ω | pudeat] om. P (add. P<sup>2</sup>) || 79 confunderetur] confiteretur C | eum] om. Am || 81 de] om. π***

*Caput 3* Sed respondes forsitan: «Absit ut deus fecerit quempiam in  
 protoplastis pudorem.» Iterum ergo, iterumque percunctor: Si nihil 85  
 unde pudeat deus fecit, et plena fide dicitur, quia penitus non fecit;  
 et malum libidinis ex diabolo non est, quod recta fide non dicitur, quia  
 ex ipso est: dicite cur texerunt genitalia membra post culpam, quae a  
 die institutionis suae invicem videbant et non tegebant. Si dixeris  
 propter peccatum, ergo confitere et accusa malam | libidinem, cuius 90  
 inpudentiam prudentes foliis fici texerunt. Quod si dicere nequis, aperte *PL 1641*  
 deum pudoris auctorem esse criminari, quia cum ex malo libidinis a  
 vobis confusio contigisse negatur, deus apertissime hominum opifex  
 accusatur. Sed utinam sic vos istam libidinem laudare erubesceretis,  
 sicuti tunc illi, cum se peccasse eius convincente motu deprehenderent, 95  
 erubuerunt. Quid vero indicant folia fici, quibus, ut dixi, non deo  
 auctore pudenda membra, sed per peccatum facta texerunt, nisi quendam  
 pruritum libidinis turpem? Immo cur illas corporis partes texerunt,  
 et non potius manus quibus prohibita adtrectaverunt, aut ora quibus  
 male desiderata ederunt? Sed illa membra texerunt, in quibus peccati 100  
 cupiditas exardescens concupiscentiam incontinentis gutturis accusabat.  
 Ista est vestra laudabilis atque dilecta libido, per quam, ut ait Apostolus,  
*caro concupiscit adversus spiritum*; contra quam spiritus spem habens  
 in deo, nisi fortiter concupiscat, nec caro nec spiritus vitam possidebunt  
 aeternam. Sic stulti estis, ut istam discordiam carnis et spiritus, dia- 105  
 bolum excusantes, deum accusantes fecisse credatis. Sed absit hoc  
 malum a catholicis sensibus, ut auctorem libidinis deum esse audeant  
 cogitare vel dicere.

*Caput 4* Contra hoc venenum de gratiae antidoto confidentes omnes  
 sancti, castigantes corpus suum et in servitutem redigentes, ne forte 110  
 a fide Christi reprobi efficerentur, fortiter pugnaverunt et pugnant.

103 Gal 5,17 || 110/11 Cf. I Cor 9,27

84 quempiam] *om.* Φ Mr || 85 prothoplastis π | iterumque] que C | perconctor  
 Am; percontor M c π *edd.* (*exc.* Am) || 88 quur P C fl | texerint Φ Mr | quae a]  
 qua P || 89 constitutionis Ω || 91 inpudentia Φ | nequiveris Θ b2 || 92 pudoris]  
*add.* huius Φ Mr | autorem Er; authorem Ch Ly Lov | esse auctorem ~ Φ c v t2 |  
 criminis α || 93 negatur] *ante* confusio *tr.* Φ c v t2 *edd.* | contegisse P (*corr.* P<sup>2</sup>) ||  
 95 nunc c || 97 sed] et ro | nisi ... 98 texerunt] *om.* *per hom.* δ || 98 proritum P (*corr.*  
 P<sup>2</sup>) | corporis] *om.* α || 101 incutientis Ω; inconcutientis Am || 102 est] *om.* P Ω |  
 libido] cupido Ω || 103 spiritus] *om.* C π || 104 concupiscit t (*corr.* t<sup>2</sup>) | nec<sup>1</sup>] neque C |  
 possidebat C (*corr.* C<sup>2</sup>) || 106 absit] *add.* absit M δ π c t p2 b2 Lov Mr || 107 a] *om.*  
 M | ut] *om.* P || 110 rediente s C (*corr.* C<sup>2</sup>) || 111 efficiantur α | pugnent C (*corr.* C<sup>2</sup>).

De hac enim congressione loquebatur apostolus Paulus, cum dicit:  
*Ego igitur sic curro, non quasi in incertum; sic pugno, non quasi aerem*  
*verberans.* Sed tanquam e contrario responderetur ei: Quis est, vel  
115 ubi est adversarius tuus, contra quem pugnas? Respondens ait: *Castigo*  
*corpus meum, et in servitutem redigo*, id est in corpore meo est, non  
in aere, contra quem pugno. Libido est scilicet inimica vitae meae,  
quae me currentem et placere deo per ducatum gratiae eius volentem  
diversorum libituum malorum per momenta aculeis inpugnat et provo-  
120 cat, quo agonis mei cursum inpediens, auctorem suum diabolum faciat  
esse victorem. Ideo castigo corpus meum, ubi porto hostem meum:  
in me pugnanti contra me virtute gratiae confortatus repugno pro me.  
Sed tunc hostis potentiam destruo, cum castigans corpus meum infirmor  
in me: *Cum enim infirmor, tunc potens sum. Gratias autem deo, qui dedit*  
125 *nobis victoriam per dominum nostrum Iesum Christum.* Quod si non  
propterea castigabat corpus suum, quo malarum concupiscentiarum  
appetitus vel stimulos libidinis superaret, cur hoc se facere dicebat,  
illo melius sapientes et docentes exponite. Non enim naturale esse  
bonum libidinem praedicaretis, si castitatis virtutem intuentes, ut  
130 Paulus corpora vestra castigaretis. Immo inpudente fronte lascivientes,  
in eius motu sic procaci lingua laudatis, ut cunctis pateat quid a vobis  
geritur in secreto; si tamen quos laudare publice non pudet, eligant  
vel secretum. Rogo, erubescite, unde protoplasti, ut iam dictum est,  
post peccatum erubuerunt, quorum et ipsi peccatores sumus filii; et  
135 credite malum ex diabolo, non bonum ex deo esse libidinem. Quam  
Apostolus legem, hoc est, malam consuetudinem nominat, et esse dicit  
in membris contrariam legi mentis, ne oboediatur legi dei.

9

113/4 I Cor 9,26 || 115/6 I Cor 9,27 || 124 II Cor 12,10 || 124/5 I Cor 15,57 ||  
135/7 Cf. Rm 7,23

112 Paulus] *om. M* | dixit *edd.* || 113 igitur] *autem M* | in] *om. P* || 114 Sed]  
Et  $\Phi$  *M* c v t2 *edd.* | responditur *M* | ei] *om. p1,7* || 115 adversarius tuus] *om.  $\Omega$*   
| contra ... pugnans] *om.  $\pi$*  || 118 et] *om.  $\Phi$  c v t2 Mr* | deo] *om. Am Er* | volentem]  
*om.  $\Phi$  c v t2Mr*; nolentem *Am Er* || 119 divorum *P* | libidum *C*; libitu *M* || 120 mei]  
mihi  $\pi$  || 122 pugnante *C* (pugnantem *C2*) *t* || 123 destruo *P* (*corr. P2*) || 126 malorum  
*C2 ro* | concupiscentiarum] *om. C t p2* || 127 stimulus *C* (*corr. C2*) | libidinum *t p2*  
*edd. (exc. Mr)* | superaret libidinis ~  $\Phi$  c v t2 *edd.* | se] *om. C (add. C2)* || 128 illud  
*P* || 129 castitatis virtutem] castitatem  $\Phi$  c v t2 *Mr* || 130 castigatis *P* | inpudenti  
*C M  $\delta$*  | fronte] forte  $\delta$  || 131 in] cum *P*; *om.  $\delta$  c v t2 edd. (exc. Am)* | eius] *eis*  
*M* | motum *codd. (exc. P C  $\Omega$ ) edd.* | laudatis] *add. in publico t p2 edd.*; laudantes  
v t2 | ut] *om. C (add. C2)* | quid] quidquid  $\Theta$  || 132 quod  $\Psi$  *M p12, 3 b2*; quae  
*t p2*; quo *p1,2* | eligit  $\Psi$  *M* || 133 secreto  $\Theta$  | Rogo] *Ro C (elim. C2)*; ista ergo  $\pi$  ||  
135 bonam *ro*

*Caput 5* Audite ergo quanta sit iniquitas huius mali, quidve hinc homo  
 patiat<sup>ur</sup> infirmus, Apostolo dicente et disputante inter cetera: *Nam*  
*concupiscentiam*, inquit, *nesciebam, nisi lex diceret, Non concupisces.* 140  
 Non dixit: Concupiscentiam non habebam; sed, *nesciebam*. Quid? Utrum  
 malum esset? | Habebam igitur, sed tanquam naturale bonum esse cre- *PL 1642*  
 debam. Cum autem lex diceret: *Non concupisces*, cognovi non naturale  
 bonum, sed per peccatum accidens esse malum concupiscentiam. *Occa-*  
*sione autem accepta, peccatum per mandatum operatum est in me omnem* 145  
*concupiscentiam*. Cum ergo sperarem quod propriis viribus iubente lege  
 possem concupiscentiam libidinis vincere, maioribus magis eius urgue-  
 bar stimulis, et infirmante me eius cupiditas augebatur. *Sine lege enim*  
*peccatum mortuum erat*. Quod peccatum? Libido utique, quae et concu-  
 piscencia mala dicitur. Non dixit: Non erat; sed, *mortuum erat*, id est 150  
 cum praeceptum legis, quod est ei contrarium, adhuc non esset, in  
 peccatore latebat, quia legis inperio demonstratum est. *Ego autem vi-*  
*vebam sine lege aliquando*: priusquam scirem mandatum legis, in operibus  
 totius cupiditatis me vivere arbitrabar. *Sed cum venisset mandatum,*  
*peccatum revixit; ego autem mortuus sum*. Vixit enim intentione mortifera 155  
 prima lege, id est quando in paradiso captivavit Adam: revixit eadem  
 fallacia secunda lege et occidit me tanquam suum captivum, filium  
 transgressoris; quia *per legem cognitio peccati*, non victoria de peccato.  
*Et inventum est mihi mandatum quod erat ad vitam, hoc esse ad mortem*.  
 Optime dixit: *Inventum est mihi*: id est non mandatum deus ad mortem 160  
 dedit, sed visum est mihi tanquam mortiferum, eo quod illud virtute  
 propria implere non possum, cum ego non mandati vitio, sed stimulo  
 concupiscentiae mortis percussus moriar. Stimulus enim mortis pecca-  
 tum. *Nam peccatum occasione accepta per mandatum seduxit me, et per*

139/43 Rm 7,7 || 144/6 Rm 7,8 || 148/50 Rm 7,8 || 152/3 Rm 7,9 || 154/5 Rm  
 7,9-10 || 158 Cf. Rm 3,20 || 159 Rm 7,10 || 164/5 Rm 7,11

140 nesciebam inquit ~ α | concupiscet C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) || 141 dixit] add. non t p2 |  
 non<sup>2</sup>] praem. iam Mr | habebam] nesciebam t p2 | nesciebam] add. per ditt. sed  
 nesciebam M || 143 naturale] add. esse Ω || 146 viribus propriis ~ Φ edd. | iuvene  
 M | legem per errorem typ. PL || 147 posse P (corr. P<sup>2</sup>); possim ro | libidinis] om.  
 Φ c v t2 edd. | maloribus C | arguebar P (urgebar P<sup>2</sup>) || 148 eius] om. Φ Mr || 149  
 Quod ... 150 erat<sup>2</sup>] om. per hom. p7 || 151 legis] om. p7 | est ei] ei erat Θ || 152 impe-  
 rium ro || 153 sine lege] post aliquando tr. Ω; ante vivebam tr. edd. | legis] om. α;  
 ante mandatum tr. edd. (exc. Mr) || 154 totius] om. Φ M Mr | cupiditatibus C (corr.  
 C<sup>2</sup>) || 156 revixit] praem. et edd. (exc. Mr); add. enim Θ C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) || 157 suum]  
 om. edd. (exc. Mr) || 159 esse] esset P || 162 possem C<sup>2</sup> t p2; possint v t2 | mandato  
 C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) || 163 mortis concupiscentiae ~ t p2 | mortis<sup>1</sup>] morte P || 164 occasione  
 P (corr. P<sup>2</sup>)

165 *illud occidit*. Vides peccatum, quod est, ut saepe dictum est, cupiditas unde libido exorta est, de legis auctoritate nihil valere me contra se; sicut Adam interiecto mandato ad praevaricandum, de quo vitium peccandi contraxi, seduxit et me tanquam denuo dicens: Non morte morieris, si de ligno manducaveris interdicto; immo aperientur oculi tui, et eris sicut dii, sciens bonum et malum. Ideo et per illud occidit.

*Itaque lex quidem sancta, et mandatum sanctum et iustum et bonum.* Non igitur inputo legi dei, quod vitio meo factus infirmus, praeceptum eius implere nequeo. Quae etsi iubendo non iuvat, tamen sua sanctitate et iustitia malum esse concupiscentiam, quod nesciebam, ostendit. Quia  
175 *peccatum, ait, non cognovi, nisi per legem.* Et docuit ad superandos eius inlicitos appetitus, cum in me deficio, debere divinum auxilium inplorare *Quod ergo bonum est, mihi factum est mors? Absit.* Numquid enim mandatum bonum, quod contra mortis opera datum est, in mortem mihi est commutatum? Absit. Ego videlicet quod morior, non mandati  
180 boni vitio morior, sed mandato bono vitio meo transgresso. *Sed peccatum, ut appareat peccatum, per bonum mihi operatum est mortem, ut fiat supra modum peccans peccatum per mandatum.* Ut ergo concupiscentiae malum, quae radix est omnium malorum, cognoscatur malum, per mandatum bonum praevaluit in me magis, non defecit; quia *lex subintravit, ut*  
185 *abundaret delictum.* Mortem ergo mihi operatum est delictum, cum ex delicto, id est ex concupiscentia mala, infirmante me virtute propria ad oboediendum legi, delicta creverunt. Et factum est supra modum peccans peccatum per mandatum, cum per legem, ut dixi, non defecit, sed magis inmoderatis cupiditatibus crevit; quia virtus peccati lex est, prohibendo et non auferendo. *Scimus enim quod lex spiritalis est; ego autem*  
190

168/70 Cf. Gn 3,4-5 (*sec. VL = Vulg.*) || 171 Rm 7,12 || 175 Rm 7,7 || 177 Rm 7,13 || 180/2 Rm 7,13 || 182/3 Cf. I Tim 6,10 || 184/5 Rm 5,20 || 185 Cf. Rm 7,13 || 189 Cf. I Cor 15,56 || 190/1 Rm 7,14

165 Videns Ω M b2 *edd.* || 165/6 cupiditas unde] cupida sunt de C (*corr.* C<sup>2</sup>) || 166 de legis] diligis P | auctoritatem P | me valere ~ *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) || 167 vitio δ || 168 contraxit peccandi Ω | contraxit δ | et seduxit ~ c v t2 | et] *om.* C t p2 | denuo] de eo δ c || 171 mandatum] *add.* quidem P || 173 etsi] et C (*corr.* C<sup>2</sup>) | iuvat] iubat P C (*corr.* C<sup>2</sup>) δ M; iubet ro || 176 inlicitus P (illicitus P<sup>2</sup>); inlicitos M (*corr.* M<sup>2</sup>); inlices C; in lege Ω | debere] debet P; debeo P<sup>2</sup> c v t2 || 177 mors] malum Ω || 178 quod] *om.* C (*add.* C<sup>2</sup>) t p2 Mr | datus C (*corr.* C<sup>2</sup>) | est] *om.* π Mr | mihi est in mortem ~ π || 180 boni] bono C (*corr.* C<sup>2</sup>) | mandato bono] mandatum meum Θ | meo] *om.* π || 184 deficit Am Er || 185 habundaret Θ C | delectum P (*corr.* P<sup>2</sup>) | operatum est mihi ~ ro a2,4 | ex] *om.* Ω || 186 delicto] delecto P (*corr.* P<sup>2</sup>) || 188 deficit P (*corr.* P<sup>2</sup>) Am Er || 189 crevit] *om.* P; crescit Ω Am Er || 190 auferendo] hauriendo α Am; curendo ro; auxiliando *edd.* (*exc.* Am Mr) | est] *om.* C (*add.* C<sup>2</sup>)

*carnalis sum, venundatus sub peccato.* Spiritu igitur dei tam docente quam iuvante, quo lex lata est, non sola voluntate carnali legis possunt impleri praecepta; quia per legem vitia mea tantum agnosco, non aufero. | Frustra de carnis infirmitate praesumo hostem meum, cui deo iudice PL 1643 iusto sum traditus propter peccatum, cui me voluntas vendidit proto- 195 plasti, solus superare non valeo. Iubet deus. Immo faciat, ut fiat quod iubet. *Venundatus sum sub peccato.* Iustam suam sententiam, qua me peccantem damnavit, misericordia mutare dignetur. *Lex spiritalis est, ego autem carnalis sum:* ipse me compotem suae faciat legis, ut spiritus virtute praecinctus, perfectae legis tubam gratia praecedente, possim 200 inimicum in corpore superare.

*Quod enim operor, non intellego:* quod mala videlicet concupisco, non ea ut veniant quaero vel opto, quia natura non talis sum institutus, sed hoc malo quo est per noxam vitiata natura, cum aurem praebeo legi, caligosis subito ac pravis desideriis conturbor inlectus. *Non enim quod* 205 *volo, hoc ago: sed quod odi, illud facio.* Legis mandato de propriae voluntatis conatu parere volo, et non valeo: peccato vero dum resisto, consentire delector. *Si autem quod nolo, illud facio: consentio legi, quoniam bona est.* Dum ergo volo, ut nullum concupiscentiae malum concipiam appetitum, et magis hoc facio – magnum vere malum esse concupi- 210 scentiam in membris meis agnosco, quae me peccare cum quadam delectatione sollicitat – legi consentio, id est credo et per ipsam agnosco, quia cum sua bonitate mihi dicit: *Non concupisces,* venenum mortis in concupiscentia esse designat. *Nunc autem iam non ego operor illud, sed quod habitat in me peccatum.* Igitur hoc malum, quod discordare facit 215

197/9 Rm 7,14 || 202 Rm 7,15 || 205/6 Rm 7,15 || 208/9 Rm 7,16 || 213 Rm 7,7 || 214/5 Rm 7,17

192 quo] quod Θ C (corr. C²) t p2 | lata] data C² Lov Mr | solum Θ b2 edd. (exc. Mr); solus Ω | carnalis edd. (exc. Mr) | possum Ω || 193 implere P Ω | quia] qui Ω || 194 deo] do C (dei C²); dei edd. | iudice] iudico C (iudicio C²); iudicio edd. || 195 protoplasti] add. peccatum P² || 196 Iubet] iubeat P² || 197 sum] om. (cum Vulg.) Θ | Iustam] Iuxta Φ edd. (exc. Mr); id est C² || 198 misericordia] praem. in Am Er; add. me Ch Ly Lov || 199 me] om. P Ω M b2 | faciat suae ~ P Ω || legis] legi Θ M t p2 Am | ut] et C π | spiritus] add. dei α || 200 perfectae] per sanctae Θ Φ b2 | tuba fl edd. || 202 male M || 203 quaero] quae ro | tali M ro edd. || 204 malum Ψ edd. (exc. Mr) | quod Θ ro edd. (exc. Mr) | noxiam P | vitiatam naturam C (corr. C²) | cum aurem] auctorem Ω edd. (exc. Mr) || 205 caliginosis Φ c v t2 edd. | ac pravis] depravis α || 206 hoc] om. c | odii P | voluntate M || 207 parare C (corr. C²) || 209 est] om. (cum Vulg.) C M t § Mr || Dum] Cum Ω edd. (exc. Mr) | volo] nolo edd. (exc. Mr) | concipiam] concupiscam P; concupiam α t p2 || 210 appetitu edd. (exc. Mr) | vero t p2 || 211 agnosco] agnusco P; om. Φ Mr || 213 dicit] indicit π Ch Ly

corpus et spiritum, ut sit in me, non ego opto vel facio, qui illud demon-  
strante lege, ex quo malum esse cognovi, ne sit in me, consentire legi  
contendo. Sed dum de meo velle et posse id stirpare non valeo, idem  
peccatum, quod in me infixum est per peccatum manens in me, ea  
220 quae nolo operatur adversum me. *Scio enim quia non habitat in me,  
hoc est in carne mea, bonum.* Certus sum ergo, quod haec concupiscentia,  
quae est conatui meo adversa in corpore meo, non est bonum. Cum  
enim resistitur ei et defecisse putatur, magis magisque sua malitia in  
variis appetitionibus innovatur. *Nam velle adiacet mihi, perficere autem*  
225 *bonum non invenio.* Volo quidem tam hoc peccatum vincere, quam  
legis praecepto parere. Quod utrumque bonum ut perficiam, posse mihi  
de me cum velle meo non sufficit, quia sufficientia nostra non a nobis,  
sed ex deo est. *Non enim quod volo bonum, hoc facio; sed quod nolo malum,  
hoc ago.* Ad bonum igitur peragendum voluntas mea de se praesumens,  
230 et non de deo, nihil proficit; ad malum vero etiam cum non vult, ali-  
quoties incitatur ut velit. *Si autem quod nolo, illud facio; non ego operor  
illud, sed quod habitat in me peccatum.* Cum itaque nolle meum concu-  
piscere provocatur, ut velit, non voluntas resistens id agit, sed peccati  
cupiditas, quae a sola mea voluntate non potest superari; *quia sine me,*  
235 *ait dominus, nihil potestis facere.*

*Invenio igitur legem volenti mihi facere bonum, quoniam mihi malum  
adiacet: condelector enim legi dei secundum interiorem hominem.* Quia  
ergo malum concupiscentiae adiacet mihi, id est sponte et cum non  
desideratur occurrit, et ut perpetretur est voluntati depravatae pos-  
240 sibile, quia sine deo, ut iam dictum est, non potest enervari. Tamen  
videtur mihi de me praesumentem ad perficiendum bonum, legis videlicet  
PL 1644 mandatum, ut coepi fore possibile, si secundum inte|riorem hominem,

220/1 Rm 7,18 || 224/5 Rm 7/18 || 227/8 Cf. II Cor 3,5 || 228/9 Rm 7,19 || 231/2  
Rm 7,20 || 234/5 Io 15,5 || 236/7 Rm 7,21-22

216 qui] quid t p2; quia c v t2 || 217 quo] qua edd. (exc. Am Mr) || 218 dum]  
cum α | id stirpare] id exstirpare P2; adstirpare M; id superare edd. (exc. Mr) ||  
219 inflictum C2 t p2 edd.; infixum ro; fixum δ || 221 hoc] id c v t2 || 223 malitia  
sua ~ π | in] om. π || 225 tam] om. c v t2 || 226 bonum] add. est C2 | posse] om.  
C || 227 me] est p1,7 | a] ex P Ω b2 edd. (exc. Mr) || 228 ex] a P Ω edd. (exc. Mr) ||  
230 proficiet P | vero] om. π | cum] quod Φ | aliquotiens Ω M δ C2 t p2 Am Mr  
(non PL) || 231 inclinatur Φ M edd. || 232 utique Ω edd. (exc. Mr) || 233 voluptas  
C || 234 quae] quia C (corr. C2) δ π | a] om. C Ω δ π c v t2 | superari non potest ~  
Φ edd. || 236 malum mihi ~ α || 237 enim] om. Ω || 238 ergo] igitur edd. | concu-  
piscientiae] om. Ω | non] om. Ω || 240 non potest] ei c | enervari] inherbari ro ||  
241 legi M || 241/2 mandatum videlicet ~ t p2 || 242 mandatum] praem. et P M  
| ut coepi fore] ut cibus ore ro; om. α

hoc est animae rationem, contra mortales corporis mei motus tota voluntatis intentione, totisque naturae meae viribus non destitero repugnare. *Video autem aliam legem in membris meis, repugnantem legi 245 mentis meae, et captivantem me in lege peccati, quae est in membris meis.* Et ecce video in me, id est sentio, contrariam legem, concupiscentiam scilicet malam, morbo libidinis sordidatam, obviantem et resistentem et praevalentem legi mentis meae, intentioni videlicet animi mei naturalis, et captivum me ducentem *in lege peccati*, hoc est in praevaricationem 250 protoplasti, quae est in membris meis; *quia per unum hominem peccatum intravit in mundum, et per peccatum mors; et ita in omnes homines pertransiit, in quo omnes peccaverunt.*

*Caput 6* Ecce quanta mortifera bella, ecce quae pericula, quantaque naufragia de malo laudabilis et dilectae vestrae concupiscentiae, diabolo 255 seminante exorta sunt. Ecce cuius pestis onus leve esse praedicatis, et iugum suave. Sed Paulus, cuius estis apertissime inimici, non cum illo malum esse libidinem sentientes, legerat scriptum esse de isto malo iugo: *Grave iugum super filios Adam a die exitus de ventre matris eorum usque in diem sepulturae in matrem omnium.* Et ideo praedicabat fidelibus 260 contra vos de isto iugo dicens: *Nolite iugum ducere cum infidelibus.* Id est, nolite aequales effici infidelibus, laudantes cum illis quod est execrabile, et dicentes quod malum est bonum. Quia, *Vae eis qui dicunt quod dulce est amarum, et quod amarum dulce.* Bella igitur ista doctor ille gentium in fide et veritate secundum datam sibi sapientiam in omni 265 esse humano genere in se deprehendit, et contra ea fortiter dimicavit. Cum enim in persona sua dicit: *Peccatum non cognovi nisi per legem;* et, *Concupiscentiam nesciebam;* et, *Peccatum per mandatum operatum*

245/6 Rm 7,23 || 250 Rm 7,23 || 251/3 Rm 5,12 || 256/7 Cf. Mt 11,30 || 259/60 Sir 40,1 || 261 II Cor 6,14 || 263/4 Is 5,20 || 264/5 Cf. I Tim 2,7 || 265 Cf. II Pt 3,15 || 267/85 Rm 7,7-23

244 voluntatis] *add. meae edd. (exc. Lov Mr)* || 244/5 distit errore pugnare P || 245 repugnare] *om. C t* || 247 sentio] intendo Ω || 248 malam scilicet ~ α || morbum Ω Am Er | libidinis] lividis P | sordidatur P; sordidatum Ω Am Er || 249 animae meae Am Er | naturali Φ *edd.* || 250 praevaricatione C (*corr. C*<sup>2</sup>); praevaricatione C<sup>2</sup> Ω π t p2 *edd.* || 251 protoplasti C || 252 pertransiit Φ *edd. (exc. Lov Mr)* || 254 quae] quanta Θ || 256 sint *edd. (exc. Mr)* | pestes P; *om. Am Er* || 257 apertissimi Φ M *edd.* || 258 libidinem esse ~ *edd. (exc. Mr)* || 260 diem] die v t2 || 261 fidelibus P (*corr. P*<sup>2</sup>) || 262 effici] esse C; *add. cum Θ M | cum illis*] illud Ω || 263 execrabile C α t *edd. (exc. Mr)* || 264 amarum<sup>2</sup>] *add. est M t p2 edd.* || 265 sibi] *add. contra vos Φ Mr; post sapientiam tr. edd. (exc. Mr)* || 266 genere humano ~ *edd.* | reprehendit Ω | eam Θ || 267 enim] autem Θ



est in me omnem concupiscentiam; et, Ego autem vivebam sine lege ali-  
 270 quando; et, Ego autem mortuus sum; et, Inventum est mihi mandatum  
 quod erat ad vitam, hoc esse ad mortem; et, Peccatum per mandatum  
 seduxit me, et per illud occidit; et, Quod ergo bonum est mihi factum est  
 mors? Absit; et, Peccatum per bonum mihi operatum est mortem; et,  
 Lex spiritalis est; ego autem carnalis sum, venundatus sub peccato; et,  
 275 Quod operor non intellego; et, Non quod volo, hoc ago; sed quod odi, illud  
 facio; et, Si autem quod nolo, illud facio consentio legi, quoniam bona est;  
 et, Nunc autem iam non ego operor illud, sed quod habitat in me peccatum;  
 et, Scio enim quia non habitat in me, hoc est in carne mea, bonum; et  
 Velle adiacet mihi; perficere autem bonum non invenio; et, Non enim  
 280 quod volo bonum, hoc facio; sed quod nolo malum, hoc ago; et, Si autem  
 quod nolo, illud facio; non ego operor illud, sed quod habitat in me pecca-  
 tum; et, Invenio legem volenti mihi facere bonum, quoniam mihi malum  
 adiacet; et, Condelector legi dei; et, Video aliam legem in membris meis,  
 repugnantem legi mentis meae, et captivantem me in lege peccati, quae est  
 285 in membris meis, manifeste haec se contra concupiscentiam proelia  
 peregisse testatur. Nec tamen gloriatur de propriis viribus se fuisse  
 triumphum victoriae consecutum. Et ideo cum de se, in se, pro se, adver-  
 sum tantum mali infirmatus nullum victoriae adiutorium repperisset,  
 displicens sibi, oculos ad Christi propugnacula quibus defendi possit  
 290 elevavit, dicens: *Infelix ego homo, quis me liberabit de corpore mortis  
 huius? Gratia dei per Iesum Christum dominum nostrum.* Gratia est,  
 haeretice, qua liberamur de corpore mortis, id est de motibus concu-  
 piscientiae, quibus corpus nostrum percutitur, ut anima perimatur,  
 non sola virtus propriae voluntatis.

295 *Caput 7 Pergite adhuc per campos loquacitatis vestrae, qua tantae  
 turpitudinis squalorem laudare non erubescitis, et clamate secundum*

290/1 Rm 7,24-25

269 et] *om.* Φ | et, Ego autem] *om.* P || 270 et<sup>1</sup>] *om.* P || 271 esse] esset P (*corr.* P<sup>2</sup>) | et] ei C || 272 mihi] *om.* α || 274 spiritalis α PL || 275 odii P || 276 et] *om.* Φ M *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) | Si ... facio] *om.* *per hom.* c v t2 | est] *om.* Φ M *edd.* || 277 et] *om.* Ω || 278 et<sup>1</sup>] *om.* Ω | et<sup>2</sup>] ei C (*corr.* C<sup>2</sup>) || 279 Velle] *praem.* enim t p2 *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) | mihi] *add.* et P M || 280 hoc<sup>1</sup>] *om.* Ψ | quod<sup>2</sup>] *om.* P (*corr.* P<sup>2</sup>) || 285 concupis-  
 centiae C | proelia] bella Φ *edd.* || 287 pro se, in se ~ *tr.* *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) | adversus π Mr; contra t p2 *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) || 288 tantum] tale Φ Mr | malum Φ *edd.* | repperisse α; repperisse ro; repperisset Mr; invenisset *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) || 289 displicet ro; displiceret α | Christi ad ~ Am Er | posset α || 290 quis] qui P | liberavit P C (*corr.* C<sup>2</sup>) M | morte corporis *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) || 291 est] *add.* autem α || 292 motibus] moribus M || 293 ut] *om.* P || 295 qua] quia P | qua tantae] quantum ro | tanti P (*corr.* P<sup>2</sup>) M

consuetudinem vestram dicentes: «Libido calor bonus est genitalis, nec  
est in ea quod pudeat, quia si malum esse dicatur, nuptiae damnabuntur;  
sine illa | enim non poterunt existere proles.» Ex hoc advertant dilectae PL 1645  
vestrae castissimi expugnatores, quantum libet, quod tantum laudare 300  
delectat; aut si non libet, cur suadetis ut libeat, et castitas expugnatur a  
vobis? Cur bonum praedicatis, quod in vobis adversum esse sentitis?  
Rogo, erubescite. Nemo unquam quod sibi est inimicum, bonum dicere  
delectatur et laudium praeconiis adornare. Fallimini prorsus et fallitis;  
immo decepti estis et decipitis. Non est iste calor bonus, nec genitalis 305  
in bonis genitalibus membris, quae formavit deus, sed malus, ut saepe  
dictum est, auctore diabolo praecedente peccato. Isto calore si vigor  
mentis vestrae ad illicita non resolveretur, non a vobis tam licite  
laudaretur, quin potius sicut a Catholicis damnaretur.

Sed iterum respondetis, ut superius dixi, tanquam clypeum vestro 310  
dogmati adhibentes, ne vobis valeant simplices quos decipitis resistere,  
et dicitis: «Nuptiae damnabuntur, si libido damnetur, quia absque illa  
soboles non gignuntur.» Quid praestigiosissimis adsertionibus vestris  
diem in noctem mutare temptamini? Quid nebulis serena convolvitis?  
Quid intuentibus lucem, ferventes in calore turpi, quem optimum 315  
praedicatis, ut cordis eorum oculos perturbetis, fumi amaritudinem  
eructatis? Nuptiae auctore deo valde sunt bonae, nec damnantur  
prorsus, cum voluptuosa libido damnatur. Nuptiae filiorum creandorum  
causa sunt institutae, sicut scriptum est: *Crescite, et multiplicamini, et*  
*replete terram*, quarum licitus usus non in luxuria libidinis institutus est, 320  
sed sine illa inperio honestissimae voluntatis tantum, ut dixi, causa  
natorum. Quia Adae et Evae ante peccatum, cum adhuc scilicet in eis  
morbus iste non esset, dixit deus: *Crescite et multiplicamini, et replete*  
*terram*. Post peccatum vero, ut iam superius disputatum est, sibilo

319/20 Gn 1,28 (sec. VL = Vulg.) || 323/4 Gn 1,28 (sec. VL = Vulg.)

297 est] *partim eras*. C<sup>2</sup> | genitalis] *eras*. C<sup>2</sup> || 298 quod pudeat in ea ~ π Mr  
nuptiae] *add.* iam Φ *edd.* || 299 illis Ω M | poterit Φ *edd.* | proles existere ~ Φ *edd.* ||  
301 cur] cum Φ Mr | suadet Φ Mr | castitas] *om.* Φ Mr || 304 delectetur P M ||  
305 deceptitis P M | est] *om.* Ω || 307 peccatum Am Er || 308 dissolveretur Φ *edd.* ||  
309 quin ... damnaretur] *om. per hom.* P Ω M | a] *om.* C (*add.* C<sup>2</sup>) || 310 clypeo  
Ψ *edd.* (*exc.* Lov Mr) || 311 adhaerentes Ω *edd.* (*exc.* Lov Mr); opposcentes Φ Mr |  
nobis Lov | decipis P (*corr.* P<sup>2</sup>) || 312 et] *om.* V | dicentes Θ | damnetur] dam-  
nabitur Ω *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) | illam C || 313 sobolis P (*corr.* P<sup>2</sup>) | gignitur Φ *edd.* ||  
314 nocte P | temptamini] nitimini Φ M c v t2 Mr || 315 turpi] *om.* c v t2 || 317  
eructantes Θ || 318 procreandorum Φ c v t2 *edd.* || 319 instituta P (*corr.* P<sup>2</sup>); insti-  
tute V (*corr.* V<sup>2</sup>) || 321 illa] *add.* inquietudine Θ; illo M; *om.* Ω | inperio] *praem.*  
in M ro al Lov | honestissime P c ro v t2 || 323 istae V | implete C

325 venenosi serpentis, cuius callidis decepti sunt blandimentis, hanc inquietam et mortiferam pestem eorum corpora conceperunt; et per licitum usum, posteaquam de paradiso proiecti sunt, in posteros transmiserunt, tanquam peccati sui testimonium haereditario iure dimittentibus nobis, ut ex hoc praevaricatorum nos filios cognoscentes, non  
330 gloriemur de nobis, id est de natura nostra peccatrice, in conspectu iudicis iusti dei, sed eius misericordiae, quae non in meritis constat, semper colla flectamus, quo dignetur nos in paradysum revocare, unde illos merito exules fecit.

Et in coniugatis igitur et in omni homine libido mala est. Nonnunquam  
335 enim ad illicita trahit, quia voluntati peccatrici, qua factum est ut esset in membris, contraria est in tantum, ut ipsorum coniugatorum ad licitum usum ardoris sui sic anhelantes praecipitet mentes, quo eadem licentia acti potius quam agentes agant. Fit enim voluntas incontinens, dum illicita vincitur voluptate; sed veniabilis est in coniugatis, malo  
340 bene utentibus. Quod ostendit Apostolus, cum causa continentiae orationis tempus indicit coniugatis, et in idipsum iterum revertendum propter incontinentiam temptationis satanae praecipit, dicens: *Nolite fraudare invicem, nisi ex consensu ut vacetis ad tempus orationi; et iterum in idipsum revertimini, ne temptet vos satanas propter incontinentiam*  
345 *vestram. Hoc autem dico secundum indulgentiam, non secundum inperium.* Damnabilis est vero in adulteris et fornicatoribus, malo male utentibus. Iam ergo cognoscite utrum Apostolus de malo veniam promiserit coniugatis, an de bono: de malo ad tempus orationi vacandum abstinere praeceperit, an de bono? Erratis prorsus, quia deus qui iussit fieri  
350 bonum, nusquam a bono prohibuit, sed a malo, dicens per David:  
*PL 1646 Declina a malo, et fac bonum.*

342/5 I Cor 7,5-6 || 351 Ps 36,27

325 venenoso V | calliditatis V; callidi C; callide t || 325/6 hac inquieta et mortifera peste V || 327 licitum] legitimum Ω Am (in mg.) || 328 testimonio V | dimittentis P; dimitis V; add. in Φ Mr || 329 nos] add. esse Φ edd. || 330 gloriemur V || 331 iusti iudicis ~ Mr || 332 nos] om. Φ Mr | paradiso Θ M ro || 333 illos] om. Φ Mr | exsules V π ro Mr || 335 voluntate peccatrice P (corr. P²) | quam P || 335/6 in membris esset ~ α || 337 illicitum Θ edd. (exc. Lov Mr); illicitum t | ardore Φ M edd. | anellantes P (anelantes P²); anelantes V (hanelantes V²); hanelantes M | eandem Φ Ω || 338 licentiam C Ω π c v t2 | acti] et c v t2 | egentes t (corr. t²) || 339 inlecta C; illecta C² M t Lov Mr | voluntate C | venialis Φ α M edd. || 341 indicet C; indicat Am Er | et ... 342 dicens] om. α | in idipsum] in ipsum ro²; ad ipso C (ad ipsum C²); ad ipsum edd. | iterum] item Am Er || 343 fraudari Θ M ro | ad tempus] ante ut tr. Φ M edd. || 344 revertimini in idipsum ~ Φ edd. | temptit P | vos] om. V || 345 indulgentiam] veniam M || 346 vero est ~ π || 348 abstinere C t p2 || 349 Errantes V (corr. V²) P

Incunctanter omnino dicitur bene uti hoc malo veniali coniugatos filiorum gignendorum videlicet causa, qui nascuntur deo opifice, non de accidentis libidinis malo, sed de bono licentiae nuptiarum. Numquid enim cum vitis undique deserente agricola fuerit sentibus occupata, et 355 tempore suo iacens in dumis produxerit botros de contrariis sibi spinis, quibus premitur, uvam produxit? Absit. Sed de naturae suae bono, licet spinarum aculeis corruptos, bonos adtulit fructus. Similiter et triticum, si natum circumquaque zizaniis operiatur, in quantum spicam produxerit, de naturae suae bono, non de zizaniorum malo quibus 360 inpeditur, bonum intulit germen. Sic filii de naturae bono boni sunt fructus, non de malo libidinis corrumpentis et vitiantis, cum qua nascitur omnis homo. Unaquaeque ergo res manens in naturae suae bono, accidentibus sibi adversitatibus miserescit atque torpescit, cultoris semper indigens manu vel diligentia, ut naturae suae, cui nihil est 365 contrarium ab auctore suo deo congenitum, valeat respondere. Hoc agitur et in nostra peccatrice natura: semper indiget auctore et cultore suo atque conservatore deo, ut spinis et tribulis zizaniisque libidinis vel omnium malarum concupiscentiarum, quae, ut saepe diximus, non auctore deo, sed peccando contraxit, manu gratiae suae per Iesum 370 Christum dominum nostrum, quamdiu in terram de qua sumpta est redeat, expietur, de terra iterum in novum saeculum purissima reditura, per eundem Iesum Christum dominum nostrum suscitata. Iterum ergo repeto iterumque: Libido mala nihil bonis inpedit nuptiis, quia non ab initio in eius sordibus sunt, sicut iam supra diximus, ordinatae. 375 Deus enim, qui sine concubitu apes fetare creavit, et agrorum cuncta semina absque libidine seminari vel nasci decrevit, hominem quoque ex homine, si non peccasset, per concubitum voluntarium, non per

371/2 Cf. Gn 3,19

352 dicitur V || 354 accedentes V | de?] om. V | licentia t p2 Am Er || 355 senti-  
bus] sentientibus V (corr. V2) || 356 in dumis] inidumis V (corr. V2); in domis P  
(corr. P2); in lumis M | butros V; botrus P; botruos C (corr. C2) M || 357 suae]  
suo Ch Ly || 358 corrupto α t Lov Mr || 359 operatur C (corr. C2) || 360 non ...  
361 bono] om. per hom. t || 360/1 quibus inpeditur] om. α || 362 fructu V (corr.  
V2) | mala C | quo Φ α edd. || 363 Unaquaeque] omnis α | suae] om. V (add. V2) ||  
364 accedentibus V Am | miserescit] arescit Ω Mr || 365 est] add. in Φ || 368 ziza-  
niorumque V || 369 malorum Θ | saepe diximus] praediximus V || 370 per ... 371  
nostrum] om. edd. (exc. Mr) || 371 terra C t p2 | sumptus C t p2 Am Er || 372 ex-  
petur V (corr. V2); expeditur P || 373 dominum nostrum Iesum Christum ~ edd.  
(exc. Mr) || 374 iterumque repeto ~ edd. | Libido] praem. quid π | nil Θ | impeditur  
C2; impendit edd. (exc. Mr) || 375 sunt] om. π | sicuti Mr | iam] om. Ω | supra iam  
~ Φ || 376 foetare Ω edd. (exc. Am Mr); faetare Am || 377 seminari] seminavit V  
(corr. V2); seminare Φ edd. (exc. Mr)

libidinis scortum exoriri in paradiso permisisset. Cui qualiter id conti-  
 380 gerit, in huius disputationis capitulo, quantum dominus revelavit, iam  
 me arbitror ostendisse. Ideoque nuptiarum licentiam bonam valde  
 fatemur, et malam concupiscentiam in coniugatis damnabilem et volup-  
 tuosam esse catholico ore clamamus, vestrumque dogma in eius turpi-  
 tudine horrendum, sanctarum scripturarum auctoritate damnamus.

385 *Caput 8* Paulus est apostolus Christi, non Pelagius discipulus Anti-  
 christi, haeretice, qui dicit concupiscentiam in carne sua non bonum  
 habitare. Immo apertissime malum dicit esse. Peccatum esse testatur,  
 stimulum carnis suae nominat, a quo se colaphizari clamat, ne magni-  
 tudine revelationum extollatur, cuius malis consideratis in corpore  
 390 mortis suae, in quo bellum intestinum cum invisibili hoste gerebat,  
 remedium salutis suae nullum penitus nisi solam gratiam dei in Christo  
 Iesu liberantem se invenisse testatur. Ipse dicit scribens ad Colosenses:  
*Mortificate membra vestra quae sunt super terram; fornicationem, in-*  
*munditiam, libidinem, concupiscentiam malam, et cetera.* Respondete  
 395 huic tanto doctori, cur ea mortificanda praecipit, si naturalia bona  
 sunt? Sed melius in vobis Pelagio et Caelestio loquentibus quam Christo  
 in Paulo, e contrario praedicatis cum laudabili plausu, dicentes: «Vivi-  
 ficate membra vestra quae sunt super terram; fornicationem mundam,  
 libidinem bonam, concupiscentiam optimam.» Demens et secundum  
 400 voluntatem tuam in reprobum sensum dimisisse haeretice, de istarum  
 sordium malo iterum dicit Apostolus scribens ad Romanos: *Non regnet*

388/9 Cf. II Cor 12,7 || 389/90 Cf. Rm 7,24 || 393/4 Col 3,5 || 396/7 Cf. II Cor 13,3 ||  
 400 Cf. Rm 1,28 || 401/2 Rm 6,12

379 contingerit C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) || 381 Idemque P; Itemque V | bonum C || 382 con-  
 iugatis] iugatis C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) π || 383 clamamus] dampnamus t p2 | turpitudinem  
 M π || 384 orrendum P v t2 || 385 est] post Christi tr. C edd. (exc. Mr); om. ro  
 non] nam Ω | Pilagius V | discipulus] om. Ω || 386 haeretice] om. edd. (exc. Mr)  
 sua carne ~ t p2 | non bonum] om. V (add. V<sup>2</sup>) || 387 habitare] om. P; advite V  
 esse<sup>1</sup> et V; om. Φ Mr || 388 nominat] nomina C (nominans C<sup>2</sup>) | se] om. V (add.  
 V<sup>2</sup>); post colaphizari tr. edd. (exc. Mr) | colaphizari V; colafizari P C M t p2 ro ||  
 389 revelationum] add. suarum π | cuius] quibus c v t2 | consideratis malis ~  
 c v t2 || 392 Colsenses V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>); Colossenses edd. || 394 et caetera α; etc. edd. |  
 Respite C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) p1,7 || 395 doctori tanto ~ V | doctori] add. magno V (elim.  
 V<sup>2</sup>) | eam C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) π | mortificandam C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) π; add. dicit V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>) | prae-  
 cepit P Ω c v t2 || 396 in] om. a2,8 ro | Pilagio V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>) | Caelestiano P; Cae-  
 lestino V; Chelestio Ch Ly | Christus edd. (exc. Lov Mr) || 398 vestra] om. V |  
 fornicationem mundam] om. V v t2 | mundiciam c || 400 dimisisse P (demerse  
 P<sup>2</sup>) V || 401 malo] malarum M; om. α | iterum] item edd. (exc. Mr) | dicit] add.  
 idem Φ M edd.

*peccatum in vestro mortali corpore, ut oboediatis concupiscentiis eius.* Ille in veritate docendo prohibet his inmunditiis oboediri: tu in errore Pelagiano suades. Ille concupiscentiam menti | contrariam peccatum vocat: PL 1647  
tu eam laudando, vel in ea delectando, bonum adseris naturale. 405

Stulti, aliquando iam sapite et nolite de tanto malo gloriari, neque mendaces esse adversus veritatem, quae per os sanctorum suorum laudabilem dilectamque vestram concupiscentiam malam, et libidinem punit inmundam. Ex his enim diversae temptationes oriuntur, quibus per momenta cum deo placere contendimus, praepedimur, ut ait apostolus Iacobus: *Nemo cum temptatur, dicat quoniam a deo temptatur: deus autem intemptator malorum est, ipse autem neminem temptat: unusquisque vero temptatur a concupiscentia sua abstractus et inlectus. Dein concupiscentia cum conceperit, parit peccatum: peccatum vero cum consummatum fuerit, generat mortem.* Videte dilectam vestram semine laudum 410  
vestrarum concipientem dolorem, parturientem peccatum, generantem mortem. Cuius dum auctorem deum esse praedicatis, sine dubio arguitis tantum apostolum, et deum esse malorum dicitis temptatorem; quia ipse creavit secundum vos, unde temptentur homines, abstrahantur et inliciantur; ac per hoc ipse unde pereant fecit. Quod si ita non sentiretis, 420  
deum mortem fecisse minime diceretis. Sed audite adhuc repercutientem virga sapientiae caelestis vaniloqua ora vestra eundem apostolum Iacobum. *Unde, inquit, bella et lites in vobis? Nonne hinc ex concupiscentiis vestris, quae militant in membris vestris?* Auditis quale officium habet nimium dilecta vestra concupiscentia, id est bella et lites, quibus 425

406/7 Cf. Ps 93,8; Iac 3,14 || 407 Cf. Lc 1,70 || 408/9 Cf. Col 3,5 || 411/15 Iac 1,13-15 || 423/4 Iac 4,1

402/3 docendo] ante Ille tr. V || 403 prohibet his] prohibetis M | oboedire C α t p2 edd. || 404 suadis P; vadens M | vocat] om. p1,7 || 405 ea] eam V || 406 iam aliquando ~ edd. (exc. Mr) || 407 suorum] om. C || 409 Ex] praem. et V (corr. V2) || 410 contendimus] possimus V (corr. V2) || 411 cum temptatur] contemtatur V (contemptatur V2) || 412 autem<sup>1</sup>] enim (cum Vulg.) α edd. || 413 vero] autem M; enim Ω π | inlicitus PC | Dein] in V; de P (corr. P2); Dehinc (cum AR) Ω; Deinde (cum GSAc) M edd. (exc. Mr) || 414 parit] om. V || 415 Videte] Vedit et C t p2 || 415/16 dilectam vestram semine laudum vestrarum] simul et laudatam vestram t p2 Am (in mg. semine laudum vestrarum) Er Ch Ly Lov || 415 laudum] laudem C (laudum C2); laudum Ω M c v t2 Mr || 417 dum] om. edd. (exc. Mr) | auctorem] add. cum edd. (exc. Mr) | arguetis P || 418 malorum esse ~ α || 419 secundum] om. π | tentantur edd. (exc. Lov Mr) | homines] omnes C t p2 | abstrahuntur edd. (exc. Lov Mr) | et] om. V || 420 illicentur Ω; illiciuntur edd. (exc. Lov Mr) | non ita ~ V | non] om. P || 422 vaniloquam orationem vestram M | eundem] idem P M ro; id est α || 423 hinc] om. edd. (exc. Mr) || 424 Audistis V p1,7; Audetis P (Audite P2); Audis C t p2 || 425 habeat edd. (exc. Am Mr)

discordare facit corpus et spiritum nostrum, et in eius castris hostilibus  
atque sub lege mortifera te, haeretice, militare delectat? Si pacem fidei  
catholicae sequeris, a turbine bellorum horum et litium, quo in cordis  
tui pelagus circumquaque iactaris, ne ad portum pervenias veritatis,  
430 facile gratiae gubernaculo poteris liberari, et cognoscere malum, quod  
in malo positus putas esse pulcherrimum.

Audi et alium super Iesu pectus recumbentem, et contestantem  
concupiscentiam non esse ex patre deo, sed ex mundo, et eam cum  
mundo transituram, Iohannem dico apostolum. *Nolite*, ait, *diligere*  
435 *mundum, neque ea quae in mundo sunt. Si quis diligit mundum, non est*  
*caritas patris in eo, quoniam omne quod est in mundo, concupiscentia*  
*carnis, et concupiscentia oculorum, et superbia vitae, quae non est ex patre,*  
*sed ex mundo est. Et mundus transiet et concupiscentia eius: qui autem*  
*facit voluntatem dei, manet in aeternum.* Claudite adhuc, si placet, oculos  
440 cordis vestri ad videndum, et obturate aures ad audiendum tanti apostoli  
veritatem, et clamate dicentes, ne scilicet dilectae vestrae faciatis  
PL 1648 iniuriam: «Ex deo est | concupiscentia carnis, non ex mundo, et ideo  
calor bonus est genitalis.»

*Caput 9* Sed quid ultra in proferendis testimoniis, quibus defensio  
445 vestra probatur esse damnabilis, nitar promulgare sermonem? Quia  
si omnia de legis divinae thesauris producantur, tempus me deficiet  
enarrantem. Audite ergo breviter, non brevia, sed crimine ingentia  
caloris vestri amantissimi opera, quibus in illicitum coire praecipitat  
hebetata corda mortalium, et erubescite vel conticescite tandem. Isto

432 Cf. Io 13,25 || 434/9 I Io 2,15-17 || 439/40 Cf. Eph 1,18 || 446/7 Cf. Hbr 11,32

426 discordari Ω | et<sup>1</sup>] ab Ω | spiritu nostro Ω | nostrum] vestrum *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) |  
hostilibus V || 427 mortifera te] mortificare M | delectant V; delectent C (*corr.* C<sup>2</sup>) |  
fidei] dei M || 428 sequeris V Ω *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) | horum] *om.* Θ | litum P (*corr.* P<sup>2</sup>) ||  
429 pelagos P Am; pelago V M *edd.* (*exc.* Am Ch Ly); palago Ch Ly || 430 facili Ω |  
gratiae] *om.* Ω | gratia gubernante *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) | poteras Φ M Mr || 431 malo] |  
malum P | positus] *om.* Ω | putas] *om.* V (*add.* V<sup>2</sup>) || 432 pectus Iesu ~ α | discum-  
bentem C t p2 Mr || 433 ex<sup>1</sup>] a V | eam] iam V | cum] quae C (*corr.* C<sup>2</sup>) || 434 mun-  
dum P || 436 in mundo est ~ Θ b2 || 437 carnis] *add.* est C c t v t2 *edd.* | oculo-  
rum] *add.* est C M t ro || 438 transiat V (*corr.* V<sup>2</sup>); transit (*cum* Vulg.) Φ M *edd.* ||  
440 vestri] *om.* Φ Mr | opturate c v t2 || 441 scilicet] forte *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) || 442  
concupiscentiae C || 443 color V || 444 ultra] *om.* Ω || 445 nitor M | provulgare  
C (*corr.* C<sup>2</sup>) p1 | Quia] quasi C (*corr.* C<sup>2</sup>) || 446 producantur] proferantur M | deficit  
C Ω Mr || 447 enarranti Ω | crimina Ω | indigentia c v t2 || 448 amantissima Θ M ro |  
quibus in] qui vos c | in] *om.* C p1,7 ro a2,4,5 | coire] quo ire C (*corr.* C<sup>2</sup>); coitum  
α Lov; cohire M || 449 habitata V (hebitata V<sup>2</sup>); hebitata P (hebitata P<sup>2</sup>); ebe-  
tata t p2 | vel] et α *edd.* | tandem] *add.* vide quid dicit V

calore succensus et turpiter inlectus nonnunquam pater inclinat filiam, 450  
et operatur incestum; filius etiam patris torum maculat, cum matri  
vel novercae aliquando miscetur. In sororem frater cupidine ductus  
incurrit; cognatam non erubescit opprimere. Virgo licentiam non sus-  
tinet nuptiarum; stuprum tempore concupiscit illicito. Maritus minime  
contentus licitis uxoris amplexibus, vetitos contaminat alienos. Similiter 455  
et uxor inmemor proprii mariti cubilis, adulterino amore uxoris occupat  
torum alienae. Nam *masculi relicto naturali usus feminae exardescunt*  
*in desideriis suis in invicem, masculi in masculos turpitudinem operantes.*  
Horret etiam plus his quae diximus dicere, quod homo inmemor suae  
naturae rationalis inrationali naturae, et alienae a sua, pecudi coire 460  
compellitur. Quid de ruina aliquantum servorum dei et sacrarum  
virginum dicam, quae hac tempestate naufragia patiuntur? Quidve de  
diversis inmunditiis, in quibus eorum auctorem ipsum sibi puto pro  
vobis diabolium displicere? Ecce calor ille amantissimus vester in quas  
ignominiorum sordes humanas ire illicit et praecipitat mentes. Ecce 465  
quam inluviem etiam in sanctis Christi membris fuisse dicere non  
tremuistis. Ecce cuius obscenitatis et turpitudinis estis acerrimi lauda-  
tores, inpudentissimi defensores, et si non fallor, cum adhuc non displicet,  
forsitan et factores. Quis enim de vobis bene sentiat, quos de tanto malo  
bene sentire cognoscit? Si igitur in vobis ullus pudor est, honestas 470  
aliqua, castitatis intentio, tantam mali necessitatem, id est concupi-  
scentiam carnis sordibus libidinis mixtam, bonum dicere et laudare

457/8 Rm 1,27

450 inclinat] inquinat P<sup>2</sup> || 451 incestam C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) | thorum Ω C<sup>2</sup> t p2 edd. ||  
452 miscitur V | sorore P | cupidine] turpitudine Φ c v t2 || 453 obprimere P | non  
sustinet licentiam ~ Mr || 454 stuprum] praem. sed edd. || 455 licitos ... amplexus  
P C M π ro; licito ... amplexu α Mr | vetitos] uteros edd. || 456 proprium Ψ M |  
mariti] om. Φ Mr | cubile Ψ M | adulteri Ω | uxoris] sororis α; add. virum C<sup>2</sup> ||  
456/7 occupat torum] occupatorum V; thorum occupat ~ edd. (exc. Mr) || 457  
thorum P<sup>2</sup> Ω edd. (exc. Mr); om. M Mr | exardescunt C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>); exardescente M ||  
458 in<sup>2</sup>] om. Θ α || 459 orret P; Horrent Ω | iis edd. (exc. Am Er) | quae] quod Θ |  
dicere ... inmemor] om. Ω | quod] add. dei C t p2; add. dum edd. || 460 rationalis  
V | inrationali V | aliene M (corr. M<sup>2</sup>) | a] et M | sua] add. natura edd. (exc. Mr) |  
pecudi V | coire] quo ire C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>); cohire M || 462 Quidve de] Quid vide P; Quidv  
de V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>) || 463 auctore M || 464 amantissimi M | quas] qua P (corr. P<sup>2</sup>) ||  
465 ignominiarum α C<sup>2</sup> t<sup>2</sup> edd. (exc. Am Er) | ire] ineri M | illicite V; illicitet P ro;  
illicitat α; illicet M | et] om. V Ω | praecipiat P (corr. P<sup>2</sup>); praecipitet Am || 466/7  
non tremuistis dicere ~ C || 467 laudores P (corr. P<sup>2</sup>) || 469 sentiet V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>)  
|| 470 est pudor ~ edd. (exc. Mr) | est] add. si Φ edd. | honesta V ro || 471 aliqua]  
add. si Φ edd. | intentio] inventi Ω | tanta P; tanti Ω | mali] praem. ergo M | neces-  
sitate P | concupiscentia P M || 472 carnis] praem. mali P | bonam edd. (exc. Mr)



desinite; cuius auctorem non deum, sed diabolus esse credite, praecedente protoplasti peccato; et quod eam voluntas humana in turpissimis motibus refrenare non valeat singularis, nisi gratia per Iesum Christum dominum nostrum subvenerit salutaris.

## RESPONSIO V

PL 1647

*Caput 1* Item inquirunt: «Parvulos <batizatorum filios> non trahere originale peccatum, neque perituros a vita aeterna, si sine sacramento baptismi ex hac vita migraverint.» Respondemus: Multum quidem iam de originali peccato, quo et parvuli tenentur obstricti, superius disputavimus, ac luce veritatis ostendimus omne humanum genus hoc vitio claudicare. Dei etiam filium in similitudinem carnis peccati ob hoc venisse, ut morte sua per crucem vinceret mortem, et gratia sua gratuita vulnera nostra curaret. Verumtamen falsa esse de parvulis, haeretice, quae praedicatas, non solum nostro, sed et eorum salvatore Christo iuvante, scripturarum auctoritate convincam. Quid igitur apertius quod parvuli Adae peccato nascuntur obnoxii dici potuit quam quod dictum est per David: *Ecce enim in iniquitatibus conceptus sum, et in delictis peperit me mater mea?* Ille enim cum adulterium defleret, et homicidium quod Bersabae causa conmisit, hanc veritatem in suae confessionis gemitu eructavit tanquam diceret: Non quod ex hoc solo facinore

473 auctore *M* || 474 protoplastum *C* (*corr.* *C*<sup>2</sup>) || 475 nisi singularis ~ *edd.* (*exc.* *Mr*) | Iesum] *om.* *M* *edd.* || 476 salutaris] salvatoris *edd.* (*exc.* *Mr*); *add.* Amen *M* c v t2

Explicit responsio quarta Θ; Finit responsio quarta Φ c; Explicit liber quartus M; Explicit responsio quarta Aurelii Augustini doctoris contra Pelagianos et Celestianos hereticos ypomnoston liber explicit α; *om.* ro

Incipit responsio quinta Θ Φ; Incipit liber quintus M  
7 Cf. Rm 8,3 || 13/4 Ps 50,7 || 14/5 Cf. II Sm 11,2-17

2 baptizatorum filios] *om. codd. edd.* (*exc.* *Am*) (*Sed cf. supra pag. 103, lin. 52*) || 4 baptismatis Φ *edd.* | Respondimus P || 5 peccatum P | tentur C (*corr.* *C*<sup>2</sup>) | abstricti Am Er || 6 ac] a *edd.* (*exc.* *Lov Mr*) | omnem P | hoc] *om.* P || 7 similitudine Φ *edd.* | hoc] *om.* C || 8 vincere C (*corr.* *C*<sup>2</sup>) || 9 nostra vulnera ~ *edd.* (*exc.* *Mr*) || 10 nostram P; nostra V *M* t p2 y1 Am Er | et] *om.* δ | et eorum] praeteritarum Θ *M* b2 || 11 iubante P || 12 Adae] *om.* δ | nascantur Φ *edd.* | obnoxii] bono duodecim C (*corr.* *C*<sup>2</sup>) || 13 enim] *om.* (*cum* He) *edd.* (*exc.* *Mr*) | delictis] peccatis (*cum Vulg.*) Θ || 14 cum] *repet. per ditt.* V | adulterio Θ | et] *om.* V || 15 Bersabee Θ *M* t p2 a28 *edd.* (*exc.* *Lov Mr*); Bersabe C; Bethsabae π; Bethsabae Lov || 16 gemitum C t p2

perpetrato peccator sim, quia antequam id facerem sine peccato eram; immo iam peccator ab utero matris meae eram: *Ecce enim in iniquitatibus conceptus sum, et in delictis peperit me mater mea.* Vitio ergo peccati | PL 1649  
 seminatus et conceptus de parentibus sum, per quod adulterium et 20  
 homicidium propria peccata peregi. Cum enim subiungens inquit: *Ecce enim veritatem dilexisti,* peccata propria voluntate conmissa fatetur. Quia veritatem dicit deo iam paenitens, quando nihil illi de commissis suis sceleribus celat; non quod etsi voluntate celaverit deus ignoret, 25  
 sed veritatem sibi ab eo dici deus vult, ut veniam consequatur. Si vero aliqua mente exciderit confiteri, veritatem dicit, ut cum generaliter dixerit: *Deus, qui nosti occulta cordis, tu scis opera mea, et delicta mea a te non sunt abscondita,* quibus veniam largiaris. Et haec est utique veritas confitentis quam diligit deus

Eva ergo peccatum a diabolo mutuata est; Adam consensu cautionem 30  
 fecit; usura posteritati crevit. Hinc est ut infans in utero matris haereditario iure constrictus ante promittat debitum, quam cautionem patris agnoscat, vel debitorem etiam genitorem. Huius chirographi usurae istae sunt, id est malignissimae passionibus, quibus tam maiorum aetate quam parvulorum animae deprimuntur, a quibus liberari neminem posse nisi 35  
 per Christum, David ipse, qui se in iniquitatibus conceptum et in delictis natum esse dixit, ostendit, cum in lxxi psalmo de persona Christi loquitur dicens: *Liberavit pauperem a potente, et inopem cui non erat adiutor,*

18/9 Ps 50,7 || 21/2 Ps 50,8 || 27 Cf. I Cor 14,25 || 27/8 Ps 68,6 || 36/7 Cf. Ps 50,7 || 38/41 Ps 71,12-14

17 sum Am Er | quia] qui t edd. | id] hid C | eram] praem. non edd. || 18 mea] om. Φ || 19 in] om. V (add. V<sup>2</sup>) | Vitium Φ edd. || 20 conceptus] consumptus Ch Ly | de parentibus] om. Am Er | sum] sumsi C (sumpsi C<sup>2</sup>); sumpsi π t p2 edd. (exc. Mr); sumsit Mr | per] propter M || 21 proprio peccato t p1,2 Am Er | peccata] repet. per ditt. C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) | peregit Lov PL | enim] om. edd. (exc. Mr) || 23 dicit] repet. fort. per ditt. M | iam] om. Φ edd. | conmissis] quomissis C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) || 24 etsi] si edd. (exc. Mr) | voluntatem t p2 c1 edd. (exc. Mr) || 25 veritatem] voluntatem c | ab eo] habeo C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) | vult dici deus ~ V | deus] om. Φ edd. || 26 aliquam mentem P; mente aliqua ~ p17 Mr | excesserit P c v t2; excesserint V; exciderint C<sup>2</sup> t p2 edd.; add. omnia Θ M b2 | confiteatur t p2 edd. (exc. Mr) | veritatem] voluntatem Θ | dicit] dei C t p2 c1 Am Er Mr; deo π Ch Ly Lov | ut] et edd. (exc. Mr); om. Θ M b2 || 27 dixit Am Er Mr | tu scis] om. π | et delicta mea] om. per hom. Θ || 28 utique est ~ edd.; om. t p2 || 30 diabolus P | motata est V; mutavit C (mutavit C<sup>2</sup>) δ t (mutavit t<sup>2</sup>) Ch Ly; mutuavit π c edd. (exc. Ch Ly) | Adam] praem. et M || 31 ut] quod δ edd. (exc. Mr) || 33 chirografi P; cyrographi V π; cirographi C a28; cirografi M | istae] om. Φ edd. || 34 id est] scilicet Am Er; illae edd. (exc. Am Er) | passionis P M; add. id est V | aetas Θ; aetates C<sup>2</sup> || 36/7 se] post natum tr. edd. (exc. Mr) || 37 dicit edd. (exc. Mr) | cum] om. P | in] om. Am Er | septuagesimo primo M c v t2 edd.; lxx primo t; septuagesimo π || 38 Liberabit (cum mox med) Mr | inopem] aegenum (cum γ) Θ

id est humanum genus a diaboli dominatu. *Parcet pauperi et inopi, et*  
 40 *animas pauperum salvas faciet. Ex usuris et iniquitatibus liberavit*  
*animas eorum*: Christus utique Adae debitum, quod nos usuris obliga-  
 verat, solvit, cum nullis suum corpus peccatis obnoxium in patibulo  
 crucis suspendi permisit. Ipsius enim in psalmo vox est: *Quae non*  
*rapui, tunc exsolvebam*. Quapropter ipse ex usuris et iniquitate et par-  
 45 vulorum liberat animas, quia, ut dicit Apostolus: *Unus pro omnibus*  
*mortuus est*; sicut idem Apostolus dicit: *Ergo omnes mortui sunt*. Et si  
 omnes mortui sunt, stimulo utique mortis percussi mortui sunt, quia  
 stimulus mortis peccatum. Dic ergo quaerenti mihi: Si peccatum par-  
 vulus nullum carnaliter natus adtraxit, cur brevis dierum sorte mortis  
 50 adstringitur? Quia ubi peccatum non est, utique mors esse non debet;  
 non enim me fingente, sed Apostolo praedicante dictum est: *Per pecca-*  
*tum mors*. Ac per hoc secundum errorem vestrum, iniquus deus, ut mori  
 parvulum patiatur non habentem peccatum, per quod possit vita privari.

*Caput 2* Sed ad illam fallaciam dogmatis vestri respicientes, cui iam  
 55 superius responsum est, inquietis mihi: «Deus mortem fecit, quia mor-  
 talem hominem fecit; peccatum autem non fecit, quia in primordio  
 hominem prohibuit ne peccaret.» Immo quid aliud dicitis, cum deum  
 mortem fecisse creditis, nisi et peccatum deus fecit, ut per peccatum  
 mors intrare posset in mundum? Quia, ut iterum iterumque est repe-  
 60 tendum, dicente magistro gentium: *Per peccatum mors*. Respondetis:  
 «Absit, deus peccatum non fecit». Ergo occasionem peccandi homini  
 tribuit, ut opus eius, sicut dicitis, mors homini posset contingere. Sine  
 peccato enim mors esse non poterat, quia velitis nolitis, *Per peccatum*

43/4 Ps 68,5 || 45/6 II Cor 5,14 || 46/7 Cf. I Cor 15,56 || 49 Cf. Iob 14,5 (sec. Vulg.) ||  
 51/2 Rm 5,12 || 58/9 Cf. Rm 5,12 || 60 Cf. I Tim 2,7 | Rm 5,12 || 63/4 Rm 5,12

39 id ... dominatu] om. π | diabolo V | Parcet Θ δ M || 40 iniquitate (cum Ro) M  
 edd. (exc. Mr) | liberabit (cum Ro) C<sup>2</sup> || 41 quos M (corr. M<sup>2</sup>) | nos] om. c v t2 | usu-  
 ris] om. M || 42 solvet M | nullus C Am Er | peccatis] om. π | patibulum Θ ||  
 43 enim] vero Am Er | non] om. δ || 44 iniquitatem P || 45 Unus pro omnibus] om.  
 Am Er || 46 sicut ... Ergo] om. Am Er | sicut ... dicit] et iterum edd. (exc. Am Er) |  
 Ergo] om. C (add. Et C<sup>2</sup>) | omnis P || 46/7 Et ... sunt<sup>1</sup>] om. per hom. δ M || 47 quia]  
 quasi δ || 49 nullus edd. (exc. Mr) | natus] om. V M | abstraxit Am Er | cur] cum  
 C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) || 51 fingentes P | Apostolum C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) || 53 patiatur parvulum ~ π  
 | posset edd. (exc. Mr) || 54 ad] om. t p2 Am Er | illam] aliam t p2 Am Er | fallaciam  
 C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) | respiciens edd. (exc. Mr) || 55 inquietis] inquit P; inquit V; inquit  
 M || 57 dicetis P || 58 morte P | fecit] fecerit P M || 59 possit codd. (exc. C<sup>2</sup> b2)  
 edd. (exc. Mr) | ut] add. quod edd. (exc. Mr) | iterum] item edd. (exc. Mr) | iterumque]  
 om. edd. (exc. Mr) || 60 Responditis V δ || 61 occansionem P; occasionem V | homi-  
 nibus M || 62 dicetis P | possit codd. (exc. C<sup>2</sup> M) edd. (exc. Mr) || 63 quia] om. Θ |  
 vellitis Θ | nollitis P

mors. «Nec occasionem», dicitis, «peccandi deus homini dedit, quo mori posset, sed mortalem fecit». Iam responsum est scriptum esse: *Deus mortem non fecit, nec laetatur in perditione vivorum;* et iterum: *Deus creavit hominem incorruptibilem.* Si ergo peccatum non fecit, nec occasionem peccandi homini dedit, quod recte dicitur, | bonum mortis secundum vos, quod recte non dicitur, quomodo per malum peccati ad hominem potuit pervenire? Quid enim luci ad tenebras, aut quae pars iustitiae cum iniquitate? Videte, infelices, si tamen videre possitis, quas amicitias inter deum et diabolum faciatis, quod absit a domino. Deum enim mortem fecisse dicitis, diabolum peccatum – si tamen vel hoc adsignetis diabolo. Miscuerunt ergo opera sua ex consensu tanquam sibi in auxilium venientes, ut hominem vita privare possent, et ideo dictum est: *Per peccatum mors.* PL 1650

Iam hic advertite, immo qui sani sunt sensu advertant, quia soletis nos dicere Manichaeos, quis nostrum sit Manichaeae pestis adsensor, nos, qui nihil commune luci ad tenebras dicimus, an vos qui opus lucis, ut putatis, id est mortem, cum opere tenebrarum diabolo, id est peccato, confunditis? Nisi enim credideritis mortem et peccatum utraque esse mala, et nullius horum auctorem esse deum, sed diabolum delinquentibus protoplastis, prorsus Manichaeos iuvatis, immo estis perfectissimi Manichaei. Manichaeus enim non credit, sed Catholicus credit dicente Paulo, quod *per unum hominem peccatum intravit in mundum, et per* 85

65/6 Sap 1,13 || 66/7 Sap 2,23 || 70/1 Cf. II Cor 6,14 || 72/3 Cf. Sap 1,13 || 76 Rm 5,12 || 79 Cf. II Cor 6,14 || 85/7 Rm 5,12

64 Nec] Ne C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) | occasnionem P; occasnionem C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) | dicitis] dicis Θ C M t (corr. t<sup>2</sup>) π Am Er; praem. ut c v t<sup>2</sup> edd. || 65 possit codd. (exc. C<sup>2</sup>) || 66 et] om. Θ edd. (exc. Lov Mr) || 67 hominem incorruptibilem creavit ~ C | hominem] om. V (add. V<sup>2</sup>) | incorruptibilem] inexterminabilem edd. | occasnionem Θ C M (corr. M<sup>2</sup>) || 69 peccatum δ | ad] om. M; ab Ch Ly | homine Er Ch Ly || 70 ad] cum Φ edd. | tenebris C<sup>2</sup> δ t p<sup>2</sup> edd. || 71 iniquitatem P | possetis P C δ; potestis t p<sup>2</sup> edd. || 72 diabulo V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>) || 74 adsignastis C (assignatis C<sup>2</sup>); adsignatis π; assignatis t p<sup>2</sup> edd. | ergo] enim M; om. edd. (exc. Mr) || 75 in] om. M | venientes] om. Θ | homini Θ | vitam Θ | privari Θ π | possit P (possint P<sup>2</sup>); possint C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) M π t p<sup>2</sup> edd. (exc. Mr) || 77 hic] hinc M; hoc edd. (exc. Mr) || 78 nostrum] nominis Am | adsertor C (assertor C<sup>2</sup>) M; assertor π t p<sup>2</sup> edd. (exc. Am Er) | nos] om. Θ || 79 luci] luce P<sup>2</sup>; lici V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>) || 80 id est<sup>1</sup>] idem P | cum] om. Φ edd. (exc. Mr) | diaboli M | id est<sup>2</sup>] idem P || 81 confundetis P | crederetis V; credideretis C || 82 nullius] praem. in Θ | diabolum P | delinquentibus] add. inflixisse π; post protoplastis (lin. 83) uncis incl. add. Ch Ly; sine uncis add. Lov || 82/3 protoplastis delinquentibus ~ π || 83 protoplaustis C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) | iuvates P (corr. P<sup>2</sup>); iuvetis V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>); iuvatur M; adiuvatis Φ edd. | perfectissimi] similes t p<sup>2</sup> edd. || 84 Manichaei] Manichaeis t p<sup>2</sup> edd. | enim] autem t p<sup>2</sup> edd. | non] om. V (add. V<sup>2</sup>) | Catholicus] Manichaeus V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>) | credit<sup>2</sup>] om. Φ edd. | dicenti t p<sup>2</sup> edd.

*peccatum mors, et ita in omnes homines pertransiit, in quo omnes peccaverunt.* Haec est fides nostra. Fatemur incunctanter peccatum in parvulis, et per peccatum mortem pertransisse. In omnes enim homines pertransiit; et parvuli natura homines sunt. Quapropter quanti fuerint, omnes  
 90 homines sunt, quibus dum contigerit mori, propter peccatum, quod in eis non actione, sed uterina conceptione pertransiit, moriuntur. Non enim morerentur, nisi caeno peccati necarentur. Per peccatum enim, ut saepe retexo, mors, non sine peccato. Hac morte ne in aeternum pereant, morte domini redimuntur; hoc caeno peccati quo nascuntur squalidi  
 95 absolvuntur, ut in regnum caelorum ingrediantur immaculati; immaculato per baptismum mundantur sanguine Christi.

*Caput 3* Audi et alterum dei sapientiam inquirentem, et per illam veritatem mortalibus praedicantem. Audi aliter quidem quam David loquentem, sed non aliter prophetantem, immo unito spiritu vera  
 100 dicentem, quod Adae peccato et parvuli nascendo premuntur. David enim inquit, ut supra iam dictum est: *Ecce enim in iniquitatibus conceptus sum, et in delictis peperit me mater mea.* Iste ait in libro Ecclesiastico: *Grave iugum super filios Adam a die exitus de ventre matris eorum usque in diem sepulturae in matrem omnium.* Quod est hoc grave iugum nisi  
 105 peccatum? Et quare dictum est iugum, nisi quod ex duobus Adam et Eva veniat, vel duorum premat et conterat colla, id est masculi et feminae, maiorum videlicet atque minorum, quia in utroque sexu iugum sunt. Ideo et ait generaliter: *Grave iugum super filios Adam.* Dicendo

101/2 Ps 50,7 || 103/4 Sir 40,1 || 108/9 Sir 40,1

86 et] sed P | pertransiet P || 88 enim] *om. edd.* | pertransiet P; *om. edd.* || 89 Quapropter] Quia propter *edd. (exc. Lov Mr)* | quanti ... 90 propter] *om. per hom. C t p2 edd. (exc. Lov Mr)* || 90 contingerint  $\delta$  | peccatum] *om. V* || 91 eos *edd. (exc. Lov Mr)* | actionis V | sed] *add. per*  $\Theta$  | uterinam V; ultima *edd. (exc. Lov Mr)* | conceptionem V || 92 nisi] si *edd. (exc. Lov Mr)* | caena V (*corr. V2*); ceno C | necarentur] non alerentur *edd. (exc. Lov Mr)* || 93 retexeo P; et ex eo M; est repetendum  $\Phi$  *edd.* | Hac] Ac V c p1,7  $\delta$ ; Ab Mr | mortem P (*corr. P2*) || 94 caena V (*corr. V2*); ceno C | quo] quod M || 95 absolbuntur V; *om.  $\Phi$  edd.* | regno P | immaculati] *om. C t p2 Am Er* | immaculato] *om.  $\Theta$* ; immaculati M || 96 mundantur] *post Christi tr.  $\Phi$  edd.* || 97 Audi et] Audite V; Audiet C (*corr. C2*) || 98 aliter] alterum Am Er || 99 profetantem P | immo] in uno *edd. (exc. Mr)* | unito] uno V (*corr. V2*); unico p7 a28 *edd. (exc. Mr)* || 100 premantur  $\Phi$  M *edd.* || 101 enim<sup>1</sup>] *om.  $\Theta$*  || 102 me] *om. V* || 103 super ... 105 iugum] *om. per hom. p7* | filius P | Adae V c v t2 || 104 in<sup>2</sup>] *om. Am* | matrem omnium] matrimonium C (*corr. C2*) || 105 quod] quia *edd. (exc. Mr)* || 106 Eva] *add. i.e. masculi et feminae  $\delta$*  | venit V (*corr. V2*) | premit p1,7 a28 | conterit p1,7 a28 | id est] idem P (*corr. P2*) C || 107 maiorum] malorum *edd. (exc. Lov Mr)* | minorum] impiorum *edd. (exc. Lov Mr)* | sexus  $\delta$  || 108 et] *om. edd. (exc. Mr)* | iugum] *post filios tr. C (corr. C2)*

ergo *super filios* aetates non discrevit vel sexus; et comparando iugum peccato, praeter Christum, qui sicut ceteri ex usu coniugatorum natus 110 non est, omnes esse peccatores aequavit. Huic iugo, id est originali peccato, revincti maiores atque minores vitia ex ipso orta tanquam aratrum trahimus, quamdiu sumus in corpore mortis, cuius cupiditatum vomere proscinditur, hoc est corrumpitur, terra nostra. Propter quod in libro Sapientiae dictum puto: *Corpus autem quod corrumpitur* 115 *adgravat animam*. A cuius iugi labore et onere, vel aratri corruptione ut requiescat, nemo solvitur propria potestate, | nisi ab illo iuste iudicante PL 1651 et indebite miserante, qui ait: *Venite ad me omnes qui laboratis et onerati estis, et ego vos reficiam. Tollite iugum meum super vos, et discite a me, quia mitis sum et humilis corde, et invenietis requiem animabus* 120 *vestris. Iugum enim meum suave est, et onus meum leve est*. Quomodo vero ad eum vocati eant, ipse ostendit dicens: *Nemo venit ad me, nisi Pater qui misit me adtraxerit eum*. Pro iugo ergo peccati aspero et gravi, quo carnaliter nati premuntur, vocatis tollendum super se iugum suum suave et onus leve praecipit. Superius iam diximus cur peccato iugum 125 sit comparatum: nunc spiritale Christi iugum et onus intellegere debemus. Caritatem esse dico, qua iubemur diligere deum et proximum, quia in his duobus praeceptis tanquam in iugo *lex omnis pendet et prophetae*. Quid enim suavius aut levius caritate, qua nos diligens deus, per mortem filii sui ex duobus populis, Iudaeis scilicet atque gentibus, 130 vinculo gratiae in unitatem fidei coniugavit, et fecit utraque unum?

113 Cf. Rm 7,24 || 115/16 Sap 9,15 || 118/21 Mt 11,28-30 || 122/3 Io 6,44 || 127/9 Cf. Mt 22,37-40 || 130/1 Cf. Eph 2,14

109 ergo] om. p7 a28 | aetatis P | discrevit] dicuit V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>) | et] ad δ | comparandum P | iugo P || 110 praeter] propter edd. (exc. Mr) | sicut] ut edd. (exc. Mr) | uso P | coniugato Am Er || 111 omnes] add. caeteros edd. (exc. Mr) | Huic] Hoc edd. (exc. Mr) | id est] idem P || 112 peccatu P; peccatore C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) | revincti] iuncti C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>); renuntiati a28 | atque] et V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>) | vitia p7 a28; vitio edd. (exc. Lov Mr); vitium Lov Mr | orti edd. (exc. Lov Mr); ortu Lov Mr || 113 aratorum V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>) | mortis corpore ~ Φ edd. | cupiditatem P; cupiditatis edd. (exc. Mr) || 114 proscindimur V || 115 puto] praem. ut V (elim. V<sup>2</sup>) | autem] om. Θ || 116 A]Ab V; Ad C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>); om. π a28 | iugo M; vita edd. (exc. Lov Mr) | onere] honore δ | aratri om. δ || 117 potestate] praem. voluntate et edd. | iuste] recte δ || 119 honerati C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) δ t | reficiam vos ~ (cum Vulg.) δ edd. || 120 humiles P || 121 est<sup>2</sup>] om. (cum SD) V edd. (exc. Mr) | vero] om. Θ t p2 Am Er || 122 eant] essent Am Er || 123 traxerit (cum Vulg.) edd. (exc. Mr) | Pro] om. Am Er | ergo] om. edd. || 124 vocare P (partim eras. P<sup>2</sup>); vocati δ | suum] om. edd. || 125 honus C δ | praecipit P | Superius] praem. ut V | quur P | peccatum Θ M | iugo Θ || 126 spirituale PL | iugum Christi ~ δ a28 | intelligere t p2 || 127 esse dico] om. Am Er | diligere Θ || 128 praeceptis] mandatis V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>) | in<sup>2</sup>] om. Θ δ | pendit Θ || 129 aut] ac t p2 edd. (exc. Mr); add. quid δ | qua] quia M | diligens V || 130 atque] et Φ edd. | gentibus ... 132 peccati] om. P || 131 unitate Φ c v t2 edd. | coniugavit V

Christi itaque iugum cervices, quas presserat peccati iugum, suspendit, non premit, ad caelum levans, quia caritas, sine qua nemo poterit promereri deum, nunquam cadit, et cooperit multitudinem peccatorum.  
 135 Ipsa est etiam onus leve, quam qui habuerit, deum portat, quia caritas deus est. Ideo et Apostolus: *Glorificate, inquit, et portate deum in corpore vestro.*

In hac vocatione sunt et parvuli, qui adsumuntur in fide credentium, non oboedientia voluntatis, sed dilectione nimia caritatis. Propter quod  
 140 in Psalmis de ipsis dictum est: *Etenim non credentes inhabitare.* Super quos nisi fuerit dono gratiae, caritatis iugum suave et onus leve Christi, requiescere a labore et onere originalis iugi non possunt. Gravantur enim in labore et onere diversarum passionum, quae eos in lacte positos perpeti videmus et stupemus. Vexantur enim nonnunquam a daemolibus, diversis etiam doloribus et vulneribus cruciantur, multisque, ut  
 145 dixi, aerumnarum generibus adfliguntur; et in his omnibus cum quid patiantur, licet dicere non possint, tamen poenis se cruciari variis quodammodo loquuntur, cum aculeo puncti dolorum, confusos vocum heulatus emittunt. Quae si minime stimulo peccati protoplastorum  
 150 percussi, ex quorum peccatrice carne peccati caro sunt, patiuntur, secundum errorem vestrum, deus talem fecit naturam, ut poenalibus anima passionibus convexetur, aut certe iniustus, ut innocentiam sanctam et nullius penitus erroris obnoxiam tantis permittat urgeri periculis, et in ipsis nonnunquam vita privari. Quod nisi eos peccati origi-

133/4 Cf. I Cor 13,8; cf. I Pt 4,8 || 135/6 Cf. I Io 4,8 || 136/7 I Cor 6,20 || 139 Cf. Eph 2,4 || 140 Ps 67,19 || 141 Cf. Mt 11,30 || 142/3 Cf. Sir 3,29

132 presserit Am Er | peccati] *repet. per ditt.* C | iugum peccati ~ *edd.* (exc. Lov Mr) || 133 praemit P C M Am | levatis Am | poterit] *om. edd.* (exc. Lov Mr) || 134 promereri V; promeretur *edd.* (exc. Mr) | numquam] nequaquam V | cadet P<sup>2</sup> | cooperit] quo operit C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) || 135 Ipse C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) | est] *om. M* | etiam] *add.* et Φ Mr | deum] *add. per ditt.* numquam cadit et cooperit multitudinem peccatorum C | karitas C || 136 et<sup>1</sup>] *om.* Θ || 138 hac] ac C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) | et] *om. M* | parvuli P | qui] quia C (quia C<sup>2</sup>); quia t p2 Am Er | sumuntur C δ t p2 Am Er || 139 dilectio P || 140 dictum est de ipsis ~ *edd.* (exc. Mr) | inhabitare] *add.* dominum deum t (elim. t<sup>2</sup>) *edd.* || 141 gratiae ... leve] *om. M* | honus t (corr. t<sup>2</sup>) || 142 et onere] *om. per hom.* Am Er | honore C t (corr. t<sup>2</sup>) | originali Ch Ly | posse δ || 143 positus P || 144 stubemus V || 145 etiam] *om. edd.* (exc. Lov Mr) | et ... 146 generibus] *om. per hom.* V | multisque] multi Am; multis Er || 146 et] *om. δ* || 147 licet] *repet. per ditt.* V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>); *om. π*; hoc *edd.* | possint] *add.* si non ratione gestu lacrimis gemitu testantur M | variis cruciari ~ Θ || 148 locuntur Θ; locuuntur C (locuntur C<sup>2</sup>) t | puniti Am Er | confusus P || 149 eiulatus C (heulatus C<sup>2</sup>) t p2 *edd.* | Quae] Qui *edd.* (exc. Lov Mr) | protoplaustorum C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>); prothoplastorum π || 150 percussi δ t p2 b2 *edd.* | carni P | peccati] *om.* Am Er || 151 deus] *add.* qui *edd.* (exc. Am Mr) || 152 conveyetur] connectetur Am | aut] *praem.* crudelis est Er Ch Ly | certe] erit π || 153 nullis P | permittant V; permittatur M | urgeri t p2 *edd.*; geri M

nalis causa pati credideritis, sine dubio deum, qui valde omnia bona 155  
fecit, arguetis. Sed absit ut iniquus deus inferens iram, immo iustus  
iudicia faciens – poena enim peccati est – ut poenis plectantur, non in  
actu, sed in ortu parvuli peccatores. Quia, *Ecce enim in iniquitatibus  
conceptus sum, et in delictis peperit me mater mea; et, Grave iugum super  
filios Adam a die exitus de ventre matris eorum, usque in diem sepulturae* 160  
*in matrem omnium*, non ego fingens, sed prophetae dei spiritu veritatis  
sancto acti dixerunt.

*Caput 4* Audi et alium athletam fortissimum per omnia diaboli flagella  
transeuntem, et patientia sua eius inpatientiam superantem, beatum  
Iob dico, qui spiritu dei, quo probatus et fortis factus est, de humanae 165  
naturae senserit labe, etiam parvulos dicens a peccati sordibus immunes  
esse non posse, hosque in iudicium adducendos coram deo. *Homo,*  
*inquit, natus ex muliere, brevis vitae, et plenus | iracundiae; et sicut flos* PL 1652  
*cum floruerit, decidit, fugitque ut umbra, et non permanet. Nonne etiam*  
*huius curam habuisti, et hunc fecisti venire in iudicium coram te? Quis* 170  
*enim erit mundus a sorde? Ne unus quidem, etiamsi unius diei fuerit*  
*vita eius super terram.* Estne aliquid dubitandum, tam clarissima aucto-  
ritate, parvulos peccati inlue maculatos esse nascentes? Cum enim  
dicit: *Nonne etiam huius curam habuisti, et hunc fecisti venire in iudicium*  
*coram te?* statim propter iudicia iustissima dei cur in iudicium veniat, 175  
causam praecedentem ostendit: *Quis enim, inquires mundus a sorde?*  
*Ne unus quidem, etiamsi unius diei fuerit vita eius super terram;* id est  
propter peccati sordem, quam trahit a peccante natura, qua nascitur  
immundus in mundo. Haec secundum septuaginta interpretum editio-

155/6 Cf. Gn 1,31 || 156 Cf. Rm 3,5 || 158/9 Ps 50,7 || 159/61 Sir 40,1 || 161/2 Cf.  
II Pt 1,21 || 167/72 Iob 14,1-4 (sec. LXX) || 174/5 Iob 14,3 (sec. LXX) || 176/7  
Iob 14,4 (sec. LXX)

155 bona omnia ~ edd. || 155/6 fecit bona ~ π || 156 arguitis Φ edd. | ut] add. sit  
t p2 edd. | deus] om. Φ edd. || 157 est] estis δ || 158 actus M | in<sup>1</sup>] om. M π t p2 ||  
163 adletum M || 165 qui] quid t p2 edd. | et] est C δ π | est] om. C δ π a28; ante  
factus tr. edd. | de] praem. quid δ c v t2 || 166 senseret P | labe senserit ~ V (corr.  
V2) | labem M | etiam] add. et C δ π M t (elim. t2) edd. (exc. Lov Mr) || 167 eosque Θ  
a28 | adducendos in iudicium ~ Φ M edd. | iudicio p2 a28 || 168 ex] de (cum Vulg.)  
π Mr | iracundia C t p2 edd. (exc. Mr) || 169/70 etiam huius] et huiusmodi Am Er ||  
170 in iudicium venire ~ t p2 | in] om. P || 171 Ne] Nec Lov | unus] unius δ ||  
173 parvolus P | inlubiae C; illuvie π t edd. (exc. Ch Ly); alluvie Ch Ly | macu-  
latus P | enim] om. Θ a28 || 174 dixit π M t p2 a28 Mr | huiusmodi Am Er | hunc]  
nunc Lov || 176/7 sorde? Ne] sordine P || 177 quidem] add. et Lov | fuit V | id]  
add. autem edd. (exc. Mr) || 178 quam] om. Lov | qua] quia Θ || 179 septuaginta]  
lxx Θ M



180 nem, quae ex graeco in latinum sermonem versa est, posuimus. Audite  
apertius ad suggillationem vestram idipsum, qualiter ex hebraeo verbo  
sit in latinum translatum. *Quis*, ait, *potest facere mundum de immundo*  
*conceptum semine?* *Nonne tu qui solus es?* Estne deinceps contentio?  
Immo esse debet a vobis ulla contradictio? Audis de parvulo dici:  
185 *Quis potest facere mundum de immundo conceptum semine?* *Nonne tu qui*  
*solus es?* et adhuc dubitas baptismum Christi per gratiam habere,  
quod mundet in parvulo? Nisi enim esset immundus, non diceret: *Quis*  
*potest facere mundum?* Sed cum addidit, *de immundo conceptum semine*,  
parentum sordidatum dicit esse peccato, quorum sunt immunda semina,  
190 non conditione naturae, sed praevaricantis vitio protoplasti. Sive igitur  
septuaginta ex hebraeo in graecum, sive alius similiter ex hebraeo in  
latinum sermonem, unum atque idem, etsi mutatis verbis, non tamen  
veritate, parvulos peccati sorde reos esse dixerunt.

Quae enim iustitia, sicut saepe pro diversitate propositarum a me  
195 causarum interrogavi, apud deum, dicite, ut nulla extante causa secun-  
dum errorem vestrum, sicut supra diximus dixisse Iob, parvulus brevis  
vitae et plenus iracundiae sit, cum quid sit ira, rationis usu omnino  
nesciat; vel quare ut flos decedit, fugitque ut umbra, et in vita multorum  
dierum sive annorum non permanet, sicut novimus multis contingere  
200 parvulis? vel cur eum ad iudicium coram se venire facit, cum mandatum  
legis eius non cognoverit faciendum, nec contempserit voluntatem?  
Haec utique secundum vos, ut dixi, iniuste parvuli patiuntur a iusto  
iudice, si nulla peccati contagione tenentur obnoxii. Sed quantalibet

182/3 Iob 14,4 (sec. Vulg.) || 185/6 Iob 14,4 (sec. Vulg.) || 187/8 Iob 14,4 (sec. Vulg.) ||  
196/201 Cf. Iob 14,1-4 (sec. LXX)

180 posuimus V | Audite] add. et δ || 181 suggillationem V Er | vestram] om. Am  
Er || 182 latino Φ | potes C (corr. C²) | facire V | immundo] mundo V || 183 Estne ...  
186 es?] om. per hom. c v t2 || 184 nulla Am Er | parvulo] Paulo δ || 185 conce-  
pto δ || 186 baptismum] babbis V || 188 Sed] Scilicet Am Er | addedit P; addit  
C M π Mr | concepto P V (corr. V²) || 189 pecca V (corr. V²) | semina] peccata Θ M ||  
190 protoplausti C || 191 septuaginta] lxx V | ex hebraeo in] habeantur e Am Er |  
graeco Φ edd. | hebraeo²] greco Θ M || 192 latino Φ edd.; greco t p2 | sermonem]  
om. V; sermone Φ edd. | etsi mutatis] est stimulis t p2 || 193 veritatem M ||  
194 Quam edd. (exc. Mr) | iniustitia C (corr. C²) δ π t p2 Mr; iniustitiam edd. (exc.  
Mr) | sicut] si ut C² || 195 dicitis edd. (exc. Mr) | ut] om. Θ M | existente Φ edd. ||  
196 parvulos V P² C π || 197 iracundiae ... sit²] om. δ | iracundia edd. (exc. Mr) |  
rationis hs C (corr. C²); ratio huius t p2 Am Er || 198 decedit P; decedat V (decepit  
V²) | umbrae C (corr. C²) | et] om. C (add. C²) t p2; cum Am Er || 199 multis] add.  
quae C | contingere V || 200 venire coram se ~ edd. (exc. Mr) || 201 non] om. δ |  
nec] non Am Er | voluntatem] veritatem δ || 202 Haec] Hec edd. (exc. Mr) ||  
203 contagione] commotione Am Er | tenetur P (corr. P²) | quantulibet Am Er

latitudine mendaciorum vestrorum verbis muros haeresi vestrae circumquaque construat, veritas vincit, cuius aries impulsus gratiae 205 manibus, totum quassat et destruit murum unde repugnatis atque confiditis. Quia iustus dominus nihil facit iniustum, et verax non potest esse mendax. Parvuli itaque, ut dicit apostolus, natura filii irae sunt, Adae scilicet parentis, sicut saepe iam diximus, offensione connexi. Non enim dicerentur filii irae, nisi iram, id est peccatum primoplasti, 210 qui peccando deum ad iram primus in nostro genere provocavit, traherent seminati. Ideo et dictum est: *Quis enim erit mundus a sorde? Ne unus quidem, etiamsi unius diei fuerit vita eius super terram.* Vel sicut dictum est alio modo tamen idem: *Quis potest facere mundum de immundo conceptum semine? Nonne tu qui solus es?* Ob hanc igitur solam 215 sordem peccati, quam trahit, non de coniugii bono, sed de libidinis malo, parvulus brevis vitae et plenus iracundiae est. Decidit etiam ut flos, fugitque ut umbra, nec permanet, atque in iudicium coram domino veniet iudicandus. Cui nisi baptismi gratia per Christum subvenierit iudicabitur disperire de populo Christiano, sicut lex perituum dixit 220 parvulum de populo Iudaeorum, nisi die circumcisis fuisset octavo. Scriptum est enim: *Infans qui octavo die circumcisis non fuerit, disperiet anima illa de populo suo.* Dic igitur mihi, a quo facinore circumcisio parvulum liberabat, aut quare incircumcisi de populo dei circumciso

207/8 Cf. Rm 3,4 || 208/12 Cf. Eph 2,3 || 212/3 Iob 14,4 (sec. LXX) || 214/5 Iob 14,4 (sec. Vulg.) || 215/9 Cf. Iob 14,1-3 (sec. LXX) || 222/3 Gn 17,14 (sec. VL; cf. Vet. Lat. 2, p. 189)

204 latitudinem M Am Er | mandatorum edd. (exc. Lov Mr) | haeresis M || 205 veritas] om. V t p2; ventus edd. (exc. Lov Mr) | vincit] om. edd. (exc. Lov Mr) | aries] est C t p2 edd. (exc. Lov Mr) || 206 manibus] in omnibus edd. (exc. Lov Mr) | murum] om. Φ edd. | atque] et π Mr || 207 nil Θ || 208 itaque] utique edd. (exc. Mr) | naturae M | sunt irae ~ π || 209 iam] om. Φ M edd. | offensionem C | connexi] consensionem C; consensione t (consensione t²); consensione edd. (exc. Lov Mr) || 210 Non] extensione C; offensione t p2 Am Er | irae nisi] matris C t p2 | nisi iram] ac poena Am Er | peccato Am Er | primi protoplasti Θ b2; primiplasti C π t p2 edd. || 211 ad] om. P | genere nostro ~ edd. (exc. Mr) | provocavit] add. quod Am Er | trahunt Am Er || 212 et] om. edd. (exc. Mr) | mundus erit ~ M || 214 Quis] Qui P | postest V || 215 concepto P | Ob] Ab c v t2 | hac C (corr. C²) δ c v t2; hoc t p2 Am Er || 215/6 sola sorde δ c t v t2 Am Er || 216 peccatum quod Θ | coniugio π | bonum P | de] om. Am Er | libinis M || 217 iracundiae V (corr. V²) | Decedit V; Decidet M || 218 flos] fols V | iudicio Θ a28 || 219 baptisimi V | per Christum] om. Am Er | subvenierit] om. P || 220 iudicabitur] om. C δ t p2 edd. | perire Θ; disperiet C; disperiet t p2 edd. | lex] om. Θ || 221 parvulum] de parvulo C (corr. C²) π a28 | octavo] viii V || 222 octavo] viii V; octava P C Am Er | disperibit edd. (exc. Mr) || 223 suo] om. M || 224 parvulos edd. (exc. Mr) | liberabatur M; liberat Φ edd. | incircumcisi V | de] in Θ π | circumciso] om. Θ edd. (exc. Mr); circumcisio M

225 anima peribat, si nihil unde sanaretur vel disperiret habebat? Quin |  
 PL 1653 potius parentibus eius, nisi circumcisis fuisset, debuit praetendi per-  
 ditio, qui usum oboedientiae et liberi habebant arbitrii, et non parvulo  
 ignoranti scientiam boni et mali. Sed esto ut parentes ob hanc negligen-  
 tiam, quod scriptum non est, subeant perituri supplicia, numquid dam-  
 230 natis illis, si incircumcisis mortuus fuerit parvulus animae poterit  
 interitum abolere? Deus enim locutus est, non homo, dicens: *Infans*  
*qui octavo die circumcisis non fuerit, disperiet anima illa de populo suo.*  
 Narrate ergo, si potestis, in hoc loco dei iustitiam, quia multum vos  
 posse iactatis, immo totum posse naturae viribus, cur disperdat inno-  
 235 centiam incircumcisam, quidve circumcidi iubet, si nulla donat circum-  
 cisione delicta? Respondetis plane: Iustus deus in iudicando. Hoc  
 enim soletis dicere diligentes eum scilicet ore vestro, corde autem  
 mentientes ei. Si itaque iustus deus in iudicando, rogo, dic causam  
 incircumcisi parvuli perituri. Actualia certe nulla sunt eius delicta.  
 240 Quae enim esse poterunt octo dierum? Trahere eum originale peccatum  
 et propter hoc damnari, credere non vis. Unde iusta dei iudicia? Dic  
 iam aperte; nec enim aliud in cordis tui tenebris sentire cognosceris, si  
 tamen incircumcिसum, teste dei lege fideli, perire parvulum credis:  
 Iniustus deus et inpius, ut damnet parvulum, quem damnabilis causa  
 245 nulla praecessit. Aut si de vobis aliud sentiendum est, iudicent orthodoxi.

*Caput 5* Sed more illo vestro, veritatis videlicet luce deserti atque  
 refelliti: «Deus», inquit, «praescius operum eius malorum, quae fac-

231/2 Gn 17,14

225 periebat C M pl,7 | habeat C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>); om. Am Er || 226 putius V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>) |  
 parentibus] *praem.* a Am Er | eius] om. Am Er | circumcissus V || 227 usu M |  
 et<sup>1</sup>] om. Θ C π || 228 scientia Θ C π Mr; om. t p2 *edd.* (exc. Mr) | bonum et malum  
*codd. edd.* (sed cf. pag. 119, lin. 11 et 13; pag. 160, lin. 170) | ut] quod *edd.* (exc. Mr) ||  
 230 incircumcissus V || 232 octavo] viii V; octava P M Φ | circussus V | periet Θ;  
 dispereat *edd.* (exc. Lov Mr) || 233 in hoc loco] om. Φ *edd.* | iustitia t p2 Am Er |  
 quia] in quam t p2; in qua *edd.* || 234 iactatis ... posse<sup>2</sup>] om. *per hom.* P | totum]  
 tunc M | natura t p2 Am Er | viribus] om. t p2 Am Er || 234/5 innocentiam incir-  
 cumcisam] *eras.* V<sup>2</sup> || 235 donantur π Ch Ly Lov; condonantur a28 || 236 Respon-  
 dis P M; Respondens V C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>); Responses δ π a28 | Hoc] Haec *edd.* (exc. Mr) ||  
 237 soletis] *add.* quasi π a28 *edd.* | dicere] *post eum tr. edd.* | eum] deum π a28 *edd.*  
 (exc. Am Er) | scilicet] sed *edd.* || 238 rogo] iugo V (iugo V<sup>2</sup>) || 239 sunt] om. t p2  
 Am Er | dilicta V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>) || 240 octo] viii V | eum] cum Θ | originali peccato V  
 (originali peccatum V<sup>2</sup>) || 241 iniusta t p2 *edd.* (exc. Mr) || 241/2 Dic iam] Dicam  
 Θ M; om. δ || 242 aperte] a parte δ | Inius tus ... praecessit] (lin. 244/5 *infra*) *post*  
*aperte tr. t p2 edd.* | in] om. δ || 243 incircumcisio P; incircumciso V || 244 damnet]  
 iam nec δ π a28 || 244/5 nulla causa ~ *edd.* (exc. Mr) || 245 orthodoxi] horto dixi P ||  
 247 inquit] inquit est P; q'tis V; inquit is M

turus erat aetate perfecta, perituum dixit de populo suo.» Itane, Pelagiane insane, deus qui iustus est in omnibus viis suis et sanctus in omnibus operibus suis, pro huiusmodi credendus est incircumcisum 250 parvulum iudicare, ut tanquam factorem pro non factis sceleribus puniat; tempus inputet quoddam, ubi vita non vixit, ubi velle et nolle non fuit voluntatis? Absit, absit hoc apud iudicem iustum, quia unicuique oboedienti vel contemnenti usu liberae voluntatis reddit secundum opera sua. Parvulo autem incircumciso solum pro delicto, quod 255 est opus diaboli, quod ex Adam seminatus contraxit, et circumcisione fraudatus non caruit, hoc in parvulo deus odit et punit. Ita nunc fit et populo Christiano. Circumcisio enim illa octavi diei figuram resurrectionis diei salvatoris et gratiam baptismi gestabat.

Vos autem, etsi parvuli baptizati non fuerit, vitam illis aeternam 260 promittitis, quia scilicet Christi eis gratiam baptizatis nihil auferre, seu conferre creditis nihil. Si enim intellexeretis quare dixerit Christus: *Non opus est sanis medicus, sed male habentibus crederetis utique*, non eos sanos, sed vulneratos medico salvatori ad stationem baptismi sanandos offerri, nec habituros vitam, nisi ipsius, qui est vita, manduca- 265 verint carnem et sanguinem biberint. Ipse enim dixit: *Nisi manducaveritis carnem filii hominis, et biberitis eius sanguinem, non habebitis vitam in vobis. Qui manducat meam carnem, et bibit meum sanguinem, habet vitam aeternam*. Quomodo igitur vitam regni caelorum promittitis parvulis non renatis ex aqua et spiritu sancto, non cibatis carne, neque 270 potatis sanguine Christi, qui fusus est in remissionem peccatorum? Eius

249/50 Cf. Ps 144,17 || 253/5 Cf. Rm 2,6; Mt 16,27; II Tim 4,14; Apc 22,12 || 258/9 Cf. Col 2,11-13; Rm 2,28-29 || 263 Mt 9,12 || 266/9 Io 6,54-55 || 270/1 Cf. Mt 26,28

248 erat] *add.* ad Θ | aetatem perfectam V | de] in C || 249 insane Pelagiane ~ π Mr || 250 operibus] *om.* V | pro] per Am Er | incircum V || 252 imputans C<sup>2</sup> | vixerit *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) || 253 Absit<sup>1</sup> ... 254 voluntatis] *om.* per hom. p1,7 | absit<sup>2</sup>] *om.* per hapl. δ *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) | hoc absit<sup>2</sup> ~ C | quia] qui C t p2 *edd.* || 254 oboedienti] *praem.* vel *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) | oboedientium V (*corr.* V<sup>2</sup>) | usum Θ || 255 Parvulo] *praem.* a C t p2; *praem.* si Am Er | quod] *om.* Am Er || 256 seminatum Θ M | adtraxit C (attraxit C<sup>2</sup>) M Mr; attraxit π t p2 *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) | circumcisi- nem P || 257 odit] ostendit V (*corr.* V<sup>2</sup>) || 258 populo] *praem.* in π t p2 *edd.* | octavi] viii V | figuram ... 259 diei] *om.* fort. per hom. Θ M || 259 diei] domini *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) | gratia V | bapismo V | gestabatur Θ M; gestavit C; testabatur δ || 260 illam *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) || 260/1 promittitis aeternam ~ Mr || 261 scilicet P || 262 seu] sed Θ; *om.* Φ *edd.* | credetis P | nihil] *eras.* P | intellexeretis] *add.* crederetis Am Er | dixit p1,7 | Christus] dominus *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) || 263 est opus ~ p2 a28 | utque V || 264 sanus P | statione P || 265 manducaverit V (*corr.* V<sup>2</sup>) || 266 biberint sanguinem ~ π a28 | biberent P; biberit V (*corr.* V<sup>2</sup>) || 268 vitam] *add.* aeternam C t p2 *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) | Qui] *praem.* et *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) || 269 habit P | promittis P; promittitis V (*corr.* V<sup>2</sup>) || 270 neque] atque non Am Er || 271 putatis P | remissione P

enim edictum est: *Si quis non renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu sancto, non introibit in regnum caelorum.* Intrare quippe in regnum caelorum non est aliud quam vita beata vivere, quae permanet in saecula saeculorum. Ecce non baptizatus, vitali etiam cibo poculoque | privatus, dividitur a regno caelorum, ubi fons viventium permanet Christus. Da mihi praeter hunc alterum locum, ubi vitae possit requies esse perennis. Primum enim locum fides Catholicorum divina auctoritate regnum credit esse caelorum unde, ut dixi, non baptizatus excipitur; secundum, 280 gehennam, ubi omnis apostata vel a Christi fide alienus aeterna supplicia experietur; tertium penitus ignoramus, immo nec esse in scripturis sanctis invenimus vel reperimus. Finge, Pelagiane, locum ex officina perversi dogmatis tui, ubi alieni a Christi gratia vitam requiei et gloriae possidere parvuli possint. Dexteram est iusti sedentis iudicis et sinistra, 285 regnum est et gehenna, vita est et mors, iusti sunt et iniqui. In dextera igitur iusti sunt constituti; in sinistra operarii iniquitatis; in regno requies baptizatorum; in gehenna poena incredulorum; vita ad laetitiam gloriae; mors ad fletum et stridorem dentium; iusti in regno patris cum Christo; iniqui in igne aeterno parato diabolo et angelis eius. Sed haec 290 dicens, non divisiones multorum locorum dedi, nisi duorum tantum, quoniam ad duo, regnum videlicet et gehennam, haec omnia referuntur, etiamsi plura dicantur. Dexteram enim vita, iusti, vel si, ut dixi, addamus, iustitia, sanctitas, beatitudo, et cetera bona ad regni caelorum requiem referuntur; sinistra vero, id est hi qui sinistrae adstabunt, iniqui, mors, 295 iniustitia, dolositas, impietas, et quantalibet mala ad gehennae tormenta,

272/3 Io 3,5 || 285/6 Cf. Mt 7,23; Mt 25,33 || 288 Cf. Mt 8,12 || 289 Cf. Mt 25,41

272 dictum V; medici dictus M | renatus non ~ Lov || 273 introibit] potest introire (cum Vulg.) edd. (exc. Mr) | Intrare ... caelorum] om. per hom. M | regnum?] regno P || 274 aliud est ~ C δ t p2 edd. | vita] praem. in Lov || 277 locum] om. V | perhennis P<sup>2</sup> || 279 credite δ || 282 inveniemus C δ t p1,7 edd.; om. p2 a28 | vel] nec M; om. p2 a28 edd. | repperimus P; repperiemus C δ p2; reperiemus t p1,7; om. edd. | officina P; officio V; officino C || 283 perversi] om. c Am Er | aliena V | a.] om. C (add. C<sup>2</sup>) t Am | vitae Θ; unam C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>); vita M | requiae P; requie V C || 284 parvuli possidere ~ Θ | possit V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>) | est] om. t p2 Am Er | iusti sedentis] iuscredentis V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>) | iudicis sedentis ~ Am Er || 285 regnum] add. coelorum t (elim. t<sup>2</sup>) | et<sup>1</sup>] om. Lov | gehenne V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>); genna P (geenna P<sup>2</sup>) || 286 sunt] om. Am Er | operarii] operi operari V || 287 baptizorum V | laetiam V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>) || 289 igne aeterno] aeternum ignem Θ | paratum P | haec] hoc edd. (exc. Mr) || 290 locorum multorum ~ edd. || 291 regnum] om. P | gehenna P | haec ... referuntur] repet. per ditt. C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) | omnia] enim M | refferuntur V || 292 plura] pura δ | dicuntur edd. (exc. Lov Mr) | si, ut] sicut V C edd. (exc. Mr) || 293 betitudo V || 294 sinistra] praem. in Θ | hi] eras. V; hii P M t p2,7 a28 Am Er; ii edd. (exc. Am Er) | astabunt π t p2 edd. (exc. Mr)

ubi mors quae secunda dicitur non finitiva, sed cruciatu durabilis erit. Qui baptizatus ergo non est, in his quae sunt regni caelorum, non potest reperiri; et si non ibi, quia vere non ibi, putasne, Pelagiane, iam sentis ubi? aut certe dic ubi.

*Caput 6* Respondes more illo solito: «Dominus inquit: *In domo patris* 300 *mei mansiones multae sunt.* In his mansionibus suas habent vitae et refrigerii non baptizati parvuli mansiones.» Hicne est, putas, ille tertius locus, quem fingendum ante paululum ex officina dogmatis tui poposceram? Percutiat hoc opus virga sua ferrea Christus, qua gentes haereditatem suam et possessionem suam terminos terrae regit; qua 305 probat vasa misericordiae suae, et reprobat contumelias; ut si manserit inquassatum, permittat illic susceptos vestros, quibus sine illo vitam promittitis parvulos habere. Dic, age, adesto adsertioni tuae, refelle meam. Mansiones istas multas, quas in medium protulisti de thesauris evangeliorum, certum est veritate dicente, esse apud deum patrem; 310 sed quaero abs te, utrum sint in regno caelorum an foras? Pater enim deus in regno caelorum est, et illic sunt hae utique mansiones. Si vero in regno caelorum non sunt, ergo pater alienus est a regno caelorum, quia, ut dixi, ubi pater est ibi, et multae sunt mansiones. Quid dicis, haeretice? Unum elige e duobus, cuius partis existere defensor possis. 315 In regno est pater et mansiones, an extra? Si dixeris: «In regno», perdidisti locum, quem multa fabricaveras arte parvulis. Non enim intrat in mansiones istas non baptizatus, quia qui dixit: *In domo patris mei*

296 Cf. Apc 2,11 || 300/1 Io 14,2 || 305 Cf. Ps 2,8-9 || 306 Cf. Rm 9,21-23 || 309 Cf. Io 14,2 || 318/9 Io 14,2

297 baptizatus V | his] hiis V<sup>2</sup> a28; iis *edd.* (exc. Am Er) | quae] *om.* V | sunt] *post* coelorum *tr. edd.* (exc. Mr) | regnum Θ || 298 repperiri P V<sup>2</sup> C M || 299 aut certe dic ubi] *om. fort. per hom.* Am Er || 300 Respondis P; Responde Φ *edd.* | Dominus] Deus Θ | inquit P C M || 301 mansionibus] *add.* mansiones *edd.* (exc. Mr) | suas] *om. edd.* (exc. Mr) | vita V | et] *om.* Θ C (*add.* C<sup>2</sup>) δ M p1 a28 || 302 non] *om.* Θ | mansiones] *om. edd.* (exc. Mr) | Hic ine P; Hicine V; Hic ine M; icine C (*corr.* C<sup>2</sup>); Heccine t || 303 offina δ || 304 ferrea] *om.* C δ t p2 Am Er | qua] quia C (qui C<sup>2</sup>) || 305 qua] quia C (qui C<sup>2</sup>) || 306 vassa V (*corr.* V<sup>2</sup>) | mansit Am || 307 illic] *om.* V | illo] illum P; illa V || 308 promittetis P | habitare Φ M Mr; habituros δ *edd.* (exc. Mr) | adsertionis P || 309 mansionis P | istae multae Θ δ M C π | media P; mediam Am | protulisti] *add.* ac Am Er || 311 regnum P | foris *edd.* (exc. Am) || 312 regnum P || haec P C (*corr.* C<sup>2</sup>) | mansionis P | Si ... 314 mansiones] *om. per hom.* p2 Am Er; *uncis incl. add.* Ch Ly || 313 regno] regnum P t | est] *post* coelorum<sup>2</sup> *tr. t* || 314 dixit C Lov Mr | multas P C (*corr.* C<sup>2</sup>) | sunt] *om. t* || 315 e] ex *edd.* (exc. Mr) | defensor existere ~ Φ M *edd.* | possit M || 317 arte] ante M || 318 non] nisi C<sup>2</sup> | baptizatus] *add.* fuerit C

*mansiones multae sunt, ipse dixit: Qui non renatus fuerit ex aqua et*  
 320 *spiritu sancto, non introibit in regnum caelorum.* Ecce virga fortis Christi  
 quomodo comminuit opus tuum. Si autem dixeris: «Foras», adtende  
 quid respondeas Manichaeo. Aliquo enim bello, secundum te, superatus  
 ab aliquo, pater exceptus est de regno caelorum, nec ad eum opus filii  
 sui pertinet baptismum parvulorum, nec ad Christum etiam mansiones  
 325 patris, ac per hoc divisum est regnum eorum. Christus enim recipit  
 baptizatos in regnum caelorum; pater non baptizatos in mansiones loci  
 sui. Ecce quales sensus inpraegnata a diabolo peperit haeresis vestra.  
 Ecce officina illa Pelagiana, seu Caelestiana, de qua nimium docti et  
 acutuli ad interitum processistis, qualem locum miseris parvulis fabri-  
 330 cavit, ut et pater a regno videatur exclusus, et Christus a mansionibus  
 PL 1655 patris. Quid deinceps a vobis | decepti facient parvuli, quos catholica  
 ratio sine medico Christo in mansiones patris vobis docentibus non sinit  
 introire? Quibus dum absque Christo promittitis vitam, aufertis vitam;  
 dum sanos pollicemini, ad mortem perducitis; dum spondetis requiem,  
 335 praecipitatis in gehennam. Mansiones igitur istae multae apud patrem  
 non sunt divisae cellulis ad habitandum iustis, sed coniuncta caritate  
 bonorum praemia meritorum, quae sunt in regno caelorum, quod est  
 indivisum in possessione unitae concordiae deitatis, patris et filii et  
 spiritus sancti; et non est ut quoddam grande palatium unde concludi  
 340 deus aut excludi possit; nec terminum habet quomodo regnum terrae,  
 ut ultra regnandi non habeat potestatem. Ipse enim, qui inplet omnia  
 et excedit omnia, pater et filius et spiritus sanctus, deus unus est,  
 omnia in omnibus, unum potens atque omnipotens, cuius regni finis

319/20 Io 3,5 || 320/1 Cf. Ps 2,9 || 342/3 Cf. I Cor 15,28 || 343/4 Cf. Lc 1,33

319 multas C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) || 320 sancto] om. (cum Vulg.) Mr | introivit P; intrabit  
 edd. | fortis] foris per err. typ. Mr || 321 quomodo] quoniam edd. (exc. Mr) | opus]  
 corpus Φ edd. (exc. Lov Mr) | Foris edd. (exc. Am) || 322 bellum P || 323 patri  
 Am Er || 324 baptismus edd. | Christum] ipsum edd. (exc. Mr) || 325 patris] om.  
 V | est] om. Θ | eorum] et ri' V || 326 regno Θ || 327 haereses V || 328 seu] om.  
 C t p2 Am Er; sive p3 edd. (exc. Am Er) | Caelestiana] om. C t p2 Am Er; Cele-  
 stina p3 || 329 acuti b2 Am Er | praecessistis C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) || 330 a<sup>1</sup>] om. Φ edd. |  
 videatur regno ~ edd. | et Christus] filiumque V c; filius v t2 || 332 ratio] rati  
 V; add. perdit Θ; add. perdet M b2 | sine] si δ | sine medico Christo] om. C t p2  
 Am Er; uncis incl. add. Ch Ly | in ... 333 Christo] om. per hom. Θ M b2 || 333  
 absque Christo] ante aufertis tr. π a28 | promittitis] promittis P (corr. P<sup>2</sup>); praem.  
 dum Θ M b2 | aufertis] offertis C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) || 334 pollicitatione edd. (exc. Mr) ||  
 335 Mansionis P | multae] om. Φ edd. || 336 cellulae Θ M | ad] om. δ | coniunctae  
 a28 Am Er; convicta Ch Ly || 338 possessionem C t p2 edd. | unicae edd. (exc. Mr) ||  
 339 quoddam] om. π | concludi] om. Am Er; uncis incl. add. Ch Ly || 340 deus]  
 om. Φ edd. || 341 non] om. δ || 342 est] et V || 343 omnipotens] omnia potens Φ edd.

non est. *Magnus enim dominus et laudabilis nimis, et magnitudinis eius non est finis; et regnum eius regnum omnium saeculorum, et dominatio eius in omni generatione et progenie.* In parte vero gloriae sanctorum et beatitudinis vitae aeternae divisum a gehenna dici tantum potest, unde inpii et peccatores omnisque non baptizatus est separatus, et parti gehennae est mancipatus. Dei autem potentia non in parte est, et in parte non est, quia et sanctorum requiei et peccatorum damnationi ipse regnat in saecula saeculorum. 345

*Caput 7* Sinite itaque parvulos venire ad Christum vitam, ut eis perditam per Adam medicina sua redonet vitam. Venit enim non inaniter, sed quaerere et salvare quod perierat. Vos videbat praescientia sua futuros haereticos; vosque increpabat in apostolis suis dicens: *Sinite infantes venire ad me, et nolite eos prohibere: talium enim est regnum caelorum.* Talium ad comparationem videlicet ad se venientium dixit, non omnium parvulorum generaliter, etiam et qui in eo renati non sunt. Ideo *Sinite*, inquit, *parvulos ad me venire*, id est nolite illos credere me non indigere: non possunt venire in regnum patris mei nisi per me. Denique ait: *Ego sum via, veritas et vita; nemo venit ad patrem nisi per me.* Quomodo igitur eos non baptizatos in domo mansionum patris mansuros creditis, cum nemo vadat ad patrem nisi per Christum, qui via est: nemo aeternam habeat vitam, nec maneat in veritate nisi per ipsum, qui vita est et veritas? *Sine me*, enim inquit, *nihil potestis facere.* Nam sicut nemo venit ad patrem, nisi per Christum, similiter nemo salvandus venit ad Christum nisi adtrahente patre. Ipse enim dixit: *Nemo venit ad me, nisi pater qui misit me, adtraxerit eum.* Et venire ad 360 365

344/5 Ps 144,3; cf. Ps 47,2 || 345/6 Ps 144,13 || 353/4 Cf. Lc 19,10 || 355/7 Mc 10,14 || 357/60 Cf. Mc 10,14 || 360 Cf. Io 14,6 || 361/2 Io 14,6 || 365 Io 15,5 || 368 Io 6,44

345 est] erit V | eius] *add.* non est finis V || 346 In<sup>2</sup>] *om.* M | parte] patre V (*corr.* V<sup>2</sup>); partem P | et<sup>2</sup>] *om.* Θ || 348 omnisque] *add.* qui Θ M || 349 et ... 350 est] *om.* per hom. M Am Er; *uncis incl.* *add.* Ch Ly || 352 parvulos venire ad] venire ad parvulos M || 353 perdita M || 354 sed] *om.* C t p2 *edd.* || 355 increpat P; notabat Am Er | Senite P || 356 eos] *om.* V | est enim ~ (*cum Vulg.*) P π t p2 *edd.* || 358 in eo] nec V || 359 inquit P C (*corr.* C<sup>2</sup>) M; ante Sinite tr. c v t2 *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) | parvulus P | venire ad me ~ M t p2 *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) | illos] eos *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) || 360 indigere] diligere p1 (*corr.* p1<sup>2</sup>) | non<sup>2</sup>] *add.* enim *edd.* | in regnum] *om.* P || 361 via] *add.* et (*cum Vulg.*) Θ M (*Sed cf. pag.* 140, 565 | veritas] *om.* Am Er || 361/2 venit] post me tr. Mr || 362 eos igitur ~ Am; eos ergo *edd.* (*exc.* Am Mr) | baptizatus P | domum Θ | mansurus P || 363 credetis P M | vadit Am || 364 aeternam] post vitam tr. π a28 | habet Θ | manet Θ || 365 est] post veritas tr. C | enim] *om.* Φ *edd.* || 366 similiter] sic *edd.* (*exc.* Mr)



patrem et filium nemo potest, nisi operante spiritu sancto patris et  
 370 filii, qui ubi vult spirat, et gratiam dividit singulis prout vult; quam  
 salutem non a se dissociatam, sed indivisa manens atque unum potens,  
 in homine tota unus deus trinitas operatur. Quisquis ergo opus in se  
 non habet trinitatis, id est baptismum salutare, aeternam vitam cum  
 viventibus sanctis in regno caelorum non potest adipisci. Baptismum  
 375 enim Christi opus est trinitatis, quia ipse est, dicente apostolo Paulo,  
 plenitudo divinitatis; *et non est*, sicut et Petrus dicit in Actibus Aposto-  
 lorum, *in alio aliquo salus. Nec enim nomen aliud datum est sub caelo*  
*hominibus, in quo oporteat nos salvos fieri.* Ecce princeps apostolorum  
 Petrus in veritate loquitur veritatem, in nullo alio nomine hominibus  
 380 datam sub caelo salutem, nisi in Christo. Tu in mendacio da nomen  
 aliud, quod salvare possit parvulos, minime in Christi, qui est, sicut  
 dixi, plenitudo divinitatis, nomine baptizatos. Quisquis enim in Christo  
 PL 1656 tingitur | in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti, quod est plenitudo  
 divinitatis, in remissionem peccatorum salutis gratia baptizatur.

385 *Caput 8* «Et nos», inquires, sicut aliquoties a vobis audimus, «in remis-  
 sionem peccatorum, tam maiores aetate quam parvulos baptizamus». Et cum vobis ita contradictum a nobis fuerit: Ergo est peccatum in  
 parvulis, quod eis in sacro baptismo remittatur, respondetis: «Nullum:  
 tantum in adoptionem filiorum baptizantur. Habet enim in eis gratia  
 390 quod adoptet, non habet unda quod diluat. Propter solam vero symboli  
 formulam, ut tradita consuetudo servetur, tinguntur in remissionem  
 peccatorum. Maiores autem qui propter usum liberi arbitrii peccata  
 contrahere potuerunt, in remissionem peccatorum baptizantur.» O

370 Cf. Io 3,8 | Cf. I Cor 12,11 || 375/6 Cf. Col 2,9 || 376/8 Act 4,12 || 382 Cf.  
 Col 2,9 || 382/4 Cf. Mt 28,19; Act 2,38 || 383/4 Cf. Col 2,9

370 et] om. Θ | dividet P; dividens V || 371 saluem] gratiam edd. | manens] manu  
 C t p2 edd.; mens M | unum] om. edd. | potens] potentia edd. || 372 deus] add. et  
 Φ edd. | Quisque Θ | opus ... 390 diluat] om. Θ || 373 id ... 375 trinitatis] om. per  
 hom. Am Er; *uncis incl. add.* Ch Ly | salutare] edd. || 374 Baptismus edd. || 377  
 aliquo alio ~ a28 edd. (exc. Mr) || 378 oportet M || 381 minime] add. poteris nisi c |  
 nomine (lin. 382) ] post Christi tr. edd. (exc. Mr) | sicut] ut M δ t p1,2 edd. (exc. Mr) ||  
 382 nomine ... 384 divinitatis] om. per hom. c (add. in mg. c2) | baptizatis Er Ch  
 Ly | Quisque Θ || 383 tingitur t p2 edd. (exc. Mr, non PL) | nomen t || 384 remis-  
 sione δ c t || 385 aliquoties C2 M δ t p2 b2 Am Mr | audivimus M δ Ch Ly ||  
 387 ita] ise M; om. C π | fuerit a nobis ~ edd. (exc. Mr) || 388 Nullum] ut Am Er  
 || 389 adoptione Φ c edd. (exc. Lov Mr) | baptizatur Lov || 391 tinguntur codd. edd.  
 (exc. Mr, non PL) (sed cf. lin. 383 supra; et lin. 400 infra) | remissione δ c || 392 qui]  
 quod c | qui propter] propter quod Φ edd. | propter] om. c | usu Φ c edd. || 393 remis-  
 sione P δ c

caeca vestrorum sensuum corda! O magisterium quod obvolutum mortali  
 nebula in vobis diabolus propinavit! Quis hoc Catholicorum sapientis- 395  
 simus ferat? Quis vos non horreat potius nominare quam cernere, ut  
 verbum dei fidele in parte veri et in parte mendacii esse praedicetis,  
 id est in maioribus verax, quia vere in remissionem peccatorum bapti-  
 zantur; in parvulis autem mendax, quia sic in remissionem peccatorum,  
 ut non in remissionem peccatorum tinguuntur? Quando iam vel quid 400  
 a vobis dicitur verum, aut dicitur, cum in illo loco ubi veritas Christus  
 in spiritu sancto baptizans curat omnes ad se venientes peccati vulnere  
 sauciatos, deo mendacium dicere non timetis? Verba namque dei sunt  
 symboli verba: non se fefellit deus tradens per apostolos suos ecclesiae  
 suae sanctae catholicae credentes in remissionem peccatorum baptizari. 405  
 Utquid enim iussit in remissionem peccatorum, si non facit vere remis-  
 sionem? Immo ideo iussit, quia facit. *Est enim deus verax, omnis autem  
 homo mendax.*

Omnino in remissionem peccatorum baptizantur et parvuli, alioquin  
 non habebunt in regno caelorum vitam. Dimittitur enim eis regenera- 410  
 tione spiritali quod traxerunt, ut saepe dixi, ex Adam generatione  
 carnali. Stulte haeretice, respice ad Iesum, qui propterea vocatus est  
 Iesus, id est salvator, quia sicut dicit evangelista: *Ipsae saluum faciet  
 populum suum a peccatis eorum.* Adtende edictui eius: *Non opus est  
 sanis medicus, sed male habentibus.* Et adversum eum falsum de parvulis 415  
 dicere conticesce, qui eis potum non sanis, sed aegrotantibus baptismum  
 in suo sanguine procuravit, qui propterea catechizantur et exsufflantur

397/9 Cf. Rm 3,4 || 407/8 Rm 3,4 || 413/4 Mt 1,21 || 414/5 Mt 9,12

394 sensum V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>) || 395 nebulo V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>) | in] om. Φ edd. | hoc] haec  
 edd. (exc. Mr) || 396 ferat] fuerat V Ch Ly || 397 parte<sup>1</sup>] patre edd. (exc. Lov  
 Mr) | verum C | in<sup>2</sup>] om. C | parte<sup>2</sup>] patre edd. (exc. Lov Mr) || 398 veracem Θ M |  
 in<sup>2</sup>] om. C p1 | remissione Φ || 399 mendacem Θ M | remissionem] remissione P  
 δ t || 400 ut] vel edd. (exc. Lov Mr) | ut ... peccatorum] om. per hom. C p1 | in]  
 om. M f1 | remissione δ t | tingantur edd. (exc. Mr); tinguantur Mr (non PL) || 401  
 a] ad P | dicitur] dicitur P | aut] ut Ch Ly; add. quid Θ b2 | dicitur] diceretur  
 Ch Ly | cum] quod edd. (exc. Lov Mr) || 402 sanctos Ch Ly | omnes curat ~ Lov ||  
 403 sauciatus P | deum V | mendacium P; mendacem V | times P | Verba] Vera  
 Am Er || 404 se] om. Am Er | refellit Am Er | apostolus P | 405 baptizari V || 406  
 iussit] insit V | in] om. Am Er | facit] om. M | remissionem] add. peccatorum V ||  
 409 remissione P | peccatorum] om. Am Er || 410 regnum P | enim] om. Am Er |  
 regeneratione] praem. in M || 411 spiritali π PL || 412 est] om. C δ || 413 sicut]  
 sic edd. (exc. Mr) || 414 opus est] aegrotantibus P; aegrotantibus V || 415 sani Θ | medicum P;  
 medico V | habentes Θ | adversus Φ edd. || 415/6 dicere de parvulis ~ Θ || 416  
 conticesce P; conticesce M | fotum P || 417 catatizatur V (catatizantur V<sup>2</sup>); cathe-  
 cizantur M

ac baptizantur, ut princeps huius mundi diabolus ex eis foras mittatur. Aut si non in illis diabolus exsufflatur, cuius opere, id est vitio peccati,  
 420 per Adam tenentur obnoxii? Dicite cur imagini dei fit iniuria? Vos vero, opinor, quod eis baptismo vestro baptizandis minime exsuffletis, ne non imagini dei, sed diabolo faciatis iniuriam. Aut si exsufflatis nullum, ut putatis, crimen habentibus, quem in eis arguitis edicite. Exsufflatur ergo et increpatur in eis in catholica ecclesia opus diaboli,  
 425 non quod ipsi sunt, sed quod in ipsis est. Ipsi enim quod homines sunt, opus dei sunt; quod vero in ipsis est peccatum, opus diaboli est. Hoc in illis odit deus, non ipsos opus suum. Ob hoc si indebita gratia eius per baptismum mundati non fuerint, penitus Christianorum vitam non habebunt, in regnum caelorum non ingredientur; erunt autem illic  
 430 ubi et incircumcisi parvuli Iudaeorum. Duas sane fides et duo baptis- mata vos habere, si ipsi in tenebris ambulantes non cognoscitis, Catho- licorum nullus ignorat. Alia enim fide, ut superius ostendi, vobis dicen- tibus, baptizatis aetate maiores, alia parvulos, cum scilicet verbo eos in remissionem peccatorum baptizatis, corde non creditis. Nos vero  
 435 anathemizantes vos, Paulum apostolum, in | quo locutus est Christus, PL 1657 auscultamus praedicantem et sequimur, qui unum corpus et unum spiritum esse dixit ecclesiae catholicae in Christo, unam fidem, unum baptisma, unum deum et patrem omnium, qui super omnes, et in omnibus nobis.

418 Cf. Io 12,31 || 435 Cf. II Cor 13,3 || 436/9 Cf. Eph 4,4-6

418 ac] *om.* C M t | baptizandi M || 419 exsufflantur V | vitio] servitio Θ ||  
 420 quur P | imagine P | fit] fecit Θ | iniuriam Θ | Vos] *om.* *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) ||  
 421 verum *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) || 422 ne non] non enim P V (ne enim V<sup>2</sup>) | facitis V ||  
 423 arguetis P; arguatis M; urgeatis Φ *edd.* (*exc.* Am Er); lugeatis Am Er | dici- te Lov || 424 in<sup>2</sup>] *om.* V | eclesia V || 425 non ... sunt<sup>2</sup>] *om.* M | ipsi<sup>1</sup> ... quod<sup>2</sup>] *om.* Θ | sunt<sup>2</sup>] *om.* *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) || 426 Hoc] *add.* est *edd.* [*exc.* Mr.) | in] *praem.* quod Er || 427 ipsos] *praem.* in δ M | ipsus P | Ob] Ab C δ M b2 | si] *add.* sine M | indebeta V || 428 vitiam C (*corr.* C<sup>2</sup>) || 429 in] *praem.* et Ch Ly Lov | regno Θ || 430 et<sup>1</sup>] *om.* Ch Ly Lov | circumcisi P C (*corr.* C<sup>2</sup>) Ch Ly Lov || 431 ipse M | cog- noscetis P || 432 ut] et P | dicentibus] *post* maiores (*lin.* 433) *tr.* Θ || 433 maio- ribus V (*corr.* V<sup>2</sup>) | verbum *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) | eius Θ M b2 || 434 remissione P C t π *edd.* (*exc.* Lov Mr) | baptizates P; baptizatos *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) | corde] *praem.* percipere *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) | credatis *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) || 435 apostolum] *om.* Φ *edd.* (*exc.* Am) || 436 auscultantes Θ | et<sup>1</sup>] *om.* Θ | sequamur P V (*corr.* V<sup>2</sup>) | et<sup>2</sup>] *om.* Θ || 437 esse] et Am Er || 438 baptismum *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) || 439 nobis] *add.* qui est bene- dictus in saecula saeculorum. Amen c; *add.* Amen Θ M ||  
 Explicit responsio quinta Φ V c; ypomnesticon liber quintus explicit M; *om.* P b2

## RESPONSIO VI

### DE PRAEDESTINATIONE

PL 1657

*Caput 1* Addere etiam hoc quam maxime huic operi oportet, ut et vestra calumnia, quam nobis obicere soletis, per inlumptionem gratiae salvatoris revincatur, immo confutetur, et nostrae fidei integritas con- 5 probetur. Credere nos quippe vel praedicare flagitatis, quia cum lege dei et prophetis, cum evangelio Christi eiusque apostolis praedestinationem dicimus, eo quod deus quosdam hominum sic praedestinet ad vitam regni caelorum, ut si nolint orare, aut ieiunare, aut in omni opere divino vigiles esse, eos omnino perire non posse, nec prorsus debere 10 sui esse sollicitos, quos deus quia voluit, semel iam eligendo praedestinavit ad vitam; quosdam vero sic praedestinavit in gehennae poenam, ut etiam si credere velint, si ieiuniis, orationibus, omnique se voluntati divinae subiecerint, in his deum non delectari, vitam illis aeternam in toto dari non posse, sic electione praedestinos esse, ut pereant; deum 15 nos taliter operantem personarum esse dicere acceptorem.

Non miramur vos de nobis, id est homines de hominibus falsa confingere, cum videamus vos sic a diabolo esse falsatos, ut scripturas sanctas et veridicas ad voluntatis vestrae intellectum mutare nitamini, fidem Christi apostolorum praedicatione fundatam evertere, falsum dogma 20

16 Cf. Act 10,34

*Titulus: Cf. supra p. 83-85.*

3 Addere] *praem.* Licet latius de gratia et libero (libero] *om.* Am Er) arbitrio iam (iam] *om.* k2 *edd.*, *exc.* Mr) superius disputatum sit (sit] *add.* tamen *edd.*) Φ *edd.*; Attendere b1 | hoc] nonnihil *edd.*; *om.* t p2,12 | quam] quod C t p1,2,14 pr | oportet P; placet f1,2; *om.* m1 es y1 | et] *om.* Θ p12 || 4 calumnia] dementia p12 | quam] in qua Θ p12 M; qua L fu k1 u | nobis] mihi L | obicere nobis ~ K b1 Σ *recc.1* | obicere V; sobicere L; obiicere *edd.* (*exc.* Mr); objicere Mr || 5 vincatur V | confiteatur K g2 Lp m6 ha; confitetur v8; refutetur p14 Ch Ly Lov | integritas V | conprobetur] corroboretur k2 Am Er || 6 quippe nos ~ *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) | flagitatis] suggillatis *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) || 8 praedestinatus Γ p1 y2 f3 p15; praedestinavit v1 d3 y3 || 9 nollent P; nolent V p12 | orate V | aut<sup>1</sup> vel b1 k2; et p1,14 || 10 divino] *om.* b1 | vigiles] vitales Θ || 11 quia] qui C t pr p2 k2 | semil P | elegendo Θ G (*corr.* G<sup>2</sup>) B K | praedisnavit V || 12 sic] *om.* Σ *recc.1* | praedestinet Φ Mr || 13 vellent Θ | ieiunis V; *add.* et *edd.* (*exc.* Am Er); *add.* aut p12 | voluntati] *om.* p12 || 14 vitam] *praem.* et Γ *edd.* || 15 non dari ~ *recc.1* | sic] *add.* et Θ; *add.* que g2 Lp m6 ha | electione] *om.* M | praedistinus P; praedisnatos V | deum] *praem.* et g2 Lp m6 ha || 16 nos] vos Θ | dicere esse ~ c | dicimus p12 | acceptorem dicere ~ *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) || 17 id est] *om.* p12 | homines] hominis P | falsa] *add.* ista Θ; *add.* posse Φ *edd.*; *add.* esse M || 18 falsatus P; fascinosos *edd.* (*exc.* Am: Am<sup>mg</sup> fascinosos) | sanctas] falsas p12 || 19 veredicas C p12 | voluntatem V | vestram V | nitami V || 20 fundata P p12 | avertere Γ δ; advertere v2 c2

vestrum anteponere veritati. Hinc est utique, ut non possitis agnoscere  
veritatem; immo hinc est, ut corrupti et abominabiles facti sitis in  
voluntatibus vestris. Inclinate igitur aliquantulum patienter aurem  
cordis vestri, et qualiter mysterium praedestinationis credamus, quali-  
25 terve praedicemus, audite. Animositatem etiam contradicendi divinis  
eloquiis deponite. Potestis enim dono dei veritatem facile reperire, si  
contentiosi disciplinae silentio esse destiteritis. Prius ergo ipsum nomen  
praedestinationis quid indicet, exponamus. Deinde esse apud deum,  
qui sine acceptione personarum est, praedestinationem divinarum  
30 scripturarum auctoritate probabimus

*Caput 2* Praedestinatio quippe a praemittendo et praeveniando vel  
praeordinando futurum aliquid dicitur; et ideo deus, cui praescientia  
non accidens est, sed essentia fuit semper et est, quicquid antequam  
sit praescit, praedestinat, et propterea praedestinat, quia quale futurum  
35 sit praescit. Ideo et Apostolus, *Nam quos praescivit*, inquit, *et prae-*  
*destinavit*. Sed non omne quod praescit, praedestinat. Mala enim tantum  
praescit, bona vero et praescit et praedestinat. Quod ergo bonum,  
praescientia praedestinat, id est priusquam sit in re praeordinat. Hoc  
PL 1658 cum, ipso auctore, esse coeperit, vocat, ordinat, et disponit. | Unde et  
40 sequitur: *Nam quos praedestinavit, hos et vocavit, et quos vocavit, illos*

22/3 Cf. Ps 13,1 || 35/6 Rm 8,29 || 40/1 Rm 8,30

21 Hinc] Hoc p12 | est] esse C | possetis C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) L; positus M | cognoscere c ||  
22 veritate L | abominabilis P | sitis] *add.* ut P || 23 voluptatibus (*cum 8 moz*)  
Γ *recc. 1* | aliquantum p1 Mr || 25 praedicamus V | audite] om. Γ M; advertite  
G<sup>2</sup>; intelligite e<sup>2</sup>; perspicite pg pe | etiam] vestram p12 | contradicendo p12 ||  
26 eloquiis] litteris p12 | potestis] pestis V | donum Θ C t p2 f1 m1; dona p12;  
donante p1 | deo p1 | reperire V C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) G (corr. G<sup>2</sup>) B b1 M Σ; *add.* vel  
agnoscere *edd.* || 27 contentiosae V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>) C | silentii Θ | disteteritis P; desteu  
(?) V || 28 quid] qui B | exponemus b1 | esse] esset B K; quidem G (quidem  
esse G<sup>2</sup>) | esse ... 29 qui] etiam quae b1 || 29 qui] *add.* est t p2 k2 | acceptione  
V; exceptione C t p2 pr | est] et C t p2; om. p12 | prae-destinatione C p12 ||  
30 probavimus G (corr. G<sup>2</sup>) B (corr. B<sup>2</sup>) K b1 (corr. b1<sup>2</sup>) Σ; probamus C L δ ||  
31 a] om. G B K Σ; est *recc. 1* | praemittendo V; praeviendo *edd.* | praeveniando]  
om. p12 || 32 praesentia p12 || 33 accedens Θ M | essentiam P | est<sup>2</sup>] *add.* quia Γ |  
quidquid G (corr. G<sup>2</sup>) L B b1 Mr; quicunque Lov || 34 sit] fit *edd.* (*exc.* Mr); *add.*  
sic *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) | praedestinat<sup>1</sup>] om. Θ | et ... praedestinat<sup>2</sup>] om. *per hom.* L δ ||  
35 Ideo] *praem.* et p12 | et<sup>1</sup>] om. P | quos] quod C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) t p2 pr | praesci-  
vit] praesciit G (corr. G<sup>2</sup>) B || 36 Mala] Multa C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) L p1 y1 es | Mala ...  
37 praedestinat] om. *per hom.* B tr | tanto C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) || 37 praescit] *add.* et non  
praedestinat *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) | bona ... praescit] om. *per hom.* Γ | et<sup>2</sup>] *add.* non Γ;  
om. V || bonum] *add.* est y2 u *edd.* || 38 id est] om. C L p1 es y1; et t p2 pr k2 |  
re] se V || 39 et<sup>1</sup>] om. c δ | disponet M | et<sup>2</sup>] om. B tr || 40 illus P

*et iustificavit; quos autem iustificavit, illos et glorificavit.* Iam igitur apertius disseramus quod loquimur, quomodo humanum genus praescientia sua et praedestinatione deus, in quo iniquitas non est, utatur. Massae itaque humani generis, quae in Adam et Eva praevericatione damnabilis mortalisque facta est, non conditione divina generaliter, 45 sed ex debito poena cruciatusque gehennae debetur; venia vero non merito, sed dei iusti iudicis misericordiae largitate, confertur. Quia vero iustus et misericors deus praesciusque est futurorum ex hac damnabili massa non personarum acceptione, sed iudicio aequitatis suae inreprehensibili, immo inconprehensibili, quos praescit misericordia gratuita 50 praeparat, id est praedestinat ad aeternam vitam; ceteros autem poena, ut praedixi, debita punit; quos ideo punit, quia quid essent futuri praescivit, non tamen puniendos ipse fecit vel praedestinavit, sed tantum, ut dixi, in damnabili massa praescivit.

*Caput 3* Quod si a me quaeris scire, cur duo ista differenter deus fecit, 55 si personarum acceptor non est, quia generaliter aut punire debet iustitia, aut misericordia liberare, contende cum Paulo; immo si audes, argue Paulum, qui dixit, Christo in se loquente, *O homo, tu quis es qui respondeas deo? Numquid dicit figmentum ei qui se finxit, Utquid me sic fecisti? Annon habet potestatem figulus luti ex eadem massa facere aliud* 60 *quidem vas in honorem, aliud vero in contumeliam?* Ego autem hoc dico quod dixi, quia quicquid deus agit misericorditer, iuste, sancteque facit,

43 Cf. Rm 9,14 || 56 Cf. Act 10,34 || 58 Cf. II Cor 13,3 || 58/61 Rm 9,20-21

41 iustificavit<sup>1</sup> ... et] *om. per hom.* δ | glorificavit] magnificavit (*cum* ASKΛΦ) Θ || 42 deseramus V (*corr.* V<sup>2</sup>) | quomodo] *add.* erga *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) | genus] *om.* C | praescientiae V c; praesentia p12 || 43 suae V c | et] *om.* V c; *add.* de G<sup>2</sup> (*elim.* G<sup>3</sup>) B M | deus] *add.* generaliter *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) | non est iniquitas ~ Γ || 44 Massa Θ p12 b1 δ | quae] qui V | Evam C (*corr.* C<sup>2</sup>) L G (Evae G<sup>2</sup>) B K δ p1,12 tr; Evae t || 45 contradictione c || 46 sed] *om.* Φ Mr || 47 confertur] *om.* Φ Mr || 48 deus] *praem.* dominus *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) | -que] *om.* b1 | est] *om.* tr v2 *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) | ex] *praem.* et Γ || 50 immo inconprehensibili] *om. per hom.* Γ M p1 *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) | praescit P; post gratuita tr. Φ Mr || 51 vitam aeternam ~ K b1 Σ *recc.* 1 | poena] *om.* K b1 Σ *recc.* 1 || 51/2 ut praedixi poena ~ c || 52 debito b1 | ideo] itaque b1 | quid] *om.* p12 | esse futura V || 53 ipse fecit puniendos ~ *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) | fecit] *om.* M | vel] ut V || 54 damnabilem massam p12 || 55 si] *eras.* b1; *om.* tr | quaesieris p12 | cur] quos p12 | duo] duos Θ b2 *edd.* | ista] ita P V (*corr.* V<sup>2</sup>) b2 *edd.* | differenter] differentes p1 e10,14,15 *edd.*; indifferenter *recc.* 2 | fecit deus ~ Θ p12 b2 *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) | faciat Γ; facit L M δ p1 || 56 personarum si ~ Γ | aut] *om.* C t p2 k2 Mr || 57 iustitia] *praem.* in G B K p12 b1 tr; iniustitiam Σ *recc.* || 58 Christo] *om.* V | tu homo ~ p12 || 59/60 fecisti sic (*cum* Vulg.) ~ Σ *recc.* 1 || 61 honore L B K p12 M p1 | vero] *om.* B tr | contumelia p12 | dico hoc ~ Σ *recc.* || 62 quo P | iusteque V b1 | sancteque] *om.* V (*add.* V<sup>2</sup>); sancte p12

quia solus ipse praesciendo scit, quod homo nesciendo nescit. *Quis enim cognovit sensum domini, qui instruat eum? Aut quis consiliarius eius fuit? Aut quis prior dedit illi, et retribuetur ei? Aut quis dicit ei, Quid fecisti?* Non potest tantum iustus dici deus, aut solum misericors, sed iustus et misericors. Sic legimus, sic credimus. Propterea quando illi cum David misericordiam et iudicium cantamus metuentes, non interrogamus quae sit voluntas eius in iudicio et misericordia conqui-  
70 rentes. Quod si adhuc animositati tuae, qua contentionis curru raptus per quaestionum campos inanis effereris, haec minime responsa sufficiunt, audi et alia quae de altitudine divitiarum sapientiae et scientiae dei, expavescentes inconprehensibilia iudicia eius et investigabiles vias eius  
PL 1659 sola tantum fidei considera|tione proferimus; quia si scrutari voluerimus  
75 secretum dei, quod iustitiae ipsius solius notum est, comprehendere non valemus, et inpletur in nobis quod scriptum est: *Defecerunt scrutantes scrutationem*. Quare? Quia *accedit*, inquit, *homo et cor altum, et exaltabitur deus*. Sed forte cum sitis reprehensibiles, iudiciorum dei esse vos comprehensibiles iactitatis, melius scilicet deo placentes quam Paulus  
80 apostolus, qui esse inconprehensibilia per spiritum sanctum eius iudicia praedicavit. Pandite itaque quo iudicio, ut dictum est a Paulo et Bar-

63/6 Rm 11,34-35; I Cor 2,16 || 65/6 Cf. Sap 12,12 || 68 Cf. Ps 100,1 || 72/3 Cf. Rm 11,33 || 76/8 Ps 63,7 || 80 Cf. Rm 11,33 || 81/2 Cf. Act 14,6

63 quia solus] qui sol p12 | quod ... nescit] *om. per hom.* δ p1 | nesciendu P (nesciendum P<sup>2</sup>) | nescit] scit M || 64 cognoscit p12 | sensum domini] *om. c* | qui] *praem.* a P<sup>2</sup>; quis P<sup>2</sup> *edd. (exc. Mr)* | qui ... eum] *om. (cum Vulg.)* Γ p12 | instruxit *edd. (exc. Mr)* || 65 illi] ei *recc.2* Am Er | retribuit V | ei<sup>1</sup>] illi Am Er || 66 Quid] *add. me* Θ; *add. me sic* V c | dici iustus ~ Φ Mr || 67 sed ... misericors] *om. per hom.* p12 | legimus] diligimus K b1 Σ *recc.1* | quando] canto V c; *om. Φ* || 68 misericordia p12 | cantamus] *repet. fort. per ditt.* L c δ t p1,2 *edd.* | metuentes] *add. cantamus* C || 69 sit] fit M | in] de *edd.* | in iudicio] habebimus p12 | misericordiam p12 | conquiritantes V (*corr. V<sup>2</sup>*) || 70 adhuc] *om.* Θ | animositate V || 71 efferes P (*corr. P<sup>2</sup>*); effeceris c K Σ; efficeris δ *recc.1*; effereris *edd. (exc. Mr)* | responso K || 72 et<sup>1</sup>] *om.* K b1 | alia] aliqua p12 | altitudini V || 73 expavescentes V; expavescentes *edd. (exc. Mr)* | iuditia P; dicia V (*corr. V<sup>2</sup>*) | et ... eius<sup>2</sup>] *om. per hom.* V | investigabilis P | eius<sup>2</sup>] ipsius Γ || 74 solam Am | fidei] *om.* P (*add. P<sup>2</sup>*) | considerationem Am | si] *om.* K M | scredari V (*corr. V<sup>2</sup>*) || 75 secretum] sectum V | quod] quo P | iusticiae Am | est] *add. quod* b1 || 76 in] *repet. per ditt.* V (*corr. V<sup>2</sup>*) || 77 scrutationem P; scrutatione G B p12; scrutationes (*cum α*) K b1 Σ *recc.*; scrutinio (*cum Vulg.*) V c *edd. (exc. Mr)* | Quia] Qui P | accedet (*cum Vulg.*) b1 | et<sup>1</sup>] ad (*cum Ro*) V L c K b1 tr Σ *recc. edd. (exc. Mr)* | et<sup>2</sup>] *om.* P | extabitur V || 78 Sed] Si *edd. (exc. Am Er)* | sites P (*corr. P<sup>2</sup>*) || 79 iactitates P (*corr. P<sup>2</sup>*); iactatatis C (*corr. C<sup>2</sup>*); iactatis V (*corr. V<sup>2</sup>*) δ tr Σ *recc. Lov* || 80 per] *praem.* dicit b1 | sanctum spiritum ~ L | sanctum] *om.* Ch Ly Lov | eius] taliter p12; *om.* Φ Mr | iudicia] *om.* Φ || 81 Pandete P (*corr. P<sup>2</sup>*); Perpendite *edd. (exc. Mr)* | itaque] *om.* p12 | ut] *om.* V *edd. (exc. Mr)* | a] *om.* L δ p1 | Barnaban P M; Barnabae C (*corr. C<sup>2</sup>*); Barnabe t p1,2; Barnabo V

naba praedicantibus verbum dei in Lystris, *in praeteritis generationibus dimisit omnes gentes ingredi vias suas*, ut in idolatria simulacrorum perirent; et unam tantum gentem, id est Iacob, elegit sibi dominus et Israhel in possessionem sibi; cui soli utique legem ad cognoscendum se, postpositis, ut dixi, ceteris generationibus dedit; vel cur iterum amissio facta est Iudaeorum, ut mundi fieret reconciliatio, id est omnium gentium, sicut dicit Apostolus: *Si enim amissio eorum reconciliatio est mundi, quae adsumptio nisi vita ex mortuis?* Quasi impossibile erat deo omnipotenti uno tempore universo mundo legem dare, salutem gratiae Christi conferre, vel, ut cito dicam, ab initio lapsus Adae id agere, quod diversitate temporum fieri eius arbitrio sedit. Docete etiam, quare misso ab spiritu sancto Paulo et Barnaba portare nomen domini salutis causa in gentibus, cum transirent praedicantes Frigiam et Galatae regionem, *vetiti sunt a spiritu sancto loqui verbum in Asia? Et cum venissent in Mysiam, volentes ire Bithyniam, non permisit eos*, inquit, *spiritus Iesu*.

*Caput 4* «Sciebat», inquires, «deus, quia credituri non essent, et ideo non eos ire permisit ad loquendum verbum». Stulte, deus est qui iustificat inpium, non praeventus humana voluntate, sed ipse praeveniens hominis voluntatem misericordia sua. *Deus, enim inquit, meus misericordia eius praeveniet me*. Audi et alium prophetam dicentem: *Converte me, domine, et convertar; sana me, domine, et sanabor*. Unde et Apostolus:

82/3 Act 14,15 || 84/5 Cf. Ps 134,4 || 88/9 Rm 11,15 || 95/6 Act 16,6-7 || 98/9 Cf. Rm 4,5 || 99/100 Cf. Ps 58,11 || 100/1 Ps 58,11 || 101/2 Ier 31,18; 17,14

82 verbum] *om.* p12 | dei] domini b1 | Lystris V (*corr.* V<sup>2</sup>); Listris c Σ | in] et P; *om. recc.* 2 | generationibus] *om.* c || 83 suas] *om.* V | in] *om.* Φ Mr | idolatria V (*corr.* V<sup>2</sup>); idololatria *edd.* (*exc.* Am) || 84 sibi] *om.* Σ || 85 posesionem V (*corr.* V<sup>2</sup>); possionem B tr | utique soli ~ p12 || 86 cur] quod δ; cui Am Er | amissa V (*corr.* V<sup>2</sup>) || 87 fierent C (*corr.* C<sup>2</sup>) || 88 dixit Σ | eorum] illorum Φ | est] *om.* G K b1 Σ || 88/9 mundi est ~ L δ Mr || 89 adsumptio nisi] adsumptionis P || 90 salutem] *om.* V; *post* conferre tr. c || 91 vel ut] veluti V | cito] ita K b1 Σ t p2 *recc.* 1 *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) | labso L || 92 diversitatem V (*corr.* V<sup>2</sup>) | arbitrio] *add.* placuit m1<sup>2</sup> f1 | sedit] sed id c m1 f1; cedit *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) | quare misso] remissio P (qua remissi P<sup>2</sup>) | missio V; missi c || 93 ab] a tr *edd.* | Paulus P<sup>2</sup> c | Barnaban P (Barnabas P<sup>2</sup>) M; Barnabas c; Barnabo V; Barnabae C (*corr.* C<sup>2</sup>) || 94 transierint Σ | Frigiae Θ; Phrygiam b1 *edd.* || 95 sancto spiritu ~ L δ | verbum] *add.* dei *edd.* || 96 Mesiam P; Mysia G | irae V (*corr.* V<sup>2</sup>); *add.* in V B K c Σ p1 *recc.* *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) | Bethyam P; Bethyniam V; Bethiniam t; Bythyniam G; Bythiniam L b1 Σ p1,12; Bybythiniam M; Bithiniam C c p2 || 97 inquires G B K b1 Σ tr *recc.* | et ... 98 loquendum] *om.* K b1 || 98 ire] *om.* V p12 | verbum] verba p12; *add.* dei Σ *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) | est] *om.* δ p1 | qui] *om.* δ || 100 hominis] *om.* b1 | voluntate P || 101 Audi et] Audite p12 | aliam prophetiam p2 t | dicentem] loquentem Γ M | Convertere p12 b1 || 102 me<sup>1</sup>] *om.* p12 | domine<sup>2</sup>] *om.* P K b1 M Σ | et<sup>3</sup>] *om.* *edd.*



*Iustificati*, inquit, *gratis per gratiam ipsius, per redemptionem, quae est in Christo Iesu*. Audi *gratis*, et tace de meritis. Nonne prohibitio ista  
105 sancti spiritus aliudne ostendit, quam verbum domini Iesu dicentis in evangelio: *Spiritus ubi vult spirat?* Hinc cogita, hinc pande aliquid, quare ubi vult, et non ubique. Dicite etiam, quare praedicantibus praedictis Paulo et Barnaba Antiochia Pisidiae Iudaeis ac gentibus salutem, nullus credidit, nisi quos exinde dominus praeordinavit ut  
110 crederent. Sic enim et de ipsis pagina sancta testatur: *Et crediderunt*, inquit, *quotquot erant praeordinati ad vitam aeternam*, hoc est praedestinati. Ecce in omnibus, quae ex auctoritate divina protulimus, habes misericordiam et iudicium; et certum est, quia personarum acceptor non est deus, nec cuiusquam personam reveretur. Descende ergo, si vales, in  
115 profundum misericordiae dei; ascende, si sufficis, in altitudinem iustitiae iudicii eius; distendere in longitudinem et latitudinem investigabilium viarum eius; et si liquido penetraveris, haec nobis tam metuenda et inconprehensibilia secreta, de quibus Paulus expavit, ipse intrepidus pande.

120 Si autem, ut superius dixi, iactatus curru inanium quaestionum cades  
PL 1660 in fluctus vanae contentionis, et veluti navis deserta gubernaculo per diversa et incognita litora volveris, nec prorsus ubi properas enavigare

103/4 Rm 3,24 || 106 Io 3,8 || 107/10 Cf. Act 13,14; 48 || 110/1 Act 13,48 || 113 Cf. Act 10,34 || 115/7 Cf. Rm 11,33

103 gratis] gatis V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>) || 104 Audi ... 105 Iesu] om. *per hom.* V | et tace] etace C | Nonne] om. *recc.2*; Numquid Lov Mr | ista] om. *Σ recc.1* || 105 sancti] post spiritus tr. P; om. b1 *Σ recc.1* | aliudne] aliud C<sup>2</sup> δ t p2 *edd.* | quam verbum] iudex p12 | Iesum P L; om. *recc.2* | dicentes P (corr. P<sup>2</sup>); dicens V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>) || 106 cogitate C | pandit C<sup>2</sup> || 107 quare<sup>1</sup>] *add. spirat edd. (exc. Mr)* | Dicite] dicente B || 108 praedictis] praedicatis V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>) | Barnaba P12 (corr. p12)<sup>2</sup> M; Barnabo V | Antiochia] *praem. apud edd.* | Anthyochia P; Anthiotiam L; Antiochyam b1 (Antiochya b1<sup>2</sup>); Antiochiam δ t p2 b2 *edd.* | Pysidiae Θ M p1,12; Pissidie C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>); Phisidiae G B K; Phisydiae p12; Nisidiae L; Psidiae b1; Psydie Σ | ac] et K b1 Σ || 109 crededit P (corr. P<sup>2</sup>); crediderit C L c t p1,2 Ch Ly Mr | praeordinavit] praedestinavit C t p2 || 110 crederint P (corr. P<sup>2</sup>) | Sic] Sicut p12 | enim] *praem. et Σ recc.1* | et<sup>1</sup>] om. C L t p1,2 | pagina] pugna V | Et<sup>2</sup>] Ut K b1 | crederent K b1 || 111 inquit] om. L | quotquod P; quodquod C | praedestinati] praeordinati C || 112 protullimus P | habis P (corr. P<sup>2</sup>) || 113 iuditium P b1 p1 || 114 valis P (corr. P<sup>2</sup>) || 115 suffecis P (corr. P<sup>2</sup>) || 116 iuditii P t p1 | distendere] discendere C (descende C<sup>2</sup>); descende *edd. (exc. Mr)*; distende te Mr | longitudine et latitudine V G B K c *Σ recc.1* || 117 liquido] aliquo p12 | penetraberis P Γ | tam] cum p1; om. K b1 | et<sup>2</sup>] om. Θ || 120 cadis b1 *recc.2 edd.* || 121 contentiones P | veluti] vel V; velut *edd. (exc. Mr)* | naves P; inavis M | deserta] *add. nec p12* || 122 diversae B | littora t e1 p2 *edd. (exc. Lov)* | ubi] ibi C<sup>2</sup> *edd.*; ante prorsus tr. p12; ubique p1 | properasse P; prosperas G p12 Σ; prosperare C (prosperare C<sup>2</sup>); prospere *edd.* | navigare P C L δ M t p2 *edd.*

potes, revertere et sede in portu fidei catholicae, ubi te nulla possit infructuosae curiositatis tempestas turbare vel mergere. Quantumlibet enim scire coneris, iudicia dei comprehendere non vales, nec valebis, quia 125 sicut nemo scit hominum quae sint hominis, nisi spiritus, qui in ipso est; ita et quae dei sunt, nemo scit nisi spiritus dei. Si qua ergo adtingere valuerimus, non nostra solertia, sed dono sancti spiritus revelata esse debemus agnoscere. Si autem scire non datur, quod supra nos est, nec a nostra pusillitate quaeratur. Praedictum est enim ab scriptura sancta: 130 *Altiora te ne quaesieris, et fortiora te ne scrutatus fueris in vanitate; et, Altum sapere noli, sed time.* Timendum est prorsus et venerandum profundum dei, quod nos rite fatemur investigare non posse. *Omnia*, inquit, *in mensura et numero et pondere constituisti, domine.* Quis igitur hanc mensuram, hunc numerum, et hoc pondus dei sufficit comprehendere, 135 ut constitutiones eius universas in his tribus definitionibus valeat enarrare? In mensura puto quod constet qualitas, in numero quantitas, in pondere ratio peraequata. Sed haec tria, id est qualitas et quantitas et ratio peraequata, in iudicio et misericordia dei constant, quia in his duobus terminis sanctis conclusa sunt, in quibus per haec mundum 140 constituit, gubernat, et iudicaturus est. In his deus iudex iustus comprehendere non potest, non potest reprehendi. Omnia ergo quae superius diximus, vel dicemus, in claustro horum trium nobis nunc abscondita latent, quae solis clavibus iudicii et misericordiae dei tunc reserabuntur,

126/7 Cf. I Cor 2,11 || 131 Sir 3,22 || 132 Rm 11,20 || 132/3 Cf. I Cor 2,10 || 133/4 Sap 11,21

123 poteris V (potesis V<sup>2</sup>) M; potest P K | portum Γ | possit] posse p12 || 124 infructuosae G (fluctuosae G<sup>2</sup>) B (fluctuosae B<sup>2</sup>) K b1,2 e1; fluctuosae *recc. edd.* | vel] aut b1 || 125 coneris scire ~ p12 || 126 sicut] *om.* P V (*add.* V<sup>2</sup>) | hominum] hominis P | sunt b1 Σ p1 *edd.* | ipso] eo δ t p1,2 Mr || 127 et] *om. edd. (exc. Mr)* | attinge V || 128 voluerimus Θ | sollertia L B b1 C<sup>2</sup> M Σ t<sup>2</sup> p1 *recc.* Am | spiritus sancti ~ *edd.* | relevata e1 || 130 a] *om.* V | pusillitate P (*corr.* P<sup>2</sup>); pusillitate L; pusillanimitate *edd. (exc. Mr)* | quaeratur] *praem.* non p1 | Praedictum b1; Praeceptum *edd.* | enim] *om.* K b1 | ab] a *edd. (exc. Mr)* || 131 te<sup>2</sup>] *praem.* a p12 | ne<sup>2</sup>] *om.* L | fueris] fueri V (fueris<sup>1</sup> V<sup>2</sup>) | in vanitate] *om. (cum Vulg.)* b1 | vanitatem P; unitate V; vnitate Ly | et<sup>2</sup>] *om.* Θ b2 || 132 Alta p12 (*cf. Ambr.*) | Noli altum sapere ~ (*cum Vulg.*) Θ b2 | prorsus] *praem.* enim p1 Mr | et] *om. t* | profundum] *om.* p1 || 133 fateamur Σ | inquit] *om.* V c C || 135 et] *om.* Σ | sufficit P (*corr.* P<sup>2</sup>) || 136 his] *om.* p12 | difinitionibus V (*corr.* V<sup>2</sup>); diffinitionibus C (*corr.* C<sup>2</sup>) c b1 Σ *recc.* || 137 eniarrare V (*corr.* V<sup>2</sup>); enumarare p12 | puta G<sup>2</sup> | quod] quo p12 | constat K p12 b1 Σ; *add.* et p12 || 138 pondera p12 (pondero p12<sup>2</sup>) | peraequata] equata Σ *recc.1* | Sed ... 139 peraequata] *om. per hom.* Θ B K p12 b1 M Σ *recc.1* | et] *om.* C L δ t p1,2 || 139 in<sup>1</sup>] *om.* δ | constat Θ B K p12 b1 (*corr.* b1<sup>2</sup>) M Σ *recc.* || 140 per haec] *elim. et add.* vel quae b1<sup>2</sup> || 141 In ... 142 potest<sup>1</sup>] *om.* M | iustus] *add.* non δ || 142 non potest<sup>2</sup>] *om. per hom.* δ || 143 dicemus] dicimus V p12 | abscondita nunc ~ *edd. (exc. Mr)* || 144 clausibus L; clausis δ | tunc] *om.* V | reservabuntur P L ||

145 ut sciantur, quando in adventu domini inluminabuntur abscondita  
tenebrarum, et revelabuntur consilia cordium, ut laus sit unicuique a  
deo vel poena. Oportet igitur ut ad ea quae superius disputare coepimus,  
revertamur.

*Caput 5* Diximus namque de damnabili humani generis massa deum  
150 praescisse misericordia, non meritis, quos et electione gratiae praedesti-  
navit ad vitam; ceteros vero, qui iudicio iustitiae eius ab hac gratia  
efficiuntur expertes, praescisse tantum vitio proprio perituros, non ut  
perirent praedestinasse. Sed, ut dixi, quos in opera inpietatis et mortis  
praescivit, non praeordinavit, nec inpulit; in quibus deum ad iracundiam  
155 provocantes, salutis fidem aut praedicatam sibi accipere nolunt, aut deo  
iudice non possunt, vel accepta male utuntur, et ob hoc traduntur in  
reprobum sensum, ut non faciant ea quae convenit; his poenam prae-  
destinatam esse rite fatemur. Quod ut probare valeamus, solum reor  
in exemplum sufficere Iudam. Hunc enim deus cum praescisset in vitiis  
160 propriae voluntatis pessimum fore, id est electionem discipulatus sui  
bene a Christo conferendam male usurum, et avaritia ardentem pretio  
Iudaeis dominum traditurum; poenam ei praedestinavit ex merito,  
dicente per David spiritu sancto: *Deus, laudem meam ne tacueris, quia  
os peccatoris et dolosi super me apertum est*; id est Iudae vel Iudaeorum  
165 in Christo. Iudae, cum dicit: *Quid vultis mihi dare, et ego vobis eum  
tradam?* Et post pecuniae sponsonem dans signum traditionis: *Quem-*

145/6 Cf. I Cor 4,5 || 150/1 Cf. Rm 11,5 || 155/6 Cf. Rm 1,28 || 163/4 Ps 108,2 ||  
165/6 Mt 26,15 || 166/7 Mt 26,48

145 in] ad C L m1 t p2 k2 Mr; *elim.* p12<sup>2</sup> | adventum G L p12 t p2 m1 k2 Mr | inlu-  
minantur p12 | abscondita ... 146 revelabuntur] *om. per hom.* δ || 146 et] *om.* Θ  
p12 | ut] *add.* tunc c δ | sit laus ~ *edd.* | sit] fiat b1 || 146/47 a deo unicuique ~  
C L p1 t p2; a domino unicuique δ || 147 vel poena] *om.* p12 | Opportit P | ut]  
*om.* p12 || 150 et] *om.* C B K b1 c δ Σ t p2 k2 *recc.* Mr || 151 ab] *om.* C L p1 k2 Ly;  
a t p2 | hac] haec L; ac δ; *om.* f1 t p2 k2 | gratiae δ || 152 effiuntur V | praescisse]  
praesesse M (*corr.* M<sup>2</sup>) | pericuros P || 153 Sed] Nisi praedictus (praedictum C<sup>2</sup>) est  
C t p2 k2 | opera] operibus C L t p1,2 k2 *edd.* (*exc.* Am Er) || 154 praescivit] *praem.*  
praescibit P | praeordinavit] praedestinavit Θ || 154/5 provocantes ad iracundiam  
~ *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) || 155 aut<sup>1</sup>] a V; ac K Σ | praedictam] dictam V<sup>2</sup> | noluerunt M  
|| 156 posit P | acceptam G<sup>2</sup> C<sup>2</sup> B K M Σ tr || 157 non] *elim.* C<sup>2</sup>; *om.* p1; *post* quae  
tr. K b1 *edd.* | facient C (*corr.* C<sup>2</sup>) | conveniunt V C<sup>2</sup> L δ b1 G<sup>2</sup> p1 *edd.* || 158 esse]  
*om.* K b1 | esse rite] esserit P | efatemur P | probari Γ | valeat Γ M || 159 in<sup>1</sup>] ad  
*edd.* (*exc.* Mr) | praescissit P | viciis P || 160 fore] forte P | electione t p2 *edd.* (*exc.*  
Mr) || 161 conferenda t p2 *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) | usurum] usum Σ | avaricia P Σ Am |  
ardente c *recc.* | praecium P; precio C t p2 || 162 poenam] *praem. in mg* ad C | ei]  
eis P; et C (*elim.* C<sup>2</sup>) | ex] et L δ || 163 taceas G B M tr *recc.*2 || 164 dolosi] *praem.*  
(*cum Vulg.*) os C b1 c t p1,2 *recc.*2; *praem.* hos L | Iudae] *om.* M || 165 in Christo]  
*partim eras.* G<sup>2</sup> | Christum b1 *edd.* | mihi] *om.* b1

*cumque, inquit, osculatus fuero, ipse est, tenete eum. Ideo, super me, ait, apertum est. Cum enim signum dedit, ore doloso aperuit quem tenerent. Iudaeorum quoque, cum eum volentes dolo perdere, ut evangelium pandit, clamaverunt dicentes: Crucifige, crucifige! Et post pusillum sequitur: Constitue super eum peccatorem, id est super Iudam, et diabolus stet a dexteris eius. Cum iudicatur, exeat condemnatus, et oratio eius fiat in peccatum. Fiant dies eius pauci, et episcopatum eius accipiat alter. Et post cetera quae de eo sequuntur: Pro eo quod, inquit, non sit recordatus facere misericordiam; et persecutus est hominem pauperem et egenum, et confunctum corde morti tradidit, et sequentia reliqua, quae in eius praedicta sunt poena. Nam sicut narrat liber Actuum Apostolorum, de eo praedicta et in ipso completa esse, sanctus probat apostolus Petrus, cum loco eius unum ex his, qui cum apostolis congregati erant, propter testimonium resurrectionis Iesu subrogari oportere denuntiat dicens: Viri fratres, oportet impleri scripturam, quam praedixit spiritus sanctus per os David de Iuda, qui fuit dux eorum, qui comprehenderunt Iesum, qui connumeratus erat in nobis, et sortitus est sortem ministerii huius. Et hic quidem possedit agrum de mercede iniquitatis, et suspensus crepuit medius, et diffusa sunt omnia viscera eius. Notum autem factum est omnibus habitantibus Hierusalem, ita ut appellaretur ager ille lingua eorum Acheldemach, hoc est ager sanguinis. Scriptum est enim in libro Psalmorum: Fiat commoratio eius deserta, et non sit qui habitet in ea, et episco-*

167/8 Cf. Ps 108,2 || 170 Io 19,6 || 171/3 Ps 108,6-8 || 174/6 Ps 108,16-17 || 181/9 Act 1,16-20 || 189/93 Act 1,23-25

167 inquit] *post fuero tr.* Σ | Ideo] *deo L* || 168 signum] *om. Γ* | dedit] *add. osculum K b1 Σ recc. Am<sup>ms</sup> | teneret C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) L* || 169 Iudaei *edd. (exc. Mr) | eo P* | nolentes *t p2* | perdedere *b1 (corr. b1) | ut] et δ* || 170 crucifige] *add. (cum EW bcf<sup>2</sup>q) eum edd. (exc. Mr) | pussillum V; pausillum C (pauxillum C<sup>2</sup>) L (corr. L<sup>2</sup>) δ* || 171 eum] *om. b1* || 172 stetit (*cum HM*) *P | a] ad B | dextris (cum Ro et Vulg.) G B K b1 M tr edd. (exc. Mr) | fiet C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>)* || 173 accipiet (*cum y*) *L K b1 | alter] alius (cum Vulg.) C L<sup>2</sup> t p2 k2 Mr; alterius L* || 174 secuntur *P | inquit quod ~ L δ c p1 tr recc. edd. (exc. Mr) | sit] est (cum Ro) C L δ t p1,2 recc.2 Mr* || 175 misericor *V | est] om. V | egenum et pauperem ~ Σ* || 176 tradedit *P; traderet L K Σ; tradere (cum k) C<sup>2</sup> G B b1 M t p1,2 tr recc. 2* | reliqua] *om. C t p2 | eis C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>)* || 177 sunt] *sum C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) | poena] persona edd. || 178 ipso] eo Θ* || 179 erunt *L* || 180 Iesu] *add. Christi edd. (exc. Mr)* || 181 oportit *P | implere Θ | scripturam] add. hanc C (elim. C<sup>2</sup>) L δ c p1 Mr | spiritus sanctus praedixit ~ edd. || 183 qui] quia (cum GA<sup>s</sup>ISOThK<sup>re</sup>) *P Γ; om. Am | connumeratus] cognominatus Θ | huius] eius Σ* || 185 defusa *V; effusa Γ* || 186 Hirusalem *V; Jerusalem Mr | apellaretur V p12 b1 | lingua eorum] om. C t p2* || 187 Achildemach *P; Acheldamach V; Alchedemac t (Acheldemac t<sup>2</sup>); Acheldemac Ly; Acheldemah Lov* || 188 commemoratio *P C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) L B K b1 (corr. b1<sup>2</sup>) t p2 Ch Ly; commmeratio p12 (commemoratio p12<sup>2</sup>) | inhabitet (cum Vulg.) edd. | et] om. K b1 | episcopatu V**

patum eius accipiat alter. Et post pauca sequentia: Statuerunt, inquit,  
 190 duos Ioseph, qui vocabatur Barsabas, qui cognominatus est Iustus, et  
 Matthiam. Et orantes dixerunt: Tu, domine, qui corda omnium nosti,  
 ostende quem elegeris ex his duobus unum accipere locum ministerii huius  
 et apostolatus, de quo praevaricatus est Iudas, ut abiret in locum suum, et  
 cetera. Ubi ergo commemoratio operum eius malorum a sancto fit  
 195 spiritu in Psalmis, priusquam esset, praescitus est, non factus, quod  
 talis adversus filium dei futurus esset. Si enim factus esset, inculpabilis  
 esset, et dei opificio reputaretur, non Iudae; iniusta etiam in eo praelata  
 damnatio esset. Sed absit hoc a summe bono iudice, auctore omnium  
 bonorum deo, damnatore vero cunctorum malorum, quia mala Iudae, ut  
 200 praedixi, praescivit, non fecit; et tamen in quibus praescivit, iudicio  
 iusto tradens eum in reprobum sensum, ut inpleret permisit. Et ideo  
 permisit, quia per spiritum sanctum periturum ante praedixit. Quia  
 sicut Christum oportebat pati per Iudam, praecanente per prophetas  
 spiritu sancto, ita oportebat perire Iudam, eodem spiritu sancto praedi-  
 205 cente; de eo enim dictum est: *Nemo perit, nisi filius perditionis*. Nam  
 poenam illi praedestinata pro malis suis, in quibus, ut saepe dixi,  
 praescitus est tantum, non praedestinatus, illic plene agnoscimus, ubi  
 de eo dicitur ab apostolo Petro, *Ut iret in locum suum*, translato scilicet  
 in alterum honore episcopatus eius. Vel cetera ubi legitur quod damnatus

200/1 Cf. Rm 1,28 || 205 Io 17,12 || 208 Act 1,25

189 accipiet K | alius (*cum Vulg.*) C L t p1,2 k2 Mr | sequentia L (*corr.* L<sup>2</sup>) || 190 Iosep C (*corr.* C<sup>2</sup>) | vocabatur p12 | vocabatur ... qui<sup>2</sup>] *om.* per hom. p1 | Barsaban P M; Barsabbas G B K b1; Barnaban V p12; Barnabas C (*corr.* C<sup>2</sup>) L δ c e1,2 (*corr.* e2<sup>2</sup>) | cognominatus est] cognominabatur *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) || 191 Mathiam P K p12 b1 δ M c Σ t p1,2 *recc.* Lov; Mathian C L | Tu] *om.* C L δ t p1,2 k2 | qui] *om.* C (*add.* C<sup>2</sup>) | omnium] hominum *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) || 192 unum] enim P || 193 abirit P; habitaret C (*habiret* C<sup>2</sup>); abirent M || 194 commemorat p12 | operum] *repet.* per ditt. V | fit] sic V; fuit C; *om.* Σ || 195 quod] quo b1 t p2 || 196 adversum P M | futuras] furatus C (*corr.* C<sup>2</sup>) | inculpabiles P || 197 opificio] officio G b1 Σ *recc.* 1; *add.* reputandum G B K b1 Σ *recc.* | putaretur G<sup>2</sup> B<sup>2</sup> tr *recc.* 2 | iniuste C t p1,2 k2 *edd.* | eum L *edd.* | prolata C<sup>2</sup> *edd.*; perlata t p2; data tr || 198 hoc] *om.* C L b1 δ t p1,2 k2 | summo Γ M t p1 k2 *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) | auctorem M; authore Ch Ly Lov || 199 bonum P | damnatore ... 200 quibus] *om.* p12 || 200 dixi Θ | praescivit<sup>1</sup>] praescibit P | praescivit<sup>2</sup>] *om.* Θ; *add.* iudicans p12 || 201 implere δ | permisit. Et] *om.* b1 t p2 | Et ... 202 permisit] *om.* per hom. δ || 202 per] *om.* G (*add.* G<sup>2</sup>) | sanctum] *add.* eum *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) || 203 per<sup>1</sup>] *om.* Σ | praecavente c; praecinente C<sup>2</sup> p1 *recc.* 2 *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) | prophetam Φ V Mr || 204 sancto spiritu<sup>1</sup> ~ V C L t p1,2 *edd.* | ita ... sancto<sup>2</sup>] *om.* per hom. δ | sancto spiritu<sup>2</sup> ~ C G B L t p1,2 *recc.* 2 *edd.* | sancto<sup>2</sup>] *om.* b1 | dicente δ || 205 de ... est] *om.* b1 | periet Θ p12; perit (*cum* s) G B M tr || 206 poena illi praedestinata p12 | illius P; ill V || 207 praedestinos C (*corr.* C<sup>2</sup>) | illic] illi K | plene] plane Γ M *edd.* (Mr<sup>mss</sup>: In MSS. *plene*) || 208 de eo] deo p12 | ab] *om.* M || 209 altero Θ | eius] *om.* p12 | cetera] certe C<sup>2</sup> *edd.* | ubi legitur] *om.* C

sit antequam natus, secundum id quod disputatione praediximus. Talis 210  
ergo periturorum omnium causa est, licet culpa sit a culpa dissimilis.

*Caput 6* Verum autem esse quod diximus, licet plene sit disputatum, id  
est perituris poenam esse praedestinatum, audi Petrum apostolum, cum  
futuros esse pseudoprophetas et magistros mendaces et apostatas in  
ecclesia dicit, sicut fuerunt in populo veteri: *Quibus iudicium*, inquit, 215  
*iam olim non cessat, et perditio eorum non dormitat.* Item Iudas apostolus:  
*Subintroierunt, ait, quidam homines, qui olim praescripti sunt in hoc*  
*iudicium, impii, gratiam domini nostri transferentes in luxuriam, et*  
*solum dominatorem et dominum Iesum Christum negantes.* Et dominus  
in evangelio peccatoribus: *Ite in ignem aeternum, quem paravit pater* 220  
*meus diabolo et angelis eius.* Praedestinis autem: *Venite, benedicti*  
*patris mei, percipite regnum paratum vobis ab origine mundi,* id est prae-  
destinatum. Tenenda est igitur inconcusse huius disputationis regula, | PL 1662  
quae divinis testimoniis claruit, peccatores in malis propriis antequam  
essent in mundo, praescitos esse tantum, non praedestinos; poenam 225  
autem eis esse praedestinatum secundum quod praesciti sunt; parvulos  
quoque non renatos ex aqua et spiritu sancto, praedestinatae poenae  
esse obnoxios, qui praesciti sunt non propriis voluntatibus, quorum  
nullae sunt bonae vel malae, nisi tantum in Adae peccato, quod traxere  
nascentes, et in hoc manentes, solverunt tempus vitae praesentis. Quid 230

213/15 Cf. II Pt 2,1 || 215/6 II Pt 2,3 || 217/9 Iud 4 (cf. Vet. Lat. 26/1, p. 414-16) ||  
220/1 Mt 25,41 || 221/2 Mt 25,34 || 225/6 Cf. Io 3,5

210 id] om. Γ M | quod] om. V (add. V<sup>2</sup>) | disputatione] add. superiori b1 | Talis  
... 212 diximus] om. per hom. p12 || 211 ergo] om. K p12 b1 Σ rec. 1 | a] om. V c  
|| 212 esse] esset P | plene] poena P; pona V; plane b1 p12<sup>2</sup> | disputandum p12 ||  
213 esse] esset C | apostolum Petrum ~ Mr || 214 magistros] om. K b1 | apostatos  
V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>) || 215 sicuti p12 || 216 et] om. C (add. C<sup>2</sup>) L t p2 k2 || 217 praesciti Θ  
| hoc] om. K b1; haec p12 (corr. p12<sup>2</sup>) || 218 iuditio P; iudicio V c | gratia p12 |  
domini] dei C L t p1,2 k2 Mr; ante gratiam tr. edd. (exc. Mr) | nostri] om. B tr Mr;  
add. Iesu Christi M | luxuriam Θ C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) p12 || 219 solum] add. deum Θ | domi-  
num] add. nostrum V | negantis P | negantes Christum ~ pl edd. (exc. Am Er) ||  
220 quem] quam p12 | praeparavit V b1 δ Σ rec. edd. (exc. Mr) || 221 meis per err.  
typ. Ly || 222 ab origine] a constitutione (cum Vulg.) b1 || 223 est] elim. G<sup>2</sup> | incon-  
cussae G (corr. G<sup>2</sup>) B b1 | disputationis P | regula] ratio Γ; probatio M || 224 quae  
divinis] om. Γ M | testimonis (sic) repet. per ditt. V | peccatoris P || 225 prescitosci-  
tos per ditt. V; praescitus P p12 (corr. p12<sup>2</sup>) | tanto P; tandem p12 | tantum esse  
~ c | praedestinos] praedestinus P p12 | poena p12 || 226 autem] enim Am  
Er | praedestinatum] praedestinatum p12 | parvulus P p12 || 227 quoque] autem  
p12 | renatus P | et] ex b1 | sancto] praem. et V (elim. V<sup>2</sup>) | poena P || 228 esse]  
om. b1 p12 | obnoxios P p12 | non] add. in Φ Mr || 229 nulla V p1 | sunt] post malae  
tr. edd. (exc. Mr); add. vel Φ V c edd. | peccatum p12 | traxerunt edd. || 230 et ...  
manentes] om. per hom. p12 | solverant p12

enim de his iudicium iustitiae faciat, quibus misericordia non subvenit qui pura fide credit dicente domino: *Qui non manducat carnem meam, et non bibit sanguinem meum, non habebit in se vitam*, intellegit, et a contentione recedit.

- 235 Qui vero secundum propositum dei vivunt, praescitos esse et praedestinos electione gratuita gratiae eius, et regnum eis caelorum esse praedestinatum, sine dubitatione dicendum est. Hoc enim apostolus Paulus probat, cum ante eos praedestinos et electos esse testatur quam mundus constitueretur, scribens Ephesiis dicit: *Sicut elegit nos*  
 240 *in ipso*, id est in Christo, *ante mundi constitutionem, ut essemus sancti et immaculati in conspectu eius in caritate, qui praedestinavit nos in adoptionem filiorum per Iesum Christum in ipsum*. Taceat humana lingua, nec prorsus in praedestinatione de meritis extollatur. Adtendat dictum, *ante mundi constitutionem*. Divinae voluntatis est hoc donum, non  
 245 humanae fragilitatis meritum. Denique adtende quid sequitur: *In quo habemus*, ait, *redemptionem per sanguinem eius, remissionem peccatorum, secundum divitias gratiae eius, quae superabundavit in nobis in omni sapientia et prudentia; ut notum faceret nobis sacramentum voluntatis suae, secundum bonum placitum eius quod proposuit in eo, in dispensatione*  
 250 *plenitudinis temporum instaurare omnia in Christo quae in caelis et quae in terra sunt in ipso. In quo etiam sumus praedestinati secundum propositum eius, qui omnia operatur secundum consilium voluntatis suae, ut*

232/3 Cf. Io 6,55 || 237/9 Cf. Eph 1,4 || 239/42 Eph 1,4-5 || 245/53 Eph 1,7-12

231 de his] *om.* C t p1,2; *post iustitiae tr.* K b1 Σ *recc.* | iudicium] *om.* Γ C t p2 | iustitiae V; iustitia Γ C t p2 | misericordiae P (*corr.* P<sup>2</sup>) || 232 credit p12; *add.* agnoscit b1 Σ *recc.* 1 | dicenti P L M δ c *recc.* 2 *edd.* (*exc.* Am Er) || 233 et<sup>1</sup>] *om.* p1 Mr | non<sup>1</sup>] nec p1 Mr; *om.* t p2 *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) | meum sanguinem ~ (*cum Vulg.*) *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) | habebit] habet (*cum Vulg.*) B tr | intellegite Δ || 234 contene V (*corr.* V<sup>2</sup>); conceptione δ | recedite Δ || 235 dei propositum ~ p12 | esset C (*corr.* C<sup>2</sup>) || 236 gratuita] *om.* p12; graita et P (*gratuita et P<sup>2</sup>*) | gratia P; *om.* p1 | et] *om.* p12 M | esse] *add.* et p12 || 237 praedestino P p12 (*corr.* p12<sup>2</sup>); praedestinos V || 238 testatur] *om.* C L δ c t p2 Mr || 239 quam ... constitueretur] *om.* *per hom.* p12 | scribens] *add.* enim *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) | Efesiis p12 M || 240 constitutione L M || 241 in caritate] *om.* K b1 Σ *recc.* 1 | charitate *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) | adoptione t p1,2 || 243 praedestinationem p12 | Adtendat] Contendat p12; Attende Lov Mr | dictum] *om.* Θ || 244 constitutionem mundi ~ Γ p12 | est] esse Θ b1; *om.* p12 | hoc] *om.* b1 || 245 fragilitatis V | meritum] *praem.* hoc p12; merito G (*corr.* G<sup>2</sup>) B p12 tr | quid] quia P; quod Σ | sequatur *edd.* || 246 remissionem] *praem.* in V c *edd.* (*exc.* Lov Mr) || 247 superhabundabit V (*corr.* V<sup>2</sup>); abundavit M || 248 sapientiae prudentia p12 | facire P; faciat C t p2 || 249 bonum placitum] *benefacitum (cum c) edd.* | ea Σ | in<sup>2</sup>] *om.* Γ | dispensationem (*cum Vulg.*) p12<sup>2</sup> *edd.* || 250 Christo] ipso b1 || 251 In quo] *om.* p12 | etiam] *add.* et C L δ c t p1,2; *add.* sorte vocati Φ Mr (Mr<sup>ms</sup>: Editi omittunt *sorte vocati*. Habetur in MSS. sed in his deest *praedestinati*) | sumus] *om.* B K p12 M c b1 Σ tr *recc.* 1; *post praedestinati tr.* Θ G<sup>2</sup> | praedestinati] *om.* C L t p1,2 | propositum V

simus in laudem gloriae eius, qui ante speravimus in Christo. Audi, Secundum divitias, inquit, gratiae eius, quae superabundavit in nobis, id est qua praevenit nos. Quid? *Ut notum faceret nobis sacramentum voluntatis suae.* Audi, *Qui omnia operatur secundum consilium voluntatis suae.* Numquid meae, aut tuae, aut alterius, ut meritis constet? Absit: sed, suae, qua etiam in his quos praedestinat, opera bonae praeparat voluntatis, ut in his ambulent, secundum quod item in eadem epistula dicit: *Gratia enim estis salvati per fidem, et hoc non ex vobis, dei donum est, non ex operibus, ut ne quis gloriatur. Ipsius enim sumus factura, creati in Christo in operibus bonis, quae praeparavit deus ut in illis ambulemus.* Audi, *In operibus bonis, quae praeparavit deus.* Et si quid te boni posse vides, age gratias praeparanti quod potes, non propriae voluntati, quia omnino sine illo nihil potes, qui dixit: *Sine me nihil potestis facere.*

**Caput 7** Nolite itaque putare quod haec huiusmodi dicentes, liberum voluntatis amputemus arbitrium, cum tamen constet ea quae loquimur, ex auctoritate divina pendere; vel, ut nobis calumniam obicitis, quod operando bona et oportere esse in dei proposito sollicitos prohibeamus. Quin potius, qui se dono gratiae ad dei misericordiam sentiunt pertinere, hortamur oportere incumbere orationibus, obsecrationibus, ieiuniis, vigiliis, omnique operi voluntatis divinae. Praedestinati enim dicitur

254 Eph 1,7 || 255/6 Eph 1,9 || 256 Eph 1,11 || 260/3 Eph 2,8-10 || 265 Io 15,5

252 qui] quia p12 | consilium] om. G K b1 (corr. b1<sup>2</sup>) e1,2 (add. e2<sup>2</sup>); propositum e3,4; placitum e5 h | voluntatem suam G || 253 laude P p12 | ante] om. b1 (add. b1<sup>2</sup>) Ch Ly Lov | speramus V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>); sperabimus P | Aude p12 (corr. p12<sup>2</sup>) || 254 inquit] om. Γ | gratiae] gloriae b1 || 255 quae L | Quid] elim. C<sup>2</sup>; om. t p2; quantum p12; inquit edd. | nobis] om. V | 255/6 voluntatis suae] om. V (add. V<sup>2</sup>) || 256 Audi ... suae] om. per hom. Γ p12 || 257 aut<sup>1</sup>] vel Φ M edd. | aut<sup>2</sup>] vel p1 | alterius] add. voluntat (exitus vocis a glutinatore abscissus est) b1 || 258 qua] quia P; qui V; quae C t p1 Ly; quam p12 | in] om. C L t p1 Mr (Mr<sup>ms</sup>: Sic MSS. At editi, etiam in his quos praedestinavit) | praedestinavit Σ edd. (exc. Mr); per Φ || 259 ut] om. C | item] idem Θ edd. (exc. Mr); om. Mr | dicit] ait Σ || 260 salvati estis ~ b1 | dei] add. (cum Vulg.) enim edd. (exc. Mr) || 261 ut] et P; om. edd. (exc. Mr) | factura sumus ~ b1 Σ || 262 Christo] add. (cum Vulg.) Iesu edd. | in<sup>2</sup>] add. omnibus Θ | in<sup>3</sup>] om. G (add. G<sup>2</sup>) || 264 ages B (corr. B<sup>2</sup>) K Σ | praeparant p12 | non ... voluntati] om. Θ | quia] qua C L B Mr || 265 potes] potest P; repet. per ditt. V; est t || 266 Noli P | haec] om. Θ; add. et C<sup>2</sup> b1 δ edd. || 268 pandere C L δ p1 (Mr<sup>ms</sup>: In MSS. pandere) | obicitis P; objicitis edd. | quod] om. C δ L t p1,2 || 269 operandi Γ Φ; operam dei p12; operantes b2; operari edd. | bonam p12 | bona et] bene B K b1 Σ recc.1 | oporteret p12 | propositum p12 | sollicitus P p12 | prohibeam p12; om. c || 270 putius V | pertinere] om. G (add. G<sup>2</sup>); pervenire edd. (exc. Mr. Mr<sup>ms</sup>: Editi, pervenire. Castigantur ex MSS.) || 271 hortamor P; ortamor V p12 | incumbire P | vigiliis V | vigiliis ... 272 divinae] om. P (P<sup>2</sup> in mg: vigiliis omnique voluntatis divinae) || 272 operis p12 | dicitur P; dicit edd. (exc. Mr. Mr<sup>ms</sup>: Editi, dicit Apostolus: mendosè et dissentientibus MSS.)



PL 1663 apostolis; cum tamen generale sit quod illis dicitur a Christo prae|desti-  
nato secundum carnem ex semine David, praedestinante autem secun-  
275 dum potentiam dei patris cum patre et spiritu sancto: *Vigilate et orate,*  
*ne intretis in temptationem.* Item, *Vigilate in omni tempore orantes;*  
*ut digni habeamini fugere ista omnia, quae futura sunt, et stare ante filium*  
*hominis;* item, *Contendite intrare per angustam portam;* item, *Vos amici*  
*mei estis, si feceritis, quae ego praecipio vobis;* et multa alia, quae longum  
280 est enarrare. Sed, ut superius memoravi, qui eis dixit: *Sine me nihil*  
*potestis facere,* per ipsum quae iubentur facere possunt. Huiusmodi in  
Christo esse electos dei, ait Apostolus, in quo et praedestinati sunt  
*secundum propositum eius, qui omnia operatur.* Intellege dictum, *qui*  
*omnia operatur,* et crede opus esse dei, opera eorum, qui ambulant  
285 secundum propositum dei.

Qui ergo absque praedestinationis gratia sunt, id est alieni a proposito  
dei, et perdurant in operibus malis, si sic etiam ex hac migraverint vita,  
non eos dicimus, ut vos putatis, ita a deo hominum opifice ordinatos ut  
perirent, tanquam ipse illis mores malae vitae creaverit, ipse ad omne  
290 opus mortis invitos praecipitaverit. Absit hoc a divino proposito. Non  
enim volens iniquitatem est deus, nec mandavit cuiquam inpie agere,  
nec alicui dedit laxamentum peccandi. *Fecit enim ut essent omnia et*  
*sanabiles nationes orbis terrarum. Invidia autem diaboli mors introivit*  
*in orbem terrarum. Imitantur ergo illum, qui sunt ex parte illius.* Nec

273/5 Cf. Rm 1,3-4 || 275/6 Mt 26,41 || 276/8 Lc 21,36 || 278 Lc 13,24 || 278/9 Io  
15,14 || 280/1 Io 15,5 || 282 Cf. Rm 8,33 || 283/4 Eph 1,11 || 285/7 Cf. Eph 1,11 ||  
290/1 Cf. Ps 5,5 || 291/2 Cf. Sir 15,21 || 292/3 Sap 1,14 || 293/4 Sap 2,24-25

273 apostolus P *edd. (exc. Mr) | tamen] om. Γ* praedestinos G p12 (*corr. p12<sup>2</sup>*) ||  
274 praedestinantem Θ p12 || 275 patris] *om. V c | patre] filio deo Θ* || 276  
temptatione P | in<sup>2</sup>] *om. tr | orantis P || 277 ut] ud V | abeamini P; habiamini V*  
(*corr. V<sup>2</sup>*) | fugire P; figura p12 (*corr. p12<sup>2</sup>*) | omnia] *om. b1 | futura] ventura b1 |*  
sunt] erunt δ || 279 ego] *om. edd. (exc. Mr) | et] om. p12 | multam p12 (multaque*  
*p12<sup>2</sup>) || 280 enarrare V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>); narrare δ | superius] om. p12 | memoravi]*  
*nominavi edd. (exc. Mr) || 281 iubentur] libenter C; iuberent p12; iubemur Am*  
*Er | facere] add. non M || 282 ait ... 284 dei] om. per hom. C | et] om. L δ edd. |*  
sunt] *om. L p1 || 283 Intellege] In lege K | Intellege ... 284 operatur] om. per*  
*hom. B p12 t p1,2 tr || 284 operatur] om. K b1 Σ rec.1 | credo p12 (corr. p12<sup>2</sup>) |*  
esse opus ~ c tr Mr || 286 ergo] vero C L δ t p1,2 Mr | a] *om. b1 || 287 sic]*  
*om. M t p2 edd. | migraverit G; migraverunt p12 | vita migraverint ~ V G δ*  
*edd. (exc. Mr) || 288 non] nos Lov | non eos dicimus] post putatis tr. K b1 Σ*  
*rec.1 | dicemus P | hominum] homine p12; omnium edd. (Mrms: In MSS. a*  
*Deo hominum opifice) | ordinatus P || 289 ipse<sup>1</sup> spe V | male p12 | creaverint P*  
(*corr. P<sup>2</sup>*) V (*corr. V<sup>2</sup>*) || 290 praeciaverit C (*corr. C<sup>2</sup>*) | hoc] *om. Lov || 291 volens]*  
*pleni L | est iniquitatem ~ edd. | mandavit] damnaverit C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>); mandaverit*  
*t (corr. t<sup>2</sup>) || 292 lassamentum p12 | ut essent] crescent L | essent] ista p12 || 293*  
*Invia G (corr. G<sup>2</sup>) | introvit V edd.; introbit P; introbit G (corr. G<sup>2</sup>) || 294 ergo]*  
*ego V; autem (cum Vulg.) Γ | qui] om. C (add. C<sup>2</sup>) | ex parte] ei paste L*

dicimus, ut fingitis: «Et si credere volunt, vel bonis operibus dei vacare, 295  
 deum illis hoc nolle praestare, cum huiusmodi velle dei sit donum.»  
 Si ergo ex deo est quod volunt, vult deus perfectum fieri quod donavit;  
 si autem ex deo non est, sed est de iactantia propriae voluntatis, qua  
 se meritis deum aestimant promereri, manifeste quod volunt capere  
 non possunt, quia *non volentis*, inquit Apostolus, *neque currentis, sed* 300  
*miserentis est dei*; et quia *non potest homo a se facere quicquam, nisi*  
*datum illi fuerit desuper*. Non hoc agit deus summe bonus malitia, sed  
 iustitia; nec personarum acceptione, sed causarum secretarum discre-  
 tionem. Novimus nonnunquam quosdam volentes aeternae vitae fidem  
 accipere indipisci, quosdam autem non. Aliquos etiam nolentes consequi, 305  
 cum in eis divina gratia, ut velint, mutaverit voluntatem, aliquos non.  
 Novimus aliquos etiam perfectos ex labore multorum annorum pro-  
 lapsos in ultimo vitae suae perisse. Aliquos vero ab ineunte aetate sua in  
 omni scelere et damnabilitate usque ad decrepitam aetatem perdurasse,  
 et repente caelitus inspirata salute, raptos esse ad requiem regni caelo- 310  
 rum. Novimus etiam parvulos, quibus usus liberi arbitrii non est, ut  
 de bonis aut malis eorum meritis iudicemus, parentum manibus ad  
 gratiam sacri baptismatis deportatos, et cum in uno eorum per manus  
 sacerdotis mysterium fidei adinpletur aliquoties alterum in parentum

300/1 Rm 9,16 || 301/2 Io 3,27; cf. Io 19,11 || 303 Cf. Rm 2,11

295 dicemus P | figetis P (figetis P<sup>2</sup>) | Et] om. b1 (add. b1<sup>2</sup>) t p2 | si] om. L |  
 volunt] velint edd. | operibus bonis ~ K b1 Σ recc.1 | vacare V; eras. L<sup>2</sup>; ve-  
 nare c || 296 illis] illic V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>) | hoc illis ~ p1 Mr; haec illis edd. (exc. Mr) |  
 hoc] praem. in p12 | dono C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) || 297 vult] vult V; om. C t p2 | dens]  
 a deo C<sup>2</sup>; dat t p2 | quod] om. P || 298 sed] et C L δ p1 t p2 | sed est] om. per hom.  
 Θ | iactantia V || 299 deum meritis ~ Θ | aestimat P | volunt] vult P || 300 inquit  
 Apostolus] om. V c || 301 est] om. C L | et] om. V c | quicquam V C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>); quid-  
 quam L Mr; add. boni P || 302 fuerit illi ~ p12 | agit] add. summe M | summi L<sup>2</sup>;  
 summae B p12 || 303 discretionem] dicione V || 304 volentes ... 305 quosdam] om.  
 per hom. G || 305 indipisci] praem. non P<sup>2</sup> M; praem. et eam edd.; adipisci Γ δ M  
 t p2 edd.; concupisci p1; | non. Aliquos] elim. C<sup>2</sup>; om. K b1 Σ recc.1 | Aliquo L;  
 Aliquos V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>) | etiam] om. K b1 recc.1 || 306 cum] ut p12 | in] om. L Lov |  
 ut velint] aut velin V (ut velin V<sup>2</sup>); aut vel im- t p2; aut dederit vel im- edd. (exc.  
 Mr) | mutaverint C p12 M; immutaverint c t p2 edd. (exc. Mr) | voluntem G (corr.  
 G<sup>2</sup>) | aliquos non] om. K b1 Σ recc.1 || 306/7 non. Novimus aliquos] om. per hom.  
 Θ || 307 aliquos] alios p12 | etiam] om. C L δ p1 t p2 | annorum] add. per ditt. mul-  
 torum V (elim. V<sup>2</sup>) | anorum C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) || 308 ultima C L t p2; ultimam δ | vitam  
 δ | suae] om. V; et δ; add. et L t p2 tr recc.2 edd. | periisse edd. | vero] autem Θ |  
 eneuntia P; abeunte V | 309 usque] ut p12 (corr. p12<sup>2</sup>) | aetate L | perdurare V  
 (corr. V<sup>2</sup>) || 310 esse] sese p12 | requiam V | reigni V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>) || 311 parvulus P;  
 parvulis p12 (corr. p12<sup>2</sup>) | libiri V | ut] aut δ || 312 de] om. p12 | malis] praem. de  
 V; meritis b1 || 312/3 adigratiam V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>) || 313 manum L δ || 314 mysterium]  
 ministerium Θ | fidei] om. b1 | adimpleretur p1,12 edd.; impletur P | aliquotiens  
 B G L δ c b1,2 M recc.2 edd. (exc. Er Ch Ly)

- 315 manibus factum exanimem, fraudatum gratia salvatoris. *Quis sapiens et intelleget haec?* Aut quis idoneus erit horum reddere rationem? Dicamus cum David: *Iustus dominus in omnibus viis suis, et sanctus in omnibus operibus suis*; et, *Quam magnificata sunt opera tua, domine; nimis profundae factae sunt cogitationes tuae*. Dicamus etiam cum Paulo:  
 320 *O altitudo divitiarum sapientiae et scientiae dei! Quam inconprehensibilia sunt iudicia eius, et investigabiles viae eius!*

*Caput 8* Sed si adhuc hac reddita ratione vultis esse contentiosi, nec adquiescere veritati, nobis tamen, eo quod male de deo iusto et misericordissimo sentiamus, calumniari desinite; sed ipsum potius dominum

- 325 Christum, cuius evangelium sequimur, si audetis arguite; cum illo  
 PL 1664 iurgium sumite li|tigandi; illi, quod absit, male sensisse de deo patre suo calumniamini, qui ait: *Multi quidem vocati, pauci autem electi*; et, *Nemo potest venire ad me, nisi pater, qui misit me, adtraxerit eum*; et iterum, *Nemo potest venire ad me, nisi datum illi fuerit a patre meo*; et, *Non*  
 330 *omnes capiunt verbum, nisi quibus datum est*. Cetera etiam quam plura.

«Falsum est ergo», inquires, «quod ait Apostolus de deo: *Qui vult omnes homines salvos fieri, et ad agnitionem veritatis suae venire!*» Omnino non est falsum, quia omne quod vult deus facere potest, nec prorsus humana voluntate praepeditur quod vult. Sed quaero a vobis ut dicatis

315/6 Os 14,10; cf. Ps 106,43; Ier 9,12 || 317/8 Ps 144,13 || 318/9 Ps 91,6 || 320/1 Rm 11,33 || 327 Mt 20,16; Mt 22,14 || 327/8 Io 6,44 || 329 Io 6,66 || 329/30 Mt 19,11 || 331/2 I Tim 2,4

315 exaniam C | Quis] Qui V || 316 intellegit K c; intelligens *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) | idonius V (*corr.* V<sup>2</sup>) | erit] *om.* C L || 317 Iustus ... 319 Dicamus] *om.* p12 | omnibus<sup>1</sup>] *om.* Θ | suis] tuis *edd.* (*exc.* Lov Mr) || 318 operibus] omnibus *per ditt.* V | suis] *om.* V || 319 cogitationis P | cum] *add.* apostolo Θ *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) || 320 sapientiae] *om.* V || 321 investigabilis P | eius<sup>2</sup>] illius C L c p1 t || 322 Sed si] *om.* C (si *add.* C<sup>2</sup>) t p2 | vultus V | contentiose C (*corr.* C<sup>2</sup>) | nec ... 323 quod] nos eo quod L δ || 323 veritate p12 (*corr.* p12<sup>2</sup>); rationi C L p1 t p2 (Mr<sup>ms</sup>: MSS. adquiescere rationi) | nobis] nos C L t p1,2 | tamen] *om.* C L t p1,2 | de] *om.* V c | iusto] *om.* p12 | et] *om.* Θ; ac G B *edd.* | misericordissime C || 324 calomniari P; calumniare p12 | desite P; desinete V | putius V | dominum] *add.* nostrum Iesum Θ; Iesum *add.* *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) || 325 audetes P; auditis p12 | arguete P || 326 iurgio C | ligandi b1 (*corr.* b1<sup>2</sup>) | illum K b1 Σ *recc. 1* | sentire V || 327 calumniari b1 | autem] vero B tr *edd.* (*exc.* Mr); quidem M | et] *om.* C L δ p1 || 328 pater ... 329 nisi] *om.* *per hom.* Γ C | traxerit (*cum Vulg.*) *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) | iterum] item V; *om.* pl *edd.* || 329 poterit P | illi] ei (*cum Vulg.*) *edd.* | fuerat p12 (*corr.* p12<sup>2</sup>) || 330 verbum] *add.* hoc *edd.* (Mr<sup>ms</sup>: In MSS. deest *hoc.*) | Cetera] *praem.* et Θ b2; caeterae p12 (*corr.* p12<sup>2</sup>) | etiam] autem p12 | plurima Θ p12 b2 *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) || 331 est] etiam P (*elim.* P<sup>2</sup>); *om.* V c | ergo] *om.* Σ | de deo] *om.* K b1 Σ | Qui] Quia Θ || 332 suae] *om.* Θ Σ || 333 est] potest V (*corr.* V<sup>2</sup>) | omne] *om.* Σ | facere] fieri non p12 | potest facere ~ V (*corr.* V<sup>2</sup>) || 334 quod vult praepeditur ~ *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) | quaeso p12 | ut dicatis] *om.* C t p2; ut iudicatis Σ

quare deus, qui vult omnes homines salvos fieri, quorundam, ut dicit 335  
 Esaias propheta, excaecat oculos ne videant, et obdurat corda ne intel-  
 legant, ne convertantur et sanentur? Quod verum esse evangelista  
 Iohannes confirmat, dicens de Iudaeis: *Propterea non poterant credere,*  
*quia dixit Esaias: Excaecavit oculos eorum, et induravit cor eorum, ut non*  
*videant oculis, et intellegant corde, et convertantur, et sanem eos.* Item in 340  
 evangelio secundum Marcum, cum Iesum interrogarent discipuli sui de  
 parabola seminis: *Vobis, inquit, datum est nosse mysterium regni dei:*  
*illis autem qui foris sunt, in parabolis omnia fiunt; ut videntes videant*  
*et non videant, et audientes audiant et non intellegant, nequando conver-*  
*tantur et dimittantur eis peccata.* Dicite igitur quare deus, qui acceptor 345  
 personarum non est, et vult omnes homines salvos fieri, aliorum corda  
 reserat ad credendum, oculos inluminat ad videndum et ad sciendum  
 mysterium regni caelorum, quo scilicet salvi fieri possint; aliorum vero,  
 ut lectionis textu praedixi, involvens in parabolis veritatem, obtundit  
 cor, excaecat oculos, claudit aures, ne evangelium salutis agnoscant, 350  
 ne remissionem accipiant peccatorum? Dicite, quaeso, qualiter haec  
 loca evangelii accipitis? Docete, quid hic de deo, qui vult omnes homines  
 salvos fieri, sentitis? Ecce iam omnes generaliter salvi non sunt, cum  
 aliis datur viam nosse salutis, aliis non datur. Haec itaque cum facit  
 deus, non personarum acceptione facit, non iniustitia; sed iustitia 355

336/7 Cf. Is 6,10 || 338/40 Io 12,39-40 || 342/5 Mc 4,11-12 || 345/6 Cf. Act 10,34 ||  
 346 Cf. I Tim 2,4 || 347/8 Cf. Mt 13,11 || 349/51 Cf. Io 12,40 || 352/3 I Tim 2,4

335 homines] *om.* p12 | salvus P | fieri] facire P; facere V c | quorundam] quo-  
 rum Γ || 336 Isaias P c<sup>2</sup> b1 Mr | excaeca P M | corda] cor C L t p1,2 Mr ||  
 337/8 Iohannes evangelista ~ t *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) || 338 Iohannis PC (*corr.* C<sup>2</sup>) L p  
 12 | confirmat] testatur Θ; confirmans M | de Iudaeis *om.* K b1 Σ *recc.* 1 | pote-  
 runt V; potuerunt K b1 Σ || 339 Issaias V (Isaias V<sup>2</sup>); Isaias P B b1 C<sup>2</sup> t p2  
 Mr | cor] corda G B tr || 340 Item] *om.* C || 341 evangelium P | Iesum] *om.*  
 p1; post interrogarent tr. B tr || 342 parabola P | inquit] *om.* V C t p2 π | miste-  
 rium V t p2; misteria P | regni dei] *om.* b1 f1 || 343 parabolis Θ L | fiant V (*corr.*  
 V<sup>2</sup>) || 343/4 videant et] *om.* Γ || 334 et<sup>2</sup> ... audiant] *om.* per hom. p12 δ | audentes  
 V; add. non b1 | audeant P; audiet C (*corr.* C<sup>2</sup>) | non<sup>2</sup>] *om.* V | nequando] neque G  
 B tr || 335 dimittentur p12 || 345/6 personarum acceptor ~ *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) || 346  
 salvus P V (*corr.* V<sup>2</sup>) | aliorum] aliquorum *edd.* (*exc.* Mr) || 347 reservat L | oculus  
 P; alios M || 348 quo] quos p12 (*corr.* p12<sup>2</sup>) | salvos p12 || 349 electionis V | textus  
*edd.* (*exc.* Mr. Mr<sup>ms</sup>: Sic MSS. At editi, ut lectionis textus dixit.) | praedixi] dixit  
*edd.* (*exc.* Mr) | parabolis P | obtunditur V c || 350 cor] *om.* V | caecat P; excecās  
 V | claudit P; cludiet V | agnoscant P; agnoscat δ || 351 ne] vel Θ c | accipeant V  
 (*corr.* V<sup>2</sup>) | Dicito Θ | quasso V; quaero L || 352 evangelica C L t p1,2 Mr | accipites  
 P; accepistis C L t p1,2 | Docete] Dicite G<sup>2</sup>; Docte K || 353 fieri] *add.* et V | sentites  
 P | omnes] *om.* Γ | salvi] *om.* C L δ t p1,2 || 355 acceptionem Θ | iniustitia] iustitia  
 C (*corr.* C<sup>2</sup>) | sed] *add.* in δ

inenarrabili, et misericordia indebita. Quoniam vero hinc liquido utraque  
 pars dicere nihil valemus, credamus tantum reum mortis ex iudicis  
 voluntate pendere. Ne quisquam autem putaret divino vitio fieri, non  
 omnes homines salvari, dixit Apostolus: *Qui vult omnes homines salvos*  
 360 *fieri*. Quapropter omnes homines qui salvantur, deo volente salvantur.  
*Deus enim noster deus sal'vos faciendi, et domini exitus mortis; et, Quia*  
*ira in furore eius, et vita in voluntate eius*. Intellegite itaque in furore  
 iustitiam, in voluntate misericordiam.

Prædestinationem igitur negare, quam apud deum esse breviter  
 365 probavimus, immane blasphemium est; quam non tantum, sicut soletis  
 dicere, in apostolis debemus accipere; sed et in patriarchis et prophetis,  
 in martyribus et confessoribus, in omnibus sanctis et digne servientibus  
 deo. Hinc nemo gloriatur, nemo desperet. Solus enim dominus scit  
 qui sunt eius. In quantum autem possumus, omnes homines ad bonum  
 370 opus exhortemur, nulli desperationem demus, pro invicem oremus, in  
 conspectu dei nos humiliemus, dicentes: *Fiat voluntas tua*. Ipsius erit  
 potestatis iudicium in nobis debitum mutare damnationis; gratiam  
 prædestinationis indebitam praeerogare.

359/60 I Tim 2,4 || 361 Ps 67,21 || 361/2 Ps 29,6 || 368/9 Cf. II Tim 2,19 || 370/1  
 Cf. Iac 4,10 || 371 Mt 6,10 ||

356 innennarrabili V; inenarrabili L; inenarrabile p12 (corr. p12<sup>2</sup>) | et] om. Γ M |  
 vero] om. p12 | hinc] huic V c; hic b1 Σ recc.1 | liquido] aliquid deo P; aliqui deo V c;  
 liquide K b1 Σ recc.1; add. cum p12 || 357 parte G<sup>2</sup> | nil P; non p12; om. B tr | valea-  
 mus p12 δ | reum] rerum Lov || 358 voluntatem P | Ne] Nec M | autem] aut Θ |  
 putare G (corr. G<sup>2</sup>) | vitio] iudicio p12 edd. (exc. Mr Mr<sup>ms</sup>; Sic MSS. At editi *divino iu-*  
*dicio*) || 359 homines<sup>1</sup> om. K b1 Σ recc. | salvare C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>) || 360 fieri] om. p12 (add.  
 p12<sup>2</sup>) | homines] om. B b1 | deo] dei Θ edd. (exc. Mr) | volente] voluntates P (volun-  
 tate P<sup>2</sup>); voluntate V c edd. (exc. Mr) || 361 enim] post deus<sup>2</sup> tr. Θ | domini] add. (cum  
*Vulg.*) domini edd. (exc. Mr) || 362 eius<sup>2</sup>] ipsius (cum λ moz) edd. | Intellege C || 363 iu-  
 stitia P | misericordia P || 364 negare] adnega p12 | quem C (corr. C<sup>2</sup>); om. p12 || 365  
 probabimus V; probamus C L; probamur t | immanis recc. edd. (exc. Mr Mr<sup>ms</sup>; Ita in  
 omnibus MSS. In editis autem, *immanis blasphemia*) | blasfemia V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>); blasphi-  
 mium P; blasphemia recc. edd. (exc. Mr) | est] om. V; esse p12 | solitis p12 || 366 apo-  
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 et<sup>2</sup>] om. C | et<sup>2</sup> ... 367 sanctis] om. per hom. p12 | profetis P || 367 in<sup>1</sup>] et Γ M edd.  
 (exc. Mr) || 368 disperet P L B (corr. B<sup>2</sup>); desperat V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>) || 369 autem] enim V |  
 possumus V (corr. V<sup>2</sup>) | homines] om. p12 || 370 exortemur G B p12; exortandi C t  
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 371 nos humiliemus dei ~ Σ recc.1 || 372 mutare] remove p12 | damnationes P |  
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## INDICES

### INDEX LOCORUM SACRAE SCRIPTURAE

### INDEX VERBORUM ET RERUM NOTABILIMUM

The *Index Locorum Sacrae Scripturae* is complete. In it implicit citations or allusions are distinguished by the use of italics. The *Index Verborum et Rerum Notabilium* is selective, but includes all substantives and all verbs, save those of the most common use, such as the verbs 'sum', 'dico'. Adverbs and phrases of such frequent occurrence as to constitute a distinctive feature of the author's style are noted, e.g. 'iam', 'immo', 'adhuc', and the phrases 'id est' and 'hoc est' which abound. In the case of such adverbs and phrases either the approximate number of occurrences is indicated or the instances are noted in detail. Ordinary conjunctions, such as 'aut', 'cum', 'et', 'nam', 'ut', and pronouns, such as 'qui', 'aliqui', and ordinary propositions are omitted. Words occurring in explicit scripture citations are normally excluded. As was already indicated, no detailed reference to grammatical and syntactical features is given in the *Index Verborum et Rerum Notabilium*. For a treatment of these features the reader is referred to Chapter VII of *Hyp*<sup>1</sup>. Finally, it should be remarked that no *Index Auctorum* is given for reasons mentioned in Chapter VI of *Hyp*<sup>1</sup>.



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