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**A COMPILATION FROM OLD TESTAMENT SAPIENTIAL  
BOOKS IN THE CATHAR MANUSCRIPT  
OF THE *LIBER DE DUOBUS PRINCIPIIS*: CRITICAL  
EDITION WITH COMMENTARY**

*The manuscript J II 44, held by the National Central Library of Florence (Firenze, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, Conventi soppressi, ms. J II 44, also known under the shelf mark I II 44), contains several theological treatises originating in the heterodox milieu of mid-thirteenth-century Lombard Cathars from the Desenzano Church who were also called Albanenses. The main works in the manuscript – The Liber de duobus principiis and the Florence Ritual – were competently edited by Antoine Dondaine and Christine Thouzellier in the 1930s and 1970s. However, smaller pieces, additions, and marginalia in the manuscript have attracted less attention. Some of them remain unpublished and have passed almost unnoticed in recent scholarship. Probably the most interesting of these unpublished parts is a compilation from Old Testament sapiential books on fol. 51<sup>v</sup>–53<sup>r</sup>. This article provides an edition of this piece with an introduction and commentary explaining its interest. The compilation is by no means a result of the haphazard copying of biblical passages. Quite to the contrary, it shows careful and focused theological work. Albeit written down and most probably also compiled by the Cathar redactor of the Florence manuscript, this collection of quotes departs from what we know about Catharism, and serves as a warning against interpreting Catharism as a theological system limited to dualism, soteriology, and the criticism of the Catholic Church. No less importantly, however, this sapiential compilation and the Florence manuscript in general also help us to avoid the other extreme: interpreting Catharism merely as a popular movement with virtually no elements of theological learning.*

**Key words:** Catharism, Cathars, Desenzano Church, Albanenses, medieval heresy, biblical exegesis, sapiential books, wisdom literature, Old Testament, compilation, *Liber de duobus principiis*, edition

Twelfth- to thirteenth-century Christian reform movements accused of heresy have left many traces in polemical, descriptive and legal texts as well as in various proceedings written down by their opponents. By contrast,

relatively few of their own textual remains are extant. This article focuses on one of these, the manuscript J II 44 held by the National Central Library of Florence (Firenze, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, Conventi soppressi, ms. J II 44, also known under the shelf mark I II 44),<sup>1</sup> containing several theological treatises originating in the heterodox milieu of Lombard Cathars from the so-called Desenzano Church, also called *Albanenses*, around 1250.

According to the partly legendary accounts, cf. Zbíral (2006) in the *De heresi catharorum* by an unknown author (between ca. 1200 and 1215) and the *Tractatus de hereticis* by the inquisitor Anselm of Alessandria (between 1250 and 1276), the origin of six Cathar churches in Italy goes back to the last quarter of the twelfth century when disagreements divided the originally coherent group.<sup>2</sup> The Desenzano Church was one of these six churches. It had its name from Desenzano on the southern bank of Lake Garda, most likely the seat of its bishops. Raniero Sacconi, who spent seventeen years in Cathar circles before returning to Catholicism and becoming a Dominican friar, noted in his *Summa de catharis et leonistis* (1250) that the Desenzano Church had some five hundred professed members, compared to the more than one thousand five hundred of the largest Cathar group, the Concorezzo Church, or *Garatenses* (Šanjek 1974: 50).<sup>3</sup> By the time of the *Tractatus de hereticis*, the Desenzano Church was represented not only in the area of Brescia and Verona, but also in Seprio, Bergamo, Pavia, Alessandria, Cremona, and Piacenza, see Dondaine (1950: 324). From the turn of the thirteenth century at the latest, the leaders of the Desenzano Church adopted a distinctive theology professing two opposing principles or gods, the good and the evil one,<sup>4</sup> and claimed that the devil, servant or son of the evil god,

<sup>1</sup> The shelf mark I II 44 is used by Dondaine (1939: 9) and Thouzellier (1973: 16) and taken over by virtually all scholars drawing on their editions. Nevertheless, the local catalogue of manuscripts used in the National Central Library of Florence has the shelf mark J II 44 (J in order to distinguish the letter from the Roman numeral).

<sup>2</sup> See the *De heresi catharorum* (Dondaine 1949: 306–308) and the *Tractatus de hereticis* (Dondaine 1950: 309–310; the *Tractatus* only lists five of these churches but adds the Church of France in turn, comprising immigrants from across the Alps). Cf. also Raniero Sacconi, *Summa de catharis* (Šanjek 1974: 49–50). For an interpretation of these narratives of Italian Cathars' origins and divisions, see Zbíral (2006) and Moore (2012: 319–322).

<sup>3</sup> Several places in Raniero's work show beyond doubt that he uses the term "Cathars" to denote only the professed members who received Cathar baptism, not their supporters (most clearly in Šanjek 1974: 44, line 10–11). Zanella (1995: 111) is misguided in opposing Raoul Manselli on this point. He must have read the *Summa* only superficially.

<sup>4</sup> According to Catholic writers, the *Albanenses* claimed these principles to be eternal (e.g., *De heresi catharorum* in Dondaine 1949: 309, and Raniero Sacconi's *Summa de catharis* in Šanjek 1974: 51), which is also confirmed in the *Liber de duobus principiis*

entered the kingdom of the good God, took some of God's angels to the evil god's realm, which is this world, and imprisoned them in bodies. Thanks to Christ's mission, all angels of the good God will eventually be liberated and will return to the true God's kingdom. This doctrine is in sharp contrast not only to Catholic views of God, the fall, and the creation of the world but also to the beliefs of the Concorezzo Church, preaching the existence of but one (good) God, against whom one of his angels, Lucifer, rebelled, seduced some of God's angels, formed the visible world from the four elements, and imprisoned one or two of God's angels in bodies; spirits animating human bodies descend, according to another version of the myth, from this angel or angels and will either be saved or punished together with Satan. Yet another theology was professed by the leaders of the Bagnolo Church. There were also important variations in beliefs even within one church.

The period of growth of Italian Catharism was not destined to continue forever. A military expedition put an end to Cathar settlement in Sirmione on the bank of Lake Garda in 1276. Some hundred and seventy Cathars from different churches were seized, and after being interrogated, at least one hundred of them were burnt in Verona in 1278.<sup>5</sup> After that, organized Cathar groups, the Desenzano Church included, seem to have dissolved rapidly.<sup>6</sup> The Florence manuscript is witness to the heyday of Italian Catharism, and one of the very few Cathar texts to survive its disappearance. It therefore deserves the closest attention.

The Florence manuscript was unearthed in the 1930s by the Dominican scholar Antoine Dondaine who provided the first edition of the main parts Dondaine (1939). A careful study supplementing and sometimes correcting Dondaine's work was published in the appendix to Arno Borst's classical monograph on Catharism, Borst (1953: 254–318). Later on, Christine Thouzellier provided an improved and now standard critical edition with a lengthy introduction Thouzellier (1973; ead. 1977).

The codex has continued to attract interest since the first edition. Yet, substantial work still remains to be done, mostly because Dondaine, Borst and Thouzellier focused on the main parts, paying less attention to smaller additions and marginalia. This gap in our knowledge of the Florence manuscript is

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contained in the manuscript J II 44, Thouzellier 1973: 228–230, 328–332). Nevertheless, the dualism of the *Liber* still remains a restricted one: the good God will eventually vanquish the evil god, Thouzellier (1973: 312–314).

<sup>5</sup> For a critical assessment of the numbers, see Zanella (1995: 111).

<sup>6</sup> For the developments of Italian Catharism in the second half of the thirteenth century, see Lambert (1998: 272–289). An alternative account, doubting the narrative of its pre-1250 heyday and post-1250 decline, can be found in Zanella (1995: 117). For an overview of the history of the Desenzano Church, see Paolini (2006).

illustrated by the fact that despite its uniqueness, some of its smaller texts still remain unpublished. Certainly the most interesting among these is a compilation from Old Testament sapiential literature on fol. 51<sup>v</sup>–53<sup>r</sup>. In this article, I provide an edition of this piece and argue that it reveals hitherto unnoticed and important information on the milieu in which the manuscript was produced.

### The manuscript

The Florence manuscript is a small parchment codex (178 × 118 mm) in nearly excellent condition, composed of six quires amounting to fifty-four folios overall, protected by a modern binding. The codex is of relatively modest appearance, cf. Dondaine (1939: 10) with virtually no decoration besides simple initials in red ink. The text is written in one column with a clearly legible Gothic rotunda pointing unambiguously to thirteenth-century Italy. A standard page has twenty-eight lines. Rubrics facilitate orientation in the text. A faultless modern foliation is provided.

Some phases of the manuscript's history are unknown. What we know is that at the beginning of the nineteenth century, it was owned by the Dominican Convent of San Marco in Florence. It seems to have been a recent, post-1739 acquisition of unknown origin as it is not mentioned in either a sixteenth-century catalogue of manuscripts of San Marco or the relevant volume of the *Bibliotheca bibliothecarum manuscriptorum nova* published in 1739 by Bernard de Montfaucon. In 1809, the manuscript was confiscated and enriched the funds of the Biblioteca Magliabechiana which eventually became part of the funds of the newly established National Central Library of Florence in 1861, see Dondaine (1939: 9); Thouzellier (1973: 16).

The first and most extensive part, known as *Liber de duobus principiis*,<sup>7</sup> is composed of six theological treatises, relatively independent but connected by the topic of theodicy and free will. These treatises impute all evil to the operation of the evil principle and profess relatively harsh forms of determinism and predestination. The first three treatises, covering the pages of the first two quires, were all transcribed by a single scribe (hand A). From fol. 21<sup>r</sup> onwards, another scribe (B), a true redactor of the codex and an acute corrector of the work of his predecessor, continued to copy the treatises of the *Liber* until fol. 35<sup>v</sup>, where a short text interpreting the *Gospel of Matthew* 26:31 is added. A third hand (C) later filled the remaining space on fol. 36 with Bible quotes, mostly from the New Testament.

<sup>7</sup> Edition in Dondaine (1939: 81–147) and more recently Thouzellier (1973: 160–454). English translation in Wakefield & Evans (1991: 515–591).

Hand B resumes at the beginning of the fifth quire (fol. 37<sup>r</sup>), where a text of very different character starts abruptly without any rubric and in the midst of a sentence – the so-called *Florence Ritual*,<sup>8</sup> a manual for celebrants of two Cathar initiation rites: the transmission of the paternoster to a catechumen, and Cathar baptism by the laying on of hands, called *consolamentum*. The text describes the two rites and provides biblical citations serving as a basis for sermons accompanying them.

Scribe B then adds a compilation of New Testament citations concerning the persecution of Jesus' disciples and other saints, prefiguring later persecutions of "true Christians", i.e. the compiler's group. In spite of having closed the book by giving thanks to Christ on fol. 51<sup>r</sup>, scribe B returns once again to add a relatively long compilation of citations from Old Testament sapiential books. The last pages of the codex are then used by hand C to copy passages from St. Paul's epistles. The main contents of the codex, excluding some shorter pieces and additions, are shown in Table 1.<sup>9</sup>

Contents	Folio(s)	Quire	Hand
<i>De duobus principiis (De libero arbitrio)</i>	1 <sup>r</sup> –11 <sup>v</sup>	I–II	A
<i>Oppositio adversariorum (De creatione)</i>	11 <sup>v</sup> –17 <sup>v</sup>	II	A
<i>Reprobatio (De signis universalibus)</i>	17 <sup>v</sup> –20 <sup>v</sup>	II	A
<i>(Compendium ad instructionem rudium)</i>	21 <sup>r</sup> –29 <sup>v</sup>	III	B
<i>Oppositio contra Garatenses</i>	29 <sup>v</sup> –33 <sup>v</sup>	IV	B
<i>(De arbitrio:) De ignorantia multorum; De sententia</i>	33 <sup>v</sup> –35 <sup>v</sup>	IV	B
<i>De percussione pastoris</i>	35 <sup>v</sup>	IV	B
(Excerpts from the Bible: <i>I Tim</i> 2:5–3:13, <i>Col</i> 1:9–20, <i>Lc</i> 13:1–5, <i>Ez</i> 28:18–19, and <i>I Cor</i> 13:1–2)	36 <sup>r</sup> –36 <sup>v</sup>	IV	C
<i>(Rituale)</i>	37 <sup>r</sup> –44 <sup>r</sup>	V	B
<i>De persecutione</i>	44 <sup>v</sup> –51 <sup>r</sup>	V–VI	B
(Compilation from sapiential literature – <i>Sirach</i> , <i>Proverbs</i> , <i>Ecclesiastes</i> , and <i>Wisdom</i> )	51 <sup>v</sup> –53 <sup>r</sup>	VI	B
(Excerpts from the Bible: <i>I Cor</i> 6:15–7:40, <i>I Cor</i> 5:1–2, and <i>II Cor</i> 12:6–10)	53 <sup>v</sup> –54 <sup>v</sup>	VI	C

**Table 1.** Contents of the Florence manuscript (main parts).

<sup>8</sup> Edition in Dondaine (1939: 151–165) and Thouzellier (1977: 194–260). English translation in Wakefield & Evans (1991: 468–483).

<sup>9</sup> Cf. slightly different tables of contents in Dondaine (1939: 10–11) and Thouzellier (1973: 18).

The sapiential compilation published below covers four pages (fol. 51<sup>v</sup>–53<sup>r</sup>). It is quite distinctive visually, not least thanks to initials marking the beginning of each citation, and to rubrics referring to the respective Old Testament book. Besides these references, there are eighteen thematic rubrics: *De timore*, *De sapientia*, *De verbo dulce*, *De responsione*, *De correptione*, *De masuetudine*, *De gloriatione*, *De consilio*, *De conspicione*, *De pice*, *De stulto*, *De stulto rege*, *De peccatore*, *De invidia*, *De amico*, *De bono nomine*, *De ocaxione*, and *De homine iniusto*. Each of these rubrics corresponds to at least the first of the citations that follow but sometimes fails to adequately describe the content of some of them.

Besides the addition of psalm 18:26–27 (17:26–27 in the Vulgate numbering) in the lower margin of fol. 53<sup>r</sup>, written by a different hand and not forming part of the original compilation, there is a total of ninety-seven citations, of which fifty-three come from *Sirach*, thirty-five from *Proverbs*, seven from *Ecclesiastes*, and two from *Wisdom*. The following is a list of all citations (in the exact order of the compilation): *Sir* 1:27–28, *Sir* 1:36, *Sir* 16:3, *Sir* 19:21, *Sap* 6:1, *Sap* 10:21, *Prv* 13:20, *Sir* 32:6, *Sir* 20:32, *Sir* 41:18, *Sir* 6:5, *Prv* 15:1, *Sir* 20:8, *Prv* 10:19, *Prv* 13:3, *Ecl* 5:2, *Prv* 21:23, *Sir* 5:14, *Sir* 11:8, *Prv* 18:13, *Sir* 32:6, *Sir* 22:8, *Sir* 19:17–18, *Sir* 11:7, *Sir* 3:19, *Sir* 3:20, *Prv* 11:2, *Prv* 16:19, *Sir* 3:12, *Sir* 3:14–15, *Prv* 10:1, *Prv* 10:1, *Sir* 32:24, *Prv* 13:10, *Prv* 13:16, *Sir* 9:5, *Sir* 9:12, *Sir* 25:28, *Sir* 25:33, *Sir* 25:26, *Prv* 21:19, *Sir* 13:1, *Sir* 10:7, *Sir* 10:15, *Sir* 6:2, *Prv* 13:10, *Sir* 22:14, *Prv* 23:9, *Sir* 22:18, *Prv* 17:16, *Ecl* 1:15, *Ecl* 10:3, *Sir* 10:3, *Sir* 10:2, *Prv* 29:4, *Ecl* 5:9, *Ecl* 5:10, *Sir* 15:9–10, *Sir* 18:23, *Sir* 1:37, *Prv* 11:9, *Prv* 28:9, *Sir* 14:6, *Sir* 14:5, *Sir* 41:10, *Sir* 27:30, *Sir* 19:8, *Sir* 33:20, *Sir* 33:22, *Sir* 38:9, *Sir* 40:29, *Prv* 22:1, *Prv* 12:9, *Prv* 16:8, *Prv* 17:1, *Ecl* 4:6, *Sir* 30:17, *Prv* 18:1, *Prv* 3:30, *Prv* 17:13, *Prv* 29:9, *Prv* 3:31, *Prv* 22:24–25, *Prv* 10:12, *Prv* 17:19, *Prv* 10:26, *Prv* 12:1, *Prv* 12:21, *Prv* 28:13, *Sir* 3:33, *Sir* 3:22, *Sir* 8:15, *Sir* 11:9, *Sir* 11:30, *Sir* 21:20, *Sir* 30:25, and *Ecl* 5:3. It is necessary to supplement the index of biblical citations provided by Thouzellier (1973: 475–487) with these citations.<sup>10</sup> An edition of this part follows.

### Note on the edition

The following edition is based on a high-resolution photographic reproduction of the manuscript Firenze, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, Conventi

<sup>10</sup> This index is not entirely consistent; it includes some of the additions not forming part of either the *Liber* or the *Florence Ritual* (for instance, the citation of *Ps* 17[18]:26–27) but not all of them, and the sapiential compilation is one of those missing.

soppressi, ms. J II 44, fol. 51<sup>v</sup>–53<sup>r</sup>. The complete text of these four pages is published, including the citation from *Psalms* added by a different hand.

In the manuscript, the individual citations from the Bible begin on new lines and are accompanied with references to particular Old Testament books. This layout, as well as most of the original punctuation, is kept in the edition.

The text has been compared with the critical edition of the Vulgate by Weber & Gryson (1994). Where the reading is identical with this edition's main text,<sup>11</sup> italics are used. Where a variant reading appears but is common enough to be noted in the critical apparatus of Weber & Gryson (1994), the variant is mentioned (with the specification *cum aliquibus codd.*), but the italics are not interrupted, in contrast to the case where a variant reading not noted in the used edition of the Vulgate appears. I do not interrupt italics when a variant consists only in a different word order, but I always mark such variants in the apparatus. I do not mention merely orthographic variants.

Thouzellier (1973: 83–157) did not incorporate the sapiential compilation in her detailed analysis of biblical readings. Likewise, I did not consider it necessary to carry out such a comprehensive comparison of readings because all in all, Thouzellier's analysis did not yield much beyond the conclusion, rather predictable and not specific to Bibles used by the Cathars, that medieval biblical text forms a rich and complex tradition bearing, among others, many influences of pre-Vulgate Latin readings.<sup>12</sup>

The apparatus uses the same Latin abbreviations for biblical books as Weber & Gryson (1994), i.e. *Sir* for *Sirach*, *Prv* for *Proverbs*, *Sap* for *Wisdom*, *Ecl* for *Ecclesiastes*, and *Ps* for *Psalms*. I refer to the whole verse even in cases where the beginning or the end of the verse is not cited.

I preserve the spelling of the manuscript (e.g., *eloqui* for *eloquii*, *conscilium* for *consilium*, *ocaxio* for *occasio*, *masuetudine* for *mansuetudine*, etc.). All changes to the text except the expansion of abbreviations are noted in the apparatus.

### ***Edition (fol. 51<sup>v</sup>–53<sup>r</sup>)***

<fol. 51<sup>v</sup>> Ihesus filius Syrach. De timore.

*Timor Domini*<sup>13</sup> *expellit peccatum. Nam qui sine timore est, non poterit iustificari.*<sup>14</sup>

<sup>11</sup> The abbreviation *Vg.* refers exclusively to the main text of this edition in the following.

<sup>12</sup> I agree with the slightly unfavorable statement made by Harris (1986: 11) on this part of Thouzellier's work.

<sup>13</sup> Domini] *cum aliquibus codd.* Dei *Vg.*

<sup>14</sup> *Sir* 1:27–28.



*Ne fueris*<sup>15</sup> *incredibilis timoris*<sup>16</sup> *Domini, et ne acceris ad illum duplici corde.*<sup>17</sup>

*Melior est enim unus timens Dominum,*<sup>18</sup> *quam mille filii impii.*<sup>19</sup>

De sapientia.<sup>20</sup>

*Melior est homo qui deficit sapientia et deficiens sensu in timore Domini*<sup>21</sup> *quam qui habundat sensu et transgreditur legem Altissimi.*<sup>22</sup><sup>23</sup>

*In libro Sapientie.*<sup>24</sup> *Melior est sapientia quam vires, et vir prudens magis quam fortis.*<sup>25</sup>

*In libro Sapientie.*<sup>26</sup> *Quoniam sapientia aperuit os mutorum, et linguas infantium fecit disertas.*<sup>27</sup>

*In libro proverbiorum Salomonis.*<sup>28</sup> *Qui cum sapientibus graditur sapiens erit. Amicus stultorum efficitur*<sup>29</sup> *similis.*<sup>30</sup>

*In libro Ihesu filii Syrach.*<sup>31</sup> *Inportune noli extoli in sapientia tua.*<sup>32</sup>

*In libro Ihesu filii Syrach.*<sup>33</sup> *Sapientia absconsa et thesaurus invisus que utilitas utriusque.*<sup>34</sup><sup>35</sup>

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15 Ne fueris] *cum aliquibus codd.* non sis *Vg.*

16 timoris] timori *Vg.*

17 *Sir* 1:36.

18 Dominum] Deum *Vg.*

19 *Sir* 16:3.

20 De sapientia] *rubrica in marg. sin.*

21 Domini] *add. supra lin., non in Vg.*

22 Altissimi] *add. supra lin.*

23 *Sir* 19:21.

24 In libro Sapientie] *rubrica; in add. supra lin.*

25 *Sap* 6:1.

26 In libro Sapientie] *rubrica in marg. sin.*

27 *Sap* 10:21.

28 In libro proverbiorum Salomonis] *rubrica in marg. sin.*

29 efficitur] *efficietur Vg.*

30 *Prv* 13:20.

31 In libro Ihesu filii Syrach] *rubrica in marg. sin.*

32 *Sir* 32:6.

33 In libro Ihesu filii Syrach] *rubrica in marg. sin.*

34 utriusque] *sic ms. cum u add. supra lin., in utrisque Vg.*

35 *Sir* 20:32.

In eodem libro.<sup>36</sup> *Melior est qui<sup>37</sup> celat insipientiam<sup>38</sup> suam, quam homo qui abscondit sapientiam suam.<sup>39</sup>*

De verbo dulce.<sup>40</sup>

In libro Ihesu filii Syrach.<sup>41</sup> *Verbum dulce multiplicat amicos et mittigat inimicos. Et lingua gratiosa<sup>42</sup> in bono homine habundabit.<sup>43</sup><sup>44</sup>*

In libro proverbiorum Salomonis.<sup>45</sup> *Responsio mollis frangit iram, sermo durus suscitatur furem.<sup>46</sup>*

In libro Ihesu filii Syrach.<sup>47</sup> *Qui multis utitur verbis ledit animam suam.<sup>48</sup>*

In libro proverbiorum Salomonis.<sup>49</sup> *In multiloquio peccatum non deerit.<sup>50</sup>*

In libro proverbiorum Salomonis.<sup>51</sup> *Qui custodit os suum, custodit animam suam.<sup>52</sup>*

In libro Ecclesiastes.<sup>53</sup> *Multas curas secuntur sompnia, et in multis sermonibus invenitur stulticia.<sup>54</sup>*

In libro proverbiorum Salomonis.<sup>55</sup> *Qui custodit os suum et linguam suam, custodit ab angustiis suam animam.<sup>56</sup><sup>57</sup>*

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36 In eodem libro] *rubrica in marg. sin.*

37 qui] homo qui *Vg.*

38 celat insipientiam] abscondit stultitiam *Vg.*

39 *Sir* 41:18.

40 De verbo Domini] *rubrica in marg. sin.*

41 In libro Ihesu filii Syrach] *rubrica in marg. dext.*

42 gratiosa] *eucharis Vg.*

43 habundabit] *cum aliquibus codd. abundat Vg.*

44 *Sir* 6:5.

45 In libro proverbiorum Salomonis] *rubrica in marg. sin.*

46 *Prv* 15:1.

47 In libro Ihesu filii Syrach] *rubrica in marg. sin.*

48 *Sir* 20:8.

49 In libro proverbiorum Salomonis] *rubrica in marg. sin.*

50 *Prv* 10:19.

51 In libro proverbiorum Salomonis] *rubrica in marg. sin.*

52 *Prv* 13:3.

53 In libro Ecclesiastes] *rubrica in marg. sin.*

54 *Ecl* 5:2.

55 In libro proverbiorum Salomonis] *rubrica in marg. sin.*

56 suam animam] *animam suam Vg.*

57 *Prv* 21:23.

*De responsione.*<sup>58</sup>

*In libro Ihesu filii Syrach.*<sup>59</sup> *Si est tibi intellectus responde proximo, sin autem sit manus tua super os tuum, ne capiaris*<sup>60</sup> *in verbo indisciplinato, et confundaris.*<sup>61</sup>

*In libro Ihesu filii Syrach.*<sup>62</sup> *Priusquam audias ne respondeas verbum, et in*<sup>63</sup> *medio seniorum*<sup>64</sup> *ne adicias loqui.*<sup>65</sup>

*In libro proverbiorum Salomonis.*<sup>66</sup> *Qui prius respondit quam audiat, stultum se esse demonstrat, et confusione dignum.*<sup>67</sup>

*In libro Ihesu filii Syrach.*<sup>68</sup> *Ubi auditus non est, ne*<sup>69</sup> *effundas sermonem.*<sup>70</sup>

*In libro Ihesu filii Syrach.*<sup>71</sup> *Qui narrat verbum non audienti*<sup>72</sup>, *quasi qui excitat dormientem de gravi sonpno.*<sup>73</sup>

<fol. 52> De correptione, duo sunt proverbii.<sup>74</sup><sup>75</sup>

*In libro Ihesu filii Syrach.*<sup>76</sup> *Corripe*<sup>77</sup> *proximum antequam commineris, et da locum timoris*<sup>78</sup> *Altissimi.*<sup>79</sup>

58 De responsione] *rubrica.*

59 In libro Ihesu filii Syrach] *rubrica in marg. sin.*

60 ne capiaris] *necaris cum pia add. supra lin.*

61 *Sir 5:14.*

62 In libro Ihesu filii Syrach] *rubrica in marg. sin.*

63 in] *add. supra lin.*

64 seniorum] *cum multis codd. sermonum Vg.*

65 *Sir 11:8.*

66 In libro proverbiorum Salomonis] *rubrica in marg. sin.*

67 *Prv 18:13.*

68 In libro Ihesu filii Syrach] *rubrica in marg. sin.*

69 non est, ne] *non est non multi codd. est non Vg.*

70 *Sir 32:6.*

71 In libro Ihesu filii Syrach] *rubrica in marg. sin.*

72 audienti] *cum aliquibus codd. adtententi Vg.*

73 *Sir 22:8.*

74 proverbii] *sic ms.*

75 De correptione, duo sunt proverbii] *rubrica in marg. sup.*

76 In libro Ihesu filii Syrach] *rubrica in marg. sin.*

77 Corripe] *ex Correpe corr. ms.*

78 timoris] *timori Vg.*

79 *Sir 19:17–18.*

In libro Ihesu filii Syrach.<sup>80</sup> *Priusquam interrogas ne vituperes quemquam. Et cum*<sup>81</sup> *interrogaveris corripe iuste.*<sup>82</sup>

De masuetudine.<sup>83</sup>

In libro Ihesu filii Syrach.<sup>84</sup> *Fili, in mansuetudine opera tua perface, et super hominum gloriam diligere.*<sup>85</sup>

In libro Ihesu filii Syrach.<sup>86</sup> *Quanto maior*<sup>87</sup> *es humilia te in omnibus et coram Deo invenies gratiam.*<sup>88 89</sup>

In libro proverbiorum Salomonis.<sup>90</sup> *Ubi autem humilitas, ibi et sapientia.*<sup>91</sup>

In libro proverbiorum Salomonis.<sup>92</sup> *Melius est humiliari cum mitibus, quam dividere spolia cum superbis.*<sup>93</sup>

De gloriatione.<sup>94</sup>

In libro Ihesu filii Syrach.<sup>95</sup> *Ne glorieris in contumelia patris tui, non est enim tibi gloria sed confusio.*<sup>96</sup>

In libro Ihesu filii Syrach.<sup>97</sup> *Fili, suscipe senectam patris tui, et ne contristes eum in vita illius. Et si defecerit sensu veniam da, et ne spernas eum in tua virtute.*<sup>98</sup>

In libro proverbiorum Salomonis.<sup>99</sup> *Filius sapiens letificat patrem.*<sup>100</sup>

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80 In libro Ihesu filii Syrach] *rubrica in marg. dext.*

81 cum] *add. supra lin.*

82 *Sir* 11:7.

83 masuetudine] *rubrica in marg. sin.; sic ms.*

84 In libro Ihesu filii Syrach] *rubrica in marg. dext.*

85 *Sir* 3:19.

86 In libro Ihesu filii Syrach] *rubrica in marg. dext.*

87 maior] *magnus Vg.*

88 Quanto ... gratiam] *add. in marg. sup.*

89 *Sir* 3:20.

90 In libro proverbiorum Salomonis] *rubrica in marg. dext.*

91 *Prv* 11:2.

92 In libro proverbiorum Salomonis] *rubrica in marg. dext.*

93 *Prv* 16:19.

94 De gloriatione] *rubrica in marg. sin.*

95 In libro Ihesu filii Syrach] *rubrica in marg. dext.*

96 *Sir* 3:12.

97 In libro Ihesu filii Syrach] *rubrica in marg. dext.*

98 *Sir* 3:14–15.

99 In libro proverbiorum Salomonis] *rubrica in marg. dext.*

100 *Prv* 10:1; *cf. Prv* 15:20.

In libro proverbiorum Salomonis.<sup>101</sup> *Filius vero stultus mesticia est matris sue.*<sup>102</sup>

De consilio.<sup>103</sup>

In libro Ihesu filii Syrach.<sup>104</sup> *Fili, sine consilio nichil facias, et post factum non penitebis.*<sup>105 106</sup>

In libro proverbiorum Salomonis.<sup>107</sup> *Qui autem agunt cuncta cum*<sup>108</sup> *consilio reguntur a sapientia*<sup>109 110</sup>

In libro proverbiorum Salomonis<sup>111</sup>. *Astutus omnia agit cum consilio, qui autem fatuus est aperit stulticiam.*<sup>112</sup>

De conspiciōne.<sup>113</sup>

In libro Ihesu filii Syrach.<sup>114</sup> *Virginem ne conspicias, ne forte scandalizeris in decore illius.*<sup>115</sup>

In libro Ihesu filii Syrach.<sup>116</sup> *Cum aliena muliere ne sedeas omnino, nec accubas cum ea super cubitum.*<sup>117</sup>

In libro Ihesu filii Syrach.<sup>118</sup> *Ne respicias in speciem mulieris,*<sup>119</sup> *et non concupiscas mulierem in spetie sua.*<sup>120 121</sup>

101 In libro proverbiorum Salomonis] *rubrica in marg. dext.*

102 *Prv* 10:1.

103 De consilio] *rubrica in marg. sin.; in marg. dext. ms. del.* In libro proverbiorum Salomonis.

104 In libro Ihesu filii Syrach] *rubrica in marg. dext.*

105 penitebis] *cum aliquibus codd. paeniteberis Vg.*

106 *Sir* 32:24.

107 In libro proverbiorum Salomonis] *rubrica in marg. dext.*

108 cum] *cum aliquibus codd., non in Vg.; ante cum ms. expunx. co cum signo abbreviationis communi.*

109 a sapientia] *sapientia Vg.*

110 *Prv* 13:10.

111 In libro proverbiorum Salomonis] *rubrica in marg. dext.*

112 *Prv* 13:16.

113 De conspiciōne] *rubrica in marg. sin.*

114 In libro Ihesu filii Syrach] *rubrica in marg. dext.*

115 *Sir* 9:5.

116 In libro Ihesu filii Syrach] *rubrica in marg. dext.*

117 *Sir* 9:12.

118 In libro Ihesu filii Syrach] *rubrica in marg. dext.*

119 speciem mulieris] *mulieris speciem Vg.*

120 sua] *non in Vg.*

121 *Sir* 25:28.

In libro Ihesu filii Syrach.<sup>122</sup> *A muliere inicum factum est peccati, et per illam omnes morimur.*<sup>123</sup>

In libro Ihesu filii Syrach.<sup>124</sup> *Brevis omnis*<sup>125</sup> *malicia super malicia*<sup>126</sup> *mulieris.*<sup>127</sup>

In libro proverbiorum Salomonis.<sup>128</sup> *Melius est habitare in terra deserta, quam cum muliere rixosa et iracundia.*<sup>129 130</sup>

De pice.<sup>131</sup>

In libro Ihesu filii Syrach.<sup>132</sup> *Qui tetigerit picem coinquinabitur*<sup>133</sup> *ab ea.*<sup>134</sup> *Et qui communicaverit superbo inducet*<sup>135</sup> *superbiam.*<sup>136</sup>

In libro Ihesu filii Syrach.<sup>137</sup> *Odibilis est*<sup>138</sup> *coram Deo et hominibus omnis*<sup>139</sup> *superbia. Et execrabilis omnis iniquitas gentium.*<sup>140 141</sup>

In libro Ihesu filii Syrach.<sup>142</sup> *Quoniam inicum peccati est*<sup>143</sup> *omnis superbia; qui tenuerit illam abominabilis erit apud Deum.*<sup>144 145</sup>

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122 In libro Ihesu filii Syrach] *rubrica in marg. dext.*

123 *Sir* 25:33.

124 In libro Ihesu filii Syrach] *rubrica in marg. dext.*

125 omnis] *cum aliquibus codd., non in Vg.*

126 malicia] *cum aliquibus codd. maliciam Vg.*

127 *Sir* 25:26.

128 In libro proverbiorum Salomonis] *rubrica in marg. dext.*

129 iracundia] *iracunda Vg.*

130 *Prv* 21:19.

131 De pice] *rubrica in marg. sin.*

132 In libro Ihesu filii Syrach] *rubrica in marg. dext.*

133 coinquinabitur] *inquinabitur Vg.*

134 ea] *cum aliquibus codd. illa Vg.*

135 inducet] *induct ms., correxi.*

136 *Sir* 13:1.

137 In libro Ihesu filii Syrach] *rubrica in marg. dext.*

138 est] *non in Vg.*

139 omnis] *non in Vg.*

140 gentium] *add. supra lin.*

141 *Sir* 10:7.

142 In libro Ihesu filii Syrach] *rubrica in marg. dext.*

143 est] *cum aliquibus codd., non in Vg.*

144 abominabilis erit apud Deum] *adimplebitur maledictis et subvertet eos in finem Vg.; Deum add. supra lin.*

145 *Sir* 10:15.

In libro Ihesu filii Syrach.<sup>146</sup> *Non te extollas in cogitatione anime tue vellud*<sup>147</sup> *taurus, ne forte ellidatur virtus tua per stulticiam.*<sup>148</sup>

In libro proverbiorum Salomonis.<sup>149</sup> *Inter superbos semper iurgia sunt.*<sup>150</sup>

De stulto.<sup>151</sup>

In libro Ihesu filii Syrach.<sup>152</sup> *Cum stulto non multo*<sup>153</sup> *loquaris, et cum insensato ne habieris.*<sup>154</sup>

<fol. 52v> In libro proverbiorum Salomonis.<sup>155</sup> *In auribus insipientium ne loquaris, quia despicient doctrinam eloqui*<sup>156</sup> *tui.*<sup>157</sup>

In libro Ihesu filii Syrach.<sup>158</sup> *Harenam et salem et masam ferri facilius est portare, quam hominem imprudentem et fatuum et impium corrigere.*<sup>159</sup><sup>160</sup>

In libro proverbiorum Salomonis.<sup>161</sup> *Quid prodest stulto habere divicias,*<sup>162</sup> *cum sapientiam non possit emere.*<sup>163</sup><sup>164</sup>

In libro Ecclesiastes.<sup>165</sup> *Perversi difficile corriguntur, et stultorum infinitus est numerus.*<sup>166</sup>

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146 In libro Ihesu filii Syrach] *rubrica in marg. dext.*

147 vellud] *sic ms.*

148 Sir 6:2.

149 In libro proverbiorum Salomonis] *rubrica in marg. dext.*

150 Prv 13:10.

151 De stulto] *rubrica in marg. sin.*

152 In libro Ihesu filii Syrach] *rubrica in marg. dext.*

153 multo] *multum Vg.*

154 Sir 22:14.

155 In libro proverbiorum Salomonis] *rubrica in marg. sin.*

156 eloqui] *sc. eloquii; sic ms.*

157 Prv 23:9.

158 In libro Ihesu filii Syrach] *rubrica in marg. sin.*

159 corrigere] *add. alia manu; non in Vg.*

160 Sir 22:18.

161 In libro proverbiorum Salomonis] *rubrica in marg. sin.*

162 stulto habere divicias] *cum aliquibus codd. habere divitias stultum Vg.*

163 non possit emere] *emere non possit Vg.*

164 Prv 17:16.

165 In libro Ecclesiastes] *rubrica in marg. sin.*

166 Ecl 1:15.

In libro Ecclesiastes.<sup>167</sup> *In via stultus ambulans cum ipse insciens sit, omnes stultos existimat.*<sup>168 169</sup>

*De stulto rege.*<sup>170</sup>

In libro Ihesu filii Syrach.<sup>171</sup> *Rex insciens perdet populum suum, et civitates inhabitabuntur per sensum prudentium.*<sup>172</sup>

In libro Ihesu filii Syrach.<sup>173</sup> *Secundum iudicem populi sic et ministri eius. Et qualis rector civitatis*<sup>174</sup>, *tales et inhabitantes in ea.*<sup>175 176</sup>

In libro proverbiorum Salomonis.<sup>177</sup> *Rex iustus erigit terram, vir avarus destruet eam.*<sup>178</sup>

In libro Ecclesiastes.<sup>179</sup> *Avarus non implebitur pecunia, et qui amat divicias fructus non capiet ex eis, et hoc vanitas.*<sup>180 181</sup>

In libro Ecclesiastes.<sup>182</sup> *Quid prodest possessori nisi quod cernit divicias oculis suis.*<sup>183</sup>

*De peccatore.*<sup>184</sup>

In libro Ihesu filii Syrach.<sup>185</sup> *Non est speciosa laus in ore peccatoris, quoniam a Deo facta*<sup>186</sup> *est sapientia.*<sup>187</sup>

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167 In libro Ecclesiastes] *rubrica in marg. sin.*

168 existimat] *aestimata Vg.*

169 *Ecl* 10:3.

170 *De stulto rege*] *rubrica in marg. sin.*

171 In libro Ihesu filii Syrach] *rubrica in marg. dext.*

172 *Sir* 10:3.

173 In libro Ihesu filii Syrach] *rubrica in marg. sin.*

174 rector civitatis] *rector est civitatis Vg.*

175 in ea] *cum aliquibus codd.; non in Vg.*

176 *Sir* 10:2.

177 In libro proverbiorum Salomonis] *rubrica in marg. sin.*

178 *Prv* 29:4.

179 In libro Ecclesiastes] *rubrica in marg. sin.*

180 et hoc vanitas] *add. subtus lin.; et hoc ergo vanitas Vg.*

181 *Ecl* 5:9.

182 In libro Ecclesiastes] *rubrica in marg. sin.*

183 *Ecl* 5:10.

184 *De peccatore*] *rubrica in marg. sin.; De peccatore ms., correxi.*

185 In libro Ihesu filii Syrach] *rubrica in marg. dext.*

186 facta] *profecta Vg.*

187 *Sir* 15:9–10.



In libro Ihesu filii Syrach<sup>188</sup>. *Ante horationem prepara animam tuam, et noli esse quasi homo qui temptat Deum.*<sup>189</sup>

In libro Ihesu filii Syrach<sup>190</sup>. *Ne fueris ypocrita in conspectu hominum, et non scandalizeris labiis tuis.*<sup>191</sup>

In libro proverbiorum Salomonis<sup>192</sup>. *Simulator ore*<sup>193</sup> *decipit amicum suum.*<sup>194</sup>

In libro proverbiorum Salomonis<sup>195</sup>. *Qui declinat aurem suam ne audiat legem, oratio eius erit execrabilis.*<sup>196</sup>

De invidia<sup>197</sup>.

In libro Ihesu filii Syrach<sup>198</sup>. *Qui sibi invidet nichil est illo nequius.*<sup>199</sup>

In libro Ihesu filii Syrach<sup>200</sup>. *Qui sibi nequa est cui alii bonus erit.*<sup>201</sup>

In libro Ihesu filii Syrach<sup>202</sup>. *De patre impio queruntur*<sup>203</sup> *fili, quoniam propter illum sunt in obprobrium*<sup>204</sup> *.*<sup>205</sup>

In libro Ihesu filii Syrach<sup>206</sup>. *Facienti nequissimum consilium*<sup>207</sup> *super ipsum devolvetur, et non agnoscat unde veniet*<sup>208</sup> *illi.*<sup>209</sup>

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188 In libro Ihesu filii Syrach] *rubrica in marg. sin.*

189 *Sir* 18:23.

190 In libro Ihesu filii Syrach] *rubrica in marg. sin.*

191 *Sir* 1:37.

192 In libro proverbiorum Salomonis] *rubrica in marg. sin.*

193 ore] *ex hore expunx. ms.*

194 *Prv* 11:9.

195 In libro proverbiorum Salomonis] *rubrica in marg. sin.*

196 *Prv* 28:9.

197 De invidia] *rubrica in marg. sin.*

198 In libro Ihesu filii Syrach] *rubrica in marg. dext.*

199 *Sir* 14:6.

200 In libro Ihesu filii Syrach] *rubrica in marg. sin.*

201 *Sir* 14:5.

202 In libro Ihesu filii Syrach] *rubrica in marg. sin.*

203 queruntur] *ex quereuntur expunx. ms.*

204 obprobrium] *ex obprobre corr. ms.; obprobrio Vg.*

205 *Sir* 41:10.

206 In libro Ihesu filii Syrach] *rubrica in marg. sin.*

207 consilium] *cum aliquibus codd., non in Vg.*

208 veniet] *adveniat Vg.*

209 *Sir* 27:30.

De amico.<sup>210</sup>

In libro Ihesu filii Syrach.<sup>211</sup> *Amico et inimico noli narrare*<sup>212</sup> *sensum tuum.*<sup>213</sup>

In libro Ihesu filii Syrach.<sup>214</sup> *Filio et mulieri, fratri et amico non des potestatem super te in vita tua.*<sup>215</sup>

In libro Ihesu filii Syrach.<sup>216</sup> *Melius est enim ut filii tui te rogent quam respicere*<sup>217</sup> *in manus filiorum tuorum.*<sup>218</sup>

Et iterum.<sup>219</sup> *Fili, in tua infirmitate ne*<sup>220</sup> *despicias te ipsum,*<sup>221</sup> *sed ora Dominum et ipse curabit te.*<sup>222</sup><sup>223</sup>

Et iterum.<sup>224</sup> *Fili, in tempore vite tue ne indigeas, melius est enim mori quam indigere.*<sup>225</sup>

De bono nomine.<sup>226</sup>

In libro proverbiorum Salomonis.<sup>227</sup> *Melius est nomen bonum quam divitiae multe.*<sup>228</sup>

<fol. 53> In libro proverbiorum Salomonis.<sup>229</sup> *Melior est pauper et sufficiens sibi quam gloriosus et indigens pane.*<sup>230</sup>

Et iterum<sup>231</sup>. *Melius est parum cum iusticia quam multi fructus cum iniquitate.*<sup>232</sup>

210 De amico] *rubrica in marg. sin.*

211 In libro Ihesu filii Syrach] *rubrica in marg. sin.*

212 narrare] *cum aliquibus codd., enarrare Vg.*

213 *Sir* 19:8.

214 In libro Ihesu filii Syrach] *rubrica in marg. sin.*

215 *Sir* 33:20.

216 In libro Ihesu filii Syrach] *rubrica in marg. sin.*

217 quam respicere] *quam te respicere Vg.*

218 *Sir* 33:22.

219 Et iterum] *rubrica in marg. sin.*

220 ne] *cum aliquibus codd. non Vg.*

221 te ipsum] *cum aliquibus codd., non in Vg.*

222 te] *add. supra lin.*

223 *Sir* 38:9.

224 Et iterum] *rubrica in marg. sin.*

225 *Sir* 40:29.

226 De bono nomine] *rubrica in marg. sin.*

227 In libro proverbiorum Salomonis] *rubrica in marg. dext.*

228 *Prv* 22:1.

229 In libro proverbiorum Salomonis] *rubrica in marg. dext.*

230 *Prv* 12:9.

231 Et iterum] *rubrica in marg. dext.*

232 *Prv* 16:8.

Et iterum.<sup>233</sup> *Melior est bucella sicca cum gaudio quam domus plena victime*<sup>234</sup> *cum iurgio.*<sup>235 236</sup>

In libro Ecclesiastes.<sup>237</sup> *Melior est pugillus cum requie quam plena utraque manus cum dolore*<sup>238</sup> *et afflictione animi.*<sup>239 240</sup>

In libro Ihesu filii Syrach.<sup>241</sup> *Melior est mors quam vita amara, et requies eterna quam langor*<sup>242</sup> *perseverans.*<sup>243</sup>

De ocaxione.<sup>244</sup>

In libro proverbiorum Salomonis.<sup>245</sup> *Ocaxiones querit qui vult recedere ab amico, omni tempore erit exprobabilis.*<sup>246 247</sup>

Et iterum.<sup>248</sup> *Ne contendes*<sup>249</sup> *adversus hominem frustra, cum ipse tibi nichil male*<sup>250</sup> *fecerit.*<sup>251</sup>

Et iterum.<sup>252</sup> *Qui reddit mala pro bonis, non recedet malum de domo illius.*<sup>253 254</sup>

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233 Et iterum] *rubrica in marg. dext.*

234 victime] *victimis Vg.*

235 iurgio] *cum gio supra lin.*

236 *Prv* 17:1.

237 In libro Ecclesiastes] *rubrica in marg. dext.*

238 dolore] *labore Vg.*

239 animi] *ex animi expunx. ms.; in marg. sin. ms. del.* In libro Ihesu filii Syrach.

240 *Ecl* 4:6.

241 In libro Ihesu filii Syrach] *rubrica in marg. dext.*

242 langor] *sic ms.*

243 *Sir* 30:17.

244 De ocaxione] *rubrica in marg. sin.*

245 In libro proverbiorum Salomonis] *rubrica in marg. dext.*

246 exprobabilis] *sic ms. exprobrabilis Vg.*

247 *Prv* 18:1.

248 Et iterum] *rubrica in marg. dext.*

249 contendes] *sic ms. contendas Vg.*

250 male] *mali Vg.*

251 *Prv* 3:30.

252 Et iterum] *rubrica in marg. dext.*

253 illius] *eius Vg.*

254 *Prv* 17:13.

Et iterum.<sup>255</sup> *Vir sapiens si contenderit cum stulto*<sup>256</sup> *sive irascatur sive rideat non inveniet requiem.*<sup>257 258</sup>

*De homine iniusto.*<sup>259</sup>

*Et iterum.*<sup>260</sup> *Ne emuleris hominem iniustum, nec imiteris vias eius.*<sup>261</sup>

*Et iterum.*<sup>262</sup> *Noli esse amicus homini iracundo, neque ambules cum viro furioso, ne forte discas semitas eius, et sumas scandalum anime tue.*<sup>263</sup>

*Et iterum.*<sup>264</sup> *Odium suscitatur rixas, et universa delicta operit caritas.*<sup>265</sup>

*Et iterum.*<sup>266</sup> *Qui meditatur discordiam diligit rixas, et qui exaltat os suum*<sup>267</sup> *querit ruinam.*<sup>268</sup>

*Et iterum.*<sup>269</sup> *Sicut acetum dentibus et fumus oculis, sic piger his qui miserunt eum in via.*<sup>270 271</sup>

*Et iterum.*<sup>272</sup> *Qui autem odit increpationes insciens est.*<sup>273</sup>

*Et iterum.*<sup>274</sup> *Non contristabitur iustus*<sup>275</sup> *quicquid ei acciderit.*<sup>276</sup>

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255 Et iterum] *rubrica in marg. dext.*

256 si contenderit cum stulto] si cum stulto contenderit *Vg.*

257 inveniet requiem] *cum in et et requiem supra lin.*

258 *Prv* 29:9.

259 De homine iniusto] *rubrica in marg. sin.*

260 Et iterum] *rubrica in marg. dext.*

261 *Prv* 3:31.

262 Et iterum] *rubrica in marg. dext.*

263 *Prv* 22:24–25.

264 Et iterum] *rubrica in marg. dext.*

265 *Prv* 10:12.

266 Et iterum] *rubrica in marg. dext.*

267 os suum] *cum aliquibus codd.; ostium Vg.*

268 *Prv* 17:19.

269 Et iterum] *rubrica in marg. dext.*

270 in via] *non in Vg.*

271 *Prv* 10:26.

272 Et iterum] *rubrica in marg. dext.*

273 *Prv* 12:1.

274 Et iterum] *rubrica in marg. dext.*

275 contristabitur iustus] contristabit iustum *Vg.*

276 *Prv* 12:21.

Et iterum.<sup>277</sup> *Qui ascundit*<sup>278</sup> *scelera sua non dirigitur; qui autem*<sup>279</sup> *confessus fuerit et relinquerit*<sup>280</sup> *ea misericordiam consequetur.*<sup>281 282</sup>

*In libro Ihesu filii Syrach.*<sup>283</sup> *Ignem ardentem extinguit aqua, et helimosina resistit peccatis.*<sup>284</sup>

Et iterum.<sup>285</sup> *Alciora te ne quesieris*<sup>286</sup>, *et forciora te ne scrutatus fueris*<sup>287</sup>, *sed que precepit tibi Deus illa cogita semper.*<sup>288</sup>

Et iterum.<sup>289</sup> *Noli fenerari*<sup>290</sup> *homini forciori te, quod si feneraveris quasi*<sup>291</sup> *perditum habe.*<sup>292</sup>

Et iterum.<sup>293</sup> *De ea re*<sup>294</sup> *que te non molestat ne certeris.*<sup>295</sup>

Et iterum.<sup>296</sup> *Ante mortem non*<sup>297</sup> *laudes hominem quemquam, quoniam in*<sup>298</sup> *filiis suis agnoscitur vir.*<sup>299</sup>

Et iterum.<sup>300</sup> *Os prudentis queritur in ecclesia, et verba illius cogitabunt in cordibus suis.*<sup>301</sup>

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277 Et iterum] *rubrica in marg. dext.*

278 ascundit] *sc. abscondit.*

279 autem] *cum aliquibus codd., non in Vg.*

280 relinquerit] *sc. reliquerit.*

281 ea ... consequetur] *supra lin.*

282 *Prv 28:13.*

283 *In libro Ihesu filii Syrach] rubrica in marg. dext.*

284 *Sir 3:33.*

285 Et iterum] *rubrica in marg. dext.*

286 quesieris] *cum aliquibus codd. scrutaveris Vg.*

287 scrutatus fueris] *cum aliquibus codd. exquisieris Vg.*

288 *Sir 3:22.*

289 Et iterum] *rubrica in marg. dext.*

290 fenerari] *cum aliquibus codd. fenerare Vg.*

291 quasi] *cum aliquibus codd. tamquam Vg.*

292 *Sir 8:15.*

293 Et iterum] *rubrica in marg. dext.*

294 ea re] *cum aliquibus codd. re ea Vg.*

295 *Sir 11:9.*

296 Et iterum] *rubrica in marg. dext.*

297 non] *cum aliquibus codd. ne Vg.*

298 in] *supra lin.*

299 *Sir 11:30.*

300 Et iterum] *rubrica in marg. dext.*

301 *Sir 21:20.*

Et iterum.<sup>302</sup> *Multos enim occidit tristitia, et non est*<sup>303</sup> *utilitas in illa.*<sup>304</sup>

Ecclesiastes.<sup>305</sup> *Si quid vovisti Deo ne moreris reddere, displicet enim ei infidelis et stulta promissio.*<sup>306 307</sup>

*Cum sancto sanctus eris, et cum viro innocente innocens eris. Et cum electo electus eris, et cum perverso perverteris.*<sup>308 309</sup>

## Commentary

The compilation from Old Testament wisdom books published above, most likely the work of scribe B himself, is no haphazard muddle of citations. The selection is manifestly based on careful reading and an interest in specific topics, often sought for in different biblical books or different parts of a book, such as fear of God (*Sir* 1:27–28; *Sir* 1:36; *Sir* 19:21; etc.); wisdom (*Sap* 10:21; *Prv* 13:20; etc.); stupidity (*Sir* 6:2; *Sir* 22:14; *Ecl* 1:15; *Ecl* 10:3; etc.); verbiage and speaking in an inappropriate way, at an inappropriate time or to an inappropriate audience (*Sir* 20:8; *Prv* 10:19; *Prv* 13:3; *Sir* 5:14; *Sir* 11:8; *Prv* 18:13; *Sir* 32:6; *Prv* 23:9; etc.); moderate speech (*Sir* 6:5; *Prv* 15:1); wise and just vs. wrong government (*Sir* 10:2; *Sir* 10:3; *Prv* 29:4); rebuking one's neighbor (*Sir* 11:7 and *Sir* 19:17–18); mildness and modesty (*Sir* 3:19; *Prv* 11:2; *Prv* 16:19; etc.); pride (*Sir* 10:7; *Sir* 10:15; *Sir* 13:1; *Prv* 13:10; etc.); quarrels and quarrelsomeness (*Prv* 13:10; *Prv* 21:19; *Prv* 3:30; *Prv* 17:19; etc.); hypocrisy (*Sir* 1:37); filial respect (*Sir* 3:12; *Sir* 3:14–15; *Prv* 10:1; etc.); deliberation (*Prv* 13:10; *Prv* 13:16; *Sir* 32:24; etc.); warning against being unjust (*Prv* 3:30; *Prv* 17:13) or too credulous towards friends and relatives (*Sir* 19:8; *Sir* 33:20); curing from disease (*Sir* 38:9); the fleetingness of riches (*Ecl* 5:9); the superiority of wisdom, justice, peace and good name over riches (*Prv* 17:16; *Prv* 17:1; *Prv* 16:8; *Ecl* 4:6; *Prv* 22:1); consolation from justice (*Prv* 12:21); almsgiving as protection against sin (*Sir* 3:33); non-interference in others' disputes (*Sir* 11:9); the obligation to keep one's promise (*Sir* 18:23; *Ecl* 5:3); and warning aga-

<sup>302</sup> Et iterum] *rubrica in marg. dext.*

<sup>303</sup> est] *supra lin.*

<sup>304</sup> *Sir* 30:25.

<sup>305</sup> Ecclesiastes] *rubrica in marg. dext.*

<sup>306</sup> promissio] *subtus lin.*

<sup>307</sup> *Ecl* 5:3.

<sup>308</sup> cum perverso perverteris] *cum aliquibus codd. et cum II Sm 22:27, non in Vg.*

<sup>309</sup> Cum sancto ... perverteris] *in marg. inf.; Ps 17:26–27, cf. II Sm 22:26–27.*

inst adultery and gazing lustfully at women (*Sir* 9:5; *Sir* 9:12; *Sir* 25:28); followed by citations warning against women in general as a source of sin and evil (*Sir* 25:26; *Sir* 25:33).

This compilation has passed almost unnoticed in modern scholarship on Catharism. In fact, it is hardly mentioned. As far as I know, the only summary given is that it concerns morals (Dondaine 1939: 13).<sup>310</sup> I would argue, however, that despite the fact that this collection of quotes is clearly less original than the main works in the manuscript, overlooking it is detrimental not only to the understanding of the Florence codex but also to the understanding of mid-thirteenth-century Lombard Catharism. What is most striking about this sapiential compilation is not the affirmative attitude towards the Old Testament<sup>311</sup> but the fact that although scribe B was manifestly a Cathar, his interest in the most standard sapiential topics finds no parallel in the large corpus of Catholic sources on Catharism or other extant Cathar texts. There are certainly many citations from the Old Testament sapiential books in the preceding treatises of the *Liber de duobus principiis* and it might well have been the *Liber* that first attracted this scribe's attention to wisdom literature; however, the use he makes of it is quite different. In the *Liber*, citations from sapiential literature are used as a tool to deliberate over creation, God, and theodicy, while in this compilation, scribe B is clearly interested in their immediate moral meaning. A dualistic and deterministic worldview is not of concern here.

Even searching for parallels concerning specific topics yields meagre results. If we leave aside the general warning against lust, only the topic of vain talk seems to have a distinctive analogy in sources relating to Catharism: it is mentioned in the *Lyon Ritual* as a part of the collective confession

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<sup>310</sup> Thouzellier (1973) is even less informative on this matter.

<sup>311</sup> Many Cathars maintained a negative attitude towards the Old Testament in general, but not all. Raniero Sacconi reports in his *Summa de catharis* that in the 1230s, the *Albanenses* divided into two factions, the "old" ones, followers of Belesmanza, and the "young" ones, followers of John of Lugio, Šanjek (1974: 50–51), to whom the author of the *Liber* and probably also scribe B belonged. The "old" ones ascribed the Old Testament to the devil but with many notable exceptions: *Job*, *Psalms*, "*Book of Solomon*" (which might be *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiastes*, or most likely both), *Wisdom*, *Sirach*, *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, *Ezekiel*, *Daniel*, and the twelve Minor prophets, Šanjek (1974: 51–52). John of Lugio, by contrast, accepted the whole Bible, with the important specification that it was written in another world, Šanjek (1974: 56). Sapiential books were definitely more acceptable in the Cathar environment than the Torah and the historical books of the Old Testament: they are mostly later (Hellenistic), are in a way closer to the ethics of New Testament books, and their God is less ambivalent. It is interesting to note that Waldensians too had a certain preference, among all Old Testament books, for wisdom literature; see Brenon (1994: 147–148).

of sins (“[w]ith our tongues we fall into idle words, into vain conversations [...]”).<sup>312</sup> Otherwise, the compilation lacks the focus of Cathar morals as known from other sources, including the *Florence Ritual* transcribed in the same manuscript.<sup>313</sup> The topics of, for instance, almsgiving, filial respect, wise vs. unwise government, and not trusting too much in one’s wife, children, or friends are not only unexpected but even strikingly dissimilar to what we know Cathar religious were taught to observe.

What was the possible purpose of compiling this collection of quotes? It might certainly have been destined for preaching and moral exhortation, just like the collection of biblical quotes in the *Florence Ritual*, providing inspiration for the celebrant’s sermon during the rites. However, I do not believe that such a purpose is particularly likely in the case of this sapiential compilation. There are no clues pointing to preaching, such as connecting texts or gradation. The compilation conveys more the impression of individual deliberation on various problems of life and interpersonal relationships. I am inclined to believe that the purpose was less to constitute a practical tool for preaching than to search for individual edification. Going through authoritative texts and making excerpts on particular topics of interest is a widespread textual practice in which the literate take pleasure, and an integral part of medieval manuscript culture. There is certainly no need to suspect that there is a project of sermon or treatise behind all compilations of biblical quotes. Many of them might have just as well been private tools of reflection.

On this account, however, it is worth noting that this compilation, as idiosyncratic as it might be, has not remained totally private: it has been used by more readers than its redactor alone. The first proof is the citation of *Psalms* 18:26–27 (17:26–27 in the Vulgate numbering) in the lower margin of fol. 53<sup>r</sup>, visibly added here precisely because of its sapiential content, quite congruent with the compilation but written by a thirteenth-century hand different from hands A, B and C. Another subsequent addition by a later, probably fourteenth-century hand supplies a word in one of the citations (fol. 52<sup>v</sup>, line 3). These two additions by two different hands provide an interesting proof of the later use of this part of the manuscript.

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<sup>312</sup> Edition in Harris (2005: § 2.11). The English translation is by Wakefield & Evans (1991: 485). I thank Ylva Hagman for having pointed out this parallel.

<sup>313</sup> Nevertheless, it is not without interest that the exhortation preceding the *consolamentum* in the *Florence Ritual* uses three sapiential quotes on chastity; one of them is from *Wisdom* 6:20, the other two are introduced as citations from an authoritative source (“it is written”), though this source remains – despite several approximate parallels in medieval literature – unidentified. See the edition in Thouzellier (1977: 248). The passage is briefly commented in Shahar (1974: 63–64).



In summary, there is little information about the dissident milieus allowing us putting this collection of quotes into context. Because the text is nothing more than a compilation of biblical quotes, any interpretation thereof will have to remain cautious and will probably not go much beyond a simple statement of the unexpected interests of scribe B, redactor of the Florence manuscript, in quite traditional topics of Old Testament wisdom literature. Still, there are lessons to learn from this compilation. Firstly, it serves as a warning – one among many – against interpreting the cultural formation traditionally called Catharism in an excessively normative way as a dualistic doctrinal system, as Jean Duvernoy (1976: 363, 388) has underlined and many others have paraphrased e.g., Pegg (2001: 183–184); Biget (2002: 46–47). Dissident Christians in mid-thirteenth-century Lombardy were interested in a much broader range of topics than simply dualism, asceticism, soteriology, and criticism of the Catholic Church. Secondly, this compilation, and the Florence codex in general, helps us to avoid the other extreme as well: the view of medieval dissident movements as vague and indistinctive expressions of popular protest comprising virtually no elements of theological learning. This compilation, based on the close reading of Old Testament sapiential literature, indicates a certain theological culture.<sup>314</sup> Some recent authors are probably right in claiming that the importance of theology in dissident milieus has been overstated. Yet, these milieus were by no means void of theological culture and literate textual practices. This modest collection of quotes from Old Testament sapiential literature, whose value has remained, to the best of my knowledge, unnoticed by any historian of medieval religious nonconformism, serves as a discreet reminder of this fact.

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<sup>314</sup> In relation to the so-called *Dublin Ritual*, a similar point is made in Riparelli (2001: 125).

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