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# Dhuoda, Handbook for her Warrior Son *Liber Manualis*

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY  
MARCELLE THIÉBAUX

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## Abbreviations

AS	<i>Acta sanctorum</i> . Brussels, Antwerp: Socii Bollandiani, 1643–1940. Paris, 1863–1925. Rpt. Turnhout: Brépols, 1966–71.
CCCM	Corpus christianorum, continuatio medievalis. Turnhout: Brépols, 1966– .
CCSL	Corpus christianorum, series latina.
CSEL	Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum. Vienna, 1866– .
DACL	<i>Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie</i> . Paris, 1903–53.
DS	<i>Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique, doctrine et histoire</i> . Paris: Beauchesnes, 1937– .
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Hanover, Berlin, Munich, 1826– .
MGH AA	MGH, Auctores antiquissimi.
MGH PLAC	MGH, Poetae latini aevi carolini.
MGH SRG	MGH, Scriptores rerum germanicarum in usum scholarium. .
MGH SRM	MGH, Scriptores rerum merovingicarum.
PL	<i>Patrologia latina. Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina</i> . Jacques-Paul Migne, ed. Paris, 1841–64. Rpt. Turnhout: Brépols.
RB	<i>Revue Bénédictine</i> . Abbaye de Maredsous, 1884– .
SC	Sources chrétiennes. Paris; Editions du Cerf.

# Introduction

## **Dhuoda of Uzès and the *Liber Manualis***

On November 30, 841, the Duchess Dhuoda began a long letter to her son, William. It was the day after William's fifteenth birthday. This was an artful letter, in which Dhuoda embellished motherly moral advice with acrostics and verses, fanciful etymologies, grammatical gaming, and numerologies to capture and hold the reader. Dhuoda was not only playful. Her many tender utterances of anxiety show that she wrote out of fear as well as love. William, a young warrior far from home, was at risk. His father, Bernard, a defector from his own feudal oath and a controversial figure ("tyrant," "adulterer," "swine," were his enemies' epithets) had handed over his son five months earlier at the Battle of Fontenoy as a gesture of appeasement.

Bernard ordered William to swear fealty to the youthful king Charles, that grandson of Charlemagne's known to history as Charles the Bald, the future emperor. At the time of Fontenoy, William was fourteen while the king had just reached eighteen. As it turned out, Dhuoda's alarms for her son were justified. In seven years William would revolt against his kinsman Charles and eventually be slain.

Dhuoda lived in a period marked by strife, as the grandsons of Charlemagne disputed among themselves over their shares of the kingdom. Dissatisfied with the outcome of the *Divisio Regni* of 831, which had provided Charles with his own lands, Charles's elder half-brothers (Lothar, Pippin, and Louis) had rebelled against their parents, Louis the Pious – dead since June 840 – and his comely second wife, Judith. Forcibly, through temporarily, Louis's elder sons separated, confined, and publicly humiliated their imperial parents. Dhuoda writes, "Land of our fathers, our realm is in turmoil."

While the ruling family's discords wrecked the peace, marauders battered at the edges of the empire. In May of 841, soon after the birth of Dhuoda's second son, the Viking chief Oskar sailed up the Seine and plundered Rouen, killing, enslaving, taking ransoms. The next spring, Northmen raided the market city of Quentovic. They slaughtered



citizens, leaving intact only the houses for which they extorted payment. Bretons and disaffected Franks joined them. Closer to Dhuoda's home, the Muslim leader Musa crossed the Pyrenees to pillage in Septimania. Moorish pirates sailed up the Rhône toward Arles, just south of Uzès, ransacked the region and made off unhindered, their boats laden.<sup>1</sup> During the unrest, court and monastic scholars wrote prodigiously of the sacred obligations of kings; they advised secular nobles of their Christian duties; they designed religious educational programs for the laity, hoping to restore the state to virtuous peace through prayers, fasts, and liturgical reforms.

Dhuoda's book belongs to this religious intellectual movement, while keeping silence on William's role as a potential combatant. The profession of arms and bloodshed defining the Carolingian noble<sup>2</sup> gives way in Dhuoda's rhetoric to contests that engage the Christian soul – hers and William's. She admits she's slothful about praying (2.3),<sup>3</sup> delinquent when it comes to reciting the holy office (10.4). All the same, she gives William rules for his salvation, such pious counsels as would also lead him to serve the Christian community through alms and orisons. Hers is an agenda of religious and secular conduct founded chiefly in Scripture and the writings of the Church Fathers, with maternal solicitude to guide him. She urges him to avoid prostitutes (4.6) and to keep chaste for his marriage, at which time he will have his own house to oversee (3.4, 10.3). She wants him to labor toward redemption without sacrificing the world.

Dhuoda's moral directives are practical. She advises William on survival in a shaky society and cautiously assures him of eventual material prosperity – if he plays by the rules. Earthly goods, possessions tied to lands and titles, are blessings; territorial interests must be guarded, inheritances prayed for. First the youth will have to make his way in the male league of the imperial court. Dhuoda imagines him not in the fray of battle but absorbed in civilized pursuits – moving in great houses, in the king's hall and chambers where he may offer counsel, sitting in courts of judgment, conversing and dining with powerful men. She sees him rise in the morning with prayer on his lips, dispensing charity to pilgrims, widows and orphans, praying

<sup>1</sup> See *The Annals of St.-Bertin*, ed. and tr. Janet L. Nelson. (Manchester University Press, 1991), for the years 841, 842, 843.

<sup>2</sup> Georges Duby, "Les 'jeunes' dans la société aristocratique," in *Hommes et structures du moyen âge: Recueil d'articles*, pp. 213–225 (Paris, The Hague: Mouton, 1973) remarks on the violent tenor of life and the high death rate of the young in hunting, military exercises, and warfare.

<sup>3</sup> Book 2, chapter 3. References hereafter to Dhuoda's text will be abbreviated this way.

communally in church, collecting a library, and reading a great deal, both alone and with friends.

William's necessary deference to great men at the royal court and men of the church, like the homage rendered to his overlord Charles the Bald, all follow from his filial obligation – the fear and love he owes his father – which in turn originate in reverence due to God. The fact that his father is in trouble as Dhuoda writes imparts an edge to her warnings. Dhuoda utters heartfelt appeals to William to support his father, to love, fear and cherish Bernard (3.2), to plead for his fruitful penance (8.7), to recite the psalms for him (11.1), and to beg all ranks of the clergy to pray for him so he may live in "peace and concord with other people – if this is possible!" (8.7) If there is one persistent emphasis, it is the yearning that emanates from the mother to preserve the family, widely scattered and threatened now, some of its members maimed or brutally slain in recent years. Dhuoda writes in response to historic events that crowd in on her and her husband and children. Knitted into the fabric of the text is the mother's desire to create a living document of her close kin, as an entity bound up in its own history, its estates, titles and names and dignity. Her dynastic hopes devolve upon William. She frankly looks forward to grandchildren (3.3); the wish for offspring and the family's continuation emerges from scriptural imagery – children clustering around the table like olive plants (4.8), progeny numerous as the stars (3.3).

While Dhuoda's book is a mirror of advice resembling those guidebooks for princes and nobles in vogue among her contemporaries, hers is distinguished by the emotional intimacy of the maternal viewpoint. Her support of the patriarchy is unimpeachable; yet with all her humble protestations, she expresses a vigorous subtext of maternal authority. A mother is unique, Dhuoda insists. However erudite her son's teachers, they do not have "a heart more ardent than I, your mother, have for you, my firstborn son" (1.7). To God she declares, "He will have no one else like me – yes, he's mine – though I am unworthy!" (Verse inscription).

The power of mothers is evident in her hagiographical exempla. It is to the mothers of two martyred saints – Symphorian and Celsus – that she gives credit for their illustrious children.<sup>4</sup> Like those early

<sup>4</sup> Echoes of the life of St. Symphorian of Autun and his mother Augusta are found in 1.7 and 7.3, while St. Celsus's mother is named in 7.3. Dhuoda's only other saints are Peter and Paul, perhaps a local allusion to the apostles whose church had stood in Uzès since the fifth century. Christ's mother Mary is named only once (11.2) at the end of the book to mark the date, the Feast of the Purification.

Christian women, Dhuoda encourages her offspring, her much-desired firstborn, her beloved child as she often calls him, naming him and underscoring his immaturity. Medieval youths may have had to grow up quickly, but to his mother William is a mere boy, vulnerable and beautiful. Metaphors are alimentary: William must have food that is easy to swallow, palatably sweetened, suitable to his tender years (10.1). "You are not yet able to take solid nourishment, but must still sip milk. . . . I have given you milk to drink instead of solid food, since you too are a little one in Christ" (6.1). One day he may ascend to the heavenly banquet (6.1). But for now her counsels will nourish him like a "sweet brew with honeycomb mixed" (10.1). If he were twenty years older he could accept more adult fare, but he is only a lad of sixteen, as she reminds him towards the end of the book she is still writing in 843.

### The Contents of the *Liber Manualis*<sup>5</sup>

Dhuoda sets forth an array of preliminaries: an opening that declares her purpose and explains the title (The text begins / *Incipit textus*); a brief personal salutation (The book begins / *Incipit liber*); verses that amplify the salutation (Verse inscription / *Epigrama*); a prologue (The prologue begins / *Incipit prologus*) that generically identifies the work as a "mirror"; a preface (Preface / *Praefatio*) giving family data; and a table of chapters (The chapters begin *Incipiunt capitula*), several of which do not precisely match the headings in the book.

Book 1 discourses on the love of God, his sublimity, and the need to seek him out, as it unfolds numerological correspondences. Again, the book is a mirror.

Book 2 opens with an account of the Trinity (in which a fourth mirror figure occurs) and the three theological virtues of faith, hope, and charity. Prayer takes up the rest of the book, with instruction on when and how to pray, and on making the sign of the Cross.

Book 3 is of central importance in linking filial to feudal reverence,

<sup>5</sup> I adopt Pierre Riché's editorial practice of dividing the *Liber Manualis* into eleven "books." These comprise Dhuoda's 73 chapters (with some divergences among the three manuscripts), her added section on the Psalms, and her Epilogue. Riché's table of correspondences among printed editions and mss. may be consulted on pp. 55-59 of his edition. Briefly, his divisions are as follows: Book 1 (mss. chs. 1-7); Book 2 (mss. chs. 8-11); Book 3 (mss. chs. 12-22); Book 4 (mss. chs. 23-30/31); Book 5 (mss. chs. 31/32-38/40); Book 6 (mss. chs. 38-42/43); Book 7 (mss. chs. 43-46/47); Book 8 (mss. chs. 47/48-62/63); Book 9 (mss. chs. 63/64-67/68); Book 10 (mss. chs. 68-72/73); Book 11 (résumé of Psalms).

backed by Scriptural examples. Isaac's obedience and Absalom's disobedience are contrasted. The love of God precedes all else; from it flows reverence for the biological father. Dhuoda specifies the veneration owed Bernard, and implicitly, William's need to protect his father loyally. The argument shifts to the practical matter of counsel. If William can make himself indispensable to his lord as a reliable counselor, he will assure his position by winning Charles's confidence. Once his career has advanced, he will be able to bestow preferment on trustworthy followers of his own.<sup>6</sup> He should press his advantage, respect men in power, attach himself to the most forceful men of rank (*optimates*). Discharging the duty of counsel means choosing the opportune moment as a goldsmith chooses the season for applying costly enamels and the precious metal to his handiwork. The sumptuary image is not an accident.

Book 4 discourses on vices and virtues, as contemporary manuals do. The seven gifts of the Holy Spirit and the eight beatitudes<sup>7</sup> are introduced as Dhuoda descants once again, briefly, on numerology and the number fifteen.

Book 5 lists the tribulations that beset humans -- sadness, false riches, persecutions, temptations, need, suffering, danger, sickness -- none of which must hinder William from glorifying God.

Book 6 again invokes a numerological design for the fifteen stages to perfection, the sum of the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, and the eight beatitudes.

Book 7 introduces the Augustinian idea of the double birth (carnal and spiritual) and the double death (temporal and eternal), with emphasis on maternal roles.

Book 8 again takes up prayer, now summoning the numbers of those for whom William must pray: clergy and kings, his overlord,

<sup>6</sup> François Ganshof (*Feudalism*, tr. Philip Grierson. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996) points out the desirability of vassalage (it having transcended the mental connotations of earlier times) under Charlemagne and his successors. The proportion of vassals to free men increased throughout the ninth century. From Louis the Pious onwards, "magnates, who were generally invested with political offices, had a natural interest in building up their own bodies of vassals in order to increase their military power and sell their support to one or another of the political factions at the highest possible price" (pp. 21-23). Dhuoda wants William to benefit from the system.

<sup>7</sup> The gifts of the Holy Spirit represent various scales of the virtuous life; connected to the beatitudes they are scattered throughout the Hebrew and Christian Bibles, e.g. Isaiah 11.2-3; 1 Corinthians 12; Galatians 5.22-23. The principal lists are in Matthew (Sermon on the Mount) 5.3-11 and Luke (Sermon on the Plain) 6.20-22, where they betoken steps to perfection. And cf. Augustine's *De sermone domini in monte secundum Matthaeum* (PL 34: 1229-1308).

and his father; the souls of departed family members (several tortured or executed by the reigning house); and notably Tedderic, his god-father, uncle, spiritual and material benefactor. There are directives for praying for the souls of the unworthy, perhaps a subtle allusion to Bernard's enemies.

Book 9 embarks on a fuller numerological discussion involving the significance of the four letters of ADAM and the fifteen benedictions.

Book 10 summarizes. It begins and ends with lyric poems: opening verses play on William's age, while acrostics based on his name review his mother's counsels; the closure incorporates Dhuoda's name acrostically in her epitaph. Within this lyric frame, the book recalls William to his duty to pray for family members, both Dhuoda herself and the souls of deceased forebears, by name.

Book 11 returns as an afterword, with directives abbreviated from a current treatise on reciting the Psalms.

### Dhuoda and her family

What do we know of Dhuoda? She tells of her marriage to Bernard on June 29, 824 at the palace at Aachen<sup>8</sup> while Louis the Pious, Charlemagne's son, was still emperor. Dhuoda must have beheld the year-old infant Charles, to whom as an adolescent her son would one day be compelled to pay homage. And she must have known Charles's mother, the Empress Judith, whose reputation would figure so conspicuously with Bernard's when the two were later denounced for adultery. Dhuoda's position as she writes has her settled in southern France, where she is charged to oversee the defense of the border. This is a feudal duty to her husband, who was *marchio*, or frontier guard, of the region.

In her first poem, even before recording her marriage, Dhuoda calls herself mother of two male children (*genitrix duorum masculini sexus* [Verse inscription, line 84]). The Preface logs in the births of her sons, as if to establish their legitimacy and distinguished lineage – like that of the king, their kinsman, whose birthdate would also become

<sup>8</sup> In Dhuoda's time the nuptial process, after the bride had been petitioned for, comprised four stages: betrothal, dotation, *deductio* (the man's leading forth of the bride, with public nuptials and priestly benediction), and consummation. Much evidence comes from Hincmar of Reims. For references to his and others' writings on the subject (e.g. codes, cartularies, Hincmar's letters and his *De divortio Lotharii et Tetburgae*), see Philip Lyndon Reynolds, *Marriage in the Western Church: The Christianization of Marriage During the Patristic and Early Medieval Periods* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), esp. "Marrying in the Frankish Church," pp. 386–412, 392. The church increasingly involved itself, displacing more lenient Germanic custom.

record.<sup>9</sup> The precision of Dhuoda's family dating is unusual for so personal a document. Seemingly she wished to raise it above a merely private record and place it on a par with the official chronicles, histories, and imperial biographies of her day. William was born on November 29, 826, though his birthplace is not given. Dhuoda specifies that her second child's birth took place in Uzès on March 22, 841. This son is only eight months old as Dhuoda begins her letter. His father, with the aid of the Bishop Elefantus of Uzès, has already carried away the unbaptized infant to Aquitaine. His mother grieves at not knowing his name, though he would later be called Bernard for his father. A third child, a daughter, may have been born to Dhuoda and Bernard in 844 or 845. An eleventh-century chronicler of the Carolingians, the monk Ademar of Chabannes, noted that the sister of William of Toulouse wedded Vulgrimnus, count of Poitiers and Angoulême.<sup>10</sup>

Dhuoda's children were descended from "royal race," and she is emphatic about the excellence of the family's names and blood. William is *nobilis puer* (4.7, 11.2), *fil[ius] in sanguine nobil[is]* (4.8), *nobilis nat[us]* (10.2). It has been remarked that Dhuoda gives more attention to Bernard's family than her own. While her own background remains obscure, Bernard's nobility was documented.<sup>11</sup> More-

<sup>9</sup> Saints' days were recorded in the early Middle Ages, but not lay birthdays. "It was Charles himself, reviving the practice of Christian Roman emperors, who arranged for the annual commemoration of his 'nativity in this world on 13 June' at a number of ecclesiastical centres" (Janet L. Nelson, *Charles the Bald* [London: Longman, 1992], p. 75).

<sup>10</sup> Jules Chavanon, ed., *Ademar, Chronique publiée d'après les manuscrits* (Paris: Alphonse Picard, 1897), p. 137. Ademar (990–1034) writes that Vulgrimnus was often sent to Aquitaine by Charles the Bald, and was already elderly (*senex*) when he received his honors. He died on May 3, 886. Léon Levillain ("Les Nibelungen historiques et leurs alliances de famille," *Annales du Midi* 50 [1930]: 19) supports the identification of this William as Dhuoda's son. Richard Landes (*Relics, Apocalypse and the Deceits of History: Ademar of Chabannes (989–1034)* [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995], p. 78 and n. 7) identifies Vulgrimnus as the nephew of Charlemagne's first wife, Hildegard, and a forebear of Ademar himself.

<sup>11</sup> Thegan writes of Bernard of Septimania – "qui erat de stirpe regali" – in the context of his alleged adultery with Judith (*Thegan Vita Hludowici Imperatoris*. Reinhold Rau, ed. and tr., *Quellen zur karolingischen Reichsgeschichte, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt*. 3 vols. Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1955–1960. Vol. 1: ch. 36: p. 236). Bernard's "royal" stock is accounted for as follows: his grandparents were Tedderic (Theoderic, Thierry) and Alda (Aude). This Tedderic, a count of the Ripuarian Franks west of the Rhine, is identified as Charlemagne's kinsman, a commander sent to put down a Saxon revolt in 782 (*Royal Frankish Annals*, rev. for 782; see Bernhard Scholz and Barbara Rogers, ed. and tr., *Carolingian Chronicles* [Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1970], p. 60). Tedderic was *propinquus* – related by blood or alliance – to Charlemagne through Charlemagne's mother Bertrada (Régine Le Jan, *Famille et*

over, it is Bernard and his family whose fortunes are gravely at stake (or else who have been brutally dealt with), and whose plight the *Liber Manualis* carefully addresses. Dhuoda herself is already monumentally present throughout her work as the family's matriarchal focus. About her situation she is far from reticent.

Her name is Germanic,<sup>12</sup> seen in northern Francia in forms like "Duda," "Tota," "Thuoda," and "Doda" – this last the name of a concubine of Lothar's in the *Annals of St. Bertin* for 853. Similar names appear in sixth-century Worms, seventh-century Orleans, and ninth-century Nantes.<sup>13</sup> The historian Flodoard names a "beata Doda".<sup>14</sup> If the author's origins were northern Frankish, her parents were perhaps the Guarnarius and Rothlindis of Luxembourg<sup>15</sup> whom she lists among the deceased kin for whom her son should pray. But Dhuoda could have come from the south (a Catalan charter names a Doda); or she might have descended from the Visigothic nobility of Septimania, formerly Gothia and still so called in her time.<sup>16</sup> Her relatives, Dhuoda assures William, have always been people of greatness in the world ("qui fuerunt in saeculo quasi potentes," 1.5). To guess at her age: if at her marriage Dhuoda were fifteen to twenty

*pouvoir dans le monde franc (VIIe - Xe siècle* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1995): p. 44 and nn. 83–84). Joseph Calmette ("La famille de Saint Guilhem," *Annales du Midi* 18 [1906]: 146) had claimed that Alda was a daughter of Charles Martel and sister to Pippin III, a view rejected by Le Jan (citing Eduard Hlawitschka, *Karl der Grosse* [Düsseldorf, 1965], vol. 1, *Die Vorfahren Karls des Grossen*, p. 76).

<sup>12</sup> As was her mother tongue, according to Peter Dronke, *Women Writers of the Middle Ages*, pp. 37, 43, and 291 n. 21., citing the view of Wilhelm Meyer (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur mittellateinischen Rhythmik* [3 vols., Berlin, 1905–1936], 3.72–85) that Dhuoda was among those ninth-century poets whose Latin verses reflect the rhythms of early Germanic verse.

<sup>13</sup> Riché (Introduction to *Liber Manualis*, pp. 22–23) gathers examples of the name in its several forms. Bondurand had located a nobleman, Dadila, whose daughter was Dadane – showing that the *-ne* of "Dhudane" (in the acrostics of the *Liber Manualis*) need not have suffix force; it could be a variant of her name. See also Joachim Wollasch, "Eine adlige Familie des frühen Mittelalters: Ihr Selbstverständnis und ihre Wirklichkeit," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 39 (1957): 150–88, especially pp. 183–84.

<sup>14</sup> PL 135:313. A tenth-century canon, Flodoard had access to archives and to the summarized letters of Hincmar for his history of the church at Reims.

<sup>15</sup> Theirs are the only names not of Bernard's kindred (10.5). They appear in a charter of 751 for an abbey in Luxembourg. J. Depoin, *Etude sur le Luxembourg à l'époque carolingienne*, vol. 1: *Le domaine de Mersch et ses possessions* (Luxembourg, 1907), p. 77. Cited in Riché, *Liber Manualis*, p. 23.

<sup>16</sup> Dhuoda's being entrusted with protecting the Spanish frontier could argue for someone familiar with the region, rather than a newcomer from the north. Hints in her text (e.g. 4.8, n. 159 and 5.8 n. 62) may also point to her having grown up in southern France or northern Spain, as the kingdom of Aquitaine had once extended to both sides of the Pyrenees.

years old, she must have been born between 806 and 811. When she began to write in 841, Dhuoda's age would have been from thirty to thirty-five years.

Dhuoda seems isolated in Uzès. Her verse inscription mentions a faithful woman friend ("Est tamen michi consors amica / fidaque"); she feels otherwise bereft of family. She is in poor health (10.4). She can't take pleasure in her children, unlike most women: "My son William, I see myself, Dhuoda, living separated and far away from you. For this reason I am somewhat ill at ease." In addition to reading and writing, she must find money, borrowing from Jews<sup>17</sup> and Christians both, to finance the defense of the Spanish March between France and Spain. She takes up business matters frankly with William, begging him to pay outstanding debts after her death, either out of her estate or his own earnings, which could have meant plunder and tribute in the wars.

As Dhuoda weighed all that she yearned to express to her son, she consulted her books, choosing and copying. Perhaps she paced and gazed from a window of her house in Uzès,<sup>18</sup> for she tells how she wrestles with composition. Writing was a struggle – *agonizatrium* (1.1 and cf. 1.3). The duchess had access to a respectable library, for she says she was able to draw on many texts.<sup>19</sup> She could have owned anthologies, as the noble laity of the ninth century tended to commission *florilegia*, one of these compiled for Dhuoda's father-in-law, St.

<sup>17</sup> Louis the Pious welcomed Jews to settle in the realm: their commercial activities were encouraged and their rights protected despite hostility from the bishops, notably Agobard. See Mark R. Cohen, *Under Crescent and Cross: The Jews in the Middle Ages* (Princeton University Press, 1994), pp. 44 and 230n.; Matthias Neuman, OSB, "Carolingian Monastic Writers and the Ninth-Century Jewish Question," *American Benedictine Review* 42 (1991): 251–81. Bernard S. Bachrach's 1980 study cites the activity of Jews as "soldiers, garrison troops and frontier settlers," supplementing the traditional view of their urban mercantile roles: "On the Role of the Jews in the Establishment of the Spanish March (768–814)," Item V in *Armies and Politics in the Early Medieval West* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1993).

<sup>18</sup> The town of Uzès was the former *castrum Uctellae*, where second-century Christians had gathered in the crypt of the fortified Roman camp. The city became an episcopal see in the fifth century. One of its bishops, St. Ferréol, built the church of Sts. Peter and Paul under King Childebert I.

<sup>19</sup> Dhuoda claims bookish sources throughout. Not all have been found. The present edition has tracked down four of the nineteen Riché lists in his "Citations et allusions non identifiées," p. 385. But Dhuoda may be playing her writer's game of fabrication, to mystify and impress (as Peter Dronke notes, *Verses with Prose from Petronius to Dante: The Art and Scope of the Mixed Form* [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1994], pp. 87–88). On female authors inventing fictitious experts, see Lynn Staley Johnson, "The Trope of the Scribe and the Question of Literary Authority in the Works of Julian of Norwich and Margery Kempe," *Speculum* 66 (1991): 820–38.

Guilhem of Toulouse.<sup>20</sup> Dhuoda borrows from the *Etymologies* and *Synonyms* of Isidore of Seville and from the grammarian Donatus. The Benedictine Rule is among her sources, as are popular prayer-books. She relies often on the *Moralia in Job* (not limited to Job) by Gregory the Great. Her taste for numerology drew her to computing manuals, and to Augustine's *Tractates on the Gospel of John*. She cites Augustine on the "double birth" and "double death," on the connection between the eight beatitudes and the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit. Her sections on the vices and virtues resemble admonitory primers by Alcuin, Ambrosius Autpertus, Paulinus of Aquileia, and Jonas of Orleans.<sup>21</sup>

Dhuoda borrows above all from the Bible. Like most Carolingians she has an affection for the Psalms, and she may have been the "Countess Hoda" for whom the monks Richer and Rathelm composed a commentary on the Psalter.<sup>22</sup> After formally ending the *Liber Manualis*, she belatedly tacks on a copy of Alcuin's preface to a treatise on the Psalms, *De psalmorum usu liber*, seeing it as essential to William's inner life. In her use of the Bible she prefers the Old Testament to the New, relying especially on Genesis, Job, and the Wisdom books. In the New Testament she reveres Paul's Epistles and the Gospel of Matthew. Sometimes her quoting is inexact, as if writing hastily from memory.

She is a writer aware of herself, her aims, her techniques. Opening a chapter on numbers, Dhuoda explains how she has assembled texts from different sources, a method she calls *contextus* (9.1) and which is typical of compilers. Anecdotes and lyrics flavor her warnings. She is a book lover: she writes on how to approach books, on the pleasures and techniques of reading (*legere,olvere, perscrutare*), on how to study chapter heads and how to read an acrostic.

Dhuoda's authorial motives must also be understood through the well-documented activities of her husband, Bernard. Our knowledge of

<sup>20</sup> Germain Morin, "L'écrivain carolingien Hemmon et sa collection d'extraits des Pères pour saint Guillaume de Gellone," *Revue Charlemagne* 2 (1912): 116-25.

<sup>21</sup> Riché, "Les bibliothèques de trois aristocrates laïcs carolingiens," *Le Moyen Age* 69 (1963): 87-104.

<sup>22</sup> Henry Stevenson, *Codices Palatini latini Bibliothecae Vaticanae* (Rome, 1886) p. 2, n. 14: *Richeril et Rathelmi monachorum Adnotatio de psalteriis decantatis pro Hodane comitissa*. The identification was first proposed by Ludwig Traube, *Karolingische Dichtungen* (Berlin, 1888). The exact ways and forms in which Dhuoda knew biblical texts is a question not yet settled. She may be citing by way of a Church Father who had made his own translation of a passage, or from a reading in a liturgy she knew best, or from memory. References to her quotations in this edition of the *Liber Manualis* are made to the Vulgate, though Dhuoda's wording may differ.

her deepens as we follow the troubled career of Bernard of Toulouse, Count (*comes*) of Barcelona, and Duke (*dux*)<sup>23</sup> or governor of Septimania,<sup>24</sup> and that of his prominent family. Through her marriage Dhuoda became connected to the ruling magnates of the Carolingian world, men and women whose lives were subsequently retold in history, romance, and other extravagant fictions.

Bernard was both godson to Louis the Pious, and connected through his grandfather to Charlemagne's mother Bertrada.<sup>25</sup> Bernard's father, Guilhem of Toulouse,<sup>26</sup> is named (10.5) among family members deserving prayer. Dhuoda's father-in-law had fought heroically at Barcelona, taking the city from the Muslims during the siege of 802. This triumph fed directly into the formation and spirit of the *chanson de geste*. Before the Barcelona campaign Guilhem had made a strong bid to Louis the Pious for militancy, whereas a certain

<sup>23</sup> On Bernard's hereditary title, François Ganshof (*Frankish Institutions under Charlemagne*, tr. Bryce and Mary Lyon [Providence: Brown University Press, 1968, p. 31]) queries: "Might not *dux* be a title held by a count governing in a frontier zone, a county of vast dimensions, and probably having a certain authority over neighboring counts, at least in military affairs? This is probably why the count of Toulouse . . . William ('Saint Guilhem'), who had to face the Gascons and the Saracens, was given the title *dux*."

<sup>24</sup> Septimania was the region along the southern coast of France between the Rhône and the Pyrenees. The oldest record of the name is in a letter by the Auvergne poet and bishop Sidonius Apollinaris written in 471 (*Poèmes et Lettres*, ed. and tr. André Loyen, 3 vols. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1970. Vol. 2 [Book 3, Letter 1], p. 82). To him Septimania would have meant all of Gothia, or Visigothic Gaul, though under ancient Roman authority it had comprised the seven cities of Narbonne, Béziers, Agde, Carcassonne, Maguelonne, Elne, and Lodève - roughly, Transalpine Gaul. Charlemagne reconquered the territory in 759. Through the *Ordinatio Imperii* of July 817, Septimania became a separate duchy when Louis the Pious apportioned the kingdom among his three elder sons. The region was then still known as Gothia.

<sup>25</sup> See above, n. 11. The close kinships among Bernard, William, and Charles the Bald would continue. Bernard's mother, Vuithburgis, had a sister whose son was Eudes (Odo, d. 834). Eudes and Bernard would have been first cousins (*consobrini*, cousins through the female side), as Joseph Calmette points out ("La famille de Saint Guilhem et l'ascendance de Robert le Fort," *Annales du Midi* 39 [1928]: 225-45, esp. p. 243). Eudes's daughter, Ermentrud (by his wife Engletrud), became the wife of Charles the Bald on December 14, 842. See Jeanne Wathelet-Willem, "La Femme de Rainouart," pp. 1103-18, *Mélanges de langue et de littérature du Moyen Age et de la Renaissance offerts à Jean Frappier*, 2 vols. Geneva: Droz, 1970), vol. 2: 1117. This union took place while Dhuoda was still writing, and would have put her son William in a relationship by marriage to Charles the Bald, for Ermentrud was William's second cousin. And - if the *médians* at court were worthy of credence in saying that Bernard had adulterously fathered Charles - William and Charles the Bald would have been half-brothers!

<sup>26</sup> To distinguish Dhuoda's son William from his grandfather, the latter will here be called Guilhem.

Gascon favored appeasement.<sup>27</sup> Four years later, near the end of his life, Guilhem laid his arms on the altar of the church of St.-Julien-de-Brioude and became a monk of St. Guilhem-du-Désert, the house he founded at Gellone.<sup>28</sup> The fable of his life was already in the making.

An eyewitness, Ardo Smaragdus, remembers Guilhem after his retirement in this engaging vignette:

We have seen him often smiting his mule as he sat astride with a wine cask strapped to the pack-saddle on the animal's shoulders, arriving among the brothers of our monastery at harvest-time to refresh their thirst. . . . In the bake-house, unless some other duty hindered him or he lay sick, he worked the mill with his own hands. He fulfilled his task in the kitchen. Wearing the habit he assumed the appearance of great humility. . . . In the middle of nights drenched with frost and ice, very seldom protected with clothing, he often stood lost in prayer in the oratory which he had built in honor of St. Michael.<sup>29</sup>

After his death in 812 Guilhem became the subject of a saint's life and a legendary hero of epic exploits, subsumed in the largely fictitious cycle of Guillaume d'Orange.<sup>30</sup> But if the *gesta* were originally St.

<sup>27</sup> Ermoldus Nigellus (Ermold le Noir), *Poème sur Louis le Pieux*, ed. Edmond Faral (Paris, 1964), ll. 164–91, pp. 16–21, reports the incident with Guilhem and the Gascon Loup de Sanche (Lupus Santius). The "Roland/Ganelon" style of the confrontation may have fused with a similar squabble at the Roncevaux disaster of 778 and helped shape the fatal altercation that would drive *La Chanson de Roland* three centuries later. The "Astronomer" (*Anonymi Vita Hludowici Imperatoris*, Reinhold Rau, ed. and tr. Quellen zur karolingische Reichsgeschichte. Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt, 3 vols. Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1955–1960, Vol. 1, chs. 5 and 13, pp. 266 and 274) reports Guilhem's speech and action. The Chronicle of Moissac for 803 mentions the expedition. On Guilhem's early career see also Bernard S. Bachrach, "Military Organization in Aquitaine under the Early Carolingians," *Speculum* 49 (1974): 1–33.

<sup>28</sup> Guilhem founded another house, Casanova, near Goudargues in the diocese of Uzès.  
<sup>29</sup> *Vitae compendium ex Vita S. Benedicti Anianensis, scripta ab Ardone discipulo et edita ad diem xii februaril. Acta Sanctorum Mail*, vol. 6, pp. 809–28. The "portrait" of St. Guilhem is on pp. 810–11. Smaragdus was the biographer of the Abbot Benedict of Aniane.

<sup>30</sup> The legend of St. Guilhem, Dhuoda's father-in-law, grew in stages (1) the Carolingian chronicler Ermoldus Nigellus, writing between 826 and 828 (*Poème sur Louis le Pieux*), places him as chief counselor and participant at the siege of Barcelona. ("Duxque Tolosana fatur Vilhelmus ab urbe", and "Parte sua princeps Vilhelm tentoria figit", ll. 172 and 308]; and see the *Poème* ll. 102–223, 302–531, Faral ed., pp. 12–22, 26–43. (2) The Carolingian Astronomer names him as *primus* at Barcelona. (3) Ardo affixes the *Compendium Vitae* (823) to his Life of St. Benedict of Aniane, sister-house to Gellone. (4) The twelfth-century epic cycle which includes the *Chanson de Guillaume* merges his actions with the legendary feats of Guillaume d'Orange, and includes two versions of the comic/heroic *Montiage Guillaume* ("Guillaume as a Monk") depicting him as a hungry, quarrelsome, lovable saint. (5) The *Vita Willhelmi* (1125), a hagiographic revision by the monks of Gellone, tones down this image, adding miracles and the claim that their founder secured them a piece of the Holy Cross. (6) Ordericus Vitalis's *Historia Ecclesiastica* (ca. 1130) praises the

Guilhem's, the embattled personality infusing the epics was that of Dhuoda's husband Bernard.<sup>31</sup>

In its tribulations under Louis the Pious and Charles the Bald, Dhuoda's family gained small benefit from the memory of its illustrious saintly forebear. For a time, Bernard of Septimania's star seemed to rise. He quelled a revolt at the orders of Louis the Pious, and was thereafter summoned to court as tutor to the boy Charles the Bald (a duty his father had performed for the young Louis the Pious). Beginning his career as the trusted scion of St. Guilhem, Bernard eventually brought ruin upon himself and his son William. The causes can be assigned in part to rivalries in the region and at court, and perhaps to Bernard's own temperament and failure of perception. Dhuoda's advice, infiltrated with warnings to exercise worldly caution, owes much to the catastrophic fortunes of her husband.

### Bernard of Septimania

To understand the circumstances leading to the oath of vassalage imposed upon Dhuoda's son William, and her need to write the *Liber Manualis*, it is worth detailing a few of the more glaring incidents of Bernard's rise and fall.<sup>32</sup> Often away from Dhuoda on the emperor's business, he excelled militarily, for a time, but he moved others to such rancor and such acts of vengeance that his family would suffer for years to come. By the time Dhuoda began her letter, evils had already rained down on them.

In 827, three years after Bernard and Dhuoda were married and when William was a year old, the Emperor Louis the Pious sent Bernard to put down an uprising near the Spanish March. The revolt

warrior-saint, fully accepting him now as "Guillaume d'Orange". (7) The romance writer Wolfram von Eschenbach celebrates him in *Willehalm*. (8) Dante lodges him in the heaven of crusading warriors (*Paradiso* xviii.46). See also Joan Ferrante, tr. *Guillaume d'Orange: Four Twelfth-Century Epics* (Columbia University Press, 1974).

St. Guilhem's parents were Tedderic and Alda (see above, n. 11). Guilhem's countship was non-hereditary, for he received the benefice of Toulouse in 790 when Corso of Toulouse was stripped of his fief by Charlemagne (Astronomer, ch. 5).

<sup>31</sup> René Louis judged that the developed portrait of the warrior St. Guilhem derives at least in part from his descendants, and especially from the struggles of his son, Bernard of Septimania, against Louis and Pious and Charles the Bald. René Louis, "L'épopée française est carolingienne," in *Coloquios de Roncesvalles* (Saragossa, 1956), pp. 327–460, especially ch. 4: "Que le Guillaume épique a pris, dans la poésie populaire, ses traits caractéristiques dès le neuvième siècle, au temps de son fils Bernart de Septimanie."

<sup>32</sup> Many of the contemporary documents on Bernard are noted in the doctoral thesis of Joseph Calmette, *De Bernardo Sancti Guillelmi filio: (?-844)* (Toulouse: Privat, 1902).



was fomented by a certain Aizo, who left Aachen to rally supporters, including the emir of Cordova, Abd-ar-Rahman II. Bernard fought competently against Aizo and his men, who had been pillaging in the counties of Cerdaña and Vallés. When an army from Cordova arrived to assault Bernard afresh, the Emperor Louis ordered his son, Pippin of Aquitaine, to send an army, telling him to guard his own frontiers.

These Aquitainian troops, headed by two magnates, Hugh of Tours (Lothar's father-in-law) and Matfrid of Orléans, dawdled, seemingly in hopes that Bernard might fall to the Arabs. Their delay enabled the emir's forces to burn villages around Barcelona and Gerona and to withdraw with few losses. Just before these events, hideous portents blazed blood-red and fiery in the night sky.

The aftermath of the mishap brought about a hearing and trial at Aachen. For their negligence Counts Matfrid and Hugh were stripped of their honors, while Matfrid's titles and holdings at Orléans passed to Eudes (Odo), Bernard's cousin.<sup>33</sup>

Bernard, ever more enterprising, continued to advance in imperial favor until the catastrophes of Easter 830. In August of 829 he had taken up his assignment to mentor the six-year-old Charles. Louis the Pious also appointed Bernard to the court post of chamberlain (*camera-rius*), a promotion that made Dhuoda's husband second to the emperor in the realm.<sup>34</sup> The chamberlain had charge (under the queen's direction) of household living arrangements and of the royal treasury, into which were deposited coined money, precious metals for minting, books, tapestries, and gifts brought by foreign visitors.<sup>35</sup> Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, who would later outline the duties of palace functionaries, stressed the chamberlain's necessary teamwork

<sup>33</sup> "Honors" included the three senses of "office and lands and status. . . . Honor has a crucial sociological dimension." Janet L. Nelson, "The Intellectual in Politics," in Lesley Smith and Benedicte Ward, eds., *Intellectual Life in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Margaret Gibson* (London: Hambledon Press, 1992), pp. 1-14, p. 7 and n. 36. And see the several discussions, *passim*, in Le Jan, *Famille et pouvoir*, regarding distinctions between church and civil honors, services, titles, control over territory, and the accumulation, transmission and/or loss of honors.

<sup>34</sup> The historian Nithard (Philippe Lauer, ed. and tr., *Nithard, Histoire des fils de Louis le Pieux*, Paris, 1964): "secundum a se in imperio" (1.3), pp. 10-11. Bernard and Nithard were blood relations: Nithard was Charlemagne's illegitimate son and half-brother to Louis the Pious; Bernard was a kinsman of Charlemagne's (cf. n. 11 above). On Nithard see Janet L. Nelson, "Public Histories and Private History in the Work of Nithard," *Speculum* 60 (April 1985): 251-93.

<sup>35</sup> Ganshof, *Frankish Institutions under Charlemagne*, pp. 19 and 45 and notes pp. 114 and 142. Under Louis the Pious and his successors, the chamberlain's office developed in importance.

with the Emperor's wife.<sup>36</sup> In Bernard's case, this was the Empress Judith.

Bernard's propinquity to Judith, Louis's attractive and well-educated second wife, hastened his undoing. Flushed as he was with his recent military successes in the south, he may have proved out of his depth at court. A war hero, he perhaps lacked a courtier's finesse, underestimating the dangers of his position. Did he really, unwisely, exceed his office by making love to the Empress Judith? Or did jealous rivals seize upon the pair's official collaboration with lying slurs, especially since Bernard was also authorized to protect the interests of Judith's six-year-old son, the future Charles the Bald, against his envious siblings?<sup>37</sup>

The competition among the older brothers - Lothar, Pippin, and Louis - and their anger against their parent form an important background to the writing of Dhuoda's *Liber Manualis*. Her book itself reflects their problems, giving accounts (3.1 and 3.7) of biblical sacrilege, with sons and fathers locked in strife. Early in his reign Louis the Pious had, with the *Ordinatio Imperii* of 817, hoped to preserve a unified Christian realm by solemnly assigning its administration and frontier defenses to his three eldest sons. Lothar at twenty-two became ruler of the vast "middle kingdom"; as co-emperor with his father, Lothar also had charge of his younger brothers. Pippin, aged twenty, was made king of Aquitaine, and Louis ("the German") became the eleven-year-old king of Bavaria. The birth of Charles in 823 to Louis the Pious's new wife created a disruption, for territories now had to be carved out for her son. It was the decision to include Charles in the redivision of the realm that provoked the revolt of 830.

Bernard was caught up in the family fray. The authority granted him, and perhaps his personal style, joined to whatever bond formed between him and Judith, gave annoyance to his enemies, who accused

<sup>36</sup> "The good management of the palace, and especially the royal dignity, as well as the gifts given annually to the officers (excepting, however, the food and water for the horses) pertained especially to the queen and under her to the chamberlain. . . . They always took care at an appropriate time to prepare for future events, lest something should be lacking at the time it was needed. The gifts given to the various legations were under the chamberlain's supervision, unless the matter was one which, by the king's command, was appropriate for the queen to handle together with the chamberlain." Hincmar was writing in 881. *De ordine palatii*, ed. T. Gross and R. Schieffler, MGH Fontes (Hanover, 1980); tr. David Herlihy, "On the Governance of the Palace," pp. 208-27, in *The History of Feudalism* (New York, 1970), p. 219.

<sup>37</sup> Nithard (*Histoire*, 1.3, pp. 10-11) claims that Bernard had to safeguard the boy Charles by working against the machinations of his jealous half-brother Lothar.

him of plotting a coup. Bernard had Lothar and his supporters expelled from court, and Charles was given domains formerly apportioned to his half-brothers. Louis left for Brittany to deal with a rebellion; Lothar and Pippin revolted against their father and denounced the "lovers." Bernard was out in less than a year, having to flee for his life once he was seen as Judith's intimate ally.

The Empress Judith receives considerable notice from courtly authors,<sup>38</sup> both the sycophantic and the spiteful. Two admirers, the suppliant Ermoldus Nigellus and Walafrid Strabo, tutor to the young Charles, leave adoring portraits of this woman whose identity would be scurrilously (and romantically) linked for centuries to come with that of Bernard, Dhuoda's husband.

In 826, at Ingelheim palace and St. Albans church in Mainz, Judith took part in a baptismal rite for the Danish King Harald and his queen. Ermoldus depicts Judith in her regal munificence, and as loyal wife — *honesta domina* — and lovely, tender-hearted mother to three-year-old Charles, boisterously present. Judith gives the Danish queen a gem-crusted garment that Minerva might have woven. In the church, the empress sweeps forward, flanked by two noble courtiers wearing diadems, none other than Hugh and Matfrid, obviously in the palmier days before their disgrace. After mass, Judith kisses her husband's knees with wifely obeisance. In the hunt to follow, Judith rides out from Ingelheim escorted, like Guinevere in future days, by her retinue of young men. Afterwards, she presides over the feast in an outdoor bower displaying spoils of the chase.<sup>39</sup> Walafrid Strabo's praise of Judith dwells less on her hostess tasks and more on her erudition. Writing in the spring of 829, a few months before Bernard was called from Barcelona to take up his chamberlaincy, Walafrid likens Judith to a beautiful Rachel, leading the infant Benjamin by the hand. He calls her a second biblical Judith, dispenser of justice, and a learned Sappho. Cultivated, intelligent, and pious, transcending ordi-

<sup>38</sup> Judith's high-ranking nobility was confirmed by several, including Thegan *Vita Hludowici*, ch. 26, p. 232 and the Astronomer, ch. 32, p. 308. She was probably responsible for her son's remarkable literary education and the building of Louis's library. On Judith and her position see Elizabeth Ward, "Caesar's Wife: The Career of the Empress Judith, 819–829," in Peter Godman and Roger Collins, ed. *Charlemagne's Heir: New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), pp. 205–27 and Elizabeth Ward, "Agobard of Lyons and Paschasius Radbert as Critics of the Empress Judith," *Studies in Church History* 27 (1990): 15–25.

<sup>39</sup> Ermoldus Nigellus, *Poème*, ll. 2266–429 (pp. 172–84).

nary womanly weakness, Judith would moreover be a match for Huldah, scholarly prophetess and king's counselor.<sup>40</sup>

Judith's enemies were unimpressed. Encomia of the previous spring were forgotten in view of Bernard's grating presence at court. The historian Nithard wrote: "Instead of fortifying the state, as was his duty, Bernard totally destroyed it through his inconsiderate use of power." Years later, when Judith, Bernard, and Louis were all dead, Paschasius Radbertus fulminated against Bernard in a work that used classical names for members of the court circle. Bestowing on "adulterers" Judith and Bernard the *senhals* "Justina and Naso,"<sup>41</sup> he wrote of Bernard:

No day was more ill-fated than the one when that riffraff Bernard was summoned from Spain, a wretch who tossed away every honor to which his background had raised him. He wallowed like a fool in the pleasures of gluttony. He came in like a mad swine; he turned the palace upside down, he wrecked the Council and hurled down all right and reasonable order. He drove out and trampled all counselors, clerical and worldly. He occupied the imperial bed. . . . The palace became a brothel governed by shame and adultery, teeming with crimes and swarming with every kind of sorcery and forbidden black arts. The emperor went to his destruction like an innocent lamb. That great and merciful emperor was wronged by a woman, against whom Solomon had warned, and was even more deceived by the plotting of the debauched man who was driving him to his death.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Michael W. Herren, "The 'de Imagine Tetrici' ['Theoderic's Statue'] of Walafrid Strabo: Edition and Translation," *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 1 (1991): 118–39; on Judith, ll. 144–78. Elizabeth Ward ("Caesar's Wife," pp. 221ff.) analyzes Walafrid's typology. Although Benjamin's mother, the long-childless Rachel, died at his birth and so could not have led him by the hand (Genesis 30.1–2; 22; 35.15–19), Walafrid emphasizes maternal joy, the profound bond between mother and much-desired son, and the son's future importance. Huldah (4 Kings 22:14–20) interpreted the book of the law for King Josiah, foretelling God's punishment for the people's idolatry.

<sup>41</sup> Possibly inspired by Ovid, since the banished Ovidius Naso loved a lady of rank. For a differing view, Arthur J. Zuckerman traces Paschasius' epithet of "Naso" to the Jewish word *nasi*, prince or potentate. Zuckerman's argument that Dhuoda's husband was a Jewish prince has not found wide support, though he supplies much information about Bernard. One detail of Zuckerman's evidence comes from the epic world of Guillaume d'Orange, where Guillaume's second wife Guiborg (probably the Vuithburgis of Dhuoda's genealogy in 10.5) is described as a pagan convert; though this is usually taken to mean a Saracen, she could have been Jewish. See *A Jewish Princedom in Feudal France: 768–900* (Columbia University Press, 1972), ch. 9: "Bernard of Septimania, Nasi and Imperial Chamberlain," pp. 260–88.

<sup>42</sup> Quoted in Pierre Riché, *Les Carolingiens: une famille qui fit l'Europe* (Paris: Hachette, 1983), p. 155. Paschasius' "Epitaph of Arsenius," a biography of Wala, Abbot of Corbie, is edited by Ernst Dümmler, *Epitaphium Arsenii*, in *Abhandlungen der königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, vol. 2 (1900), 1–98, ch. 7:3, p. 68.



Judith was, in 831, allowed to submit to a judicial ordeal, presumably by oath, and was exonerated of charges against her. Bernard came out of his safe exile along the Spanish frontiers to ask permission to rid himself of the accusations against him by force of arms. He showed up in the autumn of 831 at a gathering held at the royal villa at Thionville to protest his innocence. Danish and Slavic embassies were in attendance, as were legates bearing gifts from the Saracen court of Baghdad. Bernard swore fidelity to the emperor and his sons and offered to do combat. No one took him up on it.

### The Battle of Fontenoy and the commending of William

During the troubled decade that led to the Battle of Fontenoy in 841, Bernard's and Dhuoda's son William was growing up from the age of five to fourteen, still unscathed. But other members of Bernard's family were less lucky. His brother Aribert was captured by Lothar, who had him blinded and dispatched under guard to Italy.<sup>43</sup> Four years later when Lothar took Chalons-sur-Saône, he beheaded another brother, Gozhelm, Marquis of Gothia, count of Roussillon and Gerona and a defender of the city, and seized Bernard's sister, the nun Gerberga. Accusing her of sorcery, Lothar had her thrust in a cask and drowned.<sup>44</sup>

As Bernard's family continued in crisis, the imperial family persisted in the quarrels even after the emperor's death. On June 20, 840, Louis the Pious died on an island in the Rhine while preparing to war against his son Louis "the German." Dhuoda laments his passing in the opening pages of her book.

Lothar, successor to Louis the Pious, now marched to war against his brothers, Louis "the German" and Charles the Bald. Louis and Charles pitched camp together and took fraternal counsel. When Charles demanded the aid and presence of Bernard of Septimania, Bernard sent ambiguous messages. Having given his support to Charles's half-brother, Pippin of Aquitaine, he now made half-

<sup>43</sup> Nithard, *Histoire*, 1.3, pp. 10–11; Annals of St.-Bertin for 830, p. 22: Dhuoda asks William to pray for this uncle (10.5).

<sup>44</sup> Nithard, *Histoire*, 1.5, pp. 20–22: "Gerbergam more maleficorum in Ararim mergi praecepit; Gozhelmum et Senllam capte punivit"; Annals of St.-Bertin for 834 (p. 31). Thegan, *Vita Hludowici*, ch. 52, says she was first subjected to prolonged torture and then drowned – after being judged by the wives of Louis's advisers. On Gozhelm, see also Joseph Calmette, "Gaucelme, Marquis de Gothie sous Louis le Pieux," *Annales du Midi* 18 (1906): 166–71.

promises to bring Pippin to Charles's side. But Bernard failed to appear with his promised negotiation of peace. His defection would fix his son William's fate and soon rouse Dhuoda to authorship.

In a surprise attack before dawn on Saturday June 25, 841, the forces of Charles the Bald and Louis stormed the camp of their brother Lothar. The Battle of Fontenoy-en-Puisaye<sup>45</sup> was waged at mid-summer in a field near a farmhouse and a little stream: so wrote the poet who fought in the front lines for Lothar. Angilbert's warsong decries the carnage of brothers, nephews, sons. His poignant image of a field white with linen shrouds, like flocks of birds in autumn, gives way to the harsh, Germanic convention of devouring bird and beast.<sup>46</sup> Charles and Louis won the day and routed Lothar.<sup>47</sup>

Fearing the threat of Charles against himself now, Bernard sought to mend his position. There was a question, too, of getting back his Burgundian lands. In the *Liber Manualis* Dhuoda would write hopefully to William, "For one day you will be able to rise to your former estate" (5.6). Accused of breaking faith, Bernard sent his son William and confided him to Charles the Bald in the feudal language of vassalage:

Bernard, Duke of Septimania, was in fact only three leagues from the battlefield, but he failed to bring aid to either side in this fray. As soon as he learned of Charles's victory, he sent his son William to him, instructing him to commend (*commendare*) himself to Charles if the king were willing to return to him certain estates (*honores*) that he held in Burgundy. Bernard claimed, moreover, that he could persuade Pippin and his supporters to make a pact with Charles, adding that he was willing to bring this about if he could. The king received the message favorably, granted what he had asked and urged Bernard to do everything possible to achieve what he promised concerning Pippin and his men.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Nithard, *Histoire*, 2.9–10, pp. 64–78, and 3.1, pp. 80–83.

<sup>46</sup> "La Bataille de Fontenoy le 25 juin 841," ed. Dag Norberg in *Manuel pratique de latin médiéval* (Paris: Picard, rpt. 1980), pp. 165–72, 10 and 14. The poem's fifteen verses run acrostically through the letters of the alphabet to "P." Angilbert grieves for the Emperor Lothar as for Christ, dwelling on his personal valor (vv. 5, 4, 9).

<sup>47</sup> Annals of St.-Bertin for 841, pp. 50–52.

<sup>48</sup> Nithard, *Histoire*, 3.2, pp. 82–84. Bernard sent William the next day, June 26, 841: "Nam Bernardus dux Septimaniae, quanquam a loco praedicti proelli plus minus leuvas tres defuerit, neutri in hoc negotio supplementum fuit; victoriam autem ut Karoli esse didicit, filium suum Willelmum ad illum direxit et, si honores, quos idem in Burgundia habuit, eidem donare vellet, ut se illi commendaret praecepit. Insuper jactabat se posse necnon et alebat quod Pipinum una cum suis Karolo foedere, quo valeret, subdere vellet. Quam legationem benigne excepit et, sicut postulaverat, per omnia concessit, monens ut de Pipino et suis quod promiserat, in quantum posset, ut perficeretur operam daret."

The *commendatio* rite was a pledge of mutual faith between vassal and lord. The ceremony required an oath, and its outward sign was a clasping of hands:

A person commending himself to another did so by placing his hands between those of the man whose vassal he was about to become. The texts speak of *in vasatico se commendare per manus*, "to commend oneself into vassalage by one's hands" *manus suas commendare*, literally to "commend one's hands," *in manus* or *in manibus N. se commendare*, to commend oneself into or in the hands of N.<sup>49</sup>

Contemporary documents record the language and the handclasp. At the baptism of King Harald of Denmark in 826, Ermoldus describes how Louis the Pious folded Harald's hands between his own: "Soon he delivered himself with joined hands to the king . . . and the emperor himself took Harald's hands between his own glorious ones." At Charles's investiture "the magnates of the province of Neustria gave their hands to Charles" and swore oaths of fealty.<sup>50</sup>

Within five months of William's commendation, on the feast of St. Andrew in Advent, Dhuoda began writing the letter she would conclude a little over a year later on the Feast of the Purification, February 2, 843. By the time the book was finished, Charles the Bald would – during the recent Christmas season – have confirmed his royal seniority with a marriage, on December 14, 842, to Ermentrud, William's second cousin. Charles at nineteen now far outranked his sixteen-year-old kinsman and vassal, whose grudge on his father's behalf would soon ripen into violence.

Riché has described Bernard's instructions to his son as an invitation to the king to hold him hostage. The estates were the legacy of Tedderic, Bernard's brother, and godfather and uncle to William. Louis the Pious, then Charles the Bald, were designated the estates' guardians until William should reach his majority (Nithard, *Histoire*, pp. 84–85, n. 1, for which the editor cites *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, new edn., 2: 275).

<sup>49</sup> Ganshof, *Feudalism*, p. 26. Legally, one free man might place himself under the protective authority (*patrocinium* or *mundeburdis*) of another; this act was known as *commendatio*. Ganshof, *Feudalism*, p. 6. The "hands of the future lord were also thought of as playing an active part in the ceremony. . . . The future vassal placed his joined hands between those of his future lord, who for his part placed his own outside those of his future vassal. This double gesture with the hands, *immixtio manuum*, was an essential part of the act of commendation" (p. 27). See also Le Jan, *Famille et pouvoir*, pp. 99–102, 111–16.

<sup>50</sup> "Mox manibus junctis regi se tradidit ultro / Et secum regnum, quod sibi jure fuit . . . / Caesar ad ipse manus manibus suscepti honestis" (*Poème sur Louis le Pieux*, ll. 2482–83, 2486), pp. 188–89, describing the homage of Harald to Louis. "Neustriæ provinciae primores Karolo et manus dederunt et fidelitatem sacramento obstrinxerunt" (Astronomer, ch. 59), records Charles the Bald's investiture.

Acknowledging William's new relation to Charles in 841, Dhuoda wrote in her Preface:

I have learned that your father Bernard has commended you to the hands of our lord King Charles (*in manus domni te commendavit Karoli regis*). I urge you to acquit yourself of your noble duties with a perfect good will.

The political and feudal handclasp resonates in Dhuoda's word play in her Preface, as she at once takes up the significance of *manus* in an animated flurry of allusions to promise, power, fidelity, and performance. Citing lines of Scripture, she ranges rapidly over occurrences of the word "hand," culminating in "The Lord's hand was laid upon me . . . the Lord's hand was comforting me."

Beginning with God's hand, Dhuoda invokes the language of *manus* as if to neutralise at once the fearful power of the secular hand in the *commendatio* oath with the benevolent and greater power of the hand of the Lord – by way of the maternal handbook. Let his father commend the boy to the boy King Charles; his mother commends him to God! ("Tibi commendo filium Wilhelmum", Verse inscription). The prefatory laying on of the divine hand modulates to the mother's hand, as the book passes from hers to William's, with *manualis* an extension of *manus*. This small treatise – growing out of a letter, as often happened with medieval epistles – she calls a manual to fit the palm conveniently, as St. Augustine said of his *Enchiridion*: "quod manu possit astringi".

Passages involving hands recur throughout the *Liber Manualis* (e.g. "Let your hand be quick to act," "Commend yourself to the hands of upright priests," "Distribute alms with your own hands"). When she writes of hands and fingers in the business of finger computing, shuttling "joyfully" (*gaudens*) between right hand and left hand, she backs her discourse (6.4) with a verse stunningly out of its context, but perhaps not out of her context: "His left hand is under my head, and his right hand will embrace me" (Canticles 2.6; 8.3). Is Dhuoda mischievous, or sweetly naive?

### The *Liber Manualis* and Carolingian literature

His mother wants William to keep her book close at hand, reread it often, share it with his comrades-at-arms, and in time with his little brother. "Lege!", "Read!" she urges. Dhuoda writes with assurance that her warrior son and members of Charles the Bald's military entourage will readily peruse her Latin book, indicating that all

belonged to the exceptional few who were well educated. She equates literacy with wealth, insofar as the untaught vainly hunger for learning as the poor crave money (4.8). Even among the nobility only the most privileged acquired erudition through a Latin clerical training. Dhuoda's playful experimentation in her use of language, her mingling of prose and verse, coinages and rare words, some forged from Greek or borrowed from glossaries, show her profiting enjoyably from the scholarship of her day. She confidently relies on William's doing the same.

To get a sense of how the spoken vernacular of Dhuoda's day may have differed from her written Latin, we may consider the Strasbourg Oaths. On February 14, 842, eight months after Fontenoy – and with Dhuoda in the thick of composing – the two younger sons of Louis the Pious came together to swear oaths that proved a historic and linguistic event. Vowing mutual support against Lothar, their elder brother, Charles the Bald and Louis the German had their men take the oath in Old French (*romana lingua*) and Old German (*teudisca lingua*). In the account that Charles the Bald commissioned from his court historian and cousin Nithard, the Oaths of Strasbourg purport to give the words of those present.<sup>51</sup> Here is the oldest surviving record of the French language, a popular tongue infused with formulaic locutions.<sup>52</sup> If this was the vernacular required for the soldiery to make sense of the occasion, common fighting men would not have been Dhuoda's audience.

To his mother, William is less soldier than student, in the company of fellow readers and tutors. She tells him to build his library, she imagines his collecting more books (1.7); already he owns an increasing number (Prologue). As she writes to William and, indirectly, to his friends, Dhuoda sees them as the elected ones close to Charles the

<sup>51</sup> Nithard (*Histoire*, 3.5, pp. 104–06), gives the Oaths which he may have helped to draft.

<sup>52</sup> Jeanette Beer summarizes scholarship and linguistic problems in "The Strasbourg Oaths," pp. 15–29, in *Early Prose in France: Contexts of Bilingualism and Authority* (Kalamazoo: Western Michigan University, 1992). She terms the Oaths "prime examples of royal chancery prose," whose stylistic features were "hybridization, formalism, and functionalism" (p. 22). Since the copy is dated a century after the event, much remains mysterious about the document as a reflection of spoken romance.

On the evolution of French from Latin, see Michael Richter, "A quelle époque a-t-on cessé de parler Latin en Gaule? A propos d'une question mal posée," *Annales, Economies Sociétés Civilisations*, 36 (1983): 439–48. Marc van Uytfanghe gives a full survey of views on the transformation of Latin to the romance vernaculars in "Histoire du latin, protohistoire des langues romanes et histoire de la communication," *Franca* 11 (1983): 579–613.

Bald. It is conceivable that she hoped Charles himself might be one of her readers.

Dhuoda wrote in a climate receptive to learned authorship, book production and reading. Latin letters thrived in profusion, and writers were well compensated at the courts of Charlemagne, Louis the Pious, and especially Charles the Bald. Annals busily chronicled the period: the Annals of St.-Bertin, of Fulda, St. Wandrille, Angoulême and Xanten. Louis and Judith commissioned, received, and bestowed books both sumptuous and scholarly, on subjects from antiquity, the Bible and the Church Fathers. Louis gave the monastery of St. Médard at Soissons a magnificent set of gospels written at the court around 800. From Hrabanus Maurus Louis received the "Praises of the Holy Cross" (*De laudibus Sanctae Crucis*), a complicated group of *carmina figurata* that includes a depiction of the king as a haloed warrior grasping a crozier. Louis received a lavish copy of the Roman cookery book by Apicius, copied at Tours. Laudatory and not-so-laudatory biographies were churned out, often with ulterior intent. Agobard of Lyon (*Liber apologeticus*), Ermoldus Nigellus (*In honorem Hludowici*), Thegan (*Vita Hludowici*), Nithard (*Historiarum libri quattuor*), the "Astronomer" (*Vita Hludowici*) and Paschasius Radbertus (*Epitaphium Arsenii*) all documented Louis's reign.<sup>53</sup>

As Louis's son, Charles the Bald was privileged from boyhood to receive the offerings of learned men. He grew up under the distinguished tutelage of Walafrid Strabo, who compiled biblical commentaries for him; Lupus, abbot of Ferrières, who made him a résumé of the Roman emperors; and Freculf of Lisieux, who wrote a world chronicle. Charles would become one of the most cultivated rulers of his time, known not only for personal piety and learning but fluency in Latin and the German and romance vernaculars. A lifelong patron of the arts, he loved fine vestments and books; he had splendid Bibles, Psalters, and other sacred texts copied for him. He took an interest in sacred relics, bestowing on Chartres Cathedral its most prized possession, the miracle-working tunic the Virgin had worn at Christ's birth.<sup>54</sup> In the spring of 858, Usuard of St.-Germain-des-Prés traveled to Spain and returned with relics of the recent Cordova martyrs

<sup>53</sup> Bernhard Bischoff, "The Court Library Under Louis the Pious," ch. 4, pp. 76–92, in *Manuscripts and Libraries in the Age of Charlemagne*, tr. and ed. Michael Gorman, Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology (Cambridge University Press, 1994); Rosamond McKitterick, "Charles the Bald and His Library: the Patronage of Learning," *English Historical Review* 95 (1980): 28–47.

<sup>54</sup> Adriaan Bredero, *Christendom and Christianity in the Middle Ages*, tr. R. Bruinsma (1986; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), p. 91, suggests that this garment was

Georgius, Aurelius, and Sabigotho. Charles later commissioned Usuard to compile a comprehensive martyrology, which was finished in 875; it contains one of the earliest allusions to holy virgins *Martha et Saula, cum aliis pluribus*, whose cult would grow to include the eleven thousand virgins under St. Ursula's leadership.

Charles's interest in hagiography led him to request a Life of St. Amand from Milo of St.-Riquier in 855, and another of St. Germanus by Heiric of Auxerre. Among the many Carolingian "translation" narratives, those texts accompanying the transfer of saints' relics, Charles acquired an anonymous account, the *Translatio Sancti Germani*, with relics of this favored saint.<sup>55</sup> His wish for a commentary on a verse of the Canticles elicited Hincmar's *Ferculum Salomonis*.<sup>56</sup> Like his father, Charles commissioned manuscripts of great beauty and luxury, both for his own use and for bestowing as gifts; he involved himself in their production. Charles's library reveals his personal tastes in theology, liturgy, and Scriptural studies.

In view of such absorption in holy and instructive works, it seems highly likely that Dhuoda hoped that the young king in whose hands William's fate lay might give heed to the *Liber Manualis*. She had sojourned at his father's court, and could gauge its bookish ambience for herself. Now she could reasonably expect (deprecatingly, of course, lest some outside readers think her brazen) that William, in sharing the handbook with his associates, might ingratiate himself with his well-educated feudal lord. Charles the Bald was attuned to works in the advice mode. Alcuin had written admonitory letters to his grandfather, Charlemagne. As a young prince, Charles had benefited from Walafrid Strabo's annotated edition of Einhard's life of Charlemagne, which served him as a mirror of conduct. Jonas, bishop of Orléans, wrote his "Primer for Kings" (*De institutione regia*) in 831 for Charles's half-brother Pippin of Aquitaine, then thirty-four years old, and a companion book for the hapless Matfrid of Orléans, *De institutione laicali*. Soon after Dhuoda finished the *Liber Manualis*, Charles received letters from Lupus of Ferrières, urging him to be strong like Charlemagne, not weak like his father. He later asked Hincmar of Reims for a treatise on the vices and virtues, and another on the obligations of a

among the relics that made their way to the west, having originally been collected in the Holy Land by the empress Athenais/Eudocia in the fifth century.

<sup>55</sup> David Flood Appleby, "Hagiography and Ideology in the Ninth Century: The Narrative Descriptions of the Translation of Relics", Ph.D. dissertation: University of Virginia, 1989 (fols. 287-343 on the reign of Charles the Bald).

<sup>56</sup> An allegory comparing Solomon's palanquin, or litter (Canticles 3.9-10), to the church (PL 125: 817-34).

prince, which resulted in the *De regis persona et regio ministerio*. The book Dhuoda wrote would mesh perfectly with his interests.

A key medieval text and model of the mirror genre is found in Augustine's *City of God*, which delineates the ideal prince as a Christian in God's service, willing to curb his absolute power and committed to mercy, humility, and prayer.<sup>57</sup> Though William was not a prince, Dhuoda nonetheless exhorts him to exercise mildness toward those of lower rank. More like Dhuoda's letter are those brief admonitions of Herchenefreda (ca. 630) to her son Desiderius, palace treasurer and bishop of Cahors under Dagobert, king of the Franks. Herchenefreda's three letters prompt Desiderius to act virtuously, to meditate continually on God, cleave to the Christian life while performing court duties, avoid sin, choose friends carefully. In her third letter she grieves over the murder of Desiderius' brother Rusticus during a riot.<sup>58</sup> Each of Herchenefreda's counsels are points Dhuoda will make to William.

Dhuoda, like Herchenefreda, represents the rare, educated, Latin female voice in the advice genre, inflected with a tremor that betrays fear and grief for children's lives. If we look to the vernacular subsoil nourishing these utterances, we find a thriving genre of women's lament where the accents are far more helpless. Dhuoda's voice is controlled. But when she writes (4.2), mixing Scripture with her own words, that the times "will see men who are self-seeking, greedy, avaricious, violent," that "we already see a number rising up in many packed ranks, looking around to determine whether they can prevail in the region," we are reminded of the Geatish woman at Beowulf's barrow, lamenting the dead and fearing future days of slaughter from troops on the move.<sup>59</sup> As a Frankish or Visigothic girl, Dhuoda could have known "barbarian" (that is, non-Latin) songs and elegies. Louis the Pious, in whose palace Dhuoda's wedding was celebrated, lacked enthusiasm for the heathen chants his father Charlemagne had amassed, but apparently his nobles appreciated them.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>57</sup> *De civitate dei* (CCSL vol. 47, Book 5, ch. 24). Carolingian "mirrors" tended to contain formal discussions of the vices and virtues, and to adapt Christian morality to the practical needs of the warrior. Passing into the vernacular, the *speculum* for princes recurs in miniature with Hrothgar's speech to Beowulf; in *Piers Plowman*, where Conscience advises "what bicometh to a kyng"; and in Chaucer's *Lack of Stedfastness*, which urges King Richard to "dreed God, do lawe, love trouthe and worthiness."

<sup>58</sup> *Vita Desiderii*, MGH SRM, vol. 4, pp. 569-70.

<sup>59</sup> Klaeber, ed., *Beowulf*, ll. 3150-55; the manuscript is damaged at this point, though Zupitza discerned (*w*)igendes.

<sup>60</sup> Thegan's report that Louis did not enjoy popular songs learned in youth, or wish to hear them performed, is one indication that these lays were taught and sung.

In the language of the devout Christian, Dhuoda expresses the Germanic woman's forthright longing, her grief over separation by distance, time, and necessity from a beloved kinsman, her fear for the dangers besetting her menfolk. The female narrator of the elegiac *Wulf and Eadwacer* yearns for an absent husband or lover and their child – "Wulf carries our forlorn whelp to the woods." The plight is Dhuoda's. Have Bernard, or Wulf, taken their infant sons for safe-keeping? Both cases are open to guesswork. Like the singers in *Wulf and Eadwacer* and *The Wife's Lament*, Dhuoda is parted from her lord by feudal turmoil and scheming kinsmen: "Wulf is on one island, I on another"; and "We two – widely asunder in the world – live most wretchedly." Of Bernard it could moreover be said that he was "a man hounded by hard luck, brooding in his heart."<sup>61</sup> But Dhuoda refocuses on her child, since her husband seems truly beyond her reach. She even fears he may abandon the family, "as is the custom with many men," if he hasn't already (10.4).

Dhuoda knows that her business is not just to weep but to teach. Educated women had traditionally taught the young, often guiding them to clerical careers. Carolingian women were enjoined to correct men's conduct, as Jonas of Orléans urged in his primer for laymen.<sup>62</sup> Above all, Dhuoda had before her the exalted ideal of the Empress Judith, praised in song as a teacher of her royal son, Charles.

Observable parallels may be drawn between Judith and Dhuoda. If

perhaps as part of a Frankish child's education. (*Vita Hludowich*, ch. 19, p. 226). Of hilarity at court banquets and the enjoyment of performers (*scurri et mimi*) and singers there is abundant evidence, as Michael Richter shows (*The Formation of the Medieval West: Studies in the Oral Culture of the Barbarians* [Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1994], pp. 131–35); "Thegan makes it clear that such socializing was taken for granted even if the host did not share the general taste" (Richter, p. 133).

<sup>61</sup> *Wulf and Eadwacer*, l. 4; *The Wife's Lament*, ll. 13–14, 19, in *The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records*, ed. G. P. Krapp and E. V. K. Dobbie, vol. 3 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936). The "barbarian" and Christian sensibilities are not in conflict; three centuries earlier St. Radegund could call herself "barbara" in a verse epistle mourning the loss of kin, as she, a pawn of war, weeps a lakeful of tears: *De excidio Thuringiae*, in MGH AA, vol. 4, pt. 1, pp. 271–55 (Berlin, 1891). The above examples tr. M. Thiébaux, *The Writings of Medieval Women*, 2nd edn. (New York: Garland, 1994), pp. 147–49; 96. In Old French, the bereft woman waiting on the fringes of epic action spins or sews in *chansons de toile*.

<sup>62</sup> On an older tradition of saintly instructresses, see the teaching activities of St. Glodesind (d. 600) and St. Aldegund (d. 684), in Jo Ann McNamara and John E. Halborg, ed. and trans., with E. Gordon Whatley, *Sainted Women of the Dark Ages* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1992), pp. 145 and 250. Janet L. Nelson, "Les femmes et l'évangélisation au IX<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Revue du Nord* 68 (1986): 471–85, cites Jonas of Orléans's exhortation in *De institutione laicali to nobiles matronae* to mend the wayward morals of their men.

Judith was reputed as a learned and loving mother, overseeing her son's education and guiding him to excellence, so indeed could Dhuoda by her own lights do the same. Judith provided Dhuoda with a model as well as a rival (if the latter is believable). When Dhuoda married Aachen in the summer of 824, Judith had been Louis's wife for five years and was the mother of one-year-old Charles. In the summer of 826 Dhuoda was pregnant with William, who would be born in November. Was she at court that year for the royal Danish baptisms, thereby witnessing the *commendatio* of Harald, and the vernal hunting party at which Judith shone?

In 829, the year Bernard came to court as little Charles's protector, Freulf of Lisieux had dedicated to Judith the second part of his *Chronicon*, a chronicle embracing biblical and Frankish history. His prefatory letter praises her loveliness, erudition, and wisdom, and he hopes his little book can provide a *mirror* for the boy to consult under the supervision of his excellent and devoted mother! Judith may, among the other admonitions of her maternal affection, teach her son as he learns how to conduct himself: "Here as in a mirror, under the guidance and authority of your most holy devotion," writes Freulf to Judith, "my lord Charles, the most glorious son of your excellence, may perceive how he ought to behave or even how he ought to live."<sup>63</sup> The popularity of the *Chronicon* aside, it is the letter that seizes attention here, signaling the book as a *speculum* to be consulted under imperial motherly direction. Judith's name was to be dishonorably linked to Bernard's. But (Dhuoda might reason) the rumor could only be an invidious untruth, for Judith was a conscientious mother who must have looked to Bernard only to defend her son's interests, not, surely, as a lover. Dhuoda, in her own modest way, could also show herself a devoted, erudite mother to a ranking young warrior, a new Rachel leading her son by the hand – a son bound at this very moment by feudal oath to Judith's son.

### Genre and intent in the *Liber Manualis*

Dhuoda identifies her work as a mirror of conduct at three points. Her Prologue initiates an ambitious double simile, comparing the enjoyment of books to playing games and gazing in the mirror. Some

<sup>63</sup> Freulf had been at work on the *Chronicon* since 825. For his letter to Judith, see MGH *Epistolae* vol. 5, p. 319, #14: Chester F. Natunewicz, "Freculphus of Lisieux, His Chronicle and a Mont St. Michel Manuscript," *Sacris Erudiri* 17 (1966): 99–134, p. 110.

people enjoy backgammon; women look in their mirrors to cleanse their faces and make themselves radiant for their husbands. Reading requires the same zeal and attention.

She amplifies the figure: "You will find in this book in succinct form all that you want to know. You will also find in it a mirror, in which without a doubt you may fix your gaze upon the health of your soul" (*speculum in quo . . . possis conspicerere*). The third instance (1.7) is remarkable: "in anticipation of the day when I shall no longer be with you, you have here as a memento of me this little book of moral counsels. And you can gaze upon me as on an image in a mirror (*quasi in picturam speculi*) by reading with mind and body and by praying to God." The mirroring book reflects not the viewer, but the countenance of the maternal author, a refinement of the figure in Freculf's letter to Judith.<sup>64</sup>

Dhuoda's sending her son her "portrait" by allowing her own image to shine forth is one of her bold strokes of individuality, offsetting the well-bred protestations of frailty that she is bound to utter, like many a trained author. In fact, she renounces passivity, claiming instead a dynamic role in her maternal authorship. As William's *genitrix*, she imposes the principle of form on his receptive mind. Her notion of motherhood improves on that of Isidore of Seville, who derived "mother" from "matter," *mater* from *materia*. "Those who 'engender' (*genitores*) are named from 'bringing forth'. . . A 'mother' (*mater*) is so called because from her something is made: for 'mother' (*mater*) is as it were 'matter' (*materia*) while the father is the cause."<sup>65</sup> But Dhuoda avoids the passive implications of *mater*; she calls herself *genitrix* (as Bernard is *genitor*). She has her own idea of how, as a mother, she imprints the form of rule on the mind of her receptive, malleable child. Nowhere is it suggested that Bernard can give William any personal guidance, or even serve as a heroic model for him to emulate. A needy fugitive, Bernard is dependent on William for love, support, and prayer. Dhuoda is his true mentor and main parent. The bond Dhuoda establishes between mother/author and son/reader provides an image that resembles physical begetting, even divine creation:

<sup>64</sup> Dhuoda's fourth mirror image (2.1) is typological: The three angels appearing to Abraham in Genesis foreshadow the Trinity, which the patriarch "contemplated as in a mirror (*quasi per speculum*) . . . before the coming of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ."

<sup>65</sup> Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, ed. W. M. Lindsay, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1911), 9.5.3.

The Rule of Conduct comes from me; the Form it realizes is within you; the Handbook is as much from me as it is for you, composed by me and received within you. (*Norma ex me, forma in te. Manualis tam ex me quam in te, ex me collectus, in te receptus. Incipit textus.*)

Further on in the same section, Dhuoda repeats the formula with variations: "The word out of me, the work in you" (*sermo ex me, opus in te* (Incipit textus). She imposes the word that forms William, forging a bodily connection between the mother/son dyad and the author/reader dyad. The word emanates from the mother, and with the child's zeal (*studium*) the work is internalized and realized, achieving actuality in his consciousness. When Dhuoda names the threefold division of her labor (*norma, forma, manualis*), this is not a structural outline of the book's contents which she later abandons, but a sophisticated analysis of how a written text exists: the author's production of thought, the reader's reception of thought, and between them the physical object of the book itself. The divisions demonstrate how author, reader, and book intersect.

Once the book passes from her hand to his, touching and handling are part of the reading process, serving physically to transmute words into acts. "What I desire," writes his mother, "is that when this work has been directed to you from my hand, you'll willingly grasp it in your own hand, and enfolding it, turning it over, and reading it and studying it, you'll strive to fulfill its teachings in the most worthwhile actions" (Incipit textus).

Another writerly stratagem by which Dhuoda welds herself and her son together is the acrostic, which creates a verbal and visual pattern. Acrostic writing appears in the Psalms, where Psalm 34 and the connected Psalms 9 and 10 use letters of the Hebrew alphabet. Abecedarian Latin hymns and poems existed in the early Christian centuries and remained frequent in the Carolingian period; Angilbert's song on the Battle of Fontenoy is a renowned example. The figure was visually entertaining and flattering; it could be a plea, an act of devotion or love; a virtuoso exhibition, or a competitive sport.<sup>66</sup> An acrostic often incorporated the author's name. While modesty, or

<sup>66</sup> On acrostics and *carmina figurata* among the Carolingians see Mary Garrison, "The Emergence of Carolingian Latin Literature and the Court of Charlemagne (780-814)," in Rosamond McKitterick, ed., *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation* (Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 122. Ermoldus Nigellus adorned his poem honoring Louis the Pious with a double-acrostic on the first and last words of each line: "Ermoldus cecinit Hludoici Caesaris arma". Dhuoda's English contemporary Cynewulf inscribed his runic signature in four texts; in *Elene* it is an act of devotion to the Cross whose funder he commemorates.



humility over ineptitude, might preclude an author's flagrant display of her signature, prayerful self-naming for the sake of intercession would be a reason to dispense with shyness. Self-naming shows an author willing to stand behind her work, to take responsibility for its authenticity and contents. Self-naming would seem to verify a text, to bestow upon the written word an oral, even oracular ring.<sup>67</sup>

Dhuoda stands behind and inside her work, together with her son. Her purpose goes beyond the epistolary conventions of signature and name of addressee. Her conspicuous naming of herself, William, and Bernard joins with her listing of nine deceased relations<sup>68</sup> to formulate a family document, a *genealogia* (10.5). It will, she says, include unnamed members who are still alive. When she and those others eventually die, they are to be enrolled in the genealogy, making it a book of the beloved dead for purposes of prayer. Earlier (8.14) she directed William to pray for the dead insofar as they bequeathed their property to him, so making an intimate connection between genealogy and family estate.

The rise and proliferation of genealogies among French noble families in later centuries has been analyzed by Georges Duby.<sup>69</sup> These genealogies arose from the desire to tie lineages to the Carolingian past, whose quarrels were now being reformulated and glorified in the *chansons de geste*. The great Carolingian political crises, the furious riots and desperado claims among individuals, were the unmilled stuff of epics. From the military dependants of Charlemagne, Louis the Pious and Charles the Bald, fabled champions sprang. Already *cantilenaes* circulated orally; already Ermoldus' Latin life of Louis the Pious

<sup>67</sup> Laurence de Looze explores the question in "Signing Off in the Middle Ages: Medieval Textuality and Strategies of Authorial Self-Naming," in *Vox Intexta: Orality and Textuality in the Middle Ages*, ed. A. N. Doane and C. B. Pasternack (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), pp. 162-78. Furthermore, Dhuoda requires the reader to name the author: he is "charged with the task of recognizing and re-creating the authorial signature/identity through the engines of anagrams and word games" (*ibid.*, pp. 168-69). A text may owe its survival simply to the inclusion of a name, however inconsequential. See also E. R. Curtius, "Mention of the Author's Name in Medieval Literature," in *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, tr. Willard Trask (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), pp. 515-18, noting Carolingians who signed their names. Jane Martindale cites a succession of aristocratic Gerbergas and Mathildas who bequeathed their names for generations as guarantors of dynastic perpetuation. "The French Aristocracy in the Early Middle Ages: A Reappraisal," *Past and Present* 75 (1977): 5-45, esp. p.39, n. 135.

<sup>68</sup> Dhuoda names herself twelve times (in text, titles, and acrostics), William twenty-five times (in text, titles, and acrostics), Bernard nine times, and William's deceased uncle Teddric six times.

<sup>69</sup> "Remarques sur la littérature généalogique en France aux XIe et XIIe siècles," *Hommes et structures du moyen âge*, pp. 287-98.

had reported intrepid speeches, duels, scenes of splendor in a heroic mode.

Eleventh- and twelfth-century genealogies were not inspired by mere nostalgia. What drove them was the need legally to substantiate aristocratic claims to prestige and power. Simple lists of names developed in complexity and detail, some of it mythic. *Chansons de geste* would themselves contain "epic" catalogs of families tracing their eminence to the Carolingians. Such quasi-fictional genealogies would enable a fluid aristocracy to develop into a fixed aristocracy.<sup>70</sup>

Noteworthy about Dhuoda's ingrained sense of the clan is the way she builds, textually and ideologically and at this gestating period of the epic, a stable genealogical entity. Living as she does in the "Carolingian past" and suffering in the midst of cruel times, her men victimized by the quarrels of kings, she is far from finding glory in the raw events soon to be stylized in epic chants. Instead she refers their resolution to God, putting her worldly faith in the family's unity and nobility. She enjoins William to continue the genealogy as relatives die, and so the list should grow.

Dhuoda does not spell out the family's troubles too precisely; these are knowable from other sources, but they are implicit in her warnings and anxieties about the unsettled realm, her renegade husband, her dwindling funds, debts, and properties. It is no wonder that most epics (and notably the *Chanson de Guillaume*) are preoccupied with getting and holding on to land,<sup>71</sup> or that the essential trait of an epic protagonist must be *démésure*.<sup>72</sup> The urgent emotional energy of *chanson de geste* wells from the hearts of angry barons, inflamed over the king's injustice and the loss of acreage and "honors." Kinship plays a significant role, since in some way nearly everybody is related to somebody else. Crimes against the king must be paid for by the rest of the family; those bonded by blood or alliance rage against one another's infidelities. The genre dramatizes clashes between loyalty and disloyalty, bad and good advice, those who negotiate with

<sup>70</sup> Duby, "Remarques sur la littérature généalogique," p. 297. On further links between epic and genealogy, see R. Howard Bloch, *Etymologies and Genealogies: A Literary Anthropology of the French Middle Ages* (University of Chicago Press, 1983), esp. ch. 3, "Literature and Lineage," pp. 92-127.

<sup>71</sup> David P. Schenck, "The Finite World of the *Chanson de Guillaume*," *Olfant* 1 (December 1973): 13-20 discusses the feel of vast, unspecified spaces in *chanson de geste*, and the hero's need to define and possess them, a need more pressing than proving "heroic ideals" (p. 14). Once again, we are brought back to the question of William's Burgundian estates.

<sup>72</sup> Régis Boyer, Danielle Buschinger and others, *L'Épopée, Typologie des Sources du Moyen Âge Occidental* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1988), p. 60.

Saracens and those who suffer the consequences, clashes settled by vengeance and savagery.

These generic literary traits pervade Dhuoda's awareness as actual terrors. Bernard's precarious hold on his honors, the damage to his kin, his struggle against rival factions,<sup>73</sup> and the failure of recognition for his father's and his own services to the empire, all dwell in the subtext of the *Liber Manualis*. Sordid events ultimately destroyed Dhuoda's husband and her son. Yet at this moment, for Dhuoda, her steadfast and hopeful focus must be the young scion whose ideal conduct as a secular saint, godly, loyal, filial, charitable, his mother strives to inculcate along with a strong sense of high-blooded patri-mony.

Situated at the edge of epic action, Dhuoda is not so powerless as the female personae of Old English elegy and Old French *chanson de toile*. Instead, at the margins she creates a center, she fashions a tight structure in which close kindred hold their names and legitimate places; a few are ensconced in the liturgical year by significant dates. No hierarchy is suggested; Dhuoda is the hub and her people cluster around her. While the literary model she invokes is the traditional advice *speculum*, informed by patristic and Scriptural learning, she really expands and transcends the type, producing a mixed genre that shares in epistolary autobiography, pious meditation, and genealogy. Hers is a pre-epic monument, passionately responsive to events and delineating a self-conscious code of family honor and cohesiveness. The *Liber Manualis* is her way of inscribing her kinship group, a modest epic catalog in the Carolingian annals.

In Dhuoda's small monument it is the name of the son that predominates, though he is still a landless minor. Of the family's other males, William's grandfather, St. Guilhem, is named once without attribute or identification. Tedderic is honored but his real estate remains in limbo, kept viable chiefly through the prayers of the *Liber Manualis*. Father and young son, the absentee Bernard and the infant Bernard, endure in distant regions of outlawry and unbaptism. Dhuoda's name is second in importance to her son's, but it is Dhuoda's achievement to have contained all the family names in one volume.

<sup>73</sup> Roger Collins ("Pippin I and the Kingdom of Aquitaine," in *Charlemagne's Heir*, p. 376), confirms the fierce struggle for position in Bernard's case. He and his brothers fought to restore their primacy in the region – the Spanish March and the county of Autun – in the face of other powerful groups, notably the Nibelungen. See Léon Levillain, "Les Nibelungen historiques," notably p. 343, and *Annales du Midi* 50 (1938): 5–66 on the first Count Nibelung (d. after 768), a court chronicler under Pippin the Short.

forging their links to each other. Marriage and birth certificates are tidily locked in the Prologue and Book 1. Dhuoda's own history evokes visualizable spaces: marriage chapel, *chambre d'accouchement*, sick-room, counting house, library, and scriptorium. The reliquary of Book 10 encloses the names of the dead, ghostly reminders of royal cruelty. Finally there is the maternal vault, complete with slimed clay, threat of the conqueror Worm, coffin lid, and inscription. The quick and the dead: all are housed in the *Liber Manualis*. Surrounding the mansion are the lost and longed-for Burgundian estates. The book serves the same metonymic function as a family seat, its armorial bearings, noble titles or lands. Embodied as a handbook, Dhuoda's kinship sense emanates from the mother's authorial hand; lying in the mother's palm, it is transferable to the hand of the son as a "key to genealogical consciousness."<sup>74</sup>

No conventional family tree appears, the "rooting of the family tree in its own soil"<sup>75</sup> being a firm sign of historical self-representation. Dhuoda records just two generations back to St. Guilhem, naming him first but not even identifying this heroic grandsire. Those she calls progenitors are Bernard and Dhuoda, with herself occupying center stage. She avoids the issue of a family tree by substituting the true Tree of Mercy, emblem of Christ: "Therefore, my son, I urge you to graft yourself to such a tree, so that you may cleave to him without fail" (5.1).<sup>76</sup> The tree of ancestry in Christ is for Dhuoda a safer

<sup>74</sup> Bloch, *Etymologies and Genealogies*, p. 79. A "family's 'practice of signs'" – heraldry, patronymics, fortress, property rights and genealogical narrative – applies here. See pp. 75–79.

Pierre Toubert, in the "Discussion" following Janet L. Nelson's presentation of "La femme et l'évangélisation," suggests that the aristocratic woman plays the role of "conservatrice de la 'mémoire généalogique' de la famille." He cites the case of the Empress Mathilda, who gave her granddaughter, the abbess of Quedlinburg, a *computatorium* of the family's generations (pp. 483–84). But Mathilda, like Gisela, daughter of Louis the Pious and Judith (the further example cited by Régine Hennebicque in the same Discussion), is a woman secure in her place in a reigning dynasty, while Dhuoda boldly demands genealogical distinction for her baronial household in jeopardy.

On the mother as both victim and liberator, two studies of a thirteenth-century romance confirm the continuing presence of a literary motif whose origin is clearly registered in Dhuoda's document. Dietmar Rieger, "Fiction littéraire et violence: le cas de *La Fille du comte de Pontieu*," *Romania* 113 (1992–95): 92–117, cites the abused *filie* as the "source de vie . . . sur le plan généalogique" (pp. 104–05); groundwork for the argument is laid by Evelyn Birge Vitz, "Narrative Analysis of Medieval Texts: *La Fille du comte de Pontieu*," *Modern Language Notes* 92 (1977): 645–75.

<sup>75</sup> Bloch, *Etymologies and Genealogies*, p. 80.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 90: As a genealogical diagram, "the Tree of Jesse remains, above all, a model, an idealization, that . . . tells a story of paternity with no direct relation to the noble



emblem than a literal genealogical tree that might have to flaunt the murdered family members. Prudence and piety dictate her planting the sacred, not the historic, stock.

Dhuoda ends her book in successive closures as she began it with a series of openings. The mother's gift to her son must be wrapped, enfolded, swaddled in protective layers of greetings, and leavetakings. Near the end of the *Liber Manualis*, after telling William to pray for the family's souls, Dhuoda composes her epitaph, acrostically working her name once again into the text. The epitaph which William is to carve hereafter in stone inscribes her body graphically: frail and filthy, blighted with humid sores. Once "entombed," Dhuoda continues her utterances from the vantage point of the next world, all the while perpetuating her authorial stance. Like the Sybil from her cave, like the unstoppable singing bones arising from the pit in the Miracle of the Virgin, the "dead" mother speaks out of the mother's buried body. Yet even death will not stem the tide of her dauntless eloquence in the *Liber Manualis*. The epitaph fails to close the book; this is only, musically speaking, a deceptive cadence. The stratagem of the epitaph seems paradoxically to energize the speaker, to reaffirm her creative vitality. The unextinguishable mother rises up out of the grave, exhuming herself to start a new chapter, for now she must instruct William on the Psalms! Unburied, the maternal voice pours forth until an arbitrary closure is imposed. In Chaucer's *Prioress's Tale*, a "grain" has to be removed from beneath the tongue of the singing corpse to end the compulsive gush of song. Dhuoda provides her own miracle: she simply calls upon the reader once again to pray for her, the previously inscribed Dhuoda, utters Christ's words from the cross, and the flow of words ceases at last.

### The aftermath

Dhuoda finished her book on February 2, 843. Two months later the Empress Judith died in the city of Tours, according to the Annals of Xanten for April 19, 843. In August at Verdun, Charles the Bald

houses of feudal France. It narrates lineage without narrating a definite lineage. Neither paradigm nor event, the *virga lesse* retains the ambiguous status of fact cloaked in fiction and of fiction grounded in fact." Dhuoda claims high blood for her family, but to construct a "tree" would mean naming forebears close to the emperor. Dhuoda writes circumspectly. Like the Wife of Bath (from different motives), she would say, "Christ wol we clayme of him our gentiltesse." She is certainly not worldly enough or audacious enough to propose grafting the family twigs to Troy.

and his half-brothers put an end to their discord on how to share the *regnum*. Charles would inaugurate his reign afresh, recognized now as the ruler of a western realm that included West Francia, Aquitaine, Gascony, and Septimania as far as Spain – regions corresponding to modern France, their language chiefly romance.

The outcome of events that shadowed Dhuoda's existence put a tragic conclusion to the family hopes in the microcosmic epic that lies embedded in the *Liber Manualis*. Like mothers in the *Nibelungenlied* and *Beowulf* – Uote and Wealthew – Dhuoda uttered warnings that would go unheeded. In the spring of 844, Prudentius, bishop of Troyes, opens the Annals of St.-Bertin with a report on the weather:

The winter was a very mild one, made more so by the mild weather's lasting right up to the beginning of February. Bernard, count of the Spanish March, had for a long time now had great plans and thirsted for the heights of power. He was found guilty of treason by judgment of the Franks, and was executed in Aquitaine on Charles's orders.<sup>77</sup>

Only the previous year, Lupus of Ferrières had written to Charles, still not yet twenty, that he should not fear the *potentes* "whom you yourself have made and whom you can bring low when you wish."<sup>78</sup> In April or May, Charles moved against his former mentor and struck Bernard down.<sup>79</sup>

His father's disgrace and fall, together with the matter of the withheld estates, would provoke William's armed response. He may have witnessed Bernard's execution. The feudal bond was lifelong, but could be broken if a lord tried to kill the vassal, strike him with a rod, violate his wife or commit adultery with her, seduce or rape his

<sup>77</sup> Annals of St.-Bertin for 844, p. 57.

<sup>78</sup> Letter 31, *Correspondance*, ed. L. Levillain, 2 vols. (Paris, 1927–35), vol. 1: 145.

<sup>79</sup> In the Annals of St.-Bertin for 864, Hincmar called Bernard "the late tyrant," whose execution the Franks had ordered. Lina Malbos, "La capture de Bernard de Septimanie," *Le Moyen Age* 76 (1970): 5–13, summarizing earlier historians, suggests that Bernard may have tried to hold his former county of Toulouse, where Charles's authority was as yet uncertain. A legend recorded by Odo Ariberti thickens the mystery of Bernard's end: There was a seeming reconciliation between Bernard and Charles the Bald – whom pernicious gossips claimed to be Bernard's son. The two took communion at the monastery of Saint Saturninus near Toulouse. Afterwards, Bernard knelt to Charles in homage. Charles seemed to help him up, then with his other hand struck him in the side with a dagger. Splashed with Bernard's blood he kicked the body and shouted, "Damn you, who sullied the marriage bed of my father and your lord!" ("Vae, tibi qui thalamum patris mei et domini tui foedasti!") The corpse lay unburied until the third day, when Samuel, Bishop of Toulouse, gave Bernard a funeral and inscribed his tomb ("Narratio de morte Bernardi Septimaniae ducis," *Recueil des Historiens de Gaules et de la France*, ed. Martin Bouquet and others, 24 vols. [Paris, 1738–1906], vol. 7: 286–87).

daughter, deprive him of any part of his patrimony, make him a serf, fall on him with raised sword, or fail to defend him.<sup>80</sup> William found ample grievance. His mother had urged loyalty to his father; revenge now became an imperative. Within months, on June 14, 844, William and his confederates, Pippin II among them, ambushed Charles's Frankish army on its way south near Angoulême. They killed and scattered many, including a surprising number of clerics. One who fell that day was Nithard the historian.<sup>81</sup>

Now that William's private war against Charles was on, he cast about for allies and found them in 847 at the court of the Arab emir Abd-ar-Rahman II. An Andalusian source takes note of him as *Gulyalim ben Barbat*, William son of Bernard: "The emir loaded him with gifts and told him to return to the March and fight the king of the Franks and those of his compatriots who were rebelling against the authority of Cordova."<sup>82</sup> When Eulogius, the Spanish priest and leader of the Cordova martyrs, tried to cross the Pyrenees in search of his brothers, he found the route blocked by bandits in league with the terrorist William.<sup>83</sup>

In 848, five years after Dhuoda finished her treatise, William made an effort to take Barcelona, the paternal stronghold. His father and his grandfather, St. Guilhem, had been champions of that city and

<sup>80</sup> Ganshof, *Feudalism*, p. 31. The Germanic obligation of *faida*, or private vengeance, reinforces the feudal, and is evident in literature and life. See Régine Le Jan, "La faide," in *Famille et pouvoir*, pp. 90-94; and R. Howard Bloch, in the context of *chanson de geste*: "Sanctioned in Roman Gaul in cases of murder, rape, adultery, or theft, the blood vengeance implied a solidarity of family lineage rivaled only by the lord-vassal tie. The Germanic *faida* functioned under the assumption that harm done to any member of the immediate kin group . . . represented an affront to the group as a whole," *Medieval French Literature and the Law* (Berkeley: University of California Press), p. 67. And see "faida," in J. F. Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1976).

<sup>81</sup> Annals of St.-Bertin for 844, pp. 58-59; p. 58 n. 9.

<sup>82</sup> From the *Muqtabis* of Ibn Hayyan of Cordova (d. 1076), using older materials. See Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz, "El tercer rey de España," *Cuadernos de Historia de España* 49/50 (1969): 30 and nn., cited in Nelson, *Charles the Bald*, p. 151, n. 87. Here is another motif to surface in *chanson de geste*: Frankish defector bribed with Saracen wealth. In the *Chanson de Roland*, the Arab king's treasurer loads seven hundred camels with gold and silver for Ganelon ("Vil .c. chamelz d'or e d'argent chargez"), l. 645; the loot is more lavishly described in lines 845-47. Like Ganelon, William plots against a relative he's convinced has stripped him of his goods (*aveir*, l. 3756). T. A. Jenkins, ed., *La Chanson de Roland* (Boston: D. C. Heath, 1924).

<sup>83</sup> So Eulogius reports in a letter to the bishop of Pamplona: "ignota laboriosa itinera subire compelleret, quoniam stipata praedonibus via, et funeroso quondam Willihelmi tota Gothia perturbata erat incursu, qui adversum Carolum regem Francorum eo tempore auxillo fretus Habbarraghmanis regis Arabum, tyrannidem agens . . ." (PL 115: 845).

William at twenty-two must have felt he could claim alliances there. The Annals of St.-Bertin for 850 allege that William acted through trickery. He got rid of Sunifred, count of Urgel and Cerdaña, Charles's local appointee in Barcelona and Bernard's replacement, and seized or drove out Charles's further envoys. But William miscalculated. Deserted by his newfound Muslim friends, he was slain trying to escape, or was executed in 850 by Charles the Bald, his kinsman and seignorial lord.

Dhuoda's younger son, Bernard, going by the epithet of *Plantapilosa*, *Plantevelue*, or "Hairy Paws," (i.e. "the fox"), lived on to harass the Carolingian authorities. As the annalist for 864, Hincmar reported that Bernard hid in a wood where he tried to ambush and slay Charles the Bald, to avenge his father, as some said. Ordered to be seized, Bernard escaped but lost his "honors" of Autun which Charles had given him. According to tradition, a tenth-century descendent of St. Guilhem's, probably through Bernard's line, took the title of *dux Aquitanorum* and became William the Pious, founder of Cluny, who endowed the new monastery with the vast Burgundian estates that haunt the *Liber Manualis*.<sup>84</sup>

As a coda for the ages, the story of Bernard of Septimania was to be rewritten wishfully in the fourteenth century, a case of chronicle becoming epic, then romance. The Middle English adventures of "The Erle of Toulouse"<sup>85</sup> depict a long-suffering though resilient outsider named Sir Barnard of Toulouse, who fights the Emperor of Almayne to win back lands the Emperor has seized. When slanderers falsely accuse the empress of adultery, Barnard vindicates her and saves her life. The emperor dies, Barnard marries the empress and begets fifteen sons. So art completes the action, favoring the maverick hero and giving him imperial lady, realm, dynasty, and glamor. The English romance mentions no literary wife. While legend transforms the luckless brawler, Dhuoda endures as a mother's voice from the grave, a mother's mirrored image, her name and book in her own words. Her devout descendant of Cluny would no doubt have pleased Dhuoda.

<sup>84</sup> On Dhuoda's younger son Bernard, see Levillain, "Les Nibelungen historiques," 49: 366-69; Léonce Auzias, *L'Aquitaine carolingienne* (Toulouse/Paris, 1937), esp. pp. 389-423; Lina Malbos, "Du surnom de Plantevelue," *Le Moyen Age* 70 (1964): 5-11; Janet L. Nelson, *Charles the Bald*, pp. 211-12.

<sup>85</sup> Ed. W. H. French and C. B. Hale, *Middle English Metrical Romances* (1930; rpt. New York: Russell and Russell, 1964): 384-419. Gaston Paris, "Le Roman du comte de Toulouse," *Annales du Midi* 12 (1900): 5-32, speculates on the lost French source.

## Manuscripts and early editions

### B Barcelona

Ms 569, Biblioteca Central, Barcelona. 120 folios, paper; folios 57–88, 2 columns, first half of the fourteenth century: *Liber manualis Duodene quem ad filium suum transmisit Wielmum*. Preceding the *Liber Manualis* is a copy of Isidore's *Differentiae* and a treatise on computation. Following the *Liber Manualis* are Alcuin's *Liber de virtutibus*, the *Distica Catoris*, and a commentary by Alcuin on the Parables of Solomon (Proverbs 10.1–22.16).

The Barcelona manuscript came to the attention of André Vernet when Alfred Cordoliani published "Los manuscritos de cómputo eclesiástico en las bibliotecas de Barcelona," *Analecta Sacra Tarracoen-sia* 23 (1950): 122–23. At the time, only the Paris and the Nîmes manuscripts of the *Liber Manualis* were known. Vernet presented his discovery in the *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* (1957): 42–43, and again in "Un nouveau manuscrit du Manuel de Dhuoda (Barcelona, Biblioteca Central 569)," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 114 (1956): 20–44.

The readings in B suggest that its exemplar was of Catalan origin. B contains a prologue not found in N or P, and supplies three other passages not included in P, as well as readings that improve the text. B1 readings represent the manuscript before correction; B2 represents corrected readings, transcribed apparently from an older ms., and often conforming to the readings of N.

Since William died in Barcelona, Riché proposes that the original exemplar from which B ultimately derives was William's own book.

### P Paris

Ms 12293, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin, folios 1–90, paper, 2 columns, seventeenth century: *Liber Dodanae Manualis quem ad filium suum direxit Willelhum*.

P was copied at the monastery at St.-Germain-des-Prés under the direction of Dom Luc d'Achery, from a manuscript belonging to Pierre de Marca, archbishop of Toulouse and later of Paris (d. 1662). This testimony comes from Dom Mabillon, who published extracts from the Paris copy in his *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti* IV.1 (Paris, 1677): 750–57. These were the Preface, table of contents, and list of thirteen chapters. In 1851, Mabillon's text was reprinted in Migne (*PL* 106: 109–18).

How did Dhuoda's *Manual* come to the possession of archbishop Pierre de Marca? Riché submits two possibilities. The *Manual* could have accompanied the *Chronicle of Uzès*, which formerly belonged to the Uzès cathedral archives and eventually made its way to the archbishop's library. More likely, however, is that during his seven-year residence in Barcelona Pierre de Marca, who took an interest in the region's history, found the *Liber Manualis* in a Catalan library. His book on the Spanish March, *Marca Hispanica*, was published by Etienne Baluze in 1688, and incorporated two passages from the *Liber Manualis*, corresponding to the Preface and the closure (11.20). The last chapter of Pierre de Marca's manuscript bore the name of the scribe Wislabert, who, after Dhuoda's plea for the readers' prayers, added "et pro scriptore Wislaberto qui magno labore hunc codicem scripsit manuaem".

Mabillon or an assistant made revisions in P, so that we now have P1, P2 (which conforms to readings in B), and P3, corrections made by yet another hand.

### N Nîmes

Ms 393, Bibliothèque Municipale de Nîmes. 32 folios, parchment, one column. The ms consists of nine fragments of the text of the *Liber Manualis*, written in the ninth or tenth century in a good Carolingian minuscule. On the last folio (31 v<sup>o</sup>), a seventeenth-century hand has inscribed "ce presant libre appartient à moy," signed "P. dedonez." Other marginal notations point to a seventeenth- or eighteenth-century hand. The nine fragments contain:

- (1) Part of the table of contents
- (2) Ch. 22, 20 lines in the second quarter
- (3) Ch. 23, lines 12–36
- (4) Ch. 28, line 23 to ch. 30, line 7
- (5) Ch. 30, more than the last three-quarters to ch. 31 line 15
- (6) Ch. 32, the last 18 lines, and ch. 33, lines 1–9
- (7) Ch. 43, the last 16 lines of ch. 39 to line 19. Missing is ch. 42
- (8) Ch. 60, line 5 to ch. 63, line 2
- (9) Ch. 67, line 11, to the end of the text.

Despite its condition, the discovery of a manuscript as early as N contributes to the reconstruction of the text: for instance, the Nîmes manuscript contains Dhuoda's poems, which the Paris scribe was to write as prose. N was discovered in 1885 among the papers of E. Germer-Durand.

## Incipit textus

Praesens iste libellus in tribus virgulis constat esse erectus: lege cuncta et in fine plenius nosse valebis. Volo enim ut simili modo in tribus lineis secundum auctoritatis seriem utilissimum habeat nomen: id est Norma, Forma et Manualis. Quod utrumque hae partes locutionis in nos specietenus continentur cuncta: Norma ex me, Forma in te, Manualis tam ex me quam in te, ex me collectus, in te receptus.

"Manus" enim multis intelligitur modis: aliquando Dei potestas, aliquando Filii, aliquando etiam ipse intelligitur Filius. Potestas Dei, sicut ait Apostolus: *Humillamini sub potenti manu Dei*; potestas Filii, ut ait Daniel: *Potestas eius, potestas aeterna*; aliquando ipse Filius, Psalmista dicente: *Mitte manum tuam de alto*, id est Filium tuum e summis coelorum. Haec omnia vel his similia operatio et potestas intelligitur sancta, nam manus opus significat perfectum, Scriptura dicente: *Et facta est super me manus Domini*, hoc est redemptio, quod credentes ad perfectum usque perduxit; item: *Erat enim manus Domini confortans me*, et item: *Nam et manus eius cum ipso est*.

"Alis" quanquam multas habet significationes, tamen hoc in loco secundum quidem sententias Patrum tribus replicabo sensibus, hoc est *scopon* quod dicitur destinatio, et *consumatio* quod intelligitur perfectio, et *secutio* quod est finitio; vel certe *ales* prece et lucis intelligitur nuncius; finem noctis deducens, *lucem precinit* horarum. Quam significationem habeat huius locutio quod dicitur Manualis, nisi finis ignorantiae? Et nuntius intelligitur prescius lucis futurorum, ac si dicat: *Nox precessit, dies autem adpropinquabit*, hoc est Christus, ipse videlicet qui dixit: *Si ego dies et vos horae, sequimini me*, et cetera.

Item. A capite huius libelli usque ad finem, et in arte et in sensu, et metris melodiae et in articulatione atque motibus fluxuum membrorum,<sup>1</sup> omnia et per omnia et in omnibus ad salutem animae et corporis tui cuncta tibi scriptitata cognosce. Quod volo ut cum ex manu mea

## The text begins

This little book has been set up to reveal a threefold design. Read the whole work, and by the end you'll be able to grasp it more fully. I want the three guidelines to be marked with equal emphasis in the very useful sequence of my teachings: The Rule, the Form, and the Handbook. Each of these parts of the discourse pertains to us both in every way. The Rule of Conduct comes from me; the Form it realizes is within you; the Handbook is as much from me as it is for you, composed by me and received within you.

Now the "Hand" [in "Handbook"] can be understood in many senses: sometimes it signifies God's power; sometimes the Son's power, and sometimes it means the Son himself. The power of God appears in the Apostle's saying as: "Humble yourself beneath the power of God's hand."<sup>1</sup> The power of the Son appears in Daniel: "His power is an eternal power."<sup>2</sup> When it means the Son himself, it is as the Psalmist says: "Send your hand from on high,"<sup>3</sup> in other words, "Send your Son from heaven's heights."

All these and similar passages can be understood as divine activity and power. For "Hand" signifies the work completed, as Scripture says: "And the Lord's hand was laid upon me",<sup>4</sup> that is to say, the redemption which has led believers to perfection. Also, "For the Lord's hand was comforting me."<sup>5</sup> And again, "For his hand is with him."<sup>6</sup>

The "-alis" part of *Manualis* has many meanings. I shall, however, explain only three of them here, according to the sayings of the Fathers. It means scope, which is "aim"; consummation, which is "achievement"; and a striving after, which is "completion."<sup>7</sup> Or, indeed, "bird" signifies the herald and messenger of dawn, bringing the end of night and singing the light of the morning hours.<sup>8</sup> What other meaning, then, could this term *Manualis* have but the end of ignorance?

One thinks, too, of the messenger foreknowing the light of the future, as if to say: "The night has gone before, the day will hasten"<sup>9</sup> that is, Christ, who himself has plainly said, "If I am the day and you are the hours, follow me,"<sup>10</sup> and so forth.

Furthermore, from the start of this little book to the end, in crafting it and infusing its meaning – both in the measures of its lyrical parts and the articulation and movement of the flow of its clauses<sup>11</sup> – I want you to know this: All of it has been written for the well-being of your soul and your body – all these things and through all and in all. What I desire is that when this work has been directed to you from

<sup>1</sup> Dronke corrects from *et in articulatione motibus atque fluxuum membrorum*. See *Verse With Prose From Petronius to Dante*, p. 85 and p. 138 n. 8.

tibi fuerit directus, in manu tua libenter facias amplecti eum opus, et tenens, volvens legensque stude opere compleri dignissime. Dicatur enim iste formatus libellus Manualis, hoc est sermo ex me, opus in te, et ut ait quidam: *Ego plantavi, Apollo rigavit, Deus autem incrementum dedit*. Quid hic aliud possum dicere, fili, nisi quod ex meritis precedentibus tuis in hoc labore cum studio operis *boni certavi, fidem servans cursu consumavi felici*? Et in quo haec vigeant, nisi in illum qui dixit: *Consumatum est*? Quicquid enim in hoc Manuali inchoans deduxi volumine et secundum hebream locutionem et secundum elementa Graecorum atque latinitatis expressionem, usque in finem in illum consumavi opere qui dicitur Deus.

### In nomine Sanctae Trinitatis

Incipit liber Dhuodane Manualis quem ad filium suum transmisit Wilhelmum.

Cernens plurimas cum suis in saeculo gaudere proles, et me Dhuodanam, o fili Wilhelme, a te elongatam conspiciens procul, ob id quasi anxia et utilitatis desiderio plena, hoc opusculum ex nomine meo scriptum in tuam specie tenus formam legendi dirigo gaudens.<sup>2</sup> Quod si absens sum corpore, iste praesens libellus tibi ad mentem reducat quid erga me, cum legeris, debeas agere.

### Epigrama operis subsequentis

D eus, summe lucis conditor, poli  
Siderumque auctor, rex aeterne, agius,  
H oc a me coeptum tu perfice clemens.  
Q uanquam ignara, ad te perquiro sensum,  
U t tua capax placita perquiram,  
Praesens et futurum tempus curram aptum.  
O mnia per cuncta trinus et unus,  
Tuis per saecula prospera largiris.

<sup>2</sup> Dronke, citing Barcelona, corrects from *in tuam spectetenus formam legendi dirigo, gaudens* (*Women Writers*, pp. 40 and 290, n.9).

my hand, you'll willingly grasp it in your own hand, and enfolding it, turning it over, and reading it and studying it, you'll strive to fulfill its teachings in the most worthwhile actions. For let it be said that this little book in the form of a handbook consists of words from me, and their actualization in you. As a certain one has said: "I have planted the seed, Apollo has watered it, and God has made it grow."<sup>12</sup> What more can I say here, my son, except that on the basis of the good qualities you already have in you, I – with zeal for this undertaking – "have fought the good fight, and keeping the faith, I have finished the blessed race."<sup>13</sup> In whom do these things have value if not in that One who has said, "It is finished"?<sup>14</sup> For whatever I have composed in this handbook, beginning with this chapter, whether it follows Hebrew expressions, Greek letters, or the Latin tongue; I have taken my work to its end in him who is called God.

### In the name of the Holy Trinity

Here begins the book, Dhuoda's Handbook, which she has addressed to her son William.

I have observed that most women in this world take joy in their children. But, my son William, I see myself, Dhuoda, living separated and far away from you. For this reason I am somewhat ill at ease, and eager to be useful to you. I am happy, therefore, to address this little book to you, which is transcribed in my own name. It is for you to read as a kind of model. Even though I am absent in body, this little book will be present. As you read, it will lead your spirit back to those things you ought to do for my sake.

### Verse inscription to the work that follows

D ivine Lord, high Maker of light, and Creator  
of heaven's stars, Eternal King, Holy –  
H ere is my work begun. Crown it with clemency.  
T hough I am ignorant I ask your wisdom,  
U nder your scheme, may I ask for the skill  
to live righteously, now and hereafter.  
O ne and threefold in all, you lavish riches  
On your people forever and ever.

**D**igna dignis semper meritis ad singula  
 Tribuis celsam tibi famulantes.  
**A**d te, ut valeo, poplito flexu,  
 Gratias refero conditori largas.  
**D**e tua mihi, obsecro, largiri  
 Opem, ad dextram sublevans axem.  
**I**lluc namque credo tuis sine fine  
 Manere posse quiesci in regno.  
**L**icet sim indignans, fragilis et exul,  
 Limo revoluta, trahens ad imma,  
**E**st tamen michi consors amica  
 Fidaque, de tuis relaxandi crimina.  
**C**entrum qui poli continens girum,  
 Pontum et arva concludis palmo,  
**T**ibi commendo filium Wilhelmum:  
 Prosperum largiri iubeas in cunctis.  
**O**ris atque semper currat momentis  
 Te super omnem diligat factorem.<sup>3</sup>  
**F**illis cum tuis mereatur felici  
 Concito gradu scandere culmen.  
**I**n te suus semper vigilet sensus  
 Pandens; per saecula vivat feliciter;  
**L**esus nunquam ille incidat in iram  
 Neque separatus oberret a tuis.  
**I**ubilet locundus cursu felici,  
 Pergat cum virtute fulgens ad supra;  
**O**mnia semper a te abta petat.  
 Qui das sine fastu, dona illi sensum,  
**V**t te intelligat credere,<sup>4</sup> amare,  
 Laudare gratilis<sup>5</sup> duplicatis aglum.  
**V**eniat in eum larga tua gratia,  
 Pax et securitas corporis et mente,  
**I**n quo in saeculo vigeat cum prole,  
 Ita tenens ista careat ne illa.  
**L**egensque revolvat volumen ad tempus,  
 Dicta sanctorum obtemperet sensu.  
**H**abeat acceptum a te intellectum,  
 Quid, quando, cui, sublevet opem.

**D**eserving folk always earn just deserts from you;  
 to each of your servants you give high rewards.  
**A**mpler thanksgiving, on bended knee,  
 to you, Creator, I offer as best I can.  
**D**eign to empower me, I entreat you,  
 raising me high to be at your right hand.  
**I**n that kingdom, I trust, your people may rest  
 forever and ever, without end.  
**L**imed in earth's mud, I am feeble, an exile,  
 dragged to the very pit. Nevertheless,  
**E**ver with me is a friend, a lady, –  
 Who trusts you will pardon your people's sins.<sup>15</sup>  
**C**entral you are, you grasp heaven's wheel –  
 Ocean and ploughlands you fold in your palm.  
**T**o your trust I commend my son, William.  
 Command that he prosper in every way!  
**O**ver the hours and moments may he hasten  
 to cherish you always above all else.  
**F**araway peaks may he scale deservedly  
 with your children, on foot glad and swift.  
**I**n you may his vigilant thoughts be awakened,  
 To dwell in felicity, ever and ever.  
**L**et anger not befall him if he is injured.  
 Let him not wander far from your flock.  
**I**n jubilant joy, may he run a glad course,  
 Shining with virtue and reaching the heights.  
**O**btaining all just things – may this be his aim.  
 You who give without scorn, grant him good sense  
**V**erily to know you, to believe you, to love you,  
 and praise you with redoubled thanks, Holy One.  
**V**isit upon him your bounteous grace,  
 with peace and safety of body and mind.  
**I**n this world may he and his children flourish,  
 and have good things here, while not losing them there.  
**L**et him read and heed this book at the right time,  
 sagely obeying the words of the saints.  
**H**elp him discern, with the wit that you give him,  
 how, when, and to whom to render his aid.

<sup>3</sup> Dronke construes: *currat semper, omnibus momentis atque horis, te diligat* (*Women Writers*, p. 291, n. 16).

<sup>4</sup> *Vt te intelligat* is printed here instead of the normalized *Ut te intelligat* to preserve the anagram.

<sup>5</sup> Riché corrects from *gratis*.

E t tibi iugiter quaternas percurrat  
 Virtutes, multorum teneat capax.  
 L argus et prudens, pius et fortis,  
 Temperantiam necne deserat unquam.  
 M is michi similem non habebit unquam,  
 Quanquam indigna genitrixque sua,  
 O mnibus semper momentis et oris,  
 Rogans te obnix: miserere illi.  
 S unt michi multae anxiarum turmae,  
 Flagitans pro illum fragili labore.  
 A d te, largitorem omnium bonorum,  
 Eum in cunctis commendo gratantem.  
 L icet sit discors regnum et patria,  
 Tu tamen manes solus immutabilis.  
 U trum digni abta placita perquirant,  
 In tuo nutu continentur cuncta.  
 T uum est regnum tuaque potestas  
 Plenitudo terrae diffusa per orbem,  
 E t tibi soli famulantur cuncta.  
 Qui regnas semper, miserere prolis.  
 M is duo nati ostensi in saeculo  
 Vivant, obsecro, teque semper diligant.  
 L ector qui cupis formulam nosse,  
 Capita perquire abta versorum.  
 E xin valebis concito gradu  
 Sensu cognosci quae sim conscripta.  
 G enitrix duorum masculini sexus,  
 Rogo, ut ores conditori almo:  
 E rigat ad summum genitorem prolis  
 Meque cum illis iungat in regnum.

A littera D. delta incipe legendo, M. moyda hactenus conclusa sunt. Finiunt versi. Opitulante Christo adgrediar opus coeptum ad prolem.

### Incipit prologus

Multis plura patent, mihi tamen latent, meae quoque similes, obscurato sensu, carent intellectu, si minus dicam, plus ego. Adest semper ille qui ora aperit mutorum et infantium linguas facit disertas. Dhuoda quanquam in fragili sexu, inter dignas vivens indigne, tamen genitrix tua, fili Wilhelme, ad te nunc meus sermo dirigitur manualis, ut, veluti tabularum lusus maxime iuvenibus inter ceteras artium partes mundanas congruus et abtus constat ad tempus, vel certe inter

E ver for your sake, let him seek the virtues.  
 By practicing all four,<sup>16</sup> he may achieve much.  
 L et him be lavish, wise, dutiful, brave,  
 never abandoning self-control.  
 M other am I to him. He will have no one else  
 like me – yes, he's mine –<sup>17</sup> though I am unworthy!  
 O n him have mercy, I pray resolutely  
 to you at every moment and hour.  
 S orrows beset me in swarms as I struggle,  
 making frail efforts on his behalf.  
 A nd to you, Giver of every bounty,  
 I entrust him – he takes joy in all.  
 L and of our fathers, our realm is in turmoil –  
 While immutable still you alone remain.  
 U pon your divine will all outcome depends,  
 whether good people will seek the right resolves.  
 T he kingdom is yours, and yours is the power,<sup>18</sup>  
 yours is earth's plenitude throughout the globe.<sup>19</sup>  
 E verything serves you, you alone.  
 You who reign ever – pity my children!  
 M ay my two sons, born into this world,  
 Live, I beseech you, and cherish you always.  
 L etters beginning each verse spell the meaning:  
 Reader, discover them, search out the pattern,  
 E ventually you will be expert in knowing  
 at a swift leap the things I have written.  
 G rant me, mother of two male children,  
 my prayer to the loving Creator: may he  
 E xalt to the heights the sire of these offspring,  
 and join me to them in his heavenly realm.

Begin your reading with the letter Delta. With Meta<sup>20</sup> all so far is ended. The verses are finished. With Christ's help I shall embark on the work I have begun for my children.

### The Prologue begins

Many things are clear to many people, and yet these things are not clear to me. Those who are like me have a clouded capacity, and they lack understanding. If I say that *they* lack understanding, all the more do I.<sup>21</sup> But he "who opens the mouths of the mute and makes the tongues of infants eloquent"<sup>22</sup> is always present. I, Dhuoda, although of the frail sex and living unworthily among women who are worthy, am nonetheless your mother, my son William. It is to you that the

aliquas ex parte in speculis mulierum demonstratio apparere solet vultu, ut sordida extergant, exhibentesque nitida, suis in saeculo satagunt placere maritis, ita te obto ut, inter mundanas et saeculares actionum turmas oppressus, hunc libellum a me tibi directum frequenter legere, et, ob memoriam mei, velut in speculis atque tabulis ioco, ita non negligas.

Licet sint tibi multa ad crescentium librorum volumina, hoc opusculum meum tibi placeat frequenter legere, et cum adiutorio omnipotentis Dei utiliter valeas intelligere. Invenies in eo quidquid in brevi cognoscere malis; invenies etiam et speculum in quo salutem animae tuae indubitanter possis conspicerere, ut non solum saeculo, sed ei per omnia possis placere qui te *formavit ex limo*: quod tibi per omnia necesse est, fili Wilhelme, ut in utroque negotio talis te exhibeas, qualiter possis utilis esse saeculo, et Deo per omnia placere valeas semper.

Sunt mihi curae multae, ad te, o fili Wilhelme, verba dirigere salutis, inter quas ardens et vigil meus aestuat animus, ut tibi de tua, auxiliante Deo, nativitate, in hunc codicem libelli ex meo desiderio habeas conscriptum, sicut in sequentibus est utiliter praeordinatum.

### Praefatio

Anno feliciter, Christo propitio, XI, domno nostro Ludovico condam fulgente in imperio, concurrente V, III Kalendarum iulii diem, in Aquisgrani palatio, ad meum dominum tuumque genitorem Bernardum legalis in coniugio accessi uxor. Et iterum in tertio decimo anno regni eius, III Kalendarum decembris, auxiliante, ut credo, Deo, tua ex me, desideratissime fili primogenite, in saeculo processit nativitas.

Volvente et crescente calamitate huius saeculi miseria, inter multas fluctuationes et discordias regni, imperator praedictus viam omnium isse non dubium est. Nam infra XXVIII anno regni eius, non perveniens ad summum, vitam saeculi debitam finivit. Post mortem quoque eius, in anno sequente, nativitas fratris tui XI Kalendas aprilis: ex meo

words of my manual are now addressed. The game of tables,<sup>23</sup> among other pleasurable pursuits, is agreed to be a most congenial and apt pastime for young people. And, some women will customarily peer at their own faces in the mirror so that they may cleanse away the spots of dirt and show themselves radiant and, in a worldly way, give pleasure to their husbands. In just such a way, I would like you, in spite of the pressures of your worldly occupations, to give your devoted attention – for my sake – to the reading of this little book which I have addressed to you. Give it that same degree of attention and zeal that others give to looking in the mirror or playing a board game.

Even though you may own an increasing number of books, may it still please you to read my little work often. I wish you may be able to master it for your benefit – with the help of Almighty God. You will find in this book in succinct form all that you want to know. You will also find in it a mirror, in which without a doubt you can fix your gaze upon the health of your soul. In so doing you can please in every way not only the world but him who formed you from clay.<sup>24</sup> What is in every way necessary, son William, is that in fulfilling both duties you show that you can lead a useful life in the world and that you can please God in all things.

My great concerns about you, my son William, are to send you salutary words. Among these words, my vigilant mind yearns ardently to tell you – with God's help – about your birth. So in this little book, written for you as a result of my desire, these things will follow as planned.

### Preface

In the eleventh year of the reign of our departed lord Ludovic, who ruled in splendor by the will of Christ,<sup>25</sup> I was given in lawful marriage on June 29, 824,<sup>26</sup> in the palace of Aachen, to my lord Bernard, your father. And again, in the thirteenth year of that reign, on November 29, 826,<sup>27</sup> with God's help as I believe, you were born, issuing forth out of me into the world, most dearly desired first-born son.

In the course of the worsening turmoil of this wretched world, in the midst of much agitation and discord in the realm, the emperor did not escape the common path of mortality. In fact, his life ended before he had completed the twenty-eighth year of his reign. And in the year following his death, on March 22, 841,<sup>28</sup> your brother was born;



secundus post te, in Uzecla urbè, Deo miserante, egressus est utero. Etenim parvulum illum, antequam baptismatis accepisset gratiam, dominus et genitor Bernardus utrique vestrum, una cum Elefanto, praedictae civitatis episcopo, et cum ceteris fidelibus suis, in Aquitaniae partibus ad suam fecit adduci praesentiam.

Sed cum diu, ob absentiam praesentiae vestrae, sub iussione senioris mei, in praedicta, cum agone illius iam gaudens, residerem urbe, ex tuo desiderio utrique vestrum hunc codicillum secundum parvitatatis meae intelligentiam tibi transcribi et dirigere curavi.

Item eiusdem. Licet ex multis sim occupata angustiis, ut tuo aliquando conspicerem aspectu, tamen haec una secundum Deum in arbitrio Domini constat prior.<sup>6</sup> Volueram quidem, si daretur mihi virtus de Deo; sed quia longe est a me peccatrice salus, volo, et in hac voluntate meus valde marcessit animus.

Audivi enim quod genitor tuus Bernardus in manus domni te commendavit Karoli regis; admoneo te ut huius negotii dignitatem usque ad perfectum voluntati operam des. Tamen, ut ait Scriptura, *primum in omnibus regnum Dei quaere et cetera tunc adicientur*, ea quae necessaria sunt animae et corpori tuo fruenda feliciter.

Explicit praefatio.

### Incipiunt capitula huius libri

#### <I>

- <1> De diligendo Deum.
- <2> De quaerendo Deum.
- <3> De magnitudine Dei.
- <4> De altitudine Dei.
- <5> Item eiusdem, de Deo.
- <6> Item moralis eiusdem.
- <7> Admonitio eiusdem.

#### <II>

- <1> De sancta Trinitate.
- <2> De fide, spe et karitate.

<sup>6</sup> Riché corrects from *priori*.

second to you, he issued from my womb – through God’s mercy – in the town of Uzès. He was still a baby and had not yet received the grace of baptism, when your lord and father to both of you had him brought to Aquitaine by Elefantus, the bishop of Uzès, and others of his followers.

But now I have been long deprived of your company, and I dwell in this town because my lord commands it. Though I am happy about the success of his campaigns, I am driven by my longing for you both. And so I have taken pains to have this little book, as my meager understanding allows, copied out and sent to you.

Another thing, despite the many cares that consume me, this anxiety is foremost in God’s established design – that I see you one day with my own eyes, if such is the Lord’s will. I would have wished it indeed if God granted me the power. But since salvation is far from me – sinful woman that I am<sup>29</sup> – I still wish it, and my heart greatly languishes with this desire.<sup>30</sup>

For I have learned that your father Bernard has commended you to the hands of our lord King Charles.<sup>31</sup> I urge you to acquit yourself of your noble duties with a perfect good will. However, as Scripture says, “seek first the kingdom of God in all things and the rest will then be added to you,”<sup>32</sup> all that is necessary for the benefit of your soul and body, to be happily enjoyed.

Here ends the Preface.

### The chapters of this book begin

#### <Book 1><sup>33</sup>

- <1> The love of God.
- <2> The quest for God.
- <3> The majesty of God.
- <4> The eminence of God.
- <5> More about God.
- <6> Moral application.
- <7> Advice about this.

#### <Book 2>

- <1> The holy Trinity.
- <2> Faith, hope, and charity.

- <3> De reverentia orationis.
- <4> Item eiusdem.

## &lt;III&gt;

- <1> De reverentia erga genitori tuo exhibenda.
- <2> Item eiusdem, de patre.
- <3> De exemplis patrum priorum accipiendis.
- <4> De seniore tuum. Alia. Alia.
- <5> De consilio accipiendo. Alia. Alia.
- <6> Item eiusdem, de consiliariis. Alia.
- <7> Admonitio singularis ad revertendum.
- <8> Ad propinquis seniorum tuorum. Alia. Alia.
- <9> Ad optimates ducum. Eiusdem.
- <10> Ut cum magnis et minimis flectas. Eiusdem.
- <11> Ut sacerdotibus honorem impendas. Eiusdem.

## &lt;IV&gt;

- <1> Admoneo ut diversas corrigas mores.
- <2> Item eiusdem de quo supra. Alia.
- <3> Ut superbiam fugias.
- <4> In septemplici dono Sancti Spiritus frequenter militare. Item eiusdem.
- <5> Admonitio utilis ad comprimenda vitia.
- <6> Ut contra vitia virtutes obponas.
- <7> Ut patientiam mentis et corporis teneas.
- <8> Ut facile vitia vincas, octo beatitudines, sicut hic inveneris, ore lege et corde retine semper.
- <9> Ut pauperibus, cum valueris, adiuves.

## &lt;V&gt;

- <1> De diversis tribulationibus, si tibi evenerint.
- <2> De reconciliandum, si aliquid deliqueris.
- <3> De diversis tentationibus, si tibi evenerint.
- <4> Si tribulatio.
- <5> Si persecutio.
- <6> Si necessitas.
- <7> Si angustia.
- <8> Si infirmitas. Item eiusdem.
- <9> Ut in omnibus Deo gloriam des.

- <3> Reverence in prayer.
- <4> More on the subject.

## &lt;Book 3&gt;

- <1> The reverence you should show your father.
- <2> More about your father.
- <3> Taking examples from the first Fathers.
- <4> Your seignorial lord. Other and further matters.
- <5> Taking counsel. Other and further matters.
- <6> More on the subject, about counselors. Other matters.
- <7> Particular warning on this subject.
- <8> Conduct toward the family of your seignorial lords. Other and further matters.
- <9> Conduct toward the principal leaders. About this.
- <10> Accommodate yourself to greater and lesser men. About this.
- <11> You should render honor to priests. About this.

## &lt;Book 4&gt;

- <1> I urge you to correct various aspects of your conduct.
- <2> The same subject as above. Other things.
- <3> Flee from pride.
- <4> Exercise often in the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit. More about this.
- <5> Useful admonition for repressing the vices.
- <6> You should counteract the vices with the virtues.
- <7> You should preserve patience in mind and body.
- <8> To conquer the vices easily, read with your lips the eight beatitudes, such as you find them here, and hold them ever in your heart.
- <9> Help the poor whenever you can.

## &lt;Book 5&gt;

- <1> Various hardships, if they should befall you.
- <2> Atoning, if you have committed some fault.
- <3> Various temptations, if they should befall you.
- <4> If it is hardship.
- <5> If it is persecution.
- <6> If it is adversity.
- <7> If it is affliction.
- <8> If it is sickness. More about this.
- <9> Render glory to God in all things.

## &lt;VI&gt;

- <1> Item, comparatio de septem dona et octo beatitudines virtutum conferentium tibi.
- <2> Ut vir perfectus esse valeas admoneo.
- <3> Et quomodo esse possis adiuvante Deo ostendo.
- <4> De septem compoti partibus, his qui in te peccaverint ut dimitas, proponendum admoneo.

## &lt;VII&gt;

- <1> De gemina nativitate sciendum.
- <2> Ut in prima nativitate vigeas opto.
- <3> Ut in secunda perseveres admoneo.
- <4> De prima et secunda morte.
- <5> Ut mortem primam conspicias ostendo.
- <6> Ut mortem secundam fugias certare.

## &lt;VIII&gt;

- <1> Ut in lectione et oratione vigeas admoneo.
- <2> De praeteritis, praesentibus et futuris.
- <3> Qualiter pro omnibus gradibus Ecclesiae ores insinuo.
- <4> Pro episcopis et sacerdotibus.
- <5> Pro regibus et sublimitate eorum.
- <6> Pro seniore tuo.
- <7> Ut pro genitore tuo assidue ores admoneo.
- <8> Item, pro omnibus qui sequuntur.
- <9> Concludimus in hoc ubi dicitur: "Et pro omni populo sancto Dei."
- <10> Et pro omnibus fidelibus defunctis ores.
- <11> Admoneo pro valde bonis.
- <12> Pro non valde bonis.
- <13> Pro inmeritis digna invenies subtus.
- <14> Pro defunctis genitori tuo parentes ora.
- <15> Pro domno Teodorico condam.
- <16> Et per omnes iterum defunctos, ut requiescant in pace, ora.
- <17> Item ad te specialiter.

## &lt;IX&gt;

- <1> De articulis et metrorum compotis.
- <2> De litteris Adam et eius sensibus.

## &lt;Book 6&gt;

- <1> Again, acquiring the virtues that the seven gifts and the eight beatitudes will bestow upon you.
- <2> I urge you to be a perfect man.
- <3> And I would show how you may become such a man with God's help.
- <4> I urge you, by computing with the number seven, to resolve to forgive those who have sinned against you.

## &lt;Book 7&gt;

- <1> What should be known about double births.
- <2> I wish you to be stalwart in your first birth.
- <3> I counsel you to persevere in your second birth.
- <4> The first and second deaths.
- <5> I show you how to consider the first death.
- <6> Strive to escape the second death.

## &lt;Book 8&gt;

- <1> I urge you to read and pray with zeal.
- <2> The past, the present, and the future.
- <3> I suggest how you should pray for all ranks within the church.
- <4> For bishops and priests.
- <5> For kings and their magnates.
- <6> For your overlord.
- <7> I urge you to pray continually for your father.
- <8> And for the following persons.
- <9> We conclude with these words: "And for all God's holy people."
- <10> And for all the faithful deceased.
- <11> I urge you on behalf of those who were truly good.
- <12> For those who were not truly good.
- <13> What is worthy of those without merit, you will learn as follows.
- <14> Pray for the deceased relatives of your father.
- <15> For the late lord Tedderic.
- <16> And pray for all the other deceased that they may rest in peace.
- <17> More of the same, especially for you.

## &lt;Book 9&gt;

- <1> Counting and the computing of measurements.
- <2> The letters in the word Adam and their meanings.

<3> De quinquies ternis benedictionibus in te coerentium et manentium semper.

<4> -

<5> -

<6> -

<X>

<1> De temporibus tuis. Item eiusdem.

<2> De versibus ex litteris compositis tuis.

<3> Post verba praescripta, de re publica.

<4> Ut pro me, tam in corpore volvente quam et post funebri sepulchri, pro salute animae meae exores rogo.

<5> Nomina defunctorum subtus transcripta.

<6> De epitaphio sepulchri mei ut scribi iubeas rogo.

<XI>

<1> <Qualiter ordinem psalmorum ex parte compones.>

<2> -

<3> The fifteen benedictions that belong to you and always remain yours.

<4> [The same subject].

<5> [The same subject].

<6> [The same subject].

<Book 10>

<1> The seasons of your life. About this.

<2> Verses composed on the letters of your name.

<3> Additions to the preceding, on public affairs.

<4> I beg you to pray for me as long as I inhabit this body, as well as after my funeral rites, for the salvation of my soul.

<5> The names of the deceased to have transcribed below.

<6> The epitaph for my tomb, which I ask you to inscribe.

<Book 11>

<1> How you should arrange the Psalms in useful order.

<2> [Closing].

## <1>

### <1> De diligendo Deum

Diligendus est Deus atque laudandus, non solum a supernis virtutibus, sed etiam ab omni humana creatura quae gradiuntur per terram et ad superos tendunt. Inter quos adortor te, fili, ut, in quantum vales, illa semper perquiras ubi cum dignis et abtīs Deumque diligentibus, ad certum possis scandere culmen, atque una cum illis ad regnum valeas pertingere sine fine mansurum.

Item. Rogo et humiliter suggero tuam iuventutis nobilitatem, quasi praesens, necnon etiam et illos ad quos hunc libellum ad relegendum ostenderis, ne me dampnent<sup>1</sup> vel reprehendant pro eo quod sim temera in tali subintrari agonizatio acumine laboris, ut tibi aliquid de Deo dirigi audeam sermonem. Certe et ego ipsa, considerans casum humanae fragilitatis meae, me reprehendi indesinenter non cesso, *cum sim misera, cinisque et pulvis*. Et quid dicam? Si patriarchae et prophetae, et ceteri sancti, a protoplasto usque nunc, eius non valere plenius intelligere sacramentis documenta, quanto<sup>2</sup> magis ego, exigua et infimi generis orta! Et si, ut ait Scriptura, *coelum et coeli coelorum eum prae magnitudine capere non possunt*, quid ego imperitissima valeam dicere?

Legimus in Geneseos quod cum beatus Moyses, ex consortio familiaritatis sermonum Dei, eius voluisset intueri vultum, ita alloquens ait: *Si inveni gratiam in conspectu tuo, ostende mihi teipsum ut videam te*. Responsum est illi: *Non poteris videre faciem meam, nec enim videbit me homo et vivere potest*. Et si in sanctis ita, quid putas in terris mihi similes? In hac denegatione conspiciuitatis valde meus marcescit animus: aestuat enim sensus.

<sup>1</sup> Riché corrects from *dapnent*.

<sup>2</sup> Riché corrects from *quato*.

## <Book 1>

### <1> The love of God

God should be loved and praised, not only by the heavenly powers, but by all human creatures who walk over this earth and aspire to heaven. I entreat you, my son, you who are among these, that you strive with all your strength in order to scale the summit – with all others worthy and capable of loving God – and with them arrive in the kingdom that shall endure without end.

Again, I ask and humbly appeal to your noble youth as if I were there with you – and also those to whom you show this little book for the purpose of study – not to condemn or reproach me for being bold enough to undertake so sharp and strenuous a task, that of daring to discourse to you about God! To be sure, I too reproach myself ceaselessly, mindful of the circumstance of my human fragility, for I am wretched, I who am only dust and ashes.<sup>1</sup> And what shall I say? If the patriarchs, prophets and other saints, from the first created man up until now, have been unable to reach a fuller understanding of the mysteries of sacred teachings, how much less can I, who am wretched and born of a lesser family! And if, as Scripture states, “The heaven and the heaven of heavens cannot contain him”<sup>2</sup> in his majesty, what can I say, who am wholly untaught?

We read in Genesis that when the blessed Moses, who associated with God in familiar discourse, wished to look upon his face, he addressed God in this way: “If I have found favor in your sight, show yourself to me so that I may see you.”<sup>3</sup> God replied to Moses, “You cannot see my face, because a man cannot see me and live.”<sup>4</sup> If this is how it was for the holy ones, what do you think it is like on earth for someone like me? Because of God’s refusal to let himself be seen, my soul languishes and my thoughts are kindled with longing.

**<2> De quaerendo Deum**

Quaerendus est Deus, fili, mihi et tibi: in illius nutu consistimus, vivimus, movemur et sumus. Certe et ego, quanquam indigna fragilisque ad umbram, eum, ut valeo, quaero, et eius adiutorium, ut scio et intelligo, et indesinenter peto. Est etenim mihi valde per omnia necesse.

Nam solet fieri ut aliquotiens importuna catula, sub mensa domini sui, inter catulos alteros, micas cadentes valeat carpere et mandere. Potens est enim ille qui os animalis muti loqui fecit, mihi secundum suam priscam clementiam *aperire sensum et dare intellectum*; et qui parat fidelibus suis *in deserto mensam, dansque illis in tempore necessitatis satietatem tritici mensuram*, potest et me ancillae suae ex suo desiderio compleri voluntatem, saltem<sup>3</sup> ut sub mensam illius, infra sanctam videlicet ecclesiam, possim procul conspiciere catulos, hoc est sanctis altaribus ministros, et de micis intellectu spirituali mihi et tibi, o pulcher fili Wilhelme, pulchrum et lucidum dignumque et abtum colligi valerem sermonem. Scio enim *quia non defecerunt miserationes eius*.

Ipse in praeteritis tunc, ipse in praesentibus nunc, ipse in posteris manens, semper hic et ubique est, et esse apud se omnia utilia possibiliter habet. Apud illum semper esse abetur, dicente illo: *Ego sum alfa et omega*. Et *Ego sum qui sum*. Et iterum dicit Scriptura: *Qui est misit me ad vos, et cetera*.

**<3> De magnitudine Dei**

Magnus et altus est Deus, fili Wilhelme, *quoniam humilia conspicit, et alta, hoc est superba, a longe cognoscit*. Erigit se fragilis homo et *elongatur ab eo sublimis Deus*. Iterum humilians se et pius descendit ad eum. Tu ergo humiliare te ipsum frequens ut exalteris ab illo semper. Ipse enim meum et tuum cognoscit figmentum et incompositum nostrum. Ut ait Scriptura: *Vident oculi eius, ipse respicit super filios hominum, vidensque si est intelligens aut requirens illum*.

Et ipse *actus nostros conspicit a luce prima in vesperum, hoc est ab ortu solis usque ad occasum, vel certe ab utero egressionis nostrae usque ad*

<sup>3</sup> Heinz Antony ("Korruptel oder Lemma? Die Problematik der Lexikographie auf dem Hintergrund der Editionen," *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 16 (1981): 288-333, p. 291) corrects from [p]saltilm.

**<2> The quest for God**

You and I must quest for God, my son. At his will we exist, we live, move and have our being.<sup>5</sup> As for me, unworthy as I am and feeble as a shadow, I seek him as well as I am able, and ceaselessly ask his help to the extent of my knowledge and understanding. For this is necessary for me in every way.

Now it sometimes happens that a troublesome little female puppy among the other whelps under its master's table can seize and devour the crumbs that fall.<sup>6</sup> He who made the mouth of a dumb animal speak<sup>7</sup> has the power, according to his mercy from of old, to open my senses<sup>8</sup> and give me understanding.<sup>9</sup> He who prepares a table in the wilderness<sup>10</sup> for his faithful followers, giving them in time of need a sufficient measure of wheat,<sup>11</sup> can fulfill even my will – that of his handmaid – according to his desire. At least I may gaze from under his table, that is to say, within the Holy Church, at the little whelps in the distance, those who are ministers to the sacred altars. From among their crumbs, I shall be able to gather – by spiritual wisdom – for myself and for you, William, my beautiful son, words that are beautiful and luminous and worthy. For I know that his mercy has never failed.<sup>12</sup>

Dwelling in the past, now in the present and in the future, he is always here and everywhere. Existence in him contains the possibility of all good things. Existence is his forever, for in his words: "I am Alpha and Omega" and "I am who am."<sup>13</sup> And again, Scripture says, "He who is has sent me to you,"<sup>14</sup> and so on.

**<3> The majesty of God**

God is majestic and exalted, my son William, for he looks upon the humble; and the lofty, that is the proud, he recognizes from afar.<sup>15</sup> Puny man rears himself up, while the exalted God remains far from him.<sup>16</sup> Then, once again, God humbles himself and, merciful, descends to him. Humble yourself often, therefore, in order to be raised up by him forever.<sup>17</sup> For he knows our created form, and that we are imperfect dust, you and I.<sup>18</sup> As Scripture says, "His eyes behold, he looks down on the children of men, to see if there are any who have wisdom and seek him."<sup>19</sup>

"He himself watches our actions from dawn to evening,"<sup>20</sup> that is, "from sunrise to sunset,"<sup>21</sup> or, indeed, from our issuing forth from the womb to the moment of our death. "From dawn to evening" also

extremum obitus nostri; sive etiam *a luce prima in vespere*, videlicet a primo Adam formato usque ultimum nasciturum moriturumque mundi in finem. Cognoscit quidquid humana fragilitas cogitet, loquatur vel operetur; inter quos *novit qui sunt eius*, colligens semper ex ima usque ad summum, tribuens illis regnum et reddens singulis meritis ad bona agonizantibus digna.

#### <4> De altitudine Dei

Altitudinem et magnitudinem Dei, filii, ut ait Paulus apostolus, nullus mortalium pleniter unquam cognoscere valuit nec valet. Dicit enim ipse: *O altitudo divitiarum sapientiae et scientiae Dei, quam incomprehensibilia sunt iudicia eius, et investigabiles viae eius. Et iterum: Quis enim cognovit sensum Domini, aut quis consiliarius fuit illi? Aut quis in nubibus aequabitur ei, vel quis similis illi esse potest?* Subaudis: nullus. Quare? Quoniam *solus sciens corda filiorum hominum, et ipse altissimus super omnem terram.*

Adhuc, quanquam fragilis ad umbram, habeo tibi insinuanda, filii Wilhelme, quid de Deo altius valeas intelligere. Nam conceptum perfectionis sermonem tenere non possum, nec valeo, nec debeo; iam itaque aggrediar operis similitudinem ex utilissimo sensu composito.

#### <5> Item eiusdem. De Deo

Dicit doctor, o quam magnus est meritis: Ad nomen qui dicitur Deus, duae continentur sillabae et quatuor litterae. Cum has inveneris et legeris, quid aliud dicis nisi: Deus hoc magnum admirabilem continet sacramentum? Iam, quasi *una ex insipientibus*, incipiam a prima eius littera, qui in duobus vocabulis sola expressa utilissimum in eius nomine contineat agmen.

D. enim nostra, a quo Dei incipit nomen, apud Graecos vocitatur Δ, delta. Nam id expressa, secundum illorum compoti elementa, quaternarium perfectionis continet numerum; secundum latinitatem quoque nostram, praescripta D. quinquies centum erigit ad summum. Et hoc non vacat a sacrosancto misterio.

Unus autem, II, III, et IIII, quamquam in seipsis ita consistant, tamen implicati per partes in alium transcendunt numerum. A peritissimis nempe viris patent cuncta: quinquies quini, XXV; duplicati itidem, ad quinquagesimum transvolant culmen. V L D.

signifies from Adam, the first creature formed, to the last human to be born and die at the end of the world.<sup>22</sup> God knows whatever human frailty may think, say or do. Among men he knows those who are his.<sup>23</sup> He continually gathers them from the abyss and raises them to the heights, distributing his kingdom among them and honorably rewarding those who strive for the good, according to their merits.

#### <4> The eminence of God

As the apostle Paul says, my son, none among mortals has ever fully been able to understand the exaltedness and grandeur of God. For Paul says, "O the height of the riches and wisdom and knowledge of God! How unsearchable are his judgments and how inscrutable his ways!"<sup>24</sup> And again, "Who then has known the mind of the Lord, or who has been his counselor?"<sup>25</sup> And "who, among the clouds, will equal him, or who can be like him?"<sup>26</sup> You infer: None. Why? Because he alone understands the heart of the children of men.<sup>27</sup> He is the Most High over the whole earth.<sup>28</sup>

And I, though feeble as a shadow, must instil in you, my son William, as far as you can understand, what is very sublime about God. I am not able to deliver a wholly perfected discourse, nor have I the power, nor is it my responsibility. I shall at present commence a kind of treatise, arranging together the most important ideas.

#### <5> More about God

A learned man – O how great his worth! – said: "The name of God, *Deus*, contains two syllables and four letters."<sup>29</sup> Once you have discovered and read these, what will you say, except that this great word God contains a wondrous mystery!<sup>30</sup> Now, as one of those who are simple of wit,<sup>31</sup> I shall begin with its first letter. Taken alone, this one letter – having two names – incorporates a host of very useful knowledge.

For our *D*, which begins the name of *Deus*, God, is called *delta* by the Greeks. Expressed this way, it corresponds in their counting system to the number 4, which is perfection. Yet, in our own Roman numerals, the same *D* mounts to the sum of 500. Nor is this lacking in sacred mystery.

Although the numbers 1, 2, 3, and 4 each have their own value, yet when combined in different ways they are changed into other numbers. The most learned men explain all these things: 5 times 5 is

Quod utrumque, sive secundum subputationem Graecorum, sive secundum latinitatem, utilitatis expressionem omnia in ipsum continent qui dicitur Deus; quinarium enim ad quinque corporis sensus, videlicet visu, auditu, gustu, odoratu et tactu, pertinet custodiendum; quaternarium vero ad IIII, sive per quatuor elementa corporum, hoc est calidam, frigidam, humidam et siccam, in se retinendum; sive per quatuor virtutes, videlicet iustitiam, fortitudinem, prudentiam et temperantiam, in se custodiendas; vel quatuor evangeliorum dicta; per quatuor mundi partes, hoc est oriens, occidens, septentrio atque merides, in se intelligendam custodiendamque agnoscat. Ternarium quoque perfectum trinum continet numerum, quod intelligitur ad summum Deus, Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus; sive tria data haec sunt: cogitatio munda, locutio sancta, opus perfectum, et haec omnia per ipsum qui dicitur Deus. Duae autem, duae intelligunt vitae; hoc est activa et contemplativa, vel certe duae virtutes, intellectus et operatio, quae in duobus pendent mandatis, in dilectionem videlicet Dei et dilectionem proximi. Unum autem, qui omnia praecellit, ipsum intellige qui dicitur Deus.

Hoc te admoneo ut et in virtutes, et in elementa, et in corporis sensus,<sup>4</sup> dicta sanctorum evangeliorum, cum aliorum documenta Patrum in tua semper revolvas mente, ut *unum in trinitate et trinum in unitate*, bene cogitando, bene loquendo, bene operando, sine fine posse credas manentem ipsum qui dicitur Deus. Ipse est quem nullus aestimare potest: ipse est, ut ait Scriptura, quem laudant *simul astra matutina et cui omnes iubilant filii Dei*. Ipse est qui *posuit fundamenta terrae et extendit super eam lineam, conclusit mare terminis, posuitque nubem vestimenta eius*. Et si talis est et talia cuncta per saecula regit, potest et tuum, o amantissime fili Wilhelme, ad culmen perfectionis deducere statum, nutrireque et crescere ad maius. Nam, cum coeperis considerare quis, quantus aut qualis sit, et non poteris comprehendere vel invenire cooperatorem similem illi, scies per omnia quia hoc est Deus. *Ipse*, ut ait quidam poeta, *iussit et creata sunt, dixit et facta sunt, coelum terramque, ponti fossa, solis globumque et lunae*.

Usus locutionis nostrae in saeculo talis est, ut cuiuslibet rem in nostram vertamur potestatem, cum non sit ita. Contendit quis in saeculo et dicit: "Meum est regnum" et "in toto meo regno," et non considerat quia *Domini est regnum et omnium currentium in eo*. Nam et Nabugodonosor incredulus pessimusque, victus et prostratus et quasi recuperatus, ita afatus est dicens: *Ipse est Rex imperans et regens, habens*

<sup>4</sup> Riché corrects from *sensu*.

25, and when doubled it amounts to 50. This can be doubled until it reaches 500. In Roman numerals these are V, L, D.

Both readings – whether one follows the Greek or the Latin method of calculating – embrace all that is necessary in speaking of the One called God. The number 5 indicates the controlling of the five senses: sight, hearing, taste, smell and touch. The number 4 relates either to keeping in balance the four bodily elements (hot, cold, moist and dry) in oneself, or to preserving in oneself the four virtues – justice, fortitude, prudence, temperance. Or, 4 refers to the sayings of the four gospels. Let the 4 recall the virtues to be understood and preserved in oneself throughout the four regions of the world – east, west, north and south. The number 3 contains perfect trinity in itself. In the highest sense, this is God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. There are also the three gifts: purity of thought, holiness of speech, and perfection of deed. All this comes from the One called God. The number 2 signifies the two lives: the active and the contemplative; or certainly the two virtues of thought and action, which are bound up with the two commandments to love God and love one's neighbor. But as to the number 1, which surpasses all things, understand it to mean the One called God.<sup>32</sup>

I urge you continually to turn over in your mind – regarding the virtues, the substances, and the bodily senses – the words of the holy Evangelists and the teachings of the other Fathers, so that in thinking, speaking and acting well you may trust that he who is called God remain without end "the one in trinity, the three in unity." No one can assess his worth. It is he, as Scripture says, whom "the morning stars praise together with all the sons of God."<sup>33</sup> It is he who laid the earth's foundation<sup>34</sup> and extended the measuring line on it,<sup>35</sup> who confined the sea with boundaries<sup>36</sup> and clothed it with clouds.<sup>37</sup> If God is such a one, and governs such beings throughout the ages, he can guide even your position, O my dearest son William, to the height of perfection, and to provide you with nourishment and the means of growth. For, when you begin to meditate on who he is, how great, and of what qualities, and you cannot grasp him or discover another fellow worker like him, you will know completely that he is God. A certain poet has said, "He commanded and all was created, he spoke and all was made – the heaven and the earth, the depths of the sea, the orbs of the sun and the moon."<sup>38</sup>

Our worldly way of speaking is that we tend to assume control over everything even if this is not true. A person in the world will lay a claim, saying "This is my kingdom," and "In my whole kingdom,"



*potestatem exaltandi, et eos qui in superbia gradiuntur potest humiliare, habensque regnum et cui voluerit dabit illud.* Contendit alius et dicit: "Mea est terra," et non considerat Psalmographi dictum: *Domini est terra. Domini sunt volucres etiam et pisces qui dant saltus et per semitas ambulant maris. In manu etenim eius sunt omnes fines terrae, regensque et ordinans cuncta habitantes in ea.* Ista contententes in saeculo dicimus et dicunt: "Meum est, et cetera." Verum dicunt quia est et non est, abent et non abent, est ad modicum sed non semper, abent ad tempus sed non omne tempus.

Considero quos audiui legere, etiam et vidi aliquos ex parentibus meis tuisque, filii, qui fuerunt in saeculo quasi potentes, et non sunt; sunt fortasse apud Deum, pro meritis dignis, sed non sunt corporaliter conversantes in mundo. Pro his atque aliis supplex dico *Requiem*<sup>5</sup> *aeternam.* In me etenim, licet minima considerans ista, casuque accidenti mortali, aspicio ventura.

Propterea, ipse est timendus amandusque et certissime immortalis credendus, qui sine diminutione semper est Rex potens, imperans et faciens quaecumque vult. In voluntate etenim et potestate eius cuncta sunt posita. *Non est qui eius possit resistere voluntati, dicens: Quare sic fecisti?*

Deus universorum ipse est; ipsius est potestas regnumque et imperium. De qua potestate et regno sanctissimus Daniel firmiter dicit: *Potestas eius, potestas aeterna quae non auferetur et regnum quod non corrumpetur, et multa.*

### <6> Moralis

Et quid, situla fragilis, dicam? Iam me quasi socia ad plures convertam. Certe, si polus et arva in modum cartae membranae extensa per aera essent, et ponti concava intinctis<sup>6</sup> diversis forma

<sup>5</sup> Riché deletes *et* after *Requiem*.

<sup>6</sup> Emend to *intinctis* (B) from *interstinctis* (P).

without reflecting that "to the Lord belongs the dominion, and all" that moves "in it."<sup>39</sup> Nebuchadnezzar, for example, faithless and most iniquitous man, lay defeated and spent. Once he had rallied, he said, "It is the Lord who orders and commands and who has the power to raise up. Those who walk in pride he can cast down. He possesses the kingdom and will bestow it on whom he wishes."<sup>40</sup>

Another man makes a claim and says, "The earth is mine," and does not heed the Psalmist's saying: "The earth is the Lord's."<sup>41</sup> To the Lord belong the birds and the fish that leap and rove the ocean's paths.<sup>42</sup> For in his hand are all the boundaries of the earth.<sup>43</sup> He rules and directs all who inhabit it. In the struggle to claim the world, we say, and people say, "This is mine, and all this is mine." They speak the truth, since it's theirs, but then it isn't theirs. They have it and they don't have it. They have it for a little while, but not forever. It's theirs for a time, but not for all time.

I think now of those whose stories I have heard and read, and I have seen members of my family, and yours, my son, whom I've known. Once they cut a powerful figure in the world, and then they were no more. They are perhaps with God because of their noble merits, but they are not physically present on earth. For them and for others I humbly pray that they may have eternal rest. For myself – unimportant as I am – when I reflect upon those things and the imminence of death, I recognize what is to come.

And so, one should fear God, love him and believe most certainly that he is immortal. He exists always, undiminished, the powerful king who commands and achieves whatever he desires, for all things are disposed according to his will and his power. There is none who can resist his power by saying "Why have you acted this way?"<sup>44</sup>

He himself is God of the universe. His is the power, the kingship and the empire. Concerning this power and kingship, the most blessed Daniel firmly declares, "His power is an enduring power that shall never be withdrawn, and his kingdom shall not be destroyed."<sup>45</sup> And there are many other declarations.

### <6> Moral application

And I, a frail vessel, what shall I say? I shall now turn to others as if I were their companion.<sup>46</sup> Surely, if sky and meadows were unfurled through the air like a scroll of parchment and if all the gulfs of the sea were transformed, tinged like inks of many colors,<sup>47</sup> and if all earth's inhabitants born in the world from the beginning until now were

mutata fuissent<sup>7</sup> atque ipsi orbi cultores cuncti, nascentes in mundum, ob ingenii humanitatis augmentum omnes fuissent scriptores, de initio usque nunc, quod est contra naturam impossibile, comprehendere non valerent Omnipotentis magnitudinem et latitudinem altitudinemque et sublimitatis profunditatem, atque divinitatis, scientiae,<sup>8</sup> pietatis, clementiae narrari illius qui dictus est Deus. Cum talis et tam magnus est ut nullus essentiam illius comprehendere valeat, orator te ut timeas et diligas eum *ex toto corde, tota mente, toto intellectu*, et in omnibus viis atque operibus tuis, ipsum benedic et decanta: *Quoniam bonus, quoniam in saeculum misericordia eius!*

Item. Crede eum supra, subter, infra et extra; ipse est enim superior, subter, interior et exterior. Superior, quia omnes nos praesidet et regit. Ipse est *excelsus*, et, ut ait Psalmista, *super omnes coelos gloria eius*. Superior, quia omnes nos portat: *in illo vivimus, movemur et sumus*, et in illo subsistimus semper. Interior, quia omnes nos bonis suis replet et satiat, ut scriptum est: *De fructu operum tuorum satiabitur terra; et replet omne animal benedictione*. Exterior, quia omnes nos muro suo inexpugnabili circumcingit, munit, protegit ac defendit, ut scriptum est: *Muro cingit et in modum scuti inducit coronam*. Ego enim genitrix tua, licet vilis secundum parvitatem et capacitatem sensus intelligentiae meae, talem credo illum qui est Deus benedictus in saecula. Amen.

### <7> Admonitio eiusdem

Admoneo te etiam, o mi fili Wilhelme pulchre et amabilis, ut inter mundanas huius saeculi curas, plurima volumina librorum tibi adquiri non pigeas, ubi de Deo creatori tuorum per sacratissimos doctorum magistros aliquid sentire et discere debeas, plura atque maiora quam supra scriptum est. Ipsum obsecra, dilige et ama. Quod si feceris, erit tibi custos, dux, comes et patria, *via, veritas et vita*, tribuens tibi prospera in mundo largissime, et omnes inimicos tuos convertet ad pacem. Tu autem, ut scriptum est in Iob, *accinge sicut vir lumbos tuos; sis humilis corde castusque et corpore, atque erectus in sublime esto gloriosus valde et speciosus induere vestibus*.

Et quid plura? Ortatrix tua Dhuoda semper adest, fili, et si defuerim deficiens, quod futurum est, habes hic memoriale libellum moralis, et

<sup>7</sup> Riché corrects from *fuisset*.

<sup>8</sup> Riché deletes *et* after *scientiae*.

writers (by some increase of human genius, an impossibility contrary to nature!),<sup>48</sup> they would not be able to seize upon the grandeur, the breadth, the loftiness, and be able to tell of the depth,<sup>49</sup> of the sublimity, and divinity, and wisdom, and goodness, and mercy of him who is called God. Since he is such, and so great that no one has the power to fathom his being, I entreat you to fear and love him with your "whole heart, your whole spirit and your whole mind." With all your strength and actions bless him and sing "For he is good and his mercy endures forever!"<sup>50</sup>

Furthermore. Trust that God is above and beneath, within and without, for he is higher, lower, deeper within and farther without.<sup>51</sup> He is above, because he presides over us and rules us; he is sublime, and as the Psalmist says, "his glory is over all the heavens."<sup>52</sup> He is beneath because he supports us all. "In him we live, we move and exist."<sup>53</sup> In him we remain always. He is deeper within, because he fills us all and satisfies us with good things, as it is written: "Earth will be filled with the fruit of your works."<sup>54</sup> And you "fill with your blessing every living thing."<sup>55</sup> He is farther without, because with his unassailable rampart he surrounds and defends and protects us all, as it is written. "He surrounds with a rampart and places a crown like a shield."<sup>56</sup> And I, your mother – worthless though I am because of the paltriness and narrowness of my understanding – believe this about him who is God, blessed throughout the ages. Amen.

### <7> Advice about this

Now I give you a reminder, William, my beautiful and lovable son. In the midst of your mundane concerns of this world, do not be slothful about collecting many books. There, from the most sacred masters, your teachers, you should discern and learn something greater and better about God the Creator than what has been written here. Pray to him, cherish and love him. If you do this, he will be your guardian, helmsman, companion, and your homeland – "the way, the truth, and the life."<sup>57</sup> He will abundantly grant you the world's prosperity, and he will convert all your enemies to peace. But you must, as it is written in the book of Job, "gird up your loins like a man,"<sup>58</sup> be humble of heart and chaste in body; "turn toward that which is upright, be all glorious and clothe yourself in splendor."<sup>59</sup>

And what more is there? Dhuoda is always here to exhort you,<sup>60</sup> my son, but in anticipation of the day when I shall no longer be with you, you have here as a memento of me this little book of moral

quasi in picturam speculi me mente et corpore legendo et Deum deprecando intueri possis, et quid erga me obsequi debeas pleniter inveniri potes. Fili, habebis doctores qui te plura et ampliora utilitatis doceant documenta, sed non aequali conditione, animo ardentis in pectore, sicut ego genitrix tua, fili primogenite.

Haec verba a me tibi directa lege, intellige et opere comple, fratremque tuum parvulum, cuius modo inscia sum nominis, cum baptismatis in Christo acceperit gratiam, insinuare, nutrire, amare, ac de bono in melius provocare ne pigeas, atque hunc codicellum Manualis a me comprehensum, et in tuo nomine conscriptum, cum perfectum loquendi vel legendi acceperit tempus, illi ostende, et admone legendo; caro enim et frater tuus est. Admoneo vos iam quasi utrosque ego Dhuoda genitrix vestra, ut, inter mundanas saeculi curas obpressi saltem<sup>9</sup> ad tempus sursum teneatis cor; *aspicite regnantem in coelis illum qui dicitur Deus.*

Ipsae vos omnipotens, cuius quanquam indigna mentionem facio frequens, una cum genitore vestro domino et seniori meo Bernardo in saeculo praesenti faciat felices itaque locundos, prospere in omnibus agentes, et post expletum huius vitae cursum, polum faciat cum sanctis introiri laetantes. Amen.

counsels. And you can gaze upon me as on an image in a mirror,<sup>61</sup> by reading with mind and body and by praying to God, and you can find fully set out those obligations you are to render me. My son, you will have learned doctors to teach you many more examples, more eminent and of greater usefulness, but they are not of equal status with me, nor do they have a heart more ardent than I, your mother, have for you, my firstborn son!

These words that I address to you, read them, understand them, and put them to practice. And when your little brother, whose name I do not even know as yet, has received the grace of baptism in Christ, do not be slow to teach, encourage and love him, to rouse him to go from good to better. When he shall have reached the age of speaking and reading, show him this little volume, this Handbook which I have written and composed in your name. Urge him by reading, for he is your flesh and your brother.<sup>62</sup> I, Dhuoda, your mother, admonish, as it were, both of you – weighed down in the midst of the mundane cares of this world – to “Lift up your hearts! Look to him who reigns in the heavens, who is called God!”<sup>63</sup>

May the Almighty, of whom – despite my unworthiness – I speak so often, render you, together with your father Bernard, my seignorial lord, happy and cheerful in the present world! May he give you prosperity in all things. And once the course of this life is ended, may he see to it that you joyously enter the heavenly sky with the saints! Amen.

<sup>9</sup> Antony (“Korrüptel oder Lemma, p. 291) corrects from [p]salim.

## &lt;1&gt; De Trinitate

Sancta ergo Trinitas, fili, ut legimus, hoc est quod Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus. Quid tibi in hac particula huius libelli valeam conscribere, nec audeo nec possum. Lege volumina orthodoxorum Patrum, et quid sit Trinitas invenies. At tu cum inveneris, lege, crede, firmiter tene, nam Patres sancti hanc habuerunt sollicitudinis curam, ut Sanctae Trinitatis misterio indesinenter perquirerent, inventa crederent, firma tenerent.

Multi autem ex eis, ante adventum Domini et Salvatoris nostri Christi Ihesu, figuram Sanctae Trinitatis contemplantes quasi per speculum, ad summum confitebantur atque adorabant. Unde unus ex his, cum sub ilicem sederet Mamre, tres ad se descendere per viam vidisse perhibetur viros, quos in specle summae Trinitatis conspiciens, sic tribus quasi uni loquitur, et cetera. *Tres vidit et unum adoravit.* Unum in trinitate et trinum in unitate, hoc est Trinitas.

Et alius quidam Patrum, cuius nomen, ut credo, tibi non latet, in suis carminibus ita affatus est, dicens: *Benedicat nos Deus, Deus noster, benedicat nos Deus.* Quod dicit primo *Deus*, ostendit Patrem. Cum dicit iterum *Deus*, ostendit Filium. Cum dicit tertio *Deus*, ostendit Spiritum Sanctum. Cum dicit singulariter: *Et metuant eum omnes fines terrae*, ostendit unitatem in Trinitate et Trinitatem in unitate veram esse credendam, confitendam firmiterque adorandam.

Et alii plures de hoc misterio plura scripsisse feruntur. Nam de praedicta Trinitate Paulus, praedicator egregius, fiducialiter aiebat dicens: *Quoniam ex ipso, et per ipsum et in ipso sunt omnia.* Cum dicit *ex ipso* ostendit Patrem, *per ipsum*, Filium, *cum ipso*, Spiritum Sanctum. Cum dicit *ipsi gloria*, hoc est quod supra, ostendens trinum et unum in divinitatis potentiam aequaliter manentem. Nam et pueri in camino ignis missi, sanctae Trinitatis figuram adorantes, evadere meruerunt inlaesi.

<1> The Trinity<sup>1</sup>

The Holy Trinity, then, as we read, my son, encompasses the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. What I might be capable of composing for you in this portion of my little book, I neither dare, nor have I the right! Read the volumes of the orthodox Fathers, and you'll find what the Trinity is. But once you have found it – read, believe, hold to it firmly. For the holy Fathers have taken constant care to inquire without rest into the mystery of the Holy Trinity, to believe what they found, and to hold tenaciously to it.

Many among them, moreover, contemplated as in a mirror the figure of the Holy Trinity, before the coming of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and they confessed and worshiped the Most High.<sup>2</sup> So it is told that one of them, while seated beneath the oak of Mamre, saw three men coming down the road toward him. Gazing on them as the semblance of the highest Trinity, he speaks to the three as one, and so on.<sup>3</sup> "He saw three, and worshiped one."<sup>4</sup> One in three and three in one, that is the Trinity.

And another among the Fathers, whose name I believe is not hidden from you, expressed himself this way in one of his poems, saying, "May God bless us, our God, may God bless us!"<sup>5</sup> The first time he says 'God' he means the Father. The second time he says 'God,' he means the Son. The third time he says 'God,' he means the Holy Spirit. When he says specifically, "And let all the ends of the earth fear him!"<sup>6</sup> he shows that the Unity in the Trinity and the Trinity in the Unity must be believed as true, confessed, and unwaveringly worshiped.

Many others, it is said, have written many things on this mystery. Thus Paul, the outstanding preacher, talked trustworthily of this Trinity I mentioned, saying, "For from him and through him and in him are all things."<sup>7</sup> When Paul says "from him," he means the Father; "through him," the Son; "with him," the Holy Spirit. When he says, "Glory to him," this – as stated above shows the threefold

Tu ergo, fili, crede, in quantum vales, Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum. Quam illorum divinitas et *gloria aequalis est et coaeterna maiestas! Quia qualis Pater, talis Filius, talis et Spiritus Sanctus.* Et quanquam in personis singulorum nomina singillatim teneant nomen, tamen naturaliter horum nomen continetur trinum, qui dicitur Deus, hoc est Trinitas, Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus.

Et licet longum sit illorum proprietates tibi conscribere per singula, hoc te admoneo ut ita credas, ames et diligas. Sicut in hoc opusculo parvitatatis meae inveneris, tene, crede, et opere comple, ut ab incendio aeternarum flammaram eripi possis, et in electorum consortio, cum pueris ex igne evasis, merearis iungi ad regnum sine fine mansurum. Amen.

## <2> De fide, spe et karitate

Licet tria sint in voluminibus librorum conscripta, tamen una est et summa quae dicitur karitas. Spes dicta ab sperando rem quam nondum habes, sed speras ut perveniat. Quicquid enim tenes non speras, quia iam utilitatem sentis habendi. Fides a fidendo dicta. Rem videlicet vel artem cuiuslibet acquirendam negotii, cum non habes, speras; cum habueris, tenes, et fidus inde es quia hoc quod ab desiderio sperabas iam tenes ex utilitate; et restat sola possidendi voluntas, hoc est karitas, dicente<sup>1</sup> Apostolo; *Spes, fides, karitas, tria haec, maior autem his est karitas.*

Docent, fili, terrena quae sunt coelestia. Tu cum pulsaveris in saeculo et adquisieris, gaudebis, sicut mos est; orteo te admoneo ut petitio vel adquisitio tua sit non solum hic, sed etiam in futuro; ea diligenter quaeras quae animae tuae sunt necessario exigenda. Petes ista, quaere illa. Dic cum Psalmista; *Portio mea, Domine, sit in terra viventium.* Crede in illo et citius tibi eventient bona. *Spera in Domino et fac bonitatem. Subditus esto illi et ora frequenter. Delectare in illo et dabit tibi petitionem cordis tui, et cetera.* Tu ergo, fili, ea semper pondera quae

<sup>1</sup> Antony ("Korrüptel oder Lemma," p. 290) corrects from *discente*.

and the one abiding equally in the power of godhead. Similarly, for the children sent into the fiery furnace, it was by their worshiping the figure of the Holy Trinity that they deserved to escape unharmed.<sup>8</sup>

You then, son, believe with all your strength in the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. How their divinity and "glory" is "equal" and their "majesty co-eternal!" For "as the Father is, such is the Son, such also is the Holy Spirit." And although as separate persons they each have individual names, their names nonetheless embrace a triune nature. This we call God, that is, the Trinity – Father and Son and Holy Spirit.

It would take too long to describe to you their attributes individually, but, however that may be, I counsel you to believe, love and cherish them. What you will have found in this little work of my insignificance – take it, believe in it, complete the task so that you may be able to be removed from the conflagration of eternal flames. And in the company of the chosen, together with the youths rescued from the fire,<sup>9</sup> – you may deserve to be joined to the kingdom that will endure without end. Amen.

## <2> Faith, hope, and charity

Although in the volumes of books three virtues have been described, there is one that is the highest, which is called charity. Hope is so called from hoping for a thing you don't yet have but that you hope may come about. You don't hope for something you possess, since you already feel the good of possessing it. Faith is so called from having faith. For when you don't own something, or the means of securing some boon, you hope for it. Once you get it you hold on to it, and you have faith in it, since the thing you desired and hoped for you now own, to your benefit. All that remains is the will to keep it. This is called charity, as the Apostle Paul said: "There are three things – hope, faith, and charity, but the greatest of these is charity."<sup>10</sup>

Earthly things, son, teach us about the heavenly. When you have earnestly striven for something in the world and you have obtained it, you will rejoice. This is natural. I advise you and beseech you that your seeking and your acquiring may be not only here, but also in the hereafter. May you pursue with diligence the things that are of necessity for your soul. You will ask for the former, but seek out the latter. Say with the Psalmist, "Let my portion, Lord, be in the land of the living!"<sup>11</sup> Trust in him, and the good things will come to you more

alta sunt et sublimiora. Quod si feceris, merueris pascere in deliciis eius quia pius et misericors esurientes et quaerentes se in veritate omnibus replere dignatur bonis. Crede ut supra Patrem Trinitatemque. Pete per fidem, quaere per spem, pulsa per karitatem, illum videlicet qui dictus est Deus.

A quo bona cuncta speras accipere, quaere cogitando, pete loquendo, pulsa operando. Haec tria agendo, ad summam et perfectam venies, quae dicitur karitas. Nam karitas graece, latine dicitur dilectio. Utrumque ad summum continet pertinendum qui adoratur et colitur Deus. *Deus enim, ut aiunt Scripturae, karitas, et qui manet in karitate, in Deo manet, et Deus in eo.* Tu ergo, fili, ama illum et amabit te, dilige illum et diliget te. Dicit enim ipse: *Ego diligentes me diligo, et qui mane vigilaverint ad me, invenient me.* Et iterum: *Ecce ego sto ad ostium et pulso: si quis surexerit et aperuerit mihi, intrabo ad illum et coenabo cum illo, et ille mecum; diligamque eum spontanee; et non solum ego, sed et Pater meus diliget eum, et ad eum veniemus, et mansionem apud eum faciemus.*

Ad quam coenam et mansionem genitorem cum prolis additamque et me pius Dominus pro sua pietate perducere dignetur. Amen.

### <3> De reverentia <orationis>

Oratio dicta quasi "oris ratio." Dicta autem reverentia ad rem venerabilem cum intimo cordis et puro rationis affectu quaerendam. Et si homini terreno potentiori nos aliquam utilitatem, magnam vel parvam, volumus petere ut det, non superbiendo nec in strepitu clamoris petimus murmurando, sed humiliando rogamus, ut hoc quod quaerimus iubeat dari. Quanto magis conditori et largitori omnium bonorum summo cum honore orandum est, petendi, quaerendi, inveniendique. Non in voce clamosa nec in longa pertrahendi verba, sed in summo et brevi affectu cum silentio quaerendum est ut sua det, tribuat, largiatur, ac quod petimus concedere dignetur! Nam Patres

quickly. "Hope in the Lord, and do good. Submit to" him, "and pray" assiduously. "Delight in him," and "he will grant you your heart's request," and so forth.<sup>12</sup> So you, my son, weigh always those things which are high and more exalted. If you do, you will be worthy to feed on his delights,<sup>13</sup> because he in his love and mercy deigns to fill with good things those who hunger and quest for him in truth.<sup>14</sup> Believe, as I have already said, in the Father and the Trinity. Ask in faith, seek in hope, knock on his door in charity – for the One who is called God.

Concerning him from whom you hope to receive all good things, ask for him in your thoughts, search for him in your words, beat on his door in your actions.<sup>15</sup> By doing these three things, you will arrive at that highest and perfect thing, which is called charity. Now charity (*karitas*) is a Greek word, while in Latin this is called love (*dilectio*).<sup>16</sup> Both words ultimately designate all that pertains to the highest – God, who is adored and worshiped. For "God" as the Scriptures say, "is charity, and whoever dwells in charity dwells in God, and God in him."<sup>17</sup> Love him, therefore, my son, and he will love you; cherish him and he will cherish you. For he himself says: "I cherish those who cherish me, and those who keep watch for me in the morning will find me."<sup>18</sup> And further. "See me, here I stand at the door and knock. If anyone" rises up and "opens to me, I will come into him and dine with him and he with me."<sup>19</sup> I will love him freely<sup>20</sup> and not only I, but "my Father will also love him, and we shall come to him and make our dwelling in his house."<sup>21</sup>

To this banquet and this house, may the kind Lord in his kindness deign to lead your father, along with his children and me as well. Amen.

### <3> Reverence in prayer<sup>22</sup>

Prayer (*oratio*) is termed, as it were, *oris ratio* or "reason of the mouth."<sup>23</sup> Reverence is named from *res venerabilis*, a thing that deserves respect, which we must seek for with the innermost desire of the heart and the pure zeal of reason.<sup>24</sup> If we want to ask a favor, large or small, of a man who is powerful in the world, we do not demand it haughtily, nor do we clamor for it with reproaches and noise. We beg with humility that he may order our request to be granted. How much more reason is there to plead with reverence to the founder and provider of all good things, when we are asking, seeking, finding!<sup>25</sup> Not in a clamorous voice,<sup>26</sup> not drawing out words

sancti, antiquis temporibus, longas protrahebant orationes, et pure petentes ad certum perducebant affectum. Quare? Quia pro meritis digna cum Domino semper erant assidui.

Ego autem Dhuoda tepida et desidiosa fragilisque et declinans semper ad ima, non solum longa sed nec brevis delectatur mihi oratio. Spero tamen in illum qui fidelibus suis licentiam tribuit petendi. Tu autem, fili Wilhelme, vigila, pete eum et ora in brevi et fixo puroque sermone. Dic non solum in ecclesia, sed ubicunque tibi provenerit eventus, ora et dic: "Miserator et misericors, iustus piusque, clemens et verax, miserere plasmae tuae, quam creasti et sanguine redemisti tuo; miserere mei, et concede ut ambulem in viis atque iustificationibus tuis; da michi memoriam et sensum ut te intelligam credere, amare, timere, laudare, gratias agere, et in omni opere bono perficere per rectam fidem et bonam voluntatem, Domine Deus meus. Amen."

Ora ore, clama corde, roga opere, ut tibi Deus succurrat semper diebus et noctibus, oris atque momentis. Cum quieveris in lecto, dic ter: "Deus in adiutorium meum intende. Domine, ad adiuvandam me festina," et "Gloria" usque in finem; deinde Orationem dominicam. Qua expleta, dic: "Custodi me, Domine, per diem, custodi me et in hac nocte, si iubes, et sub umbra alarum tuarum merear esse protectus, Spiritu Sancto repletus, munimine regio septus angelorumque custodia circumdatus, ut in hac nocte, quamvis parum quiescens, somnum capiam pacis; et si quando evigilavero, infra te per soporem sentiam custodem, qui beato Iacobo innixum apparuisti scalae Salvator."

Cum hoc compleveris, fac crucem in fronte et super lectum tuum in similitudinem crucis illius a quo redemptus es, hoc modo: +, ita dicendo: "Crucem tuam adoro, Domine, et sanctam resurrectionem tuam credo. Crux tua sancta mecum. Crux est quam ut cognovi, semper amavi, semperque adoro. Crux mihi salus, crux mihi defensio, crux mihi protectio, semperque refugium. Crux mihi vita, mors tibi, diabole, inimice veritatis, cultor vanitatis; crux mihi vita, mors tibi semper." Et item: "Tuam, Domine, + crucem adoro, tuamque gloriosam passionem recolo, qui dignatus es nasci, pati, mori ac resurgere a mortuis, qui cum Patre et Spiritu sancto. + Benedictio Dei Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti descendat et maneat super me servum tuum minimum. Amen."

at length, but briefly, with intense feeling, we must entreat in silence that he may grant, bestow and lavish his bounty – that he will deign to fulfill our request! And so did the holy Fathers in ancient times pour forth their prayers at length, and through the purity of their pleading they attained a staunch devotion. Why? Because through their merits they remained constant in the Lord.

But I, Dhuoda, slothful and negligent, fragile and always inclining toward the abyss, do not delight in prayers – not only long ones, but not even short ones. And yet I place my hope in him who grants to his faithful the permission to seek him. And you, son William, be vigilant. Seek him, pray to him in words that are brief, intent and pure. Say them not only in church, but wherever the opportunity presents itself. Pray and say, "You who are compassionate and merciful, just and kind, mild and true, take pity on me whom you formed, created and redeemed with your blood. Take pity on me."<sup>27</sup> Allow me to walk in your ways and in your redemption. Give me memory and intelligence so that I may understand how to believe, love, fear, praise, give thanks to you and carry out good in every deed, upright faith and a good will, Lord, my God. Amen."

Pray with your mouth, cry out in your heart, petition with your deeds, that God may help you perpetually day and night, at all hours and each moment. As you repose in your bed, say three times: "God, come to my support. Lord, hasten to help me."<sup>28</sup> Say the "Gloria" through to the end, and then the Lord's Prayer. When you have done, say, "Guard me, Lord, through the day, and guard me this night if it is your command. May I deserve to be shielded 'under the shadow of your wings,'<sup>29</sup> filled with the Holy Spirit, flanked by your kingly strength and encircled by a guard of angels, so that, although resting but little, I may capture the sleep of peace.<sup>30</sup> And if I should at some time awaken, may I feel that in sleep I am under you, guardian of my repose – you who appeared resting on the ladder as Savior to the blessed Jacob."<sup>31</sup>

Once you have done all this, make the sign of the cross on your forehead and over your bed, a likeness of the cross on which you were redeemed,<sup>32</sup> like this + and say, "'I worship your cross, Lord, and I believe in your holy resurrection. Your holy cross is with me. It is the cross which, from the moment when I recognized it, I have always loved and I worship it always.'<sup>33</sup> 'The cross is my salvation, the cross is my defense, the cross is my protection, it is my refuge forever. The cross is my life,'<sup>34</sup> but your death, Devil, enemy of truth and fosterer of vanity! The cross is my life, but it is your death forever!'" And

Ista crux atque benedictio sit semper cum illis cuius supra mentionem ego fragilis facio frequens; et *sicut ros Ermon qui descendit in Sion, vel sicut unguentum in capite fusum declinansque in barbam, barbam Aaron*, ita infusio Ihesu Nazareni, filii Dei, descendat et maneat super te ubicumque perrexeris, et super fratrem tuum, qui post te ex meo secundus egressus est utero. Quod si plus, Deo auxiliante, fuerint, id consequantur una vobiscum, quod a me invocatum est supra, praestante et adiuvante illo qui vivit et regnat per infinita semper saecula saeculorum. Amen.

Item. Cum, auxiliante Deo, surrexeris mane, vel qua hora tibi permiserit Pius, dic iterum tertio: "Deus," ut supra, deinde Orationem dominicam. Qua expleta, dic: "*Rex meus et Deus meus, exurge, adiuva me, intellige clamorem meum, quoniam ad te oro; mane exaudi vocem meam, surge et intende iudicium meum, ut sis hodie praestus in causa mea, Deus meus.*"

Et quid plura, filii? Surgens calcia te, ut mos est; para te in *praeparatione Evangelii pacis*. Decanta horas canonicas, comple officium tuum, ut scriptum est: *Septies in die laudem dixi tibi.*

Dic per omnes praeparationes tuas capitulas, sicut melius nosti, vel sicut inveneris; completis ut supra, dic orationes per proprietates orarum, et tunc in nomine Dei summi egredere in servitio tibi ad crescente temporali, vel quod dominus et genitor tuus Bernardus iusserit, aut senior Karolus praeceperit faciendum, ita tamen si Deus permiserit.

#### <4> Item

Cum egrederis foras, in mente habe Deum cum signo crucis et dic: "*Miserere mei, pius Pater, et perfice hodie gressus meos in semitis tuis. Deduc me in via tua et dirige in veritate tua. Adiuva me, Deus meus,*

further: "'Your cross + Lord, I worship, your glorious passion I commemorate – you who deigned to be born, suffer, die and rise again from the dead, you who with the Father and the Holy Spirit . . . + May the blessing of God the Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit descend and dwell with me, the least of your servants. Amen.'"

May that cross and that benediction be always with those of whom I, in my frailty, have frequently spoken earlier. "And just as the dew of Mount Hermon, which descends into Zion," or "like the oil" poured "on the head" and flowing "upon the beard, the beard of Aaron,"<sup>35</sup> so may the unguent of Jesus of Nazareth, God's son, pour down upon you and remain with you wherever you may go, and upon your brother, who issued second from my womb after you! If there should ever, with God's help, be more children among you, may the others also obtain – along with you – what I have asked for here in my prayers, through the grace and help of him who lives and reigns forever, to endless ages of ages. Amen.

Further. When you arise in the morning, with God's help, or at whatever hour the loving Lord permits you to do so, say three times, "God . . ." as indicated earlier, and then the Lord's Prayer. Once you have done this, say, "My king and my God, rise up, help me,"<sup>36</sup> hear my cry, 'because it is to you that I pray. Hear my voice this morning!'<sup>37</sup> Rise up and hasten to my defense in order to plead my cause on this day, my God."

And what more, son? Upon rising, put on your shoes as usual, make yourself ready with the "preparation of the Gospel of peace."<sup>38</sup> Chant the canonical hours, fulfill the office as it is written: "Seven times a day have I praised you."<sup>39</sup>

Throughout all your preparations, recite your verses – to the best of your ability or as they come to you – and when you have finished these things, say the appropriate prayers for each of the hours. And then, in the name of the sovereign God, go and accomplish the temporal service that awaits you, or what your lord and father Bernard has ordered, or what lord Charles has directed to be done, your prince and lord, as God permits.

#### <4> More on the subject

When you go out, keep God in your mind with the sign of the cross, and say: "Have mercy on me, kind father, and today 'keep my footsteps firmly in your paths.'<sup>40</sup> Lead me upon your way and guide me in your truth.'<sup>41</sup> Help me, my God, today and always, so that



hodie et semper, ut non mihi occurrant calumpniae,<sup>2</sup> nec dominetur in me omnis iniustitia, sed laetifica cor meum gradiens in bonum, quatenus, ea agendo quae tibi placita sunt, merear, te auxiliante, ad vesperum pertingi. Dicamque: Benedictus es, Domine Deus, *qui adiuvasti me et consolatus es me*. Tu es benedictus, a quo cuncta bona procedunt, qui vivis, etc.”

<sup>2</sup> Riché corrects from *calupniae*.

calumnies may not malign me, or any injustice control me. Make my heart glad<sup>42</sup> as I walk the way of goodness, so that I may – in doing what is pleasing to you – deserve with your help to reach the evening. And I shall say, You are blessed, Lord God, ‘you have helped me and consoled me.’<sup>43</sup> You are blessed, from whom all good things come, who live,” and so forth.

**<1> De reverentia patris, quam dum vivis agere debes**

Qualiter domno et genitori tuo Bernardo, tam praesens quam absens, timere, amare, atque fidelis in omnibus esse debeas, insinuare, ut valeo, non pigeo. Tamen habes doctorem et auctorem sapientissimum, videlicet Salomonem, qui te, fili mi, castigat et admonens dicit: *Deus honoravit patrem florentem in prole. Et item: Qui honorat patrem suum iocundabitur in filiis, et vita vivet longiori. Qui obedit patri refrigerabit matri, et sicut qui multa tesaurizat bona, ita qui suum honorificat patrem.*

*Qui timet Dominum honorat parentes. Tu, fili, honora patrem tuum, et pro eo ora assidue, ut sis longaevus super terram, et ut multo possis vivere tempore. Memento enim quoniam nisi per illum natus non fuisses. Sis in omni negotio utilitatis obediens patri, et iudicium illius obsculata. Suscipe, si ad hoc Deo perveneris auxiliante, senectam illius, et ne contristes eum in vita sua, neque spernas eum in virtute tua.*

Absit hoc a te: ante operiat tellus corpus meum humo quam illi ita proveniat, quod futurum esse non credo. Nec pro hoc dico ut timeam sed cavendum est ut in tuo cogitatu nunquam hoc scelus surgat aliquando, quod in multis, non tui similes, audivimus opus patratum. Non sis immemor periculis evenisse filiis Heli, qui iussa patris contemnentibus inobedientes fuerunt, et pro hoc mortem acceperunt acerbam. Nec tacendum est Absalonis dyndrum, qui contumax patri repentino casu mors illi turpis accidit: in querchum pensus atque confixus lancearum vulnus, temporalem cum gemitu doloris vitam finivit in iuventutis flore; regnum carens terenum, ad summum non pervenit promissum.

Et quid dicam de pluribus? Periculosum est valde; illi sustineant qui hoc opus patrantur malum. Non me maledicente, sed Scriptura pollicente, qui terribiliter minans cum maledictione, dicens: *Maledictus qui non honorificat patrem suum. Et iterum: Qui maledixerit patri generanti se, inutili et turpi moriatur morte. Et si de gravi vel inutili sermone ita, quid putas illis eveniet qui iniuriam irrogant parentibus ut patrum suorum affligant animos? Multi sunt, ut dicunt, qui*

**<1> On the reverence you owe to your father as long as you live**

I'm not reluctant to teach you, as well as I can, how you should fear, love, and be faithful in all ways to Bernard, your lord and father, both when you are with him and when you are apart. On this matter you have a teacher and the wisest authority, namely Solomon; he chastens and advises you, my son, saying, "God has honored the father who flourished in his children."<sup>1</sup> And again, "He who honors his father shall rejoice in his own children<sup>2</sup> and shall live a longer life. He who obeys his father will give heavenly solace to his mother<sup>3</sup> and he who honors his father is like one who lays up many good treasures."<sup>4</sup>

He who fears the Lord honors his parents.<sup>5</sup> You then, my son, honor your father and pray diligently for him so that you may reach an advanced age<sup>6</sup> and live on earth a long time. Be mindful, indeed, that without him you wouldn't have been born.<sup>7</sup> In every important endeavor, be obedient to your father and observe his judgment."<sup>8</sup> If with God's help you can aid him, support his old age, and do not cause him grief in his lifetime.<sup>9</sup> Do not despise him when you are strong.<sup>10</sup>

Let this conduct be alien to you. May the earth cover my body before that should befall him – which won't happen, I am sure! I do not say this because I fear it may happen. We must beware that this outrage may never at any time enter your mind, for we have heard that others – not like you – have committed such villainy.<sup>11</sup> Don't forget the evils that befell the sons of Eli, who, spurning their father's commands, disobeyed him, and for this suffered harsh death.<sup>12</sup> The tree<sup>13</sup> of Absalom shouldn't be passed over in silence. In rebelling against his father, this son – in an unexpected accident – met with a foul death. He was hanged from an oak and pierced through with lances, in this way wretchedly ending his life in the flower of his youth. Deprived of his earthly kingdom, he failed to achieve the highest heavenly kingdom he had been promised.<sup>14</sup>

praesenti in saeculo tali voluntur scelere, non considerantes praeterita gesta, pro nefas tenentes praesentia.<sup>1</sup> Cadit super tales vel illos qui ita agunt similes zelus, livor, clades et calamitas, necnon et *fomitis invidiae* suae. Perdunt, non conquirunt aliena inquisita extranea, vix sua recuperantur aliquando propria. Haec non ut vidissem dico, sed quia in aliquos legi, audivi, audis, audio certe.

Considera enim quid in futurum illis eveniet qui retro talia gesserunt. Et si sunt tales, quod absit, potens est Deus illis dare lamentum ut respiscant a malo, agantque poenitentiam et convertentes mereantur effici salui. Quisquis ille est, sit procul a te, det illi Deus sensum ut supra.

Considerare debet quisquis ille est, fili, si aliquando ad perfectum venerit tempus, ut Deus proles illi concedere dignetur, non contumaces nec superbos cupidum animum abentes, sed humiles et quietos atque obedientes delectatur abere, ut videns in inspectu illorum gaudeat, felix sitque pater qui antea filius subdens effectus est parvus. Quisquis considerat ista volensque ista, consideret et illa ut si quod supra, et tunc *omnia membra* utiliter vertuntur *in pace*.

Tu ergo, mi fili Wilhelme, audi me admonentem te, *absculta* et observa *praecepta patris tui* nec sis inauditor dicta Patrum sanctorum legensque frequenter *in corde tuo ea<sup>2</sup> iugiter liga*, ut semper crescens in bonum *anni tibi multiplicentur vitae*. Nam *benedicentes et sustinentes* Deum atque Patribus obedientes et illorum iussa animo libenti complentes, *ipsi hereditabunt terram*. Quod si tu audiens, factis quos supra tibi comemoro impleveris dignis, non solum in hanc terram habebis in aliquibus sortem, sed etiam illam cum sanctis mereberis possidere, de qua ait Psalmista: *Credo videre bona Domini in terra viventium*. Quam cui terrae oro, fili, ut haeres esse possis, vivendi in ea ipse preparare dignetur, qui vivit, etc.

<sup>1</sup> Riché corrects from *praesentiam*.

<sup>2</sup> Riché corrects from *eam*.

And what shall I say about the others? They run great risks. Let those who commit that evil act incur the consequences. This is not a malediction on my part but a warning from Scripture which contains a terrible threat mingled with a curse: "Cursed is the one who does not honor his father."<sup>15</sup> And again, "Whoever has cursed the father who has begotten him will die a pointless and wretched death."<sup>16</sup> And if this is to be the punishment for a heavy, hurtful word, what do you think will happen to those who inflict injury on their parents, striking at the hearts of their fathers? It is said that there are many in these times who are borne along in such a crime, people who do not consider the past and regard the present as unjust. On them, and on others who act as they do, fall envy, spite, destruction and misfortune, together with everything that inflames hatred against them.<sup>17</sup> They lose – they do not gain the goods they wish to take from other people. They can scarcely hold on to their own belongings. I do not say this because I have seen this, but because I have certainly read or heard of it. You hear about it and I surely do.

Reflect well on what happens eventually to those who have in the past committed such actions. If such persons exist (and if only they did not exist!) God has power to grant them remorse so that they may repent, and in mending their ways they will earn salvation. Whoever he may be, may he keep far from you, and may God grant him understanding, as we have said before.

Each person, whoever he may be, must reflect on this, my son: that if he ever reaches maturity so that God sees fit to grant him offspring, he will delight in having children who are not rebellious, proud, and greedy, but humble, tranquil and obedient, so that when he observes them he will rejoice and be a happy father, having been a dutiful son in his own youth. Each man who thinks about this and desires it should also think about what has been said earlier. In this way "all the members are engaged advantageously in peace."<sup>18</sup>

You, then, my son William, listen to my advice, heed and follow your father's directives.<sup>19</sup> Do not remain deaf to the words of the holy Fathers. By continual reading keep them constantly pressed to your heart, so that while you are growing ever in virtue the years of your life will be multiplied.<sup>20</sup> For those who bless God and attend to him, those who obey the Fathers and who fulfill their teachings with a good heart, will inherit the earth.<sup>21</sup> If you are mindful of my earlier counsels, and if you put them properly into practice, you will not only share in good things on this earth, but you will earn the right to possess, together with the saints, that land of which the Psalmist

**<2> Item eiusdem, ad patrem**

Quanquam in specie humanitatis forma vel potentia regalis atque imperialis praecellat in saeculo, ut secundum morem<sup>3</sup> hominum illorum prior veneretur actio et nomina quasi causa venerationis et potestas fulta culmine honoris, ex verbis testimonio collectis illius qui dixit: *Sive regi quasi praecellenti, sive ducibus, et cetera*; mea tamen, fili, talis est voluntas, ut secundum admonitionem parvitas meae intelligentiam, secundum Deum, in primis illi qui te prolem habuit, proprium, fidelem et certum dum vivis non negligas reddi obsequium. Certa quidem et fixa manet conditio, quod nullus nisi ex genitore procedat, non potest ad aliam et summam personam culmine pervenire senioratus.

Ego autem admoneo te, desideratissime fili Wilhelme, ut in primis diligas Deum sicut supra habes conscriptum; deinde ama, time, et dilige patrem tuum; scitoque, ex illo tuus in saeculo processit status. Scias enim quia ab antiquis temporibus qui dilexerunt patres et illis veraciter obedientes fuerunt, benedictionem a Deo ab illis accipere meruerunt.

**<3> Item de exemplis patrum priorum**

Legimus quod Sem, filius Noe, diligendo patrem adeptus est culmen, sicque et frater eius Japheth, tradensque pater eorum benedictionem supra singula illorum capita dicens: *Benedictus Deus Sem et Iafeth, habitetque in tabernaculis eorum*; crescant, abundant atque in omnibus dilatentur bonis, et cetera. Quid de Cham vel eius similibus referam scire tibi non est necesse.<sup>4</sup> Utilius enim est exempla subditorum perquirere sensum. Ad bonos revertentes recurramus semper.

Ysach obediens patri multa bona cum uxore et prole ob benedictionem paternam meruit habere in saeculo. Nam et ipse in sacra Scriptura "risus" est appellatus, videlicet "gaudens"; et si abtus "gaudens," pro certo inutilis et turgidus atque protervus vocitatur

<sup>3</sup> Riché corrects from *more*.

<sup>4</sup> Bowers (*Liber Manualis*, p. 72) restores Bondurand's reading and punctuation; emend from *Quid de Cham vel eius similibus referam? [Ne]scire tibi non est necesse?*

speaks: "I believe that I see the good things of the Lord in the land of the living."<sup>22</sup> So that this land may be your inheritance, my son, may God who lives eternally deign to prepare you to live there, and so on.

**<2> More about the reverence due your father**

It is true that in men's eyes, the outward appearance and power of kings prevail in this world, and men's custom is above all to venerate the actions and titles of kings – as though royal and imperial power resided in the loftiness of their office. This is attested by the words of him who said: "Whether it is the kings or the governors who are preeminent, etc."<sup>23</sup> Yet, my son, this is my wish: that, obeying my humble counsels and obeying God, you do not neglect as long as you live to render primarily a specific, devoted, and resolute allegiance to your father. For it remains a sure and fixed principle that no one can gain access to another person of high seignorial lordship<sup>24</sup> unless he himself is nobly born through his father.

Therefore I admonish you again, most beloved son William, that first you love God as you have seen it written earlier here, and then love, fear, and cherish your father. Recognize that your worldly position depends upon him. Know, too, that from ancient times those who have cherished their fathers and truly obeyed them have deserved to receive a blessing by God from them.

**<3> Further examples from the first Fathers**

We read that Shem, Noah's son, by loving his father attained to the highest, and so did his brother Japheth. Their father, in shedding his blessing on the heads of each, said, "Blessed be the God of Shem and Japheth, and let him dwell in their tents."<sup>25</sup> Let them grow, thrive, and prosper in all good things, and so on. It is not necessary for you to know what I might have to say about Ham and his kind. It is more worthwhile to use our intelligence to examine the examples of the submissive sons. Let us return to the good ones, and always revert to them.

Isaac, who obeyed his father, earned through his father's blessing the right to possess many good things in the world, with his wife and children. So he is called "Laughter" in Holy Scripture, that is to say "Joyous."<sup>26</sup> And if a good man is called "Joyous," certainly a worthless, proud, impudent man is called "Sad." Similarly, Jacob, through love and obedience to his father, deserved to be saved from

"dolens." Sicque Iacob diligendo et obediendo patrem de multis tribulationibus et pressurarum angustiis ereptus esse meruit; benedictiones duplas triplicesque a Deo et a patre tereno, sive etiam a matre vel ab angelo accipere meruit, dictumque est illi: Benedicens *benedicam tibi, et velut stellas coeli multiplicabo nomen tuum* erisque benedictus et insuper Israel vocaberis, *quoniam si contra Deum fortis fuisti, quanto magis praevaleris in homines!*

Considera, fili, qualem fortitudinem habent in saeculo qui, ob merita parentum et subiectionem paternam, a Deo merentur benedictionem accipere; et si tunc in illo, ita tu pugna, pete et pulsa, atque in omnibus viriliter certa, ut in te psalim<sup>5</sup> vel unam, ab illo qui dictus est Deus<sup>6</sup>, benedictionem sis dignus accipere et partem habere cum Iacob in cuius typum scelera purgantur et vitia subplantantur, cui omnes inimici eius in mansuetudinis pensum, velut interim sunt sub iuga colla, adstricti; dansque illi mundi creator uxorem cum prole et multas divitiarum substantias, aptusque et auctus in saeculo Deo in omnibus placuisse describitur semper.

Quid dicam et de Ioseph, filio eius, qui in tantum fuit diligens et obediens patri, ut etiam pro illo mortem potuisset accipere, si eum Deus et merita non defenderent patris; insidiatus est, accusatus est propter obedientiam paternam, ad fratres directus est, venundatus est; ab stupris mulierum se cavens atque elongatus fugiens, Deo in mente et seniori terreno puram in corpore servans castitatem, inter famulos domini sui esse prae ceteris meruit dilectus. Incarceratus est, afflictus est, angustiatus est valde; haec omnia pro patre, Deo in omnibus semper gratias agens. De ista super scripta vel aliarum tribulationum atque angustiarum turmis ereptus est, factusque est summus consiliator et interpres somnii sermonum, ad coronam celsitudinis magnae, sublimis, potensque effectus<sup>7</sup> est, et in aula regali dignis pro meritis secundus refulgens, primatum prae ceteris meruit tenere altum.

Ille appellatus est *filius ad crescens Ioseph, filius ad crescens*, verteruntque Aegyptii ob nimii amoris dulcedinem eius nomen *salvatore* atque *mundi gubernatore*. Pulcher in facie, pulchrior in mente, pulcher in forma, pulchrior in sensu, castus in corpore, humilis in corde; et quid dicam? speciosus valde frutorque saeculi, Deo et hominibus acceptabilis fuit semper in omnibus; regens patrem et fratres, totumque gubernans Aegyptum, vitam in pace finivit temporalem; ambulans *de virtute in virtutem*, Deo, per humilitatem et castitatem atque obedi-

<sup>5</sup> Antony ("Korruptel oder Lemma," p. 291) corrects from P.

<sup>6</sup> Riché supplies *Deus*.

<sup>7</sup> Riché corrects from *efetus*.

many trials and pressing dangers. He earned a double and threefold blessing from God, from his earthly father, and also from his mother and from the angel. To him it was said: "I will bless you with blessings, and I will multiply your name like the stars in the sky,<sup>27</sup> and you shall be blessed, and furthermore you shall bear the name of Israel.<sup>28</sup> For, if you have been strong before God – how much more will you prevail against men!<sup>29</sup>

Consider, my son, the worldly strength those people have who merit God's blessing thanks to their parents's virtues and to their own filial submission. If, therefore, it was so for Jacob, then you, too, fight, seek, insist and struggle manfully in all things! Then you will deserve to receive at least the blessing of him who is called God, and to have your share with Jacob. In Jacob, figuratively speaking, all crimes have been washed away and vices toppled. For him all enemies have been bound to a task of meekness, as if their necks had, for the time being, been bound beneath yokes.<sup>30</sup> Since he received from the world's Creator a wife, offspring, and all manner of riches, he is always represented as happy and fulfilled in the world, having pleased God in all things.

What shall I say about Joseph, his son, so loving and so obedient to his father that he was ready even to die for him, if God and the goodness of his father had not protected him? Victim of schemes and accusations because of his obedience toward his father, Joseph was sent to his brothers and put up for sale. He protected himself against the shamelessness of women. By withdrawing and running away he kept his chastity, both of the soul, which is owed to God, and of the body, which he owed to his earthly master. Among the servants of his master he deserved to be loved over all the others. He was imprisoned, tried and harshly tormented, all for his father's sake, and always gave thanks to God in all things. Delivered from all these things written of above, and from a throng of other tribulations and sorrows, he became the supreme counselor and interpreter of messages in a dream. He was made powerful and sublime in the great and lofty presence, where he shone in second place because of his worthy merits. He earned the right to hold the first rank above all the others.<sup>31</sup>

He has been called "the growing son, Joseph, the growing son."<sup>32</sup> The Egyptians, on account of the sweetness of his great love, changed his name to that of Savior and Governor of the world.<sup>33</sup> Beautiful of face, more beautiful of mind; beautiful in his bearing, more beautiful in his intelligence; chaste in body, humble of heart – what shall I say? He was altogether shining and splendid in the way of the world. He

tiam, iungi meruit, ad summum fulgensque et regnans cum sanctis in gloria; haec omnia pro patre.

Et multi alii obedientes Deo patrique fideli obtemperantes iussa, digni et acceptabiles fuerunt in saeculo, ad summum certantes sine laesione pervenerunt securi.

Quid in illis sit in te, si Almus tibi dederit proles; et quid tibi de hac, quod supra scriptum est, subiectione venerationis, plura, fili, conscribam verba? Ortor te et admoneo, age digne dignis quod agis, opus incessanter perface bonum, et semper in illum cresce atque multiplica qui dictus est Deus, fabricator coeli et terrae, de quo scriptum est: *Et erat subditus parentibus suis*. Redemptor generis humani te faciat crescere, proficere, augeri aetate et sapientia coram Deo et hominibus. Ihesus Christus, Dominus noster, in quo cuncta bona possibilis videntur, in regnum manens aeternum, tibi concedere dignetur. Amen.

#### <4> Admonitio erga seniore tuum exhibenda

Seniorem quem habes Karolum, quando Deus, ut credo, et genitor tuus Bernardus, in tuae incoationis iuventute florigeram vigorem tibi ad serviendum elegit, adhuc tene quod est generis ex magno utrumque nobilitatis orto progenie, non ita serviens ut tantum placeas oculis, sed etiam sensui capax, utrumque ad corpus et animam; puram et certam illi in omnibus tene utilitatis fidem.

Item. Considera pulcrum Habraae patriarchae famulum qui in regione longinqua filio domini sui pro coniuge abiit accipiendam. Ob fidem iubentis et digna exhibitio famulo obedientis, impleta est iussio atque proli magno uxor cum rebus magnis magnam secuta est gratiam.

Quid dicam et de Ioab Abnerque et ceteros erga Davidem regem, qui multis in locis propter eum angustias sustinentes, magis seniori quam sibi placere cupiebant ad nisu; et multi alii in Scripturis continentes sacris, seniorum iussa fideliter obtemperantes? Vigili<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Riché corrects from *Vigil*.

was always and in all things pleasing to God and to men. Ruling over his father and his brothers, governing all of Egypt, he ended the course of his life in peace. Going from virtue to virtue,<sup>34</sup> he deserved, through his humility, chastity, and obedience, to be united with God, shining among the highest and reigning with the saints in glory. And all of this was for his father!

And many others who have obeyed God and submitted faithfully to the commands of a father, have been acknowledged and honored in the world, and have by their efforts assuredly reached their loftiest aim without harm.

May it turn out for you as it did for them, if God in his goodness should one day grant you children! What more can I write to you, my son, on this submissiveness and respect of which I have just spoken? I admonish you, I exhort you: whatever you do, carry it out in a fashion worthy of worthy people. Persist in doing good. Grow and multiply always in him who is called God, the architect of heaven and earth, of whom it is written: "And he was submissive to his parents."<sup>35</sup> May the Redeemer of the human race enable you to thrive, prosper, and grow great in age and wisdom before God and men.<sup>36</sup> May our Lord Jesus Christ, in whom all possible good things have their source and who dwells in the eternal kingdom, deign to grant you this. Amen.

#### <4> Advice on your conduct toward your seignorial lord

Hold fast still to Charles,<sup>37</sup> whom you have as your lord, since God, as I believe, and your father Bernard chose for you at the beginning of your youth a flourishing strength for serving him – for he comes of a high and noble lineage on both sides of his family. Serve him not only so as to find favor in his eyes, but with capable insight concerning matters both of the body and soul. Keep strong and true faith with him in all practical affairs.

Furthermore. Consider the excellent conduct of the servant of the patriarch Abraham, who traveled to a far country to find a wife for his master's son. Thanks to the faith of Abraham, the one who ordered this, and the wise obedience of the servant who carried it out, the errand was accomplished. The wife secured bountiful riches and a great blessing through her many descendants.<sup>38</sup>

What shall I say of the actions of Joab and Abner and others gathered around King David?<sup>39</sup> They took risks for him in many

vigore florere meruerunt in saeculo. Scimus enim, secundum seriem Scripturarum, quod omnis honor et potestas a Deo sunt data. Propterea illis, sine molestia et tepiditate atque pigritia, fideliter est servendum. Nam, ut legimus: *Non est potestas nisi a Deo, et qui potestati resistit, Dei ordinationi resistit.*

Quamobrem, fili, orton te ut quod tenes, corpore fideliter dum vivis tene et mente. Erit enim tuus tuisque famulantibus utilissimus, ut credimus, ad crescens profectus. Nunquam aliquando ex infidelitatis vesania improprium ex te exeat malum; non sit ortus nec in corde tuo unquam ascendens ut infidelis tuo seniori existas in ullo. Est enim ita agentibus sermo durus pessimusque. Quod in te tuisque militantibus futurum esse non credo; ars enim haec, ut aiunt, nequaquam in tuis progenitoribus non apparuit unquam, nec fuit, est, nec erit nec ultra.

Tu ergo, fili Wilhelme, ex illorum progenie ortus, seniori ut praedixi tuo sis verax, vigil, utilisque atque praecipuus; et in omni negotio utilitatis regiae potestati, in quantum tibi Deus dederit vires, intus forisque prudentius te exhiberi satage. Lege dictas vel vitas sanctorum praecedentium patrum, et invenes qualiter vel quomodo tuo seniori debeas servire atque fidelis adesse in omnibus. Et cum inveneris, stude iussa illius complere fideliter. Considera etiam et conspice illos qui illi fidelissime militant assidue, et disce ab illis documenta servitii; exemplum enim illorum adscitus, ad hoc quod supra commemoravi, auxiliante et adiuvante Deo, facilius pervenire valebis. Sitque Deus et senior tuus tibi in omnibus prosper atque benignus, tutor, rector almificus atque protector, et in cunctis actibus tuis adiutor atque defensor assiduus dignetur adesse. *Sicut fuerit voluntas in coelo, sic fiat.* Amen.

places, conscientiously wanting to satisfy their lord rather than themselves. And Holy Scriptures are filled with so many others who faithfully submitted to their lords' orders. Because of their vigilance and effort, they deserved to thrive in the world. We know from the text of the Scriptures that all distinction and authority are bestowed by God. For this reason we must faithfully serve our lords without grumbling, half-heartedness or sloth. We read, "There is no authority which does not come from God, and whoever rises up against authority rises up against God's ordinance."<sup>40</sup>

That is why, son, I exhort you to keep this faith and keep it throughout your whole life, with body and mind. It will, as we believe, prove a very useful and increasing advantage for you and your household, increasing your profits to the advantage of your followers. Never once let yourself fall into the folly, the outrageous affront of breaking faith. Never let such an idea of disloyalty against your lord arise or grow in your heart. Men who do act that way are spoken of harshly and most unfavorably. But I do not think that that will be the case with you or your companions-in-arms. Such behavior never appeared or existed among your ancestors, they say; it does not exist at present, and never will in the future.

Now you, my son William, are descended from their stock. Conduct yourself toward your overlord as I have instructed you: be candid, alert, serviceable, noble. In every matter of concern to the royal power, try with all the strength God gives you to be diligent; busy yourself, conduct yourself with total prudence, both privately and publicly. Read the sayings and all the lives of the holy patriarchs who have gone before us. You will discover how and in what way you ought to serve your lord, and render him loyal aid in every respect. And when you have discovered this, apply yourself faithfully to carrying out your lord's commands. Be attentive, too. Observe those who serve him most faithfully and assiduously, and take lessons from them in how to serve. Trained by their example, with the aid and help of God you will be able to accomplish more easily what I have reminded you of earlier. Let God and your lord be favorable and benign to you in all matters! May he be your guardian, your kindly preceptor, your defender! May he deign throughout all your actions to be your helper and constant champion! "Let God's will be done as it will have been done in heaven!"<sup>41</sup>

**<5> De consilio accipiendo**

Si ad perfectum te aliquando adduxerit Deus, ut ad consilium inter magnatos merearis esse vocatus, tracta prudenter quid, quando, cui, vel quomodo dignum et aptum possis exhibere sermonem. Fac cum consilio illorum qui tibi ad corpus et animam fidelem praeparant actionem. Scriptum est: *Omnia fac cum consilio, et post factum non poenitebis*. Hic omnia non permixta mala quae sensui nocent utili, sed altiora et capaciora quae sine reprehensione ad salutem animae pariterque et corpori possint esse utilia atque stabilita in omnibus permanere fixa. Ait quidam: *Fixum est quod locutus sum*.

Nam fabricatores metallorum, cum aurum coeperint expandi ad liniendum, aptumve et congruum expectant diem, tempus, vel orarum temperiem, ut splendidam et fulgentem in lucidissimis metallis praeclarior niteat in rebus, emolumentis ornamenti volutio. Sic et in sensu prudentium ista debet consideratio ratiocinantium in omnibus adesse. Etenim candidior est nive sermo sensati et dulcior melle, auro purior argentoque. Quare? Quia, sicut dicit Scriptura, *de ore prudentis procedunt mella*. Super aurum videlicet et argentum gratia bona est, eloquia magnatis, pro eo quod favum distillant labia eius, et eloquia illius casta, igneque examinata atque probata.

Non sunt divitiae ubi<sup>9</sup> regnat stultitia, et nichil deest obstans in rebus ubi assiduus militatur sermo eucarus. Quisquis in hiis studuerit esse insertus, potest Deo et hominibus acceptabilis esse, et seniori fideliter in omnibus placere. Erit enim probatus ut aurum, niveque dinoscitur dealbari. Scriptum est: *Super nive dealbantur ora prudentium, et labia eorum, labia exultationis*. His qui cum consilio sensui digno Deo et hominibus utilem praeparant verbum, cum executione operis boni manentem in Christo.

Item. Tu, fili, crede, time, ama Deum et in tuae iuventutis flore ei adhaerere ne pigeas. Pete illi sapientiam et dabit eam tibi. Dicit enim Iacobus apostolus: *Si quis vestrum indiget sapientiam, postulet a Deo, qui dat omnibus afluenter, et non improperat*. Petat nichil hesitans et dabitur illi, nam Deus rogari se vult. Ipse enim ortans dicit: *Petite, quaerite, pulsate et invenietis accipietisque et fiet vobis*. Certe credo in eius digna et gratuita misericordia, ut qui digno et puro cordis affectu eum rogaverit sibi dari sapientiam atque consilium vel cetera corporis necessaria, credat qui accipiet et fiet ei.

<sup>9</sup> Antony ("Korruptel oder Lemma," p. 290) corrects from *uni*.

**<5> Taking counsel**

If God should one day advance you to such a high rank that you are counted worthy to be called to the council of magnates, examine prudently what words of fittingly proper advice you would offer, and when and to whom and how you would do so. Act on the advice of those who prepare for you a course of action wholesome for your body and soul. It is written, "Do all things with counsel, and then you will not be sorry after the act."<sup>42</sup> Here, "all things" refer not to all sorts of evil actions that obstruct wholesome judgment, but to more noble, generous actions, which can lead beyond reproach to the soul's salvation as well as the body's. These actions, stable and enduring in every respect, can remain immutable. Someone has said, "My spoken word is immutable."<sup>43</sup>

When metal-smiths endeavor to work gold to the proper thinness for applying gilt leaf, they wait for a desirable and propitious day, time, hour and temperature so that this bright, shimmering, precious metal will take on an even more striking brilliance and will be malleable for decorative use. So, too, in the judgment of prudent men, this deliberation of the calculating must always be present in all things. Indeed, the opinion of a sensible man is more shining than snow,<sup>44</sup> sweeter than honey, more refined than gold or silver. Why? Because, according to Scripture, "honey flows from the lips of the wise man."<sup>45</sup> Certainly a distinguished man's eloquence is a greater grace than gold or silver,<sup>46</sup> because his lips distil honey<sup>47</sup> and his words are unsullied, proved and tested by fire.<sup>48</sup>

There are no riches where folly rules. But where agreeable discourse holds constant sway, there are no hindrances and nothing is lacking.<sup>49</sup> Whoever zealously puts himself in the company of the wise makes himself acceptable to God and men. He will also loyally find favor with his lord. He will become tested like gold. He will be known as more radiant than snow. It has been written, "The mouths of wise men will be more shining than snow<sup>50</sup> and their lips will be the lips of rejoicing."<sup>51</sup> This refers to men who, taking counsel, prepare themselves in a sensible fashion to say one word that is good in the presence of God and men. Once the good has been accomplished, this word will dwell with Christ.

Again. You, son, should trust, fear, and love God and in the flower of your youth. Do not tire of clinging to him. Ask him for wisdom; he will grant it to you. The apostle James says, "If anyone among you lacks wisdom, let him ask God, who dispenses it to all people



Tu ergo, fili, ora, pete, sicut quidam orator in suis carminibus aiebat, dicque cum illo: *Te decet laus, honorque potestas. Qui es dives in omnibus, da mihi sapientiam.* Et iterum: *Da mihi, Domine, assistricem sapientiam ut non sim reprobatus a pueris tuis. Mitte illam a sede magnitudinis tuae, ut mecum sit, et mecum crescat, mecum laboret, ita ut possim discernere inter bonum et malum et valeam eligere quid sit melius.* Hanc ama, et a iuventute tua eam, Deum invocando, frequens exquire. Quod si eam tibi dederit Pius, dilige illam et amplexabit te, erisque beator si tenueris eam.

Item. Orator te ut non solum cum senioribus tantum sed cum iuvenibus Deumque diligentibus et sapientiam et discentibus assiduus esse non pigeas, quoniam in iuventa viget florentis senecta. Dicit quidam: *Quae non congregasti in iuventa, quomodo invenies in senecta?* Tu quaere eam Domino et dic: *Deus, doce me a iuventute mea, et usque in senectam et senium non me pius deserat Pater.* Beatus enim eris, fili, si ab illo fueris eruditus, et eius de lege doctus esse merueris. Certe *Samuhel et Danihel pueri*, in iuventutis flore vigentes, more patrum senes *iudicaverunt*, et consiliarum magni regibus in saeculo fuerunt, etiam et ducum gentilium externaeque gentis, fidele dantes consilium, merita accipere digna promeruerunt victoris palmam.

Item. Considera patres priores, considera Ioseph erga Pharaonem, Danielem erga Nabugodonosor, Baltasar, Dariumque et ducibus Persarum atque Medorum: sua non deserentes, utilissimi illi ad consilium fuerunt semper. Non sis immemor Ietro, cognati Moysi, quale illi magnum dedit consilium, et Achior Oloferni, gentilium principi, et multi plures illorum seniores atque amicis vel propinquis, fidele veracissimum dantes consilium. Seipos liberantes meruerunt esse salvi in mente et ab illis dilati, fulgentesque in sacris Scripturis valde sunt ceteris prae laudati. Quare? Deus enim *temptavit eos, invenit illos dignos*, menteque et corpori humiles atque castos, informatos sensibus, ut aurum probatos sibi dinoscitur applicuisse, et velut holocausti hostiam tam mente quam corpore sibi ad regnum cum sanctis iunxisse non dubium est.

Quid dicam de te, fili, quanquam indigna infelixque atque exigua Dhuoda? Qui tunc in illis vel in illorum similibus, oro ut in tuae pubertatis vigore nunc per tempora vigeat semper, ille qui dictus est Deus. *Sicut illi fuerit voluntas, sic tibi fiat semper.*

abundantly and without blame. Let him ask without hesitation, and it shall be given to him."<sup>52</sup>

God wishes to be asked. He himself encourages us when he says, "Ask, seek, knock on the door and you will find. You shall receive, you shall be fulfilled."<sup>53</sup> I surely believe in his kind and bountiful mercy toward anyone who with a worthy and pure eagerness of heart appeals to him for wisdom and counsel, or for whatever the body requires. One has only to believe to receive, and to be granted fulfillment.<sup>54</sup>

Therefore, my son, pray, seek and repeat after him what a certain orator expressed in his lyrics. Say as he did, "To you is due praise, honor and power. You who are infinitely bountiful, grant me wisdom." And again, "Give me, Lord, the Wisdom enthroned beside you, so that I shall not be rejected from among your children. Send Wisdom from the throne of your majesty, so that she may be with me, and that she may grow with me and work with me<sup>55</sup> so that I can distinguish good from evil<sup>56</sup> and be enabled to make the better choice." Love her, this Wisdom, and from your youth continue to quest for her by calling on God. If God in his goodness grants her to you, cherish her and she will embrace you, and your happiness will grow in possessing her.

Another thing. I beg you not to neglect your friendships with young men as well as older men – young men who hold God dear and are themselves devoted apprentices of wisdom. For the maturity of one who flourishes grows strong in youth. Someone says, "How will you find in your old age what you have failed to gather in youth?"<sup>57</sup> Ask the Lord, then, for Wisdom, and say, "God, teach me from my youth and until my old age, and when I grow weak do not abandon me, kindly Father."<sup>58</sup> You will be blessed, my son, if you are instructed by him and earn wisdom according to his teaching. Certainly Samuel and Daniel in their boyhood and in the vigorous flower of their youth, passed judgment on older men,<sup>59</sup> just as their fathers did. In the world they were powerful magnates who counseled kings and even foreign leaders among the Gentiles. They gave reliable counsel and so their worthy merits deserved to win the palm of victory.

And furthermore, think of the early Fathers, think of Joseph in the presence of Pharaoh, Daniel before Nebuchadnezzar, Balthazar and Darius<sup>60</sup> and the chiefs of the Persians and the Medes. Without renouncing any of their own convictions, they always provided the best counsel. Do not forget Jethro, a kinsman of Moses, and the precious counsel he gave,<sup>61</sup> and Achior, who warned Holofernes,

**<6> Item eiusdem. De consiliariis**

Sunt nonnulli qui quasi consilarii se arbitrantur esse, et non sunt, existimantes se sapientes cum non sint ita. *Si minus dicam, plus ego.* Tamen est non deficiens ille in quo omnis utilitas possibiliter viget. Sunt enim qui dant bonum et non bene, nec sibi utilem, nec alieni sublimem. Quare? Quia ad perfectum et summum non transit acumen. Et sunt plerique qui dant malum, et non flectitur ad opus. In multis diversis agitur modis. Fuerunt retro saecula multi digni utilesque et veraces et sunt hodie certe dissimiles in multis. Quid ad nos? Patent in saeculo plura. Ait enim Scriptura: *Abundat iniquitas et inter multos refrigescit karitas.* In hac volutione nescit homo quem eligat consiliatorem aut cui primum debeat credere, spemque utilitati in ullo comitti incertum manet a pluribus. Lege Sinonima.

At tamen nec in hoc difidendum est, fili: sunt plures ex prioribus orti qui adhuc, auxiliante Deo, sibi et senioribus utile et acceptum congruumque possunt et valent, ut credo, dare consilium. Et haec omnia in illo volvuntur qui dictus est Summus. Ait enim Scriptura: *Numquid non est medicus in Aegypto, aut resina in Galaath, lymphaque in Chanaan aut consiliarius in Israel, etc.? Est certe, et est sensus patefactus in multis. Novit Dominus qui sunt eius, inluminator mundi, magni consilii angelus, suis praebens digna animae saluti conferentia verba. Qui tunc et nunc, ipse in antiquis tunc, ipse in viventibus nunc, ipse in te egrediens regrediensque, et ad imperium senioris tui digno et*

military leader of the Gentiles<sup>62</sup> and so many other patriarchs who loyally aided their friends and those close to them with their most truthful counsels. By this they gained their freedom, their souls' salvation, and rewards from the men they advised. These counselors shine in Holy Scripture. Their praise surpasses that of all others. Why? God "tested them and found them good,"<sup>63</sup> humble and chaste in mind and body, and well-developed in discernment.<sup>64</sup> It is recognized that God joined them to himself, having tested them like gold. There is no doubt: Like the victim of a whole burnt offering,<sup>65</sup> he has united them to him, body and spirit, in his kingdom with the saints.

What shall I say of you, son, I, Dhuoda, who am unworthy, unfortunate and of small importance? I pray that the One who acted in these and similar matters, may act now in the vigor of your youth, continually and always – this One who is called God! According to his will, so be it, forever, for you!<sup>66</sup>

**<6> More on the subject. Counselors**

There are some people who consider themselves advisors, and who really are not, for they believe they are wise although they are not. "If I speak as a person who is less wise, I am wiser."<sup>67</sup> But this is not the fault of God, in whom all possible usefulness thrives. There are those who give good advice, but who do not give it well. This is of no use to them, nor does it inspire the other person. Why? Because such advice does not aim at the highest and principal virtue. And many give bad advice which has no bearing on the problem. There are different ways of reacting to various questions. In the old days there lived many honorable, practical, truthful people. Folk nowadays certainly differ from them in many respects. What is its relevance to us? The world reveals many things. Scripture says, "Evil abounds and charity is grown cold among many."<sup>68</sup> In these turbulent times, a man doesn't know whom to choose as counselor, or someone he can trust above all. For many people the hope of finding help from any one remains dim. Read the *Synonyms*.<sup>69</sup>

But all the same, do not despair on that account, my son. There are still, among the descendants of our elders, several people who with God's help are good at and capable of giving advice, which I believe is useful, appreciated, and pertinent to them and their lords. All these things are unfolded in the One who is called the Most High. For Scripture says, "Is there no physician in Egypt, no balm in Gilead," no flowing water in Canaan, nor any counselor in Israel? and so forth.<sup>70</sup>

sublimi pergens regi te commilitantem, ad summum et rectum faciat pervenire consilium. Amen.

### <7> <Admonitio> singularis eiusdem

Ut talis esse possis, omnia in arbitrio et potestate omnipotentis constant Dei. Quod si, auxiliante Conditori summo, ad hoc quod supra dixi perveneris tempus, cave improbos et elige dignos; fuge malos, adhaerere pios; cum malivolo et pusillanimo vel iracundo consilium non in eas. Conrodet enim te ut tineae, et in ipsis suis imperiis nunquam aliquando securus quiescet. Ira enim et eius assueta invidia praeceps ad lapsum facilius trahit ad imma.

Non sit sors tua cum Achitofel vel cum Aman, pessimo atque superbo, cuius consilia dissipata sunt semel, qui malum seniori dantes consilium, mente et corpore pariter ruerunt in mortem. Volo etenim, filii, ut<sup>10</sup> cum talibus delectes militari qualis fuit Doeck Idumeus, et Mardocheus humilis. Nam Achitofel ex placenti animo Absaloni, ut erga suum surgeret Davidem patrem, inutile dedit consilium, et cetera. *Nutu Dei dissipata* sunt illius mala consilia. Chusi autem et Doeck, firmus firmissime cum firmo perseverans, consilium eius indissolubile permansit. At contra Aman, ob superbia invidentis animo, ad perdendos Israeli filios, Assueri malum dedit consilium. Mardocheus autem, auxilium Dei pro se et populo liberando precans, praedicto regi magnum dedit consilium, eique signum fidelitatis ad se liberandum vindicandumque ostendit, dicens, "Considera, o Rex," et cetera.

Providentia autem Dei unus cum populo salvari meruit; alter econtra superbus, cum omni domo sua inaniter retrorsum abiens in patibulum quod ex invidiae facibus humili paraverat ad perdendum, ipse, contrarius existens malus, in eo suspensus est. Solus vitam cum corpore transvexit ad peius. Et inpletum est in eo suisque similibus: *Concepit dolorem et peperit iniquitatem, lacum aperuit et incidit in eum*; quoniam qui paraverat fratri innocenti malum, praeceps et declines corrui in mortem. Deus pius impiis pie parcens ad se per poenitentiam

<sup>10</sup> Riché deletes *non* after *ut*.

Surely there is. It's evident that many people have common sense. "The Lord knows his own." He is the light of the world, "angel of great counsel," dispenser of beneficent words and salvation to his own people. He existed then and now, he dwelt with the men of old and today he dwells among the living. He is in you as you go and come, and he exhorts you, as companion-at-arms to this noble and illustrious king,<sup>71</sup> to accept the dominion of your overlord. May God lead you onward to become this king's high and upright counselor! Amen.

### <7> Particular warning on this subject

For you to become such a counselor, everything depends on the will and power of the Almighty God. If with help of the supreme Creator you reach the time of life I spoke about earlier, be on guard against the dishonest, choose the worthy. Shun the wicked,<sup>72</sup> associate with the good. Don't take advice from a malicious, cowardly or wrathful man. Such a man will gnaw at you like a ringworm<sup>73</sup> and he will never remain firm in his counsels. Wrath and his habitual envy very easily drag him headlong to his plunge into the abyss.<sup>74</sup>

Do not cast your lot in with Achitophel<sup>75</sup> or Haman,<sup>76</sup> both of them filled with evil and pride – though their counsels were foiled once and for all! They gave wicked advice to their masters and both advisors plummeted alike, soul and body, to their deaths. I wish indeed, son, that you would want to render your military service with such as were Doeg the Edomite<sup>77</sup> and humble Mordecai.<sup>78</sup> Achitophel, because he wanted to please Absolom, gave him evil advice to rebel against his father, David, and so on. By the will of God, these base counsels of Achitophel were foiled.<sup>79</sup> But Hushai,<sup>80</sup> like Doeg, was forcefully forceful with David, another forceful man, and his counsel remained fixed. Haman, by contrast, proud and envious of spirit, advised Ahasuerus to kill the sons of Israel, while Mordecai begged God's aid to deliver the people. He advised Ahasuerus, however, giving proof of his loyalty and asked for his own freedom and vindication, saying, "Consider, O king," and so on.<sup>81</sup>

Through God's providence, one counselor was worthy to be saved with his people. But the other, proud counselor lost everything he owned, along with his household. He went to his destruction to the gallows which he had prepared, stirred by the firebrands of envy, for the humble man. There he was hanged,<sup>82</sup> and so the evil he plotted reverted to himself. By himself he took his life with his body to the worse place. In himself and others like him is fulfilled the saying: "He

adstringi omnes desiderat apte. *Ipse etenim novit decipientem et eum qui a decipiente decipitur.*

Tu ergo, fili Wilhelme, cave etc. et fuge malos praedictorum similes, adhaerere boni<sup>11</sup> sequacibus dignis, qui, per veram subiectionem erga seniorum suorum placita, perutile consilium exhibentes, dignum a Deo et saeculo praemium accipere meruerunt magnum. Quod tunc in illis, ita oro ut et nunc, cotidie, semper in te crescat, obtime fili.

### <8> Ad propinquos seniorum tuorum

Inclitos atque praeclaros seniori tuo regiae potestatis eximios parentes atque propinquos, tam ex paternitatis illustrem quam ex matrimonii dignitatum ascendente originem, si ad hoc perveneris, ut cum commilitonibus infra aulam regalem atque imperialem, vel ubique utilis merearis esse servitor, time, ama, venera et dilige eos, atque in omni negotio utilitatum illorum, purum et abtum, cum executionis fidelitate, tam mente quam corpore, certum illis in omnibus para obsequium.

Meminere David erga Ionathan, filium regis Saul, qui ad patrem et filium, nec non et illorum posteros propinquitati, non solum in vita, sed etiam post eorum obitum, tempore dum vixit, purus atque fidelis illis in omnibus verus adstitit certator. Post eorum dissolutionis excessu, ob nimii amoris dulcedinem, lachrimabili fletu cum lamento graviter elulabat, dicens: *Quomodo ceciderunt fortes in bello et perierunt arma bellica, etc.?* Item: *Doleo super te, frater mi Ionathan, amabilis valde super amorem, etc., fortior leonis, aquillis velocior.* Etenim *sagita tua, obtime proles, retrorsum non abiit unquam.* His atque aliis exempla, repletus dolorum filio regi cum suis fidelibus obruto plorabat adstrictae. Absit hoc a te et a tuis cernentibus.

Hoc propter exemplum tibi iubeo transcribi, nam ipse David, conversus ad medium, ob nimium fidelitatis amorem quasi consolatus, vocis alternis eos cum suspirantis affectu laudans, aiebat: *Saul et Ionathan amabiles et decori in vita, in morte quoque non sunt divisi.* Multi

<sup>11</sup> Riché corrects from *bonis*.

has conceived mischief and brought forth falsehood. He has dug a pit and has fallen into it."<sup>83</sup> He who plotted evil against his innocent brother has rushed headlong and downwards into death. The merciful God spares with mercy even the merciless, for he desires to draw all men to himself through suitable penance. He knows both the deceiver and the one whom the deceiver deceives.<sup>84</sup>

And you, son William, be wary, and so on. Flee from the type of wicked men I have described. Associate with wise people who pursue the good, those who with true submission to the will of their lords proffer good counsel, and so have earned from God and the world an honorable and great recompense. What was true for them in their time, I pray that now, today and always, may increase in you, dearest son.

### <8> Conduct toward the family of your seignorial lords

If you and your companions-at-arms should happen to merit a share of service in the royal or imperial court, or anywhere else that you may be found a useful servitor, fear, love, revere, and cherish your lord's kinsmen. These kinsmen, and others connected to your powerful and royal lord, are illustrious, glorious, and noble, some having secured their rank through descent from Charles's paternal lineage, others from matrimonial alliances. Show your firm allegiance to them in every activity that is absolutely favorable to their practical interest, with a fidelity of action that engages your mind as well as your body.

Remember how David conducted himself with respect to Jonathan, the son of King Saul, and not only toward the father and son but also their offspring, both during their lifetime and after their deaths. As long as he lived he showed himself honest and faithful, their constant champion. After their destruction, David, in the tenderness of his great love – shed tears of emotion. Sorrowfully he wept and grieved, crying, "How have the valiant fallen in battle, and the weapons of war have perished!"<sup>85</sup> And again: "I mourn for you, my brother Jonathan. You have been very pleasing to me, more loveable than love."<sup>86</sup> and so on, "stronger than the lion, swifter than eagles."<sup>87</sup> Your arrow, child of a noble race, never turned back."<sup>88</sup>

In these and other instances, David, filled with sorrow, wept bitterly at the downfall of the king's son and his faithful followers. May such a thing never happen to you and your comrades!

I am having this exemplary passage copied out for you. David

etenim seniores et seniorum parentes fidelia obtemperantes iussa in sacris Scripturis valde sunt perlucide honorabiliter laudati. Lege Regnorum vel aliorum Patrum volumina librorum, et invenies plenius.

Eiusdem. Tu ergo, fili Wilhelme, obtempera iugum famulantis normam, sisque fidelis seniori tuo Karolo, quisquis ille est, et suis dignis utrorumque sexuum parentibus atque regalium generis ortos. Est enim dignum ita agere tibi, et omnibus in illorum regni imperio militantibus, totis nisibus te inter eos utiliter atque fideliter obtemperandum. Deus enim eos, ut credimus, elegit et praelegit in regno, dans illis gloriam ad illam tendentem, conformem similitudinis magnae, quam pollicitus est Abraam, Ysach et Iacob, prolisque dignis et semini eorum.

Faciat eos omnipotens Almus Rexque fortis atque praeclarior Summus, conformes atque concordēs, genitorumque more pacem sequaces hoc praesenti in saeculo, prosperos fulgere, mundumque cum populo, in Dei et sanctorum servitio, viriliter regere, protegere, gubernare, et ab hostium inimicorum undique adsurgentium cuneis tensare atque defendere, sanctamque Dei videlicet Ecclesiam in religione vera firmiter coadunare in Christo; videantque proles filiorum suorum digne Deo placentes, crescentes florentesque, et per multorum annorum curricula ad alta tendentes, hic perseverans cursu consumari felices; atque post expletum vitae praesentis aevi, cum praedictorum patrum personis faciat venire et recumbi in regnum coelorum, ad quod regnum et dignitatis gloriam te erga illos fidelem certantem servitium, et illum cum suis tibi dignum pro meritis reddentem, retributor omnium, largitor bonorum operum, faciat iungi consortio in Christo feliciter.

### <9> Ad optimates ducum

Optimates ducum et consiliarios illorum, suisque similibus fideliter servientes, totum in partes, et partes per totum, quisquis ille est vel

himself, when he returned to calm moderation and was consoled – as it were – by his extreme and loving fidelity, sang his friends' praises while giving voice to groans of sorrow. He said, "Saul and Jonathan were lovely and pleasant in life, and in death they were not divided."<sup>89</sup> Many other lords and kinsmen of lords who loyally submitted to their rulers' commands have been greatly, honorably and illustriously praised in the Holy Scriptures. Read the Book of Kingdoms,<sup>90</sup> and other books of the Fathers, and you will learn about many more.

Therefore again, you, son William, submit to the regular yoke of service, and be faithful to Charles your lord, whatever his status may be,<sup>91</sup> and to his noble kin of both sexes and to all those descended of royal race. It is right for you to do so, as it is for all men who perform knightly service under the imperial reign. I wish you to serve among them strenuously, usefully, and faithfully. God, as we believe, chose and predestined them to sovereignty, granting them preeminence that tends to resemble in its greatness the preeminence he promised to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, their noble offspring and all their seed.<sup>92</sup>

May the almighty and gracious King, his strong and glorious Highness, let them shine with prosperity – those leaders who in this present world follow in agreeable harmony the peaceful custom of their forefathers!<sup>93</sup> May they potently rule, protect, and govern the world and the people in the service of God and the saints. Let them build a shield and defense against the onslaught of enemy troops that are bursting in from all sides, and create a more stable unity in Christ, that is, God's holy church in the true faith! May they see their children's descendants nobly pleasing to God, thriving and prosperous, and reaching perfection over the course of the long years. And so, may they find a happy culmination at the end of their resolute journey! Once they have fulfilled the duration of this life, may they rejoin the Fathers of whom we have spoken, and rest in the kingdom of heaven! May the Giver of all rewards, the Compensator of all good works bring you this kingdom and glory – you who strive to serve your lords faithfully, while the king and his followers reward you worthily for your merits. And may he unite you blissfully in the company of Christ.

### <9> Conduct toward the principal leaders

Love, cherish and render diligent service to the great leaders, and their counselors and peers who conscientiously serve. Do this toward

sunt fulgentes in aula, ama, dilige et servi frequenter. Exempla dignitatum illorum perquire humiliter, et tene firmissime. In domo etenim magna, ut est illa, fuitque, et erit, si iusserit Pius, collationes conferuntur multae. Unus ibi ab alio potest, si vult, discere humilitatem, karitatem, castitatem, patientiam, mansuetudinem, modestiam, sobrietatem, astutiam, ceterasque cum studio operis boni virtutes.

Tu ergo, fili, ut puerulus *adcrescens*, disce a maioribus sensuque capaces quidquid bonum ab illis auxiliante capere summo poteris. Almo, ut possis Deo in primis placere, et cetera. Inter parentes etenim atque propinquos paresque et fideles amicos ita agere studeas, ortor, ut absque seniorum infidelitatis obprobrio, cum studio actionum omni operis boni, digne et elegantius laudabiliter cursu vivere possis felici. Ille qui *linguas infantium* ad laudem sibi *facit disertas*, ut scriptum est: *Ex ore infantium*, etc., ipse te eloquentius cum dignis et nobilissimis Dominumque timentibus ad summum faciat scandere agmen!

### <10> Ut cum maioribus et minoribus flectas

Quanquam non sit tibi necesse a me ista dirigi verba, ut maiorum seniorumque atque optimatum ducum cum minimis exempla sequi debere magnatis, pro eo quod absens a me tu ipse frequens, tamen minores ad formam praelatis erigi ne dubites culmen, atque te ad illos illosque tibi coniungi, magnis cum parvis in utilitatibus, ne pigeas ortor.

Bonorum est Deus in coelo terraeque figmentor. Pro minimis suam ad imma dignatus est tellus ostendi praesentiam. Nam, ut aiunt doctores, cum esset summus omniumque creator, formam accipere dignatus est servilem. Potentes erigit ut deiciantur ad imma, humiles exaltat ut ad altiore tendant acumen. Ipse est, ut ait Propheta, *minimus in mille et parvulus in gentem fortissimam* et magnus in minimis pusillusque<sup>12</sup> et fortis atque virilis. Unum esse credimus Creatorem, Pastorem et Gubernatorem corporum sive animarum nostrarum,

<sup>12</sup> Dronke corrects from *pusillusque*.

all of them together and individually, whoever they may be, and toward luminaries of the court. Humbly study the examples of their dignity, and adhere to them most staunchly. In a household as great as theirs has always been, and (with God's consent) always will be, many discussions are going to be held. One person can learn from another, if he wishes, about humility, chastity, patience, clemency, modesty, sobriety, sagacity, and other virtues, along with a fervor for good works.

Therefore, son, while you are a young boy and "growing up,"<sup>94</sup> learn all that you can from men who are great and intellectually able – with the help of the gracious God – so that you can please him above all, and so forth. Among your kindred, close associates, peers, and loyal friends, I urge you to devote your energies to acting in such a way that you do not incur your lords' reproach of disloyalty, but zealously pursue all sorts of good that you may live a felicitous course of life in a praiseworthy manner, worthily and with greater propriety in honor and distinction. May God, who made the "tongues of children speak" in praising him – as it is written, "Out of the mouths of babes,"<sup>95</sup> and so on – render you even more eloquent in praising men who are moral, most noble and godfearing! May he grant you to ascend very eloquently, with the worthy and the most noble and the godfearing, to the highest host!

### <10> Accommodate yourself to greater and lesser men

Assuredly, it isn't necessary for me to tell you that nobles as well as men of lower rank ought to follow the example of their superiors, their lords, and the great magnates. You are far from me, and so must continually take note of that for yourself. Do not doubt, however, that the lesser men can advance themselves by following the examples of their superiors. I entreat you not to fail to ally yourself to them – and they will be bound to you – by doing them favors, large and small.

God is the fashioner of good things in heaven and of the earth, but he deigned to show his presence here on earth in lowly condition on earth for the sake of his lowliest creatures. Now, as the erudite doctors say, although he was the highest and supreme Creator of all things, he deigned to take on the role of a servant.<sup>96</sup> He raises up the mighty so they may be cast down into the deepest abyss. He raises up the humble so they can reach a loftier height.<sup>97</sup> He is, the prophet says, the least among thousands, the small among a very strong nation.<sup>98</sup> He is powerful among the smallest and weak, he is strong and virile.

illum videlicet de quo supra. Omnes etiam ab illo accepimus quicquid in regiminis curam haberi videmur. Omnis namque creatura magna rationabilis atque plus illa minusve auctori suo servire atque laudare non dubium est, decetque, et, secundum auctoritatem Scripturarum, *senes cum iunioribus* et terra cum omni sibi nascenti collaudans benedicit Dominum.

Scriptum est in brevi: *Omnis spiritus laudet Dominum*. Ipse humani generis auctor,<sup>13</sup> et magnis et minimis secundum qualitatis mensuram suam, ut vult, non denegat pro meritis beneficia largiri. Non enim est *personarum acceptor*, sed in omnibus qui *timent illum* et eius faciunt voluntatem placitus adest.

Et si ille tam magnus in minimis ita, quid nos minimi in minores agere debemus? Debent eos qui possunt adiuvere, et, secundum dicta vel ortamenta Apostoli, onera sua alterutrum portare, firmi infirmiora, capaces minora, ut inferiores cum firmis capax vigorum ad alta valeant scandere prolixa maiorum. Dicit etiam idem Apostolus: *Vos qui potentes et fortiores estis, imbecillitates pusillorum portare debetis, ut vestra abundantia illorum suppleat parvitatem et illorum inopiam*, etc.

Tu ergo, licet inter comilitones minimus esse videaris in formam, tamen sensu tenax vigorum et formam exemplis magnorum, de quo iam superius habes conscriptum, attentius intueri et sequi ne pigeas ortor, fili. Magnos ut sublimes, aequales ut altos, consimiles praeponere, ut tibi una cum illis profectum dignitatis adipisci possis maiorum; omnibus namque per subiectionum humilitatis exempla tuis praelatos esse congaudeas, obsecro.

Exempla. Praeponere tibi similitudinem, per allocutionis metaphoram, de quodam ut scriptum est viro: *Manus eius contra omnes, et manus omnium contra eum*, et cetera. Nos hanc propositiunculam<sup>14</sup> in bonam vertentes partem, talem te in omnibus esse ortor, ut manus tua in operibus dignis prompta, et magnis et minimis aequalibusque atque exiguis personis prout vales habens et habere poteris unquam servitium et honorem non solum verbis sed et factis studeas implere, et hoc cum mansuetudinis allocutione. Scriptum est de dandis: *Ylarem datorum diligit Deus*. Dictum de verbis sermo bonus super "datum obtinuum." Utrumque tibi agenda sunt. Quod si libenti animo erga omnes studueris implere, complebitur in te quod scriptum est supra. Sitque *manus tua* libens serviens, *contra omnes* ad dandum, et *manus omnium*

<sup>13</sup> Bowers (*Liber Manualis*, p. 110) corrects from *amitor*.

<sup>14</sup> Riché corrects from *propositiuncula*.

We believe in one Creator, shepherd and governor of our bodies as well as our souls, him of whom we have spoken. We have all received from him whatever we seem to know of the care of government. There is no doubt that every rational creature – one more, one less – serves and praises his Creator, and this is proper. According to Scriptural authority, old and young,<sup>99</sup> and the earth and all it brings forth, together praise and bless the Lord.

It has been succinctly written, "Every spirit should praise the Lord."<sup>100</sup> He is the author of the human race. On the great and on the smallest, according to his measurement of their character and as he sees fit, he does not deny the lavishing of his benefits where merited. For he is no respecter of persons. He is favorably disposed to be at hand for all who fear him<sup>101</sup> and do his will.

And if he in his majesty works this way toward the lowliest, how must we, who are very insignificant, act toward those who are in humbler circumstances than we? People who can help others should do so. Following the sayings and exhortations of the Apostle, we ought to carry one another's burdens.<sup>102</sup> The strong should assist the weaker, and the able help the less able, so that the feebler ones can share in the stamina of the mighty and can climb to the tall summits of the greater. Again the Apostle says, "You who are strong and more enduring, you should carry the frailties of the weak, so that your abundance makes up for their dearth and their lack,"<sup>103</sup> and so forth.

Now though you may appear to be the slightest of build among your comrades-in-arms, nonetheless you are firm in your robust perceptions. Do not fail, I beg you, son, to observe very intently and emulate as examples the bearing of great men. About this you have written directives above. Treat the great as if they were exalted, you equals as if they were great, those just like you as if they were superior. This way you can advance along with them to the rank of your forebears. I intreat you to rejoice in all those of your household who gain advancement as examples of humility and submissiveness.

Some examples. Ponder this metaphor, a figure of speech about a certain man of whom it's written: "His hand is against everyone, and everyone's hand is against him,"<sup>104</sup> and so on. If we turn this little formula around in a favorable sense, I would recommend its meaning to you. You ought to behave this way in every respect. Let your hand be prompt to act in worthy deeds. Be eager to render service and honor – in word and deed and with mildness of speech – to great and small, toward your peers and those of lesser degree. Do this to the best of the ability you possess now, or ever will. On giving, it is written,



*contra te ad sublevandum vel porrigendum digna pro executione meritis facta.*

Ama omnes ut ameris ab omnibus, dilige ut diligaris. Si tu omnes, omnes te; si tu singulariter, illi pluraliter. Scriptum est in Arte Donati poetae: "Amo te et amor a te, osculor te et osculor a te, diligo te et diligor a te; agnosco te et agnoscor a te." Et iterum: "Ego, mei vel mis, mihi vel a me, et o, a me." Et pluraliter; "Illos, illorum et illis, o, ab illis"; et cetera his pertinentium similia.

Tu ergo, fili Wilhelme, dilige et agnosce a quo vel a quibus agnosci cupis; ama, venera, collige et honora omnes, ut ab omnibus vicissitudinis retributionem cum honoris pensum merearis acipere. Nam quidam doctor de similitudine animali mentis ob aedificationis exemplo, magnum et lucidissimum in brevi transcurrit sermonem. Dicit enim in XL<sup>o</sup> primo psalmo: *Sicut cervus, etc.*

Cervi hanc habent consuetudinis morem, ut, cum pluraliter maria vel spatiosa maritimis undarum gurgitis flumina transvehi coeperint, unus post unum caput cum cornibus super dorsa compari suo colla submittant, ut paululum quiescentes facillius amnem possint transcurrere veloces. Est in illis talis intellectus et talis aequa discretio, ut, cum priorem senserint adgravari, mutant primum posteriorem, et extremum, ad ceteros sublevandum vel refocilandum, eligunt primum; sicque in singulis versa vice mutantes, talis per singula in illis transcurrit compassio dilectionis fraterna: hoc semper caventes ut caput cum cornibus, ne in amnis mergantur profundis, superos tendi et anelari<sup>15</sup> satagunt.

Qualis hic sensus volvatur, non latet a doctis. Cuncta illis patent ad visum promptissime. Nam in subportationem, vel vicissitudinis mutationem, dilectionem tam in maioribus quam in minoribus per compassionis fraternitatem omnimodis per cuncta in generi humano ostendit esse tenendam. Haec etenim a pluribus retro, etiam et in sanctis apostolis illorumque similibus capaces, per omnia legimus esse completum. Scriptum est: *Non enim erat quisquam egens inter illos, sed erant illis omnis comunia, habentes in Deum cor unum et anima una, compassionis fraternitatem in Christo Iesu invicem semper tenentes.*

In elevationem vel erectionem capitarum cornuumque ostendunt fideles in Christo sursum semper tenere cor et mentem semper in illum habere. Qui ortus Rex ex semine David pro salute generis humani, in fluctuationis mare undarum, ad imma descendens, ad suos liberandum erexit cornu, atque libere agens hos quos in umbra invenit

<sup>15</sup> Bowers (*Liber Manualis*, p. 116) corrects from *super ostendi et anefari*.

"God loves a cheerful giver."<sup>105</sup> And in connection with words, there is a fine passage on the "best gift."<sup>106</sup> Conduct yourself according to both notions. If you zealously act with a good will toward all, then the text cited above will be realized in you. Let "your hand", willing and serviceable, be "against others" in order to give to them, and let "the hands of all others" be "against you" for the sake of helping or rewarding you as you deserve by your meritorious actions.

Love everyone so that everyone will love you, cherish them so you will be cherished. If you love all, all will love you. If you love in the singular, they will love in the plural! It is written in the *Art* of the poet Donatus: "I love you and I am loved by you. I kiss you and I am kissed by you. I cherish you and I am cherished by you. I recognize you and am recognized by you." And again: "I, my or mine, to or by me, and O, by me!"<sup>107</sup> And in the plural: "They, theirs, to them, O, by them," and other related examples.

As for you, my son William, cherish and acknowledge those by whom you want to be acknowledged. Love, venerate, welcome, and honor everyone, so that you may deserve the enjoyment of a reciprocal benefit and the honor that pertains to it in changing circumstances. On this subject, a certain learned man, by way of an edifying example, presented in brief a powerful and most lucid comparison of the mind to an animal. He was commenting, actually, on Psalm 41, "Like the stag," and so on.<sup>108</sup>

Stags habitually behave in the following way: When a herd sets out to swim across bodies of water, or wide rivers with turbulent currents, one stag after the other lays its head and horns on the back of the one before it. By resting a little, they may quickly and more easily cross the water. They are so intelligent and have such subtle instinct that when they sense the leader is beginning to flag, they let him drop back to second place and choose the rearmost stag to swim at the head, so as to support and refresh the others. This way, as each changes places with the others in turn, a fraternal creaturely kindness surges through all of them. They always take care to hold head and antlers above the water and to breathe, lest they be swallowed up in the depths of the river.<sup>109</sup>

The meaning to draw from this does not escape the learned. All is plain and readily perceptible. For this exemplum shows that mutual support and reciprocity, and brotherly compassion toward the weaker and the stronger, ought to apply in every way to the whole human race as well. In fact, we read that a number of people among the holy apostles and others like them have already grasped this point. It is



iacentes, oriens ex alto visitavit et erexit ad summum, dans exemplum ne in fluctuationem vel gurgitis maris, libidinum atque cupiditati coeno limoque obvoluto, sursum erigentes teneamus cum Apostolo cor, dicentesque: "Nostra autem conversatio in coelis est."

Quid de leonibus, quid de apibus, vel ceteris animantium sensibilibus? Quid etiam de vite terra reptantem, vel ulmo ad alta tendentem, qui utrumque aedificant? Sunt multa ad exempla hominum deducta et in usum concessa. Lege librorum pertinentium dicta, et invenies: *Nimirum, scriptum est, loquere terrae et respondebit tibi; interroga iumenta et docebunt te: volatilia coeli et indicabunt tibi; et narrabunt pisces maris, etc.* Et est sensus utilissimus patens nonnullis. Est etenim unus Creator atque Reformator. Tamen omnium hic vel his pertinentium formis hominem praesse, secundum quendam poetam dictum, eligere dignatus est ad summa. Ait etiam in suis carminibus ita:

Virgo creavit arva, virginem virgo,  
Ex virgine factus homo;  
Heu, proh dolor! corruptus virgo;  
Proh dolor, heu! corrupta virgo,  
Omnium reptis<sup>16</sup> utrisque cedens.

Item eiusdem:

Relinquet ob rem patremque matrem,  
Et adhaerebit sibi uxorem,  
Eruntque una in carne duo,  
Cuncta dominantes sibi subiecta,  
Ratio capax scandantes.

Item ipse:

*Ipse homini qui cuncta dedit,  
Quae polus humusque aut pelagus,*

<sup>16</sup> Antony ("Korrupitel oder Lemma," p. 332) corrects from *Omniumque reptis*.

written: "There was no one needy among them, but they shared everything in common," for they had "one heart and one mind" in God, always maintaining brotherly compassion toward one another in Lord Jesus Christ.<sup>110</sup>

Stags holding their heads high and horns upright signify the faithful, who always lift up their hearts and minds to Christ the king, born of the seed of David for the salvation of humankind. He has descended to this sea of turbulent waves and to the abyss, and has "raised his horn"<sup>111</sup> in order to save his own people. He, arising from the heights, willingly took it on himself to visit<sup>112</sup> those whom he found lying in darkness and to raise them on high. By this example he teaches us not to drown in the floods and maelstroms of the sea, or to flounder in the filth of lust and the mud of avarice,<sup>113</sup> but to hold high our hearts saying with the Apostle, "Our way of life is in the heavens."<sup>114</sup>

What should we say about lions, about bees and other intelligent animals? And what about the vine creeping upon the ground, or the elm tree rearing itself upward, both of which teach us a lesson? Many examples are introduced to men, and given for our use. Read the teachings in books on the subject and you will find out. "Of course," it has been written, "speak to the earth and she will answer you. Question the beasts of burden and they will teach you, the birds of the sky and they will guide you, the fish of the sea and they will tell you."<sup>115</sup> The meaning is most useful, and plain to many people. There exists only one Creator and Restorer, yet he placed man above all these and related forms. According to a certain poet,<sup>116</sup> "God deigned to choose him over all." And the poet says in his lyrics:

Virgin formed virgin, the virginal earth;  
Out of this virgin, man was made.  
Alas, O sorrow! Virgin man was stained,  
O sorrow, alas! Virgin woman was stained,  
The world's gullt gliding in both.<sup>117</sup>

And further by the same poet:

For this he will leave his father and mother  
And join his wife to himself.  
Together both shall one flesh be,<sup>118</sup>  
Ruling all that is cast below them,  
Rising through reason's faculty.

And again:

He who gave all to man,  
All that skies, earth and sea

*Aere, gurgite, rure creant,  
Quae visu cernens manuque palpans,  
Haec illis subdens et eos sibi.*

Est sensus, fili Wilhelme, quia Omnipotens summus ad recuperandum angelorum numerum dignitatem sociandumque, hominem ex terrae limo plasmatum dignatus est. Omnia illi suo in usu concedens, eum per cuncta sibi ad aeternitatis gloriae magnitudinis socio elegit fruendam. Pro eo nasci voluit, pati, resurgere, ad coelum ascendi, ut magnis et minimis, pro qualitatis mensura, ad se iungat et conlocet in regno.

Quid tibi plura in exemplis subditorum parvumque et minorum in dilectionis conglutinatione valeam aut possim ostendere? Mensuram sensu formantis in speciem tu ipse, Deo iuvante, scis et discere per amplius poteris semper. Magnus et laudabilis valde, magnis et minimis suam tribuens bonam, te cum omnibus vel cum eorum similibus de quibus supra fecimus mentionem, adhaerentes in Christo, ad se una cum illis faciat iungi, pervenientem ad illum qui magnos tenens et minimos iungens laudansque ita dicendo: *Sinite parvulos venire ad me. Talium est enim regnum coelorum*, adiuvante et concedente illo qui sine fine regnat in coelis. Amen.

### <11> De reverentia sacerdotum

Venerandi sunt sacerdotes, fili, pro eo quod in sorte ministerio Dei sunt electi, quia pro peccatis nostris intercessores existunt, sacrum tenentes ordinem. Tu ergo in tota anima tua time Deum et sacerdotes illius honorifica, dilige, venerare eos. Ipsi sunt conficientes chrisma oleumque. Ipsi sunt baptizantes in fide sanctae Trinitatis populum, ad sanctam Dei adunantes Ecclesiam. Ipsi sunt sacrantes panem et vinum in similitudine corporis et sanguinis Domini Iesu Christi, parantes mensam et dantes nobis communionem in remissione peccatorum et salutem corporis percipiendam.

Dicti sunt "sacerdotes" ad sanctificandum vel consecrandum, tenentes exemplum illius qui dixit: *Sancti estote quia ego sanctus sum*. Et iterum: *Pacem sequimini et sanctimoniam sine qua*, etc. Vocati sunt sacerdotes, dicente Propheta: *Vos sacerdotes vocabimini ministri Dei*

Bring forth in air and flood and field,  
That eye can see, that hand can touch,  
He put under men, and men under himself.<sup>119</sup>

The meaning of this, my son William, is that the high omnipotent God deigned to fashion man from the clay of the earth in order to restore the numbers of the angels,<sup>120</sup> and to allow humanity to share in their splendor. He granted man the use of all things, and, as his own companion, the enjoyment of great glory throughout eternity. For humanity he was willing to be born, to suffer and rise again, to ascend to heaven in order to reunite both great and small with himself according to the measure of their merits, and place them beside him in the kingdom.

What more can I do, what more am I able to show you by citing examples of subordinates and humble men and vassals, who are nonetheless all bound by affection? You yourself, with God's help, know its measure, and you will be able to learn it more fully because he formed you in his image. God is majestic and most praiseworthy, he allots his bounty to great and small. May he join you to himself, along with those we mentioned earlier and others like them, followers of Christ! May you come to him who keeps the mighty in check, who gathers and praises the little ones, saying, "Let the little children come to me, for of such folk is the kingdom of heaven."<sup>121</sup> May this come about with the help and good will of him who rules forever in heaven. Amen.

### <11> Reverence for priests<sup>122</sup>

Priests must be revered, son, for they are chosen by lot to serve in God's ministry. Since they are bound by holy orders, it follows that they are intercessors for our sins. With all your soul, therefore, you are to fear God, and honor, cherish, and venerate his priests. It is they who bless the chrisma and the oil, they who baptize the people in the faith of the Holy Trinity, and unite them to God's Holy Church. They are the ones who consecrate the bread and wine in the likeness of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. They prepare the table and give us communion in remission of our sins,<sup>123</sup> and so that we may receive salvation of the body.

They are called "sacerdotal" because they sanctify or make things sacred, following the example of the one who said, "Be sanctified, since I am sanctified."<sup>124</sup> And again, "Keep the peace and the

*nostri. Fortitudinem gentium conterent et peccata populi comedent. Ipsi sunt pastores qui gregem Domini verbis et exemplis non desinunt pascere atque ad regnum Dei ne pigeant venire invitant, cum Psalmista dicentes: Venite, adoremus et procidamus, ploremusque coram illo qui fecit nos, quia populus et oves pascuae eius sumus, et ille Dominus Deus noster.*

Dicti sunt "presbyteri," pro eo quod ad opus Dei parati et praesti sunt semper; nam *prae* pro *ante* ponimus, ut ait Psalmista: *Praevidebam Dominum*, hoc est: per contemplationem mentis *ante* videbam; sicut et praecursor, *ante* cursor, et praecellit, hoc est *antecellit*, etc. Inter nos etenim pro meritis dignis et altare ipsi propiores accedunt, admonentes nos *sursum* habere *cor* et *conversari in coelis*. Ipsi sunt via per quorum praedicationis exemplum, ad coelestem cum studio operis boni fiducia-liter tendimus patriam.

Dicti sunt<sup>17</sup> etiam "episcopi" et speculatores, admonentes nos sursum semper intendere vel destinare. *Epi* graece, latine *super*; *scopon* similiter, graecum est; latine "intuitio" vel "destinatio" dicitur. Quod utrumque ad illos pertinet ostendendum, et nobis ad intuendum vel observandum. Vocati sunt etiam et "pontifices," quia per eos quasi per pontem, amne transvexo, id est malitia cordis in coeno luti obvoluta, per poenitentiam et satisfactionem emendati, ad aliam ne impingentes, auxiliante Deo, transilimus patriam. Scriptum namque est: *Per aliam viam reversi sunt in regionem suam.*

Ipsi sunt, in exemplum veri summique, auctoritatis latores, super, subtus, infra et extra. Super, pro eo quod speculando muniunt, conspicientes a longe. Etenim per illorum eruditionem castigationis exemplo de longinquis regionibus congregabit nos Dominus. Subtus, quia illi sunt *pedes portantes pacem, annuntiantes bonum, praedicantes salutem, dicentes: Sion*, etc. Infra, quia illorum qui digni et peritissimi sunt exempla imbuimur, erudimur atque satiamur. Extra, quia ob illorum assidua oratione, a Deo proximi adistentes, ne a malignis spiritibus capiamur, mereamur esse circumdati, muniti atque defensi, protectique et salvati, in illum tendentes qui mundo apparuit, salus et munimen omnium factus est nostrum ut hominem perditum ad patriam revocaret coelestem.

Et quid de eorum, qui digni sunt veneratione valeam dicere?<sup>18</sup> Mens refugit mea. Ipsi sunt in exemplo sanctorum apostolorum, ligantes et solventes, *peccata populi comedentes*; Deo proximi et

<sup>17</sup> Antony ("Korruptel oder Lemma," p. 290) corrects from *sum*.

<sup>18</sup> Antony (*ibid.*, p. 290) corrects punctuation.

sanctity, without which . . . and so on.<sup>125</sup> They are called "sacerdotal" according to the words of the prophet: "You shall be called sacerdotal men, ministers of our God. They will crush the force of nations<sup>126</sup> and consume the sins of the people."<sup>127</sup> Priests are the shepherds who tirelessly give pasture to the Lord's flock<sup>128</sup> by their words and examples. They invite the flock to come without delay to the kingdom of God, saying with the Psalmist: "Come let us adore and fall on our knees, weeping in the presence of him who has made us, for we are his people and sheep of his pasture and he is the Lord our God."<sup>129</sup>

Priests are called "presbyters" because they are "prepared" and always "present" to do the Lord's works. For we use "pre-" to mean "before." As the Psalmist says, "I previously saw the Lord,"<sup>130</sup> that is to say, I saw him beforehand through the soul's contemplation. Similarly, a "precursor" is someone who runs before. One who "precedes" goes ahead, and so on. Among us, therefore, because of their worthy merits, priests approach the altar first and come nearer to it. They urge us to "lift up our hearts and turn to heaven."<sup>131</sup> They are the way. It is by following the example of their preaching that we may confidently reach our heavenly home, through our good works.

Priests who are bishops are called "episcopi," those who "watch over"<sup>132</sup> us. They counsel us always to tend and aim heavenward.<sup>133</sup> In Greek "epi-" means "over" – like the Latin "super." Similarly, "scopon" is Greek; in Latin it is "intuitio" (gaze) or "destinatio" (aim)." Both of these apply to what bishops show us: we are to gaze at them, and aim to watch closely. Priests are also called "pontifices," since they are the bridge, the "pontoon" over which we cross a river.<sup>134</sup> After we have wallowed in mud and mire because of our hearts' wickness, we mend our ways through penance and expiation. With God's grace we do not stumble, and cross over into another country. It is written, "By another route they returned to their own country."<sup>135</sup>

Bishops are those who follow the example of the true and most high God, and are bearers of his authority – from above, below, within and without. Bishops are above, because they safeguard and watch over us, keeping a lookout from afar. It is thanks to their learning and their chastening example that God will gather us together from far-flung regions. They are below because they are "feet bringing peace, announcing good news, proclaiming salvation, saying 'Sion,'" and so forth.<sup>136</sup> Bishops are within, because they suffuse us with the example of their worth and experience, they teach us and we are content. And

viciniores assistunt. Ipsi sunt piscatores et venatores, dicente Propheta: *Mittam piscatores meos et piscabunt eos, venatores meos et venabunt eos. Capientque praedam ex alienis manibus, hoc est ab spiritibus immun- dis ereptos, et per poenitentiam captos ad coelestem patriam iungunt consortio.*

Ipsi figunt atque componunt altare sacrum in ordine adstari suo. Dicit enim Scriptura: *Intulerunt sacerdotes et levitae altare Domini in loco suo sub alas Cherubin in Sancta Sanctorum;* etc. Nam illorum proprie- tates nominum quanquam in diversis volvantur locutionibus pro meritis et factis, tamen proprium est eorum vocitatio sacerdotes atque custodes vasorum, id est animarum Dei. Quid enim altius possit illorum sacerdotalis agmina vocitari quam in angelicarum dignitatum civiumque supernorum iungi consortio? Nam illi angeli sunt vocati, dicente Zacharia propheta: *Labia sacerdotis custodiunt scientiam et legem requirunt ex ore eius, quia angelus Domini est, et non solum simplex, sed etiam exercituum.*

Item supra. Quid sublimius possunt esse quam angeli, archangeli? Et ob meritis agilitatem, ut columbae pervigiles, tendentes ad fenestras transvolant sacras; triumphantes in virtutibus dignis, digne et perlu- cide amici appellati sunt Dei. Quare? Quia fervore karitatis repleti in exemplis conversantes, erudire non cessant multos, et ut ait Scriptura: *Iustitiam induunt, cum Sanctorum consortio iuncti. Exultantes et sanctificati florentesque in Christo, merentur, cum acquisitione duplis lucrarum, pertingi ad coelestem sublime regnum.*

Et si tot et tantis nominibus atque virtutibus pollent ut talis illorum in saeculo fulciatur dignitas, ortor te ut eis qui digni sunt, in quantum vales, honorem impende. Illos etenim qui meritis in sacris non aequantur abtīs, hos si conspexeris, noli temere iudicare, eorumque vitam, ut faciunt multi, reprehendere in omnibus orresce. Considera David: cum ora chlamydis ex vestimento abscideret Sauli, poenituit se, etc. Non sunt a nobis reprehendendi, filii. Deus novit corda eorum omniumque nostrorum certantes in saeculo. A verbo et sensu et visu et vita eorum pro certo fructus et operatio cognoscitur digna. Scriptum quippe est: *A fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos.*

Et quid dicam? Novit Dominus qui sunt eius. Tamen, quos meliores et sensu capaciores in verbis et factis inveneris, sequere. Ipsi sunt peculiare verbum nobis adnuntiantes Dei, et populus electus in hereditatem sanctam. Quae dicunt absulta, intende, fac, rememor- eris<sup>19</sup> frequens; ubicunque eos obviaveris, supplica et venera, non

<sup>19</sup> Riché corrects from *remoreris*.

they are without, because by their continual prayers as they stand close to God (lest we be seized by evil spirits!) we are worthy to be surrounded, guarded, strengthened, protected, and saved. This the bishops do as we reach to him who appeared in the world to be our salvation and fortress of us all, and to recall lost mankind to its heavenly home.

And what can I say about venerating those who are worthy of it? My mind retreats from this! Following the example of the holy apostles, they bind and loosen,<sup>137</sup> "eating the sins of the people."<sup>138</sup> They are God's nearest and closest. They are fishers and hunters. As the Prophet says, "I will send my fishers and they will fish for them, my hunters, and they will hunt them."<sup>139</sup> They will seize their prey from others' hands, that is, they snatch them from unclean spirits. Through penance, they join their captives to the company in the heavenly homeland.

These priests arrange and dispose the sacred altar in the place where they belong. Scripture says, "The priests and Levites carried in the Lord's altar to its place in the holy of holies under the wings of the cherubim,"<sup>140</sup> and so on. Although their proper titles are indicated by various words, depending on their deserts and actions, the right name for them is "priests" or "guardians of the vessels,"<sup>141</sup> that is, of God's souls. For what higher name could we give to the legions of these priests than to ally them with the ranks of angels and the company of heavenly citizens? For they are called angels, following the word of the prophet Zacharias: "The priest's lips keep knowledge. The people ask the law from his lips for he is the angel of the Lord." He is not just a simple angel, he is the angel "of the armies."<sup>142</sup>

And further. What can be more sublime than angels and arch-angels? With their agility because of their merits, they fly like vigilant doves and reach their sacred windows.<sup>143</sup> They exult in their worthy powers and, for reasons that are transparent, they are worthily called God's friends. Why? Because the fervor of charity fills them. They are living examples, they ceaselessly enlighten many people, and as Scripture says, "They are clothed in justice,"<sup>144</sup> together with the congregation of the saints. They rejoice, they flourish, they are sancti- fied in Christ. They have earned the right to win a double recompense and to reach the sublime kingdom of heaven.

Since priests have titles and powers that are so numerous and elevated that their dignity shines in the world, I ask you render all the honor you can to those who are worthy. For if you notice some whose merit fails to come up to the standards of their holy estate, don't

tantum illos, sed angelos qui eos praecedunt. Nam *angeli eorum*, ut ait sacra Scriptura, *semper vident faciem Patris*. Convivia tua cum ipsis et cum peregrinis victum egentibus, si fieri potest, sit frequens. In manus, ut praedictum est, honestorum sacerdotum, te non pigeas commendare. Habe ex ipsis, infra ceteros fideles, congrue per tempus, consiliatores. Absculta eos quos Deo conspexeris peculiares. Ipsi ex manu vel mensa tua pauperibus cibum potumque tribuant. Retribuetur enim tibi in postmodum.

Tu ergo, fili Wilhelme, venera eos, ut praedixi, dignis Deo famulantium sacerdotes. Dei enim sunt sortes, Dei adiutores cultoresque. Quod si diversi sunt in moribus, noli, ut scriptum est, vituperare. Dicit enim de eis ex parte sacra Scriptura: *Nolite tangere christos meos*, hoc est unctos meos, *et in prophetis*, hoc est sacerdotibus meis, *nolite malignari*, etc. *In domo* etenim *Dei mansiones multae sunt*, et coelorum sidera non aequaliter fulgent. *Stella* etenim *ab stella differt in claritate*, et iusti, ob varietate meritorum, luculentiores ceteris existunt. Sic etiam et in sacerdotibus talis dissimilis agitur ordo. Nam qui *erudiant multos* per exemplum operis boni, una cum eis quos secum trahunt ad Christum, *in perpetuas*, ut credimus, *fulgebunt aeternitates*, et hoc Dei donum est.

Tu tamen, fili, venerare eos, ut praedixi, et si aliquid deliqueris emenda. *Non enim est homo qui non peccet, ne si unius diei sit vita eius*.

Unus est enim Creator, Formator, Rectorque et Gubernator, ob cuius et ex cuius datione, de ore sacerdotis verba procedunt Dei, quod non secundum peccata tribuet nostra, sed secundum priscam suam clementiam. Ea<sup>20</sup> nobis relaxando, pius, clemens, et misericors semper vocatur, est, fuit, eritque et est semper. In illo enim esse per omnia semper scias in quo veri et peritissimi sentiunt sacerdotes.

Da illis, ut melius nosti, tuam occulte cum suspirio et lachrymis veram confessionem. Nam, ut aiunt doctores, vera confessio a morte liberat animam et non patitur ire ad imma. In manus namque eorum tuam mentem et corpus ne pigeas commendare, orator. Ambulans atque quiescens, vel quicquid aliud feceris gesserisve, semper roga et ora, ut dignentur pro te orare et intercedere ad Deum, qui eos intercessores populorum elegit in mundo, ut per veram emendationem et dignam satisfactionem, dimidando tuos per poenitentiam dies, dignus effici merearis eius promissionibus accipere sanctis.

<sup>20</sup> Riché corrects from *eam*.

rashly judge them. Avoid heaping blame on their whole lives, as many people do. Think about David. When he cut off the hem of Saul's robe, he repented, and so on.<sup>145</sup> It is not our place to rebuke them, my son. God knows their hearts and all our hearts as we toil in the world. It is from their words and thoughts and appearance and way of life that we surely perceive their fruits and good conduct. For truly it is written: "By their fruits shall you know them."<sup>146</sup>

And what shall I say? The Lord knows his own people.<sup>147</sup> All the same, follow the example of those priests whom you find to be more capable in intelligence, more perfect in their words and actions. They are the exceptional heralds of God's word to us, they are the people he has chosen for his own sacred inheritance.<sup>148</sup> Listen to what they say, pay attention, do it, and think about it often. Wherever you encounter good priests, entreat them with humility and venerate them – and not only them but the angels that go before them. For "their angels," as Holy Scripture says, "forever behold the face of the Father."<sup>149</sup> Take your meals in the company of the good priests if you can, and with pilgrims who need food. Do this often. Don't hesitate to commend yourself to the hands of the upright priests, as I have already said. At appropriate times, include them among your other faithful counselors. Give heed to the ones you regard as especially God's own. Let them distribute food and drink to the poor from your own hand and your own table,<sup>150</sup> and you will be rewarded hereafter.

And so, my son William, respect those honorable priests who serve God, as I have told you. For they are allotted to God, they are his adjutors and votaries. If they vary in their manners, don't censure them, for so it is written. Holy Scripture refers in part to them: "Do not touch those hallowed by my chrism," that is, my anointed. "Do not malign my prophets," that is, my priests.<sup>151</sup> For in God's house there are many mansions,<sup>152</sup> and the stars of the heaven do not shine equally. "Star differs from star in brightness."<sup>153</sup> The righteous come into view more brilliantly than others because of the difference of their merits. And so, even among priests there are comparable differences. For "those who teach many" by the example of their good works, together with those whom they draw with them to Christ, "will shine," as we believe, "for an eternity without end."<sup>154</sup> This is a gift of God.

As for you, son, revere them, as I have said. If you err in any way, make amends. "For there is no man who does not sin,"<sup>155</sup> even if his life lasts only a single day."<sup>156</sup>

There is indeed only one Creator, framer, ruler, helmsman. Because

Verus sacerdos in aeternum factus pontifex te, cum sacerdotibus et ministros sanctae Dei Ecclesiae, scholasticando et militando eorumque utilitatum exempla sectando, ad verum et dignum faciat pervenire profectum, adiuvante et concedente illo qui regnat per omnia saecula Deus. Amen.

of and by means of God's gifts, his words issue from the lips of the priest. God will bestow his gifts not according to our sins, but according to his mercy of old. In granting us this reprieve, he is called kindly, mild and merciful. He is, he has been, and always will be. Know this: It is from him that the true and wisest priests gain their discernment, always and completely.

Make your true confession to them as well as you can, in private, with sighs and tears. For as the learned teachers say, a heartfelt confession liberates the soul from death,<sup>157</sup> and doesn't allow the soul to descend to perdition. Do not fail, I beg you, to commend your soul and body to the hands of the priests. Whether you walk about or are resting, whatever your other projects or activities, appeal to them, pray to them that they may always be willing to pray for you, and to intercede for you with God, who has chosen them in the world as intercessors for his people. In this way, through heartfelt atonement and worthy contrition, devoting half of your days to penitence,<sup>158</sup> you will earn the right to be worthy of receiving God's holy promises.

May the true priest who is made pontifex<sup>159</sup> throughout eternity help you – with the help of priests and ministers of God's holy church – as you perform in the school of military service! May you achieve a true and worthy progress by following their practical example, with the succor and grace of him, that God who reigns forever. Amen.

**<1> Admonitio specialis ad diversas corrigendas mores**

In specie humanitatis formam magnus est exigendus atque exercendus labor studiosus. Contrariis etenim contraria sunt opponenda medicamina, et non solum contra saeculares, ob invidiae facibus exardescentes, expugnandum est, verum etiam, ut ait Apostolus, *contra spiritualia nequitiæ, in coelestibus*. Sunt enim quasi florentes in saeculo et in rebus locupletes; attamen ex occulta malitia alios invidere atque dilaniare, prout valent, non cessant, et hoc per sinpectas.

Scriptum est in Sinonima: *Occulta malitia blandis sermonibus ornatur*, etc. Et hoc, suadente Zabulo, mortis auctore, in corde generatur humano. Scriptum est: *Abundant tabernacula praedonum et audacter provocant Deum*, etc. Nam unde unus proficit, inde alius tabescit, unde et subditur: *Parvulum occidit invidia, et adolescentulum interficit iracundia*. Absit hoc a te, fili. Nequaquam invideret, si parvulus non esset. Parvulus est qui magna caret. Quid magnitudinis dignitatum potest carere homo, quam stimulis invidiae agitatus, seipsum corpore perdat et mente? Hoc fuit in initio, ut scriptum est: *Invidia diaboli mors introivit in orbem terrarum*. Hoc cotidie in nonnullis, pestis praedicta non cessat dilaniare multos. Ille etenim milleformis daemonum tortuosusque serpens, non quiescens perfodi domos et templa subverti in fide solidantium adstare Christi, *circuit semper quaerens quos et quas transvoret*. Et, secundum cuiusdam carmina doctoris, *signum quod ipse novit*, in sua rerum *dampna* manentem, *katerva* a fidelibus sanctae Dei ecclesiae die noctuque abstrahi non cessat. Ait enim:

**<1> A special plea to correct various aspects of your conduct**

Great effort and constant exercise are required for the human race to realize perfection. To remedy various evils, we must apply their contraries as antidotes.<sup>1</sup> We have to oppose in this way not only worldly people who are inflamed by the firebrands of envy, but as the Apostle says, "evil spirits that spread through the air and in high places."<sup>2</sup> There are people who seem to prosper in the world and who are sumptuously wealthy, but through some hidden vice they ceaselessly envy others and tear them apart as much as they can. This could be true of one's companions.<sup>3</sup>

It is written in the *Synonyms*, "Hidden malice decks itself in honeyed words,"<sup>4</sup> and so on. The Devil, agent of death, engenders this in the human heart. It is written: "The tents of robbers are stuffed, and boldly they provoke God,"<sup>5</sup> and so on. What is profitable for one person is ruinous to another. Another passage can be added: "Envy slays the small child, and wrath slays the young man."<sup>6</sup> Don't let this happen to you, my son! There would be no envy if there were not paltry folk. The paltry person lacks great qualities. Why can't a man do without grandeur and honors? Driven by the goad of envy, he would sooner lose his own body and soul. This was true in the beginning, since it is written: "Because of the Devil's envy, death entered the world."<sup>7</sup> This pestilence befalls numerous people every day and ceaselessly tears apart many. This multifarious and writhing serpent of demons<sup>8</sup> never rests, but undermines the houses and topples the temples of those attempting to stand firm in Christ's faith. Always he "goes about seeking" men and women "whom he can devour."<sup>9</sup> And according to the poems of a certain learned doctor, his band never stops trying, day or night, to snatch away from the faithful of God's holy church "the sign he knows well," the sign<sup>10</sup> that remains his damnation. The poet writes:

*Suetus antro bustuali<sup>1</sup> sub catenis frendere,  
Mentis inpos, efferatis percitus<sup>2</sup> furoribus . . .  
Seque nigris mergit undis et pecus limphaticum.*

Et est sensus a peritissimis patulus: manet per cuncta. Hunc et hos, si sunt, admoneo, cave, fuge, devita, et a consortiis eorum te alienum procul, post dorsa positos, elongare satage eosque resistere ne pigeas, ortor.

Habes et habebis volumina in quo legendo, volvendo, ruminando, perscrutando, intelligendo, vel etiam et doctores qui te insinuent, per quorum exempla quid utilitatis in utroque negotii pensum valeas agere, invenire possis perfacile. Et velut columbae, lympham bibentes limpidissimam, conspiciunt erodios atque rapaces accipitres, ne ab eis capiantur, evaduntque congratulantes et transvolantes ubi eis ampla libuerit voluptas; sic, tu, si dicta sanctorum orthodoxorum praecedentium patrum perquisieris legendo, seu et optimates ducum et consiliarios, ut tibi praedictum est, digne Deo et seniorum iussa fideli nisu complentes conspexeris frequens, et eorum exempla inobliviosus fueris adsecutus, non solum ab invisibilibus insidiis malignorum spirituum, verum etiam et a praesentibus mundo volventibus tendentibusque dyndras poteris evadere, et in virtutes tam spiritualiter quam corporaliter, adjuvante Christo, facile surgere et transcurrere valebis. Lege et recale quod scriptum est in Salomone: *Laudemus viros gloriosos*, etc.

Item. Quamvis minimi et exules simus, et hoc magnatorum computari vel aequari numero pro inmeritis mundo latentem in nobis et ad ymma<sup>3</sup> potius quam ad alta tendentem, tamen, quod scriptum est secundum admonitionem veteris Testamenti, duodecim nomina patriarcharum ante frontem scripta portare debere praecipitur vel etiam, secundum Ezechielis visionem, animalia senas habentes alas oculosque ante et retro, in exemplum nobis, sacra iubet conspiciere Scriptura.

Tui tamen est a me directa perceptio<sup>4</sup> ut malos, improbos pigrosque atque superbos execrandum et fugiendum et abominabiles in animo per omnia vitandum. Quare? Quia funes, velut muscipula, ad decipiendum tendunt et iuxta iter scandala atque ofendicula, ut praecipites corruant, et alios sui consimiles praecipitare faciant, parare non cessant. Hoc fuerunt in praeteritis, hoc ortor ut fugias in praesentibus

<sup>1</sup> Riché corrects from *bustualis*.

<sup>2</sup> Riché corrects from *percitas*.

<sup>3</sup> Antony ("Korruptel oder Lemma," p. 291) corrects from [h]ymma.

<sup>4</sup> Riché corrects from *praeceptio*.

He gnashes unendingly, chained in his funeral cave,  
Maddened of mind and galled by the goading furies . . .  
He hurls himself with his herd in the black flooding wave.<sup>11</sup>

The sense of these words is clear to the learned: the Devil dwells everywhere. I urge you to guard against him, and them, if they are there. Flee, shun him, keep yourself from their society, busily avoid them, don't be lax in fending them off, I beg you.

You have and will have volumes to read, unfold, ruminare upon, scrutinize, and understand. You will, moreover, very easily be able to find learned doctors to instruct you. They will furnish you with models for what you can do to fulfill both of your obligations.<sup>12</sup> Doves, while drinking the clearest water, look alertly around them to avoid being seized unaware by herons and birds of prey. Eluding these would-be captors, they joyfully fly off to wherever their abundant pleasure takes them.<sup>13</sup> Similarly, you should read with attention the words of the sainted orthodox Fathers of old. You should continually observe the great leaders and counselors (mentioned to you earlier) as they fulfill with loyal effort both God's will and their lords' commands. And if you remember to follow their examples, you too will be able to escape not only the invisible snares of malignant spirits, but also the visible enemies living in this world, aiming their sticks.<sup>14</sup> And you will easily be able, with Christ's help, to rise up to the spiritual and bodily virtues and hasten on your way. Read and remember what is written in Solomon: "Let us praise famous men,"<sup>15</sup> and so on.

Another matter. We are very insignificant exiles, so that we cannot be counted or ranked among the number of the great. This is because of the worldly faults hidden within us, and the fact that we are dragged down to the void rather than raised on high. Nevertheless the precepts of the Old Testament teach us that we must bear the names of the twelve Patriarchs inscribed on our foreheads.<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, according to Ezekiel's vision, Holy Scripture bids us meditate on the examples of those beasts who have six wings, and eyes both in the front and in the back.<sup>17</sup>

Still, I direct this precept to you, that you curse and flee from the wicked, unrighteous, slothful, and proud. In every way, shun those who are an abomination in spirit. Why? Because they cast their nets like mousetraps in order to deceive. They never stop preparing roadblocks<sup>18</sup> and impediments along the way, so that they themselves fall headlong to the ground and cause others like them to fall. They were like this in the past. I entreat you to avoid them now and in the future,



atque futuris, si sunt aut fuerint quod permittat Deus, ut non tibi sors cum illis iungatur in nullo.

Exempla dignitatum maiorum in praeteritis, praesentibus et futuris, qui Deo et saeculo per fidem placuere atque perseverasse probantur, perquire, tene, et fideliter observa. Nam in hoc quod scriptum est, nomina XII patriarcharum in manibus scripta tenere et in frontibus debere iubetur portari oculosque ante et retro semper intentos habere, virtutes sunt. Quas in praesenti saeculo commorantes, in Deum florentes vigentesque et semper ad summum tendentes prudentiores fide et mente incessanter gesserunt, et cursu felici, verbis et factis opere compleverunt digno, nobis, ut perquirentes faciamus in exemplum per omnia dimiserunt.

### <2> Eiusdem

Tu tamen, fili, dum in saeculo militaris inter mundanas actionum turmas, quidquid tibi prospera sive adversa venerint, in omnibus ut Deo gratias incessanter agas orator, eo tamen tenore ut ne in prosperis et exemplis pravorum mens elevet tua, ne in adversis dispar oberres vel deiciaris unquam.

Item. Si tibi aliquando vitia surrexerint, quod absit, obpone, ut praedictum est, contrariis contraria. Dicit enim Apostolus: *Spiritu ambulate et desideria carnis non perficietis. Caro etenim concupiscit adversus spiritum, spiritus autem adversus carnem.* Nam Patres, retro saecula, in spiritu mansuetudinis et lenitatis hunc fervorem in se utiliter certando, vitia conculcando, in virtutibus dignis, ut scriptum est, crescentes, et iustitiam operantes, *per fidem vincere meruerunt regna*, eo quod *usque in senectam et senium custodientes testamentum Dei* et eius mandata facientes, in iocunditate filiorum cum rebus terrenis temporaliter fruenter exultari meruerunt, et *in coelis post modum sedem*, ab illo quem mente et corpore dilexerunt, *paratam* habere ut quiescant, non dubium esse in omnibus cognoscas. Impletur enim in talibus ita agentibus dictum Psalmographi carmen: *Ambulabunt de virtute in virtutem et videbitur Deus deorum in Sion.*

Luctamen hodie surgit in multis. Timeo enim ne<sup>5</sup> et in te tuisque militantibus eveniat, fili, pro eo quod ait Apostolus: *Dies mali sunt.* Et iterum: *Surgent pseudo et instabunt tempora periculosa. Eruntque illis in*

<sup>5</sup> Antony ("Korrupitel oder Lemma," p. 290) corrects from *me*.

whether this occurs at present or is about to occur. God grant that your lot will in no way be linked to them.

Pursue, retain, and faithfully observe in the present and future the examples of virtuous men of the past, men who have proved pleasing to God and the world because of their faith and perseverance. For it is written that we ought to bear the names of the twelve patriarchs in our hands and on our foreheads, and that our eyes should be ever watchful, both before and behind. By these are meant the virtues.<sup>19</sup> They continually practised these virtues while they lived in this world, and so they flourished with vigor in God's sight. Always they aspired to the highest heaven, steadily carrying on the wisdom of the faith. They practised this to worthy perfection both in word and deed during the course of a felicitous life. They set us an example so that we might follow it and bring it to fulfillment in every way.

### <2> The same subject

As for you, my son, while you strive in the military world and amidst a throng of temporal activities, whatever prosperity or adversity should befall you, do not cease to render thanks to God in all things, I implore you. This is the condition, however: that in prosperity your soul should never be puffed up by the examples of the depraved, and that in adversity you should never stray or be cast down.

Again. If ever vices assail you (may God protect you from them!), oppose contraries with contraries as I have already said. The Apostle said, "Walk in the way of your spirit and you will not act upon the desires of the flesh."<sup>20</sup> For the flesh lusts against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh. Now the Fathers of past centuries merited by their faith to conquer kingdoms. They did so in a spirit of benevolence and sweetness, and gained this favor through forceful struggle. They trod vice underfoot, progressing (as Scripture says) in the true virtues and dispensing justice.<sup>21</sup> Until their declining years and old age,<sup>22</sup> they kept their covenant with God<sup>23</sup> and obeyed his commandments. They earned temporal happiness here in the joy of their children and the enjoyment of their earthly goods. Afterwards, for their respite, they had a throne prepared for them in heaven<sup>24</sup> by him whom they loved with body and soul. Know this well, that this was certainly the case for all of them. In those who act in this way the verse of the Psalmist is realized: "They will walk from virtue to virtue and the God of Gods will be seen in Sion."<sup>25</sup>

Many today are dragged into quarrels, and I fear that this may

*diebus homines seipsos amantes, cupidi, avari, protervi, inobedientes, saeculo magis quam Deo placentes, et quod longum est enarrari per singula, quod iam, heu, pro dolor! nonnulli in multis adsurgentium cuneis conspiciuntur cernentes per loca si pervenerint.*<sup>6</sup>

Surge et ora ut supra, dic cum Psalmista: *Iudica, Domine, nocentes me; expugna impugnantem me; apprehende arma et scutum, Domine, virtus salutis meae, et exsurge in adiutorium mihi, erue me a circumdantibus me, et dic animae meae: Noli timere, salus tua ego sum.* Petenti namque cuidam viro responsum est illi: *Noli timere, ego enim protector tuus et merces tua magna nimis, etc.* Quisquis enim salutis Auctorem toto quaesierit corde, non solum corpori, sed animae salutem credat sibi percipere posse. Hoc in te huc illucque confluctens, tempore praesenti atque futuro in studio certaminis pervigil ita satagere festina, ut utrasque ab illo quem puro intuitu cernere debes, indubitanter accipere valeas fisus.

### <3> Item. Utilis admonitio

Si superbia aliquando surrexerit, quod absit, ne in tuo ullatenus umquam ascendat corde, praepone quia Deus superbis resistit et deicit ad imma. Hanc cave et fuge, et contra huius pestiferæ mortalitatis morbum magnam adibe certam in omnibus humilitatem. Humilis et verax almusque generis humani Formator humilibus dat gratiam. Ait enim ipse: *Discite a me quia mitis sum et humilis corde.*

O quam gravis est pestis superbiae langor, qui Lucifero, magno a magno creatore dignabiliter creato, in huius nebulae caliginis decurrens umbras et ad imma prostratus, ruens mortis poenarum ingluviem, cum suis omnibus sine fine mancipatur ad Tartara! O quam magna est sublimitas, celsitudo humilitatis, quia, unde malus et male a seipso suasus per superbiam eiectus est, inde humilis humiliter descendens, humiles gradatim ad Superos ut quiescant ascendere facit! In ipsis est sessio et requies ipsius qui dixit: *Super quem requiescam? Insuper humilem et quietum et trementem verba mea.*

<sup>6</sup> Riché corrects from *pervenerit*.

happen to you too, my son, and to your comrades-in-arms, because of what the Apostle said, "The days are bad,"<sup>26</sup> and also, "False men will arise<sup>27</sup> and perilous times will come. These days will see men who are self-seeking, greedy, avaricious, violent, disobedient, pleasing the world rather than God."<sup>28</sup> All this would be too long to detail, for alas and alack! we already see a number rising up in many packed ranks, looking around to determine whether they can prevail in the region.

Again, rouse yourself and pray: Say with the Psalmist: "Judge, Lord, those who do me harm. Triumph over those who attack me. Seize your arms and your shield, Lord, the strength of my salvation. Rise up to defend me,<sup>29</sup> wrest me away from those who besiege me!<sup>30</sup> Say to my soul, do not be afraid, I am your salvation!"<sup>31</sup> To a certain man who petitioned there was the reply, "Do not fear, for I am your protector and your recompense will be extraordinary,"<sup>32</sup> and so on. Let anyone who seeks with all his heart the author of salvation believe that he can obtain salvation, not only of body but of soul. As you turn these thoughts over and over, hasten, now and in the future, to commit your watchful zeal to action, so that you can surely receive this twofold salvation from the One whom you must discern with pure mind, having believed.

### <3> Again, a useful admonition

If pride<sup>33</sup> ever springs up (and may this not happen!) take care that it never wells in your heart, for remember that God resists the proud<sup>34</sup> and throws them down to the abyss. Guard yourself against it, flee from it. Always exhibit a great and frank humility in the face of this disease of blighted mortality. Humble and truthful and loving, the Creator of humankind grants his grace to the humble. He himself says, in effect, "Learn from me because I am mild and humble of heart."<sup>35</sup>

How terrible is this pestilence, this sickness of pride! Because of it Lucifer, whom the great Creator worthily created great, was driven down in the shadows of black vapors and pitched to the bottom, swallowed in the maw of death's punishment. With all his cohorts he is consigned to Tartarus forever.<sup>36</sup> O how sublime is the exaltation, the height of humility! From that place where the evil one, heeding his own vile counsels, was driven by pride, the humble God descends in humility. He makes the humble rise there by degrees to find tranquility among the denizens of the skies.<sup>37</sup> In them rests and reposes the One who has said: "On whom shall I rest? On the humble, the peaceable man who fears my words."<sup>38</sup>

**<4> In septemplici dono Sancti Spiritus militare**

Item. Tu, fili, si humilis fueris et quietus, septiformis gratiae dono, saltem<sup>7</sup> per particulas, gratiam Sancti Spiritus ab illo cuius superius mentionem facio frequens, libenter accipi poteris unquam, et requiescet super te spiritus Domini bonus. Humiliando et obediendo, ex iugo malignorum spirituum<sup>8</sup> in iugum facile transire poteris Christi. Ipse namque ait: *Iugum enim meum suave est et onus meum leve*. Iugum quoque et onus Christi ex ymma ad coelos facit transvehi supernum. Etenim beatus apostolus Petrus, cum in passione gloriosa sua cursum consummasset felicem, ait: "Deus et magister meus alta sublimatus in cruce, me autem e terra ad coelos vocare dignatus est."

Tu ergo, fili, in tuae iuventutis vigore, discite iugum et onus cotidie in mente et corpore regis Christi portare. Etenim, ut ex mole gravitudinis peccatorum vinculo ereptus, securus et quietus, saltem<sup>9</sup> in extremitatem vitae, leniter et leviter ad eum ascendere et accedere possis. Nam unusquisque nostrum, ut quidam doctor in passionis parasceve ait Domini, talem sibi, infra fluctuationes saeculi huius, eligere debet conversationem, ut in finem liberari possit. Ait enim Psalmista: *Respice, Domine, in testamentum tuum, et animas pauperum tuorum ne obliviscaris in finem*. "Finis" namque hic, ut puto, extremitas intelligitur vitae, in quo, ne pereas, attentius tibi considerandum ortor assidue, et volo ut talem te inter comilitones temporaliter servientium satagere studeas, qualiter in finem, cum famulis et militibus Christi, non sequestrate<sup>10</sup> sed pluraliter militando, liber cum liberis merearis iungi in regnum sine fine mansurum.

Quod si ita, ut supra, pervigil certaveris, non solum ex donis septiformem gratiae Sancti Spiritus infusionem mereberis conditus esse, verum etiam in octo beatitudinibus dignitatem, per contemplationem operis boni, fiducialiter proximare unquam valebis, in quas virtutes et dona volo ut vigeas semper.

Dictumque est de utrisque militantium artibus: *Da partem septem, necnon et octo*. Septem sunt Sancti Spiritus dona, ut scriptum est in Esaya propheta: *spiritus sapientiae, spiritus intellectus, spiritus consilii, spiritus fortitudinis, spiritus scientiae, spiritus pietatis, spiritus timoris Domini*. Licet tres sint spiritus, id est, angelorum, hominum, animaliumque et reptilium, pro certis differentium causis tamen per septem

<sup>7</sup> Antony ("Korrüptel oder Lemma," p. 291) corrects from [p]saltim.

<sup>8</sup> Riché corrects from spiritum.

<sup>9</sup> Antony ("Korrüptel oder Lemma," p. 291) corrects from [p]saltim.

<sup>10</sup> Riché corrects from sequestratim.

**<4> Exercise in the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit<sup>39</sup>**

Another matter. If you, my son, are humble and peace-loving, you will be able certainly to receive sometime, partially at least, the grace of the Holy Spirit as a gift of sevenfold grace, from him of whom I often speak above. And so the Lord's good spirit will repose in you. In humbling yourself and doing obeisance, you will easily be able to pass over from the yoke of evil spirits to the yoke of Christ. He himself has said, "My yoke is gentle, my burden is light."<sup>40</sup> The yoke and burden of Christ transport one from the depths to the lofty heavens. The blessed apostle Peter said, when he had completed the felicitous course of his life in his glorious passion, "My God and master has been exalted on a high cross, and he has deigned to call me from earth to heaven."<sup>41</sup>

You, then, son in the vigor of your youth, learn to bear each day the yoke and burden of Christ the King, both in mind and body. You will be freed of the heavy chains of sin's weight, and be able at all events to continue safe and tranquil to the end of your life. Lithe and light, you will be able to rise up and reach him. For each one of us – as a certain doctor of the church says about the Friday of our Lord's Passion<sup>42</sup> – must choose such a manner of life in the midst of this world's stormy billows that in the end he may be set free. The Psalmist says: "Consider," Lord, "your covenant,"<sup>43</sup> and do not at the end forget the souls of your poor."<sup>44</sup> I think that "end" here means the end of life. I beg you, therefore, to give serious thought more carefully to this end of life, lest you perish. And I wish you would make this effort: Together with your comrades-in-arms in military service, strive for the kind of conduct that will earn you and the other servitors and soldiers of Christ – fighting together and not separately – the right finally to be free, and be joined to the free in the kingdom that endures without end.

If you fight with vigilance like this, as I have said already, you not only will deserve to be spiced by a sevenfold infusion from the gifts of the Holy Spirit's grace. You will also one day be able, through the contemplation of good actions – to approach in confidence the domain of the eight beatitudes.<sup>45</sup> I yearn to see you always thriving in these virtues and gifts.

It has been said about both systems for those who strive: "Give a part to the seven, and a part to the eight."<sup>46</sup> The gifts of the Holy Spirit are seven, as it is written in the prophet Isaiah: the spirit of wisdom, the spirit of understanding, the spirit of counsel, the spirit of

ebdomedarum dies, et septem volventium tempora, vel septem lampadarum sacris in sancta lucentium sanctorum, septem dona gratia Sancti enumerantur Spiritus.

Tu, si Deum *ex toto* tuo dilexeris *corde*, et volumina librorum in Veteris et Novi Testamenti Scripturarum perscrutaberis seriem, et lecta opere compleveris digno, requiescet super te *spiritus sapientiae*. Nam *omnis sapientia a Domino Deo est*, nec aliter esse potest, quia *cum illo fuit semper, et est ante aevum*. Quod si perquisieris et acceptam tenueris, beatus eris et sapiens poteris esse vocatus, atque *in via mirabili perducet* te regendo, et dextera sancta protegendo sua, ad sempiternam trahens almificam vitam his amplexibus sensis, requiescet in te *spiritus sapientiae*.

Si scrutatus fueris sermones Domini, ut scriptum est in Iosue: *Scrutamini vias*; et item: *Tunc cognoscetis quia ego sum*, et intellexeris minas aeterni supplicii<sup>11</sup> et gehennam peccatoribus mancipandam, atque dignis digna facta pro meritis gloriam accipere regni, requiescet super te *spiritus intelligentiae*. Hunc spiritum postulabat Psalmista cum dicebat: *Da mihi intellectum, ut scruter legem tuam, et custodiam illam in toto corde meo*. In corde etenim acceptam absconde, ita ut perseverare possis in illa. Quod si feceris, eris consors sancti *intelligentiae spiritus*.

Si in prosperis atque in adversis recto gradieris tramite, eo tamen tenore ut nec in adversis delclaris, nec in prosperis unquam mens elevetur tua, consilium perquirendo Domini, ut tibi in utrumque negotii pensum adiutorium dignetur parare, tunc requiescet super te *spiritus consilii*.

Si contra vitia fortis fueris et ea subplantando pro nichilo computaveris, tunc *spiritum* habebis *fortitudinis*. Si humilis fueris corde et castus corpore, pro certo poteris in sublime erigi et in *spiritu scientiae* fiducialiter militare valebis. Has virtutes si corpori et animo adieceris tuo, absque dubio requiescet super te *spiritus scientiae*.

Si compassionem erga proximos habueris fraternam, et hospitalium sectator, pauperumque et moerentium consolator assiduus fueris, habebis *spiritum pietatis*. Si timorem et amorem, ex fidelitatis industria, circa genitorem et seniore tuum, vel circa optimates ducum et cunctos pares tuos, maiorumque sive et iuniorum, tenens, ne in offensa vel in scandalis discordantium utrumque cadas illorum, absque dubio quiescet in te *spiritus timoris Domini*.

<sup>11</sup> Riché corrects from *supplicii*.

fortitude, the spirit of knowledge, the spirit of godliness, the spirit of the fear of the Lord.<sup>47</sup> Of course, there are three spirits of another kind, that is, the spirits of angels, men, and animals and reptiles.<sup>48</sup> But for certain reasons the gifts of the Holy Spirit are grouped into seven, because there are seven days of the week, seven ages of the history of the world, and seven sacred lamps that illuminate the Holy of Holies.<sup>49</sup>

If you love God "with all your heart," and examine in sequence the volumes of his Scriptures in the Old and New Testaments, and seriously carry out in your good actions all that you have read, the "spirit of wisdom" will rest upon you. For "all wisdom is from the Lord God." It cannot be otherwise, because "wisdom has always been with him and exists before all time."<sup>50</sup> If you seek wisdom earnestly, once you have found her and have held her close, you will be happy and may be called wise. Wisdom will "conduct you along a splendid road,"<sup>51</sup> directing you and shielding you with her holy right hand. She will draw you to the eternal and blessed life and you will taste her embrace. The spirit of wisdom will rest within you.

If you examine the words of the Lord, as it is written in Joshua, "Examine the ways,"<sup>52</sup> and again, "Then you will know that I am,"<sup>53</sup> and if you comprehend the threats of eternal punishment, and that Gehenna<sup>54</sup> is to be delivered to sinners, and that virtuous actions receive, as the rewards appropriate to their merits, the glory of the kingdom, then the "spirit of understanding" will rest upon you. This is the spirit the Psalmist demanded when he said, "Give me understanding, so I may examine the Law, and I will keep it all in my heart."<sup>55</sup> Hide it in your heart, therefore, once you have grasped it, so that you may persevere in it. If you do this, you will share in the blessed "spirit of understanding."

If you walk a straight road in prosperity and adversity and maintain an even course, growing neither disheartened in adversity nor ever arrogant in prosperity, if you seek for the Lord's counsel, that he may deign to help you fulfill your assigned tasks in both your situations, then "the spirit of counsel" will rest upon you.

If you are valorous against the vices, trample them underfoot and count them as nothing, then you will have the "spirit of fortitude." If you are humble of heart and chaste of body, you will surely be able to be raised and battle in all confidence with the "spirit of knowledge." And if you equip your body and spirit with these virtues, without any doubt the "spirit of knowledge" will rest upon you.

If you have brotherly compassion for your neighbors, if you devote

Item. De eodem namque Sancto Spiritu in libro Sapientiae invenies scriptum ubi dicit: *Spiritus Domini replevit orbem terrarum*. Etenim, concedente Summo, *ubi vult pro certo indubitanter spirat*. Hunc spirationis flatum sancti inebriati erant apostoli, quando, *Deo operante, ubique praedicabant*, et praedicando manibus complebant. "Manus," hoc opus intellige sanctum in dationem Sancti Spiritus manantem, sicut scriptum in Prophetam: *Et factum est verbum Domini in manu Aggei*, hoc est verbum Domini in manu complentis. De quo verbo et opere factionis Apocalipsi reperies scriptum. Dicit enim: *Beatus qui legit verba mea*. Addidit: *Et servat ea quae in ea scripta sunt*.

Datio Sancti Spiritus, ut beatus Paulus ait apostolus, secundum uniuscuiusque meriti donum praemia compensat tribuens magna. Ait enim: *Alii quidem datur per Spiritum sermo sapientiae, alii sermo scientiae, alii sensus intelligentiae in eodem Spiritu*, et cetera quae secuntur. *Omnia autem operatur unus atque idem Spiritus, dividens singulis prout vult*, ille nimirum qui dictus est Deus. Nam Deus spiritus est, ut ait Evangelista: *Spiritus est Deus, et eos qui adorant eum in spiritu et veritate oportet adorare*.

Item. Tu ergo, fili, has virtutes a Domino in Spiritu Sancto pete, et tribuet eas tibi magnus largitor. Magnus namque rex et eximius propheta, qui ex praescripto Spiritu repleti cupiens ita orans fiducia-liter aiebat: *Cor mundum crea in me, Deus, spiritum rectum innova in visceribus meis*. Et item: *Spiritum sanctum tuum ne auferas a me*. In acceptione etenim et repletionem eiusdem Spiritus Sancti gratulabundus, ne privaret, toto affectu postulabat, dicens: *Spiritu principali confirma me*. Et si ille tam magnus, longe a nobis postpositus, in Spiritu militans Sancto, ita aiebat, quid nos ex cuius exemplis ne umbrae in meritis aequari videmur?

Tamen oro, admoneo, orator, ut petas et hoc in Spiritu Sancto. Si bene cogitaveris et *cor tuum mundum omni custodia servaveris*, Spiritum rectum totis visceribus poteris esse innovatus. Si bene locutus fueris et os tuum a malo custodieris aloquio, *ut lingua tua non loquatur dolum*, Spiritus Sanctus non auferetur a te, donum capienti dignissimum. Si hoc quod cogitasti et locutus fuisti opere compleveris dignissimo, Spiritu principali certissime poteris esse confirmatus.

yourself to hospitality, and tirelessly comfort the poor and grieved, you will have the "spirit of godliness." Persist in the fear and love inspired by loyalty to your father and your lord, to your great leaders and all your peers, and to those who are both senior and junior to you. If you do this, and if you do not incur offense, or become embroiled in the scandal of their bickering, then the "spirit of the fear of the Lord" will doubtless repose within you.

Another matter. In the Book of Wisdom you will find this text on this same Holy Spirit: "The Spirit of the Lord has filled the whole world."<sup>56</sup> In fact, the Almighty has granted that "it breathes where it will."<sup>57</sup> This is certain and indisputable. This blowing breath inebriated the holy apostles,<sup>58</sup> when "with God's help they preached everywhere,"<sup>59</sup> and complemented this preaching by the laying on of hands. By "hands" you must understand the sacred act that flows into the Holy Spirit's gift. It is written in the prophet: "God's word came by the hand of Haggai the prophet";<sup>60</sup> that is, the word of the Lord flowed from his filled hands. About this word and its realization, you will find a passage in Apocalypse that says, "Blessed is he who reads my words," adding, "and who observes what he finds written there."<sup>61</sup>

The benefaction of the Holy Spirit, as the blessed apostle Paul says, measures the gift according to each person's merit when dispensing its great bounties. He also said, "To one the Holy Spirit gives the word of wisdom, to another, knowledge," and to yet another, understanding "in the same spirit";<sup>62</sup> and the rest which follows. "It is the one and same Spirit that operates in all this and apportions to each one as it wills,"<sup>63</sup> and of course, this is called God. For God is Spirit, as the Evangelist says. "God is spirit, and those who adore him must adore him in spirit and in truth."<sup>64</sup>

Again. Therefore, my son, you must seek these virtues of the Lord in the Holy Spirit, and the great bestower will grant them to you. A great king and eminent prophet, in his desire to be filled with this same Holy Spirit, prayed thus with confidence, "Create a pure heart in me, God, renew the Spirit of righteousness within my bowels."<sup>65</sup> And again. "Do not withdraw your Holy Spirit from me."<sup>66</sup> In gratitude for being filled with the gift of the Holy Spirit, he pleaded with emotion that it should not be taken away. He said, "Strengthen me with a staunch spirit."<sup>67</sup> If so great a one [as David], living so long before us, spoke like this as he soldiered on in the service of the Holy Spirit, what can we take from his example so that our merits do not seem a mere shadow of his?

Et quid dicam? Iam in brevi aptum concludam sermonem. Si bene cogitando, bene loquendo, bene operando, *sobrie et iuste*, casteque et *pie in saeculo* vixeris isto, et Spiritum rectum, et Spiritum sanctum et Spiritu principali in unitatem sanctam et individuum summi divinitatis<sup>12</sup> potentiam ambulans, stans et residens, securus ubique semper quiescere valebis. Ita agendo, sancto quooperante donationum Spiritu, ad regnum valebis pertingere supernum; adiuvante<sup>13</sup> . . . .

#### <5> Item eiusdem. Admonitio utilis ad diversos corrigendos mores

Iam ex origine, temeritatis superbiae atque tumorem elationis in mansuetudinis pensum vertendo, magnam digessimus ordinem. Nunc, auxiliante gratia Sancti Spiritus triformem, ad cetera quae secuntur, quasi sagitam contra sagitam, vitia morum emendando, fortem in undis undique obponamus murum.

Scriptum est in culusdam libelli particula: "Estote fortes in bello et cum antico pugnate serpente." Beatus namque Petrus de hac serpentis pugnatione ut resistamus viriliter nos admonet dicens: *Vigilate quia adversarius vester diabolus tanquam leo rugiens circuit quaerens quem transvoret: cui resistite fortes in fide*. Vigilandum est tibi, fili, et cum executione operis boni viriliter certandum, ne pereat in te vera et sancta sanguinis filii Dei redemptio. Oppone, ut supra, contra vitia virtutes, ut a conventu malignantium et operantium iniquitatem merearis esse protectus.

<sup>12</sup> Antony ("Korruptel oder Lemma," p. 290) corrects from *deltatis*.

<sup>13</sup> Riché queries whether *adiuvante* may be a gloss explaining *quooperante* (wrongly incorporated into the text), or the beginning of a liturgical phrase left incomplete (p. 221, n.7).

And so, I pray, urge, and plead with you, that you seek this from the Holy Spirit: Ponder well and "keep your heart" pure with "vigilance in all things."<sup>68</sup> Within your bowels, you can be renewed in the spirit of righteousness. If you speak properly and guard your lips against evil speech so that your tongue does not utter treachery,<sup>69</sup> the Holy Spirit, the most perfect gift to one who receives it, will not be taken away from you. If you fulfill with worthy action what you have thought and said, you will certainly be able to be fortified with this staunch spirit.

And what shall I say? Let me now close aptly with a brief word. Think, speak, and act virtuously. Live in this world with "sobriety and justice," chastely and "with godliness."<sup>70</sup> Walk, stand fast, and maintain your position with a righteous spirit and a holy spirit and a staunch spirit<sup>71</sup> in the holy Oneness and indivisible power of the highest godhead. You will always and everywhere be able to rest safely. If you do these things, you will be able, through the cooperation and aid of the Holy Spirit and its gifts, to reach the kingdom of heaven.

#### <5> More on the subject. Useful admonition for correcting various tendencies.

From the outset we have pursued an overall plan: to turn a swelling of rash pride and arrogance to a task of meekness. Now with the help of the threefold Holy Spirit,<sup>72</sup> let us repel the other vices which follow, like an arrow against an arrow, in rectifying evil tendencies. Let us oppose them on every side with a firm sea-wall against their swelling surges.

It is written in a section of a certain book, "Be bold in battle and fight against the ancient serpent!"<sup>73</sup> About this combat with the serpent, the blessed Peter counsels us to resist the serpent manfully. He says "Be vigilant, because your adversary the Devil roars like a lion that looks around him to see whom he can devour. Oppose him, strong in the faith!"<sup>74</sup> My son, you must be vigilant and battle manfully by performing good works, so that the true and holy redemption through the blood of God's son shall not be lost to you. Use the virtues, as I said earlier, to oppose the vices so that you can merit protection "against the multitude of the wicked and the makers of iniquity."<sup>75</sup>

**<6> Item. Contrariis<sup>14</sup> contraria**

Si, suadente Zabulo, mortis auctore, fornicatio aut aliquis stimulus carnis cor titillaverit tuum, adhibe in contra castitatem, et recole mente integritatem beati patriarchae Ioseph, et Daniel, vel ceterorum qui pudicitiam mente et corpore erga seniores et proximos fideliter tenentes meruerunt esse salvati et praelucide digni, et laudabiliter a Domino sunt in numero collecti sanctorum. Nam, ut ait Apostolus, *fornicatores et adulteros iudicabit Deus*. Dicit autem Psalmista: *Perdes omnem qui fornicatur abs te*. Item Apostolus: *Omne peccatum, quodcumque fecerit homo, extra corpus est*. Qui autem fornicatur, in corpus suum peccat, et cetera his similia.

Tu, fili, fuge fornicationem et a muliere meretrice mentem tuam procul pone. Scriptum est: *Post concupiscentias tuas non eas, et a voluntate tua avertere*. Non praestes animae tuae concupiscentiis voltare malis. Certe si eam vel eas audieris et consentiens illis fueris, facient te cadere in gladio et manus inimicorum tuorum, dicentque cum Propheta: *Incurvare ut transeamus per te*. Quod absit a te. Tamen si venerint et angelo immittente Sathanae, mentem colafizaverint tuam, pugna, ora et dic cum Psalmista: *Ne tradas, Domine, animam meam bestiis terrae: animam pauperis tui obsecro ne derelinquas; extollentiam oculorum ne dederis mihi; aufer a me libidinis concupiscentiam et animo irreverenti et infrunito me unquam ne tradas*.

"Extollentiam oculorum" hic non solum corporalem, sed etiam interiorem esse puto. Quod si interior necne fuisset, nequaquam diceret quidam: *Pepigi foedus cum oculis meis, ut ne cogitarem quidem de virgine*, etc., atque multa multis in locis. Ex hac occupationum titillatione, fluctuationis temptamenta ut possis, Deum rogando, evadere, magnis invenies testimoniis consolationem. Et licet in testa capitis carnales ad concupiscendum volvantur oculi, tamen intrinsecus militantur cuncta. Scriptum quippe est de volventium libidinis concupiscentiae, qui carnaliter stupra operantur illicita: *Intravit mors per fenestras*, etc. Item: *Qui viderit mulierem ad eam carnaliter concupiscendam*, etc.

De continentiam sectantibus et carnalibus concupiscentiae conculcantibus, invenies scriptum: *Lucerna corporis tui est oculus tuus*. Et item: *Si oculus tuus simplex fuerit, totum corpus tuum lucidum erit*. Hanc inviolabilem castitatis integritatem cupiebat ille qui dicebat: *Averte oculos meos ne videant vanitatem*, et multa his similia. Nam, ut aiunt

<sup>14</sup> Riché corrects from *contraris*.

**<6> Again this subject. Contraries against contraries<sup>76</sup>**

If at the instigation of the Devil, death's agent, fornication or some other goad to the flesh should tickle your heart, oppose it with chastity. Keep in mind the probity of the blessed patriarch Joseph, and Daniel,<sup>77</sup> and of those others who, faithfully safeguarding in body and mind their sense of shame towards their lords and neighbors, were worthy to be saved and illustriously honored by God, and gathered laudably among the number of the saints. The Apostle says, "God will judge the fornicators and adulterers."<sup>78</sup> And the Psalmist says, "You will destroy every man who forsakes you to commit fornication."<sup>79</sup> And the Apostle says, "Whatever sin a man commits, it is outside the body, but the fornicator sins against his own body."<sup>80</sup> And there are other similar texts.

Avoid fornication, my son and drive your thought away from any harlot woman. It has been written, "Do not pursue your carnal appetites, turn away from lust."<sup>81</sup> "Do not let your soul" fly to mingle with "lascivious companions."<sup>82</sup> For it is certain that if you listen to such women or accede to such companions, they will make you fall under the sword and into your enemies' hands. And they will say with the Prophet, "Bow down, so that we may walk over you."<sup>83</sup> May that never happen! And if, for instance, these women should approach you and at the prompting of Satan's angel they should buffet you,<sup>84</sup> fend them off! Pray, and say with the Psalmist, "Do not deliver my soul, Lord, to the beasts of the earth. Do not abandon, I beg you, the soul of your poor one."<sup>85</sup> Do not give me pride of the eyes.<sup>86</sup> Keep wanton desire away from me and do not ever deliver me to the spirit of irreverence and stupidity."<sup>87</sup>

Pride of the eyes, I think, refers not only to the body, but also to the inner self. If it did not refer to the inner self, a certain man would not have said "I have made a pact with my eyes not to give thought to any virgin,"<sup>88</sup> and so on. There are many remarks in many places. So that you can escape being seized by such arousal, and being tossed by such stormy temptation – by praying to God – you will find consolation in the testimonies of the great. For although the eyes in your head may stray toward the object of carnal desire,<sup>89</sup> nonetheless, the battle is fought within. On the subject of roving eyes, incited by lecherous desire, it is written of those who commit illicit and carnal shame, "Death enters by the windows,"<sup>90</sup> and so on. And again, "Anyone who looks at a woman with carnal lust –"<sup>91</sup> and so on.

About those who practice continence and who trample on the



doctores, *castitas angelica est vita* et coelis civem facit huius negotii adiri consortem. "O," dicit quidam, "quam parva est ad modicum concubitus ora, per quem perditur vita futura! Et quam magna est vigor splendorque castitatis assidua, qui hominem moribundum angelicis civem facit esse consimilem!"

Non enim excludunt doctores nuptiarum sacris iungere thorum; sed concupiscentias stupras illicitasque a nobis stirpare satagunt. Castus enim fuit Enoch, Noe, Abraam, Ysach, Iacob, Ioseph, Moyses et ceteri qui in thoro coniugatorum militantes mundum in Christo cor studuerunt servare. Et quid plura?

Tu ergo, fili, si in virginitate, quod est lucidissimum donum, vel etiam in thoro iugali consortii castitatem, corpus servaveris tuum, mundus eris ab huius peccati originem, et in partes octium beatitudinis mens, ut iuge convivium, tua, per omnia *secura* quiescet. Et implebitur in te cum dignis, ut scriptum est, digna pluralis laudatio: heia, *beati mundo corde, quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt.*

### <7> Ut patientiam mentis et corporis teneas

Si, accidente pestis rancorem, ira cor turbaverit tuum, in quantum vales mitiga eam. Scriptum est: *Ira in sinu requiescet stulti.* Et item quidam affatus in carmine ait suo:

Stultus carens cor loqui non valet,  
Vocum in strepitu rumpens tacere  
Unquam nec potest; prestus ad iram,  
Tardus ad pacem, flectitur in peius.

Quod absit a te, nobilis puer.

In omni etenim negotio utilitatis ira nocibilis mentem dinoscitur turbari. De hoc quoque commotionis ira Psalmista quasi in sui personam nominis aiebat dicens: *Turbatus est prae ira oculus meus.* Ira enim viri, dicit Apostolus, *iustitiam non operatur Dei.* Quod si venerit, occupa eam, ne praevalens mentem dilaniet tuam. Licet humanum sit

concupiscence of the flesh, you will find this text: "The body's lamp is the eye," and this one, "If your eye is candid, your whole body will be in the light."<sup>92</sup> The man who desired this whole and inviolable chastity is the one who said, "Turn my eyes away that they may not look at vanity."<sup>93</sup> And there are many similar remarks. For, as the learned doctors say, "chastity is the life of the angels."<sup>94</sup> Whoever shares in this condition will become a citizen of heaven. "Oh," someone says, "how brief is the tiny moment of a sexual embrace, by which one loses the life hereafter! And how great the power and perpetual splendor of a chastity that makes a mortal man a citizen comparable to the angelic hosts!"<sup>95</sup>

The learned doctors of the church do not, indeed, deny its sacred rites to the marriage bed;<sup>96</sup> they only busy themselves in rooting out lechery and illicit intercourse. For Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, and Moses were chaste, and so were others who soldiered against the world within the bonds of marriage, and zealously served Christ with a pure heart. And what more?

You, my son, whether you keep your body in a virgin state, which is the most resplendent gift, or in the chaste bond of the marriage bed, you will be clean of the origin of this sin. Your soul will share in the eight beatitudes. You will remain "secure" and peaceful in all things, "as at a perpetual feast."<sup>97</sup> And a worthy, manifold praise will be realized in you with the just, as it is written: "Courage!"<sup>98</sup> Blessed are the pure in heart for they shall see God."<sup>99</sup>

### <7> Preserve patience of mind and body<sup>100</sup>

If wrath, in an access of deadly spleen, should throw your heart into turmoil, mollify it as well as you can. It is written, "Wrath will gain ease in the heart of the foolish."<sup>101</sup> A poet has spoken in the same vein, writing in his verses:

The witless fool finds nothing to tell;  
He breaks into babble,  
Can never keep still. Headlong he rushes to wrath,  
Slow to make peace, veering down the worse path!<sup>102</sup>

May this situation be averted where you are concerned, noble boy!

In all these efforts to be practical, it is well known that poisonous wrath troubles the soul. In this commotion of wrath, also, the Psalmist says – as if speaking of himself – "My eye is troubled because of



irasci, tamen, ne in usum veterescat malum, conculcanda est et ad solum usque perlysa. Et ne animos adfligat pluris, Psalmista admonens dicit: *Irascimini et nolite peccare*. Hanc occupationem captionis iram mitigari cupiebat, qui suos ut mitescant<sup>15</sup> admonendo ortans dicebat: *Si fieri potest quod ex vobis est, cum omnibus hominibus pacem abentes*. De qua pace ait quidam in carmine suo:

Pax comprimit iram  
Litis metuit pacem  
Pax secura  
Per ampla quiescit  
Consors amica  
Ad alta transcurrit.

Tu fili, si in cubiculo mentis ascenderit tuo, proice eam abs te. *Da locum irae, et noli vinci a malo, sed vince iram in pace*. Recole mentem illum videlicet qui poene sexcenta milia populatim regebat, qui mentem aliquando suam in iram non legimus esse conturbatam. Nam de eo scriptum est: *Erat magnus et fidelis in omni domo sua, atque mitissimus super omnes homines morantium in terra*. Et est sensus: ad summum utilissime usque perductus. Et si ille inter tot et tanto neglegentes, omnium illorum in sua solus patienter sustinuit mores, quid in minimis nos nostrisque consimiles?

Certe ita in sacris Scripturis eum invenimus laudatum, ut quicquid a Domino digne petebat, impetrare merebatur. Et quia patiens mitisque mente et corpore inter omnes militabat, semper consortium omnipotentis vigil praelucide fulgebat almificus, loquebaturque cum Deo, quasi homo cum amico suo, ita ut ex magno magnum mereretur accipere responsum. Scriptum namque est de eo: *Placatus pro ipso est Dominus de malignitate quam dixit populo facere suo*. Insuper auxit illi: *Faciam secundum verbum tuum*, et cetera.

Et quid dicam? Tantum fuit mente quietus, ut visui capax umbrarum caliginis securus nesciret, dentiumque oris immotus permanisset, atque omni corpori suo, cum inviolabilem intrinsecus karitate vigente, usque extremum exitus sui diem, tempus absque ullo taedio doloris revolvens, iram mitigando, *ea quae pacis sunt semper sectatus est*. Per semitas namque veritatis die noctuque pergens, vitam in pace dignissimam finivit. O quam benigna et admirabilis aula, ubi integritas mentis per cuncta quiescit secunda, corpusque suum inlaesum perducit ad summum!

<sup>15</sup> Antony ("Korruptel oder Lemma," p. 290) corrects from *mitescerent*.

wrath."<sup>103</sup> And the Apostle says, "Man's wrath will not gain God's justice."<sup>104</sup> If anger should come over you, master it so that it will not control you and destroy your mind. Though it is human to be wrathful, do not let this become an inveterate habit with you. Trample anger underfoot until you have utterly dashed it down. And for fear that it may afflict the minds of others, the Psalmist utters this warning: "Be wrathful, and do not sin."<sup>105</sup> And the man who warned his followers to be temperate wished to soften this anger that seizes you and holds you captive, when he urged and said, "If you can, do your utmost to be at peace with all men."<sup>106</sup> Someone wrote about this peace in his poem:

Peace stifles wrath.  
Riot fears peace.  
Peace that is sure  
Rests everywhere.  
Friendly accord  
Ascends heavenward.<sup>107</sup>

You, son, if anger mounts into the chamber of your mind, push it away from you. "Give room to wrath, and do not be vanquished by evil, but vanquish"<sup>108</sup> anger by peaceful means. Recall plainly to your mind the man who ruled over nearly six thousand people. We never read that his mind was stirred to anger. It is written of him, "He was magnanimous and loyal to all in his household, and the gentlest man who ever lived on earth."<sup>109</sup> This means that he attained most readily the summit of perfection. If in the midst of so numerous and so heedless a people, he alone among all of them patiently endured their conduct, what about us and others like us, who pursue our petty affairs?

Also we learn that this man was highly lauded in Holy Scripture, and that he was worthy to receive whatever he asked worthily of the Lord. And because he served God in the midst of all his battles with patience and meekness of spirit and body, always ready to encounter the Almighty, he shone with bright beneficence and spoke with God as a man speaks with his friend.<sup>110</sup> He earned the right to receive an exalted response from the exalted Lord. It is written on this subject: "For his sake, the Lord refrained from inflicting harm on his people, as he had threatened."<sup>111</sup> Furthermore, the Lord said to him, "I shall act according to your word."<sup>112</sup>

And what shall I say? This man [Moses] kept his spirit so tranquil that, with his clarity of vision, he ignored the dark and the obscure.

De praescripto transveximus formam, ut tibi, ob exemplum illius, aliquid adtrahi in animum, discendi specietenus, per mansuetudinis pensum vocari delectes. Multi namque iram refrenantes suam et mitissime inter plures concordiam mittentes, Deum, per fidem et mentis puritatem, placuisse probantur. Magna etenim est patientibus virtus adtributa. Huius negotio utilitatis militabat ille qui dicebat: *Mellior est patiens viro forti, et qui suam patientissime in omnibus domat mentem expugnatori praecellit urbium, et cetera.*

**<8> Ut facile vitia vincas, VIII Beatitudines ore lege et corde retine semper**

Ego enim ortatrix tua, Dhuoda, fili Wilhelme, volo ut in virtutibus dignis crescens patientissime inter omnes milites, semper sis *tardus ad loquendum et tardus ad iram*. Quod si irasceris, noli in ipsa peccare, ne irascatur tibi mitissimus Deus et, quod absit, irascendo a via oberres iusta.

Propter quod admoneo ut in mansuetudinis pensum cum iustitia et sanctitate servias illi, qui fideles suos ut patientissime mitescant admonens dicit: *In patientia vestra possidebitis animas vestras*. Tu si patiens fueris et mentem atque linguam refraenaveris tuam, beatus eris et quasi inter epulas iugis convivantium turmis, mens tua absque terrore undique secunda quiescet. Scriptum namque est: *Secunda mens ut iuge convivium*.

His atque aliis testimoniis dignissime imbutus, ita agere pacatus studeas, ut merearis partem cum illis habere beatam de quibus scriptum est: *Beati pacifici, quoniam filii Dei vocabuntur*. Certe multum debet homo talem sectari negotio, ut ex filio mortalitatis filius vivi omnipotentis mereatur appellari Dei, et eius regni efficiatur haeres. Si mittis atque exsulcator operis boni fueris, cum honestate semper incedens, mereberis iungi cum illis quos Dominus magnam concedens haereditatem laudandis affectibus dicit: *Beati mites, quoniam ipsi haereditabunt terram*.

And with all his teeth intact in his mouth,<sup>113</sup> he was healthy in body, and inwardly flourished in charity until the end of his days. He passed his time without the annoyance of grief, and he tempered his wrath. Always he sought "whatever pertained to peace."<sup>114</sup> Day and night he followed the paths of truth, and he peacefully finished a most honorable life. O how beneficent and wonderful is that court where integrity of mind rests wholly safe and guides its unspoiled body aloft!

I have presented [Moses] to you as a model so that you may delight in drawing on his example for the profit of your soul, as a lesson in practising docility. Many people who restrain their own wrath, and very gently bring about good will among others, prove pleasing to God by their fidelity and purity of spirit. To the patient belongs great virtue. In striving to exercise this virtue in practice, one person used to say, "A patient man is better than a strong one. He who exercises great patience to control his spirit in all things is better than the conqueror of cities,"<sup>115</sup> and so forth.

**<8> To conquer the vices easily, read the eight beatitudes<sup>116</sup> with your lips, and hold them ever in your heart**

As your counselor, I, Dhuoda, wish that during your growth in the honorable virtues among your soldierly comrades, you will always be "slow to speech and slow to anger."<sup>117</sup> If you lose your temper, do not commit a sin in anger, lest the merciful God should turn his wrath against you. May it never happen that in your rage you should stray from the path of righteousness!

For this reason I advise you to serve God with justice and holiness, while fulfilling your appointed task of meekness. He admonishes his people to shine very patiently, and says to them, "In your patience you will possess your souls."<sup>118</sup> If you are patient and you control your spirit and your tongue, you will be blessed. Your spirit will be free of fear anywhere, and will rest untroubled, as if at a continual banquet with a throng of guests. It is written, indeed, "The untroubled spirit is like a perpetual banquet."<sup>119</sup>

Once you are imbued most worthily with these and other teachings, apply yourself to act so peaceably that you will deserve to share in the beatitude of people of whom it is written: "Blessed are the peacemakers for they shall be called the children of God."<sup>120</sup> Certainly a man should labor in such an undertaking, in order to deserve being called not just a son of mortality, but a son of the living and almighty

Si obvius fueris pauperi et inopi, non solum verbis, sed etiam factis, adiutorium illis, ut vales, impende. Similiter et peregrinis ospitium ut tribuas libenter admoneo, atque etiam viduis orphanisque, nec non et pupillis minusve agentibus, sive illos quos in egestate conspexeris esse positos, manum ad opus sublevare frequens. Nam omnes nos, ut ait Scriptura, *advenae sumus, incolae et peregrini, sicut patres nostri volventium in terra. Lege Mosaicae admonitionis Israeli filios ad compassionem satiari fraternam; valde eos ortabatur, dicens: Mementote quoniam et vos ipsi advenae et peregrini fuistis in terra Aegypti.* De peregrinis namque et viatoribus quidam, ex compassione fraterna, ut socius adesset et posteros in hac simili confessione futuris secum colligeret et in opus sociaret magnum, ita dicebat: *Ostium meum viatori patuit.* De orphanis dicit: *Pater eram orphanorum iudexque viduarum.* Et iterum: *Causam quam nesciebam diligentissime investigabam.*

Non est, fili, in pauperibus praetermittenda miseratio, nam illorum voces, ut ait Psalmista, frequenter audit Deus. Dicit etiam: *Desiderium pauperum exaudivit Deus.* Et iterum: *Pauper clamavit et Dominus exaudivit eum.* Nam pauper et inops nomen Domini clamant laudantque. Paupertas vel egestas non solum in minimis, verum etiam pro aliquibus certis ex causis in maioribus pluraliter permixtis computantur. Eventus est dives egestate omnino non carens. Quare? Quia anima illius in egestate vilescit. Et est pauper divitias condens perfacile manu. Est dives invidens pauperi, est pauper cupiens effici dives, sicut indoctus litteratus effici malens vult omnino nec valet. De talibus dicit quidam: *Dives et pauper simul peribunt, simulque in egestate torquescent, dives non largiens, pauper non habens. Cum dormierint, aequali pensu praegravantur pondere: hii tales non habent spiritum humilitatis, nec in beatitudines spiritu quiescent paupertati.* Volitantur enim atque torquentur in eo quod odibile est multis. Ait quidam: *Divitem mendacem et pauperem superbum odit anima mea.*

God, and become an heir to his kingdom. If you are a gentle plowman<sup>121</sup> who cultivates a furrow of good works, advancing always honorably, you will earn the right to be joined to those of whom God said – when he granted them a great inheritance for their praiseworthy sentiments – “Blessed are the meek for they shall inherit the earth.”<sup>122</sup>

If you meet someone who is poor and penniless, help that person as much as you can, not only with words but actions. Similarly, I urge you to offer willing hospitality to pilgrims, as well as widows and orphans, helpless children and people of few means, or those who you see are destitute. Be ready to lift your hand to help them. For as Scripture says, we are all wayfarers, aliens and pilgrims as our fathers were<sup>123</sup> wandering over the earth. Read the law of Moses admonishing the sons of Israel to exercise brotherly compassion. He urged them strongly, saying, “Remember that you too were strangers and pilgrims in the land of Egypt.”<sup>124</sup> Out of brotherly sympathy a man once wrote about pilgrims and travelers, for he wanted to be their friend and to induce other people to follow him and to join him in this great work. He said: “My door was open to the wayfarer.”<sup>125</sup> About orphans he said: “I was a father to orphans and an adjudicator for widows.”<sup>126</sup> He also said, “When I did not understand a case I most diligently investigated it.”<sup>127</sup>

My son, you must not forget to show mercy to the poor, for God constantly hears their voices, as the Psalmist says. He says, “God has listened to the desire of the poor.”<sup>128</sup> And he says: “The poor man has cried out and the Lord has heard him.”<sup>129</sup> For the poor and needy cry out the Lord’s name and they praise him. Poverty and privation are found not only among the least well-off but also in certain cases – and frequently – among the great. It happens that a rich man may not wholly avoid poverty. How is this? Because it is his soul that wallows in poverty. A man may easily pile up wealth in his hands and remain poor. A rich man may envy a poor one, while a poor man desires to grow rich, just as an ignorant person wants to become learned. He wants it in every way, yet he cannot attain it. About such people a certain author says: “The rich and the poor shall perish together, and together they shall suffer in their destitution: the rich man because he does not give away his wealth, the poor because he has none. While they sleep they are burdened by an equally heavy weight. These people do not have the spirit of humility, nor will they find peace in the spirit of poverty of the beatitudes.”<sup>130</sup> They are troubled and tormented because of things that are hateful to many people. Someone

Inter divites divitum et pauperes pauperum multae differuntur sententiae inaequalitatum. Dives enim erat et valde prae ceteris excellentior qui dicebat: *Ego autem modicus sum et pauper*. Et iterum, plus se humilians aiebat: *Sum vermis et non homo, obprobrium et abiectio plebis*. Idcirco, *heu michi pro dolor, incolatus meus valde a me prolongatus est*. In consolatione namque *Sancti Spiritus* divitias postponens suas, iterum in se reversus aiebat: *Dominus firmamentum meum, adiutor meus, protector meus, sine tarditate mei habens curam sollicitus est semper*. Idcirco in vobis carminis laudem confitebor, et iubilo affectu ei *qui bona tribuit michi, cantabo*; et ut *lex eius semper in ore fecunda sit meo, nomini eius altissimi psallam magno*.

Et si ille tam magnus inter minimos minimum atque omnium vilissimum se affabatur, quid in nos? Speravit in Domino, et a cunctis periculis eripuit eum Liberator almificus. Certe priores patrum nostrorumque praecedentium multis ob meritis dignis clamantes ad Dominum et in illo sperantes, *non sunt confusi, nec in obprobrium perducti, sed rerum divitiis locupletes tam mente quam corpore, eos per omnia credimus esse salvatos*. Nam, sicut ille asserit, *domus Abraam, Ysach, Israeli, Moysi, Aaron et Levi, et ceteri cuius non sum digna computari, nec illorum solvi corrigiis, qui sperantes in Domino et in illum toto corde clamantes, de necessitatibus eorum liberans atque in portum voluptatis eos usque perducens, magnum hic laudantes et in futuro benedicentur, confitentes dicuntque: Confitemini Deo deorum, Domino dominorum, omnes reges terrae gentiumque populi, tribus et linguae, quoniam magnus, quoniam bonus, quoniam in aeternum et in saeculum saeculi misericordia eius*. Et si illi illorumque sequaces ita tenentes confitentur et laudant, orte te ut diligas bona cuncta supra praescripta, atque etiam penultima subtilis sequacem, inobliviosus lector factorque operis studearis compleri dignissimo.

Item, Time Dominum, et eris cum Psalmista laudatus. Ait enim: *Beatus vir qui timet Dominum*. Quisquis hoc timore repleti meruerit, *erit semen eius potens in terra. Gloria namque et divitiae in domo eius per cuncta manebit, et iustitia illius semper in saeculum saeculi fulgebit*. Quod in illis, ita in te, si valerem, voluissem, voloque etiam et oro ut tibi eveniat, puer.

has said, "My soul hates the rich man who lies and the poor man who is arrogant."<sup>131</sup>

Different views are expressed about the inequalities among some rich people and others, and among some poor people and others. For example, one rich person ranked higher than others when he said, "As for me I am ordinary and poor."<sup>132</sup> Disparaging himself further, he said, "I am a worm, not a man, scorned and rejected by the people."<sup>133</sup> And, "Alas, my misery! I have far outstayed my sojourn."<sup>134</sup> Consoled by the Holy Spirit,<sup>135</sup> he disdained his riches and said, coming back to his senses, "The Lord is my support,<sup>136</sup> my help, my protector. He is always quick and attentive in caring for me.<sup>137</sup> That is why I shall proclaim his praise in words of song, and I shall sing with a joyful heart to the One who has heaped up good things for me.<sup>138</sup> And in order that his Law shall always be eloquent in my mouth,<sup>139</sup> I shall sing to the great name of the Highest."<sup>140</sup>

If he, in his greatness, declared himself the lowest among the low and the vilest of all, what must we do? He hoped in the Lord, and the beneficent Liberator delivered him from all his perils. In truth, when the first of our forefathers and ancestors cried to the Lord and put their hope in him, they, because of their many great merits, were not confounded<sup>141</sup> or reduced to humiliation. On the contrary, we believe that, heaped with riches and good things, both in spirit and body, they were wholly saved. In fact, as he asserts, like the houses of Abraham, Isaac, Israel, Moses, Aaron, and Levi, and so many others whom I am not worthy to enumerate – nor even to unlace their shoes<sup>142</sup> – all those who hope in the Lord and cry out to him with all their heart will be delivered from every necessity and conducted to the portal of their desire.<sup>143</sup> All of them praised his greatness here on earth, and they will be blessed in the world to come. They will recognize him and say: "Acknowledge the Lord of lords<sup>144</sup> all you kings of earth, and you people of every nation<sup>145</sup> tribe and language.<sup>146</sup> He is great. He is good. His mercy is unending through all the ages."<sup>147</sup> Since they and those who came after them persevered in acknowledging and praising him, I urge you yourself to cherish all the good counsels I indicated earlier and also those I mentioned just before the conclusion. As an alert reader and practitioner of good deeds, work hard to fulfill these instructions with honor.

Another point. Fear the Lord, and you will be praised in the words of the Psalmist. He says: "Blessed is the man who fears the Lord."<sup>148</sup> Whoever deserves to be filled with this fear, "his descendants will be powerful on the earth, for glory and riches shall dwell forever in his

Ama munditiam, et sociaveris claro fulgentique praelucido cunctis. Dicit quidam: *Ama, puer, castitatem: mundus eris a peccato.* Et item alius eiusdem: *Ama, iuvenis, castitatem: flagram nitens magnam tenebris odorem, mundusque a peccato nubila poli velox per alta transibis cursim.* Hanc sectare, ut, cum illis qui mundum habent cor, partem in Spiritu beatitudinis, de quo supra, possis habere, illumque *videre in Syon* qui dixit: *Beati mundo corde, quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt.*

Ama etiam et recollige pauperes, atque in spiritu lenitatis et mansuetudinis opus indesinenter perface tuum, ne oblivis caris compassionem minoris fraternitate. In paupertate etenim mentis tuam nobilitatem supplicii corde latitare semper, et tunc securus audire valebis, atque cum illis partem in regno habere magnam, de quibus scriptum est: *Beati pauperes spiritu, quoniam ipsorum est regnum coelorum.*

*Dilige iustitiam, ut iustus esse videaris in causis.* Nam *iustus Dominus iustitias dilexit diligitque semper: aequitatem videt vultus eius.* Valde eam, eo tunc in tempore, diligebat et diligi admonebat ille qui dicebat: *Diligite iustitiam, qui iudicatis terram.* Et item alius: *Si iustitiam loquimini, recta iudicate.* Scriptum namque est: *In quo enim iudicio iudicaveritis, et cetera.*

Tu ergo, fili Wilhelme, cave et fuge iniquitatem, ama aequitatem, sectare iustitiam, time audire Psalmographi dictum: *Qui diligit iniquitatem, odit animam suam.* Absit a te ut, pro ceducis concupiscentiarum rebus, animam quam verus et mundus et veram et mundam atque immortalem in tuo misit fragili corpore manentem, tu, ob iniustitiis et inmisericordiis aliquid iniuste componendo, dictando et consentiendo, illa laqueis praepares malis. Pro alienis namque culpis multi torquentur.

Memento, si ad hoc perveneris, Heli et ceterorum. Dicit enim quidam: "Cum omnibus peccantibus pecco, si quos videro peccantes ipse non corrigam." Et item alius: *Delinquenti non sinui exaltare cornu.* Quidquid enim in subditis delinquitur, a maioribus requiritur. Omnis namque iniquitas atque iniustitia in suum pro certo recurrit auctorem. Sic et in regibus et in ducibus, sic etiam et in episcopis atque in ceteris praelatis qui male et nequiter viventes, semetipsos, propter iniustitias suas, non solum nequiter perdunt, verum etiam aliis consentientes in praecipitiis ruere faciunt. Impleturque in talibus: "Facientes et consentientes aequaliter cumulantur poenis," simulque in culpis, si non utrumque emendaverint, similes torquentur volventes ad ymma.

house, and his justice shall beam forth forever and ever."<sup>149</sup> What was true for them, I wish may be so for you – if I can bring it about. I do desire it and pray that it may come to you, child!

Cherish purity and you will be joined with the One who is luminous and splendid, more dazzling than any other. An author has written: "Love chastity, child, and you will be pure of sin."<sup>150</sup> And another said the same: "Love chastity, young man. Burning in brightness, you will harbor a sweet fragrance. Pure of sin, you will race in a swift journey to the high clouds of heaven." Pursue this course and you will share with the pure of heart in that spirit of beatitude which I have spoken about. You shall "see in Zion"<sup>151</sup> the One who has said, "Blessed are the spotless of heart for they will see God."<sup>152</sup>

Cherish and welcome the poor, too. Steadfastly carry out your task in a spirit of kindness and gentleness, and do not forget to show brotherly compassion to the most humble. Always keep your noble rank hidden beneath a poverty of spirit and a modest heart. Then you will be able to hear with assurance, "Blessed are the pure in spirit for theirs is the kingdom of heaven."<sup>153</sup> And you, together with those of whom this has been written, shall receive a great share of the kingdom.

"Love justice," so that you will be known as a just man when you preside over legal cases. For the "just Lord has loved justice" and loves it always. "His face beholds righteousness."<sup>154</sup> Another who loved justice very much in his own time and exhorted others to love it, said: "Love justice, you who judge the earth."<sup>155</sup> And another: "If you administer justice, judge correctly."<sup>156</sup> For it is written: "According to the judgment that you have rendered," etc.<sup>157</sup>

You, therefore, son William, beware and flee iniquity, love righteousness, practice justice. Dread hearing the Psalmist's words: "Who loves injustice hates his own soul."<sup>158</sup> Do not pursue the craving for perishable things. The True and Pure has provided a home in your feeble body for a true, pure, immortal soul. Never allow yourself to prepare hideous chains for this soul by planning, saying or agreeing to some injustice through a lack of fairness or pity. For many suffer pain for wrongs that others have committed.

Remember Elias and the others, if you reach this point. For someone has said: "I sin with all who are sinners, if I fail to correct those I see sinning!"<sup>159</sup> And another says, "I have not allowed the guilty to hold up his head."<sup>160</sup> Every fault committed by inferiors is accountable by his superiors. Every sin, every injustice reverts inescapably to the perpetrator. This applies equally to kings, princes, and to bishops

Orabat quidam: "Non me permittas, Domine, famulum tuum a te separari, nec alienis sinas subdi communicando peccatis." Abundat enim unicuique hoc quod sibi nequiter egisse cognoscit. Dicit enim beatus Apostolus: *Videte itaque quomodo caute ambuletis*. Et item: *Unusquisque videat quomodo vas, id est corpus suum, possideat*. Et qualiter vel quomodo? Addidit: *In iustitia et sanctitate veritatis*.

Tu, fili, si iustitiam dilexeris et perversos perversa agere non quiveris, poteris fiducialiter dicere cum Psalmista: *Iniquos odio habui et legem tuam dilexi*. Non sit sors tua cum illis de quibus Propheta multo antea praedixit dicens: *Vae qui condunt leges iniquas, et, ut decipiant pauperem et inopem atque rectos ut trucident corde, non sinunt machinari dolos et cogitari agere perversa. Concupiscunt illicita, et licite torquentur*. Merito de talibus dicit Evangelista: *Vae pregnantibus et nutrientibus*. Pregnans est qui aliena licita illicitate concupiscit. Nutrix, qui tollit non sua, et rapta possidet iniuste.

Modicum tempus fuerunt, longaevio funebri Tartari post mancipantur, et, ut ait quidam utilissimus propheta: *Ducunt in bono dies suos, et in puncto ad inferna descendunt*. Gravis et intolerabilis mutatio! Melius fuerat tali non esse quam infeliciter esse. Quae utilitas, fili, in sanguine nobili, si propter iniustitias corpus corrumpatur suum, descendens ad corruptionem ut luceat semper? Nichil enim illi proficit, si totum lucretur mundum et se perdat.

Nam *et mundus transit, et concupiscentia eius*. Et licet homo auro, gemisque et purpura nitescat, vilis et nudus ibit ad umbras, nichil tollens secum nisi quod bene, quod pie, quod caste, quod digne vixerit ipse. Et si ita credimus esse venturum, orton te ut, procul a vitiis, iustitiam diligas semper.

Quod si feceris, a pio iustoque iudice vero, securus dicere valebis: *Iustus es, Domine, et rectum iudicium tuum*. Item: *Omnia enim, ut cognosco, iudicia tua iusta sunt, et omnes viae tuae veritas et iudicium, idcirco feci iudicium et iustitiam. Legem diligendo tuam, semper super speravi*. Atque inter beatos, esuriendo iustitiam, *anima tua quasi ortus erit irriguus, oleoque et vino fecunda, beatitudine fruendo non esuriet ultra*. His sociatis iungi ad eos perfacile possis, de quibus scriptum est: *Beati qui esuriunt et sitiunt iustitiam, quoniam ipsi saturabuntur*. Saturabuntur, fili, esca qui non perit, sed qui in vitam permanet aeternam. Comedent panem dignissimum, illum videlicet de quo scriptum est: *Panem angelorum manducavit homo; repletus autem non esuriet unquam*.

and other prelates who lead a wicked dishonorable life. Not only do they lose themselves dishonorably by their injustices, but also, in tolerating the wrongs of others, they hurl themselves into the abyss. For those the adage is realized: Whoever tolerates a fault suffers the same punishment as the one who commits it. Fallen together in the wrongdoing, they are (unless each corrects the other) equally tormented and they will whirl together into hell.

Someone has composed this prayer: "Do not, Lord, allow me, your servant, to become separated from you, and do not let me be vanquished by sharing in others' sins."<sup>161</sup> That evil overflows upon each one which he has knowingly committed. The blessed Apostle said: "Carefully watch your step."<sup>162</sup> And again: "Let each one be watchful in preserving his own vessel,"<sup>163</sup> that is to say, his body. How and in what way? "Through justice," he added, "and in the holiness of truth."<sup>164</sup>

My son, if you love justice and do not allow evil people to behave wickedly, you will be able confidently to say with the Psalmist, "I have hated the unjust and I have loved your law."<sup>165</sup> Do not share the fate of those of whom the Prophet long ago foretold: "Woe to those who make evil laws<sup>166</sup> and who, in order to deceive the poor and indigent and to slay men of upright heart,<sup>167</sup> never stop contriving ruses and dreaming of evil-doing." They lust for what is unlawful, and are punished according to the law. The Evangelist rightly denounces them: "Misfortune to those who are pregnant and who give suck."<sup>168</sup> To be pregnant means to covet illicitly what other people possess according to the law. To give suck means to take what doesn't belong to one and unjustly keep what one has stolen!

These people have lived only a short time; then they are handed over to the deadly duration of Tartarus. As an excellent prophet has said, "They pass their lives amidst good things – and in an instant they drop into hell."<sup>169</sup> A terrible and unbearable change! It would have been better for these people never to have lived, rather than to be wretched. What good, my son, is noble blood if the body is corrupted by injustice, only to sink into corruption and groan forever? It is of no use to a man if he wins the whole world, and loses himself.<sup>170</sup>

For "the world is transitory, and so is its lust."<sup>171</sup> Even if a man glitters with the brilliance of gold, gems, and purple, he descends to the shadows, vile and naked. He takes nothing with him unless he has lived well in piety, chastity and honor. And since we believe that there is an afterlife, I exhort you always to shun vices and to cherish justice.

Hunc panem, bonis inhaerendo operibus, delectare laborari; manducabis, beatus incedens, beatior quiescens; ambulans et stans, bene tibi erit, et felicitas in domo tua per cuncta manebit, atque in circuitu mensae tuae, ut filii olivarum plantationis novellae, pueri tui laudantes benedicent Dominum.

Esto enim misericors. In iudiciis legalium, si accesseris unquam, adhibe misericordiam et mansuetudinem. Post iudicium namque misericordia praestabilis efficitur in cunctis; *superexaltat autem iudicium misericordia*. Admonitor almificus dicit: *Estote ergo misericordes, quia pater vester misericors est*. Quod si amaveris et eam animo sociaveris tuo, accipies beatitudinem cum illis de quibus scriptum est: *Beati misericordes, quoniam ipsi misericordiam consequentur*. Esto namque et tu in minimis subiectisque tuis, atque in ceteris misericordiam indigentibus, ut valueris, misericors, ut a misericordissimo atque piissimo Deo misericordiam consequi merearis. Esto et mitis. In omni etenim negotio utilitatis, forma<sup>16</sup> mitis semper incedere festina. At quidam in carmine:

Mitis corpus conteret suum,  
Manus illustris animis fultor,  
Condix glutino agitatur aulae.

*Beati etenim mites, etc. Beati mansueti: non solum ista, verum etiam et futuram in donariis magnam hereditabunt terram.*

Item. In cunctis opibus tibi a Deo aplicitis, largam ad porrigendum confer manum. Avaritia namque, *quod est ydolorum servitus, nec*

<sup>16</sup> Riché corrects from *formam*.

If you do this, you can say with confidence to the merciful judge, just and true: "You are just, Lord, and your judgment is righteous."<sup>172</sup> And again: "I recognize all your judgments are just,"<sup>173</sup> and all your ways are truth and justice.<sup>174</sup> I therefore have acted according to law and justice.<sup>175</sup> Because I love your law, I have always clung to hope."<sup>176</sup> If you hunger for justice among the blessed, "like a well-watered garden, your soul will be" fertile "with olive and wine"; rejoicing in beatitude, "it will never more be hungry."<sup>177</sup> May you, together in the company [of the blessed], be joined with ease to those of whom it is written: "Blessed are those who hunger and thirst for justice for they shall be satisfied."<sup>178</sup> They shall be satisfied, my son, with the food that does not perish but "remains throughout eternal life."<sup>179</sup> They shall eat the most reverend bread of which it has been written: "Man has eaten the bread of angels."<sup>180</sup> Satisfied, he will never again be hungry.<sup>181</sup>

Take pleasure in laboring for this bread<sup>182</sup> by applying yourself to good works. You will eat this bread with pleasure, and take even greater pleasure in rest. Busy or at leisure, you will be content. Happiness will always dwell in your house. "Around your table, like sons of a young plantation of olives,"<sup>183</sup> your children will praise and bless the Lord.

Be merciful then. In rendering legal judgment, if you ever are to sit in a court of law, use mercy and clemency. For, "once judgment is passed, mercy is always shown to excel." Mercy transcends justice.<sup>184</sup> Our benevolent preceptor tells us: "Be merciful then, since your father is merciful."<sup>185</sup> If you love mercy and make her your soul's companion, you will share the beatitude with those of whom it is written: "Blessed are the merciful, for they will obtain mercy."<sup>186</sup> You yourself, then, show the utmost mercy that you can toward the most humble of your subordinates and toward all those needing mercy, in order to obtain mercy from God who is very good and very merciful. Be gentle, too. In the conduct of every kind of responsibility, always be prompt to act gently. A poet says:

The gentle man wears his body,  
His glorious hand sustains souls.  
His condition<sup>187</sup> is troubled by the bond of the court.

"Blessed are the meek," and so on.<sup>188</sup> Blessed are "the mild:" it is not only this earth that they shall inherit but the excellent one to come. "They shall inherit the earth"<sup>189</sup> among their endowments.

As for all those riches God has given to you, generously open your



nominetur in te. Sed si quid tibi Deus dederit, multum atque etiam exiguum, secundum qualitatem habendi, ita porrige petenti. Da ut accipias. Scriptum est enim: *Beatus qui intelligit super egenum*. Et item: *Beatus qui cogitat de paupere*: laudabilis in vita, opera eius tenetur magnifica. Item alius: *Qui dat pauperi nunquam egebit*. Iustusque dator quamvis saeculo volvat, tamen in gloria et iocunditate postmodum sine fine manebit.

Tu ergo, fili, *honora in primis Dominum*, ut ait Salomon, *de tua substantia et de primitiis tuis, ceterumque rerum opum tuarum da pauperibus*. Da ut in illo extremi iudicii finem cum securo sinceraque et pura conscientia merearis petere, ita dicendo: "Da, Domine, quia dedi. Miserere, quia misericordiam feci." Dicit enim evangelicus sermo divinus: *Facite vobis amicos de mamona, ut, cum ab hac defeceritis vita, in aeterna vos recipiant tabernacula*.

Tu ergo in sinu pauperis elemosinam frequens absconde; ipsa enim, fili, pro te orabit ad Dominum. Habes auctoritatem qui tibi cum ceteris ut des admonens dicit: *Date, et dabitur vobis*. Et item: *Facite elemosinam, et omnia munda erunt vobis*. Nam, ut aiunt doctores, *elemosina a morte liberat animam, et non eam sinit in tenebris ingredi*. Quare? Quia, sicut aqua extinguit pyras, ita elemosina extinguit peccata. Extincta latens celavit obscuris. Licet multa sint elemosinarum medicamenta, tamen inter plures genera trium tibi obto militari frequenter:

Unum, egenti dare quicquid habueris vel ipse tibi petierit clam; secundum, ut in Christo eis dimittas a quibus laesus fueris ipse. Ait enim pius pacificus ille: *Dimittite, et dimittetur vobis*. Et item: *Cum stitis ad orationem, dimittite*, etc. Item, dicit ipse: *Si recordaveris, vade reconciliari*;<sup>17</sup> tertio, ut delinquentes, tam verbis quam et verberibus, si necesse fuerit, corrige frequenter.

Scriptum est: *Argue, obsecra, increpa*. Bonos mandat obsecrare, malos iubet increpare. Ait de inprobos: *In virga veniam ad vos*. Dicit de dignis: *In spiritu, inquit, mansuetudinis ad vos veniam digne*. Eos namque quos errare conspexeris, in viam, ut vales, reduc veritatis, et tunc securus per ampla in tribus elemosinarum generibus militare valebis.

<sup>17</sup> Riché's emendation.

hand to distribute them. Do not let avarice be ascribed to you, "for it is a servitor of idols."<sup>190</sup> And if God gives you much – or even a little – distribute it according to your resources to any who ask. Give in order to receive. For it is written: "Happy is he who thinks of the poor." And again. "Blessed is he who cares for the poor."<sup>191</sup> He is praiseworthy in life, and his work is considered noble. And another has said, "Who gives to the poor will never be needy."<sup>192</sup> It is of no importance that the benefactor passes from this world: he will live forever in glory and joy.

You then, my son, before all else, "honor the Lord" as Solomon says, "with your goods and your first fruits"<sup>193</sup> and for the rest give your wealth to the poor. Give, so that by the term of the last judgment you may with complete confidence demand security and purity of conscience. "Give, Lord, since I have given. Bestow mercy, since I have been merciful." The divine word of the Evangelist tells us, "Make yourselves friends by means of wealth, so that when you leave this world they will receive you into the eternal tabernacle."<sup>194</sup>

Secrete your alms often in the bosom of the poor, and these alms will pray to the Lord for you.<sup>195</sup> You have an Authority who speaks to you with others, urging you to give. "Give and it will be given unto you."<sup>196</sup> And again: "Bestow alms and all will be made clean for you."<sup>197</sup> For, as the learned doctors say, "Alms rescue the soul from death and prevent it from descending to darkness."<sup>198</sup> How is this? Because "as water quenches fire, so almsgiving quenches sins."<sup>199</sup> Once sins are quenched, almsgiving hides them in the shadows. Although the remedies of almsgiving are of many kinds, nonetheless among the several types, I wish you frequently to practice these three:

The first is to give in secret to the poor person whatever you have and whatever he asks you. The second is to forgive in Christ anyone who has done you wrong. For the loving and peaceful [Christ] says to us: "Forgive and you shall be forgiven."<sup>200</sup> And also, "When you stand in prayer, be forgiving," and so on. He also says, "If you remember it, go to be reconciled."<sup>201</sup> Third, correct frequently the faults of others – and if it is necessary, with whips as well as words!

It is written, "Preach, plead, strike!"<sup>202</sup> He gives orders to plead with the good, but to strike the wicked. Of wrongdoers he declares, "I will come to you with a stick!"<sup>203</sup> Of the upright he says, "I will come to you honorably in a spirit of clemency."<sup>204</sup> Those you see going astray, reroute them if possible on the road of truth. Then you will be capable of soldiering surely and generously in the three types of almsgiving.



**<9> Ut pauperibus, cum valueris, adiuves**

Pauperem inopportune petenti, aures illi adcomodare tuas. Scriptum est: *Ne exaspereris pauperem in clamore suo. Tribulatur enim corde, et clamat ore; dari sibi vult quod ipse non habet omnino. Considerandum tibi, ortor, quoniam, si tu ipse in hac egestate simili conditione fuisses*<sup>18</sup> *allisus, quod ille in se, hoc tu tibi dari obtares.*

Hic in iniuriis, sic etiam et in caeteris congruis honoribus exigendum est. Dictum est de iniuriis: *Quod tibi non vis, alii ne feceris.* Scriptum est de compensanda dignis accipienda retributionem: *Omnia quaecumque vultis ut faciant vobis homines bona, et vos illis ita similia facite.*

Dignum est ut qui gratis accipit aliena, gratis, ut valet, porrigat sua. Propterea admoneo te ut victum potumque, etiam et nudis vestimentum, indigentibus ministreris ipse. Ex hoc enim quod unusquisque sibi sentit habere ex hoc *hilari* tribuat *vultu*. Scriptum est enim: *Frangere esurienti panem tuum, et egenos vagosque induc in domum tuam. Cum videris nudum, operi eum, et carnem tuam ne despexeris.*

Item. *Carnem* hic fraternam conditionem designat, ex qua nos cum omnibus originem trahimus, ipsi dicente protoplasto sibi simili iuncto: *Hoc nunc os ex ossibus meis, et caro de carne mea.* Karo namque a cadendo nomen accipit, ea vero tenore rationis mensura, licet cadat, licet resurgat, tam pauper quam dives, omnes per finem in pulverem revertentur. Tamen qui pro meritis magnis magna acquirunt, minimos, ut conspexerint, dignum est sublevari et adiuvari in rebus. Fraterna etenim compassione, et in esurientibus, et sitientibus atque nudis, et in orphanis et in peregrinis, in advenis, in viduis seu etiam in pupillis oppressisque et omnibus indigentibus, ut conspexeris, illis miserando subvenias pie. Quod si feceris, *erumpet quasi mane lumen tuum* et claritas in tuis per cuncta fulgebit gressibus. *Misericordia* et pax te non deserent unquam, simulque *veritas* et *iustitia faciem tuam* ubique per saecula *praecedent*.

His ita copulatis, invocabis Dominum et exaudiet te, *clamabis et dicet: Ecce adsum.*

<sup>18</sup> Riché corrects from *fuises*.

**<9> Help the poor whenever you can**

Lend your ears to the poor man when he begs importunately. It is written, "Do not make the poor man despair in his cry."<sup>205</sup> He is afflicted in his heart, and he cries out with his mouth. He wants to be given what he absolutely lacks. I urge you to picture yourself reduced to such privation, for you would, like him, wish earnestly to be given alms.

Just as there is a proper rule concerning evil acts, there is also a correct procedure regarding the just. About evil actions it is said, "What you don't wish done to you, don't do to another person."<sup>206</sup> And it is written, concerning repayment of a bonus for good deeds you have received, "All the good things that you want people to do for you, do the same for them."<sup>207</sup>

It is right that a person who receives good things freely from another should freely dispense his own goods as much as he can. That is why I urge you to offer food and drink to people in need, as well as clothing to the naked. Let each one give with cheerful countenance of the goods he knows he possesses. For it is written, "Share your bread with the hungry, welcome the poor and homeless into your house. When you see a naked man, clothe him and do not scorn your own flesh."<sup>208</sup>

Now here, again the flesh means the brotherly condition, from which we and all other people derive our origins. This is according to the word of the first-formed man, who himself said when joined to one similar to him: "Here is the bone of my bones and the flesh of my flesh."<sup>209</sup> The "flesh," or *caro*, takes its name from "fall," or *cadere*.<sup>210</sup> Really, in this sense and by this standard of reckoning, the poor man as well as the rich may fall and rise again, but all must end by returning to dust.<sup>211</sup> Still, it is right for those people who receive great benefits for their merit to sustain and materially aid the most humble when they encounter them. Show brotherly compassion to those who hunger, who thirst and who are naked,<sup>212</sup> to orphans and pilgrims, to foreigners, to widows as well as little children, to the oppressed and to all those in need. When you meet them, help them with loving mercy. If you do this, "your light will burst forth like the dawn,"<sup>213</sup> and the brightness will shine forth without cease on your footsteps. "Mercy" and peace will never desert you, while "truth" and justice "precede your face"<sup>214</sup> everywhere and "forever."

When all these good works are joined together, you will call on the Lord and he will hear you. "You will cry out and he will say, 'Behold, I am here.'"<sup>215</sup>

## &lt;1&gt; De diversarum tribulationum temperamentis

Tribulationes atque tristitias sive angustias temptationum multis in saeculo voluntur modis. Agitur enim in carnalibus, agitur etiam in spiritualibus. Tristantur carnales pro caducis; tristantur spirituales ne amittant coelestia. *Tristitia saeculi*, ut ait Apostolus, *mortem operatur*; *tristitia* autem spiritualis vitam atque laetitiam adtrahit sempiternam.

Genera sunt avium quae in modulatione carminis luctum per cantum emittere consuescunt. Quid aliud innuitur, nisi quod unusquisque mortalium currentium vias duplum lamentum de corde emittere debet, unum videlicet quia bonum quod agere debuit praetermittit, aliud vero quia<sup>1</sup> malum quod facere non debet amando, opere patrat perverso? In his duabus virgulis luctamen adsurgit humanum, nec valet cantum ediscere clarum. Tristitia namque quae impeditur resecanda est; illa vero quae ad utilitatem proficit animae adhibenda est et firmiter tenenda. Nobilior tamen est spiritualis quam carnalis, et, licet pro aliquibus certis ex causis tristitia in corde accedat humano, oblivioni censura peritissimi praeponenda esse fatentur.

Unde unus ex eis ait: *Quasi tristes, semper autem gaudentes*. Et iterum: *Quasi nichil habentes, et omnia possidentes*. "Quasi" dicimus quod non est verum; verum, quod non est "quasi."

Dicit quidam captor sompni: "Quasi equitabam, quasi currebam; quasi epulans pocula, ni prius atque cibus, cuncta manibus tenebam; ferculis in pomis, sapor gusti quo triplectabant; huc illucque me volvens, equestrium sessor aderam. Expergefactus a somno, nichil cernens valui amplecti; inanis et fragilis, demensque et palpans, totus cum 'quasi' remansi. O si fuisset verum quod annuens oculis, manu palpans, pedem terens!"

"O," dicit doctor, "si talis vel quisquis futurus 'quasi' cerneret verum, lapsus per umbras, surgeret ad dapes. Transit moriens, et ecce 'quasi' felicitas rerum temporalium, cum ab insipientibus et negli-

<sup>1</sup> Riché supplies *quia*.

## &lt;1&gt; On observing self-control under various hardships

Trials and sorrows or severe temptations occur in many situations throughout life. This is just as true for spiritual men as it is for carnal men. While carnal men grieve for what is fleeting, spiritual men grieve for fear of losing heavenly goods. "Worldly sorrow," as the Apostle says, "results in death,"<sup>1</sup> but spiritual sorrow leads to life and eternal joy.

There are species of birds that trill their musical notes so as to pour forth their mournful lays quite naturally in song. What else does this suggest than that each of us mortals in our life's course must utter a double lament from the heart? One lament is for having neglected what we ought to do; the other is for loving the wickedness we ought not to commit – and yet do carry out in perverse actions. Such are the twin branches through which human conflict surges,<sup>2</sup> for conflict is incapable of learning a straightforward song. We must prune away the sorrow that trammels us, therefore, while we summon and staunchly embrace the sorrow that profits the soul. Spiritual sorrow is more noble than carnal sorrow. Since sorrow springs up in the human heart from various sources, people of greatest experience declare it better to examine sorrow than consign it to oblivion.

One of these wise people says, therefore: "As if sad, but ever joyful." And again: "As if we had nothing, but possessed everything."<sup>3</sup> We say 'as if' about something that is not true, and call a thing true when it is not 'as if.'

A man struck by a dream<sup>4</sup> recounts this: "It was 'as if' I rode a horse, 'as if' I were running, and 'as if,' at a banquet, I held all the goblets in my hands, not to mention the dainties and the platters of fruit whose savor made me three times hungrier than usual. Ranging here and there, I thought I sat on horseback. Wakened from sleep, I neither saw nor held anything. I was worn out and weak, distracted and stumbling. I remained alone with my 'as if.' Oh, if only that had been true, the things I caressed with my eyes, and touched with my

gentibus relinquitur; nichil aliud per funebra carminum restat nisi 'quasi.'" Quare? Quia transit bona ipsorum et restat dampnatio morti perpetualis illorum. Cernentium temporaliter cuncta quid aliud a sapientibus computantur,<sup>2</sup> nisi "quasi?" Audi auctorem qui dicit: *Vidi omnia sub sole et ecce vanitas, vanitas vanitatum et omnia vanitas.*

En habes "quasi" cum somno vanitatis, vinculorum inretitu con-exibus. Quare? Quia, ut ait Psalmista: *Turbati sunt omnes insipientes corde, dormitaverunt qui ascenderunt equos; expergefacti a somno nihil in manibus invenerunt suis, transierunt inrevocabili gressu."*

O somnum durum et inexcitabile his qui nequiter vivunt et absque poenitentiae fructum ad imma recurrunt! Quid in talibus, nisi "quasi?" *Transierunt quasi naves poma portantes, et velut foenum apparens mane cum flore, vespere seccus, durus et arens, traditur igni, Psalmista testante qui dicit: Omnis caro foenum et omnis gloria eius quasi flos agri sic apparebit. Et licet multum vivere videatur in saeculo, vita tamen eius in similitudinem cuiusdam telae: brevis et scissa computatur ad forum. Quod si ita non esset, beatus Iob nequaquam diceret: Homo natus de muliere, brevi vivens tempore, multisque repletur miseriis. Quasi flos egreditur et conteritur; fugit enim velut umbra et nunquam in eodem permanet statu. Et ne se ab huiusmodi brevitatem faceret immunem, addidit dicens: Cutis namque arvit mea et contracta est. Etenim dies mei velocius transierunt quam a texente tela succiditur, et consumpti sunt absque ullo termino spei.*

In tantum est felicitas humanae conditionis fragilis et a peritissimis in brevi usque perducta, ut etiam mille annorum tempora volvens, extrema illius dies ad instar telae computatur araneae. Scriptum namque est: *Mille anni ante oculos hominum, cum pertransierint, tanquam dies extrema praeteriens. Illis pro nichilo habentur ad fluxu, et velut custodia quae quasi in nocte frustatim abentur, ita erunt anni eorum. Nam ut ait Scriptura: Nichil aliud est vita hominis super terram, nisi temptatio. Subito apparet "quasi" occultus, et in publico restat verum nudatus. Ecce habes "quasi" et en habes verum. Quare? Audi Prophetam: Cecidit in luctum citara mea, organusque meus in voce flentium versus, et cantatio mea in plorationem rugitu emersa consistit. Et cui antea pedes lavabantur butiro et petrae rivos fundebant olei, possessionesque illi multae crescentes, atque in plateis civitatum ei cathedras ascendendum anteponebant, nunc e contrario versa vice, illi cuncta mutata atque subtracta, solus in sterquilinio putredinum sedens, vermes ei ad cibum undique fluebant. Quid in virgis prolisque*

<sup>2</sup> Riché corrects from *computatur*.

hand, and trod with my feet!"

"O!" says our learned man, "if that man or some other in a future time were to take this delusory 'as if' for the truth, he would, deceived by phantoms, run to a banquet. A man passes and he dies. And see how the 'as if' of worldly felicity is left behind by the foolish and the careless! Nothing is left during the funeral chants except the 'as if.'" Why is this? Because these people's goods fade away and all that is left is their eternal condemnation to death. As for people who view everything from the temporal viewpoint, don't wise men consider that they only regard the world "as if?" Heed the writer who said: "I have seen everything under the sun, and it was vanity, the vanity of vanities, all is vanity."<sup>5</sup>

Here you have "as if" bound up in the net of its fetters by the sleep of vanity! Why? Because, as the Psalmist says, "all fools are troubled in their hearts; those who have mounted horses have grown drowsy with sleep."<sup>6</sup> Once roused from their sleep "they found nothing in their hands."<sup>7</sup> They have passed over on a journey from which they cannot be called back.

Oh, the deep, heavy sleep from which there is no awakening for those who live badly and who race toward the abyss without the fruit of penance! What do they own – except the "as if?" "They have passed "as if" they were ships laden with fruits."<sup>8</sup> They are like grasses seen flowering in the morning, yet by nightfall are dry, stiff and withered, to be thrown in the fire. The Psalmist attests to this: "All flesh is grass, and all its glory will appear like the flower of the fields."<sup>9</sup> And though one may seem to live long in the world, one's life is short, like that of a woven cloth that is measured and snipped off in the marketplace. If this were not so, the blessed Job would not say: "Man born of woman lives only a short while, and is seized by numerous miseries. Like the flower he grows and then he is trampled underfoot; flitting like a shadow he never remains in the same condition."<sup>10</sup> To this Job adds – so that no one will think himself exempted from such transitoriness – "My skin is dried and shrunk. My days have vanished more swiftly than the weaver shears the web, and they are used up without aim or hope."<sup>11</sup>

The felicity of the human condition is so fragile, fleeting even for those who have lived longest – that even if someone lived a thousand years, his last day would not count for more than a spider web. It is written, actually, "A thousand years before the eyes of men, when they have passed, are like the last day which is passing. They are nothing in the flux of time. They are like moments of a vigil in the night. Such are

rerum amissis illi apparuit, nisi "quasi" et quid illi restavit, nisi abundans gemitibus dolorum quod adfuit verum. Item accidit "quasi," cum dolor ab eo cuncta recessit. Adstitit verum, cum, recuperans pristinis, sanus et vigil dies optime duxit cum suis.

Ecce habes verum, quia tempora finiens cum pace, mundus et purus, laetusque atque purgatus ivit, ut credimus veraciter, ad patres. Ipse enim de negligentibus et male agentibus, et 'quasi' et verum, dum adhuc viveret volvens in saeculo, quid accidendum illis eveniat affatus est, dicens: *Ducunt in bono dies: ecce "quasi." In punctum ad inferna descendunt: ecce habent verum. His plura.*

Et si ita nobis tanta et talia ad credendum asserunt doctores, absque dubio illum, te ortor, timendum amandumque, et prae omnibus diligendum, *qui aufert terribiliter spiritum principum*, ut in terram, de qua sumptus est, revertatur suam, et suum ulterius non valeat agnoscere locum. Ipsa autem tellus, cum in coenoso pulveri fuerit reversa, immundo generatur vermiculos, testante auctore dicentis: *Homo cum dormierit hereditabit serpentibus, etc.*

Item alius: Homo cum dormiens quieverit et fuerit denudatus atque consumptus, *ubi, quaeso, est? Ubi?* Absque dubio, ut aiunt doctores, *in qua parte ceciderit, ibi erit; si ad orientem, si ad occidentem, si ad aquilonem, si etiam in meridiem, et cetera.* In his quadrantium partibus magnus volvitur sensus. Quod longum est explanari per singula, sed a peritissimis facile patrantur. Scriptum est in brevi: *Arbor in qua ceciderit parte, ibi erit, et cetera.*

Arbor, unusquisque intelligitur homo, et an bonus an malus sit, a fructu profecto agnoscitur suo. Arbor pulcher nobilisque folia gignit nobilia et fructus afert aptos. Hoc in magno et fidelissimo agitur viro. Vir namque eruditus Spiritu Sancto meretur repleri et folia atque fructum pullulare. Dinoscitur fragrari suave, habet folia in verbis, fructum in sensu, vel etiam habet folia in intellectu, fructum in operatione. Arbor propagatur bona, mala traditur igni. Scriptum est: *Omnis arbor quae non facit fructum bonum excidetur et in igne mittetur.*

their years."<sup>12</sup> And Scripture says, "Human life on earth is nothing more than a struggle."<sup>13</sup> All of a sudden one perceives that the 'as if' has disappeared, and nothing remains to one's eyes but the naked truth. Here is the "as if," and here is the true. How can this be? Listen to the Prophet: "My zither is reduced to dolorous chants and my flute to tears,<sup>14</sup> and in the midst of my sobs my song is no more than groans." This man once "bathed his feet in butter; for him the stones poured forth rivulets of oil;"<sup>15</sup> he saw his goods increase and accumulate; for him "high thrones were set up for him to ascend in the streets of the towns."<sup>16</sup> Now, by a reversal of affairs, all was changed and lost. He was seated alone on the rot of a dungheap;<sup>17</sup> the worms that crawled everywhere served as his food. What had he discovered throughout these trials – the loss of his children and his possessions – if not that these things were only "as if" and that the truth remaining to him was a glut of wretched groans? When his sorrow left him entirely, that truth became the "as if." It was the truth when, with the recovery of his former belongings, and cured and vigilant, he lived his days in the best way with his family.

Here is the truth. Pure and blameless, he ended his life in peace, and as we truly believe, he departed joyous and chastened to his fathers. When he was still living in this world he himself recounted what must befall – concerning the "as if" and the true – the heedless and the malefactors. He says, "They spend days of prosperity," and this is the 'as if.' "In an instant they go down into hell,"<sup>18</sup> and this is true. There are other examples of this.

If, therefore, the learned doctors propose to our faith such great and important truths, I urge you to fear, love and cherish, above all and without hesitation, the One who in a terrible manner takes away the spirit of princes:<sup>19</sup> each one returns to the earth from which he was taken and none can ever again recover his former rank. And this earth, once it is returned to mud and dust, brings forth filthy worms, as the text reads, "When he is asleep a man will have snakes as his inheritance."<sup>20</sup>

And another writer: "When man has taken repose in sleep, and has been stripped and consumed, where is he, I ask you?"<sup>21</sup> Where? Without a doubt, as the learned men say, "where he has fallen, there he shall remain," whether it is in the east, the west, the north or the south, etc.<sup>22</sup> The four cardinal points bear a profound meaning, which would be long to explain in detail, but those who are wise do it easily. It has briefly been written, "On whichever side the tree falls, there it shall remain."<sup>23</sup>

Vera arbor veraque et congrua vitis, Dominus noster Christus, videlicet Iesus, a quo omnes arbores electae adsurgunt et palmites pullulant, vere dignos eligere dignatus est ramos, ut fructus afferant pulchros. Ait enim ipse: *Ego sum vitis vera et vos palmites. Et iterum: Ego vos elegi de mundo ut eatis et fructum afferatis, et fructus vester maneat. Qui manet in me et ego in eum, hic fert fructum multum, etc.*

Ad talem ergo arborem te ortor inserere, fili, ut semper cum fructu operis boni sine defectione illi adhaerere possis et fructus plurimos afferre valeas. Videntes enim et in illo fiduciam habentes certam, comparantur ligno almifico, quod transplantatur iuxta decursus aquarum. Qui cum ad humorem alte et profunde fixerint radices, non arescent tempore aestatis. Eruntque folia eorum semper virida atque fecunda, nec aliquando desinent facere fructum.

Quare hoc, fili? Quia, ut ait Apostolus, *in karitate radicati et fundati* adveniente Spiritus Sancti gratia, in ullo unquam tempore desinunt in proximis compensare fructum.

Et ut nosse possis quales esse arbores fructus pluraliter conferant dignos, audi itidem Apostolum dicentem: *Fructus Spiritus est karitas, gaudium, pax, longanimitas, bonitas, benignitas, fides, mansuetudo, patientia, castitas, continentia, modestia, sobrietas, vigilantia atque astutia, et cetera his similia.* Quoniam qui talla agunt regnum Dei facilius impetrare merentur, hos fructus in mente et corpore tuo edissere atque inserere,<sup>3</sup> fili, et meditare iugiter, ut, cum fructu et perseverantia operis boni, in die tribulationis et necessitatis, a vera arbore merearis esse protectus atque sublevatus.

Item:

The tree signifies each man. Whether he is good or bad, he shall certainly be known by his fruit.<sup>24</sup> A beautiful and noble tree produces noble leaves and brings forth seemly fruit, and this applies to a great man, a very faithful man. The learned man deserves to be filled with the Holy Spirit and to burgeon with leaves and fruit. He is distinguished by his sweet fragrance. For his leaves are his words, his fruit is his judgment, or in another way, his leaves are his intellect and his fruit his good deeds. The good tree is propagated, but the wicked tree is delivered to the flames. It is written, "Every tree that does not bear good fruit shall be cut down and thrown into the fire."<sup>25</sup>

The true tree and the vine that is entwined with it, is Christ our Lord.<sup>26</sup> That is, the Lord Jesus in whom all chosen trees are rooted, and vine-shoots burgeon, has deigned to select the worthy branches that will bring forth beautiful fruit. He himself says, "I am the true vine and you are the vine-shoots." And again, "I have chosen you from the world so that you may go and bear fruit and that your fruit shall remain. Who remains in me and I in him, will bear much fruit,"<sup>27</sup> and so forth.

Therefore, my son, I urge you to graft yourself to such a tree, so that you may cleave to him without fail, and, since fruit signifies good deeds, you will be able to bring forth much fruit. Those who behold him and have sure trust in him are compared to this saintly tree which is transplanted beside the flowing water.<sup>28</sup> Those trees which have deeply and profoundly fixed their roots in the moisture will not desiccate in the summer season.<sup>29</sup> Their leaves will always be green and abundant and they will never fail to produce fruit.

Why is this, my son? Because, as the Apostle says, "Rooted and grounded in charity"<sup>30</sup> with the coming of the Holy Spirit's grace, they will never fail in any season to proffer their fruit to those who are near.

And so that you may know which trees yield their worthy fruits in abundance, hear the Apostle when he says, "The fruits of the spirit are charity, joy, peace, forbearance, goodness, kindness, faith, gentleness, patience, chastity, self-control, modesty," sobriety, vigilance, and wisdom,<sup>31</sup> and other similar virtues. Since those who practice such virtues will deserve to attain quite readily to the kingdom of God, graft those fruits upon your mind and body, my son, and bring them forth and meditate upon them continually. In this way, with the fruit and perseverance in good works, you will deserve, on the day of tribulation and need, to be sheltered and supported by the true tree.

Similarly:

<sup>3</sup> Riché corrects from *inserere*.

**<2> De reconciliando si aliquid deliqueris**

Quod si infra aliqua inutilitas tibi accesserit, filii, aut ubi cognosceris tristare animo, festina, ut vales, in omnibus emendari. Reverte illi qui cuncta conspicit; interius exteriusque culpabilem et indignum, donec satisfacias, semper ostende, dicque: *Delicta iuventutis meae et ignorantias meas ne meminertis*. Obsecro, Domine, ne perdas me cum iniquitatibus meis, neque in finem iratus mala reserves mea. Sed secundum priscam clementiam ac bonitatem tuam magnam succurre michi, quia pius es.

Memorare, filii, verba publicani dicentis: *Deus, propitius esto mihi peccatori*, quia non sum dignus, ego infelix atque immundus, ad te mundissimum meos infelices *levare oculos*. Quare? Quia comprimunt me pondera peccatorum meorum, nec valeo intendere sursum, nisi tu, qui solus absque peccato es, mihi porrigas manum et eleves iacentem in periculorum fluxu. Tu me erige, Domine, quem lapsus peccati maculose contraxit; illumina caecum quem tenebrae caliginum obscuraverunt; solve compeditum quem vincula adstringunt peccatorum, tu qui exaudisti latronem confitentem et publicani reatum indulxisti, iustisque praemia destinasti, atque peccatoribus veniam non negasti, dicens: *Nolo mortem impii, tantum volo ut convertatur et vivat*. Ad te ergo converti desidero, et totis deinceps nisibus atque viribus meis, emendatus a vitiis, tuis cupio inhaerere mandatis, iustissime Pater.

Si ista atque alia utilitatis exempla in corde studueris praeponi tuo, transiet a te tristitia, quod est "quasi," et veniet verum, quod est gaudia rerum, praescius futurorum. Et quale gaudium *quod oculus non vidit nec auris audivit*, etiam *nec in cor hominis unquam ascendit*! Quanta et qualia *praeparat Deus his qui ex toto corde diligunt eum*! Ad quod gaudium si accesseris, filii, nemo te separare valebit ex eo, sed eris fruens atque cum plurimis possessor magnitudinem beatitudinis aeternae, de qua scriptum est: *Et gaudium vestrum nemo tollet a vobis*. Et ut huius gaudii consors effici merearis, filii, non solum a tuis, verum etiam ut ab alienis abstineas peccatis, assidue orton, dic cum Psalmista: *Ab occultis meis munda me, Domine, et ab alienis parce servo tuo*. Et quid dicam?

**<2> On atoning if you are in any way at fault**

If you happen to commit a wrong, my son, or if you find that your spirit is downcast, hasten with everything in your power to make complete amends. Return to him who sees all. Reveal your guilt and dishonor inwardly and outwardly until you make complete satisfaction. Say, "Do not keep the memory of my youthful faults and errors."<sup>32</sup> I beg you, Lord, 'not to condemn me with my iniquities;'<sup>33</sup> in your wrath do not pursue my offenses to the very end. But, according to your ancient mercy and your great goodness, come to my aid, for you are merciful."

Remember, my son, the words of the tax-collector, "God, be merciful to me, a sinner,"<sup>34</sup> for I who am wretched and soiled am not worthy to raise my miserable eyes up to you, who are perfectly pure." Why? "Because the heaviness of my sins weighs me down and I cannot lift up my eyes to you, unless you, who alone are without sin, reach out your hand to me and raise me up when I sink in perilous floods. You, Lord, raise me up when I am fallen into sin, and left crumpled and soiled. Enlighten the blind man whom the shadows have thrown into darkness. Unbind the prisoner chained in the bonds of sin. You have heard the penitent thief and have pardoned the crimes of the tax-collector, you have prepared a reward for the just and you did not deny pardon to sinners when you said: 'I do not demand the death of the impious, I desire only for him to mend his ways and life.'<sup>35</sup> I wish then to turn myself around and come to you, and finally with all my might and all my strength, as soon as I have redressed my sins, to embrace your commandments, Father most just."

If you diligently school your heart in these and other profitable lessons, sorrow will leave you and it will be only "as if." What is true will come, the presentiment of joy concerning future good things, a joy whose like the eye has not seen nor the ear heard, a joy which has never risen in the heart of man. What good things and what a quantity God prepares for those who love him with all their hearts!<sup>36</sup> If you come to this joy, my son, no one will be able to separate you from it, but you will share with numerous others the delight and the possession of immense eternal beatitude. Of this it is written, "No one will take your joy from you."<sup>37</sup> In order to earn a share in this joy, my son, keep yourself from sin, and do not take part in the sins of others. I urgently exhort you to say with the Psalmist, "Purify me of my hidden faults, Lord, and keep your servant safe from the faults of others."<sup>38</sup> What more can I say?

**<3> De adversis tentationibus, si tibi evenerint**

In tribulationibus, in persecutionibus et temptationibus, in necessitatibus et angustiis, in periculis et infirmitatibus, atque in omni fragilitate qua fragilis domatur corpus, animum tuum in cunctis ostende et praepara prudenter. Scriptum est: *Omni custodia serva cor tuum. Custoditus autem ut stet, certa ut vales.*

**<4> Si tribulatio fuerit**

Si tribulatio tibi, ut dixi, evenerit, fili, subporta patienter. Scriptum est: *Tribulatio patientiam operatur. Nam si in tribulatione clamaveris fidens in Deum, exaudiet te. Audi Prophetam: Ad Dominum cum tribularer clamavi, etc. In tribulatione invocasti me, liberavi et exaudivi te, atque in die accepto et salutis adiuvisti te. Tu ergo, fili, cum in tribulationem veneris, clama ut merearis audiri. Exauditus autem valeas fiducialiter laudare et dicere: In tribulatione invocavi Dominum et exaudivit me in latitudine.*

**<5> In persecutionibus**

De persecutionibus nichil hesites, rogo. Scriptum est: *Beatus vir qui suffert temptationem, quoniam, cum probatus fuerit, accipiet coronam vitae. Et iterum: Beati qui persecutionem patiuntur propter iustitiam. Addidit: Beati eritis cum maledixerint vobis homines et persecuti vos fuerint dixerintque omne malum adversum vos mentientes propter me. Si pro peccatis evenerit tuis, subporta patienter et tolerare in Christo.*

**<6> In necessitatibus**

Si necessitas supervenerit, confide et dic: *De necessitatibus meis libera me, Deus. Poteris enim aliquando ad pristinum surgere gradum, si iusserit Pius. Recordare Iob et Tobit, etc.*

**<3> Various temptations, should they assail you**

Throughout hardships, persecutions and temptations, in need and affliction, in danger and in sickness<sup>39</sup> – in short, in all the weaknesses to which our feeble body is subject – always resist with courage and be wisely prepared. It is written, “Keep your heart wholly vigilant.”<sup>40</sup> Strive with all your might to keep your heart steadfast and well-guarded.

**<4> If hardship should befall**

If a hardship should befall you, my son, endure it with patience, as I have said. It is written, “Hardship leads to patience.”<sup>41</sup> Yes, if in the midst of hardship you cry out to God, he will hear you. Listen to the Prophet: “When I suffered hardship, I cried to the Lord,”<sup>42</sup> and so forth. “In hardship you have called to me; I have delivered you and heard you,<sup>43</sup> and on a propitious day, the day of salvation, I have come to your aid.”<sup>44</sup> You then, my son, when you find yourself beset by hardship, cry out so that you will deserve to be heard. Once you are heard, you will be able to praise God in all confidence and say, “In my trouble I have called on the Lord. He heard me completely.”<sup>45</sup>

**<5> In case of persecutions**

Do not be fearful about persecutions, I beg you. It is written, “Blessed is the man who submits to trial, for, once he has been tested he will receive the crown of life.”<sup>46</sup> And again: “Blessed are they who suffer persecution for the sake of justice.” And again: “You will be blessed when men curse you, persecute you and utter all sorts of malignant lies about you for my sake.”<sup>47</sup> Should this happen to you because of your sins, endure it patiently and suffer it in Christ.

**<6> In adversities**

If adversity befalls you, be confident and say, “Deliver me, God, from my adversity!”<sup>48</sup> For one day you will be able to rise to your former estate, if such is the will of the beneficent God. Remember Job, Tobit, and so on.

**<7> In angustiis**

Angustia est omnis egentia. In hoc quoque conflictu et egestatis compassionibus militabat ille qui dicebat: *Egens sum ego: in laboribus a iuventute mea: exaltatus autem et humiliatus. Quare? Quia terrores tui circumdederunt me. Elongasti enim a me amicos proximosque et notos. Et ut in diebus malorum ne inmemor sis bonorum, orteo ut in die tribulationis et necessitatum, pro recuperatione animae, pariterque et corpori, si evenerint tuo, clames ad Dominum protectorem tuum. Memorare, fili, angustiarum Ioseph, David, Danieli atque Susannae, Sidrach, Misach et Abdenago, ceterosque qui in angustiis clamaverunt ad Dominum, et non solum exauditi, verum etiam in gradu pristino revocati, meliorem adepti sunt gratiam.*

**<8> In infirmitatibus**

Si infirmitas tuo accesserit corpori, noli deficere nec tristis ex ea incedas. Dicitur enim Domini et medelam et salutem in cunctis confert corpori et animae. Scriptum est: *Fili, noli deficere a disciplina Domini, et ne fatigeris dum ab eo argueris. Quem enim diligit Dominus, corripit; flagellat autem omnem filium quem recipit. Flagellatum autem, ut pater in filio, ita placens adhaeret sibi. Multi enim, ut aiunt doctores, suo malo non infirmantur. Quare? Quia dum sani sunt corpore, de rapinis et de luxuriis ceterisque vitii non desinunt cogitare. Et in talibus miseretur Deus cum eos visitaverit pie.*

Sunt namque nonnulli qui, cum prolixam acceperint corporis sanitatem, tristantur ex hoc. In hac quoque tristitia militabat ille qui dicebat: "Reliquisti me, Deus, reliquisti me, et hoc anno noluisti me visitare." Et sunt multi qui aegritudinem acceptam in corpore gaudent. Nam ille utilem eam in se sentiens, qui dicebat: *Cum enim infirmor, tunc fortior sum. Et ne in futuris huius modi infirmitas tristaretur, plurali affectu, adorans dicit: Existimo enim quod non sint condignae passiones huius temporis ad futuram gloriam quae revelabitur in nobis. Et sunt plerique qui ob meritis dignis magnam a Deo corporalem accipiunt sanitatem. Recole mente beatos Abraham videlicet et Moysen, etc.*

**<7> In afflictions**

Affliction is a lack of everything. It was in such conflict and need that the man strove who said, "I am in need and in the struggles of my youth. I have been raised up and cast down.<sup>49</sup> Why? Because "your terrors have surrounded me,<sup>50</sup> you have separated me from my friends, relatives and those near to me."<sup>51</sup> Lest "in days of misery you lose the memory of your happiness,"<sup>52</sup> I urge you, in that day of hardship and adversity, for the recovery of your soul and equally of your body, if these befall it, to cry for help to the Lord, your protector. Remember, my son, the affliction of Joseph, David, Daniel, and Susanna, of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, and all those who in their affliction cried out to the Lord. Not only were they heard, but once their original state was reestablished, they also received a better grace.

**<8> In sicknesses**

If sickness attacks your body, do not give in to it and do not show yourself downcast, for the harshness of the Lord brings always the remedy and salvation to the body and the soul. It is written: "My son, do not resist the disciplines of the Lord. And do not be overwhelmed when he reproaches you. The Lord reprimands those he loves."<sup>53</sup> He "chastises every man he accepts as his son."<sup>54</sup> He cherishes him whom he chastises, as a father does his son." He binds him to himself. As learned men say, for many people sickness is not an evil. Why? Because when they are in good health, they do not abandon thoughts of pillaging, debauchery and other vices. To these people the Lord shows compassion when he visits them mercifully.

There are also certain people who feel unhappy if they enjoy prolonged good health. He struggled against this unhappiness who said, "You have forgotten me, my God, you have forgotten me; this year you have failed to visit me!" There are many who rejoice in receiving bodily affliction. One person felt there was some usefulness in it, and he would say, "When I am weaker, then I am stronger."<sup>55</sup> And to avoid feeling downcast about the coming of evils of this sort, he said with much feeling and in an attitude of adoration, "I deem that my present sufferings are not to be measured against the glories to come, which will be revealed in us."<sup>56</sup> There are many who, owing to their merits, receive excellent physical health from God. Remember the sainted Abraham, Moses, and so on.



Sanitas et infirmitas secundum morem humanitatis multis in saeculo agitur modis. In aliquibus ad gloriam, in aliquibus accidit ad contumeliam. Infirmatus est Pylatus, Herodes, ceterique membra diaboli, sed infirmitas illorum non solum simplum, verum etiam corpore cum anima duplum meruerunt poenis accipere tormentorum. De talibus namque et eorum similibus ait Propheta: *Duplici contritione contere eos, Domine.*

Infirmatus est Lazarus, socrus Petri, puerque centurionis, vel ceteri qui non ad mortem, sed pro gloria corporalem acceperunt aegritudinem, ut audientibus et credentibus filius Dei glorificaretur in cunctis. De talibus namque et eorum similibus invenies scriptum: "Infirmitas a vobis extincta est, dolores transierunt." Quare hoc? Audi Prophetam: *In paucis vexati, in multis bene disponentur. Absterguntur enim lacrimae ab oculis eorum, et non luctus neque clamor nec ullus in eis amplius veniet dolor, quoniam priora transierunt.*

Item. Et sicut diximus de duplo malorum, dicamus etiam et de duplo bonorum. De dignitate sanctorum ait quidam: *Fulgebunt iusti et tanquam scintillae in arundinetis discurrent, atque binas in perpetuas aeternitates accipient stolas.* Quare? quia examinavit eos ut argentum et probavit ut aurum. Idcirco accipient regnum decoris et coronam speciei de manu Dei. Ad quam dignitatis gloriam ut adendas, fili, assidue moneo. Et si tibi Deus prolixam iusserit dari sanitatem, rogo et orton atque utiliter admoneo ut sanitatem corporis ad salutem iugiter perducaris animae. *Lege Curam pastoralem* et invenies.

### <9> Ut in omnibus Deo gloriam des

Quicquid enim utile dignumque et congruum acceperis, fili, Deo applica, non tibi, si imputes magnis evenisse pro meritis. Si habueris, da gloriam Deo. Scriptum est: *Non nobis, Domine, non nobis, sed nomini tuo da gloriam.* Quid enim habet homo quod non accepit? Si accepimus, quid gloriamur? Propterea orton te ut illi summam des laudem, honorem et gloriam, qui gloriatur. Si divitiae affluent, noli tuum in eis supra modum flectere cor. Transeunt enim quandoque.

Health and sickness have many different effects on people in this world, depending on their character. In some sickness leads to glory, in others to humiliation. When Pilate, Herod,<sup>57</sup> and these other limbs of the devil<sup>58</sup> fell ill, their maladies deserved not just a single measure of pain and torture but a double measure, one for the body and one for the soul. It is about such people and their ilk that the Prophet says, "Destroy them, Lord, with a double destruction!"<sup>59</sup>

Lazarus was sick, the mother-in-law of Peter, the servant of the centurion,<sup>60</sup> and others fell sick in body, not fatally, but for glory, so that for those who hear and believe the Son of God might be glorified in all things.<sup>61</sup> It is about such people and others like them that you can read, "Sickness is quenched in you, your pains are over."<sup>62</sup> How is this? Listen to the Prophet: "Having submitted to a few trials, they shall be rewarded by receiving numerous benefits."<sup>63</sup> "For the tears are wiped from their eyes, and there will be no more groaning for them, or weeping, or any other sorrow, for these old things have passed."<sup>64</sup>

Further. Since we have spoken about the double measure of affliction, let us say something, too, about the double measure of good.<sup>65</sup> About the worth of the saints someone says, "The just will shine forth, they will race here and there like sparks through the reeds."<sup>66</sup> "And throughout all eternity"<sup>67</sup> they shall have two ceremonial garments.<sup>68</sup> Why? Because he has examined them like silver and tested them like gold.<sup>69</sup> Moreover, they will receive from God's hand a kingdom of beauty and a crown of splendor. I urge you insistently, my son, to heed this glory of rank. And if God commands that you be granted abounding good health, I beg you, I entreat you, I admonish you for your good: always let your body's well-being serve your spiritual health. Read the *Pastoral Care*<sup>70</sup> and you will discover this.

### <9> Render glory to God in all things

All the good things you shall receive, my son, all that is worthy and useful, ascribe to God, not to yourself, as if you had obtained them by your great merits. If you should come to possess these things, give glory to God. It is written, "Not to us, not to us, O Lord, but to your name give the glory."<sup>71</sup> For what does a man have that he has not received? And if we have received things, why should we boast?<sup>72</sup> I urge you, therefore, to render the highest praise, honor and glory to the One who is the source of glory. If riches pour in, do not recklessly abandon your heart to them, for eventually they will pass away.

Tu ergo, si dives esse cupis, sapientiam disce. Amplectere et quiesce in ea iugiter. Scriptum est: *Thesaurus desiderabilis in corde sapientis*, et cetera. Talis etenim thesaurus atque divitiae sunt amplectendae. Quas nec praedones auferunt nec fures effodiunt vel furantur. Quisquis enim has divitias bene erogaverit, ad illas de quibus supra scriptum est veras divitias facile poterit pervenire. Dives fuit Abraham prolesque sui, dives Ioseph, David, Salomon, vel etiam ille qui dicebat: "Panem desideriorum non comedi, tu scis." Divites temporum cum flore vigeant, et in paupertate spiritus perampla ubique pollebant, sicut scriptum habes iam supra: *Beati pauperes spiritu*, et cetera. Explicunt.

Now if you desire to be rich, learn to be wise. Embrace Wisdom and remain with her in constancy. It is written, "Desirable treasure lies in the wise man's heart."<sup>73</sup> This is the treasure and wealth you should embrace, these riches that no thieves can steal, that "no brigands can dig up and steal from you!"<sup>74</sup> Those who have spent their riches well can easily win the true wealth of which I have spoken. Abraham was rich and so were his children. Rich, too, were Joseph, David, Solomon, and even the man who said, "You know I have not eaten the bread of my desires."<sup>75</sup> Rich for many years, they kept their flourishing vigor. Poor in spirit, they prospered greatly everywhere, according to the text I have just quoted for you, "Blessed are the poor in spirit," and so on.<sup>76</sup> This is the end.

**<1> <Item, comparatio de septem dona et octo beatitudines virtutum conferentium tibi>**

Has ergo octo beatitudines partium cum septem gratis Sancti Spiritus copulatas, et a me tibi conscriptas, ita dirimere atque elucidare volui, ut secundum parvitatem sensus intelligentiae meae ad te, puerum, pueriliter malui destinare. Et non ut solido cibo capax, sed in similitudine lactis degustans, per gradus ascendentium paulatim, ex minimis ad malorum facilius scandere valeas, cibumque gustare supernum, illum videlicet cibum de quo dicit Psalmista: *Gustate et videte, quoniam suavis est Dominus: beatus vir qui sperat et qui confidit in eo, mentemque suam semper ponens in illo.* Has namque beatitudines, fili, non ita ordinabiliter secundum textum evangelicae dignitatis ausa fui componere, quia nec digna sum, sed, ut dixi, secundum mensuram pubertatis tuae. Tanquam parvula parvulum in Christo lac potum dedi, non escam.

A paupertate spiritus incipiens, ut ad illum qui est dives, a quo omnes sanctae et iustae procedunt divitiae, sine molestiam laesionis unquam, cum pura sinceraque conscientia possis accedere, et in plenitudine perfectionis illius pervenire viri de quo ait Propheta: *Ecce vir, Oriens nomen eius.* Oriens, quia splendens ex alto, pretioso sanguine nos redemit suo, accipiens paupertatem nostram, ut nos divitiis ditaret suis, atque nomen nostrum, si abti fuerimus et digni, in coelum iubet transscribi cum sanctis, sicut ipse ait: *Gaudete et exultate: merces enim vestra copiosa est apud Deum.* Et item: *Gaudete, quia nomina vestra scripta sunt in coelo.*

**<1> Again, acquiring the virtues that the seven gifts and the eight beatitudes will bestow upon you**

I have wanted to distinguish among these eight beatitudes and treat them individually insofar as they are tied to the seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit.<sup>1</sup> I have written about this according to my meager understanding. I have preferred to address myself to you, a child, as to a child. You are not yet able to take solid nourishment, but must still sip milk,<sup>2</sup> so to speak. Little by little, in small steps, you will be able to advance easily from smaller to greater things and taste heavenly food – the food of which the Psalmist says, “Taste and see how the Lord is sweet; happy the man who hopes”<sup>3</sup> and trusts in him, fixing his thoughts always on him. I have not dared to develop these beatitudes systematically, following the text of the holy Evangelist, for I am unworthy. But I have done it, as I said, in stages suited to your youth. Insignificant as I am, I have given you milk to drink instead of solid food, since you too are a little one in Christ.<sup>4</sup>

Begin with poverty of spirit, so you will be able to come to the One who is rich and from whom all just and holy riches flow, and do this without suffering any harm but with a pure upright conscience. You will be able fully to enter in the perfection of that man<sup>5</sup> of whom the Prophet says, “Here is the man, Orient is his name.”<sup>6</sup> It is “Orient,” because, radiant on high, he has redeemed us with his precious blood, taking on our poverty in order to bestow his riches on us.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, he commands that our name – if we are capable and worthy of this – shall be inscribed in heaven with the saints. He himself says it: “Rejoice and exult, since your reward is abundant with the Lord.”<sup>8</sup> And again, “Rejoice, for your names are inscribed in heaven.”<sup>9</sup>

**<2> Ut vir perfectus esse valeas admoneo**

Beatus ille vir qui, ob meritis dignis, adhuc terram pergradiens, coenoque et limo pedem conterit suo. Et iam nomen suum in regnum habet transcriptum supernum.

Item eiusdem. Si nosse vis, filii, qualis sit ille vir, vel quales habeat virtutes ut talis ditetur, agmen copulans dignitatum, et possessor atque frutor sit regno tabernaculo Dei, audi Prophetam, quasi per similitudinem interrogationis ita dicentem: *Domine, quis habitabit in tabernaculo tuo, aut quis requiescet in monte sancto tuo? Volo ut ostendas. En interrogationem audivimus. Sed quid ei responderit Dominus scire et intelligere debemus.*

**<3> <Ut quomodo esse possis iuvante Deo ostendo>**

Ait namque: I, *Qui ingreditur sine macula*; II, *Qui operatur iustitiam*; III, *Qui loquitur veritatem*; IIII, *Qui non agit in lingua sua dolum*; V, *Qui non facit proximo malum*; VI, *Qui non iurat ut eum decipiat*; VII, *Qui pecuniam ad usura non adcomodat*; VIII, *Qui obprobrium non intulit in proximo*; VIII, *Qui munera super innocentem non accepit*; X, *Qui inlatis iniurias patienter tolerat*; XI, *Qui innocens est manibus*; XII, *Qui mundus est corde et castus corpore*; XIII, *Qui potest transgredi et non fuerit transgressus*; XIII, *Qui valet facere malum et non fecerit*; XV, *Qui pauperi in quo valuerit manum porrexit suam.*

Iste in excelsa tabernaculorum Dei securus potest habitare, et pro eo quod bona illius stabilita sunt in Deo, ad nichilum deductus est in conspectu eius malignus. Iste in operibus perseverans dignis, *timentes Deum glorificat semper.*

**<4> <De septem compoti partibus.>**

Septem namque dona Sancti Spiritus et octo Evangelistarum beatitudines ter quinos gradus computantur ad summum. Dicit namque computator metrarum: Septies as: VII; septies bini: XIII. Et item: Quater as, quater: quater bini, VIII. His iunge VII, et fiunt XV. De quibus

**<2> I urge you to be a perfect man**

Blessed is the man who, traversing the earth, tramples mud and clay underfoot because of his worthy merits. His name is already inscribed in the kingdom above.<sup>10</sup>

And further. If you want to know, my son, what the man in question is like and what virtues he has that he should be so enriched and laden with honors, that he should possess and enjoy God's kingdom and tabernacle, hear the Prophet, who puts it as a question: "Lord, who will live within your tabernacle and who will rest on your holy mountain?"<sup>11</sup> I wish you to show him to me. We have heard the question. Now we must know and understand what the Lord replied to him.

**<3> And I would show how you may become such a man with God's help**

For he says: First, "he who walks without stain";<sup>12</sup> second, "he who renders justice";<sup>13</sup> third, "he who tells the truth"; fourth, "he who does not deceive with words";<sup>14</sup> fifth, "he who doesn't harm his neighbor";<sup>15</sup> sixth, "he who doesn't swear in order to deceive";<sup>16</sup> seventh, he who doesn't give his money to a usurer";<sup>17</sup> eighth, "he who doesn't bear words of outrage against his neighbors";<sup>18</sup> ninth, "he who doesn't accept gifts at the expense of the innocent";<sup>19</sup> tenth, "he who patiently endures injustices done to him"; eleventh, "he whose hands are innocent";<sup>20</sup> twelfth, "he who is pure of heart and chaste in body";<sup>21</sup> thirteenth, "he who could have sinned and has not sinned";<sup>22</sup> fourteenth, "he who is capable of doing evil and has not done evil";<sup>23</sup> and fifteenth, "he who has held out his hand to the poor whenever he could."<sup>24</sup>

This man could dwell in safety in God's lofty tabernacles,<sup>25</sup> and "since his goods are fixed on God,"<sup>26</sup> "the Evil One is reduced to nothing in his presence." This man, persevering in his good works, always brings honor to "those who fear God."<sup>27</sup>

**<4> How to compute<sup>28</sup> with the number seven<sup>29</sup>**

The seven gifts of the Holy Spirit and the eight beatitudes of the Evangelist add up to a total of fifteen. The computist says:  $7 \times 1 = 7$ ;  $7 \times 2 = 14$ . Also,  $4 \times 1 = 4$ ;  $4 \times 2 = 8$ . Add 7 to these, and it makes 15. About these principles of addition, a wise person has said, as noted earlier, "Give a part to seven and also to eight."<sup>30</sup>

unctionum particulis ait quidam sapiens ut supra: *Da partem VII nec non et VIII.*

Item eiusdem: Septies bini: XIII. Addit unum et fiunt xv. Item dicis: septies septem, XLVIII. Addit unum et fiunt L. Semper ad plures unum adiunge, et sic demum ad aequalem et sumum sine mora pertingi valebis. Iterum dicis: Septies undeni, LXXVII; septies LXX, CCCCXC.<sup>1</sup> Iterum dicis: Ter terni VIII. Addit I et fiunt decem,<sup>2</sup> his namque decem<sup>3</sup> millia.

Eorum namque subputationem quid inter se differant, fili, longum est enarrari per singula, et ne immunis ab huiusce modi sensu incedas, in brevi explicabo sermone. Quod dicitur septies VII, ad plenitudinem satisfactionum unumquemque provocat nostrum. Quod addidit unum, gratiam Sancti Spiritus in remissionem peccatorum nosmetipsos corrigendo et per satisfactionem emendando, iubilationem Psalmi quinquagesimi, in annum videlicet iubilium, qui etiam remissus et absolutus intelligitur, confirmat ad summum. Et hoc est quod in praescripto Psalmo canis, ut credo, frequenter: *Redde mihi laetitiam salutaris tui et spiritu principali confirma me.*

Quod dicitur septies undeni, ad solam corporis tui emendationem una cum satisfactione animi articulatum intellige dictum. Iterum quod dicit septies LXX, ad dimittendas aliorum iniurias quos in te peccare senseris, agnoscere semper. Et hoc est quod ait summus princepsque apostolorum: *Domine, quoties peccaverit in me frater meus, lubes ut dimittam ei: usque septies?* Dixit ei Dominus: *Non dico tibi usque septies, sed usque septuagies septies.* Septies LXX, dicit articulator, CCCCXC sunt. Ac si dixisset: Plus quam proximus vel quisquis, ille est frater. Non solum factis, sed etiam tibi in verbis sermonum peccare possit; si fieri potest, plus et per amplius ignosce. Et hoc est quod ait ipse Pius: *Si enim dimiseritis hominibus peccata, dimittet et vobis Pater vester coelestis vestra, etc.*

In has septemplices formantium dona et in has octo partium beatitudines per quindecies graduum militando, te, gradatim, ortor, meditanter paulatim ascenderis, fili, ut ad centesimum de laeva in dextram, ad perfectionis acumen faciliter valeas transcurrere illaesus. Nam articutores peritissimorum usque XC novem in sinistram partem computantur nodis; at vero cum ad centesimum summam pervenerit, statim cessat sinistra et gaudens ad centum erigit dextram. De qua subputatione ambarum invenies scriptum: *Laeva eius sub capite meo et dextera illius amplexabitur me.* Quid in sinistra, fili, nisi praesens

<sup>1</sup> Riché corrects from CCCCXC.

<sup>2</sup> Riché corrects from d.

<sup>3</sup> Riché corrects from d.

Similarly,  $7 \times 2 = 14$ . Add 1 and that makes 15. You say then,  $7 \times 7 = 49$ . Add 1 and that makes 50. Continue to add 1 to the multiple, and you will very quickly reach a round number. Again, you say,  $7 \times 11 = 77$ , and  $7 \times 70 = 490$ . Then you say,  $3 \times 3 = 9$ . Add 1 and that makes 10. And in the same fashion you'll arrive at 10,000.

The ways in which these various calculations differ, my son, would take too long to demonstrate in detail. But I will explain them briefly so that you will not be ignorant of this type of reckoning. The portion that says  $7 \times 7$  urges each of us to full satisfaction.<sup>31</sup> Add 1 and you have 50, signifying the grace of the Holy Spirit, which corrects us through the remission of sins and amends us through satisfaction. This number assures us of the jubilation in Psalm 50, which belongs to the year of Jubilee, a word that signifies remission and absolution.<sup>32</sup> And this is what you sing in Psalm 50, often, I believe: "Restore to me the joy of your salvation, and strengthen me with a steadfast spirit."<sup>33</sup>

When we say  $7 \times 11$ ,<sup>34</sup> understand that this computation represents the amending of your body together with the satisfaction of your soul. Moreover, when we say  $7 \times 70$ , take note that this always signifies the forgiveness of injuries by others who you feel have sinned against you. Concerning this, the highest and foremost of the apostles says, "Lord, if my brother has sinned against me, up to how many times do you bid me forgive him? Up to seven?"<sup>35</sup> The Lord replied to him, "I do not say to you up to seven times, but up to seventy times seven."<sup>36</sup> For the computist,  $7 \times 70$  comes to 490. It is as if he had said, "He is more than a person close to you, more than just anyone. He is your brother. Perhaps he has sinned against you, not only in actions but also in words. If it is possible to do, forgive him more often and more fully." And here is what the loving lord himself says: "Yes, if you forgive men their offences, your heavenly father will also forgive you yours,"<sup>37</sup> and so on.

These are the seven gifts of the Creator,<sup>38</sup> and the eight beatitudes. In ascending these fifteen stages consecutively, my son, I entreat you to climb in soldierly fashion up to the number 100, moving from left to right. In this way you will easily and without harm be able to scale the summit of perfection. Expert calculators count up to 99 on the finger joints of their left hand, but when they get to 100, the left hand no longer suffices and they joyfully reach 100 with the right hand. On counting with both hands,<sup>39</sup> it is written in Scripture, "His left hand is under my head, and his right hand will embrace me."<sup>40</sup> What does "the left hand" mean, my son, if not this present life in which we all struggle? And what does "the right hand" mean, but that holy, true

intelligitur vita, in qua unusquisque elaborando volvitur nostrum? Et quid in dextera, nisi sancta et digna coelestis ostenditur patria? Altitonans e summo coelorum vertice Christus vitam almitatis tuae multis in eius, per XC et IX articulantium partes, bene vivendo, protelare dignetur temporibus. Ipse videlicet qui Ezechiae ter quinos annos auxit ad vitam, augere dignetur tempora tua, et post multorum annorum curricula cursum, si fieri potest, faciet centesimum consummari felicem. *Sicut fuerit voluntas in coelo, sic fiat. Amen.*

Adiuvante Sanctae Trinitatis gratia, qui per infinita tempora vivit semper in saecula. Amen. Finiunt hae beatitudines, amminiculante gratia Spiritus Sancti, et concluduntur in hoc quod scriptum est: *Gaudete, quoniam nomina vestra scripta sunt in coelis. Ad quod gaudium et regnum te pius Dominus gloriosusque rex ac semper magnificus triumphator mundi faciat, filii, pervenire gaudentem. Amen.*

and celestial homeland? May Christ, who wields the thunder in the highest heaven, deign to lengthen your beloved life for many years, so that in number they reach the ninety-and-nine of those who do computations! May the One who added fifteen years to the life of Hezekiah<sup>41</sup> deign to add to the duration of your life. After the passage of many years, may you reach (if possible) that blessed one hundred! As his will is in heaven, may it be on earth!<sup>42</sup> Amen.

By the helpful grace of the Holy Trinity, who lives forever through everlasting time, Amen. These beatitudes are ended, with the assisting grace of the Holy Spirit, concluding as in Scripture: "Rejoice, for your names are inscribed in Heaven."<sup>43</sup> May the loving Lord, the king of glory, the ever magnificent victor of the world bring you with joy, my son, to this rejoicing and this kingdom. Amen.

**<1> Item. Admonitio singularis utilissima**

Qualitas temporalium, ut, absque reprehensione, tempore dum vivis in militia actuali, sive dignitatis contempione,<sup>1</sup> secure et quiete valeas incedere, prout valui ordinatrix tibi astiti in cunctis. Nunc vero deinceps militiam animae tuae qualiter, auxiliante Deo, ad summum usque perducas, velut genitrix secunda mente et corpore ut in Christo cotidie renascaris ammonere non cesso.

Secundum dicta namque doctorum, duo natiuitates in uno homine esse noscuntur, una carnalis, altera spiritualis, sed nobilior spiritualis quam carnalis. Una enim sine alia utiliter non potest in genere consistere humano, et ut ambae dignius conveniant, aliquis dicit: "Cum quibus et sine quibus vivere non possumus."<sup>2</sup> Et licet aliter hoc in loco volvatur sensus, pro certis differentium causis, ego volo ut ita teneas sicut fateor.

**<2> Ut in prima natiuitate viveas opto**

De prima natiuitate nullus ignorat quia cum peccato unusquisque nascitur nostrum. Et qualiter haec sint secundum elementa Graecorum, in quantumcumque subtiliter articulatum invenies quod volo et orator ut discas. Est enim ars a peritissimis digna et valde in cunctis per lucide amatrix.

**<3> Ut in secunda perseveres admoneo**

De secunda namque natiuitate, quod est spiritualis, ait Evangelium:

<sup>1</sup> Dronke corrects from *contemplationum*.

<sup>2</sup> Dronke corrects from *Apostolus* to *aliquis*, deleting Riché's added *vivimus*. (*Women Writers*, pp. 46 and 292, n. 30.)

**<1> More on the subject. A particular and most useful admonition**

I've served as your "governess" to the best of my ability, in helping you to regulate your entire temporal conduct so that you might go forth without reproach or disregard of dignity, as long as you are engaged in active military service. From now on I will not cease to teach you how with God's help you may guide your soul's service to perfection, so that you may be reborn each day in Christ. In this I am twice a mother to you, both in soul and in body.

According to the sayings of the learned, two births can be recognized in a single human being, one of the flesh, the other of the spirit. But the spiritual birth is nobler than the fleshly.<sup>1</sup> The one cannot exist in the human race without the other. And so that the two may work together more appropriately, someone says: "With them and without them we cannot live." While the meaning of this passage may vary from my own – and there are certain reasons for the difference – I want you to take it in the sense that I declare it.<sup>2</sup>

**<2> I wish you to be stalwart in your first birth**

No one is ignorant of the fact that in our first birth each one of us is born in sin. You will gain an insight into this, to some extent, from the Greek system of numerical calculation, which I entreat you to learn. This is an art worthy of the most expert scholars and in all ways a mistress who will provide great illumination.

**<3> I counsel you to persevere in your second birth**

About the second birth, the spiritual one, the Gospel says: "Unless a man be born again,"<sup>3</sup> and so on. Of the first birth the Gospel says, "What is born of the flesh is flesh."<sup>4</sup> Of the second birth, it adds, "What is born of the spirit is spirit."<sup>5</sup> Hear the Apostle's explanation

*Nisi quis renatus fuerit denuo, etc. Dicit de prima: Quod natum est ex carne caro est. Addidit de secunda: Et quod natum est ex spiritu, spiritus est. Qualiter homo secundae nativitatis pluribus possit esse genitor, audi Apostolum: Filioli mei, quos iterum parturio, donec Christus in vobis firmiter formetur. Et iterum: Per Evangelium, inquit, ego vos genui. Per hanc enim regenerationis augmentum multi pluraliter plurimis extiterunt genitores. Lege beatam Mariam,<sup>3</sup> matrem pueri Celsi, et beatam Augustam, matrem sancti Simphoriani Augustodunensium civem, qualiter primae et secundae nativitatis genitrices in Christo suis extiterunt prolibus. Et multi tunc et nunc et semper, per Evangelium, inquit, et doctrinam sanctae praedicationis, vel exemplum conversationis operum bonorum, cotidie in sancta Ecclesia non desinunt generare filios.*

#### <4> De prima et secunda morte

Mors prima, transmigratio est corporis sive in bonam, sive, quod absit, in aliam partem. Mors secunda, mors intelligitur animae. Licet diversae sint mortes in sensu obvolutae, tamen hae duae consistunt.

#### <5> <Ut mortem primam conspicias denuntio>

Primam nullus evadere potest hominum, sicut dicit Psalmista: *Quis est homo qui vivit et non videat mortem? Subaudis: nullus; nam cum proles eius, emissa luce, migrasset e saeculo, ait genitor: "Haec est via universae carnis."<sup>4</sup> Ego sequester eius ero, deinceps vadens, et non revertar ultra.* Sic et alius, cum ad forum proximasset morti, ait subditis suis: *"En ego hodie viam ingredior universae terrae. Obscultate sermones et verba oris mei, quia nomen Domini invocabo."*

#### <6> Ut mortem secundam fugias certare

De morte autem secunda potest evadere homo, si vult et si certaverit digne. Ait enim quidam: *Qui vicerit non laedetur a morte*

<sup>3</sup> Riché supplies *Marcianilla*, where mss. read *Maria*.

<sup>4</sup> Riché corrects from *carni*.

of how a man can be father of several children in their second births: "My little children, with whom I am in labor again, until Christ is more surely formed in you."<sup>6</sup> And in another place, "I have begotten you through the Gospel."<sup>7</sup> By means of this increase in second births, many have become parents – frequently, and to many persons! Read about the blessed Maria,<sup>8</sup> mother of the boy Celsus, and about the blessed Augusta, mother of Saint Symphorian,<sup>9</sup> a citizen of Autun, and how these women were mothers to their children, both in their first birth and their second birth in Christ. There are many parents – in former times, now, and always – who have begotten sons and continue to do so every day in holy church, through the Gospel, through teaching holy doctrine, and by the example of a life spent in good works.

#### <4> The first and second deaths<sup>10</sup>

The first death is the journey outside the body, whether to the good place, or (let this never happen!) to the other place. The second death is understood as the death of the soul. While there are many kinds of deaths, considered in a complex way under this heading, these are still the two deaths.

#### <5> I teach you to consider the first death

No one can escape the first death, as the Psalmist says: "Who is the man that lives and shall not see death?"<sup>11</sup> By this you understand, "No one," for there was a father who said, when his child closed its eyes and departed from this world, "This is the way of all flesh. I shall follow him and from that journey I shall never return."<sup>12</sup> Along the same lines, another man, when he drew near death's court of law, said to his followers, "You see, this day I am going the way of all the earth. Listen to my speech and the words of my mouth, because I shall call on the name of the Lord."<sup>13</sup>

#### <6> The battle to escape the second death

But a man can elude the second death, if he wills it and if he has striven worthily. It is said, "He who conquers will not be hurt by the second death."<sup>14</sup> I will make him a pillar in my temple, and I will inscribe my name upon him, and the name of the city of the New Jerusalem.<sup>15</sup> I will place him like my royal seal" before my eyes.<sup>16</sup>



*secunda, sed faciam illum columnam in templo meo. Scribam super eum nomen meum et nomen civitatis novae Ierusalem, ponamque eum sicut signaculum, in conspectu meo. Insuper dabo ei edere de ligno quod est in paradiso Dei. Beatus ille qui inter fluctuationes saeculi huius ita certaverit ut tali sit dignus cumulari honore. Obliviosus mortem, vitam sine defectione cum sanctis possidebit aeternam. Et, ut tali famulatus adhaerere valeas, fili, secundum admonitionem meam, et tua<sup>5</sup> in Christo ad crescentem voluntate, frequenter debes legere, frequenter orare.*

Moreover, "I will give him to eat of the tree which is in God's paradise."<sup>17</sup> Blessed is he who strives amid the turmoils of this world, so that he is worthy of being heaped with such honor. Oblivious of death, he shall have life everlasting with the saints. So that you, my son, may be able to join that company, in accordance with my teaching and your willingness to grow in Christ, you must read often, and pray often.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Riché corrects from *tuam*.

**<1> Ut in lectione et oratione vigeas admoneo**

In lectione etenim sancta invenies quid orandum sit et quid vitandum, quid cavendum, quid etiam sectandum, vel quid in omnibus debeas observare. Cuncta tibi ibidem patebunt. De assiduitate orationis admonet nos Apostolus dicens: *Sine intermissione orate*. Et iterum alius: *Non taceat pupilla oculi tui*. Numquid semper orandum est, aut oculi clamant? Non, sed est sensus: quicquid enim bonum egeris in saeculo, ipsum incessanter orabit pro te ad Dominum. Si pro tuis atque aliorum erratibus lachrimas ad Deum fuderis tuas, ipsae pupillae pro certo clamabunt et orabunt ad Dominum. De hoc adhortor, ut in lectione et oratione dignissima sensus tuus vigil et promptus<sup>1</sup> semperque purus adsistat et mundus. Lege et ora ut Exauditor omnium aurem suam dignetur acomodare tibi.

**<2> <De praeteritis, praesentibus et futuris>**

Ora pro praeteritis, praesentibus et futuris. Praeterita, si negligens fuisti, ut obliviosus maneat ex ea; praesentia mala, ut fugias semper; futura, ut caveas et nunquam in te adhaereat ultra.

**<3> <Qualiter pro omnibus gradibus Ecclesiae ores insinuo>**

Ora, ut vales, pro omnibus gradibus ecclesiarum.

**<4> <Pro episcopis et sacerdotibus>**

In primis, pro episcopis et sacerdotibus cunctis, ut dignas et mundas pro te et pro universali populo, ad Deum valeant fundere preces.

<sup>1</sup> Riché corrects from *promptus*.

**<1> I urge you to read and pray with zeal**

In sacred reading you'll discover how to pray and what you should guard against, what you should avoid, what you ought to seek, and what you should do at all times. Everything of that sort will become clear to you there. About praying assiduously, the Apostle advises us when he says, "Pray without cease."<sup>1</sup> And another says, "Do not let the pupil of your eye be silent."<sup>2</sup> Is it always needful to pray with eyes crying out? No, but this is the meaning: The good you do in the world will continually pray to the Lord for you. If you shed tears before God for your faults and those of others, certainly the very pupils of your eyes will cry out and pray to the Lord. I entreat you to let your mind be a helper, watchful and alert, chaste and innocent, in reading and meritorious prayer. Read and pray so that he who hears all people<sup>3</sup> may deign to hear you.

**<2> The past, the present and the future<sup>4</sup>**

Pray for things past, present and future. Pray for the past if you have been lax about this, so that you will be able to put it aside; pray for present wrongs so that you may avoid them; pray for the future in order to guard against any evils that may run into you.

**<3> I suggest how you should pray for all ranks within the church**

Pray to the best of your ability for all ranks within the churches.

**<4> For bishops and priests**

Above all, for all bishops and priests, that they may yield up prayers to God that are fit and pure, for you and for all the people.

**<5> <Pro regibus et sublimitate eorum>**

Pro regibus et cunctis sublimibus illorum, ut firmam in Christo teneant religionem universalis Ecclesiae, regnumque terrenum ita cum pace disponant ut illum acquirant coelestem.

**<6> <Pro seniore tuo>**

Ora etiam pro seniori tuo, ut augeat illi Deus fortitudinem corporis et animae, adversa pro nichilo putet. Prosper namque et prudens vigilque atque praeclarus, in cunctis laetus incedens fulgeat semper, tuamque pubertatis vigorem cum metu timoris et prudentiam amoris dignetur ad summum perducere statum.

**<7> <Ut pro genitore tuo assidue ores admoneo>**

Pro genitori tuo orator et admoneo ut pro eo frequens et assidue orator sis, atque ceteros ecclesiasticorum gradus pro illo exorare facias, ut det illi Deus, tempore dum vivit, pacem et concordiam, si fieri potest, cum omnibus, animumque suum fortiter cum patientis vigorem faciat superare in cunctis, et post expletum vitae praesentis, cum fructu poenitentiae et elemosinarum largitate, ad regnum, si iubet, faciat pervenire supernum. Amen.

**<8> <Item, pro omnibus qui sequuntur>**

Pro adversantibus et discordantibus atque calumpniantibus orandum est, ut *pax Dei, quae exsuperat omnem sensum, custodiat corda et intelligentias eorum*, faciatque eos concordare verbis et factis, ut uno animo, uno ore, glorificent Deum qui regnat in coelis. Amen.

Pro iter agentibus, ut prosperum et congruum iter illis tribuat Deus; pro navigantibus, ut ad portum salutis valeant exire gaudentes; pro infirmis, ut det illis Deus salutem animae et corporis medelam, atque a lecto aegritudinis erecti in ecclesiis valeant laudare et benedicere Dominum; pro afflictis, pro tribulantibus, pro indigentibus et pro necessitatem patientibus, vel pro his gradibus quos hic praetermissi. Lege in oratione feriae vi, diem videlicet passionis dominicae, et ibidem invenies qualiter pro universo plebe sit orandum.

**<5> For kings and their magnates**

For kings and all their magnates, in order that they shall support the universal church's firm faith in Christ, and decree such peace throughout the earthly realm that they may reach the realm of heaven.

**<6> For your overlord**

Pray for your overlord,<sup>5</sup> that God may exalt him in body and soul so that he will reckon adversities as nothing. Prosperous and wise, watchful and preeminent may he be, striding happily toward fortune in all things, and shining forever! May he deign to guide your vigorous youth – in fear and awe, in love, in wisdom – to the highest estate.

**<7> I urge you to pray continually for your father**

Concerning your father, I exhort you, I urge you to pray constantly for him, and diligently, and to beg all ranks of the clergy to plead on his behalf so that as long as he lives God may grant him peace and concord with other people – if this is possible! May God grant that his spirit, with patience and energy, shall strongly triumph in every situation. And if God wills, may your father at the end of this present life, through fruitful penance and generous almsgiving, gain the kingdom above. Amen.

**<8> And for the following persons**

It is needful to pray for all those who are enemies, who battle and slander, so that "the peace of God that passes all understanding may watch over their hearts and minds,"<sup>6</sup> prompting them to make their words agree with their actions. May they with one spirit and one mouth glorify God who reigns in heaven. Amen.

For travelers, so God may allow them a favorable, pleasant journey.<sup>7</sup> For those sailing the sea, that they may rejoice in reaching the haven of salvation. For the sick, that God may give them spiritual health and bodily remedy, so that when they get up from their sickbeds they may praise and bless the Lord in the churches. For those in hardship and distress, those in wretchedness and long-suffering poverty, and for those in other situations whom I have passed over. Read the prayers for Good Friday,<sup>8</sup> that is the day of the Lord's Passion, and there you will discover how to pray for all the people.

**<9> <Conclude in hoc ubi dicitur: "Et pro omni populo sancto Dei">**

Dicit enim in una ex illis, post plura: "Et pro omni populo sancto Dei, etc."

**<10> <Ut pro omnibus fidelibus defunctis ores>**

Ora etiam et pro omnibus fidelibus defunctis, ut eis pius subveniat Christus, et in sinu Abrahae animas eorum collocare dignetur, ut requiem et refrigerium in futurum mereantur accipere cum sanctis. In sacrificiis defunctorum, ut alunt doctores, tribus modis eorum agitur ordo elemosinarum.

**<11> Pro valde bonis**

Pro valde bonis, gratiarum actiones sunt.

**<12> Pro non valde bonis**

Pro non valde bonis, propitiationes.

**<13> <Pro inmeritis digna invenies quid agas>**

Pro valde malis inmeritisque dandum est. Quare? Quia, si non proficit ad eorum animarum lucra, ex meritis aliorum, illorum videlicet pauperum qui eas ut refocilentur accipiunt. Et tamen, quia incertum est homini cuius meriti munus accipiat Deus, pro omnibus est dandum, et a fidelibus sanctae Dei Ecclesiae ministris pleniter recipiendum, nisi pro eis forte, quod absit, qui fide Sanctae derivant Trinitatis, vel qui, in desperatione positi, dies in peius finiunt suos. Deus enim novit omnium corda et finem fictum suorum.

Non est nobis in ullo disperandum, sed pro omnibus fideliter implorandum. Forsitan miseretur<sup>2</sup> Pius facturae suae in iudicio, nam Apostolus, non solum pro fidelibus, set etiam pro non valde fidelibus dignissima animarum compassione, in se cum rugitu recurrens lamentum, ita eiulans dicebat: *Lugeam ex his multo amplius qui ante*

<sup>2</sup> Dronke corrects from *miseratur* (as in B).

**<9> We conclude with these words: "And for all God's holy people"**

In one of these prayers after various phrases are the words, "And for all God's holy people," and so on.

**<10> For all the faithful deceased**

Pray too for all the faithful who have died, that the loving Christ may help them and deign to gather their souls in Abraham's bosom. Let them earn repose and heavenly solace in the future with the saints. In offering masses for these dead (as the learned authors<sup>9</sup> say) we offer three kinds of alms along with the prayers we say for them:

**<11> For those who were truly good**

For those who were truly good, our alms are acts of thanksgiving.

**<12> For those who were not truly good**

For those who were not truly good, these alms are means of propitiation.

**<13> For those without merit, learn what you must do**

For those who were truly evil and bereft of any merit, you should offer alms. Why? For, if it does not help for the rewarding of their souls [it does so] through the merits of others – namely of those poor people who accept these rewards in order to be warmed into life again. And since we humans do not know for whose merit God may accept a gift, we must make offerings for all. The faithful ministers of God's holy church must fully accept these gifts on behalf of all,<sup>10</sup> except perhaps for those who have – God forbid! – swerved from the faith in the Holy Trinity,<sup>11</sup> or for those who abandon themselves to despair and end their days in a worse way. For God knows the hearts of all, and the end of his own creatures.<sup>12</sup>

We should not lose hope for anyone, but steadfastly beseech God for the sake of all people. Perhaps at Judgment Day the loving One may take pity on those he created, for the Apostle showed the greatest compassion not only toward the souls of the faithful, but also toward those of little faith. With repeated groans he wept for them and uttered

*peccaverunt et non egerunt poenitentiam*, etc. Ego enim puto quod et pro eis lamentum dedisset qui ante diluvium peccaverant et in ipsa inundatione interierunt aquarum, vel certe pro eis qui accepta lege peccaverunt et ante poenitentiae fructum ad mortem pervenerunt acerbam. Unde idem Apostolus ait: *Qui in lege peccaverunt, pro lege iustificabuntur*, etc.

Pro omnibus est orandum, maxime pro his qui gratiam baptismatis acceperunt, et si aliquid deliquerunt et ante defunctionis tempore poenitentiam non egerunt. Quid aliud pro eis, nisi duplex lamentatio et crebra est exhibenda oratio? Nam, cum spiritus ad interrogationem cuiusdam senis reponderet, ait: "Nos qui necdum legem novimus nec gratiam baptismatis unquam accipimus, quantumcumque tolerabilior a nobis poena manet,"<sup>3</sup> ac si dixisset: "*Nemo nos conduxit.*" "Illi vero qui, agnita Dei virtute, Sanctae Trinitatis fide, cum baptismatis gratiam acceperunt, et post agnitionem absque fructum poenitentiae dies finierunt suos, duriora nobis sentiunt tormenta."

Tunc dixit senex: "Et qualis est poena vestra?" Respondit vox: "Quantum distat coelum a terra, tantum est ignis super caput meum et subtus pedes meos. Ego autem cum meis similibus in medio stamus. Hi autem quos dixi, subtus pedes nostros in profundissimum inferni immanissima sentiunt tormenta." Tunc senex cum rugitu coepit lamentare, dicens: "Vae diei in quo homo praeceptum Domini transgressus est," et tunc recessit.

Quid multa, filii? Expavescendus est iste versiculus. Puto enim quod beatus David de hac profunditate se in spiritu, inquiens, vidit ereptum cum dicebat: *Liberasti animam meam ex inferno inferiori*. Nam et dives cum esset in tormentis primo pauca intulit dicens: *Habeo enim quinque fratres*, et cetera. Et quid accepisset reponsum patet cunctanter. Si peccaverit quis et non emendaverit, quid eveniet ei? Audi Evangelistam: *Ligate ei manus et pedes, et mittite eum in tenebras exteriores*, etc. Oro enim ut talis sermo inauditus<sup>4</sup> sit tui, et, ut ne fiat, emendandum est semper.

Orandum est pro ruentibus vel cadentibus ut surgant; pro stantibus ne cadant. De stantibus dicit Apostolus: *Qui stat videat ne cadat*. Quid de aliis<sup>5</sup> dico? Hoc in te ut consideres opto, et si, quod absit, in aliquo elapsus cecideris delicto, non desperes, sed emenda et confide in illum de quo ait Apostolus: *Surge qui dormis, et exurge a mortuis, et illuminabit te Christus*. Si enim, auxiliante Summo, surexeris, tuos, ut surgant,

<sup>3</sup> Riché corrects from *manent*.

<sup>4</sup> Riché corrects from *inauditor*.

<sup>5</sup> Riché corrects from *alis*.

this lament, "I grieve all the more for those who have already sinned and have not repented,"<sup>13</sup> and so on. I think that he uttered his lament for those who sinned before the Flood and drowned in those inundating waters, or surely for those who sinned under the law and met with a harsh death before the satisfaction of penance. The Apostle comments on this: "Whoever has sinned under the law, shall be judged by the law,"<sup>14</sup> and so forth.

We ought to pray for all people, especially for those who have received the grace of baptism and who, having sinned in some way, have not done penance before the hour of their death. What else can we do for them but utter twofold laments and unceasingly render up our prayers? Now, when a spirit had weighed the question of a certain old man, the spirit spoke: "For us who did not yet know the law, or ever receive the grace of baptism, our punishment remains a little more endurable." It was as if he had said, "No man has hired us."<sup>15</sup> "Those souls, however, who recognized God's power and received the faith in the Holy Trinity with the grace of baptism (but, after this recognition, ended their days without the satisfaction of penance) they suffer harsher torments than ours."

Then the old man asked, "What kind of punishment is yours?" The voice answered, "As far as sky stretches from the earth, that is how great the fire is over my head and under my feet. I and those similar to me are in the middle. Those others who, I have said, lie beneath our feet in the depths of Hell, are racked by the most extreme tortures." Then the old man began to weep and groan, saying, "Woe the day when mankind disobeyed the Lord's teaching!" And then he went away.<sup>16</sup>

What more, son? This little passage should inspire terror. For I believe that the blessed David saw himself seized in spirit from this abyss when he said, "You have delivered my soul from the pit of Hell."<sup>17</sup> And the rich man when he first was in torment spoke these few words, saying: "But I have five brothers,"<sup>18</sup> and so on. And the answer he received is widely known. If anyone sins and does not amend his faults, what will happen to him? Listen to the Evangelist: "Tie his hands and feet, and hurl him into outer darkness,"<sup>19</sup> and so on. Now I pray that you may never hear such a speech. Correct your faults continually so that this does not happen to you.

We must pray for those who trip and fall so they may get up again, and for those who stand erect that they may not fall down. Of those who stand, the Apostle says, "Whoever is standing should take care not to fall."<sup>20</sup> But why should I speak about other people? I want you

admonere ne cesses. Pro vivis est orandum, ut supra pro defunctis, ut resurgant in Christo. Talis est tenor tenendus in vivis, ut considerent se morituros, et pro se iterum vivis necesse habere orandi. Et si, quod dixit, Apostolus pro ignorantibus luxit, quid in domesticis?

Orandum est pro omnibus, maxime pro his qui fidem Christi acceperunt; et non solum pro extraneis, verum etiam pro domesticis, hoc est proximis et propinquis parentum nostrorum, maxime crebrius orare debemus. Hoc itaque dico ut ad id perveniam quod desidero. Admoneo te, licet moritura, ut pro omnibus defunctis ores, maxime autem pro his ex quibus tu originem trahis in saeculo.

#### <14> <Pro defunctis parentibus genitoris tui ora>

Ora pro parentibus genitoris tui, qui illi res suas in legitima dimiserunt hereditate. Qui fuissent, vel quae nomina eorum, in capitulis huius libelli, in fine, invenies conscripta. Et licet Scriptura dicat: *In bonis alienis gaudet alter*; tamen eorum, ut praedixi, haereditates non extranei, sed tuus possidet dominus et pater Bernardus.<sup>6</sup>

In tantum quod illi remanserunt, ora pro possidentes; ora ut eis vivens multo fruaris feliciter tempore. Credo enim quod si digne et humiliter erga eum certaveris, Pium tibi ex hoc augebit incrementum fragilitatis dignitatum suarum.

Si, concedente prius clementia omnipotentis Dei, tuus genitor aliquid exinde tibi iusserit largiri, in quantum valueris per amplius, ora ut illi merces ad crescat ex eorum animabus quorum cuncta fuerunt. Ex occupationibus enim multis illi non licet ad tempus. Tu vero, dum vales et licentiam habes, pro animabus eorum iugiter ora.

to consider this for yourself. If, God forbid, you should stumble in some wrongdoing and fall, do not despair but amend it, and trust him of whom the Apostle says, "Awaken you sleeper and arise from the dead; and Christ shall enlighten you."<sup>21</sup> If, however, you do rise up with the aid of the Highest, do not stop warning your friends so that they too can arise. You must pray for the living (as we said earlier about the dead) so that they may awaken in Christ. The living should persist in this: they should be mindful of their eventual death and the need to pray for themselves while they are still alive. And if, as the apostle said, he wept for those he did not know, what about those of one's own household?

We must pray for everyone, especially those who have received the faith of Christ – and not only for strangers, but we must pray especially for family members, that is, for our own kin and for our more distant relations. I say this so that I may fulfill my coveted purpose. I shall die, and I entreat you to pray for all the dead, but especially those from whom you trace your origin in the world.<sup>22</sup>

#### <14> Pray for your father's deceased relatives

Pray for your father's relatives, who have bequeathed him their possessions by lawful inheritance.<sup>23</sup> You will find who they were, and their names, written down in chapters toward the end of this little book.<sup>24</sup> Although the Scripture says, "A stranger luxuriates in another's goods,"<sup>25</sup> it is not strangers who possess this legacy. As I said earlier, it is in the charge of your lord and father, Bernard.

To the extent that these former owners have left their property in legacy, pray for them. And pray that you, as one of the living, may enjoy the property during a long and happy lifetime. For I think that if you conduct yourself towards God with worthy submission, the loving One will for this reason raise up these fragile honors for your benefit.

If through the clemency of almighty God, your father decides in advance that you shall receive a portion of these estates, pray then with all your strength for the increasing heavenly recompense to the souls of those who once owned all these. Circumstances now do not allow your father to do so, since he has many urgent duties. But you, insofar as you have the strength and the opportunity, pray for their souls.

<sup>6</sup> Riché corrects from Bs.

**<15> <Pro domno Theuderico condam>**

Nec hoc praetereundum est, fili, de illo qui te, ex meis suscipiens brachiis, per lavacrum regenerationis filium adoptavit in Christo. Nomen autem eius appellatus est, dum vixit, domnus Teodericus, nunc vero condam. Nutritor etenim atque amator tuus fuerat in cunctis, si ei licuisset. Suscepit eum, ut credimus, Abrahae sinus. Te quasi primogenitum parvulum relinquens in saeculo, suo cuncta domno et seniori nostro, ut tibi prodesse valerent in omnibus, remanserunt. Pluri ora enim et speciali cum plurimis in nocturnis, matutinis, vespertinis, caeterisque oris, per orarum tempora et spatia locorum, pro eius delictis, si aliquid iniuste egit, et non aeterno poenituit, in quantum vales, cum valde bonis pluraliter, in quantum potes, per orationes sanctorum sacerdotum, et elemosinas in pauperibus erogando, Domino sacrificium pro eo offerre iubeas frequenter.

Cum enim pro eo ad Deum tuas effunderis preces dic capitulationes tali modo: V. Requiem aeternam, etc.: V. Anima eius in bonis demoretur: V. In memoria aeterna erit iustus, vel sicut melius nosti. Cum compleveris haec, dic orationem: "Collocare digneris, Domine, corpus et animam famuli tui Theoderici in sinibus Habrahae, Ysaach et Iacob, ut cum dies agnitionis tuae venerit, inter sanctos et electos tuos eum resuscitari praecipias, per Dominum."

**<16> <Et pro omnibus iterum defunctis: ut requiescant in pace, ora>**

Missarum namque et sacrificiorum solempnia non solum pro eo, verum etiam pro omnibus fidelibus defunctis frequenter facias offerri. Nulla enim oratio in hac<sup>7</sup> parte melior, quam sacrificiorum libamina. Dicit de viro fortissimo Iuda: *Sancta et salubris est cogitatio orare pro mortuis et pro eis sacrificium offerre, ut a peccatis solvantur*. Requiescant in pace. Amen.

<sup>7</sup> Riché corrects (following B) from *ac*.

**<15> For the late lord Tedderic<sup>26</sup>**

You must not fail to pray, son, for him who took you from my arms and adopted you as his son in Christ, through the regenerative waters of baptism. When he was alive he was called by the name lord Tedderic, but now he is called 'the late.' He would have been in all respects your mentor and friend, if this had been possible for him. The bosom of Abraham has, as we believe, enfolded him. When he left you in this world as if you were his little firstborn son, he bequeathed his entire estates to our seignorial lord and master,<sup>27</sup> so that these estates might benefit you in every way. Pray often for Tedderic, especially in the company of other people, at nocturns, matins, vespers, and the other canonical hours, at all times and places. Do this as often as you can, in case he may have acted unjustly and failed to do penance for his eternal soul. Do this as much as you can, especially among good people, and through the prayers of holy priests. See that alms are distributed to the poor on his behalf and that the sacrifice of the mass is offered to the lord for him.

When you pour out your prayers for him to God, recite these verses: "Eternal rest," and so on; "May his soul repose among the good"; "He will be just in eternal memory"; or whichever you know better. When you have finished these verses, recite the prayer: "Lord, may you deign to gather the body and soul of your servant Tedderic in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, so that when the day of your recognition comes, you may command him to be restored to life among your saints and chosen ones, through the Lord."

**<16> And pray for all the other deceased that they may rest in peace**

Be sure that the solemnities of masses and sacrifices are offered not only for him, but for all the faithful departed. For no prayer is better in this instance than the celebration of the divine office. It is said of that most stalwart man Judas: "A holy and salutary thought it is to pray for the dead and to offer sacrifice for them, so that they may be delivered from sins."<sup>28</sup> May they rest in peace. Amen.

**<17> <Item, ad te specialiter>**

Tu ergo, fili, age ut tibi adortans moneo, maxime de anima divae bonae praedicti memoriae, sicut melius nosse valebis. De cetero confortare in Domino et in potentia virtutis eius. Tempore quo in saeculo consumaveris isto, *benedic Deum et pete ut vias in cunctis dirigat tuas. Consilia namque tua in ipso semper permaneant.* Qui benedixit domum Abraham, Ysaach et Iacob, Moysen et Levi, suam super te dignetur ad salvandum excitare potentiam, ut cum praedictis personis merearis partem abere in regno sine fine mansuro. Amen.

**<17> More of the same, especially for you**

And so I exhort you, my son, and counsel you especially concerning the soul of the man [Tedderic] of good and saintly memory, about whom I have spoken, as you will be better able to learn. For the rest, be heartened in the Lord and in his almighty strength. During the time that you spend in this world, "bless God and beg him to guide your paths in all things. May your deliberations remain always steadfast in him."<sup>29</sup> May he who blessed the house of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, Moses and Levi, deign to call forth the power of his salvation over you. May you and those I have named merit a place in his kingdom, which will remain without end. Amen.



## <9>

### <1> De articulis

Ars namque huius ex parte libelli, quanquam ex diversis librorum voluminibus sit utiliter contextus, tamen eorum testimoniis secundum tuae qualitatis mensuram digno affectu inserere malui, ita ut per tres quinos graduum partes ad summum sit usque perductus atque collectus. Quod volo, ut ipsae partes, sicut tibi, auxiliante Deo, orarum ad crescant per tempora, ita et ipse numerus in sensu revolvens tuo augmentetur in maius.

### <2> De litteris Adam et eius sensibus

Sicut quinquies terni quindecim, sic quindecies terni XLV faciunt. Additur unum et fiunt XLVI. Tot numerum secundum elementa Graecorum, litterae continetur.

Nam *a* alfa, quod est oriens, unum; *d* delta, quod est occidens, quatuor; iterum *a* alfa, quod est septindrion, <1>; *m* moida, quod intelligitur meridies, XL.

In has quatuor mundi partes extensus est Adam in filiis suis. Unus autem et quattuor et unus et quater<sup>1</sup> quinquies bini XLVI faciunt. Quantos dies esse particulationes continentur, tot annis restaurata est domus Domini in Ierusalem, hoc est XL et VI annis. Nam Dominus, ipso legitimo dierum numero compleri volens, ait Iudeis: *Solvite templum hoc, et in triduo excitabo illud*. Illi autem dixerunt: *Quadragesima et VI annis edificata est domus haec, et tu in triduo excitabis illud? Ille autem dicebat de templo corporis sui, ac si diceret: "Solvite per passionem quod de vestra sumpsi origine, ut audiat: Ecce homo, et ego in triduo per divinitatis excitabo potentiam."* De quo triduo multo antea praedixit Propheta, dicens: *Vivificabit nos per duos dies, die tertia suscitabit<sup>2</sup> nos*, etc.

<sup>1</sup> Riché editorially places *quater* before *quinquies bini* to correct the calculation.

<sup>2</sup> Riché corrects from *suscitabis*.

## <Book 9>

### <1> Counting<sup>1</sup>

The knowledge contained in this little book has been compiled for your use, and parts of it have been woven together from several other volumes. But I have chosen, duly and lovingly, to piece together their information in a manner gauged to your ability. Therefore, by ascending the fifteen steps, or three times five, you will be guided and drawn to the summit.<sup>2</sup> What I wish is this: As the temporal hours of your life add up, with God's help, so will the number of these stages mount and add up as you ponder them in your mind.

### <2> The letters in the word Adam and their meanings

Just as 5 times 3 are 15, so 15 times 3 are 45. Add 1 and they total 46. Following the Greek alphabet, this number is contained in the letters of the word ADAM.

Now A, alpha, which designates the orient, is 1, the first letter. D, delta, which is the occident, is the fourth letter, 4. The second A, alpha, which is the north equals 1, while M, moida, signifies the south, or 40.<sup>3</sup>

Adam ranged over the four quarters of the globe, through his sons. Now  $1 + 4 + 1 + (4 \times 5 \times 2)$  come to 46. The same number of days contained in these individual figures is the number of years needed to rebuild the house of the Lord in Jerusalem, that is, 46 years. For the Lord, desiring the work to be finished in the same allotted number of days, said to the Jews, "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up."<sup>4</sup> They said to him, "It has taken forty-six years to build this temple, and will you raise it up in three days?"<sup>5</sup> But he spoke of the temple of his body,<sup>6</sup> as if to say, "Destroy through my passion what I have taken on of your nature so that you may hear: 'Behold the man,'<sup>7</sup> and I will raise it up in three days by the power of my divinity." The prophet had long ago predicted these three days, saying, "After two days he will revive us; on the third day he will raise us up," and so forth.<sup>8</sup>

### <3> <De quinq̄uis ternis benedictionibus in te coerentium<sup>3</sup> et manentium semper>

Sicut unus et duo et III et IIII decem sunt, sic X et XX et XXX et XL centum faciunt. Centum autem et CC et CCC et CCCC millesimum complent numerum. Mille namque et II et III et IIII, mille centum millia sunt. Potes etiam, si velis, altius dicere: centum millia et CC et CCC et CCCC, mille millia perducunt in summa.

In has quoque calculi particulas magnus et perfectissimus continetur numerus. Nam, in *unum*, ipsum intellege qui dictus est Deus, quoniam, sicut ait Propheta: *Ipse est magnus et solus altissimus super omnem terram*. In *duo*, duo intellege Testamenta vel duo mandata, dilectionem videlicet Dei et dilectionem proximi. In *ternarium* quoque perfectum et trinum designat numerum, cui qui firmiter crediderit salvabitur. In quo *quaternario*, quatuor mundi continentur partes vel quatuor columnae, secundum quas<sup>4</sup> per orbem in universum praedicatum evangelium. In *quinario*, quinque intelliguntur prudentes: qui quinq̄uis corporum suorum sensibus cum virginitatis nitore et castitatis candorem duplum ad summum usque perducunt.

In *senarium*, sex hydrias quae per sex saeculi volvuntur aetates intellege; in qua boni minusve dinoscuntur esse permixti. Lege et invenies, atque in falernum nobilem utiliter verge. In *septenarium*, ut supra, vel septem candelabra et septem lampadas domum inlustrantes Domini. In *octonarium*, octo intellige animarum quae per undas aquarum salvatae sunt, vel certe illos qui in archa, hoc est in Ecclesia, per aquam baptismatis renovati, octavam dignitatis beatitudinem merentur accipere cum palma. In *novenarium*, novem asserunt ordines qui firmiter steterunt. In *denarium*, decimum quod secundum dicta sanctorum Patrum recuperandum esse omnes fatemur et credimus. Et cetera his pertinentium multa.

<sup>3</sup> Riché corrects from *offerentium*, to match the word correctly given in Dhuoda's chapter list.

<sup>4</sup> Riché adds *quas*.

### <3> The fifteen benedictions that belong to you and always remain yours

Just as  $1 + 2 + 3 + 4 = 10$ , so  $10 + 20 + 30 + 40 = 100$ . And  $100 + 200 + 300 + 400 = 1,000$ . And  $1,000 + 2,000 + 3,000 + 4,000 = 10,000$ . And  $10,000 + 20,000 + 30,000 + 40,000 = 100,000$ . You can mount even higher, if you like:  $100,000 + 200,000 + 300,000 + 400,000 = 1,000 \times 1,000$  or 1,000,000.

Each of these elements of calculation contains a great and perfect number. In the number 1 you should recognize the One who is called God. As the prophet says, "He is great and he alone is most high over the whole earth."<sup>9</sup> In the number 2, recognize the two Testaments, or the two commandments: the love of God and the love of one's neighbor. The number 3 indicates the perfection of the Trinity, in which we must firmly believe in order to be saved. The number 4 encloses the four quarters of the globe, or else the four columns according to which the Gospel is preached throughout the whole world. With the number 5, be aware of the Five Wise Virgins.<sup>10</sup> Their five bodily senses, together with their virgin brightness and the whiteness of their chastity, lead them forth to achieve the height of a double perfection.

Under the number 6, recognize the six wine jars, that are poured throughout the six ages of the world.<sup>11</sup> What we are taught is that the good is mingled with the less good. Read and you will learn, choose the noble Falernian wine!<sup>12</sup> By the number 7, understand what I have spoken of earlier, or again the seven candelabra or the seven lamps lighting the Lord's house.<sup>13</sup> By the number eight, understand the eight souls saved in the Flood – or those in the ark, which is the church – who are renewed by the waters of baptism and merit the ascent to the eighth beatitude to receive the victor's palm.<sup>14</sup> The number 9 signifies the nine angelic orders who remained steadfast.<sup>15</sup> The number ten signifies the tenth angelic order, which according to the sayings of the holy Fathers, we all acknowledge and believe must be restored. And there are many other explanations of these numbers.

**<4> Eiusdem**

De protoplasto usque in ultimum qui in fine mundi salvandus est, ad hoc eos credimus esse colligendos, ut decimus, sicut praedixi, legaliter recuperetur ordo angelicus. In hanc recuperationem non solum nationes, sed etiam Israelitarum salvandae sunt generationes, dicente Scriptura: *Cum plenitudo subintraverit gentium, tunc omnis Israel salvus fiet*. Salvatio haec tibi in futuro succurrat. Amen.

Quid tibi, fili, Wilhelme, in has calculationes plura replicem verba? Cum omnes partes usque in denarium utiliter crescant, cum solis ternis, et in centesimum et in millesimum, omnes articulationes, per flexos peritissimorum articulos usque ad mille millia, ad salutem morum omnium, per saltus ad crescunt, humanorum; perfectissimus enim est omnium millia millesimus. Quod si ita non esset, nequaquam quidam fratres, suam ammonentes sororem, cum orationis augmento ita dicerent: *Soror nostra es, crescas inter millia*. Et si in fragili sexu ita, quid in virile?

*Deus omnipotens*, in quem haec omnia iam superius articulata dignissime voluntur, secundum ammonitionem sanctorum Patrum in prole, et secundum orationem Ysaach et Rebeccae conferentem in Iacob, *te benedicens + benedicat*. Amen. Et in virtutibus aptis *crescat atque multiplicet*. Amen.

**<5> <Eiusdem>**

Donet tibi de rore coeli et de pinguedine terrae abundantiam. Amen. Frumentum vinumque et oleum fruenter cum cunctis tibi redundant. Sit tibi adiutor et contra omnes inimicos tuos fortissimus defensor. Secundum orationem cuiusdam conferentem in subditis, oratrix tibi, nobilis puer, adsisto in cunctis.

**<6> <Eiusdem>**

*Benedictus tu in civitate. Benedictus in agro*. Benedictus in aulam. Benedictus cum genitore et benedictus cum fratre. Benedictus cum magnis et benedictus cum minimis. Benedictus cum senioribus et benedictus cum iunioribus. Benedictus cum castis et benedictus cum continentibus. Benedictus cum sobriis et benedictus cum vigilantibus

**<4> The same subject**

We believe that from the first man to the last to be saved at the end of the world, all must be reunited just as the tenth angelic order shall be lawfully restored. I have already spoken of this.<sup>16</sup> In this restoration not only the Gentile nations are to be saved but also the generations of Israel, for Scripture says: When the fullness of the Gentiles shall come in, then all Israel will be saved."<sup>17</sup> May this salvation come to you in future time! Amen.

What other words are there for you in these calculations, my son William? All the numbers up to 10 amount to useful purpose, using only three fingers. You can count up to 100 and 1000 by bending all the fingers at the joints, according to skilled computists.<sup>18</sup> Up to a thousand thousands can be counted through various gestures for the salvation of all mankind, for one million is the most perfect number of all.<sup>19</sup> If this were not the case, certain brothers would not have encouraged their sister, Rebecca, importuning her with these words, "You are our sister. Be mother to thousands of thousands!"<sup>20</sup> If this is true of the frail sex, what of the male?

Following the commands of the holy patriarchs to their offspring, and the prayer of Isaac and Rebecca conferred upon Jacob, may God Almighty – in whom all the calculations we have discussed are most nobly realized – bless you + bless you! May he cause you to grow and multiply in virtue.<sup>21</sup> Amen.

**<5> The same subject**

May he grant you in abundance the dew of heaven and the abundance of the earth!<sup>22</sup> Amen. Let the wheat, the wine and the oil, with all other things fruitfully flow for you. May he be your champion and your strongest defence against all your enemies. Following the prayer of the man who shed blessings on all his subordinates, I pray for you, my noble boy. In every eventuality I stand by your side!

**<6> The same subject**

Blessed may you be in the city!<sup>23</sup> Blessed in the country! Blessed at the court! Blessed with your father and blessed with your brother! Blessed with the great, and blessed with the small! Blessed with your seniors and blessed with your juniors! Blessed with the chaste and blessed with the temperate! Blessed with the sober, and blessed with

digne. Benedictus etiam fructus terrae tuae. Benedicta iuventus tua, *egrediens et regrediens*, et ad *senectam et senium* perveniens atque ad portum animarum, una cum salutis agone in mille millia cursu valeas pertingere felicior. Amen.

the properly vigilant! Blessed be also the fruit of your lands! Blessed be your youth in your going out and your coming in,<sup>24</sup> until you attain to the gray hairs of old age!<sup>25</sup> May you arrive in greater felicity, after your combat for salvation, at the haven of souls with that thousand thousand! Amen.

## &lt;1&gt; De temporibus tuis

1. Quadrans in quatuor iam habes annos usque productos.  
Si proles secundus tot tempus haberet,  
In sui personam illi alium transcriberem libellum.
2. Et si tantum et aliud tantum, et medium dimidii tantum,  
In annis volvens ut speciem cernerem tuam,  
Fortiora tibi in verbis copularem prolixis.
3. Sed quia tempus resolutionis non tardat me meum,  
Et aegritudo angustiarum corpus undique conterit  
Istum tibi et fratri ut prosit, quod collegi festinans.
4. Sciens me ad tempus praedictum pervenire non posse  
Velut mellifluum potum favisque permixtum,  
In cibum oris, ut degustes semper adortor.
5. Tempus namque ex quo ad genitorem tuum perveni,  
Vel tuus ex nobis in saeculo processit status;  
Kalendis mensium,<sup>1</sup> cuncta feruntur in nobis.
6. Ex primo namque huius versu libelli,  
Usque ad ultimam eiusdem sillabam,  
Cuncta tibi ad pensum salutis scripta cognosce.
7. Et quid ibidem gerantur, lege capita versorum,  
Ut ad ea quae subtus secuntur facilius valeas ingredi.

*Item eiusdem*

8. Hos versiculos supra, infra et subtus  
Ad mentem corpusque tuum ipsa dictavi, cum cunctis.  
Et ut legas ore, teneas corde, admonere non cesso.

<sup>1</sup> Dronke emends from *mensarum*.<1> The seasons of your life<sup>1</sup>

1. You now have completed four times four years.<sup>2</sup>  
If my second son were of similar age,  
I'd have copied another small primer for him.
2. Were you twice as old, and a quarter again,  
And in years to come I might look on your face,  
I would write you a lengthier, more advanced text.
3. But because my last day of reprieve will not wait,  
And the cruel stings of sickness consume my whole frame,  
I've assembled this quickly for you and your brother.
4. Since I know I can't live till that hoped-for time,  
Here's a kind of sweet brew with honeycomb mixed  
As food for your lips: sip it always, I bid you.
5. The time when I came to marry your father,  
And the time you were born to us in this world  
Fell in the months' kalends. This is all known to us.<sup>3</sup>
6. From the first line of this little book  
To its last syllable at the end,  
Know that all was written for your salvation!
7. For what's contained here, read the chapter heads:  
You'll proceed with more ease to the subsequent points.

*More about this*

8. The brief verses above, below and thereafter,  
I've composed for your body as well as your mind.  
Read with lips, hold in heart. Of this I always remind.

## &lt;2&gt; &lt;De versibus ex litteris compositis tuis&gt;

1. **V** t valeas,<sup>2</sup> vigeas, optime prolis,  
Dicta conscripta a me tibi directa  
Legere ne pigeat; invenies facile  
Placida tuis.
2. **E** st vivus sermo Dei: illum perquire;  
Diligentius sacram disce doctrinam.  
Mens etenim tua repletur gaudiis  
Magnis per saecula.
3. **R** ex immensus et fortis, clarus et pius,  
Dignetur per cuncta tuam nutrirī mentem,  
Iuvenilis puer; protegat, defendat  
Omnibus horis.
4. **S** is namque tu humilis mente et castus  
Corpore, pronus in servitiis abtis,  
Magnis et minimis omnibus ut vales,  
Flectere<sup>3</sup> frequens.
5. **I** n primis Dominum Deum ex toto corde  
Et mente, totis viribus pansis,  
Time et dilige,<sup>4</sup> genitorem tuum  
Inde per cuncta.
6. **A** lmificum genitum prole exortum  
Genus ad crescens parentum, prosapiem  
Refulgens ex magnis, illi adsidue  
Servire ne pigeat.
7. **D** ilige obtimates magnos, in aulam  
Conspice primos, quoequa te humilibus,  
Iunge beniuolis, superbis et inprobis  
Cave ne flectas.
8. **V** eros sacrarum digni iuris ministros,  
Praesuli dignos, honora semper;  
Altarium custodibus tensas ubique  
Simplex comenda.
9. **V** iduis et pupillis subleva frequens,  
Et peregrinis victum potumque largire,  
Para hospitia, nudis namque vestitum  
Porrige manum.
10. **I**ustus in causas iudex valens adesto,  
Munus a manu non accipias umquam,

<sup>2</sup> *Vt valeas* printed instead of the normalized *Ut valeas*, to preserve the anagram.

<sup>3</sup> Riché emends from *Plectere*, as in stanza 7 below, and in the chapter heading of 3.10:  
*Ut cum maioribus et minoribus flectas.*

<sup>4</sup> Riché corrects from *dirige*.

<2> Verses composed on the letters of your name<sup>4</sup>

1. **V** alorous and strong may you thrive, noble child!  
These written words, sent from me to you,  
Shouldn't be irksome to read. You'll easily find matter  
Pleasing to you.
2. **E** verlasting is God's word.<sup>5</sup> Zealously seek it.  
Learn holy doctrine more diligently,  
Let your spirit brim with joy  
Forever and ever.
3. **R**oyal, uncircumscribed, strong, shining, kind –  
May God deign to nourish your spirit in all things  
Youthful boy; may he shield and protect you  
In every hour.
4. **S** how yourself meek of mind, and chaste  
In body, prompt in able service  
Toward great and small, as best you can,  
Readily compliant.
5. **I** n the first place, fear and cherish God<sup>6</sup>  
With whole heart and mind, wielding all your strength;  
Afterwards fear and cherish your father  
Through thick and thin.
6. **A** s to that scion of glorious stock,<sup>7</sup>  
Whose high deeds add lustre to his noble race,  
Who shines among magnates – serve this lord  
With unflagging faith.
7. **D**early love the lofty barons at court,  
Look to the nobles, befriend the humble,  
Cleave to the kindly. But on proud men and wicked  
Be wary of fawning.
8. **V**alidly ordained priests of the sacraments,  
Worthy prelates – honor them always.  
With hands outstretched to priests guarding our shrines,  
Commend yourself cleanly.
9. **V**ital solace give often to widows and orphans.  
Provide food and drink for wayfaring pilgrims.  
Offer them shelter. Give clothes to the naked  
With your own hand.
10. **I**n cases at law, be a judge just and able.  
Never take bribes from anyone's hand.<sup>8</sup>

- Nec opprimas quemquam; retribuet enim  
Tibi Largitor.
11. **L** argus in donis, semper vigil et prudens,  
Omnium concors amabili nisu,  
Ad ima regaudens; facies etenim  
Haec manebit tibi.
12. **H** uc et illuc Compensor unus est dator,  
Meritis reddens singulorum prae factis,  
Verbis et operi tribuens optima  
Coelorum sidus.
13. **E** n, ut curas habeas, nobilis nate,  
Solers perquire, pigeat ne tibi tantarum  
Praemia accipere, et picei fomitis  
Despice piras.
14. **L** icet iuventus tua florida virgis  
Quadrans quaternis computaris in annis  
Senioribus teneris membris gradatim<sup>5</sup>  
Cursu peragrans,
15. **M** ultum a me videtur longior esse,  
Cernere volens tuae speciei tenorem,  
Si daretur virtus, attamen ad haec merita  
Non mea vigent.
16. **U** tinam illi vivas, qui te plasmavit,  
Placida mente, famulantium dignis  
Iungas consortiis, post expletis cursibus  
Felix adsurgas.
17. **M** ens namque certe mea volvitur antris,  
Hoc tamen ortor ut paginas istius  
Iam supra exaratas, assidue legas  
Fixas ad mentem.
18. **F** iniunt versiculi, Deo iuvante,  
Annis praeteritis octo binis deductos,  
Incohans december, Andreae sancti festa,  
Adventus Verbi.

Expliciunt versi.

<3> <Post verba praescripta, de re publica>

Finite sunt huius verba libelli, quae, ut valui, animo libenti dictavi,  
et utiliter in tuam specietenus formam transcribere iussi.  
Volo enim et ortor ut cum, auxiliante Deo, ad perfectum perveneris

<sup>5</sup> Riché corrects from *gradans*.

- Oppress no one. God will reward you,  
Your Benefactor.
11. **L** avish in largesse, ever watchful and wise,  
At one with everyone, friendly in manner,  
Deeply joyous within: this indeed will remain  
Seen in your face.
12. **H** ere, there, the sole Giver, Compensator,<sup>9</sup>  
Repays each for good deeds done;  
For words and works he bestows the best,  
A heavenly star.<sup>10</sup>
13. **E** i, have a care, my noble son,  
That you skillfully strive. Do not be lax –  
Seize the fair prize! But where pitch smolders,  
Turn from the pyres.
14. **L** ike to your youth is the flowering branch  
That measures in years just four times four.  
Yet with lords you will walk, your tender limbs stronger  
As you grow:
15. **M** uch too long, it seems to me  
I've yearned to gaze on the shape of your face.  
If I had the power! But this joy for me is  
Undeserved.
16. **U** nited may you live – for him who made you –  
Serene of spirit, with his good servants,  
Joined in their throng. May you after life's end,  
In felicity rise.
17. **M** y mind reels, surely, at the abyss! Yet I entreat:  
What is found in these pages  
Written above, read with devotion,  
Fix in your mind.
18. **F** inished are these verses, with God's help.  
Now that your twice eight years are done,  
December begins. St. Andrew's feast heralds  
Advent of the Word.

Here the verses end.

<3> Additions to the preceding, on public affairs

The words of this little book are finished. I have composed them as well as I could and with a full heart. I have carefully ordered them to be copied as a useful model for your conduct.

For I desire and urge that when you have reached manhood's estate, with God's help, you will dispose your own household, taking

tempus, domum tuam per legitimos gradus utiliter disponas, et, ut scriptum est de quodam viro, *velut tenerimus ligni vermiculus*, in re publica cuncta ordinabili cursu fidenter perage.

Et ut ego ad hoc pervaleam tempus, ut cernere valeam, incerta consisto, incerta ex meritis, incerta vigore, fragilique labore per undas conquassor. Licet in me ita consistat, tamen apud omnipotentem cuncta possibilia manent. Quoniam non est in potestate hominis ut omnia agat quae vult, in tantum quantum est, Deus concedere iubet. Et secundum quod ait Scriptura: *Neque currentis, neque volentis, sed miserentis est Dei*. Ob id, in illa fidens, nichil aliud dico, nisi: *Sicut fuerit voluntas in coelo, sic fiat*. Amen.

#### <4> Ad me recurrens, lugeo

Ex nimii amoris dulcedine et desiderio pulcritudinis tuae, memetipsum quasi oblitam postponens, *ianuis clausis*, iterum intus ingredi desidero. Sed, quia nec digna in numero sum computari praescripto, tamen rogo ut, inter innumeros, numerabili affectu pro animae remedio meae orare non cesses.

Tibi non latet qualiter, pro infirmitatibus meis assiduis, et pro certis ex causis, secundum cuiusdam sermonem qui ait: *Periculis ex genere, periculis ex gentibus, etc.*, haec omnia vel cetera his similia pro meis praepedientibus meritis in meo fragili sustinui corpore. Auxiliante etenim Deo et merito genitoris tui Bernardi, de his omnibus evasi fidenter, sed in has ereptiones animus meus reflectitur. Per recurrentium tempora, multis in laudibus divinis pigra remansi, et quod agere debui per oras septenas, septenas septenas desidiosa adstisti in cunctis. Idcirco, supplicii affectu totis viribus precor, ut pro meis offensis atque delictis Domini misericordiam iugiter exorare delecter, et me allisam atque gravatam ad superos erigere dignetur.

Dum me vivam in saeculo conspicias isto, vigil affectu ita certare stude, non solum in vigiliis et orationibus, sed et in elemosinis pauperorum, ut ex vinculo peccatorum meorum corporaliter erepta, a pio iudice pie merear esse in omnibus recepta.

Est michi modo necesse tua vel aliorum frequens oratio: erit postea plus et per amplius, ut credo citius ita esse venturum. Ex nimio timoris dolore, quid in futuris michi eveniat, valde meus undique spiritus discinditur,<sup>6</sup> et qualiter valeam in finem liberari, incerta sum ex

<sup>6</sup> Dronke corrects from *animus discit*.

the appropriate steps to regulate it well. A man has been written about, who was "like the tenderest little worm of the wood"<sup>11</sup>: Like him, you must faithfully and methodically carry out all the obligations of your public life.

Shall I live long enough to see that time with my own eyes? I am not sure of my own merits, not sure of my strength, since in my fragile labor I feel shaken by waves of the sea. Though this is how it is with me, all things remain possible with the Almighty. For it is not in human power to do as we wish, but only what God commands and grants. As Scripture says, "It is not through him that runs, nor through him that wills, but through God that shows mercy."<sup>12</sup> And so, I trust in that mercy now, and I say nothing more than this: "As his will is in heaven, so may it be done."<sup>13</sup> Amen.

#### <4> Turning again to myself, I grieve<sup>14</sup>

Because of the sweetness of my excessive love for you, and my longing for your beauty, I have all but forgotten myself. Now that "the doors are closed,"<sup>15</sup> I long to enter in again. It is true that I do not deserve to be counted among those I have written of earlier. All the same, I ask you to pray ceaselessly for me (along with countless others) for the healing of my soul, with an affection that is countable toward me!<sup>16</sup>

You know how much, through frequent illnesses and for other reasons, I have suffered all these and similar hardships in my ailing body, hindered by my capabilities. These circumstances are reflected in the sayings of a certain man: "in perils from my own nation, perils from the Gentiles," and so on.<sup>17</sup> With God's help, and by the merit of your father, Bernard, I have confidently eluded these dangers. Yet my mind still harks back to those confiscations.<sup>18</sup> In the past I have often remained sluggish in praising God. Instead of observing the seven liturgical hours as I ought to have done, I have stood idly by in all these matters, and in seven times seven ways.<sup>19</sup> For this, I pray, with loving entreaty and with all my strength, that I may delight in pleading continually for the Lord's mercy for my faults and delinquencies. May he deign to raise me, bruised and burdened, to heaven.

While you see me living in the world, strive zealously with tender vigilance, not only with vigils and prayer but with alms to the poor, so that I may deserve (once I am torn bodily from the chains of my sins) to be taken wholly with love by the loving Judge.<sup>20</sup>

Now I shall need your repeated prayers and the prayers of others —



meritis. Quare? Quia peccavi in cogitatione, in locutione. Ipsa autem locutio, inutilis, ad opus pravum usque pervenit. Licet ita sint, de Dei misericordia nunquam desperans ero, nec sum, ero nec unquam. Et ut ad recuperationem aliquando pervenire possim, nullum similem tui superstitem relinquo, qui ita certet in me sicut tu, et multi ex te, nobilis puer.

Pro utilitatibus domini et senioris mei Bernardi, ut meum erga illum, in Marchis vel in multis locis, non vilesceret servitium, nec a te vel a me se separasset, sicut mos est in aliquis, multum me sentio debitis adgravatam.

Pro multis vero necessitatibus, non solum de Christianis, verum etiam de Iudaeis, multa ex illorum rebus manibus meis frequenter recepi. In quantum valui reddidi, et in quantum potero semper reddam deinceps. Quod si post discessum meum aliquid remanserit ad solvendum, rogo et supplico ut tu ipse diligenter exquiras qui sint debitores mei. Qui cum reperti fuerint, non solum ex facultatibus meis, si remanserint, verum etiam de tuis, quae habes, et adhuc, Deo adiuvante, iuste adquisieris, cuncta in omnibus facias persolvi.

Quid plura? De fratre tuo minimo quid erga illum agere debeas, admonui supra, admonui deinceps. Hoc rogo ut, si ad perfectum pervenerit tempus, et ipse pro me exorare dignetur. Iam enim quasi utrosque simul admoneo coniunctos, ut sacrificiorum libamina, cum oblationibus hostiarum, pro me frequenter offerre dignemini.

Ut cum Redemptor meus e saeculo arcessire iusserit isto, refrigerium michi parare dignetur, atque cum sanctis, si fieri potest, tuis et aliorum dignis orationibus, ad coelum faciat transire supernum ille qui dictus est Deus.

Finit hic liber Manualis. Amen. Deo gratias.

### <5> Nomina defunctorum

Quos de quosdam praedictis supra praetermisi personis, his breviter agnosce. Id sunt: Wilhelmus, Chungundis, Gariberga, Vuithburgis, Teddericus, Gothzelmus, Guarnarius, Rothlindis.

Sunt namque ex praedicta genealogia, Deo auxiliante vigentes in

all the more so and more fully, and quite soon, as I believe, for the time draws near. In my intense fear and sorrow about what may befall me in the future, my spirit is totally torn. I am unsure of how I may deserve to be delivered at the end. I am unsure about my merits. Why? Because I have sinned in thought and word. Idle words themselves lead to sinful deeds. Despite this, I will never despair of God's mercy: not now, not ever! To ensure that I shall one day be healed, there is no one like you I leave behind among the living, no one but you to champion my cause. And thanks to you, noble boy, many others may do this for me!

In fulfilling my usefulness to my seignorial lord Bernard, I am fearful that my feudal duties<sup>21</sup> may falter in the [Spanish] March and in many other places. And to prevent his separating from you and me (as is the custom with many men), I feel I have gone heavily into debt.

In fact, to obtain many necessities I have frequently borrowed great sums with my own hands, not only from Christians but also from Jews.<sup>22</sup> I have repaid what I could and will continue from now on to repay as much as I can. But if after my death any debts remain outstanding, I beg and beseech you to inquire thoroughly after my creditors. When you find them, pay off everything due, and not only from my estate – if there is anything left – but also from whatever you have and may eventually acquire, by honest means and with God's help.

What more? I have already advised you what to do about your little brother and I advise you again. I ask that he too shall see fit to pray for me, if he reaches man's estate. Now I urge the two of you, as if you were both together, to consent to make frequent offerings of the Host for me in the sacrificial celebrations of the mass.

And so when my Redeemer commands me to be summoned from this world, may he deign to prepare blessed solace for me. And together with the saints – if this is made possible by your worthy prayers and others' – may he who is called God let me ascend to the heavens above.

Here ends the Handbook. Amen. Thanks be to God.

### <5> The names of the deceased

Here briefly you will find the names of those persons whom I have omitted earlier. They are Wilhelm, Cunegundis, Gerberga, Vuithburgis, Tedderic, Gozhelm, Guarnarius and Rothlindis.<sup>23</sup>

Other members of this family are still alive in the world, thanks to

saeculo, quorum vocatio illi manet per cuncta, qui eos creavit, ut voluit. Quid in his agendum est, filii, nisi dicere cum Psalmista: *Nos qui vivimus, benedicimus Dominum, ex hoc nunc et usque in saeculum?*

Item. Quisquis de tua migraverit stirpe, quod non est aliud nisi in potestate Dei, quando iusserit ipse, similiter et de domno Ariberto avunculo tuo, rogo, tu si superstes fueris, nomen illius cum praescriptis personis supra iube transcribi, orando illum.

### <6> <De epitaphio sepulchri mei ut scribas rogo>

Cum autem et ego ipsa dies finierim meos, nomen meum cum illorum nominibus iube transcribi defunctum. Quod volo, et quasi ad praesens totis flagito nisibus, ut in loco in quo fuerim sepulta, super ipso tecto sepulchri quod meum operuerit corpus, hos versiculos iube transcribi firmatim ut cernentes ipsum epythafium sepulchri, pro me indigna dignas ad Deum iubeant fundere preces.

Sed et istum Manualem quem legis, qui legerit umquam, verba quae subtus secuntur meditetur ipse, et me, iam quasi intus reclusam, Deo commendet solvendam.

*Hic lege, lector, versiculos epitaphii*

+ D + M +

- D** e terra formatum, hoc in tumulo  
Duodane corpus iacet humatum:  
Rex immense, suscipe illam.
- H** aec namque fragile tellus undique  
Suum suscepit coenum ad ymma:  
Rex benignus, illi veniam da.
- U** lceris rigata solum  
Illi superrestat densa sepulchri:  
Tu, Rex, eius solve delicta.
- O** mnis aetas et sexus, vadensque  
Et revertens hic, rogo, dicite ita:  
Agius magne, eius dilue vincla.
- D** iri vulneris antro defixa  
Sepulchri,<sup>7</sup> vitam finivit coenosam:

<sup>7</sup> Dag Norberg emends from *septa fellis* (*La poésie latine rythmique du haut moyen âge*, Stockholm, 1954, p. 18).

God. Their being called back to him rests wholly with him who created them as he wished. What should you do in this, my son, except say with the Psalmist, "We who live bless the Lord from now and for evermore"?<sup>24</sup>

There is another thing. When a member of your lineage dies, which happens only through God's power and on the day he ordains (this is how it was with lord Aribert<sup>25</sup> your uncle), I ask you if you survive him, to have his name inscribed among the names of those persons I have listed just above, and pray for him.

### <6> The epitaph for my tomb, which I ask you to inscribe<sup>26</sup>

When I myself shall have ended my days, be sure that you have my name inscribed among the dead. What I wish, and ask you with all my strength to do as if it were now, is to have these verses permanently carved on the stone slab that marks the tomb in which my body will be buried. By this means passers-by who read the epitaph may worthily pray to God for me, unworthy woman that I am.

As for those who will some day read this Handbook which you are reading, let them also meditate on what follows, and pray to God to forgive me, as if I were already enclosed in the tomb.

*Reader, read here, the little verses of an epitaph:*

+ D + M +<sup>27</sup>

- D** huoda's body, formed of earth,<sup>28</sup>  
here lies buried in the tomb.  
Great King, receive her.
- H** er frail body's filth this ground enfolds  
in the depths of the pit.  
Kind king, grant her mercy.
- U** lcerous, humid her body lies now.  
For her there is only the crypt's dim shade.  
You, king, absolve her faults!
- O** n your journeying to and fro,  
Men, women, of any age, pray thus, I beg:  
"Great and Holy, unbind her chains."
- D** eep in the cave of the sepulchre's dire wound,  
She has reached the end of her sullied life.

Tu, Rex, suis parce peccatis.  
**A** nguis ne ille suam obscurus  
 Animam captet, orantes dicite ita:  
 Deus clemens, illi succurre.  
**N** e hinc pertranseat quis, usque dum legat.  
 Coniuro omnes ut orent, ita dicentes:  
 Requiem illi tribue, Alme,  
**E** t lucem perpetuam ei cum sanctis  
 Iube, benignus, in finem largiri.  
 Amen recipiat post funeris ipsam.<sup>8</sup>  
 A + Ω

You, king, pardon her sins!  
**A** nd lest the Worm of darkling gloom  
 should seize her spirit, say this prayer:  
 "God of Mercy, succor her!"  
**N** o wayfarer shall pass this way  
 without reading this! I beg all to pray:  
 "Grant her rest, Kindly One."  
**E** ternal light shall illumine her  
 with the saints. Decree, Loving One!  
 May the Amen welcome<sup>29</sup> her after death.  
 A + Ω

<sup>8</sup> Riché corrects from *ipsa*.

## &lt;1&gt; Qualiter ordinem psalmorem ex parte compones

De septenis horis ut cantes, tibi supra admonui. Nunc iterum quales, secundum tuae qualitatis mensuram, utiliter debeas canere, adiuvante Domino, ordinatrix tibi in cunctis assisto.

Vox enim psalmodiae, cum per intentionem cordis agitur, per hanc omnipotenti Deo ad cor iter paratur, ut intenti mente, vel prophetiae misterium, vel compunctionis gratiam, meditantibus infundat. Unde scriptum est: *Sacrificium laudis honorificabit me*, etc.

In sacrificio igitur divinae laudis, fit in Ihesu iter ostensionis, quia dum per psalmodiam compunctio effunditur, via nobis in corde fit per quam ad Ihesum veniamus. Dignum quippe est ut mens a praesentibus universis, in quantum valet, se mundet, et divinis, coelestibus atque spiritualibus, se inhaereat, ut coelestia ei revelentur. Nichil est in hac mortali vita, in qua possimus nos familiarius inhaerere, quam in divinis psalmodiae laudibus. Nullus itaque mortalium potest, nec verbis, nec mente, Psalmorum explicare virtutes.

Eiusdem. In Psalmis itaque invenies, si intenta mente perscruteris, et ad spiritualem intellectum pervenis, dominici Verbi incarnationem, passionemque et resurrectionem atque ascensionem.

Eiusdem. In Psalmis invenies tam intimam orationem, si intenta mente perscruteris, sicut non potes per te ipsum ullatenus excogitare.

Item. In Psalmis invenies intimam confessionem peccatorum tuorum, et integram deprecationem divinae atque dominicae misericordiae.

Eiusdem. In Psalmis quoque invenies omnium rerum, quae tibi accedunt, intima actionum.

Eiusdem. In Psalmis quoque confiteris infirmitatem tuam atque miseriam, et per ipsam misericordiam Dei ad te provocas. Omnes enim virtutes in Psalmis invenies, si a Deo merueris ut tibi revelet secreta psalmorem.

Si vis pro peccatis tuis poenitentiam agere et confessionem, et peccatorum tuorum veniam rogare delictis, quantum vales intende,

<1> How you should arrange the Psalms in useful order<sup>1</sup>

Earlier I advised you to recite the seven canonical hours. Now once again, as your mentor in all things, I stand in readiness at your side, so that with God's help you may choose the Psalms to recite for the range of your needs.

When Psalms are sung with heartfelt intensity, a conduit is prepared to the heart so that Almighty God may pour into it the mystery of prophecy or the grace of compunction for those who meditate with spiritual fervor. So it is written, "A sacrifice of praise shall glorify me,"<sup>2</sup> and so on.

The sacrifice of divine praise, therefore, provides a way between us and Jesus. While our compunction pours out through psalmody, we are opening in our heart this conduit through which we may come to Jesus. Surely, it is a good thing for the mind to cleanse itself as much as possible of daily affairs and cling to divine, celestial, spiritual things, so that the celestial can be revealed to it. Nothing in this mortal life can make us cling more closely to God than the divine praises of psalmody. For no mortal can unfold in words or thought the power of the Psalms.

Another thing. In the Psalms, if you study them intently and penetrate to their spiritual meaning, you will discover the Incarnation of the Lord's Word, his Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension.

Another thing. In the Psalms (if you study them intently) you will find such intimate prayer that you could never think of it yourself.

Furthermore. In the Psalms you will find the innermost confession of your sins and a perfect way to invoke the Lord's divine mercy.

Another thing. In the Psalms, too, you will find the innermost meaning of all events and whatever happens to you.

Another thing. In Psalms you also confess your weakness and wretchedness, and in that way appeal to God to show you mercy. You will discover all the virtues in the psalms if you are worthy before God of having their secrets revealed to you.

non celeritate verborum, sed mente cogitando ac scrutando, decanta septenos daviticos psalmos quorum initium est, duo: *Domine, ne in furore tuo*, et duo: *Domine exaudi, Beati quorum*, necnon et: *Miserere mei, Deus, secundum atque: De profundis*; et celerrime invenies clementiam Dei.

Si vis mentem tuam spirituali gaudio ac laetitia inluminare, decanta prompta<sup>1</sup> mente hos psalmos quorum initium est: *Exaudi, Domine, iustitiam meam, Ad te, Domine, levavi et Deus, in nomine tuo, Deus misereatur nostri, Deus in adiutorium et In te, Domine, speravi*, nec non *Inclina, Domine*; et tunc misericordiam Dei citius impetrare valebis fidenter.

Si vis omnipotentem Deum laudare, ipsius maiestatem omniumque beneficiorum suorum quibus humano generi ab initio mundi concedere dignatus est, quantulumcumque scire, decanta illos psalmos quorum titulum *Alleluia* est; quorum initium est; *Confitemini Domino, Laudate Dominum, Laudate Dominum, et Benedic, anima mea, Domino*. Omne mel et favum omnipotenti Deo dulce munus offerres, si in his psalmis continue illum laudes ac magnifices.

Item. Si diversis tribulationibus afflictus, et, vel humanis, vel spiritualibus temptationibus undique adstrictus, et tibi videtur a Deo derelictum, qui plerumque sanctos suos ad tempus derelinquit probandos, et per id tibi videtur temptationem maiorem esse quam tolerare possis, intima mente decanta illos psalmos quorum initium est: *Deus, Deus meus respice, Exaudi, Deus, deprecationem meam, et Exaudi, Deus, orationem meam cum deprecor, Salvum me fac, Deus*; et statim te adiuvat, ut temptationem quam pateris tolerare possis.

Si tibi praesens vita fastidiosa est et animum tuum delectet supernam patriam contemplari, et omnipotentem Deum ardenti desiderio intueri, hos Psalmos intenta mente decanta: *Quemadmodum, Quam dilecta, Deus, Deus meus ad te de luce*; et clemens Deus cito mentem tuam consolatur.

Si te in tribulationibus a Deo derelictum intelligas, compuncto corde hos Psalmos decanta: *Usquequo, Deus, Deus auribus nostris, Miserere michi, Domine, Exaudi, Deus, orationem et ne dispexeris, In te, Domine, speravi*; et Deus statim te laetificat in omnibus angustiis tuis.

Post acceptam quietam ac prosperitatis tempora, hos psalmos in laude decanta: *Benedicam Dominum, Benedic, anima mea, Domino et omnia, Exaltabo te, Deus, meus rex*. Et in omni prosperitatis sive adversitatis tempore semper himnum trium puerorum decanta. Nullus

<sup>1</sup> Riché corrects from *promta*.

If you wish to do penance for your sins and confess them and ask pardon for your offenses, devote all your attention to recitation, not rushing the words but contemplating them and examining them. Sing the seven Psalms of David. Two of these begin with "Lord, in your anger"; two with "Lord, hear my voice"; and the others with "Blessed are they"; and "Have mercy on me, O God, and "Out of the depths."<sup>3</sup> And you will very quickly obtain God's clemency.

If you wish your understanding to grow luminous with spiritual joy and gladness, recite with a zealous spirit those psalms beginning with "Hear, O Lord, my justice"; "To you, Lord, have I lifted my soul"; and "O God, by your name"; "May God have mercy on us"; "O God, come to my assistance"; "In you, Lord, have I hoped," and also "Incline, Lord."<sup>4</sup> More quickly and confidently, then, you will be able to gain God's mercy.

If you wish to praise almighty God and his majesty, and to know even a little of all the benefits of which he has deigned to grant the human race from the world's beginning, recite the psalms titled: "Alleluia" and those which begin "Confess to the Lord," "Praise the Lord" and "Bless the Lord, O my soul."<sup>5</sup> You will be offering to almighty God a sweet gift of honey and honeycomb if you praise him continually and magnify him with these Psalms.

Further. If you are afflicted by various hardships and assailed on all sides by trials, whether human or spiritual, if it seems God has abandoned you – as he often abandons his saints for a time in order to test them – and the resulting trial seems more than you can endure, recite privately the Psalms beginning "God, my God, look on me," "Hear O God my supplication," and "Hear O God my prayer, when I pray to you," "Save me, O God,"<sup>6</sup> and immediately he will help you so that you can withstand the trial you undergo.

If your present life seems repugnant to you and your spirit delights in contemplating its heavenly home and gazing on almighty God with burning desire, privately recite these Psalms: "As the hart pants," "How lovely," "God, my God, to you at break of day,"<sup>7</sup> and the clement God will quickly console your spirit.

If you see yourself abandoned by God in your tribulations, recite with a contrite heart the following psalms: "How long, O lord,"<sup>8</sup> "O God with our ears,"<sup>9</sup> "Have mercy on me, O God,"<sup>10</sup> "Hear God, my prayer and despise not,"<sup>11</sup> "In you, O Lord have I hoped,"<sup>12</sup> and God forthwith will gladden you in the midst of your suffering.

Once you have recovered your peace, and are in a time of prosperity, sing these psalms of praise: "I will bless the Lord,"<sup>13</sup> "Bless the

itaque mortalium virtutem huius himni explicari potest, in quo omnis creatura ad laudandum Creatorem invitatur.

Si volueris intima mente exercere te in divinis laudibus ac praeceptis et mandatis coelestibus, hunc psalmum decanta: *Beati immaculati in via*. Et licet ad obitum vitae tuae huius psalmi virtutem contempleris ac scruteris, nunquam perfecte illum, ut puto, intelligere potes. In quo nullus versus est ubi non sit vel via Dei, vel lex, vel mandata seu praeceptum Dei, vel verba, aut iustificationes, vel iudicia, aut sermones Dei descripti. Et ideo non est tibi opus ut per diversos libros animum diffundas.

In psalterio solo, usque ad obitum vitae, habes materiam legendi, scrutandi, docendi, in quo invenies prophetas, evangelia, atque apostolicos et omnes divinos libros, specialiterque intelligitur ex parte tractos atque discriptos. Et priorem atque secundum adventum Domini ibi reperies prophetatos. Incarnationem quoque ac passionem, resurrectionemque atque ascensionem dominicam, et omnem virtutem divinatorum dicatorum in Psalmis invenies. Si intima mente perscruteris, et ad medulla intimi intellectus per Dei gratiam pervenies.

Nec hoc praetereundum putes, ut finit expleto cursu septenis orarum diurno, hymnum: *Te Deum laudamus*, et fidem, ut scriptum est: *Quicumque vult*, etc.

Et cum tot et tantas habeant virtutes, filii Wilhelme, cantica psalmodum, hortor et admoneo ut assidue eos, pro te et genitori tuo, decantes, nec non et pro omnibus vivis, seu etiam et pro personis qui tibi cari adsistunt, sive et pro omnibus fidelibus defunctis, atque pro illis quos supra commemorationem habes conscriptam additamque, si iubes. Et pro animae remedio mei, psalmos quos elegeris non oberrescas cantare, ut cum michi extrema dies finisque vitae advenerit, non cum implis ad sinistram, sed cum piis et digne agentibus ad dexteram merear sublevari axem.

&lt;2&gt;

Ad istum tamen semper recurre libellum. Vale et vige, nobilis puer, semper in Christo. + Incoatio huius libelli IIo anno obitus Ludovici

Lord O my soul, and all [that is within me],"<sup>14</sup> "I will extol you, O God, my King."<sup>15</sup> And whether it is a time of prosperity or adversity for you, always recite "The hymn of the three children."<sup>16</sup> No mortal can grasp the power of this hymn in which all creatures are called upon to praise the Creator.

If you wish in private to devote yourself to divine praises and heavenly teachings and commands, recite this psalm: "Blessed are those whose way is undefiled."<sup>17</sup> While you may continue to ponder and examine the meaning of this psalm until the end of your life, I think you will never be able to grasp it perfectly. It contains no verse which does not describe God's way, his law, his commands, God's teachings, his words, his acts of justice and his court of law, or the sayings of God. And for this reason you do not need to squander your efforts by consulting a variety of books.

In the Psalter alone you have plenty of matter to read, sift over and learn from until the end of your life. You will find there the Prophets and the Gospels; all the apostolic and divine books are individually presented, partially glossed and described in intellectual and spiritual ways. You will also find in them prophecies about the first and second coming of the Lord. The Incarnation as well as the Passion, Resurrection, and the Ascension of our Lord, and all the power of divine sayings you'll find in the Psalms. If you meditate on these privately and deeply you will discover, by God's grace, the marrow of their inner meaning.<sup>18</sup>

And once the seven canonical hours are over and the day is ended, do not think you can omit the hymn "We Praise you Lord," or the Creed, where it is written, "Whoever wishes,"<sup>19</sup> and so on.

Because singing the Psalms has such great efficacy, and so many virtues, I encourage and remind you to recite them diligently for yourself and for your father, no less than for all the living, for people dear to you, for all the faithful dead, for those I wrote of earlier for you to remember, and any others whom you may also designate. And do not err by neglecting to recite psalms of your choosing for the remedy of my soul, so that when my last day comes and the end of life, I shall not be set upon the left side with the ungodly, but I shall be found worthy to be raised up to heaven on the right with the godly and the good. Amen.

&lt;2&gt; Closing

Come back always to this little book. Farewell, noble boy, flourish

condam imperatori, II<sup>o</sup> kalendas decembri, sancti Andreae missa, incoante sanctum Domini Adventum. Finitus est autem, auxiliante Deo, III<sup>o</sup> nonas februarii, Purificationis sanctae et gloriosae semperque virginis Mariae, Christo propitio regnante, et regem quem Deus dederit sperantem.

Qui legis, ora pro praescripta Duodane, si merearis Christum videre in aeterna felicitate.

Finit hic, Deo gratias, liber Manualis Wilhelmi, in eo quod ait Evangelium: *Consumatum est.*

ever in Christ. + This little book was begun in the second year after the death of the late emperor Ludovic, on November 30 on the mass day of St. Andrew at the begining of the Lord's holy Advent.<sup>20</sup> It was finished with God's help on February 2, the Feast of the Purification of the sainted, glorious, and perpetually virgin Mary, in the reign of the beneficent Christ, and in hope of whatever God the king may send.<sup>21</sup> Reader, pray for Dhuoda, who is here inscribed, if you would be worthy of seeing Christ in eternal bliss.

Here ends the Handbook for William – thanks be to God – with words the Gospel speaks: "It is finished."<sup>22</sup>

## Explanatory notes

### Incipits, inscription, prologue, preface, chapters

- 1 1 Peter 5.6; and cf. Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job* 11.4.7 (PL 75: 956): "per manum quippe potestas exprimitur."
- 2 Daniel 7.14.
- 3 Psalm 143.7.
- 4 Ezekiel 3.22.
- 5 Ezekiel 3.14.
- 6 Luke 1.66.
- 7 In 3.2 (Book 3 chapter 2) below (Riché 188), Dhuoda gives *scopton* as the Greek for "gaze" or "aim." Dhuoda would have known Greek words and letters from reading, e.g., Augustine (354–430) and Isidore of Seville (d. 636), and she likes to scatter them, though sparingly. Carolingians held Greek in high regard: Charlemagne and Louis the Pious were said (by court biographers) to understand the language better than they read it. Like their highly cultured heir, Charles the Bald, they fostered Greek scholarship and translations. Hrabanus Maurus in 810 used Greek letters in his famed figural poem *De laudibus sanctae crucis* (PL 107: 133–294), of which Riché signals a recent edition and translation by M. Perrin, *Louange de la Sainte Croix*, Paris 1988.  
See Walter Berschin, *Greek Letters and the Latin Middle Ages from Jerome to Nicholas of Cusa*, tr. Jerold Frakes (Washington, DC: Catholic University Press, 1988 rev. and enl.), especially chs. 7 ("Merovingian Gaul and the Carolingian Courts") and 8 ("Carolingian Monasteries"). In Michael W. Herren, ed., *The Sacred Nectar of the Greeks: The Study of Greek in the West in the Early Middle Ages* (London: King's College, 1988) there are pertinent essays, e.g., Pierre Riché, "Le grec dans les centres de culture d'Occident," pp. 143–68.
- 8 Prudentius, *Cathemerinon* ("The Daily Round") 1.1: *Ales diel nuntius*; 1.2: *lucem propinquam praecinit*; 1.54: *praeco lucis*; (Prudentius, ed. and tr. H. J. Thomson, vol. 1, The Loeb Classical Library [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, rpt. 1962]; and Gregory of Tours (*Liber vitae patrum* 2.4 ("De sancto Illidio"): *ales ille lucis nuntius* (MGH SRM 1.1, p. 221).
- 9 Romans 13.12.
- 10 Cf. John 8.12; 9.4–5; 11.9.
- 11 Referred to are both the lyrical measures of Dhuoda's verses and the relaxed flow of clauses in the prose. Cf. Augustine, *De musica* II.4.5 (PL 32: 1103): *quasi-articulatis motibus qui sunt in sonis*.
- 12 1 Corinthians 3.6.
- 13 2 Timothy 4.7.
- 14 John 19.30. Christ's last words from the Cross, which will be Dhuoda's closing words (11.2).
- 15 Can this friend be the Blessed Virgin? Mary is not otherwise mentioned in the *Liber Manualis* except at the end of Book 11, where the context is to provide the date of the Purification.
- 16 Dhuoda lists them below (1.5): justice, fortitude, prudence, temperance.
- 17 An archaic genitive form for *mei*, given by the grammarian Aelius Donatus (whom Dhuoda acknowledges in 3.10). Added to the dative *michi*, *mei* gives double emphasis to the first-person pronoun in stressing the uniqueness of the mother "nullum similem tui superstitem relinquo").
- 18 An echo of the Lord's Prayer; cf. Matthew 6.9–13, Luke 11.2, and the second-century *Didache*, ch. 8 (tr. Maxwell Staniforth, rev. edn. Andrew Louth in *Early Christian Writings: The Apostolic Fathers* [London: Penguin, 1987]), p. 194.
- 19 Cf. Psalm 23.1.
- 20 The text reads Delta and Moyda (for μ). In the acrostic, D is the initial letter for "Dhuoda," while M is the last letter of "Salutem." The acrostic reads: *Dhuoda dilecto filio VVilhelmo Salutem. Lege*. The "Lege" of the acrostic addresses William, though "Lector" may aim at a wider readership.
- 21 2 Corinthians 11.23.
- 22 Wisdom 10.21.
- 23 Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* 18.60 (ed. W. M. Lindsay) identifies *lusus tabulae* as a board game of dice or backgammon.
- 24 Genesis 2.7.
- 25 Louis the Pious reigned with his father Charlemagne from 813, became emperor in 814, and was recrowned by the pope in 816. He died June 20, 840, nearly a year and a half before Dhuoda began writing.
- 26 Lit. "the year of five concurrents, on the third of the Kalends of July."
- 27 Lit. "on the third of the Kalends of December."
- 28 Lit. "on the eleventh Kalends of April."
- 29 Cf. Psalm 118.155.
- 30 Cf. Job 30.16.
- 31 After the Battle of Fontenoy, June 15, 841, Bernard sent his son William to serve Charles the Bald, the youngest son of the Emperor Louis the Pious. Charles was then king of the West Franks. He would be crowned Holy Roman Emperor in 875, two years before his death.
- 32 Matthew 6.33.
- 33 The following division of chapters reflects Riché's editorial grouping of the *Liber Manualis* into eleven books. (See above, Introduction n. 5.)



## Book 1

- 1 Genesis 18.27.
- 2 3 Kings 8.27.
- 3 Exodus 33.13.
- 4 Cf. Exodus 33.20.
- 5 Acts 17.28.
- 6 Mark 7.28ff. and Matthew 15.27ff. Marie Anne Mayeski, *Dhuoda: Ninth Century Mother and Theologian* (Scranton: University of Scranton Press, 1995), pp. 65–92, develops Dhuoda's allusion to the story of the Syro-Phoenician (or Canaanite) woman who begged Jesus to drive the demons from her daughter. Mayeski traces the narrative's exegetical history from Origen and Jerome to Bede, with its various allegories of "dogs" and "crumbs," and demonstrates how Dhuoda, employing the method of *lectio divina*, modulates to the Eucharistic table prepared in the wilderness.
- 7 Numbers 22.28. Peter Dronke writes (private communication, March 18, 1997): "Riché ('Compléments aux notes,' 1991 ed.), who suggests that my parallel here between Dhuoda and Gregory of Tours can be explained simply by their common use of a biblical verse, did not understand what I wrote. Evidently both Dhuoda and Gregory allude to the speaking of Balaam's ass (Numbers 22.28) – as I stated in *Women Writers*, p. 50. The unusual parallel between them, however, lies in their *comparing themselves* to the ass miraculously brought to speak. This motif would seem to have passed from Gregory (*Potest enim . . .*) to Dhuoda (*Potens est enim . . .*): the two passages are cited side by side in my note 41 *ad loc.* The similarity of thought and wording in these goes well beyond the words *aperuitque Dominus os asinae* in Numbers, and is not likely to be due to coincidence."
- 8 Cf. Luke 24.45.
- 9 Cf. Psalm 118.125.
- 10 Psalm 77.19.
- 11 Luke 12.42.
- 12 Lamentations 3.22.
- 13 Exodus 3.14.
- 14 Apocalypse 1.8. Exodus 3.14.
- 15 Psalm 137.6.
- 16 Cf. Psalm 70.12.
- 17 1 Peter 5.6.
- 18 Psalm 102.14.
- 19 Psalm 52.3.
- 20 Prudentius, *Cathemerinon* 2: 105–08: "Speculator adstat desuper, / qui nos diebus omnibus / actusque nostros prospicit / a luce prima in vesperum."
- 21 Psalm 112.3.
- 22 On the parallel of an earthly season to a "season" in eternity, see Gregory the Great, *XL Homiliarum in Evangelia*, 1.19 (PL 76: 1155). David Hurst (tr. *Gregory the Great: Forty Gospel Homilies* [Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publica-

tions, 1990]) corrects and supplements Migne, using the Corpus Christi (Cambridge), Barcelona, and Paris mss., while revising Migne's random order of Homilies 1–20. Homily 3 corresponds to Migne's Homily 1. The Gospel passage is assigned to Advent. The reference begins, "The kingdom of God is aptly compared to summer" (Hurst tr. p. 18).

- 23 2 Timothy 2.19.
  - 24 Romans 11.33.
  - 25 Romans 11.34.
  - 26 Psalm 88.7.
  - 27 2 Chronicles 6.30.
  - 28 Psalm 96.9.
  - 29 Dhuoda's learned man may be Augustine, whose commentary on the Gospel of John, *In Iohannis evangelium tractatus* 29.4 (CCSL 36, pp. 285–86) discourses on the two syllables of the name of *Deus*; see also Augustine, *Quaestiones in heptateuchem* 2.120 (PL 34: 638).
  - 30 Riché accepts the proposed translation of Jacques Fontaine (*Revue des Etudes Latines* [1976]: 410–12) for *Deus hoc magnum admirabilem continet sacramentum*. See *Liber Manualis* (1991 edn.), "Compléments aux notes."
  - 31 Cf. 2 Kings 13.13.
  - 32 Dhuoda's passion for numerology is evident throughout the *Liber Manualis* (especially in Books 1, 6, and 9); in this she reflects the widespread medieval interest in the subject, which in turn derives from Scriptural views, e.g. that God "ordered all things in measure and number and weight" (Wisdom 11.21). Symbolic numbers are frequent in the Bible, where, for instance, angels, days, rituals and objects occur in 3s, 7s, 12s, 40s.
- Medieval exegetes drew upon the mysteries of numbers. Augustine espoused their study in *De doctrina christiana* and *De musica*. Isidore of Seville similarly argues for the value of numbers in reading Scripture: "Ratio numerorum contemnenda non est. In multis enim Sanctarum Scripturarum locis quantum mysterium habent elucet" (*Etymologiae* 3.4.1); the opening of his *Liber numerorum* (PL 83: 179–84) gives the characteristics of numbers, as Dhuoda does in 9.3.
- It was the Venerable Bede who established the medieval system of computation with his authoritative manual of 725, *De temporum ratione*, whose opening chapter outlines finger computing, "De computo vel loquela digitorum"; this little treatise is in CCSL 123 (vol. B), ch. 1, pp. 268–73. (See Dhuoda's 6.4 on computation.) Hrabanus Maurus (*In numerorum*, PL 108: 587–840) paraphrases Isidore on the power of numbers, and bases his own *De computo – a discipulus/magister* dialogue (820) – on Bede's textbook. Hrabanus also imitates Bede's *De temporum ratione* in setting out numerical equivalents for Greek letters (ed. W. M. Stevens, CCCM 44, ch. 7, p. 213).

In England, the tenth-century monk Byrhtferth of Ramsay comments on the computus, and explores symbolic properties of numbers as well as

numerical correspondences among the seasons, the ages of man, the astronomical phenomena, and the virtues. *Byrhtferth's Enchiridion*, ed. Peter S. Baker and Michael Lapidge, EETS SS 15 (Oxford University Press, 1995) newly edits Crawford's 1929 text, with a wealth of scholarship and a facing modern English translation.

An excellent brief survey is Arno Borst, tr. Andrew Winnard, *The Ordering of Time: From the Ancient Computus to the Modern Computer* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), ch. 6 of which treats Dhuoda's contemporaries and the ninth century; also Karl Menninger, *Number Words and Number Symbols: A Cultural History of Numbers*, tr. Paul Broner (London and Cambridge, Mass.: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1969), esp. 201ff. On Bede's computing tract see Alfred Cordoliani, "A propos du chapitre premier du 'De temporum ratione' de Bède," *Le Moyen Age* 54 (1948): 209-23. Essays on medieval numerology in literature are gathered in Robert L. Surles, ed., *Medieval Numerology* (New York: Garland, 1993); a standard earlier work is Vincent Hopper, *Medieval Number Symbolism, Its Sources, Meaning and Influence on Thought and Expression* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938).

- 33 Job 38.7.  
 34 Job 38.4.  
 35 Job 38.5.  
 36 Job 38.8.  
 37 Job 38.9.  
 38 Prudentius, *Cathemerinon* 9 ("Hymnus omnis horae"): 13-15.  
 39 Psalm 21.29.  
 40 Cf. Daniel 3.100, 4.31.  
 41 Psalm 23.1.  
 42 Psalm 8.9.  
 43 Psalm 94.4.  
 44 Esther 13.9; Daniel 4.32.  
 45 Daniel 7.14.  
 46 In the light of the metaphor to follow, I would propose that Dhuoda means she is an author among fellow authors - others who invent rhetorical figures.  
 47 The bibliophile Dhuoda evokes an image of the cosmos as a book, saying, in effect, "If all the world were paper, and all the sea were ink!" See Curtius, *Latin Literature and the European Middle Ages*, pp. 310-11 on the heavens as a book, citing e.g. Isaiah 34.4: "and the heavens shall be rolled together as a scroll." Cf. Psalm 103.2; Apocalypse 6.14.  
 48 On the *adynaton* see Etienne Dutoit, *Le Thème de l'adynaton dans la poésie antique* (Paris, 1936).  
 49 Ephesians 3.18.  
 50 Mark 12.33; Psalm 106.1; Psalm 117.1-2.  
 51 Cf. Gregory the Great, *Moralla in Job* 2.12.20 (PL 75: 565).

- 52 Psalm 112.4.  
 53 Acts 17.28.  
 54 Psalm 103.13.  
 55 Psalm 144.16.  
 56 Psalm 5.13 and Psalm 90.5.  
 57 John 14.6.  
 58 Job 40.7.  
 59 Job 40.10.  
 60 Riché prefers *ortatrix*, "she who exhorts" (*hortatrix* P) to *oratrix* (B), "woman orator." Elsewhere Dhuoda uses both *ortatrix tua* (4.8) and *oratrix* (9.5), and in 8.7, *orator*.  
 61 On Dhuoda's mirror image, see her Prologue above, and the Introduction, p. 27.  
 62 Genesis 37.27.  
 63 This rallying cry comes from the Passion of St. Symphorian (August 22, 179 AD; "Vita Symphoriani," *Acta Sanctorum* August, vol. 4: 496-97), whose mother called encouragements to him from the ramparts of Autun as he was led outside the town to his death: "Venerabilis autem mater sua, de muro nota illum voce commonuit dicens, Nate, nate Symphoriane, in mente habe Deum vivum". And, like Dhuoda: "Sursum cor suspende, fili; aspice illum qui regnat in caelis!"  
 The words of the saint's mother appear almost verbatim in Gregory's *Liber antiphonarius*, the *Antiphonae in matutinis de sancto Symphoriano* (PL 78: 800). The older *vita* gives Symphorian's father's name (as Faustus), but not his mother's name. His relics were laid in the cathedral of Autun; in 1834 Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres painted a *Martyrdom of St. Symphorian* for the cathedral.  
 Riché suggests that the Burgundian connections of Dhuoda's husband, Bernard of Septimania, would have prompted Dhuoda's two references (1.7 and 7.3) to Symphorian, patron saint of Autun. The count of Autun was Tedderic, young William's uncle, the godfather and benefactor who had bequeathed the boy his Burgundian estates (8.15). Equally pertinent are the pathos of a mother heartening the child whose violent end she fears in advance, and the powerful, even sanctifying maternal role that infuses the *Liber Manualis*.

## Book 2

- 1 Dhuoda may be warning her son of an anti-trinitarian heresy thriving in the Spanish March and strongly held by Felix bishop of Urgel. This eighth-century revival of an older view that Jesus was a man "adopted" by God (*Christus filius Dei adoptivus*) was disputed between Felix and Alcuin for nearly a week in a "theological joust" before Charlemagne at a synod at Aachen in the spring of 800. See Emile Amann, *L'Epoque carolingienne*, pp. 149-150 (vol. 6 of *Histoire de l'Eglise depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours*,

- ed. Augustin Fliche and Victor Martin [Paris: Bloud & Gay, 1941]). In 8.13 Dhuoda declares concern for those who may swerve from their faith in the Trinity.
- 2 The translation is that proposed by Jacques Fontaine in his review of the *Liber Manualis* (ed. Riché 1975), in *Revue des Etudes Latines* (1976): 410-12, and endorsed by Riché, "Compléments aux notes" (*Liber Manualis*, 1991 edn.).
  - 3 A reference to Abraham (Genesis 18ff.) as he welcomed three angels announcing that his long-barren wife Sarah would bear a child. Dhuoda's interest is in the unity of the three angels, rephrasing Augustine's commentary in *De civitate Dei*, 16.29 (CCSL 48). In Homilies 3 and 34, Gregory the Great discourses on angelic messengers (*Forty Gospel Homilies*, tr. Durst, pp. 16 and 285ff.; PL 76: 1077 and 1246).
  - 4 Hilary of Poitiers, *De Trinitate*, 4.25 (PL 10: 115); Ambrose, *De Fide ad Gratianum*, 1.13.80 (PL 16: 547b). For the ninth-century hymn *Abraham tres vidit, unum credidit*, see *Analecta hymnica medii aevi* 51, p. 17, ed. Guido Maria Dreves, Clemens Blume, and Henry Marriott Bannister, vols. 1-55 (Leipzig 1886-1922); *Register* [Index] ed. M. Lütolf (Bern/Munich, 1978).
  - 5 Psalm 66.7-8.
  - 6 Psalm 66.8.
  - 7 Romans 11.36.
  - 8 Daniel 3.50.
  - 9 Daniel 3.50.
  - 10 1 Corinthians 13.13.
  - 11 Psalm 141.6.
  - 12 Psalm 36.3,7,4.
  - 13 Cf. Psalm 36.3.
  - 14 Cf. Luke 1.53 (the Magnificat).
  - 15 Cf. Matthew 7.7.
  - 16 Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* 8.2.6: "caritas Graece, Latine dilectio interpretatur".
  - 17 1 John 4.16.
  - 18 Proverbs 8.17.
  - 19 Apocalypse 3.20.
  - 20 Cf. Osee 14.5.
  - 21 John 14.23.
  - 22 Cf. *The Rule of St. Benedict*, ed. and tr. Timothy Fry, OSB (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 1981), ch. 20 ("De reverentia orationis"), pp. 216-17.
- "Little prayer-books" (*precum libelli*), with prayers for various occasions, were widely copied in the late eighth century and throughout the ninth; Dhuoda shows acquaintance with these, as Riché indicates (*Liber Manualis* pp. 30, 125 n.9, and *passim*), and often intersperses prayer fragments with psalm verses. D. A. Bullough describes a group of Carolingian *preces*

- privatae: Carolingian Renewal: Sources and Heritage* (Manchester University Press, 1991), pp. 160-70.
- A collection, *Libellus sacrarum precum*, appears in the Fleury manuscript (PL 101: 1383-1416) possibly of the 820s or 830s. Four prayer-books originating in Tours are edited by Dom André Wilmart, *Precum libelli quattuor aevi Karolini* (Rome: Ephemerides Liturgicae, 1940). Dom Pierre Salmon's articles are valuable: "Livrets de prières de l'époque carolingienne, RB 86 (1976): 218-34, and "Livrets de prières de l'époque carolingienne. Nouvelle liste de manuscrits," RB 90 (1980): 147-49. On the currency of books of private prayer, see J. Leclercq, *La Spiritualité au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1960). And see Nicole Bériou, Jacques Berlioz, and Jean Longère, *Prier au moyen âge, pratique et expériences (Ve-XVe siècles)* (Turnhout: Brépols, 1991).
- 23 Isidore, *Etymologiae*, 1.5.3: "oratio dicta quasi oris ratio".
  - 24 Dhuoda's wording is close to *The Rule of St. Benedict*, ch. 7 ("De humilitate"): 51, pp. 198-99: "intimo cordis credat affectu".
  - 25 Cf. Matthew 7.7-8.
  - 26 *The Rule of St. Benedict*, ch. 52 ("De oratorio monasterii"), exhorting quiet reverence ("non in clamosa voce"), pp. 254-55.
  - 27 Cf. *Libellus sacrarum precum* (PL 101: 1401c and 1406b).
  - 28 Psalm 69.2; cf. *Libellus sacrarum precum* (PL 101: 1404a).
  - 29 Cf. Psalm 16.8.
  - 30 Paul Edward Dutton notes Dhuoda's concern for tranquil sleep, in *The Politics of Dreaming in the Carolingian Empire* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), pp. 16-17.
  - 31 Genesis 28.12-13.
  - 32 Making the sign of the cross was a customary rite accompanying every action. Tertullian bears witness from the early fourth century: "At every step and movement forward, at every entrance and exit, every time we put on shoes, or bathe, or when we're at table, and light the lamps, in our beds or sitting down, whatever daily action engages us, we trace the sign of the cross on our forehead ("Ad omnem progressum atque promotum, ad omnem aditum et exitum, ad calciatum, ad lavacra, ad mensas, ad lumina, ad cubilia, ad sedilia, quaecumque nos conversatio exercet, frontem crucis signacula terimus". *Liber de corona*, ch. 3 PL 2: 80.) Prudentius indicates how to make the sign: "Be sure that when sleep calls you and you seek your chaste bed, the sign of the cross is made on your forehead and the place where your heart is. ("Fac, cum vocante somno / Castum petis cubile, / Frontem locumque cordis / Crucis figura signet": *Cathemerinon* 6:129-32). Gregory the Great records a miracle in which bread is signed with the cross before baking: *Dialogi* vol. 2 (SC 260), 1.11, pp. 110-11. And see H. Leclercq, "Signe de la croix," *DACL* 3.2: cols 3139-144.
  - 33 A *carmen figurata* (Venantius Fortunatus, *Carminum spuriorum appendix*), *MGH Auctores* 4.1:381 gives the verses: "Crux mihi certa salus, /

- crux est quam semper adoro. / Crux domini mecum, crux mihi refugium".
- 34 Cf. *Precum libelli*, ed. Wilmart, p. 55: "Crux mihi salus. Crux mihi refugium. Crux mihi protectio. Crux mihi defensio. Crux mihi vita".
- 35 Psalm 132.3 and 2.
- 36 Psalm 43.26.
- 37 Psalm 5.4.
- 38 Ephesians 6.15.
- 39 Psalm 118.164. Examples of the seven daily prayers are found in the *Precum libelli*, ed. Wilmart, pp. 25, 34. One passage resembles Dhuoda's: "Cum autem de lectulo stratus vestri surrexeritis, dicendum vobis est: Domine" etc. Dhuoda entertains William to recite the canonical hours ("Decanta horas canonicas") as if he were a monastic, echoing *The Rule of St. Benedict* ch. 67 ("De fratribus in viam directis"): "per omnes canonicas horas" (pp. 288–89). Similarly, Alcuin had advised Charlemagne (as "beatus David") that a pious layman should recite the hours: "qualiter homo laicus qui adhuc in activa vita consistit, per dinumeratas horas has Deo supplicare debeat" (PL 101: 510).
- 40 Psalm 16.5.
- 41 Psalm 85.11; Psalm 24.5.
- 42 Psalm 85.11.
- 43 Psalm 85.17.

### Book 3

- 1 Ecclesiasticus 3.3. Here and elsewhere Dhuoda attributes Ecclesiasticus to Solomon.
- 2 Ecclesiasticus 3.6.
- 3 Ecclesiasticus 3.5. See "Refrigerium," *DACL*: cols. 2179–90, specifically "Le bonheur céleste," col. 2184.
- 4 Ecclesiasticus 3.7.
- 5 Ecclesiasticus 3.8.
- 6 Exodus 20.12, the fifth commandment.
- 7 Ecclesiasticus 7.30.
- 8 *Ibid.*
- 9 Ecclesiasticus 3.14.
- 10 Ecclesiasticus 3.15.
- 11 Dhuoda discreetly refers to the revolts of the sons of Louis the Pious. Hrabanus Maurus drew parallels in 834 between the same current and biblical events, in a letter exhorting children to honor parents and rulers, beginning "De honore parentum et subiectione filiorum" (MGH *Epistolae* 5: 403–06).
- 12 1 Kings 4.11 on Hophni and Phineas.
- 13 Dhuoda bases her *dyndrum* on the Greek [δενδρον], "tree."
- 14 2 Kings 18.14.

- 15 Deuteronomy 27.16.
- 16 Leviticus 20.9.
- 17 Genesis 37.8.
- 18 *The Rule of St. Benedict*, ch. 34 ("Si omnes aequaliter debeant necessaria accipere") reads "omnia membra erunt in pace", though the chapter is about distributing goods according to need (pp. 230–31).
- 19 Proverbs 6.20.
- 20 Proverbs 4.10.
- 21 Psalm 36.9.
- 22 Psalm 26.13.
- 23 1 Peter 2.13–14.
- 24 Dhuoda's use of *senioratus*, a person of high rank, reflects acquaintance with a specific feudal term. See K. J. Hollyman, *Le Développement du vocabulaire féodal en France pendant le haut Moyen Age (étude sémantique)* (Paris: Librairie Minard, 1957), p. 109.
- 25 Genesis 9. 26–7.
- 26 Genesis 21.6, a reference to Sarah's laughter upon learning she will conceive a child in old age. See the comment of Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job* 9.66.105 (PL 75: 918b) on the passage.
- 27 Psalm 131.15; Genesis 22.17.
- 28 Genesis 35.10.
- 29 Genesis 32.28.
- 30 Jeremiah 27.12.
- 31 On Joseph, Genesis 37ff.
- 32 Genesis 49.22.
- 33 Genesis 41.45.
- 34 Psalm 83.8.
- 35 Luke 2.51.
- 36 Luke 2.52.
- 37 Charles the Bald, the son of Louis the Pious and grandson of Charlemagne. William was commended to his service after the Battle of Fontenoy. See Introduction, pp. 18–21.
- 38 Genesis 24ff. recounts the wooing of Rebecca as Isaac's wife, fulfilling the promise God had made to Abraham that his progeny would be numerous as the stars (Genesis 15). The passage adumbrates Dhuoda's theme of family and progeny.
- 39 Cf. 3 Kings 2.
- 40 Romans 13.1–2. The same statement is in Jonas, bishop of Orléans, who wrote his *De institutione regia* for Pippin of Aquitaine PL 106: 277–306: ch. 8, col. 296.
- 41 1 Maccabees 3.60.
- 42 Ecclesiasticus 32.24.
- 43 2. Kings 19.29; see also Letter 49 of Lupus of Ferrières, *Correspondance* (ed. L. Levillain), I: 208.
- 44 Cf. Ecclesiasticus 5.15; Psalm 50.9.

- 45 Psalm 118.103.  
 46 Proverbs 22.1. Dhuoda ascribes to eloquence the qualities that Proverbs ascribes to a good name.  
 47 Canticles 4.11.  
 48 Psalm 11.7.  
 49 Ecclesiasticus 6.5.  
 50 Psalm 50.9.  
 51 Psalm 62.6.  
 52 James 1.5-6.  
 53 Matthew 7.7.  
 54 Mark 11.24.  
 55 Wisdom 9.4 and 9.10.  
 56 3 Kings 3.9.  
 57 Ecclesiasticus 25.5.  
 58 Psalm 70.17-18.  
 59 *The Rule of St. Benedict*, ch. 63 ("De ordine congregationis") reminds readers that age may not determine rank, and that "Samuel and Daniel were still children when they judged the Elders" (pp. 278-79). Riché discusses this Benedictine rehabilitaton of the child in an otherwise harsh Romano-Barbarian society: *Education and Culture in the Barbarian West: Sixth through Eighth Centuries*, tr. John J. Contreni (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1976), pp. 453ff.  
 60 Daniel 2.27ff; 5.16; 6.3.  
 61 Exodus 18. 14-23.  
 62 Judith 5.5ff. Achior exemplifies an advisor ill-repaid for his trouble.  
 63 Wisdom 3.5.  
 64 Hebrews 5.14.  
 65 Wisdom 3.6.  
 66 1 Maccabees 3.60.  
 67 2 Corinthians 11.23.  
 68 Matthew 24.12.  
 69 Isidore of Seville; perhaps the allusion is to *Synonyma* 2.44 (PL 83: 855c-d) on avoiding imprudent and frivolous companions.  
 70 Jeremiah 8.22: "numquid resina non est in Galaad aut medicus non est ibi?" The rest of the citation is not from Jeremiah. Cf. 4 Kings 1.3: "numquid non est Deus in Israel", and Micah 4.9 "numquid ... consiliarius tuus perit?"  
 71 Isaiah 9.6; 2 Timothy 2.19; Cf. 1 Kings 22.14.  
 72 Isidore of Seville, *Synonyma* 2.43 (PL 83: 855c): "vita malos, cave iniquos, fuge improbos."  
 73 Isidore, *Synonyma* 2.37 (PL 83: 854a): "invidia est animi tineae".  
 74 Note the following descants on three of the seven deadly sins: Ira, Invidia, Superbia.  
 75 Originally David's counselor (2 Kings 16.15ff.), Achitophel turned against David and advised Absalom, David's son, to kill his father and take his

- concubines. This plot followed upon David's adultery with Bathsheba, his murder of her husband, and his failure to punish his son Amon for the rape of Amon's sister Tamar. Absalom instead followed the advice of Hushai, David's spy. Achitophel hanged himself, becoming an antetype of Judas. Dhuoda's moral is plain: parricide for whatever reasons is a sin; the sons of Louis the Pious had sinfully abused their father. There is also a specific parallel with William and his father. Bernard was charged with base conduct, including adultery. Whatever Bernard may have done, or may be accused of, Dhuoda warns William never to resist or defy his father.  
 76 Counselor to Ahasuerus, the Persian Xerxes (Esther 6.4). Angered that Esther's cousin Mordecai refused to worship him, Haman plotted the downfall of the Jewish nation. Esther intervened, and Haman was hanged on the gallows he had built for Mordecai.  
 77 Chief herdsman and counselor to Saul (1 Kings 21.7 and 22.9).  
 78 Esther 8.2.  
 79 2 Kings 17.14.  
 80 2 Kings 15.32ff.  
 81 The incident is in Esther 6.6ff., but there is no speech by Mordecai.  
 82 Esther 7.10.  
 83 Psalm 7.15-16.  
 84 Job 12.16.  
 85 For David's lament for Jonathan and Saul see 2 Kings 1.25ff. David and Jonathan made a pact of friendship which Jonathan honored, risking his life to defend David against the anger of his father Saul, who had disobeyed God's orders. Note that Dhuoda's chapter on brotherly love and friendship follows the chapter on the sacred bond between fathers and sons. The connected themes touch on the plight of the Carolingian imperial house and on Dhuoda's own family concerns, for she implores William to revere his father and his lord Charles, and to protect his little brother.  
 86 2 Kings 1.26. Actually David says, "Your love to me was wonderful, surpassing the love of women."  
 87 2 Kings 1.23.  
 88 2 Kings 1.22.  
 89 2 Kings 1.23.  
 90 Dhuoda means the book of Kings, which Ermoldus Nigellus also recommended to Pippin in 827 or 828, so he might learn which of the Hebrews were pleasing to God. *Poème sur Louis le Pieux.*, ll. 115-116, p. 226: "Acta legens regum poteris cognoscere, princeps, / Quisque Deo placuit, quae sibi promeruit."  
 91 Charles the Bald was not yet recognized in meridional France, when Dhuoda was writing, and was still fighting his half-brother Pippin.  
 92 Genesis 15.4ff.  
 93 Prayers for the prince were reinstated by Charlemagne, who decreed worship, fasts, and litanies; "special propitiatory services, particularly in times of military danger ... would continue at least down to the end of the

[ninth] century" (p. 12), as Michael McCormick observes (p. 12) in "The Liturgy of War in the Early Middle Ages: Crisis, Litanies, and the Carolingian Monarchy," *Viator* 15 (1984): 1–23. Dhuoda's private prayer hints at counsel as well.

- 94 Genesis 49.22.  
 95 Wisdom 10.21; Psalm 8.3.  
 96 Philippians 2.7.  
 97 Luke 14.11; 18.14.  
 98 Isaiah 60.22.  
 99 Psalm 148.12.  
 100 Psalm 150.6.  
 101 Acts 10.34–35.  
 102 Galatians 6.2.  
 103 Romans 15.1.  
 104 Genesis 16.12, said of Ishmael.  
 105 2 Corinthians 9.7.  
 106 James 1.17.  
 107 Dhuoda cites the grammarian Donatus in the *Ars minor* (on the parts of speech). See Heinrich Keil, ed., *Grammatici latini* 4 (Leipzig, 1864; rpt. New York and Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1981), p. 360: "osculator te et osculator a te." Jan Ziolkowski (*Alan of Lille's Grammar of Sex: The Meaning of Grammar to a Twelfth Century Intellectual* [Cambridge, Mass.: Medieval Academy of America, 1985], pp. 57–58) puts Dhuoda's innocent wordplay in the context of more erotically suggestive grammatical games. Dhuoda's second citation, "ut ego, mei vel mis, mihi, me, a mei," is from Donatus' *Ars maior* (ed. Kell), on grammar, p. 381. See Dhuoda's use of these pronouns in the *Epigramma* (Verse inscription), above, p. 46 (*Mis michi*).  
 Dhuoda calls Donatus a poet, perhaps having read a versified version of the *Ars minor* such as the one by Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel, *Liber Smaragdi presbiteri in partibus Donati* (MGH PLAC 1.607–15).  
 108 Augustine's commentary on Psalm 41.2 ("Quemadmodum desiderat cervus ad fontes aquarum, ita desiderat anima mea ad te Deus") compares the thirsting stag (when near death) to the catechumens hastening to the font: *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 41: 2–4 (CCSL 39), ed. Dekkers and Fraipont, pp. 459ff. Cf. Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job*, 30.10.36 (PL 76: 543).  
 109 Pliny's *Naturalis historia* (77 AD) gives this account: "They cross seas swimming in a herd strung out in line with their heads resting on the haunches of the ones in front of them, and taking turns to drop to the rear" (8.114), which Dhuoda embellishes with her moral. H. Rackham, ed. and tr., Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2nd edn., 1983).  
 110 Acts 4.32. The passage is discussed by Glenn W. Olsen, "One Heart and One Soul" (Acts 4:32 and 34) in Dhuoda's 'Manual,'" *Church History* 61 (1992): 23–33. Olsen observes that Dhuoda's deep concern for Christian

community and mutual charity based on apostolic models inspires her to stress "the organic, complementary, or reciprocal nature of human society, in which each rank serves the others" (p. 28).

- 111 Luke 1.69.  
 112 Luke 1.78.  
 113 After *superbia, ira, invidia*, Dhuoda now turns to *cupiditas*.  
 114 Philippians 3.20.  
 115 Job 12.7–8.  
 116 The poet remains unidentified, though the kind of word play in the following verses is familiar among Latin poets, e.g. Pseudo Ambrose, "Virginis virgo natus est" (PL 17: 1173 2.32); Paschasius Radbertus, "Virginem virgini commendavit" (*Expositio in Matthaem*, PL 120: 511a).  
 117 The lyric implies that God, the earth, and our first parents were virginal before being corrupted by guilt. Adam, an antetype of Christ, is born a virgin of the virgin earth. The translation here is that proposed by R. Bultot in his review of the *Liber Manualis* (ed. 1975), *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* 72 (1977): 372–74, and approved by Riché (ed. 1991, "Compléments aux notes"). Bultot reads the verses: "Vierge [Dieu] a créé la terre vierge; un homme vierge / a été fait d'une vierge [la terre]; / Hélas! ô douleur, l'[homme] vierge a été corrompu; / O douleur, hélas! [la terre] vierge a été corrompue." Like Riché, I see *corrupta* to mean Eve, not earth.  
 118 Genesis 2.24.  
 119 Cf. Prudentius, *Cathemerinon* 3.36–40.  
 120 Augustine (*De civitate Dei*, CCSL 48: 22.1, p. 805) states that the elect are destined to restore the ranks of angels, and build up the breach in the wall of the heavenly city caused by the fall of the rebels. On the population of the heavenly city with humanity and angels see also Gregory the Great, Homily 34 (*Forty Gospel Homilies*, tr. Durst, p. 289; PL 76: 1246). Dhuoda again takes up the subject in (9.4).  
 121 Mark 10.14.  
 122 Respect for priests and bishops is a frequent theme in Carolingian advice books, for instance Jonas of Orléans, *De institutione laicali* 1.20 (PL 106: 208ff.).  
 123 Matthew 26.28.  
 124 Leviticus 11.44.  
 125 Hebrews 12.14.  
 126 Isaiah 61.6.  
 127 Osee 4.8.  
 128 Shepherds and flocks are central to the pastoral symbolism of the Old Testament, though rare in the New Testament. A notable exception is Jesus' parable of the good shepherd (John 10).  
 129 Psalm 94.6–7.  
 130 Psalm 15.8.  
 131 Philippians 3.20.  
 132 Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* 7.12.12: *Episcopi autem Graece, Latine*

- speculatores interpretantur*; and Hrabanus Maurus, *De clericorum institutione* 1.5 (PL 107: 301).
- 133 Cf. Augustine, *De civitate dei* 19.19 (CCSL 48, p. 686).
- 134 Similarly, Pseudo-Alcuin, *Liber de divinis officiis* (PL 101: 1236b) gives: *Pontifex quasi pontem faciens . . . unde homines transeant ad patriam caelestem.*
- 135 Matthew 2.12.
- 136 Isaiah 52.7.
- 137 Matthew 18.18.
- 138 Osee 4.8.
- 139 Jeremiah 16.16.
- 140 3 Kings 8.6.
- 141 Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job* 23.11.21 (PL 76: 264).
- 142 Malachi 2.7.
- 143 Isaiah 60.8.
- 144 Psalm 131.9.
- 145 1 Kings 24.5–6.
- 146 Matthew 7.16.
- 147 2 Timothy 2.19.
- 148 Psalm 32.12.
- 149 Matthew 18.10.
- 150 Great ones often ignore those priests who care for the needy. Cf. Agobard's *De privilegio et iure sacerdotis*, PL 104: 138–139.
- 151 Psalm 104.15.
- 152 John 14.2.
- 153 1 Corinthians 15.41.
- 154 Daniel 12.3.
- 155 3 Kings 8.46.
- 156 Job 14.4–5. Riché (p. 196, n. 2) observes that the wording reflects the *Vetus Latina*.
- 157 Isidore, *Synonyma* 1.53 (PL 83:839c).
- 158 Cf. Psalm 54.24, and cf. Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job*, 5.39.70 (PL 75: 720a).
- 159 Hebrews 5.6.

#### Book 4

- 1 Originally a medical proverb, often quoted by religious writers such as Jerome (preface to Letter 121): "iuxta Hippocratem, contraria contrariorum remedia." John Cassian, *Institutiones* (ca. 424–25 AD), SC 109, 12.8, p. 460, writes of God's healing medicine: "contrariis sanare contraria." And cf. Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job*, 24.2.2 (PL 76: 287b); Ambrosius Autpertus, *De conflictu vitiorum et virtutum* (PL 83: 1131–144) on the virtues as antidotes to vice. On the genre and its imagery, consult Richard Newhauser, *The Treatise on the Vices and Virtues in*

- Latin and the Vernacular*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental (Turnhout: Brépols, 1993), pp. 159–60, "Medicine."
- 2 Ephesians 6.12.
- 3 On the word *sinpectas*, attested in two mss. (BP), Riché ("Compléments aux notes," 1991 edn.) refers to M. McCormick's review (*Bulletin de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale* 12 [1978]: 300) of the *Liber Manualis* (1975), which identifies this as a form of συμπαίκτης, a companion in a game, fellow athlete, playmate. The only other example occurs in *The Rule of St. Benedict* ch. 27 (Fry ed., p. 222): *inmittere senpectas*, explained there as *seniores sapientes fratres* who serve as spiritual physicians to the wayward brother. See Fry's references (pp. 222–23 n. 27.2) for other possible meanings.
- 4 Isidore, *Synonyma* 1.7 (PL 83: 829b).
- 5 Job 12.6.
- 6 Job 5.2.
- 7 Wisdom 2.24.
- 8 Prudentius, *Cathemerinon*, 9.55: "Pulsa pestis lubricorum milleformis daemonum"; 6.141: "O tortuose serpens / Qui mille per meandros . . ."
- 9 1 Peter 5.8.
- 10 The sign of the cross. Cf. Prudentius, *Cathemerinon* 6.147–48: "Signum quod ipse nosti / Damnat tuam catervam."
- 11 Prudentius, *Cathemerinon*, 9.52–53, 57: "suetus antro bustuali sub catenis frendere, / mentis inpos, efferatis percitus furoribus"; and: "seque nigris mergit undis et pecus lymphaticum."
- 12 Dhuoda perceives her son's feudal and military obligations as being distinct from his spiritual duties.
- 13 Cf. Job 39.13. Pliny (*Naturalis historia* 10.22, ed. and tr. Rackham), describes the upward flight of doves who save themselves by rising in contrary motion to the hawks that swoop down on them; Dhuoda expands the image – with the sipping of clear waters and the finding of joyous pleasures – to fit her discourse on reading.
- 14 Again Dhuoda uses the Greek word for trees, *dyndras* (cf. *dyndrum* in 3.1 above), with the sense of scourging branches. Dronke comments that the Vulgate of 2 Kings: 18.14 gives *lanceas*, while the Greek has βελη, "missiles." The Hebrew, according to the New Jerusalem Bible, gives the word meaning "sticks."
- 15 Ecclesiasticus 44.1.
- 16 In a context of reading, Dhuoda reminds William of holy inscriptions. Cf. the names of the twelve tribes written on the breast of the high priest (Exodus 28.29 and 39.14); the names of the Lamb and the Father inscribed on the forehead of the chosen (Apocalypse 14.1); God's words, to be constantly borne on the forehead and hands (Exodus 13.9; Deuteronomy 6.8 and 11.18).
- 17 While Dhuoda's allusion to Ezekiel is imprecise, her intent is clear: eyes and wings mean vigilance and readiness for flight. Ezekiel 1.5–11 mentions bronze-colored creatures with four faces, four wings, and calflike feet.

- There are seraphim with six wings in Isaiah 6.2-3, and four beasts with six wings in Apocalypse 4.8.
- 18 Psalm 139.6.
  - 19 See notes 16 and 17 above.
  - 20 Galatians 5.16-17.
  - 21 Hebrews 11.33.
  - 22 Psalm 70.18.
  - 23 Psalm 77.10.
  - 24 Psalm 102.19.
  - 25 Psalm 83.8.
  - 26 Ephesians 5.16, with an obvious allusion to the current political turmoil.
  - 27 Matthew 24.24.
  - 28 2 Timothy 3.1-4.
  - 29 Psalm 34.1-2; Psalm 139.8.
  - 30 Psalm 31.7.
  - 31 Psalm 34.3. And cf. Genesis 26.24.
  - 32 Genesis 15.1.
  - 33 Pride is a standard topic among the "mirrors" of conduct: e.g., Alcuin, *Liber de virtutibus et viciis* 23 (PL 101: 630c) for Wido, a nobleman of Britain; Paulinus of Aquileia, in his *Liber exhortationis* (PL 99: 228-29) for Heric, duke of Friuli, a military leader under Charlemagne; Jonas of Orléans, in *De institutione laicali* 3.4 (PL 106: 238-41), aimed at the pious layman as a companion guidebook to his *De institutione regia*.
  - 34 James 4.6.
  - 35 Matthew 11.29.
  - 36 Cf. Smaragdus, abbot of St. Mihiel, *Via regia* 21, cautioning against Pride (PL 102: 960), in one of the earliest "mirrors," written either for Charlemagne or a youthful Louis the Pious.
  - 37 Riché observes (p. 211, n.3) that this passage contains patristic echoes of Gregory the Great and Caesarius of Arles, both cited in Jonas of Orleans, *De institutione laicali* (PL 106: 240). And see the eulogy, *De humilitate*, in Smaragdus, *Diadema monachorum* 11 (PL 102: 607).
  - 38 Cf. Isaiah 66.2.
  - 39 On the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit among the Church Fathers, see DS under "Dons"; for Carolingian times, see Charlemagne's letter to the bishops (MGH *Epistolae* 4, pp. 529-31); and cf. Paschasius Radbertus, *Vita Sancti Adelardi* 70 (PL 120: 1543): "De septem gradibus perfectionis."
  - 40 Matthew 11.30.
  - 41 Cf. *Passio SS Apostolorum Petri et Pauli* 60, ed. R. A. Lipsius, *Acta apostolorum apocrypha* (Leipzig 1891), 1: 171: "Quoniam dominus meus Iesus Christus de caelo ad terram descendens recta cruce sublimatus est, me autem quem de terra ad caelum evocare dignatur, crux mea caput meum in terra debet ostendere, et pedes ad caelum dirigere." A church of Sts. Peter and Paul had stood in Uzès since the fifth century. Perhaps this hagiographic reference bore a local and personal meaning for Dhuoda.

- 42 A *Sermo de passione Domini in parasceve* (Good Friday) is attributed to Augustine (PL 38: 108), but Riché observes (p. 213, n.3) that Dhuoda's text is not drawn from it.
- 43 Psalm 73.20.
- 44 Psalm 73.19.
- 45 Mark 5.3-10. On the eight beatitudes see 4.8.
- 46 Ecclesiastes 11.2.
- 47 Isaiah 11.2-3.
- 48 Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* 4.3 (PL 77: 321): "Tres quippe vitales spiritus creavit omnipotens Deus . . . angelorum . . . hominum . . . animalium." This definition entered scholastic teaching, for instance in the *Disputatio puerorum* 3 (PL 101: 1106).
- 49 Besides the seven days of Creation, there are many Scriptural instances of the number seven: Apocalypse speaks of seven stars which are the angels of the seven churches (1.20), seven seals (5.1), and so on. On the value of seven, cf. Isidore of Seville, *De septenario numero, Liber numerorum* 8 (PL 83: 186). A full study is M. W. Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins* (Michigan State University Press, 1952, rpt. 1967). See below (6.4) where Dhuoda "computes" with the number seven.
- 50 Mark 12.33; Ecclesiasticus 1.1.
- 51 Wisdom 10.17.
- 52 The allusion is more likely Job 36.23 ("quis poterit scrutari vias eius").
- 53 John 8.28.
- 54 Gehenna, formerly a scene of idol worship, was eventually desecrated (4 Kings 23.10) and the site used for burning animal carcasses and other waste. Its perpetual fires made it an apt metaphor for hell. The New Testament refers to a place of fire (Matthew 5.22, Mark 9.43), darkness, weeping, and gnashing of teeth (Matthew 8.12, 13.42, Luke 13.28), and corruption (Mark 9.48).
- 55 Psalm 118.34.
- 56 Wisdom 1.7.
- 57 John 3.8.
- 58 Acts 2.13-15.
- 59 Mark 16.20.
- 60 Aggeus 1.1.3.
- 61 Apocalypse 1.3.
- 62 1 Corinthians 12.8-9.
- 63 1 Corinthians 12.11.
- 64 John 4.24.
- 65 The "king and prophet" is David, Psalm 50.12.
- 66 Psalm 50.13.
- 67 Psalm 50.14.
- 68 Proverbs 4.23.
- 69 Psalm 33.14.
- 70 Titus 2.12.



- 71 Psalm 50.12-14.  
 72 Cf. above (4.4), where the Holy Spirit sheds a "gift of sevenfold grace."  
 73 The image suggests Apocalypse 12.9 and Hebrews 11.34.  
 74 1 Peter 5.8-9.  
 75 Psalm 63.3.  
 76 Chastity as the antidote for lechery is found in e.g., Ambrosius Autpertus, *De conflictu vitiorum et virtutum* (PL 83: 1143); Halltgar bishop of Cambrai, *De paenitentia* (PL 105: 668), ch. 16.  
 77 Joseph in flight from Potiphar's wife (Genesis 39.7ff.); Daniel defending Susannah's chastity (Daniel 13.45ff.).  
 78 Hebrews 13.4.  
 79 Psalm 72.27.  
 80 1 Corinthians 6.18.  
 81 Ecclesiasticus 18.30.  
 82 Ecclesiasticus 18.31.  
 83 Isaiah 51.23.  
 84 2 Corinthians 12.7.  
 85 Psalm 73.19.  
 86 Ecclesiasticus 23.5.  
 87 Ecclesiasticus 23.6.  
 88 Job 31.1.  
 89 On the eyes as windows of sin, Riché cites St. Boniface's letter to Daniel of Winchester (MHG *Epistolae* 3, p. 330: 10ff.), consoling him on his blindness (*Education and Culture in the Barbarian West*, tr. Contreni, pp. 454-455).  
 90 Jeremiah 9.21.  
 91 Matthew 5.28.  
 92 Matthew 6.22.  
 93 Psalm 118.37.  
 94 Alcuin, *De virtutibus et vitis* 18 (PL 101: 626c).  
 95 Ambrosius Autpertus, *De conflictu vitiorum et virtutum* 79 (PL 83: 1143b): "O quam parva est concubitus hora, qua perditur vita aeterna!" and Alcuin, *De virtutibus et vitis* 18 (PL 101: 627b): "castitas hominem coelo coniungit, angelis facit concivem."  
 96 Jonas of Orléans devotes Book 2 of *De institutione laicali* (PL 106: 167-92) to conjugal morality, citing learned authorities: Augustine, *De bono coniugali*, Isidore and Bede.  
 97 Proverbs 15.15.  
 98 Dhuoda's *Heia* from the Greek *eia*, cheering the reader to take heart, appears in other Carolingian writers.  
 99 Matthew 5.8.  
 100 Patience is a familiar topic in Carolingian and pre-Carolingian writing: Alcuin's *De virtutibus et vitis*, ch. 9: "de patientia" (PL 101: 619); a little verse by Hrabanus Maurus, *De fortitudine patientiae* (MGH PLAC 2, p. 219): "Fortiter adversa virtus patientia suffert, / Victrix confidens

- tristia cuncta fugat"; Jonas of Orléans, *De institutione laicali* 3.6 (PL 106: 236-38), who uses an extract from Augustine's *De bono patientiae*; and Defensor, a monk of St. Martin of Ligugé who wrote his *Liber scintillarum* (ca. 700, SC vols. 77 and 86) seemingly for the younger monks, as a collection of "sparks" that fly from the great Scriptural and patristic fires.  
 101 Ecclesiastes 7.10.  
 102 The poem echoes James 1.19: "tardus . . . ad loquendum, tardus ad iram."  
 103 Psalm 30.10.  
 104 James 1.20.  
 105 Psalm 4.5. The sense is, to commune silently with one's anger, not act on it.  
 106 Romans 12.18.  
 107 Lines resembling Dhuoda's appear in at least two poems. "Pax animam nutrit, retinet concordia pacem./ Pax reprimit litem, concordēs nectit et idem./ Lis pacem metuit, refugit discordia pacem" (MGH PLAC 4.3, p. 922, ll. 3-5) is by Smaragdus, abbot of Saint-Mihiel. A second lyric is attributed to Eugene of Toledo, though Riché (*Liber Manualis*, p. 231, n.7) believes it may also be the work of Smaragdus: "Pax animae vita, pax virtus paxque medella," etc. (MGH *Auctores* 14, p. 234). The poem is newly edited by N. Messina, *Pseudo-Eugenio di Toledo: Speculum per un nobile visigoto*, "Monografias de la Universidad de Santiago de Compostela" 85 (1983). (Riché, "Compléments aux notes," 1991 edn. *Liber Manualis*.)  
 108 Romans 12.19, 12.21.  
 109 Moses is the subject of this and Dhuoda's following remarks, as in Numbers 12.7, and 12.3.  
 110 Exodus 33.11.  
 111 Exodus 32.14.  
 112 Exodus 8.10.  
 113 Cf. Deuteronomy 34.7.  
 114 Luke 14.32.  
 115 Proverbs 16.32: "Mellior est patiens viro forti, et qui dominantur animo suo expugnatore urbium." Cf. Defensor, *Liber scintillarum* (SC 77), p. 72.  
 116 On the eight beatitudes see Luke 6.20-22; Matthew 5.1-11; and the commentary of St. Augustine, *De sermone Domini in monte secundum Matthaeum* (CCSL 35, ed. A. Mutzenbecher), upon which Dhuoda may have drawn. Compare the Carolingian poem *De octo vitia et octo beatitudines* (ed. MGH PLAC 4.2.1, pp. 585-87), its stanzas shuttling between *Beatus homo* and *Est maledictus*, to resolve finally with *Gloria patri*. Mayeski, *Dhuoda, Ninth Century Mother and Theologian*, pp. 104-16, holds the beatitudes to be central to Dhuoda's thought, observing that Dhuoda adapts the "ascent to perfection" scheme to the worldly realities of William's life. Dhuoda's is a practical and pastoral rather than a doctrinal theology.  
 117 James 1.19.

- 118 Luke 21.19.  
 119 Proverbs 15.15.  
 120 Matthew 5.9.  
 121 Dhuoda's *exsulcator* is formed from *exsulco* (*exsulcans* is found in Paulus Diaconus, *Homiliarius*, PL 95: 1534d). The original of the devout plowman is Elisha (1 Kings 19.19), plowing with twelve yoke of oxen before him, and receiving the mantle from Elijah as God's worthy servant and prophet. For Augustine (*Enarratio in Psalmos* 36.4), God tills the soil of the church: "erra enim domini ecclesia eius est; ipsam rigat, ipsam collit ille agricola Pater" (CCSL 38, p. 341). On the plowman as prelate, see D. W. Robertson, Jr. and Bernard F. Huppé, *Piers Plowman and Scriptural Tradition* (Princeton University Press, 1951).  
 122 Matthew 5.4  
 123 1 Chronicles 29.15. And cf. Psalm 38.13; 1 Peter 2.11.  
 124 Deuteronomy 10.19.  
 125 Job 31.32.  
 126 Job 29.16; cf. Psalm 67.6.  
 127 Job 29.16.  
 128 Psalm 10.17.  
 129 Psalm 33.7.  
 130 Riché (p. 239 n.8) suggests a possible source in Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job*, 15.56.65 (PL 75: 1114c), or Psalm 48.3.  
 131 Ecclesiasticus 25.3-4.  
 132 Psalm 39.18.  
 133 Psalm 21.7.  
 134 Psalm 119.5.  
 135 Acts 9.31.  
 136 Psalm 17.3.  
 137 Psalm 39.18.  
 138 Psalm 12.6.  
 139 Cf. Psalm 33.2.  
 140 Cf. Psalm 7.18.  
 141 Psalm 21.6.  
 142 Cf. Luke 3.16.  
 143 Cf. Psalm 106.28, 30.  
 144 Psalm 135.2, 3.  
 145 Psalm 148.11.  
 146 Apocalypse 5.9.  
 147 Psalm 135.1-2.  
 148 Psalm 111.1.  
 149 Psalm 111.2-3.  
 150 The Merovingian poem *Versum de castitate* (MGH PLAC 4.2, pp. 573-75): "Ama puer castitatem / Mundus eris de peccato" forms an acrostic on letters of the alphabet to the letter "P," with a stanza missing.  
 151 Psalm 83.8.

- 152 Matthew 5.8.  
 153 Matthew 5.3.  
 154 Psalm 10.8.  
 155 Wisdom 1.1.  
 156 Psalm 57.2.  
 157 Matthew 7.2; the rest of the line is "you too shall be judged."  
 158 Psalm 10.6.  
 159 From the *De vita contemplativa* (PL 59: 506) of Julianus Pomerius, a priest at Arles in the early sixth century. Among the earliest mss. of the work are one from León (eighth or ninth century) and two from Montpellier (ninth century). Slight differences in wording may account for Migne's basing his text on later mss., as Dronke notes. Here is another indication that Dhuoda may have come from southern France, or northern Spain.  
 160 Psalm 74.5.  
 161 The opening of this prayer recalls the second prayer of the priest before communion in the Roman mass, according to Riché (p.247, n. 5). For the rest, he cites Augustine, *Contra Cresconium* ("Against the Grammarian Cresconius of the Donatist Sect"), 4.26.33 (CSEL 52, p. 531): "neque boni communicant peccatis alienis." The Donatists, a group of fourth-century African schismatics, feared contact with any wavering or unholy members, while Augustine argued against their position, occasionally with mockery.  
 162 Ephesians 5.15.  
 163 1 Thessalonians 4.4.  
 164 Dhuoda answers her own question by citing Ephesians 4.24: "in iustitia et sanctitate veritatis." The verse from 1 Thessalonians 4.4 actually concludes "in sanctificatione et honore".  
 165 Psalm 118.113.  
 166 Isaiah 10.1.  
 167 Psalm 36.14.  
 168 Matthew 24.19.  
 169 Job 21.13.  
 170 Cf. Mark 8.36.  
 171 1 John 2.17.  
 172 Psalm 118.137.  
 173 Cf. Psalm 118.75.  
 174 Psalm 118.151.  
 175 Psalm 118.121.  
 176 Cf. Psalm 118.165 and 118.147.  
 177 Jeremiah 31.12.  
 178 Matthew 5.6.  
 179 Cf. John 6.27.  
 180 Psalm 77.25.  
 181 John 6.35.  
 182 John 6.27.  
 183 Psalm 127.3 and cf. Psalm 143.12.

- 184 James 2.13.  
 185 Luke 6.36.  
 186 Matthew 5.7.  
 187 *Condux* is read as "condition" by Dronke. These enigmatic lines are interpreted to mean "a good man's virtue may be compromised by his obligations at court."  
 188 Matthew 5.4.  
 189 Cf. Psalm 36.11.  
 190 Ephesians 5.5; and cf. Ephesians 5.3.  
 191 Psalm 40.2.  
 192 Proverbs 28.27.  
 193 Proverbs 3.9.  
 194 Luke 16.9.  
 195 Ecclesiasticus 29.15.  
 196 Luke 6.38.  
 197 Luke 11.41.  
 198 Tobit 4.11.  
 199 Ecclesiasticus 3.33.  
 200 Luke 6.37.  
 201 Cf. Matthew 5.23-24. A paraphrase of the whole thought: "if you should remember you have quarreled with your brother, be reconciled before you make offering at the altar."  
 202 2 Timothy 4.2.  
 203 1 Corinthians 4.21.  
 204 Ibid.  
 205 Ecclesiasticus 4.2.  
 206 Cf. Tobit 4.16.  
 207 Matthew 7.12; Luke 6.31.  
 208 Ecclesiasticus 35.11; Isaiah 58.7.  
 209 Ibid.  
 210 Dhuoda's creative etymology resembles some of Isidore's, e.g. *Etymologiae* 11.1.14: "Caro autem a creando est appellata." Riché (p. 259, n. 2) also discerns an echo of Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 20.10 (CCSL 48, p. 719): "a cadendo cadavera nuncupantur" (cadaver is so called from *cadere*, to fall), though Augustine's etymology is correct.  
 211 Genesis 3.19.  
 212 Cf. Matthew 25, 35, and 41.  
 213 Isaiah 58.8.  
 214 Psalm 88.15.  
 215 Isaiah 58.9.

### Book 5

- 1 2 Corinthians 7.10.  
 2 Dhuoda pursues the theme of the duality of sorrow and joy throughout

these chapters. On the double aspect of sorrow, see Alcuin, *De virtutibus et vitis* 33 (PL 107: 635c); and cf. the vernacular development in Dante's "Della doppia tristizia di Jocasta" (*Purgatorio* 23.56), and the opening lines of Chaucer's *Troilus* in the fourteenth century: "The double sorwe of Troilus to tellen . . . my purpos is, er that I parte fro ye" (1.1.5).

- 3 2 Corinthians 6.10.  
 4 Dhuoda takes up the delusory nature of dreaming (ignoring the possibility of dreams as visions) as a warning against a life of moral and spiritual somnolence. Paul E. Dutton does not comment on this passage in *The Politics of Dreaming in the Carolingian Empire*. The true (*verum*) and the "as if" (*quasi*) are contrasted by Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos* (Psalm 48), 48.2.5 (CCSL 38 p. 569). Cf. Ph. A. Becker, "Duodas Handbuch," *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 21 (1897): 73-101, esp. 85-86.  
 5 Ecclesiastes 1.2.  
 6 Psalm 75.6-7.  
 7 Psalm 75.6.  
 8 Matthew 3.8; Job 9.26.  
 9 Actually Isaiah 40.6.  
 10 Psalm 89.6; Job 14.1.  
 11 Job 7.5-6.  
 12 Psalm 89.4-5.  
 13 Job 7.1.  
 14 Job 30.31.  
 15 Job 29.6.  
 16 Job 29.7.  
 17 Job 2.8.  
 18 Job 21.13.  
 19 Psalm 75.13.  
 20 Ecclesiasticus 10.13.  
 21 Job 14.10.  
 22 Ecclesiastes 11.3.  
 23 Ecclesiastes 11.3.  
 24 Matthew 7.17-20.  
 25 Matthew 3.10; 7.19.  
 26 On the tree of life, see the poem *De ligno vitae* attributed to Tertullian (PL 2: 1113-14); Christ as the true tree appears in Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job* 12.5. 8 (PL 75: 990): "Christus arbor in passione succisa, in resurrectione multiplicata." Dhuoda's chapter corresponds closely. See John 15.1.  
 27 John 15.5 and 15.16.  
 28 Psalm 1.3.  
 29 Jeremiah 17.8.  
 30 Ephesians 3.17.  
 31 Galatians 5.22-23.  
 32 Psalm 24.7.  
 33 Psalm 27.3.

- 34 Luke 18.13; Psalm 120.1; Psalm 122.1.  
 35 Ezekiel 33.11.  
 36 1 Corinthians 2.9.  
 37 John 16.22.  
 38 Psalm 18.13-14.  
 39 Cf. 2 Corinthians 12.10; 6.4.  
 40 Proverbs 4.23.  
 41 Romans 5.3.  
 42 Psalm 119.1.  
 43 Psalm 80.8.  
 44 Isaiah 49.8. And cf. 2 Corinthians 6.2.  
 45 Psalm 117.5.  
 46 James 1.12.  
 47 Mathew 5.10-11.  
 48 Psalm 24.17.  
 49 Psalm 87.16.  
 50 Psalm 87.17.  
 51 Psalm 87.19.  
 52 Ecclesiasticus 11.27.  
 53 Proverbs 3.11.  
 54 Hebrews 12.5-6.  
 55 Cf. 2 Corinthians 12.10.  
 56 Romans 8.18.  
 57 Herod died of a disease of worms (Acts 12.23): "consumptus a vermibus, expiravit." Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francorum* 1:24 (MGH SSRM 1 p. 19) records that Herod, swollen with vermin, caused his own death while attempting to heal himself with his knife.  
 58 Paralleling the concept of *membra Christi*, the expression *membra diaboli* is found in Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job* 2.19, 29 (PL 75: 614), where Pilate is so specified.  
 59 Jeremiah 17.18.  
 60 John 12.4; Matthew 8.15 and 8.13.  
 61 Cf. John 11.4.  
 62 From the Mozarabic liturgy (PL 86: 1022d and 1041c), a hint that Dhuoda's origins could have been southern.  
 63 Wisdom 3.5.  
 64 Apocalypse 21.4.  
 65 Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job*, Preface 10.20 (PL 75: 527).  
 66 Wisdom 3.7.  
 67 Daniel 12.3.  
 68 Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job*, Preface 10.20 (PL 75: 528b): "Ante resurrectionem quippe stolas singulas" [cf. Apocalypse 6.11] . . . *Binas ergo . . . quando . . . etiam corporum incorruptione vestientur.*"  
 69 Psalm 65.10; Ecclesiasticus 2.5.  
 70 Riché (p. 283, n.1) suggests that Dhuoda means the *Regula pastoralis* of

- Gregory the Great, but actually relies upon Gregory's *Moralia in Job*, the preface of which she apparently knew.  
 71 Psalm 113.1.  
 72 Cf. 1 Corinthians 4.7.  
 73 Proverbs 21.20.  
 74 Matthew 6.20.  
 75 Martin of Braga, *De verbis seniorum* (PL 73: 1025), citing Daniel in a slightly different wording from the Vulgate: "Panem desideriorum non comedi."  
 76 Matthew 5.3.

### Book 6

- 1 On the connection between the seven gifts and the eight beatitudes, see Augustine, *Sermo* 347 (PL 39: 1524) and *De sermone Domini in monte secundum Matthaem* I.4 (PL 34: 1234). Riché (pp. 286-87, n. 1) signals a brief anonymous ninth-century text, *Concordatio de septem petitiones et de septem donis spiritus sancti de octo beatitudinis*, in ms. 75, Bibliothèque de Laon.  
 2 Hebrews 5.12.: "et facti estis quibus lacte opus sit, non solido cibo."  
 3 Psalm 33.9.  
 4 Cf. 1 Corinthians 3.2.  
 5 Cf. Ephesians 4.13.  
 6 Zachariah 6.12. Cf. Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job*, 1.18 (PL 75: 539 C): "Ipse autem Oriens Deus et homo." Dhuoda is also aware of Luke 1.78: "oriens ex alto."  
 7 Cf. 2 Corinthians 8.9.  
 8 Matthew 5.12.  
 9 Luke 10.20.  
 10 Cf. Luke 10.20.  
 11 Psalm 14.1 opens with the questions: "Domine, quis habitabit in tabernaculo tuo? aut quis requiescet in monte sancto tuo?" In ch. 3 that follows, Dhuoda will frame responses and a conclusion by drawing most of her citations from this Psalm.  
 12 Psalm 14.2.  
 13 Ibid.  
 14 Psalm 14.3.  
 15 Psalm 14.3.  
 16 Psalm 14.4.  
 17 Ibid.  
 18 Psalm 14.3.  
 19 Psalm 14.5.  
 20 Psalm 23.4.  
 21 Cf. Psalm 23.4.  
 22 Ecclesiasticus 31.10.  
 23 Ibid.

- 24 Ecclesiasticus 7.36. Riché speculates (p. 291 n. 13) that in giving fifteen responses, Dhuoda may be thinking of the fifteen steps ascending to the temple in Jerusalem. See Isidore of Seville, *Liber numerorum* 16.79 (PL 83: 194d), and Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job* 35.8.17 (PL 76: 759b). In Book 6.4 Dhuoda will again discuss the fifteen steps (*quindecies graduum*).
- 25 Cf. Psalm 14.1.
- 26 Ecclesiasticus 31.11.
- 27 Psalm 14.4.
- 28 For the terms *computare*, *computatio*, and *computus*, see Bertold Maurenbrecher in *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, 3 (1912): cols. 2175–86. Brigitte Englisch, *Die Artes liberales im frühen Mittelalter (5.-9. Jh.): Das Quadrivium und der Komputus als Indikatoren für Kontinuität und Erneuerung der exakten Wissenschaften zwischen Antike und Mittelalter* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1994) is usefully reviewed by W. M. Stevens in *Early Medieval Europe* 6 (1997): 117–21.
- 29 The symbolic value of the number seven is noted above (cf. Book 4, n. 49); see also Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job* 35.8. 15–18 (PL 76: 757d–60b).
- 30 Ecclesiastes 11.2; and see above, Book 4.4.
- 31 A sermon of Augustine, among the ten collected by Octavius Frangipani in 1819 (PL 46: 939–1004), contains the symbolism of  $(7 \times 7) + 1$ . *Sermo* 1.17 (PL 46: 955–58). (Riché p. 293, n. 3).
- 32 Leviticus 25.9ff. declares that after seven successive seven-year periods, a jubilee shall be announced with the blast of a ram's horn. The fiftieth year is then hallowed, with liberation and restitution proclaimed throughout the land.
- 33 Dhuoda cites Psalm 50.14, which calls for a shout of rejoicing after penitence. Riché (*Liber Manualis*, p. 293, n. 4) gives a further reference to Alcuin, *Expositio in psalmos paenitentiales* (PL 100: 582c).
- 34 On the symbolism of  $7 \times 11$ , which indicates all the faults, Riché (p. 293 n.6) cites Augustine, *De consensu Evangelistarum libri quattuor* (a treatise demonstrating that the evangelists do not disagree with one another), 2.4.13 (PL 34: 1077).
- 35 Matthew 18.21.
- 36 Matthew 18.22.
- 37 Matthew 6.14.
- 38 Upon Riché's suggestion (p. 294, n. 4) *formantis* is translated as "the Creator."
- 39 On ancient and medieval finger-computing see Menninger, *Number Words and Number Symbols*, pp. 201–12; and see references above (Book 1, n. 32). Riché cites H.-I. Marrou, "L'Évangile de Vérité et la diffusion du comput digital dans l'Antiquité," *Vigiliae Christianae* 12 (1958): 98–103; Alfred Cordoliani, "Les traités de comput du haut Moyen Age (526–1003)," *Bulletin Du Cange* 17 (1942): 51–72; and E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum, "The Finger Calculus in Antiquity and in the Middle Ages," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 5 (1971): 1–9.

As for later medieval works, Gregory M. Sadlek explores symbolic meanings assigned to fingers and hands among vernacular writers in "The Image of the Devil's Five Fingers in the South English Legendary's St. Michael and in Chaucer's Parson's Tale," *The South English Legendary: A Critical Assessment*, ed. Klaus P. Jankofsky (Tübingen: A. Francke Verlag, 1992), pp. 49–64. Sadlek does not include Sir Gawain, who in the fourteenth-century poem "never failed in his five fingers": *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, ed. J. R. R. Tolkien and E. V. Gordon, 2nd edn. revised by Norman Davis (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), l. 641.

- 40 Canticles 2.6 and 8.3.
- 41 4 Kings 20.1–11.
- 42 1 Maccabees 3.60.
- 43 Luke 10.20.

### Book 7

- 1 On the two births see Augustine, *Tractates in Johannem* 11.6 (CCSL 36: 113–14): "One is from earth, the other from heaven; one is from the flesh, the other from the Spirit; one is from mortality, the other from eternity; one is from male and female, the other from God and Church." (*Tractates on the Gospel of John*, tr. John W. Rettig [5 vols. Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1988–1995], vol. 2, p. 16.) And cf. Augustine, *Sermones*, 121.4 (PL 38: 679).
- 2 Dronke (*Medieval Women Writers* pp. 46 and 292, nn. 30 and 31), identifies Dhuoda's rewording of Ovid's *Amores*: "sic ego nec sine te nec tecum vivere possum": "So I can't live with you or without you!" (3.11b).
- 3 John 3.3.
- 4 John 3.6.
- 5 John 3.6.
- 6 Galatians 4.19.
- 7 1 Corinthians 4.15.
- 8 Dhuoda's "Maria" should be Marciánilla. Wife of the governor Marciánus, she was converted by her son Celsus, and martyred with him. See *Passio SS. Iuliani, Basilissae et sociorum, Acta Sanctorum*, January 1, 575–87. Her name is transmitted variously, as Martianilla in Flodoard's *De triumphis Christi Antiochiae gestis* 1: 13 (PL 135: 564a); Marciánilla in the *Lectionnaire de Luxeuil* of the seventh or eighth century, ed. Dom P. Salmon, *Collectanea Biblica latina*, 8 (Rome, 1944): see pp. 27–56, especially 55.
- 9 On St. Symphorian and his mother, see above (1.7 and n. 63 to Book 1), where Dhuoda addresses William with the heartening words of Augusta.
- 10 On the two deaths, see Augustine's *Tractates in Johannem* 43.11 (CCSL 36: 377): "[T]he Lord sees another death from which he can free us, a second death, an everlasting death, the death of Gehenna, the death of damnation with the devil and his angels. That one is the true death, for this one is a

passage" (tr. Rettig, *Tractates*, vol. 3, p. 169). And cf. Paschasius Radbertus, *In Matthaeum* 8.16 (PL 120: 576c).

- 11 Psalm 88.49.
- 12 Echoes of Genesis 6.13; Deuteronomy 5.5; Osee 5.15; Jeremiah 22.10.
- 13 Cf. Joshua 23.14; Proverbs 4.20; and 3 Kings 18.24.
- 14 Apocalypse 2.11.
- 15 Apocalypse 3.12.
- 16 Aggeus 2.24, on the reconstruction of the temple. God's promise is like imprinting his seal upon his prophet ("et ponam te quasi signaculum"). Cf. Canticles 8.6: "Pone me ut signaculum super cor tuum, ut signaculum super brachium tuum."
- 17 Apocalypse 2.7.
- 18 Compare Alcuin's *De virtutibus et vitis* (PL 101: 616d), which gives "qui vult cum Deo semper esse, frequenter debet orare et [frequenter] legere."

### Book 8

- 1 1 Thessalonians 5.17.
- 2 Lamentations 2.18.
- 3 God as the "Hearer of all" (*Exauditor omnium*) is found in various Carolingian prayers (Wilmart, *Precum libelli*, pp. 27, 53, 76).
- 4 Dhuoda follows the liturgy ("grandes oraisons") for Good Friday, observed from the eighth century on. Riché (p. 307 n. 4) cites Josef A. Jungmann, *Missarum sollemnia: Eine genetische Erklärung der römischen Messe*, 4th edn. (Freiburg: Herder, 1958), vol 2: 271–81.
- 5 Charles the Bald.
- 6 Philipians 4.7.
- 7 See the *Precum libelli* (ed. Wilmart, p. 52) for a prayer for travelers' safety, *Pro iter agentibus*, whose opening words Dhuoda uses: "Prosperum iter faciat nobis Deus."
- 8 On the prayers for Good Friday see Jungmann, *Missarum sollemnia*, 271–81.
- 9 Dhuoda's chs. 10, 11, and 12 in Book 8 adhere to Augustine. *Enchiridion* 110 (CCSL, pp. 108–09): "Cum ergo sacrificia, sive altaris sive quarumcumque elemosynarum, pro baptizatis defunctis omnibus offeruntur, pro valde bonis gratiarum actiones sunt, pro non valde bonis propitationes sunt, pro valde malis, etiam si nulla sunt adiumenta mortuorum, qualescumque vivorum consolationes sunt." Megan McLaughlin examines Dhuoda's directives in *Consorting With Saints: Prayer for the Dead in Early Medieval France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), ch. 5, "The Ideology of Prayer for the Dead," and *passim*. Prayers for the dead are also discussed in Jonas of Orléans, *De institutione laicali* 15 (PL 106: 265).
- 10 On the theory of mitigating the punishments of the damned, Riché (pp. 314–15, n. 1) cites J. Rivière, ed. *Enchiridion*, Bibliothèque Augustinienne 9 (Paris, 1947), additional note 54, pp. 420–22.

- 11 On anti-trinitarian heresy, see above, n. 1 to 2.1.
- 12 Psalm 102.14.
- 13 2 Corinthians 12.21.
- 14 Romans 2.12.
- 15 Matthew 20.7. In the parable of the vineyard, laborers wait to be called, that is, to the faith.
- 16 This dialogue between the old man and a spirit comes from a passage in the *Verba seniorum*, translated in the sixth century by the deacon Pelagius and the subdeacon John (PL 73: 1013b). The abbot Macarius talks with the skull of a pagan priest.
- 17 Psalm 85.13.
- 18 Luke 16.28. Dives in Hell bids Abraham to send a warning to his living brothers so they may avoid damnation.
- 19 Matthew 22.13.
- 20 1 Corinthians 10.12.
- 21 Ephesians 5.14.
- 22 Patrick J. Geary, *Living With the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), pp. 79–81, 87, discusses this segment of the *Liber Manualis* in analyzing the importance of prayers for the dead. Geary argues that the distinction here between living and dead appears insignificant: "the living should be seen as those who are going to die; the dead, as those who will live again." Dhuoda also separates *extranei* (strangers) from *domestici* (family), and subdivides the latter into *proximi* (close) and *propinqui* (very close). Of the bond between living and dead, Geary maintains that "the dead can be rightly termed an 'age group' in medieval society, and thus the continuing bond served social cohesion," so affording a sense of permanence in a precarious social order (p. 78).
- 23 Geary (*Living With the Dead*, pp. 80–81) points out that Dhuoda's injunction to William establishes a *quid pro quo* between this world and the next: "As a potential future heir William must return prayers for property." Stephen D. White makes a similar point: "Dhuoda's instructions to her son clearly indicated that the ancestors for whom her son was to pray or procure prayers were the people from whom he received the preresources to endow such prayers." *Custom, Kinship, and Gifts to the Saints: The 'Laudatio Parentum' in Western France, 1050–1150* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), p. 121.
- 24 See 10.5.
- 25 Ecclesiasticus 14.4.
- 26 Tedderic, uncle and godfather to young William, is identified by Riché (p. 19 and nn. 5–6) as count of Autun, citing Chaume, *Les Origines du duché de Bourgogne* (Dijon, 1925), pp. 125–126, 155–156, and Appendix, p. 546. "Les Thierri"; and Joseph Calmette, "Bourgogne et le Midi à l'époque carolingienne." *Annales de Bourgogne* 13 (1941): 267.
- 27 Did Tedderic leave the Burgundian estates in charge of the king, that is,

Louis the Pious, then of Charles the Bald, awaiting William's majority? Riché takes *domno et seniori nostro* to mean Bernard (322–23, n.2). This was Bondurand's view.

- 28 On Judas Maccabeus, see 2 Maccabees 12.46.  
29 Tobias 4.20.

### Book 9

- 1 Literally the finger-joint, *articulus* referred to arithmetic, and especially to finger counting. For references to this technique, and for Bede, whose textbook was the model for Carolingians on the subject, see above, n. 32 to Book 1, and nn. 28 and 39 to Book 6. Dhuoda uses *articulator* to signify the computist (6.4) and *articulationes* (9.4) for the finger-bending gestures.
- 2 See above (6.3) on the fifteen steps to perfection, through the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit and the eight beatitudes.
- 3 The letters and correspondences of the name of ADAM are probably from Augustine's *Tractatus in Johannem* 9.15 (CCSL 36, p. 98) and 10.12 (CCSL 36, p. 108). Augustine also links (9.14, CCSL, 36, p. 98) the name of Adam to the earth's four points: "For if east, west, north, and south were said in Greek . . . you would find the name Adam in the first letters of the words; for in Greek the above-mentioned parts of the world are called anatolé, dysis, arctos, mezembria. If you were to write these four nouns as if [they were] four verses the one under the other, Adam is read in their first letters" (9.14, tr. John Rettig, *Tractates*, vol. 1, p. 207). See also Hrabanus Maurus, *De laudibus sanctae crucis*, 1.12 (PL 107: 197).  
On Dhuoda's use of *molda* see above, her Verse inscription, p. 241, n.20.
- 4 John 2.19.
- 5 John 2.20.
- 6 John 2.21.
- 7 John 19.5.
- 8 Osee 6.3. Old Testament allusions to "the third day" (e.g. Exodus 19.11; 19.16; Jonah 2.1) provide antetypes to the resurrection of Christ on the third day after the Crucifixion.
- 9 Psalm 82.19.
- 10 Matthew 25.2 gives Jesus' parable of the wise and foolish virgins.
- 11 At the wedding at Cana (John 2.6) Jesus changed six jars of water into wine, the jars were treated exegetically by Augustine as the six ages of the world. See Augustine, *Tractatus in Johannem* 9.6 (CCSL 36, p. 94). On the six ages of the world, see also Isidore, *Etymologiae* 5.38.5; Hrabanus Maurus, *Liber de computo* 96 (PL 107: 726b–728).
- 12 Prudentius, *Cathemerinon* 9.28.
- 13 Apocalypse 4.5 speaks of the seven lamps of fire burning before the throne; cf. Isidore, *Liber numerorum* (PL 83: 186).
- 14 Genesis 6.18; and cf. Isidore, *Liber numerorum* 9 (PL 83: 189b).
- 15 The nine orders or choirs of angels appear in Hrabanus Maurus, *De laudibus*

*sanctae crucis* (PL 107: 202a): "quid in novenario, nisi novem ordines angelorum". Cf. Gregory the Great, Homily 34, on the orders and names of the angels (tr. Durst, pp. 285ff.; PL 76: 1246).

- 16 On restoring the angelic ranks, see above, n. 120 to 3.10.
- 17 Romans 11.25–26. Isidore writes on the conversion of the Jews in *De fide catholica contra Judeos* 2.5 (PL 83: 508ff.), a major source for Carolingian writers. See Matthias Neuman, "Carolingian Monastic Writers and the Ninth-Century Jewish Question," p. 260, on the influence of this work.
- 18 Numbers up to one million can be indicated by bending the fingers. Menninger, *A Cultural History of Numbers*, pp. 201–08, prints illustrations from later manuscripts.
- 19 Hrabanus Maurus states that perfection is found in the number 1000 (*De laudibus sanctae crucis*, PL 107: 205d).
- 20 Riché emends Dhuoda's "thousand" (*millia*) in translation to thousands of thousands. Cf. Genesis 24.60: "in mille millia."
- 21 Cf. Genesis 28.3.
- 22 Cf. Genesis 27.28.
- 23 Deuteronomy 28.3.
- 24 Deuteronomy 28.6.
- 25 Psalm 70.18.

### Book 10

- 1 On Dhuoda's versification in this and her other poems see A. Burger, "Les vers de la Duchesse Dhuoda et son poème, 'De temporibus tuis,'" *Mélanges de Philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes offerts à J. Marouzeau* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1948, pp. 85–102).
- 2 William is now sixteen. Again Dhuoda is writing the day after his birthday, as she did at the start of the *Liber Manualis*, marking a one-year anniversary since the Prologue. The date given at the end of the verses is the Feast of St. Andrew, November 30, 842. Dhuoda's second son, Bernard, is a year and eight months old. The first Sunday in Advent fell on December 3 in 842.
- 3 Dhuoda's noting that her marriage took place on June 29 (the third Kalends of July) and that William was born on November 29 (the third Kalends of December) shows her pleasure in making number correspondences that mystically bind the family.
- 4 The acrostic spells *Versi ad VVilhelmum F[ilium]*: "Verses to son William."
- 5 Hebrews 4.12.
- 6 Mark 12.33.
- 7 Presumably Charles the Bald is meant. See above (3.4), where Dhuoda names Charles.
- 8 Gregory the Great, *Forty Gospel Homilies*, Homily 2 (tr. Durst, pp. 12–13), urges against simony: "Holy preachers, in order to be able to love their neighbors completely, have been eager to love nothing in this world, to seek nothing ever." They are like guileless doves at heaven's windows, in

- contrast to greedy hawks. This is Migne's Homily 5 (PL 76: 1093). The sermon was for the feast of St. Andrew, November 30, the date of Dhuoda's writing (see stanza 18).
- 9 The non-classical *compensor* is created from *compendo*.
  - 10 Apocalypse 2.28: "And I will give him the morning star." Dhuoda may also know, at least indirectly, Plato's myth that each blessed soul returns to its star, Dronke notes. Dhuoda establishes a pattern in these stanzas of giving and taking: give alms and gifts; don't take bribes; God gives rewards; you seize the prize.
  - 11 The allusion is to David (2 Kings 23.8).
  - 12 Romans 9.16. Dhuoda adopts Paul's statement that human actions and human will do not suffice unless it is God's will to show mercy.
  - 13 1 Maccabees 3.60.
  - 14 A discernible echo of Gregory the Great (*Moralia in Job* 35.20.49, PL 76: 780): "Expleto itaque hoc opere ad me mihi video esse redeundum." (Ph. A. Becker, "Dhuodas Handbuch," *Zeitschrift für romanische philologie* 21 [1897]: 93 n.1.)
  - 15 John 20.26.
  - 16 Dhuoda conspicuously puns in this section, e.g. innumeros/numerabili. See also note 20.
  - 17 2 Corinthians 11.26.
  - 18 Perhaps a reference to Bernard's loss of honors and title in Toulouse.
  - 19 Genesis 7.2.
  - 20 Dhuoda pairs *delicto/delictis*, *vigil/vigiliis*, *pio/pte*, *erepta/recepta*.
  - 21 Observe Dhuoda's feudal language. She describes herself as a vassal rendering feudal dues (*servitium*) to her overlord, Bernard, and in turn asks William to be her champion (*in me certare*). On her duties in protecting the Spanish March see Introduction.
  - 22 See above, Introduction, n. 17.
  - 23 On Bernard's father, Guilhem of Toulouse, Count of Barcelona (St. Guilhem), see the Introduction. Guilhem's first wife, Cunegundis, is named in the donation of the abbey of Gellone in 904 (*Histoire générale de Gellone*, vol. 2, ed. D. De Vic and D. Vaissète [Toulouse, 1875]: "Preuves," col. 67). See also Pierre Tisset, *L'Abbaye de Gellone au diocèse de Lodève des origines au XIII siècle*, 1933. Guilhem's second wife Vuithburgis became the Guilborg of the *chansons de geste* featuring Guillaume d'Orange. Tedderic, an older son of St. Guilhem and godfather to Dhuoda's son William, is named earlier by Dhuoda (1.5, 7.15). Guarnarius and Rothlindis, not named in the donation lists of 804 for Gellone, may be Dhuoda's parents. Riché cites J. Wollasch, "Eine adlige Familie." Calmette (p. 184) proposes that Rothlindis may be Bernard's sister, married to Wala.
- Among these family members are three who suffered at the hands of Carolingian rulers, specifically by Lothar's order. Dhuoda does not linger over a painful, possibly dangerous, memory. On Gerberga, young William's aunt and Guilhem's daughter by his first wife, see Introduction, n. 44, and

- see Joseph Calmette, "La famille de saint Guilhem." Guilhem's son Gozhelm (Gaucelme) was beheaded in 834, also on Lothar's order, when Lothar took Chalons-sur-Saône, which Gozhelm defended. See Joseph Calmette, "Gaucelme, Marquis de Gothie, sous Louis le Pieux," *Annales du Midi* 18 1906: 166-71. On Aribert see note 25 below. Bernard's and Gozhelm's names reappear in the *Vita* of St. Guillaume, along with two (possibly fictitious) sisters, Albana and Bertana.
- 24 Psalm 113.18: *benedicimus Domino*.
  - 25 Aribert (or Heribert), Bernard's brother, was blinded on Lothar's orders and died in 830 (*Annals of St. Bertin*, 830: "Heribertum fratrem Bernardi excoecare iussit Lotharius"; Nithard "Histoire" 1.3 pp. 10-11: "Eribertus frater eius captus ac luminibus privatus.")
  - 26 A further indication of Dhuoda's wish to inscribe herself, along with the family, for posterity's recognition; the custom was self-defining in the Christian sense, and literary as well. Two Carolingian authors who composed their own epitaphs were Alcuin (MGH PLAC 1 350) and Hincmar (MGH PLAC 3: 420). For Augustine's rhetoric against funerary show, see *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 48.13-14 (CCSL 38, pp. 561-63).
  - 27 This older abbreviation for *Dis manibus* (to the spirits below) must have been adapted in a Christian world to signify *Dominus meus* (Adriano Cappelli, *Dizionario*, 5th edn. Dronke, *Women Writers*, p. 450).
  - 28 The acrostic spells *Dhuodane*, meaning "from" or "by Dhuoda", or it may be a variant of her name.
  - 29 Christ is called the Amen in Apocalypse. A cross is drawn at the close of the epitaph in the Nîmes manuscript.

### Book 11

- 1 This section, from the words "*Vox enim psalmodiae*" to "*Dei gratiam pervenies*," makes a rapid copy of Alcuin's *Praefatio* to an anonymous treatise on the use of the Psalms, *De psalmorum usu liber* (PL 101: 466-68). After the *Praefatio*, the rest of the treatise consists of seventeen chapters on private prayer and a collection of prayers for different occasions, grouped into fifteen sections.
- Dhuoda lists nine circumstances in which William might need the Psalms, and teaches which psalms to recite. Riché's notes indicate where Dhuoda departs from her source, and his translation generally emends the meaning to match Alcuin's text. Riché cites Wilmart's verification that Dhuoda borrows only from the *Praefatio*, which is authentically Alcuin's, and not from the body of the treatise, which was spuriously attributed to Alcuin ("Compléments aux notes, 1991 edn.").
- Earlier in the second half of the ninth century, Charles the Bald had a similar psalmbook prepared for himself: the *Liber precatationum*, with psalms grouped for different occasions. The introduction borrows from Alcuin's letter 304 to Charlemagne (PL 101: 1404-1405). See Bériou and Berlioz,



- Prier au Moyen Age*, pp. 26–29, on guides to the psalms by Alcuin and Pseudo-Alcuin, and on prayer-bopoks addressed to Charles the Bald.
- 2 Psalm 49.23.
  - 3 Dhuoda quotes the opening of the seven Penitential Psalms: Psalm 6.2; 37.1; 129.2; 142.1; 31.1; 50.3; 129.1.
  - 4 Psalm 16.1; 24.1 53.3; 66.2; 69.2; 30.2; 85.1.
  - 5 Psalm 104.1; 146.1; 148.1, 102.1 or 103.1.
  - 6 Psalm 21.2; 60.2; 63.2; 11.2.
  - 7 Psalm 41.2; 83.2; 62.2.
  - 8 Psalm 12.1.
  - 9 Psalm 43.2.
  - 10 Psalm 55.2 or 56.2.
  - 11 Psalm 54.2.
  - 12 Psalm 30.2.
  - 13 Psalm 33.2.
  - 14 Psalm 102.1.
  - 15 Psalm 144.1.
  - 16 Daniel 3.52–90.
  - 17 Psalm 118.1.
  - 18 Dhuoda's reliance on Alcuin ends here.
  - 19 From the Athanasian Creed, also cited by Dhuoda above, 1.5 ("unum in trinitate et trinum in unitate") and 2.1 ("gloria aequalis est, coaeterna maiestas, qualis Pater talis filius, talis et spiritus sanctus").
  - 20 In 841, the first Sunday in Advent fell on November 27.
  - 21 The hope is that the problem of a successor to Louis the Pious may be resolved. Charles the Bald had not yet been crowned and so was not recognized universally as king.
  - 22 John 19.30.

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This new edition of the *Liber Manualis*, a distinctive guidebook to conduct and survival in tumultuous times by a Carolingian mother for her adolescent son, provides the only complete translation in English accompanied by the Latin original. Revised Latin readings follow corrections proposed by recent scholars and reviewers of the authoritative Pierre Riché text. The volume's Introduction advances fresh views of Dhuoda's individuality and mindset, her possible models, and her intended readership, and places her handbook for the first time within the contexts of French and Germanic literary traditions. Explanatory references illuminate the life and work of this remarkable and well-educated ninth-century woman. Woven in the text is the name and voice of the strong mother, whose moral position remains unique in a patriarchal society.

Often called the first Western treatise on childhood education, the *Liber Manualis* in this new edition, establishes Dhuoda's importance in a feminist and literary context. It embodies a striking story of the times, a mother's outspoken bidding to her son to come into his own as future householder, *père de famille*, and seignorial lord of his great estate. A mother's fear also runs throughout this personal chronicle of imminent loss, but, arguing as she does for the family's pre-eminence and right to their estate, her book eloquently stands as a symbolic genealogical replacement of that loss.

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*Dhuoda, Handbook for her Warrior Son*  
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