St. John of Capistrano, O.F.M.

SERMONS AT WROC■AW AND LEIPZIG, WITH A SERMON ON THE PASSION

From the Latin of Eugen Jacob's Johannes von Capistrano (Breslau) and of Wroc■aw, University Library, MS I F 198

English translation

Contributed to Mind of the Church by a friend of the library who wishes to remain anonymous

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

About this translation · 4

Sermons at Wroc■aw, 1453

I. On Ash Wednesday · 5
II. Thursday before Invocavit · 7
III. Friday before Invocavit · 8
IV. Saturday · 10
V. Invocavit Sunday · 11
VI. Monday · 13
VII. Second weekday after Invocavit · 15
VIII. Third weekday · 17
IX. On the feast of the Chair of Peter, fourth weekday · 20
X. Friday · 23
XI. On the feast of Matthias, Saturday · 25
XII. Reminiscere Sunday · 28
XIII. Second weekday after Reminiscere · 30
XIV. Third weekday after Reminiscere · 33
XV. Fourth weekday · 37
XVI. Weekday after Reminiscere · 41
XVII. Friday after Laetare · 43
XVIII. Saturday before Oculi · 45
XIX. Oculi Sunday · 48
XX. Monday after Oculi · 51
XXI. Tuesday · 53
XXII. Wednesday after Oculi · 56
XXIII. Thursday after Oculi · 58
XXIV. Friday before Laetare · 60
XXV. Saturday before Laetare · 63
XXVI. Laetare Sunday · 65
XXVII. Monday after Laetare · 68
XXVIII. Tuesday after Laetare · 70
XXIX. Thursday after Laetare · 73
XXX. [Thursday after Laetare] · 75
XXXI. Friday after Laetare · 78
XXXII. Saturday before Judica · 81
XXXIII. Judica Sunday · 85
XXXIV. Monday after Judica · 90
XXXV. Tuesday after Judica · 94
XXXVI. Wednesday after Judica · 97
XXXVII. Thursday after Judica · 100
XXXVIII. Friday after Judica · 104
XXXIX. On the Annunciation of Mary · 106
XL. Palm Sunday · 112
XLI. Sermon on the Sacrament · 114
XLII. Saturday after Quasimodogeniti · 121
XLIII. On the day of James the Apostle. John of Capistrano · 126
XLIV. Sunday between the Ascension and Pentecost. By Brother John of Capistrano · 130

Sermon on the Passion of Christ

Opening (acephalous) · 135
The Ten Ways · 135
The First Way: To Jerusalem · 135

The Second Way: To the Garden · 141
The Third Way: To Annas · 144
The Fourth Way: To Caiaphas · 146
The Fifth Way: To Pilate · 148
The Sixth Way: To Herod · 150
[The Seventh Way: The Praetorium (fragment)] · 151
The Eighth Way: To the Lithostrotos · 152
The Ninth Way: To Calvary · 154
The Tenth Way: To the Sepulchre · 159
Six Ways of Considering the Passion · 160

Sermons at Leipzig

The Matter Preached in Thirty-Six Sermons at Leipzig · 164

About this translation

Sermons at Wroc■aw, 1453. Translated from the Latin text in Eugen Jacob, *Johannes von Capistrano*, vol. II, part 3 (Breslau, 1911), pp. 1–204, sermons I–XLIV. The editor's dates are given in brackets. The editor's notes (pp. 205–214) are not translated. [uncertain] marks doubtful readings, and [text unclear] text that cannot be read. The edition prints no sermons for Good Friday through the week after Easter (between XLI and XLII). XLIV (Sunday between Ascension and Pentecost; editor's date 13 May) is printed after XLIII (St James, 25 July), out of date order. In XLIII the text notes that the closing matter was preached not by Capistrano but by another Friar Minor.

Sermon on the Passion of Christ. Translated from Wroc■aw, University Library, MS I F 198, fols. 149r–175v. The beginning is lost. The translation was afterwards read against the manuscript itself, and the doubtful places corrected from it; a few words the hand leaves uncertain are still marked.

Sermons at Leipzig. Translated from Eugen Jacob, *Johannes von Capistrano*, vol. II, part 2, pp. 7–12, “Materia triginta sex sermonibus Lipsiae praedicata”, from Wroc■aw University Library MS I F 4. The editor's German notes are omitted; bracketed question marks are the editor's own doubts. Only the outline (*Materia*) of the first of the thirty-six Leipzig sermons survives in this volume; the manuscript breaks off at the heading of the second sermon. Page references to this volume are given as (p. N) like the rest; they are a different volume from the Wroc■aw sermons.

Sermons at Wroc■aw, 1453

I. On Ash Wednesday

(p. 1)

In the year of the Lord 1453

[Editor's date: 14 February]

Turn to me with your whole heart. "Turn to me with your whole heart, in fasting and in weeping and in mourning, and rend your hearts and not your garments" (Joel 2). These words teach that the fast which is called affliction of the body is not acceptable to God by itself, for the demons too keep such a fast daily, since they never eat. But to gather up the bundles, that is, to put away sins, confess them before the priest and lay them down: this fast God wills, and it pleases him.

Note also that on Wednesday and on Saturday in some places people abstain from meat. Although it is not commanded, one's neighbour would be scandalized if someone ate on Saturday where that was not the custom. For a doctor, perhaps Bernard, says: "I would rather choose death than scandalize my neighbour." In some parts or regions they ate meat on Saturday; but on Friday, the sixth weekday, abstinence from meat is laid down by the canons. Yet let the neighbour not be scandalized, for those who scandalize their neighbour sin gravely; let the custom of the regions be kept.

It is asked whether it is lawful to eat fowl and dairy foods in times of fasting. The answer is that in Lent it is not lawful to eat fowl and dairy foods, but only the Lenten foods appointed for fasting, namely fish and the like. In other fasts the custom of the region is kept, for in some places it is the custom to eat fowl and dairy foods. Fasting was instituted by the Church; at what times the Church has instituted fasting will be said later.

You might say: why are birds forbidden to be eaten in Lent and not fish, since both birds and fish were brought forth from the water? The answer is that the reason is this: birds are of a hot nature and fish of a cold one. Now

(p. 2)

what is of a hot nature is a greater incitement to lust than what is of a cold nature. Since in this Lenten season we ought to live more chastely than at other times, birds, like meat, are forbidden to be eaten, but not fish, which are of a cold nature, because fish have no blood, as some say. And here (?) they are involved [in the question] whether fish that have blood are forbidden in Lent; but [fish] have a humour of the colour of blood. The reason, according to the Philosopher in *On Sleep and Waking*, is that the proper seat of blood is the heart and the two veins proceeding from the heart, through which veins the blood is directed to all the members of the body.

It is asked whether it is lawful to eat the tail and hind feet of the beaver in Lent, and consequently on other fast days. The answer is no: the beaver lives on land in the air and not in the water, so it is not a fish; and since it is one animal and not two, it is not lawful to eat it in Lent. For no one has seen fish hunted in the forest, as is done with the beaver. So said the most religious father, legate of the lord pope, doctor of both laws.

Note further, concerning what has been said, that man is the noblest and best of creatures; and man is God, because God is man, namely Christ, who is exalted above all the choirs of angels. Again, in the Old Testament we often read that angels allowed men to adore them; the doctors of sacred scripture seem to deliberate about this. Therefore man has his face raised upward toward heaven, because he contemplates the things above; but the animals other than man have their faces bent down to the earth. Again, all animals other than man lack reason; but man has reason and is a rational animal.

Again, man was made and created in the image and likeness of God (Genesis 1): *Let us make man to our image and likeness.* This is understood of the soul and not of the body. So man, according to the soul, has the image of the Holy Trinity. O how great the nobility of man, that man is likened to God! Therefore the Philosopher says: "A good man is as it were a god lodged in a human body." So man has reason, memory and will, these three powers, from the Holy Trinity: memory from the Father in the Godhead, reason from the Son, will from the Holy Spirit. For *the Spirit breathes where he will*. But if a man is proud as an ox, lustful as a mule, wrathful as a bear, deceitful as a fox, rapacious as a wolf, venomous as a serpent, who will say that he is a man? Again: *Man, when he was in honour, did not understand; he is compared to beasts and made like them,* and this through the fall of sins. Therefore man must above all

(p. 3)

beware of sins, lest he lose this most noble image. He must beware not only of the act of sinning but also of the will to sin. In many places of the Gospel the will to sin is forbidden, as of the adulterous woman: *Has no one condemned you?* etc., and again: *Go, and sin no more, lest something worse befall you*, etc. In the places of the Gospel one finds "noli", that is, you must not will to sin or have the will to sin. Since man is the worthiest of creatures, he must above all avoid sin, because sin is a heavier weight than the whole universe. The whole universe cannot press the soul down into hell, yet sin does this. Again, it is worse than natural death, for natural death corrupts only the body, but sin both body and soul. Again, it is worse than poison: poison kills only the body, but sin body and soul.

Therefore for one mortal sin a penance of seven years used to be laid down. So if a man had sinned ten times in a year, he would have to do penance for seven hundred years; but who now would live long enough to complete such a penance? Therefore now, by God's very great mercy, such penance is left to the judgement of a discreet confessor. For all the sins confessed, however many, a confessor could enjoin on you only one Our Father; that is, what you neglect here you will fulfil in purgatory. For your contrition could be so great that our God Jesus Christ would forgive you all your sins because of your contrition; for God's judgements are secret and hidden. O for how many years Adam did penance for only one mortal sin! For we never read that Adam sinned mortally except once, and he did penance for five thousand one hundred and ninety-nine years.

Note here too that penance consists of three things, namely fasting, almsgiving and prayer. Fasting is treated on Ash Wednesday; prayer in the epistle and Gospel of Thursday [the text reads "II feria"; uncertain]; almsgiving on Friday. Note that fasting was instituted for three reasons. First, from necessity, which nature teaches us: man is the noblest of creatures and is ordered to contemplate the things above and to eternal beatitude, but such a one is greatly hindered by excess of food and drink; and man also shortens his life by excess of food and drink. So fasting is necessarily required if we are to know God and contemplate the things above.

It is doubted whether fasting falls under a precept or not. The answer is that it does not fall under a precept of the written law, because nowhere in the Gospel is it found to be commanded. Yet we certainly have counsel in many places of the Gospel that we ought to fast, as here: *This kind of demons* [is not cast out] *except by fasting and*

(p. 4)

prayer. And: *But you, when you fast*, etc. Likewise: *the sons of the bridegroom*, [when he is taken away], *will fast*, etc. Again the Apostle: *Let us show ourselves as ministers of God in watchings, in fastings*, etc. Likewise Christ himself fasted and sanctified fasting by fasting forty days. Likewise in the Old Testament Moses fasted forty days, and the same is read of Elijah. So although Jesus did not command fasting to us, he gave counsel. But it falls under a precept of ecclesiastical law, because the Catholic Church instituted fasting.

Christ did not institute many things himself but left them to be determined by the Church. For Christ consecrated his body after taking food, after the supper; but this does not belong to us, and whoever did so would commit heresy, at least whoever said that this was necessary, namely that one must communicate after the supper. The sick, however, may communicate after taking food. So the heretics err who do not keep the institution of the Catholic Church and the canons, giving communion to the laity under both kinds. For whoever violates the canons blasphemes the Holy Spirit, from whom the sacred canons are believed to have proceeded. Peter celebrated a short Mass: he said the Our Father and after that consecrated, and he did not have clerical or priestly vesture, but a white chasuble, etc. Why then is such vesture put on now? Because it was instituted by holy Church and by the Holy Spirit.

To the point. Although Jesus did not institute fasting, he left it to his Church to determine and institute. First, then, the Roman Church instituted the Lenten fast. Second, the fast of the Ember days, which was also instituted by God in the old law. Third, the vigils of the apostles, except the vigils of Philip and James and of John the Evangelist, in place of which the fast of Saint Lawrence and of John the Baptist was instituted. Again, the holy Roman Church instituted the fast of the Blessed Virgin on the vigil of the Assumption. The other vigils of the Blessed Virgin are of good custom, which must be kept as law, for it is better to choose death than to scandalize the neighbour, as Bernard seems to me to say. Of these vigils of the Blessed Virgin there are seven in the year. Again, the vigil of the Lord's Nativity and of Pentecost. It is certain that between Easter and Pentecost [the text reads "pasca et pasca"] there is no fast except the vigil of Pentecost. Again, let the vigil of All Saints be fasted, because it was instituted by the Church. About the vigil of Bartholomew, some regions keep the fast on the day before, namely when he was flayed (?), some on the day after; it is of no force, and the custom of the region is kept. A bishop too may institute in his diocese a fast or the solemnity of some saint, male or

(p. 5)

female, to whom the people have devotion; let this be kept. This, then, for the second sermon in Lent, which I heard from the father and collected, etc.

II. Thursday before Invocavit

[Editor's date: Thursday, 15 February]

Hezekiah prayed to the Lord, as appears in the epistle of today. Concerning this it is asked whether a man's days can be lengthened or shortened. [It seems not: as almighty God disposed from eternity, so it must happen, because he is almighty and no one else can resist his will (Romans 9), since he has set for each man a fixed term, according to Job: *You have appointed.*] [This bracketed passage is a gloss in the manuscript.] That this is not so is held by the authority of Job: *Man born of woman, of short* [life], etc., and it continues: *Short are the days of man; the number of his months is with you; you have set his bounds, which cannot be passed.* But that it is so, namely that they can be shortened or lengthened, appears from the psalmist: *[Men of blood and deceit] shall not live out half their days.* Likewise in today's epistle, where the days of King Hezekiah were lengthened by fifteen years.

The answer, briefly, is this. As to the disposition of the higher cause, namely glorious God, a man's days cannot be lengthened or shortened, as the authority of Job holds, because a term has been set by God for each one, and with God all things are known: that this child will die in its mother's womb, that one at the breast, that one will be hanged, that one beheaded. God foreknew all things from eternity. But as to the disposition of the lower or particular cause, namely as to bodily constitution, a man's life can be shortened or lengthened, for one man is of better constitution than another. And so Christ, as to this particular cause, would have lived very long, because his body was best constituted and composed, being from the Holy Spirit; yet he died in the half of his days. As one author says, understand it thus: the psalmist says *the days of man are seventy*

years, etc.; now Christ died at about thirty-three years, which is nearly half of seventy. So also those who shorten their life by excess of food and drink, or who steal so that they are hanged, or who kill themselves: in these and other particular cases a man's life can be shortened or lengthened. And if

(p. 6)

I shorten my life by killing myself, namely by thrusting a blade into myself, much more do I shorten my life when by sin I kill my soul, which is nobler than the body. And so it is plain that a man's life is also shortened because of sins.

An example. The father said that in his own time it happened that a certain youth of fifteen years was led to the gallows and suffered the torment of the gibbet. When he had died he appeared first bearded, afterwards grey-haired. So they ran to the bishop of that city and told him this. He sent his vicar to examine it, and he reported back to the bishop. Going out with the sacrament of the body of Christ, they prayed God to reveal this mystery to them. Then the voice of an angel sounded from heaven, saying: "This youth would have reached eighty years if he had not stolen." Yet they considered that it was a mystery, etc.

III. Friday before Invocavit

[Editor's date: Friday, 16 February]

Cry, cease not. In today's epistle the author indicates that affliction of the body without abstaining from sin is not acceptable to God, because the demons keep such an abstinence or fast every day, since they never eat; but to gather the bundles, that is, to gather sins together and declare them before the priest [is acceptable].

It is asked, then, whether it is lawful to fast on Sunday, since blessed Augustine says that we should fast on any day. The Manichaean heretics say that one must fast by precept, and as a sign that they hold God's commandments they keep a fast on Sunday. The final answer is this: lest we Christians should seem to be likened to the Manichaeans, the Church has laid down that Sunday is not to be fasted, and whoever fasted superstitiously and said it was under precept would sin mortally; indeed he ought to be condemned as a heretic. This is a sign of the immense joy that Christ brought us on Sunday. Therefore when a vigil falls on a Sunday, let it be moved to the Saturday.

It is asked at what hour or time the fast should begin. Some doctors say that it should begin in the evening after supper; but Saint Thomas, conforming himself to the Church, says that according to the Roman Church the day begins at midnight, and so does the fast. Those therefore who celebrate [Mass] and solemnities, or who communicate, not keeping the fast from

(p. 7)

midnight, sin mortally. Fasting is twofold, namely the fast of nature and the fast of the Church. The fast of nature is when someone is entirely sober, so that nothing at all is swallowed, not spices or water or the like; and such a fast is required of one who celebrates Mass or communicates. Priests should therefore be advised not to rinse their mouths with water in the morning, but to do it in the evening, for they can easily swallow one drop and so break the fast of nature. The same holds for lay people who communicate. The fast of the Church is when someone has taken nothing by way of nourishment.

It is asked whether drink, confections and electuaries break the fast of the Church; likewise pears, apples, nuts and the like. Some say that a drink of water does not break the fast, but it is otherwise with other things; the reason being that no pure element nourishes. The conclusive answer is to note that some foods are taken for nourishment, some for purging, and some for restoring. Those taken for nourishment break the fast, such as apples, pears and nuts. But those taken for purging, such as syrup, electuaries and the like, which are taken to purge a superfluous humour, do not break the fast. Nor do those break the fast which are taken for restoring, such as apothecary's confections or electuaries or spices like ginger, cinnamon and the like, taken

for restoring, provided only that they are taken without fraud.

Likewise of drink the answer is that drink taken moderately before the midday meal without fraud, namely from necessity and only to restore nature, may be taken; for example, some labourers greatly dried out by their work can be restored by drink, but such drink may not be taken for gluttony. And if before the meal it does not break the fast, much less after the meal. Yet let the drinkers not deceive themselves, saying, "I cannot abstain from drink, otherwise I shall fall ill," while lying in the taverns on fast days. The same goes for confections and electuaries, etc. So it is plain that after the meal one may take as much drink as suffices for nature, namely so that the food is not burnt in the stomach; but it is not to be taken to excess. Before the meal, only for necessity, namely because of excessive weakness. Even then you do not break the fast of the Church, understand, as long as it is done without fraud.

But what of the sick: may they communicate without keeping the fast of nature? The answer is yes. Even if they had eaten a whole capon or a roast cow, if they are truly penitent the body of Christ must not be denied them. The same must be said of those being led to the gallows to be hanged

(p. 8)

or to some other punishment: even if they had eaten meat in the morning, not knowing that sentence would be passed on them that same day, the body of Christ must not be denied them if they are truly penitent, except in the case where it must be denied, namely to public robbers, etc.

It is asked whether the sick may eat meat in Lent. The answer is yes: on a physician's advice the sick may eat meat, even on Good Friday or at any time of fasting. For fish do not help the sick toward health, but rather toward death.

Secondly, concerning the quality of fasting, what fasting should be like. First it is said that it must be with abstinence from vices, both of the inner senses and the outer. The inner senses, for the present purpose, which are called powers of the soul, are memory, reason and will. One must therefore preserve these virtues or powers and abstain from sin. First one must guard the memory or thought, lest it think unlawful and perverse things; for perverse thoughts separate from God. For Saint Peter says, namely this sentence (?): "That abstinence is true and praiseworthy when the soul fasts from vices." We must therefore resist the first motions of evil thoughts and not give consent; for as soon as consent is present and delight follows, it is a mortal sin. If I thought of how I formerly committed lust and took delight in it, even though I resolved rather to die than sin mortally or with lust, still, because of the delight I had in such a sin, I would sin mortally.

One must therefore above all resist the first motions and dash them against the rock, for the psalmist says: *and dash his little ones against the rock*, that is, the first motions of the thoughts against the rock. For if you give consent, the devil has at once ensnared you: where the serpent thrusts in its head, there it follows with its whole body and tail. It is not in our power that these first motions of thought should not come to us, for the devil suggests many evil thoughts to us. But we must at once run back to the passion of Christ and resist strongly, lest delight and consent follow. For according to Bernard, an evil thought gives birth to delight, delight to consent, consent to the deed, the deed to habit, habit to obstinacy, obstinacy to despair, despair to eternal death.

Again, reason must abstain from vices, namely so as not to understand sacred scripture otherwise than the Holy Spirit and the holy fathers understood it. The will too [must restrain] its desire, namely by conforming its will to the divine will, and not coveting the neighbour's goods or wife,

(p. 9)

etc. Again, that mortal sin is committed by desire or consent alone is found in many places of the Gospel. For Matthew says: *You shall not kill; you shall not commit adultery. I say to you: whoever*, etc. So also the outer senses [the text reads "consensus"], which are like windows through which the devil enters the soul of man,

must abstain from sin. Beware, therefore, and guard your eyes, for the psalmist says: *Turn away my eyes*, etc.

Second, fasting must be with abstinence from idleness; that is, everyone who wants to fast well must cease from idleness, for idleness gives vices. Some want to drive out idleness with idleness, which is false, for it is impossible to put out fire with fire; it must be done with water. We must therefore fast from idleness by doing virtuous deeds in the Church, for idleness has taught, or brings, many evils. Again, beware of [the text reads "repudiis"; uncertain] jests, dances, games, tales and musical instruments or songs, for idleness consists in these.

On this it is asked whether dancing is a mortal sin. There it is said that it is, and it is proved thus: the Lord never threatens death except for mortal sin; but in Ezekiel we have: *Because you have clapped your hands and stamped your feet, I will kill you*, etc. Following Saint Thomas, the final answer is that one must distinguish whether dancing is a sin or not. Four things are to be considered in a dance: the person, the place, the time and the end. And so I ask whether priests and religious ought to dance. I say no, because what suits one does not suit another; as it befits a man to sleep with his own wife, but this does not befit another. Again, the place: it is not fitting to dance in church, for in oratories those things must be done for which they were made, namely to pray and to receive the sacraments of the Church. The time: in Lent it is not fitting to dance, nor on feast days, nor in penitential seasons; for example, if a penance had been enjoined on you for half a year, in that time it would not be lawful for you to dance. Again, if a king were to come to some city, then for great joy and gladness, namely because they wished to obey the king with gladness, a dance might lawfully be held, namely in the city and outside the city to meet the king: married couples dancing together [the text reads "incivem"; uncertain], the virgins on one side and the widows on the other. The end for which a dance is commonly held is lust or the sight of beautiful women, etc. That end is evil and tends to mortal sin. Therefore the dance is forbidden. For in a dance mortal sin can be committed with all the outer senses. First with sight, by looking at a beautiful woman and desiring her, etc. With hearing, by hearing foul words with delight. With taste, by speaking the

(p. 10)

worst words and singing scurrilous things. With smell, by carrying fragrant herbs, namely putting musk about oneself so as to smell sweet. With touch, by touching immodestly, which detestably sometimes happens in a dance, as is plain enough. On Sundays it is not lawful, for the Lord says: *Sanctify the sabbath.* Sanctification does not belong to dancing; yet it is quite consistent that sanctification can stand with dancing, for a holy man can dance in his own time and place.

Third, fasting must be with abstinence from superfluous foods, about which later. Again, there are three works of satisfaction, namely prayer, fasting and almsgiving. Again, there are three divine works of God, namely the work of creation, of redemption and of glorification, which stand as beginning, middle and end. Of creation we have Genesis 1: *In the beginning God created*, etc. And this we believe by faith. [It is asked] whether we know that God created heaven, or whether we believe it by faith. The psalmist: *All his works are in faith.* But such faith without works is dead. James [the text reads "IX"]: *The devil also believes and trembles*, but he does not do good works in faith. For it is one thing to believe God, another to believe that there is a God, and another to believe in God, as is plain.

Again, Saint Bernardino raised fourteen dead. I say that Saint Bernardino did not raise them, nor can any of the saints raise the dead; rather God raised them through the invocation of the name of Christ, because of the merits of Saint Bernardino.

IV. Saturday

[Editor's date: Saturday, 17 February]

As many as touched him were made whole. Again, scourges come sometimes because of the parents' sins, sometimes because of one's own sins. Scourges come for five reasons. First, for the purging of sin, as was done to Moses's sister Miriam, who murmured against God. Second, for the increase of virtue, as in Job and in Tobit. Third, because of hardness and obstinacy of heart, as in Pharaoh and his company. Fourth, for the glory of God, as appears in the man born blind. Fifth, as the beginning of eternal punishment, as in Herod. The best remedy in sickness is patience. Again, scourges come so that no one may exalt himself in anything, as in Paul, namely for the increase of virtues. Again, in today's Gospel, that God never

(p. 11)

abandoned his own when they were in tribulation, but commonly consoles them. For when a storm arose on the sea where the disciples were sailing, and Jesus was not with them, about the fourth watch of the night he came to them. This Gospel is read today because the people have already fasted for three days. So that on the fourth day we may not tremble and remain unconsoled, let us cry to the Lord with Saint Peter: "Lord, help us" by consoling us.

There is an example of Saint Anthony, who, on a beam over a pit in which he prayed to the Lord, was cruelly worn out and beaten by demons. Because he remained half-alive in the pit, his brothers carried him to his cell. When he came to himself he said: "Carry me back, lest the devil boast that he has won the victory over me." When he had been carried back, the devil came and wanted to swallow him, opening his mouth over him. But he called upon the Lord, and the Lord appeared to him with great brightness. And Anthony said: "Lord, where were you?" He said: "I was never going to leave you, but I only wished to test your patience."

Again, note briefly some cases in which some may be excused from fasting. First, the young, namely under twenty years; yet let each consider himself and his strength, for some about eighteen are stronger than some about twenty-two. Second, [the old] are excused because heat is failing in them. Again, the poor, who cannot have enough at one sitting to be satisfied. Again, the sick and weak, who cannot take enough at one sitting. Again, pilgrims in case of necessity. Again, pregnant women, nursing women and labourers in case of necessity, about whom it appears elsewhere. Again, brewers: perhaps their labour is so great that they cannot bear it, because they are greatly dried out by the fire; they may perhaps take drink and the like.

Again, it is held concerning the celebration of Masses that every person over seven years is bound to hear Mass on Sundays and feasts, and the Mass appointed for that day or feast. And whoever despises the Church's commandment sins mortally, unless a layman who does not understand the Mass is excused; but if he understands that this Mass is not of the season, they are not excused (De consecratione, dist. 1, ch. *Missas*). And so all the faithful … [the sentence breaks off]; this will also be said below, on the Saturday before Judica. The Apostle: *If a man let his hair grow long, it is a shame to him*, etc.

V. Invocavit Sunday

(p. 12)

[Editor's date: Sunday, 18 February]

Jesus was led into the desert. Today we have how he was tempted by the devil, as a sign to us that the devil tempts us, and truly tempts, for the more virtuous someone is, the more he is tempted by the devil. But we must resist strongly with Christ. And he tempted Jesus with three sins, namely pride, gluttony and avarice, as he tempted our first mother Eve. With gluttony (Genesis): *You shall not eat of the tree of life*; with pride: *You shall be as gods*; with avarice: *knowing good and evil*. For avarice is not only to covet temporal things but also to desire to know many sciences that do not belong to man, namely higher things. The devil said: *If, falling down*, etc. For to love riches is to fall. Beware, then, of immoderate love of temporal things, lest you fall from the glory of God. Christ, then, wishing to join himself to the holy fathers, namely Moses and Elijah,

who fasted forty days, etc. O with what confusion the devil withdrew, if anyone had seen it!

Gregory says that a good angel in his appearing first frightens a man but afterwards sends him away in great joy and consolation; but the devil in his appearing first shows pleasantness and afterwards leaves the conscience sad. There is an example of Rufino, a brother of Saint Francis, to whom the devil appeared in the likeness of the Crucified: "Do not follow Saint Francis. Why do you chastise your body? Why do you fast? I do not want it; it displeases me. It is a perverse order." He rejoiced with great joy, for he thought it was Christ. Saint Francis, perceiving this apparition in the Holy Spirit, went to his cell and knocked. Rufino rebuked him: "Why do you hinder me? Why do you knock? Leave off." Francis said to him: "Rufino, what appeared to you? The Crucified? O, it is the devil!" He said to him: "Then do you know, father, the apparition that appeared to me?" Rufino said to him: "How can it be that the devil appears in the form of the Crucified, since he is terrified of the cross?" Francis said to him: "If you wish to test the truth, when he appears to you in any way, spit in his face and turn your back or hindquarters to him. If he is Christ, he is patient, and you will find out what he is." The next day he appeared again in the same form, with soft words. Rufino spat in his face and turned his back to him. The devil could not bear it, but withdrew with great force and noise, and broke a large part of the cliff by the friary. That noise was

(p. 13)

heard half a German mile away. But Brother Rufino remained very sad, as if half-alive. Francis, hearing the noise, said: "Let us go and see how it goes with our brother Rufino." And they found him half-alive. See how the devil at the beginning shows pleasantness and afterwards leaves a man sad. Therefore this Gospel is read today, because in Lent the devil tempts us in many ways, so that we may not complete the fast we have begun and do penance; we must resist the devil strongly, etc.

To treat further of the second point, namely idleness: it was said that idleness is found in, or consists in, games. Saint Thomas says that every game that is played by the forces of fortune, that is, which consists in chance, is reprobate and vicious, such as the game of dice, of *aleae*, of cards, etc. This is proved and confirmed in many places of the Old and New Testament where the word "playing" occurs. In the New Testament, Matthew 11 and Luke 7: *To whom shall I liken this generation? It is like children playing*, etc. But a game that does not consist in chance can be played without mortal sin, when the time, the person and the place are duly considered, as was said of these circumstances. For many sins follow from gaming, namely anger (?), blasphemy, avarice, gluttony, pride, etc.

Again, not only those who play sin, but also the bystanders who delight in the game and consent to it. Jerome says: "It is not lawful to look at what it is not lawful to desire." So they sin mortally and are worthy of death who consent, stand by, favour, take part in and help the game. Those who make dice, gaming boards and *aleae* sin mortally, and those who lend them light, and universally all who help the game. Beware, then, of gaming. The same father, as was said above, also proved from many places of the Old Testament many sins and very great scourges [arising from it], as appears in the verses … [the editor notes: two lines and two pages are missing].

As to the third point, namely the quality of fasting, note that fasting must be with abstinence from superfluous and unlawful foods, about which there is the following verse: "Hastily, sumptuously, too much, greedily and studiously." *Hastily*, namely lest the hour be anticipated because of greed, etc. *Sumptuously*, lest the dishes be prepared too luxuriously. *Too much*, that is, lest too much food and drink be taken. *Greedily*, that is, lest they be taken too eagerly and hotly, for then the food remains undigested when it is not well chewed, and many illnesses follow. *Studiously*, that is,

(p. 14)

that great study is not given to preparing the dishes. For some, fasting to God, want to break the fast with three meals. First in the evening they say: "O, tomorrow we must fast; tomorrow we shall get something good so that we can fast the better." Second at midday: "O, today we must fast, so we must have many dishes." Third in the morning of the next day: "O, yesterday we fasted; O, today we must eat early," etc.

Again, there are eleven things which one must have against the temptation of the devil. The first must be knowledge of scripture. The second must be the fear of God, for *the fear of the Lord drives out sin*. The third, the invocation of the name of Christ. The fourth, the invocation of the Virgin Mary; and so we sing, "Mary, mother of grace, mother of mercy," etc. The fifth, the invocation of the saints. The sixth must be a sure devotion, especially to this verse: *O God, come to my assistance.* The seventh, the sign of the holy cross. The eighth is lifting up [the mind] to heaven. The ninth is devout prayer. The tenth is the passion of Christ. The eleventh is the exercise of some good work; hence Jerome: "Always be doing something good," etc.

VI. Monday

[Editor's date: Monday, 19 February]

The good shall go into eternal life, but the wicked into punishment. Reason: here God names only the works of mercy, for which he will condemn men to eternal punishment, and not other sins greater than these, namely homicide, adultery, fornication, incest, the sodomitic sin, etc. From this it is drawn that if God will condemn a man for those sins, much more for greater ones; for if what seems less to be present is present, [the greater is too]. Again, from this it is also drawn that it is not enough to distribute to the poor only what was acquired unlawfully and unjustly, but also from what was acquired justly and lawfully. Again, Augustine says: "It is not enough to abstain from evil unless one does what is good," etc.

Note that there are three kinds of homicide, for homicides are committed by heart, by mouth and by deed. Of the first we have John: *Whoever hates his brother is a murderer*. Of the second, Wisdom 1: *Keep yourselves from murmuring, which profits nothing, and spare your tongue from detraction.* Gregory: those who rob others of their life and character are worse than thieves who are hanged for taking away a man's substance. Why? Because men judge it more of a sin than those who

(p. 15)

detract from men, for without substance one cannot live. I say for certain that those who take away men's good name and detract from them are worse than those who would plunder the whole world without touching a person. So it is said in Ecclesiasticus: *Take care of a good name, for it is worth more than a thousand precious treasures.* Again, Solomon in Proverbs: *A good name is better than great riches.* Augustine: "Two things are necessary for a man, namely a good conscience and a good reputation: the conscience as regards ourselves, the reputation as regards our neighbours." Again, goods are threefold, namely moral, real or temporal [written above: "personal"], and spiritual; and moral and spiritual good is worth more than real or temporal good. Again the Apostle: *Detractors, hateful to God.*

Again, precepts are twofold, namely affirmative and negative. Affirmative precepts always oblige, but not at every moment, only for the place and time; for example, "You shall adore your God", "Genuflect", "Honour your parents": a man is not always obliged to genuflect. Negative precepts oblige always and at every moment, as "You shall not kill", etc.

Again, God was made man because no one could make satisfaction for men's sins except God made man. God could make satisfaction but did not owe it; man owed it but could not; therefore it was fitting that God and man should do it. This is to be seen elsewhere. Cursed be the man who says that the divinity was ever separated from the humanity. Saint Thomas says in the fifth *Quodlibet* that the blood was united to the body while Jesus lay in the tomb, because a body cannot be without blood; and so the Godhead too was united to

the body and the blood in the tomb. And the Godhead was also united to the soul in hell; but of that, not here, as it is not to the point.

Again, God will come to judgement with power, wisdom and justice; or these three are to be noted in God's judgement: wisdom, power and justice. The power of this world is nothing against the power of God: as much as a shepherd is reckoned beside the emperor, or in respect of the emperor, so much is the emperor in respect of God (Matthew): *He will come with great power.* Of wisdom: for there nothing is hidden, but all things will be manifest there. Then the hidden things of the heart will be manifest, as Samuel said to Saul: *Man sees the things that appear, God beholds the heart.* There contention over laws will be of no help; there opinions will avail nothing; there the arguments of Aristotle, Plato, Pythagoras, etc., will avail nothing. There sophistical logic and the syllogism will be of no help.

The Cantor of Paris gives an example. There was a certain young bachelor so well steeped in these sophistical

(p. 16)

arguments and sciences that no one seemed his equal in disputation, and his master loved him greatly because he was well steeped in sophistry. At length he fell ill. His master visited him with the greatest care and asked him: "I beg you to appear to me after your death and reveal what has become of you." For his master had seen him very devout in receiving the body of Christ. The young man said to him: "I will, if God permits." So after death he appeared to the master in a long mantle, such as he used to wear before; and the mantle was full of sophistical arguments and sciences. The master said to him: "How are you?" He said: "Alas, badly, for I am eternally damned." The master said to him: "How can this be? See, I see you in fine attire and comely as before, and abounding in sophistical sciences." The young man said to him: "Do you want to test it? I will show you how great my pain is." The master said: "I want to, as far as I am able, and I would gladly test it." The young man said: "Stretch out your hand, and one drop of my sweat will fall into your hand." And it was done: when the drop fell into his hand the master suffered greatly and cried out loudly: "Woe, woe is me! O how I am tormented, for the drop has pierced my hand!" The young man said: "Is this drop of my sweat so great a pain to you? What do you think it would be if your whole body were pierced through with fire as mine is?" The master said to him: "Yet you lamented your sins and received the body of the Lord very reverently and with devotion. How is it that you are so tormented and will be eternally damned?" The young man said: "I did not lament because of my sins, but because I had to leave earthly honour and temporal things and friends; therefore I shall be tormented eternally. So you, leave the honour and riches of the world and amend your life." At length the young man departed. The master, acting on his counsel, left the honours and vanities of this world, entered religion, repented of his sins, and composed these verses: "I leave croaking to the frogs, cawing to the crows, and vain things to the vain; I go to the logic that therefore does not fear death."

Again, Apocalypse 14: *Fear God and give him honour, for from day to day the hour of his judgement comes.* Ecclesiasticus [Proverbs 6]: *The jealousy and rage of the man will not spare in the day of revenge, nor will he yield to anyone's prayers, nor accept many gifts for redemption.* For there, in a way, there will be no mercy as there is in this world. Isaiah: *The Lord waits, that he may have mercy*; for this is God's greatest mercy. The psalmist: *Of his mercies there is no number.* For however great a sinner someone is in this world, God spares all, if only the sinner is willing to implore him.

(p. 17)

For even if someone has sinned by sins against the Holy Spirit, namely presumptuously, God spares. Envy of fraternal charity the Lord spares; assault on known truth God spares; obstinacy and despair God spares. But if someone sins by final impenitence [the text reads "impotentiam"; the editor notes it must read "impenitentiam"], namely against the Holy Spirit, God never or scarcely spares. Of this we have Matthew: *If*

anyone sins against the Father, it will be forgiven him; if against the Son, it will be forgiven him; but whoever sins against the Holy Spirit, it will not be forgiven him either in this age or in the age to come. This is understood of the sin against the Holy Spirit by final impenitence.

Nor will he yield to anyone's prayers. Here we have secure access to God, for we have many intercessors, namely angels, archangels, etc., all the saints, and the blessed and glorious Virgin Mary, whose prayer is worth more than if all the angels and archangels and all the saints interceded for the sinner. We have Jesus Christ as advocate, whose prayers with the Father are worth more than the prayers of the Blessed Virgin, because he is God. Yet whatever the Blessed Virgin asks of her Son, he will undoubtedly not refuse. For the Church sings: "Hear us, for your Son," etc. But there neither the prayers of all the saints nor of the Blessed Virgin and of Jesus Christ will be heard with God the Father. Jesus Christ will judge justly, and his justice will then go before, and in every way there will be no mercy. O sinner, do penance in the present age, in the time of grace!

Again: *nor will he accept [gifts] for redemption.* For here one coin is worth more for the redemption of sins and of the soul than if there you gave a thousand thousand marks or *sexagenae*. If it were possible that the whole universe, heaven, earth, water and air, were gold and very precious stones, and you wished to give it for the redemption of one soul, it would be nothing. O sinner, you have seen that there will be no redemption of sins there. So do penance in the present age and redeem your sins by alms and prayers and fasts, so that afterwards you may have eternal life; which may he deign to grant us, etc.

VII. Second weekday after Invocavit

[The sermon is numbered "VIII"; it falls between VI and the next sermon numbered VIII, so it is presumably VII. The editor dates it Tuesday, 20 February, and notes that, as the Gospel shows, it should read "third weekday".]

When Jesus had come into Jerusalem, the whole city was moved. What is set down in today's Gospel took place on Palm Sunday,

(p. 18)

when God drove out the sellers and buyers and said: *My house shall be called a house of prayer,* which is written in Isaiah 56. It can also be understood and applied to the coming of Christ to judgement. For then the whole earth and the whole globe of lands will be moved, and great preceding signs will appear, of which Jerome lists fifteen, which are commonly known.

Three things are to be considered in the judgement: a rigid throne that strikes in fear; each one's own merit, which proves his worth; and the last end, which assigns the reward of labour. Concerning the first, three things are to be considered, namely power, wisdom and justice, about which it was said above.

Concerning the second, note that a man is bound to render account in the judgement of three things, namely of thoughts, words and deeds. First God will examine evil thoughts. For there the hidden things of the heart will be manifest, of which the sinner will be examined. Proverbs [Wisdom 1]: *Inquiry shall be made into the thoughts of the ungodly.* Sins of thought, if they stop at the first motions, do not merit punishment; but when consent or delight follows, they merit punishment.

This is also proved in legal judgement, namely that a man may merit temporal death for the thoughts and intentions of the heart alone toward evil, even though the deed was not carried out. Suppose someone set a ladder against a monastery of nuns or virgins, intending to commit sacrilege or to violate a nun, and he was caught before he did the act and brought to judgement, and he admitted that he had truly intended to violate the nun: sentence would be given by law that he should be beheaded. So too if one of the robbers is caught in the forest bearing arms and a true sign that he means to rob, even though he had never robbed, and he

confesses, the laws condemn him to death. But this happens in secular and temporal judgement; much more will God, the heavenly and highest judge, who gave us the law, condemn a man to eternal death for intention and thought alone, at least if such thought is toward mortal sin. This is also found in Exodus 20: *You shall not covet another's goods; you shall not covet your neighbour's wife.* How would I know that thought or mere desire was a sin if the divine mouth had not explained it?

Beware, then, of evil thoughts. To resist the first thoughts is not in our power, but [to resist] consent to and the declaring of those thoughts is; that is, it is not in us that the devil should not suggest these thoughts to us, but it is ours to resist them, fight strongly and not give consent. Again, whoever thinks evil is not in the charity of God and therefore does not merit eternal life. As the Apostle, to the Corinthians, among the other works

(p. 19)

of charity which he lists, adds last: *thinks no evil.* Again, in the Gospel: *out of the heart come anger, blasphemy, thefts, false witness*, etc. For the heart is the principle of life and of death.

Second, we must render account of our words, as we have in the Gospel: that we must render account of every idle word; and if of an idle word, much more of a foul word and of blasphemy, etc. According to Augustine, every word is called idle that is not uttered for the praise of God, or for the profit of the neighbour, or for the accusation of oneself. The same: a man's mouth should be mute except for three things, namely the praise of God, etc., as before (?).

For this reason we read in sacred scripture of the Blessed Virgin that she spoke only seven times; although she spoke more often, only seven are read. First, when the angel announced to her that she was to conceive, she said: *How shall this be?* Second: *Behold the handmaid of the Lord* (Luke 1). Third, when she greeted Elizabeth; but the greeting itself is not expressed there. Fourth, when, magnified by Elizabeth, she magnified God, saying: *My soul magnifies the Lord.* Fifth, when she lost her Son in the Temple, she said: *Son, why have you done this to us?* (Luke 2). Sixth, when Jesus with his mother and disciples was invited to the wedding, the mother of Jesus said: *They have no wine*; see, for the profit of the neighbour. The seventh is when she said: *Whatever he tells you, do* (John 2). See how in six ways she finished her speech briefly; but in the seventh way, when she praised God, she finished it at greater length. This is a sign to us that we must praise God unceasingly and without pause, and dispatch other things necessary to us briefly, in few words, without speaking much.

We must therefore take great care to guard the tongue and the palate. Ecclesiasticus [Proverbs 18]: *Good and evil, life and death, are in the hands of the tongue.* In the Gospel: *A good man out of the good treasure of his heart brings forth good things, and an evil man evil things.* Again: *A good tree cannot*, etc. David: *Set a watch, O Lord, before my mouth, and a door round about my lips.*

Note: the devil first puts a suggestion into a man. From suggestion follows affection; from affection, delight; from delight, consent; from consent, the deed; from the deed, habit; from habit, obstinacy; from obstinacy, despair; from despair, defence of sin; from defence of sin, glorying in it; from glorying, eternal death.

Again, if I knew that no man was to be saved except one, I would do all in my power so that I should not be the man to be damned; not as some say, from God's foreknowledge: "If I am to be saved, I shall be saved," and so they do no good works.

Third, we must render

(p. 20)

account of every least and unlawful act. For if we must render account of thoughts and words, much more of acts; for if what seems less to be present is present, then the greater is too, by the argument from the lesser.

Again, the act of sin is sometimes done secretly and in the heart, that is, we have sometimes sinned only in the heart without proceeding to the act. Second, the sin proceeds from the heart into a hidden act. Third, the sin sometimes comes to a public act. The Lord touches on this in the Gospel (Matthew 5) when he says: *You have heard that it was said to them of old: You shall not kill. But I say to you, whoever is angry with his brother shall be liable to judgement; and whoever says to his brother "Raca" shall be liable to the council; and whoever says "You fool" shall be liable to Gehenna.*

The first, namely the sin of the heart, is touched on when it says "is angry". The second, when it proceeds into a hidden act: "whoever says Raca". Raca is an interjection of indignation, namely when someone by outward signs shows himself to be someone's enemy, with as many signs as you like, yet says no word to him. The third, when it proceeds into a public act, is touched on where it says "You fool". The first is worthy of judgement, that is, he is judged to Gehenna. The second is worthy of the council, as when the aldermen and judges ask whether this man is worthy of death. The third is worthy of the sentence of eternal death, that is, sentence has already been passed on him.

Note: sacrilege, namely when a priest sins with some woman, or even a simple man with a nun or the reverse, is worse than if someone sinned with his own mother. Simple fornication is a mortal sin; adultery is greater; incest is graver; *stuprum* or rape, namely the violent deflowering of a virgin, graver still; sacrilege graver again; but the sodomitic sin is the gravest and worst of all.

Beware, then, and guard your heart; set a watch on your mouth; beware of evil and perverse works, lest God condemn you to eternal punishment, but rather that he may lead you into eternal life. And put away anger from your heart, so that God may also forgive you your sins.

It is asked, then, why God condemns a man eternally for a sin that is as it were momentary. ("Momentary is what delights, eternal what torments.") The answer is that a man has the will to sin always, as long as he would have lived; therefore he must also always be punished, so that the punishment corresponds to the sin.

Again, note the Master in the *Sentences*: the uncreated Word, the incarnate, the consecrated and the preached Word is the same. Again he says: "If you ask which is greater, the body of Christ or the word of God, I say that the word of God is not less than the body of Christ." Whoever, then, listens negligently to the word of God does no less, that is, sins no less, than one who negligently let the body of Christ fall to the ground.

VIII. Third weekday

(p. 21)

[Editor's date: Wednesday, 21 February; should read fourth weekday]

The men of Nineveh shall rise in judgement with this generation and shall condemn it (Matthew 12). *The queen of the south shall rise*, etc. *An evil and adulterous generation seeks a sign, and no sign shall be given it but the sign of Jonah the prophet*, who was three days and three nights in the belly of the whale. But the most wretched Jews did not understand, for they were obstinate.

Jonah was sent by the Lord to preach to the Ninevites that after forty days the Lord would overthrow that city. It was a great city, three days' journey across. He fled, thinking, "Great is the Lord's mercy," and hid himself and went into a ship on the sea. A great storm arose, so that the ship was about to perish. Jonah was sleeping; they woke him and cast lots for whom they should throw from the ship into the sea, and the lot fell on Jonah. Jonah said: "This storm has arisen because of me." They said: "What shall we do?" Jonah answered: "Throw me into the sea." And they did so, and the whale swallowed him; he was in its belly three days and nights. But by God's will the whale cast him out by the sea onto the sand, and Jonah knew that he had sinned and said: "Now I know that no one can hide from your power, neither on sea nor on land." And the Lord said to him: "Go, tell the Ninevites that after forty days I will overthrow their city and destroy

them." He did as the Lord commanded, came to a street of that city of Nineveh and preached that after forty days the Lord would overthrow their city, etc. And at once they did penance. The cry came to the king. The king laid down sceptre and crown, put on sackcloth, sprinkled ashes and lay prostrate on the ground, and he commanded the same to all his people. They did penance, and for three days and nights they neither ate nor drank, praying to the Lord; nor did nursing infants take milk from their nurses for those three days and nights, nor did the cattle take food, nor the other animals, namely beasts of burden such as horses, etc. And the Lord said to Jonah: "Go, tell the Ninevites that I have seen their affliction and penance and will spare them." And Jonah did so. See this history in the book of Kings [as the text says; the account is in the book of Jonah].

So the Lord says that the men of Nineveh, etc. Why? Because they, at a single word of Jonah and at one

(p. 22)

sermon, did penance; but the perverse and adulterous generation of the Jews did not do penance at the many sermons of Christ. Again, Jonah did no sign, but Christ did many signs.

Again, it is said in the Gospel: *The queen of the south will come,* or *will rise in judgement with this generation,* etc. The queen of the south came from distant parts to hear the wisdom of Solomon. But what was Solomon's wisdom in comparison with the wisdom of Christ? Solomon's wisdom compared with Christ is as the wisdom of a one-year-old child to the wisest man of this world, and much more; Solomon's wisdom was as nothing in comparison with the wisdom of God. And although Solomon was most wise, he did not keep that wisdom and did not use it well, for in the book of Kings we read that he had many concubines, etc., and became profane, for he became an idolater; and for this he is damned. Many, however, hold the opposite about him; it is of no matter now; we shall know at the judgement. Again, Innocent: in things that do not belong to the articles of faith or to necessity, anyone may hold what he pleases. But I say, rather, said the devout father, first for the reason (?) that he is damned: since we read of such great crimes, and no sign of true penance is read. Christ too, speaking of him concerning the lilies, says: *not even Solomon in all his glory was arrayed as one of these,* namely the lilies of the field. If Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed as one of the lilies, what then is Solomon's glory? For there he speaks in the present tense.

But because the Ninevites did penance, the Lord changed his sentence. Ambrose: "God knows how to change his sentence if the sinner changes his will."

Again it is said further on in the Gospel: *When the unclean spirit has gone out of a man,* etc. By *dry and waterless places* are understood just men, in whom there is no moisture or excess of carnal concupiscence, etc. It says: *he takes seven spirits more wicked than himself*; by this are understood the seven mortal sins. What is worse than the devil? Is it worse, what was well created by God, or what was wickedly invented by the sinner? God did not create sin, but the sinner invented it. Sin is worse than the devil, for the devil is a creature of God, and God made all things well. Worse, then, is the spirit of pride than the devil; worse the spirit of avarice than the devil; and so with the other mortal sins. Proverbs [Ecclesiasticus 21]: *When the ungodly curses the devil, he curses his own soul.* It is not lawful to curse the devil, but to curse sin and detest sin

(p. 23)

with all its circumstances. Charity lost can be recovered; but when a man loses it again, he will be more lukewarm in acquiring charity than he was before the earlier recovery, and more obstinate in vice. So it is added: *And the last state of that man becomes worse than the first.* Take care, then, with the greatest diligence, lest it befall you to relapse into sin.

Then it is added in the Gospel that the Jews wanted to hinder Christ in his preaching and said: *Behold, your mother and your brothers and sisters stand outside,* etc. Jesus answered: *Who is my brother, my sister and*

my mother? Whoever does the will of my Father, etc.; read the text in the Gospel. Note here that Jesus put his mother after his friends, since she waited for him outside; at the beginning he named his mother. As if Jesus said: "In me spiritual and virtuous love prevails over worldly and carnal love," as though to say: "I love the progress and salvation of souls more than my mother." Although without doubt he loved his mother most of all, yet he always cared more for spiritual love, namely fulfilling the Father's will, etc., than for carnal. He said these words: *whoever does the will*, etc.

Concerning the universal judgement of the great Judge, we must consider, third and last, the last end that rewards labour. Note: the hour of death is the last end that rewards our labour, speaking particularly of the last end that rewards labour. If someone departs this world in the state of grace, he will fly to heaven without any punishment, at least if there is nothing still to be done penance for. Or if in the state of innocence, he will fly at once to heaven. Or if such innocence was lost and recovered again, they will fly at once to glory, provided penance has been done for the lost innocence. Holy Mother Church, governed by the Holy Spirit, cannot err; and she canonized Mary Magdalene not as a virgin but as one corrupted, as the Gospel says that she was full of seven demons; and yet she flew at once to heaven, because she did penance for her lost innocence, even for thirty years in the desert of Marseilles. For the worthy penance of the corrupted Magdalene profits me more than the virginity and integrity of her sister Martha. For grace superabounds more in Mary Magdalene than in Martha, and this because of the most salutary and most worthy penance that she did. Therefore she was also sustained by angelic food during those thirty years and lifted up at the seven hours to hear the songs of the angels, etc. Even if someone was the greatest sinner and has done worthy penance, he will fly at once to glory.

The Master says in the fourth book of the *Sentences*, last chapter, that children who are in original sin, namely not

(p. 24)

baptized, have the pain of loss but not of sense; and they must have this pain of loss eternally, and they are in the limbo of children, because they are not innocent.

Concerning the third, namely the last end that rewards labour, note that there will be a fivefold authority there, namely ordinary, delegated, assessorial, homologating and comparative. Ordinary authority is in God himself, namely Father, Son and Holy Spirit; hence the Apostle: *He who judges me is God.* Delegated: and such will be in Christ Jesus as man, for he will appear in the form of a servant and as man. John: *The Father judges no one, but has given all judgement to the Son.* And there the signs of the Son of Man will appear: the true cross on which he was crucified will appear made whole again, the crown of thorns, the lance, the nails, etc., and the wounds of Christ will appear, and they will see him whom they pierced, all who crucified Christ anew with their sins. And he will say to the soul: "O soul, see, am I not he of whom you said, 'He has blasphemed,' and tore your garment?" etc., namely to Caiaphas, Herod and Pilate, casting up to them the sufferings they inflicted on him: "I am he." And so Christ as man will judge with delegated authority, that is, *mit gesaster macht* [German in the text: "with entrusted power"].

Assessorial: with that authority all the angels will judge, and all the saints who in this life were in the state of perfection. Hence Peter said to the Lord: *Lord, we have left all things; what then shall we have?* Jesus answered: *Amen I say to you, you who have left all things shall sit on twelve seats judging the twelve tribes of Israel.* And these are the rich who left all for Christ (Proverbs): *with me are great riches*; and they are in the state of perfection. Yet it is not enough to have left all things: so too the philosophers, namely Socrates and others, left riches for the sake of philosophy. But to leave all things for Christ is the state of perfection.

Homologating, that is, approving: all the saints and just men will very gladly homologate, that is, approve and accept, the sentence of the judge. Hence John says that all the saints will cry out, that is, homologate: "Praise to our God, for his judgements are true," etc.

Comparative authority will also be there, which is the last, in the comparison of works with one another: those who are less evil will judge those who are more evil; for example, one who sinned mortally once will judge one who sinned mortally a hundred times, etc. So too it is said in today's Gospel that the Ninevites will condemn this generation, namely the Hebrew or Jewish one, because they did penance at one sermon of Jonah, but the Jews would not hear Christ, as above. So too of the queen of the south: she will rise in judgement, etc.

(p. 25)

And for the wicked hell is prepared, with all the devils; but for the good eternal life with God and with all the saints. Let us take care, then, and fulfil God's commandments, so that we may be able to come to eternal life. Blessed Gregory says that God commanded nothing impossible; we are well able, then, to fulfil God's commandments.

IX. On the feast of the Chair of Peter, fourth weekday

[Editor's date: Thursday, 22 February; fifth weekday]

You are kept by faith unto salvation, ready to be revealed in the last time. These words are written in 1 Peter 1 and are read in the epistle in honour of the Chair of Saint Peter, where it is added: *Grace to you and peace from God*, etc. This was the greeting of the apostles. The Apostle in his thirteen letters always puts these greetings, using them throughout (?); so too in the other (?) Acts of the Apostles. They learned this greeting from the Lord Jesus, for Jesus said: *Into whatever house you enter, say: Peace to this house.* Likewise Jesus said *Peace to you* in many places of the Gospels. Then follows in the epistle: *though now for a little while, if need be, you are made sorrowful in various temptations, that the trial of your faith may be more precious than gold, which is tried by fire.* While the present life lasts, temptation will not cease.

You are Peter, and upon this rock. Peter is named from the rock, and not the rock from Peter; and the rock was Christ. For when Peter said, *You are the Christ, the Son of the living God*, Jesus said: *Blessed are you, Simon Peter, for flesh and blood*, etc. Then he added: *You are Peter, and upon this rock*, that is, the firmness of the faith, etc. Here Christ calls Peter blessed; but in another place he said, *Get behind me, Satan; you are a scandal to me*, and this when he urged him that he ought not to suffer, as is found in the Gospel. For there Peter spoke from sensuality and carnal love; he wanted to draw Christ back from the passion. But when he called him blessed, he was then speaking from the Holy Spirit, and whoever speaks so never deceives but always speaks the truth, etc. Therefore Jesus says: *Flesh and blood has not revealed it to you, but my Father who is in heaven.*

In saying *I will build my Church*, Jesus entrusted his Church to Peter and made him prince and supreme pontiff. The supreme pontiff is as it were an earthly god, and above all men: greater than man and less than God. Therefore the whole Christian people is bound to obey him, unless he

(p. 26)

strayed from the faith; then he would have to be judged by a council. Whoever professes himself a Christian and will not obey the apostolic see incurs the sin of paganism, that is, of idolatry.

So the Lord said to Peter: *Put out into the deep* [the net]; but to the others he said, *Let down your nets* (Luke 5), to show the height and sublimity of Peter. He is also called Cephas, that is, head. The head of the Church is twofold: the mystical, that is, spiritual or principal, head, which is Christ; and the ministerial, which is the pope (1 Corinthians: *For the foundation is Christ*).

Here, in passing, something must be said about when the Lord made and appointed the apostles priests. Saint Thomas, in the fourth book of the *Sentences*, says that it was on that night when, at the Lord's Supper, he gave them his body and blood, saying, *Do this in memory of me*, which only Luke writes, namely *Do this*,

etc.: he appointed the apostles priests. See, the first authority, namely of consecrating the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. But they did not yet have the power of binding and loosing. Hence the Lord said: *And to you I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven*, in the future: *To you I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven; whatever you bind on earth*, etc. Note here that the Lord speaks in the singular in the proposition, but in the plural in the location, namely "the kingdom of the heavens". But to the other apostles, when he gave them the keys, he spoke in the plural in the proposition but in the singular in the location: *whatever you bind on earth shall be bound also in heaven, and whatever you loose*, etc. See, he speaks in the singular in the location, namely "in heaven". Gregory says that the Church is called, in the present, the kingdom of the heavens. To show that the Lord gave Peter authority and power over all churches, he said in the plural "of the heavens", likewise "in the heavens"; and so also to his successor, namely the pope. But the other prelates have only a particular authority in their churches and dioceses, each in his own heaven, that is, church, etc.; for by "heavens" the Church is very often meant in sacred scripture.

But after the resurrection, when Christ appeared to them saying, *Peace to you*, likewise when he breathed on them saying, *Receive the Holy Spirit; whose sins you forgive, they are forgiven, and whose you retain, they are retained*, he gave them the authority of binding and loosing; for here he speaks in the present (John 20). To Saint Peter and his successors full authority was given; to the other prelates, a share in the solicitude. So also the bishop, acting in the office of Christ in the conferring of the order of priesthood, gives them the authority of consecrating the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ: he holds a chalice in his hand with the paten and the form of a host, with the chalice filled, and says, "Receive the power of cele-

(p. 27)

brating Masses and consecrating the body and blood of the Lord Jesus Christ." But they still do not have the authority of loosing and binding; but after the consecration of the body of Christ and the communion, when he breathes on them saying, "Receive the Holy Spirit; whose," etc., he gives them the authority of binding and loosing. For Johannes Andreae says that if someone is ordained priest by a bishop and the bishop through negligence does not perform the second act, namely giving him the authority of loosing as has been said, then the one so ordained does not have the authority of absolving and binding; and as often as he presumes to absolve, so often he sins mortally; he has no authority, nor is the penitent so absolved. But afterwards, at another ordination, by that bishop or another, these things must be supplied and this authority of loosing and binding granted him; and the laws confirm this.

Again, the Lord said to Peter three times: *Peter, do you love me? Simon Peter, do you love me?* Peter answered: *You know, Lord, that I love you.* Christ answered: *Feed my lambs.* The third time he said: *Simon, son of John, do you love me?* Peter answered: *Lord, you know all things; you know*, etc. Jesus answered: *Feed my sheep* (John, last chapter). Three times Peter denied the Lord, and so three times the Lord entrusted his Church to Peter: twice as to the lambs, the third time as to the sheep. Second, to denote the threefold state: the state of beginners is designated in the first mention of the lambs; the state of the proficient in the second mention of the lambs; the state of the perfect in the mention of the sheep. Again, by the sheep the Lord designated the state of perfect men; and so prelates must be perfect like sheep, also in order to perfect others, to produce milk, cheese, wool, etc., to produce spiritual sons.

Continuing further about the judgement: it was said that the last end is the hour of death and the hour of judgement. The last time is the time of the final judgement, and the signs appearing in men, which Paul lists to Timothy: *Know this, that in the last days perilous times shall come; men shall be lovers of themselves, covetous, haughty, blasphemers*, etc. At the judgement the books will then be opened, and judgement will be made according to what is written in the books, as John says (Apocalypse 20), and Daniel 7.

Seven books will be opened on the day of judgement, namely: of the parents' transgression; of virtuous perfection; of natural condition; of love of neighbour; of fraternal assistance; of divine reproach; of the final

passion. The first book is that of the parents' transgression. This is original sin, whose first and original cause is the disobedience of our first parents. Paul to the

(p. 28)

Romans: *As by the disobedience of one man death entered into the world, so by the obedience of one man life came into the world.* Sin posits nothing but takes away; it is something privative; but in relation to the efficient cause it is the disobedience of our first parent. Original sin was actual in Adam. For the Lord made man to his image, namely memory, reason and will, and to his likeness, namely innocence and original justice. The Master of the *Sentences*: in Adam there was innocence, because he was made to the image of God. We all received the first innocence, but the first parent lost it for himself and for all his posterity, and this through disobedience.

There is an example of a fief. A lord, giving someone a fief, gives it on such a condition: "If you serve me once a year and are ready with so many and so many horses, etc., you are to keep it for ever. If not, from now as from then and from then as from now, you are to be deprived of it." So too the Lord Jesus made Adam and gave him innocence and the useful lordship to eat of every tree in paradise except the tree of life; that is, the Lord reserved one lordship for himself, and on such a condition: "Do not eat of the tree of life, otherwise you shall die the death." When he sinned through disobedience and ate of the forbidden tree, he lost innocence for himself and his posterity, and so death came into the world. And so in the joining of the soul with the body, at that hour, at that moment, original sin is contracted.

And note that the cause of original sin is fourfold. The material cause is in the lustful conception of the seed: all who are conceived in lustful concupiscence draw original sin. The formal cause is called the lack of the original justice and innocence given to the first parent, also for himself and all his posterity. The efficient cause is the disobedience of our first parents. The final cause of original sin is the rebellion of the sensitive appetite against right reason, hateful to the divine majesty. And so rebellion rose up in us, not only in the genital organs or in the principal members, namely the soul and heart, but also in all the outer senses; for the power of seeing, hearing, tasting, smelling and touching is in the soul, so when the soul departs from the body the body remains without sense. Therefore the apostle Paul says: *I see another law in my members.* And so through original sin the flesh of the first parents was corrupted, and such corruption and death came into all of us; and naturally we cannot escape that corruption or original sin. Yet God can exempt someone by spiritual privilege. And so of

(p. 29)

the Blessed Virgin Mary we piously believe that she was conceived without original sin.

And so on the day of judgement the question will be put: "Whose son are you?" "Of this man or that." "And he of that one," and so back to Adam; for we are all sons of Adam. "Having innocence and original justice, you are not damned." Whoever cannot show recovered innocence will be damned. Innocence is recovered through baptism. For God in his mercy, through the merits of his passion, ordained for us a remedy against original sin: baptism in the time of grace; but in the time of the law, circumcision; in the time of nature, [an offering] to be offered [the text reads "demonium"; uncertain]; whereby the first innocence and original justice are recovered. Against actual sin, penance, and original justice [is restored].

And so all who were quickened in the mother's womb and died before baptism, even if they had never sinned actually, are damned. Whose fault is it that they are damned though they did not sin? Since original sin is implanted in and annexed to nature and comes from a defect of nature, that they die in the womb: *the judgements of the Lord are just.* Because they never sinned actually, God has compassion and ordained for them only the pain of loss and not of sense, as the Master holds in the fourth book of the *Sentences*, last distinction. And the proper place of those unbaptized children is a prison specially appointed in hell, where

there is darkness but not the outer darkness, where they feel no delight because they do not see the face of God. And their place will not be here on earth after the day of judgement, as some say, that the earth will then be like a mass of glass and the water like crystal and unbaptized children will dwell in it; that is false.

John Chrysostom: "Many say that the pain of Gehenna is the greatest. No; the defect and lack of the vision of the face of God is the greatest, and a thousand thousand thousand times, etc., greater than the pain of Gehenna." I would rather be in hell and enjoy the vision of God than in heaven [without it]. O most cruel mothers, consider how great a pain unbaptized children have; and you sometimes kill them out of shame. Woe to you! If all the saints prayed, they could not obtain from God for them that they should enjoy the most delightful vision of God, for they do not have original innocence and justice but departed in original sin. *O how incomprehensible are his judgements and how unsearchable his ways*, etc. Everything that was quickened will itself rise on the day of judgement, even if it died in the womb; but that mass which was not quickened will rise with the mother. Woe to you, most savage mothers, who sometimes by abominable potions bring it about that you do not bring forth the fruit! O woe, woe, woe to you!

Pope Boniface granted to everyone who hears the name of Jesus

(p. 30)

named and bends the knee to God, or at least testifies it by bowing the head, an indulgence of one hundred and twenty days, and principally at Mass. There, namely at the judgement, Christ will be judge and witness. John: *There are three who bear witness: the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit.* "I am judge and witness."

X. Friday

[Editor's date: Friday, 23 February]

Behold, you are made whole; sin no more, lest something worse befall you (John 5). There, by the sheep-pool, which in Hebrew was called Bethsaida, there was a great multitude of sick people, who lay in its porches, of which there were five, which Solomon had built, waiting for the moving of the water, etc.; and he healed only one, as is found in the Gospel, and there I only told the story. For the Lord asked: *Do you want to be healed?* He answered: *Lord, I have no man*, etc. He did not believe that Jesus by a mere motion and word could heal not only him but all the sick; he supposed that the Lord would show mercy and wait for the troubling of the water and put him first into the pool. And this man whom he healed had suffered his infirmity for thirty-eight years.

Gregory: every action of Christ is our instruction. Therefore the Lord healed only one, according to Augustine, to designate the unity of the divine essence, the unity of divine truth, the unity of the true faith, the unity of Christ's people, the unity of the mystical body of our Lord Jesus Christ, the unity of the Church militant. For as in one body we have many members, but all do not have the same act, so we, many, are one body in Christ, yet having different members appointed to different offices. The head of this body is twofold, as above: the mystical, namely Christ; the ministerial, which is the pope. The members are the cardinals, archbishops, bishops, prelates, priests, and indeed the whole unity of Christ's faithful. It was said that the pope is the ministerial head. In the head there are different organs appointed to different offices, namely the eyes for seeing, the ears for hearing, etc. So the lord pope's counsellors, like the cardinals and other doctors, are like eyes, because they must foresee many things; the auditors of causes like ears; men of good repute who give good example to others, such as contemplatives (?) and other devout men, like the nostrils;

(p. 31)

which perceive the good odour (Paul: *We are the good odour of Christ*). The arms are the necessary soldiers who defend the goods of the Church, such as kings, princes, etc. The body is all the little children of Christ;

the feet are the lower ones and subjects. So all the members must agree with the head and the whole body: the hands are for the defence of the head, the eyes, etc.; and conversely the eyes for the hands and feet, namely to see what you are doing and how you walk; the feet for the whole body, to carry it. Augustine: "Every part is unseemly that does not agree with its whole." Therefore we must be of one mind and love one another (1 Peter): *Before all things having mutual charity, for charity covers a multitude of sins.* There is one universal holy Church, outside which there is no salvation at all. Therefore, to show unity, we all have one father, namely Adam. The Apostle: *If God is for us, who is against us?* He is also our Father, as we pray in the Lord's Prayer, *Our Father, who art,* etc.

The psalmist, then, wishing to show that the head is Christ and that from him flows every ointment of grace, of indulgence and of ecclesiastical power, says: *Like the ointment on the head, that ran down upon the beard, the beard of Aaron.* The ointment, that is grace, on the head, in Christ, descends from the divinity into the humanity, and further to the beard of Aaron, that is to the pope, and from the pope to the skirt of his garment, that is to the other prelates and priests. For as the beard is joined to the head, so the divinity is united to the humanity; and there is one God, one Christ, from whom is all grace and power in heaven and on earth.

Again, he healed a sick man: the sickness of the human race is shown to be healed through the passion and death of our Lord Jesus Christ. Again, sickness of the body is troublesome, but truly sickness of the soul is more troublesome, as the soul is nobler than the body. Then follows in the Gospel: *Go now, sin no more, lest,* etc.; as if he said: if you have received a benefit, keep the commandment: *sin no more, lest something worse befall you*; worse in this life, and perhaps in the future one if you have not done penance. Evil in life, worse in death [the text reads "in obitu"; uncertain], worst in hell. Let us flee sins, then, if we have been healed [the editor reads "sanati"] through penance, lest something worse befall us. Let us delight in heavenly things, not earthly.

What is it in which you would delight here? Perhaps gold, silver and precious stones, etc. In what do you delight? In earth. For gold comes from a certain vein of earth; so silver is made from stones, etc., as the alchemists know; stones are hard or compacted earth.

(p. 32)

You delight in uncleanness or concupiscences: woe to you, sinning against your own body, as the Apostle holds, and you will be like a beast. You delight in beautiful women, etc.: they are earth. Sight is deceived by the outside (?): they appear beautiful, but inwardly they are a sack of dung. O, if she were transparent, how much uncleanness you would see! Jeremiah 22: *Earth, earth, earth, hear the word of the Lord.* The psalm: *They have set their eyes bowing down to the earth.* And so they set earth above heaven and set heaven beneath earth. You delight in the pleasures of food and drink: they are earth. And so you put earth before God and become an idolater, because you love earthly things more than God. For the Apostle writes to the Philippians: *whose god is their belly.* So when on the day of judgement you say, "God, help me," God will answer: "I am not your God, for you had another god, namely what you loved more," etc. 1 John 2: *Love not the world nor the things that are in the world, for all that is in the world is either the concupiscence of the flesh, or the concupiscence of the eyes,* that is avarice, *or the pride of life. The world passes away, and its pride.* And so the devil is the father of the proud. Job: *He is king over all the children of pride.*

Then the books will be opened, namely on the day of judgement. The first book, of the parents' transgression, was spoken of above. Now follows the second book, namely of virtuous perfection. There one will be examined about the virtues, and the book will be opened. There, see whether you had the highest virtues, namely the theological: faith, hope and charity. Faith is the foundation of all the other virtues. Hope is the certain expectation of future beatitude, proceeding from God's help and one's own merits. [God will say:] "You had hope; you would well have had my help if you had had your own merits." Charity is the love by which God is loved for his own sake and the neighbour for God's sake.

God created man to his image, capable of virtues, and gave him liberty and free will to do good or evil. Free will is the faculty of reason and will by which good is chosen with grace assisting, and evil is chosen with grace failing, as Augustine says. Again: *God created man and left him in the hand of his own counsel.* The same: *Water and fire are set before you; stretch out your hand to which you will. Death and life are before you.* But all err: they think death is in life; they consider the present life and not the future, and they desire to have a long present, that is temporal, life, but not the eternal. 1 John 3: *We have passed from death to life.*

The soul, insofar as it is human, is an incorporeal substance, intellectual or rational, immortal, invisible, created by God from nothing, made to the image of God, capable of virtue and vice; and insofar as it is capable

(p. 33)

of virtue it merits a reward, but for vice eternal punishment. God created man, who is called rational; but the angel is called an intelligence.

Then there will be an examination about the other virtues, namely the cardinal ones, etc., such as justice, prudence, fortitude and temperance. Justice is the virtue that renders to each what is his: to God obedience, to the neighbour love, to a superior reverence, to an equal concord, to a subject discipline, etc. Prudence, according to Tully, is the knowledge of what is to be sought and what is to be done, namely that you know how to choose good and flee evil. Fortitude, according to Tully, is the considered undertaking of dangers and the enduring of labours. Temperance stands at the centre of the virtues and is like the mean, to which it belongs to moderate the work of every virtue. Therefore Seneca says that temperance has a little book in her hand in which nothing is written but "neither more nor less"; turn the leaf: "neither more nor less", etc.

So the question will be put, and the book of virtuous perfection will be opened: whether you did the virtues of the soul's perfection. If not, it will be said: *Friend, how did you come in here without a wedding garment? Then shall the just stand with great constancy against those who afflicted them* (Wisdom 5). *We fools esteemed them a laughing-stock,* and they have become children of God. Already in the present life those who do penance are mocked, and it is evil, for many are so drawn back from penance. So let penitents not care. *Seeing it, they shall be troubled with terrible fear, and groaning for anguish of spirit, doing penance* (Wisdom 5): for anguish and very great pain they will repent, but not because they offended God, for they will curse God and be punished with the devils for ever.

Again, until the day of judgement the damned see the glory of the saved, and the saints conversely see the punishment of the damned; but to the latter it is joy, to the former torment, because they see God's justice. But after the day of judgement the damned will in no way see the glory of the saints, but the saints will see the punishment of the damned, for their greater glory.

Again, although we are all one body, as was said, yet there are some members in the body weak, sick and dead, which cannot perform works or bear fruit, or if they bear fruit it will not be for their eternal salvation, such as sinners; and those members must be healed. But members that are cut off, such as heretics, will perish unless they are brought back to the body. An example in a tree: some branches are dry and dead and bear no fruit, but green and living branches bear fruit. Genesis 4: *God had respect to Abel and to his works.* Let us bear fruit, then, and work the virtues, so that after this exile we may gain eternal life, etc.

XI. On the feast of Matthias, Saturday

(p. 34)

[Editor's date: Saturday, 24 February]

Take my yoke upon you and learn from me, for I am meek and humble of heart, and you will find rest for your souls. This is written in Matthew 11 of his Gospel. Christ Jesus, wishing to instruct us that pride was always

reprobated by him and humility approved, said these words, in which he teaches us to be meek and humble. In them the Lord does three things. He gives us a precept when he says *Take*, for "take" is a verb of the imperative mood. Second, an instruction, where he says *for I am meek and humble of heart*. Third, he promises a reward, where he says *and you will find rest for your souls*.

Hence human wisdom cannot come to the knowledge of God, because it is lifted up. For Matthew says: *I confess to you, Father, God of heaven, that you have hidden these things from the wise*, that is the proud and lifted up, *and revealed them to little ones*, that is the humble; not little in age but in quality or humility. Again, Matthew: *Unless you become like little children, you shall not enter the kingdom of heaven.* For the philosophers knew that there is one cause of causes; but ascribing this knowledge to themselves and not to God, they adored idols. Socrates: "O cause of causes, have mercy on me." 1 Peter and James: *God resists the proud, but gives grace to the humble.* Ecclesiasticus 24: *I have trodden with my own power on the necks of the proud and the lofty.* Again, if all the wise men and philosophers of the whole world came together, they could not duly know the virtue of the least herb. What then is our wisdom?

God showed humility in all his life. He was conceived in the womb of the most humble Virgin by the Holy Spirit. Bernard: "Mary's humility pleased God more than her virginity." For there were many virgins at that time, but none with so great humility. He was born into the world weeping, laid in a manger, bound with swaddling bands, wrapped in cloths, etc. In the world he had no lodging of his own: *The foxes have holes*, etc., *but the Son of Man has nowhere to lay his head.* Naked he hung on the cross with such injury and insult that even the Blessed Virgin, seeing it — Simeon's sword pierced her heart — threw over him the veil from her head, which miraculously went round the thighs of our Lord Jesus Christ. And he received benefits and meals from men, as from Martha, etc.

Why then is it read in the Gospel that the Lord entrusted money to Judas, who had the purse? The answer is that the Lord wished in this to show and

(p. 35)

hand down a pattern to the ecclesiastical people, that they too may well have money for their sustenance and also for the relief of their subjects in necessities; yet in such a way that the service of God is not put aside for money, nor justice deserted for fear of want. It is allowed to have money, namely lest anyone take from another or steal (Matthew): *Seek first the kingdom of God and his justice, and all these things will be added to you.* Augustine: why did God suffer Judas, when he knew he was a thief? Because he knew that his Church would in her time suffer thieves and evil men; so that they might have patience, the Lord first suffered Judas, his betrayer. See with what poverty he went through all his life: he did not even have a tomb in which to lie, but Joseph buried him in his own tomb. And so through all his life he taught humility.

Gregory: "Whoever gathers the other virtues without humility is like one carrying dust into the wind." In that God was made man he could not humble himself further, for the first became the last and the highest the lowest. Man was created last, as is found in Genesis; God was from eternity. The highest, namely God, was made the lowest, namely earth. See the greatest distance, and a union was made: the immeasurable was made measurable, the eternal [the text reads "externus"] mortal, etc. The Apostle to the Philippians: *He emptied himself, taking the form of a servant.*

[the text reads "primo mediate"; uncertain] All men by nature desire to know, but our intellect is not satisfied until it knows God as far as is possible. John: *No one knows the Father except the Son*, etc. The first knowledge. It follows in the Gospel: *For my yoke is sweet.* There is no sweetness in the world as great as in loving our Lord Jesus Christ. Those who love Christ care nothing for the world. The Apostle to the Philippians: *All things have become loss to me, and I count all things as dung, that I may gain Christ.*

If you had known the sweetness of the name Jesus, you would not swear so lightly by this name Jesus and take this name Jesus in vain. Hence we read of Saint Ignatius that the tyrant, because he named the name of Jesus, had him beaten harshly and said: "Do not call on the name Jesus." He answered and cried: "Jesus, Jesus, Jesus." The tyrant said: "If you do not stop, I will have you torn apart [the text reads "elignari"; uncertain]." Ignatius answered: "If you have me torn apart, still the name Jesus will be written in my heart." And when he had been killed, he had him cut open and took the heart, wanting to see whether he spoke the truth; and he found the heart split, and on each side the name Jesus written.

Jesus is understood as Saviour, and it is declined in only three cases; and it is one name, to

(p. 36)

designate that one God is Saviour, and Saviour in three persons: the Father Saviour, the Son Saviour, the Holy Spirit Saviour. But Christ, that is Anointed, is declined through all cases, in the singular as well as the plural, because popes, bishops and kings are anointed, and all Christians.

It follows: *my burden light.* The Lord's burden is contained in two letters, one repeated, namely A-M-A, as in *ama*, "love". Augustine: "Keep two letters and do what you will." You could not do evil, for those who love God and neighbour never sin. Learn this, all you who cannot read through many scriptures: on these letters all depends, for all perfection consists in love. Love God in due order, through all things and more than all things, and your neighbour as yourself. The old law was of fear; the new law, or Christ's, is the law of love. Rule of Dionysius: the holier one is, the humbler.

Concerning the second book that will be opened, namely of virtuous perfection, we must consider seven degrees of perfection, namely: the perfection of necessary salvation, the perfection of religion, the perfection of prelacy, the perfection of learning, the perfection of consummation [the editor notes: only five]. The perfection of necessary salvation consists in observance of the legal precept, or of the law. Bernard: *If you would enter into life, keep the commandments*, says the Lord. The perfection of necessary salvation, then, is the observance of the law. Moses, Deuteronomy 18: *You shall be perfect and without spot* of crime *before the Lord your God.* Crime is taken for mortal sin, but sin extends to venial as well as mortal. Whoever, then, is without mortal sin is in the state of perfection; and this perfection extends only to the observance of the precepts and not of the counsels. Deuteronomy 27: *Cursed be the man who makes himself idols; and all the people answered, Amen. Cursed be everyone who sleeps with his mother, daughter or kinswoman*, etc. *Cursed be every man who does not keep the precepts of the law; and all the people answered, Amen.* All these precepts, many of which are listed there, are summed up in one, namely: love God and neighbour. Matthew: *It was said to them of old: You shall love your friend and hate your enemy. But I say to you, love your enemies*, etc. Augustine: it is a universal precept that we love not only our friends in God but also our enemies for God's sake. For charity, according to Augustine, is that by which God is loved for his own sake, the friend in God, and the enemy for God's sake. The same, in the same place: *Be you therefore perfect, as your Father*, etc. This perfection consists in the observance

(p. 37)

of the law and is necessary for salvation; therefore it is called the perfection of necessary salvation. Whoever, then, does not forgive his enemy from the heart cannot be saved, nor does God forgive him his debts, as we pray in the Lord's Prayer and as is found in the Gospel. All enemies, then, of whom salvation is to be hoped, are to be loved for God's sake and for the salvation of their souls. Yet errors are not to be loved: the sect of the heretics must be loved as regards the salvation of their souls, but their errors are not to be loved.

Love your enemies, then, as to the inner effect, namely toward the end and the welfare of eternal salvation. Second, as to the outward effect, namely by helping him in his necessities, and by outward signs, namely when he greets you, greet him too. You are bound not only to love and spare your enemy in your heart, but

also, in case of necessity, to help him: for example, if he were suffering hunger and you saw him in danger of death through hunger, or in any other necessity. If you do not, you will not be saved.

Again, the father gave such an example. If your enemy, who had killed your parents, brothers and sisters, had fallen asleep on a bridge and turned over onto the other side and was now close to falling into the water, and you could push him into the water with your foot, and you did not help him so that he would not fall into the water, you will be damned. Again, if you had done all the good you could, founded so many and so many churches, etc., whatever good you had done, namely by fasting, praying, keeping vigil, chastising the body, etc., and that man had done you so many and so many evils, killed your father and mother, taken away your goods, etc.: if you have not spared him, you have given yourself over to the devil. Do not, then, hate your enemy. Love your enemies with the heart, do good to them with the hand, pray for them with the tongue. If you do this, you will be in the first degree of perfection and will possess eternal life. Amen.

XII. Reminiscere Sunday

[Editor's date: Sunday, 25 February]

Lord, it is good for us to be here. Saint Peter said these words at the transfiguration of our Lord Jesus Christ on Mount Horeb [as the text says], and they are originally written in Matthew 17. They are read in today's office for our teaching and consolation, namely that penance should not now be heavy to us. For if we persevere in it, we shall come to as great a brightness and glorification of our body as the Lord showed today to three of his disciples and to two prophets

(p. 38)

of the old law. The Apostle says this to the Romans, 8: *Brothers, I reckon that the sufferings of this time are not worthy to be compared with the glory to come that shall be revealed in us.* In the preceding chapter the Lord taught, saying: *If anyone will come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me.* It is much more to deny oneself, namely to renounce one's own will and sensuality, than the whole world.

The Lord, wishing to show the end and the nobility of the rational soul, said further: *What does it profit a man if he gains the whole world but suffers the loss of his own soul?* The Philosopher, seventh book of the *Politics*: the soul is more precious than all bodies, that is, than all bodily substances. The most Christian Justinian: the soul is more precious than all bodies, and therefore it is to be preferred to all other things. If all men, men and women, had been kept in the state of grace until today, and one soul today were to die and perish in original sin, all men ought rather to lose their life for that soul, so that it could be saved. If the bodies of innumerable numbers (?) were dragged out of the church and killed, it would not be as great an evil as that one soul should perish. If men considered the nobility of the soul, they would not be so prone to sin. The Lord says in the Gospel: *What exchange shall a man give for his soul?* As if to say: none. One soul is worth more than all nine choirs of angels of all heaven; such as the soul of Christ, which is united to the Godhead, and so too the soul of the Blessed Virgin.

It follows in the same chapter, namely 16: *Amen I say to you, there are some of those standing here who shall not taste death until they see the Son of Man in his kingdom*, that is, until they see the glory of the Son of Man. And by this he designated the glory that he showed them today on Mount Horeb. He said "some", because only three apostles were present, as follows: *And after six days.* But Luke and Mark say "after eight days" [as the text says]. Matthew speaks exclusively, but the other evangelists speak inclusively, for they include the two outer days, while Matthew excludes them.

So we must consider three things about the present Gospel. First we must consider the time, because "after six days", and according to the others "after eight". There are, then, seven ages. The first was from Adam to Noah; the second from Noah to Abraham; the third from Abraham to Moses; the fourth from Moses to

David; the fifth from David to the Babylonian exile; the sixth from the Babylonian exile to the Lord's incarnation; the seventh from the Lord's incarnation to the coming of the judgement. And that last age is divided into seven

(p. 39)

states. The first state is called the state of justice, in which the apostles were. The second is called the state of patience, as in the time of the martyrs' passion. The third is called the state of prudence, in which were the holy doctors, namely Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, Eusebius and Hilary, who by their prudence rooted out many heresies. The fourth state is called that of grace, which was at the time of the conversion of Saint Constantine, and in those days Silvester was pope. In those days such great liberty was given to priests as they have, namely of revenues and other graces, and this is read in the life of Saint Silvester. The fifth state is the state of penance, as in the times of Saint Benedict and Anthony. The sixth is the state of need and poverty, as in the time of Saint Francis, for he lived under such a rule that he had nothing of his own.

And this is he of whom John says in the Apocalypse: *And I saw another angel ascending* [the text reads "descending"] *from heaven, having the sign of the living God; and he cried to the four other angels to whom power was given*, etc.: *Hurt not the earth nor the sea nor the trees, till we sign the servants of God on their foreheads.* This is he of whom we read that the Lord was sharpening three burning lances and wanted to hurl them into the world, that it might perish because of its malice. The Blessed Virgin Mary interceded for the world, saying: "O my most beloved Son, I beg you, spare the world still; for I want to send two servants, at whose preaching many will do penance and be converted." The Lord said: "Who will these messengers and servants be?" The Blessed Virgin answered: "Francis and Dominic." Then Christ said: "O my mother, it is impossible that I should refuse you; for your sake I will spare, and that they may do penance."

The seventh state is that of the final trial, namely when Antichrist comes. We are now in the last part of the sixth state, as appears from the years elapsed since the time of Saint Francis; see his life. James: *Behold, the judge stands at the door.* Yet in the seventh state the Lord will send the prophet Elijah and Enoch, who will preach the word of the Lord. For the Lord says: *I am with you until the consummation of the world.* Truly, few will then persevere in the faith. The eighth age will be that of those rising on the last day, and it will have no end.

Second, we must consider the witnesses. Jesus had witnesses from the Old Testament and the New, because the New Testament is the completion of the Old. He had men living in mortal flesh, such as the apostles, and without flesh, such as Elijah and Moses. He had Moses: Moses was the lawgiver. For there were two lawgivers, namely Moses in the old law and Christ in the new. Deuteronomy 18: *God will raise up a prophet like me from your brothers; hear him*, Moses said to the Jews.

(p. 40)

Moses, then, was the first witness in the old law, because the new law is the completion and perfection of the old. But the prophet Elijah above all annihilated and rooted out idols, which Christ also did; and Elijah gave witness to him.

Why did he take with him these three, namely Peter, James and John, who were also his witnesses? Peter, who is also called Simon, is interpreted "obedient" or "knowing". There is designated the first thing required for the contemplative life or religion, namely obedience and knowledge, etc. James is interpreted "supplanter"; there the second is designated, namely victory over, or the supplanting of, worldly things. John, that is, "in whom is the grace of God": virginity is signified, for John was a virgin. And perhaps, if the human [testimony] had been weak, there was also the divine; for it is written: *And a cloud*, etc. *And a voice was heard from heaven: This is my beloved Son, in whom*, etc. *Hear him.* Here the Father bears witness, and the Son, who is the Father's, also bears witness, and the Holy Spirit, who is designated by the cloud.

You might say: why is *Hear him* added here, but when Christ was baptized by John in the Jordan, the Father's voice did not say after these words, *This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased*, "Hear him"? Because at the baptism he came in the form of a disciple to be baptized by John, and as a mere man; but here the glory of the humanity appeared, shining from the divinity; therefore, etc.

Peter said: *Lord, it is good for us to be here.* You might say: how is it that Peter recognized Moses and Elijah? He had never seen them. The answer is that this is to designate that in the glorification of our bodies, namely in the universal resurrection, each will recognize the other. And the soul of Moses was taken up from hell [limbo] and took a body from the air, as angels do when they appear to men, and so he appeared in the form of a man. O what great joy he announced to the fathers on his return to limbo! But Elijah was caught up from paradise. O what great joy he announced to Enoch: "I have seen the Saviour, I have seen the Messiah!" For Elijah was caught up into paradise in a fiery chariot. Peter felt a small drop of eternal glory, and for great joy he did not know what he was saying, and he said: *Lord, it is good.*

Third, we must consider the manner of the transfiguration, where *his face shone like the sun, and his garments were white as snow*. The evangelist had nothing brighter in this world to name than the sun; so he said *like the sun*, though his face appeared much, much brighter. For the brightness

(p. 41)

of a glorified body will be seven times brighter than the sun. Likewise he had nothing whiter he could name than snow. Matthew gives a natural thing, but Mark an artificial one [the fuller]. And the brightness shone from the face into the garments, so that the garments too appeared so radiant, although they were not white. And they saw the glory of the humanity shining from the divinity in the face of our Lord Jesus Christ, but they did not see the glory of the divinity; for if Moses had seen the glory of the divinity, he would not have returned to limbo.

But Paul's vision was [the text reads "externa"; uncertain] of the glory of the divinity, when Paul said: *I know a man caught up*, etc. You might say: and yet Paul returned. The answer is that to see the glory of the divinity in a permanent act is proper to eternal glorification, and in that way all the saints see who see eternally. But in another way the glory of the divinity is seen by way of a passing act; in that way Paul saw the vision of God. So too Stephen saw the glory of the Son of God, as is found in the Acts of the Apostles: *Behold, I see the heavens opened.*

Again, Christ's human nature, or Christ's face, was not changed [the text reads "minutata"] in the transfiguration, but the brightness of the divinity was poured into the humanity. For in the same instant in which Christ's soul was created, in that same instant it had the enjoyment of the divinity and of eternal brightness; but he hid that in the body, and when he wished, he showed it, as in today's Gospel. For he was not only a wayfarer but also a comprehensor, that is, he comprehended the brightness of the Holy Trinity. Not much of that to the point. In the same instant the Holy Spirit formed Christ's body perfectly as to all its members in the womb of the Blessed Virgin, and in the same instant the soul was created and infused into the body and united; and then the divinity is with soul and body.

Again, Christ in the present life showed four endowments that all the glorified will have in the general resurrection. First, the endowment of brightness, in today's Gospel. Second, the endowment of subtlety, in the Lord's nativity, for he was born of an untouched virgin, the womb remaining unharmed. Agility, when he walked on the sea with dry feet. The endowment of impassibility he showed finally when, on the last night before his death, he gave his disciples his body, saying: *This is my body*; whence the Church sings: "One receives, a thousand receive; as much as these, so much that one; nor is it consumed when received."

XIII. Second weekday after Reminiscere

(p. 42)

[Editor's date: Monday, 26 February]

I have many things to say and to judge of you (John 8). When our Lord Jesus Christ taught the Jews and told them that he was the Son of God, the Jews then sought to kill him. So the Lord said, instructing them: *Which of you shall convict me of sin?* etc. *I go, and you shall seek me, and you shall die in your sin*, namely the sin of unbelief. The sin of unbelief is the gravest above all. To sin by unbelief is as much as to believe that God does not exist, and as much as to sin into the depth of evils. What is worse than not to believe in God? John: *He who does not believe is already judged.*

At the last judgement some will not be judged and will be saved, such as all the elect and saints of God. Some will be judged and saved, such as all perfect men and faithful Christians who believed in God. Some will be judged and damned, such as reprobate Christians. Some will not be judged and will be damned, such as all unbelievers; hence John says: *He who does not believe is already judged.*

It is one thing to believe that God is, another to believe God, and another to believe in God. To believe that God is, is to believe that God exists. To believe God is to believe that the things Christ taught are true. But to believe in God is to go to God by good works. Therefore Paul [James] says: *Faith without works is dead.* Whoever, then, believes in God loves him; and Gregory says: "The proof of love is the showing of the work."

It follows: *Where I go you cannot come. So the Jews said: What is this he says, "Where I go"? Will he kill himself?* O faithless Jews! Should anyone kill himself because he was going where another could not come? So Jesus said: *You are from beneath, I am from above*; as if to say, "I speak of heavenly things, but you of hellish ones." John: *He who is of the earth speaks of the earth.* Again: *So the Jews said: Who are you?* Whom do you make yourself? As if they said: "Do we not know your father and your mother?" Jesus answered: *The beginning, who also speak to you.* John 1: *In the beginning was the Word*, etc. Genesis 1: *In the beginning God created heaven and earth.* In the beginning, that is, in the eternity of his wisdom attributed to the Son, God the Father created heaven and earth. It is added: *And the Spirit of God moved over the waters.* This [is found] as soon as the Bible is opened. The Jews

(p. 43)

have [a veil over their faces, the editor suggests] concerning the Holy Trinity; they are still blinded. [The Son is the beginning] not in time but in order. The Master in the *Sentences*: in the Godhead one must posit one simple principle, proceeding from none, and this is the Father in the Godhead. For all things have order, as the Apostle holds. The Father, then, is from none; but the Son is from the Father, for he eternally begot the Son from himself, and the eternal generation is hidden from us. And the Holy Spirit proceeds from both, for the Father and the Son eternally breathed forth the Holy Spirit from themselves. This does not belong to my instruction [here]. These three are the principle of all beings, and in this Trinity there is nothing before or after.

It follows: *I have many things to say of you.* It is one thing to say "speak to you" and another "speak of you". I can speak to you things that do not concern you; but to speak of you is to speak of your deeds or other things that concern you. So Jesus said "of you". It follows: *When you have lifted up the Son of Man, then you shall know*, etc. For at the time of Christ's passion terrible signs appeared: the earth quaked, the sun was darkened, many bodies of the dead rose and came into the holy city and appeared to many, the rocks were split, etc. And so many knew him to be the Son of God and believed; for Nicodemus [as the text says; in the Gospel it is the centurion] said: *Truly this was the Son of God.* And so it is read that in the school of Athens, when the philosophers saw that the sun was darkened, and that it was against nature in its appearance — among whose number was Saint Dionysius — they said: "Either the Lord of nature is suffering, or the whole fabric of the world is being dissolved." And they built an altar and indicated that it was built in honour of the

unknown God. Afterwards, when Paul came to Greece, he converted those philosophers, namely Saint Dionysius with his companions. And so before the day of judgement the Jews who will be living at that time will still be converted to the Lord. Isaiah 10: *Though the children of Israel be dispersed as the sand of the sea, a remnant of them shall be saved.*

Gregory: all the elements testified that Christ was the Son of God. The earth quaked at the Lord's passion; the winds and the sea obeyed him; indeed heaven too and the heavenly nature, for a star led the Magi; indeed even the devils testified that Jesus was the Son of God and cried out, when he cast them out, declaring him to be the Son of God. But he rebuked them, leaving us an example, so that we should not believe them, because they are liars and deceivers.

It is added: *And I do nothing of myself.* Here "nothing"

(p. 44)

is not put for sin. Here it is indicated that divine works cannot be performed without divine grace.

Again, the apostles did very many signs, as the Lord had promised, and this because they believed in Christ. Mark, last chapter: *These signs shall follow those who believe: they shall lay hands on the sick*, etc. Not only did Peter heal the sick by laying hands on them, but even his shadow did. So too it is read of Saint John the Evangelist that he drank poison and it did him no harm. So too of Saint Anthony we read that he was invited by idolaters and faithless tyrants, and they prepared a serpent for him and told him he must eat it. Anthony said: "Why should I tempt God?" They said to him: "We beg you to eat; and if it does not harm you, we will believe in your God." He signed himself with the sign of the cross and ate the serpent, and it did him no harm. See how poison will not harm them. John 14: *And greater than these shall they do*; namely ministerially but not mystically, because these signs were done mystically and originally from God and are done as he ordains. For God works signs at his nod and good pleasure in whom he will.

Second, concerning the second book, namely of virtuous perfection, we must consider the second degree of perfection, namely the perfection of comparison. According to the Philosopher in the *Metaphysics*, the perfect is that to which nothing is lacking; and so only God is perfect. For the perfect is twofold: simply, as defined above; and in some respect, namely whatever can attain its end even in this life; and so we say this house is perfect when it is wholly completed and built to its end. In this life we shall not be perfect except through justice and a virtuous life.

The perfection of comparison is that which is referred to another and with respect to excess: this exceeds that in perfection. For example, comparing those who keep virginity with the married: the former are perfect in relation to the latter. And so it is said in Genesis 6: *Noah was a just and perfect man in his generation.* For he took only one wife, but the rest took whatever and as many as they wanted. Noah's perfection was said to consist in his observance of conjugal chastity. Noah, then, was beloved of God and just before God; but in detestation of uncleanness and lust God overthrew the whole world by water, except Noah and his sons and daughters. See how detestable to the Lord is uncleanness of the flesh, for the Lord spared no one, neither great nor small, but drowned from the greatest to the least; he spared not sheep, nor oxen, nor the other beasts, etc.

(p. 45)

Marriage was instituted principally for two things: first for the propagation of offspring; second as a remedy, and to avoid fornication. Hence the Apostle: *because of fornication*, namely to avoid it, *let every man claim his debt from his wife and every wife claim her debt from her husband.*

Such is the perfection, namely of comparison, of clerics, and also of those not in holy orders, that is, who do not have the major orders, who keep virginity, in relation to others, namely those who have lost virginity, and the married, and the laity. Every cleric, then, living as a cleric, having the foundation of sacred scripture from

the instruction of holy Mother Church, is in the state of perfection, namely of comparison, with respect to others. Not only clerics, but all who wish to preserve virginity are in the state of perfection with respect to others. Hence, before coming to marriage, everyone is commanded to live in chastity; whoever does not sins mortally.

XIV. Third weekday after Reminiscere

[Editor's date: Tuesday, 27 February]

The scribes and Pharisees shall sit on the chair of Moses. All things therefore whatever they shall say to you, observe and do; but according to their works do not do. These words are originally written in Matthew 23. The Lord Jesus was many times disturbed and troubled by the faithless scribes and Pharisees. For they tempted him in many things and thought to kill him for the truth he told them. So the Lord urged the people to be subject to the clergy according to due and just requirement. Nonetheless, those who come for the salvation of souls he exhorted to salvation. All submitting themselves to priests should have regard more to the ministry represented than to their life; for this reason the Lord said: *but according to their works do not do*, for they do all their works to be seen by men. *And call no one father on earth, for one is your Father, who is in heaven.* For the Jews boasted of their father Abraham, saying: *We have Abraham as our father*, etc. *Jesus said: If you are the children of Abraham, do the works of Abraham.* Whose works each does, his son he is. *You are of your father the devil*, because you do his works. Hence John the Baptist said in the Gospel: *God is able of these stones to raise up

(p. 46)

children to Abraham.* And so *call no one father on earth* out of some cloaked warmth [*calore*; uncertain] for discussing sins, namely for pomp, etc. *But be not you called Rabbi*; that is, you must not want to be called Rabbi either for pride or vainglory or pomp. *For one is your master*, etc. *For everyone who exalts himself*, etc. So it is plain that he said these words, *Be not called Rabbi*, in detestation of pride.

So Jesus said: *but according to their works do not do, for they say and do not do. All things whatever they say to you, do*, at least if their teaching is sound. For this reason we must not act according to the teaching of the heretics who say that communion under both kinds is necessary for salvation. O deadly poison! They say it, and they do the abominable thing of giving communion to infants under both kinds, and say other horrible things. For they carry [the editor queries "portate"] the blood of Christ in little flasks or the like to the sick. O alas, alas, alas! Sometimes they spill the blood of Christ over the horses, because it cannot be carried so securely that it is not spilled. So too in church they sometimes spill it on the ground when they pass along to each one, giving them communion with the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ.

The faithless heretics take or allege their foundation from the authority of the Gospel: *Unless you eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink his blood, you shall not have life in you.* Augustine: the circumstances of the scriptures are wont to illuminate the substance of the truth. They do not attend to what goes before, where the Lord says: *I am the living bread that came down from heaven. If anyone eats of this bread, he shall live for ever.* Again, the decree says as witness, and Augustine: "Why do you prepare belly and tooth? Believe, and you have eaten." So too the Lord says afterwards: *He who believes in me shall live for ever.* To eat Christ, then, and drink his blood is to believe in Christ. And so it is plain that Christ's words there are understood spiritually, which they expound carnally. For it is also said in the place above, John 6, that the Jews said: *This saying is hard*, etc. *Many went away. The Lord said to the disciples: Will you also go away? Peter said: Lord, to whom shall we go? You have the words of eternal life.* See, Peter understood by the revelation of the Holy Spirit that the words were to be understood spiritually.

Hence the Lord also said in John 6: *It is the spirit that gives life; the flesh profits nothing.* So these words, *Unless you eat the flesh*, etc., are understood of faith formed by charity, and that hope be formed by charity,

with the theological virtues, namely that faith be formed

(p. 47)

by charity and hope be formed by charity, and that charity be as perfect as is possible in this life. Of these three virtues it was said above. We must hope, and to this end do good. The psalm: *Hope in God and do good.* Unless you have living faith, true hope and fervent charity, you will not have life in you. You might say: the moral virtues remain. The answer is that prudence stands with faith, justice with hope, magnanimity, which is constancy, with charity; temperance is the mode and measure of all. And so it is plain from what precedes and follows how the middle is understood.

Again, the heretics, and principally their master Rokycana, preached that priests should not have money; and now they want to draw everything to themselves by their avarice and greed, although it is said: *Do not keep money for the morrow*; this is understood, namely, lest God be served for its sake or justice be deserted.

Again, let us return to the point. The chair of Moses is taken for his teaching. *On the chair of Moses*, that is, on his teaching: whatever they say to you, do; namely as far as they do not decline from his teaching. But if they have declined from his teaching, neither hear them nor follow them. Again, Moses was as it were the pope. For the Lord spoke to Moses, but Aaron was Moses's vicar. Whatever the Lord commanded Moses to say, Aaron said, who said it further to the children of Israel, etc.

Now follows the third degree, which is called the perfection of consecration. This perfection is understood of those who are established in holy orders, who are more perfect than the minor clerics and also than the common people, even if they were kings or princes. This perfection, then, exceeds the two preceding. Priests, then, are perfect and must make others perfect. For he is called *sacerdos* as giving sacred things (*sacra dans*), or a sacred dowry (*sacra dos*), as Isidore says. And *presbyter* is said as it were "offering the way" (*praebens iter*), because priests show the peoples the way, how they ought to live, at least as to three things. For they will show the people the way to all that is to be believed; second, to what is to be done or regarded; third, to what is to be asked, for which things they ought to ask. Of the first we have the Nicene Creed, the Apostles' Creed, and the Creed of Athanasius, namely *Quicumque vult salvus esse*. Of the second, the Ten Commandments. Of the third, the Lord's Prayer.

One placed in charge of others must show in himself how others ought to behave in the house of the Lord, that is, in holy Church. Let them offer a straight way and not a crooked one to all subjects and spiritual sons. Hence holy Mother Church ordains that

(p. 48)

all curates, at least on Sundays and the principal feasts, that is, those commanded by the Church, command that the children of the parishioners come to church, so that they may instruct them there themselves, or at least appoint a vicar to instruct the spiritual sons entrusted and subject to them; let them carefully teach them the Lord's Prayer, the Creed and the form of confession.

Blessed Thomas: for all adults having the use of reason, these three things are necessary for salvation: what they should ask for, from what they should abstain, what they should believe. What to do is in the Ten Commandments. *You shall not have strange gods*, namely images; nor believe in incantations. *You shall not take the name of God in vain*: no blasphemies. Blessed Thomas says that the sin of blasphemy is greater than that of homicide. *Sanctify the sabbath day*, etc. Note: some precepts are ceremonial, some moral. Leave the ceremonial, hold the moral. The sabbath is ceremonial, but sanctification is moral. The sabbath day designates the seventh age, namely the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Again, moral precepts are not dispensable even by God; ceremonial ones are dispensable. For the sabbath day is ceremonial and is dispensed, because now Sunday is sanctified, and the transfer was made justly and most worthily. For the beginnings of creation were made by God on Sunday: on Sunday God created the

empyrean heaven, in which are the saints and angels, and the matter or form from which he afterwards created the elements; the two great lights, namely the sun and the moon. On Sunday Joshua crossed over the Jordan, and Moses with the children of Israel through the Red Sea. And the works of redemption were done on Sunday: the Lord was born on Sunday; circumcised [on Sunday]; he fed the crowd with a few loaves in the desert; he rose from the dead; he sent the Holy Spirit; he ascended to heaven. Again, whatever work he worked pertaining to eternal salvation, he worked on Sunday.

Note also that the moral precepts are united to the precepts and teachings of our Lord Jesus Christ. Sabbath, that is, rest. *For on the seventh day the Lord rested from the work which he had accomplished*, that is, completed. So too we must rest from evil works. Its opposite (?) is found: *The Son of Man is Lord of the sabbath.* So Christ teaches us to venerate the priests of the Old Testament, who were rather hostile to him, for they thought to kill him; much more the priests of the New Testament. Note that priestly perfection is to be venerated in a sevenfold respect, namely in respect of dignity, in respect of mediation,

(p. 49)

in respect of principality, in respect of benefit, in respect of nobility, in respect of authority, in respect of exemplarity.

First, in respect of dignity. There is no greater dignity under heaven than the priestly dignity. Again, the priestly dignity is greater than any dignity under the sun; and that dignity is called greater which participates more in the greater or worthier dignity. But the priestly dignity is of this kind; therefore … The principal dignity is in God, but the priestly dignity in priests. It is proved thus that it is greater: if it is not present in what it seems more to be present in, then neither in what it seems less. It seems more present in the imperial dignity; but the emperor is subject to the priest, for he kneels before the priest. The imperial election is approved by a priest, confirmed by a priest, consecrated by a priest, crowned by a priest. For at the coronation of the emperor the pope lifts the crown with his foot, and the prefect of the city of Rome then places it on the emperor's head. The emperor swears fealty to the priest. Ambrose: there is as great a difference between the imperial and [the editor supplies "and"] the pontifical dignity as between gold and lead. Again, as great as between the sun and the moon: the sun denotes the papal dignity, the moon the imperial; *and God made two great lights.* See, then, how great a reverence must be shown to the priesthood.

Second, the priestly dignity is to be venerated in respect of mediation. For the clergy is placed as mediator between God and the people. Deuteronomy 5: *I was the mediator and stood between God and the people.* And what Moses said for himself he said for the whole clergy. The priesthood, then, is ordained to pray for the people. Joel 2: *Between the porch and the altar the priests shall weep, praying and saying: Spare, O Lord, spare your people.* Melchizedek was the first priest. See how great he is to whom the patriarch Abraham offered tithes: for Abraham gave tithes for the victory over his enemies to Melchizedek, who offered to God for him. Melchizedek signified our Lord Jesus Christ, the high priest. First, because of Melchizedek no genealogy is found, neither father nor mother; so our Lord Jesus Christ had no father on earth. Again, Melchizedek offered bread and wine, as Christ offered himself for us, namely body and blood, as the Church sings: "Christ the Lord, a priest for ever according to the order of Melchizedek, offered bread and wine." Christ is mediator between his Father and sinful man;

(p. 50)

the priest is mediator between God and the people. Christ himself, coming still in mortal flesh, ordained twelve as bishops, namely the apostles, and seventy as other clerics and priests, whom he made all mediators.

Again, because of sins enmity arose between God and the angels, for he cast Lucifer out of heaven because of the sin of pride; between angels and angels, for there was a great battle in heaven between Michael the archangel and Lucifer, and thousands of thousands stood by him; between angels and men, for an angel

guards the earthly paradise as God commanded (Genesis 3), lest any man enter; between God and men, for God drove man out of paradise; between men and men there are daily enmities and quarrels because of sins.

Again, Anselm in the book *Why God Became Man*: man sinned, not God; God could [make satisfaction], not man; man was bound, not God; therefore, etc. God had the power of making satisfaction, but man was bound to make satisfaction, etc. Again, certain doctors say that if man had not sinned, God would still have become man, not for redemption but for the perfection of the universe. But since man sinned, God was made man not only for perfection but also for the redemption of the human race. For the human race would never have been redeemed if God had not been made man. Priests, then, are mediators: for they offer the sacraments, minister them, and pray for the sins of men.

Third, the priestly dignity is to be venerated in respect of principality. Every curate is a prince among his people. *Princeps* is said as it were *primus inceps*, that is, first beginning to do well; for Christ first began to do, second to teach. For this reason the Lord says, *For they say and do not do*; as if the Lord said: "If their teaching is sound, follow it; and if there is anything unruly, do not attend to their bad life, but attend to their teaching if it is sound and good." Choose what is good and better, but leave what is evil and unclean. An example: if you knew that some florins lay in a muddy pit, you would certainly quickly look for them, taking the florins but leaving the mud. So in the present case: take up their sound teaching, which is compared to gold, and leave them the mud, namely their dishonourable life. It is not yours to correct priests for their life, but the superior's, namely the bishop's or the pope's. Exodus 22: *You shall not detract from the gods, and you shall not curse the princes of the priests.* Again the psalmist: *Touch not my anointed, and do no evil to my prophets.* Priests, above others, are anointed ones, that is, *christi*. And so it is held that priests are also called

(p. 51)

gods, that is, godlike, virtuous and good, as God is good. Priests are also called angels. Malachi 2: *The lips of the priest shall keep knowledge, for he is the angel of the Lord of hosts.* If, then, they are called angels, they are rightly to be revered and set before others. So it is plain that priests must be set before other peoples by reason of principality, as princes.

For as men are worthier and nobler than women, because women take their nobility from men, so too priests are worthier and more principal than others. As a sign of this, men go about with uncovered face and pray in church with uncovered face and head, but women veil their heads. So it is shameful for a man to veil his face with long and thick hair; indeed it is pandering [the editor reads "lenocinium"] and harlotry for men to grow their hair and veil the face. The Apostle, 1 Corinthians 11: *A man, if he veils his head, disgraces it.* Again Paul: *A woman, if she grows her hair, it is a glory to her.* It suits women, then, to grow their hair and wear braids or long hair, and not men. Again the Philosopher: "Every adorned man is an adulterer"; so it is adultery for men to cherish their hair. Again, Christ kept silent in the flesh about many things which he afterwards revealed to the apostles and his Church.

The priesthood is the visible ministerial head of the Church of Catholics. For they minister, and they show the spirit and the life of eternal salvation. And if someone is vicious, do not praise his vices, but their ministry, namely the character of the order; for Christ was a priest instituted by God. And so if I honour priests, I honour God. Priests, then, are worthy of praise. If I do not praise the priesthood, I do not praise Christ. And when I censure vices in general, I also censure the vices of priests.

When Lucifer thought within himself, *I will set my throne in the north and I will be like the Most High*, the Son of God said to Michael: "Take my banner and go against him in battle, and cry: Jesus, Jesus, Jesus." And on the banner the name of Jesus was written. Michael did so, and Lucifer fell, and all who adhered to him, in a moment, into hell. See how there was a battle between angels and angels because of the sin of pride; for he wanted to make himself like the Most High and to usurp for himself the glory of the Son of God.

XV. Fourth weekday

(p. 52)

[Editor's date: Wednesday, 28 February]

Behold, we go up to Jerusalem, and the Son of Man shall be betrayed to the chief priests and the scribes, and they shall condemn him to death, and shall deliver him to the Gentiles to be mocked and scourged and crucified, and the third day he shall rise again (Matthew 20). When our Lord Jesus Christ wished to strengthen his disciples, lest perhaps because of his death they should fall back from the truth of the faith and become more lukewarm, although they even fled from him for fear of death, he forewarned them of his death and also of his resurrection. *And Jesus, going up to Jerusalem, took the twelve disciples apart and said to them: Behold, we go up.* He did not want it to be spread abroad, lest perhaps his passion be hindered, and he said: *Behold, we go up to Jerusalem.* For he was betrayed to the chief priests, namely Annas and Caiaphas, who condemned him to death, that is, reckoned him worthy to be punished with death. Note: *for not at any time did the holy men speak by human will, but inspired by the Holy Spirit.*

And so Isaiah spoke of the Lord's passion: *as a sheep led to the slaughter.* Again: for he delivered himself to one who judged unjustly; *and by his bruises we are healed* (Isaiah 53). *And he was reckoned with the wicked, and he prayed for the transgressors.* See how he prayed for his enemies; and not only did he pray, but he also excused the sin. Again, Isaiah also spoke of the Lord's holy nativity, chapter 9: *A child is born to us, and a son is given to us*: Wonderful in his nativity, Counsellor in his preaching, God in the working of miracles, Mighty in his most holy passion, Father of the world to come in his most glorious resurrection, and Prince of Peace in his most triumphant ascension.

And the third day he shall rise again: for always when the Lord spoke to the disciples about his passion, he also spoke of his resurrection, so that they might in turn have consolation and not wholly despair. For as Jonah was in the belly of the whale three days and three nights, so the Son of Man in the belly of the earth; and the Saviour [said] this putting the part for the whole by synecdoche, because he lay in the tomb for some part of the day and night of these three days. For he rose in the morning about sunrise; for when the women came to the tomb the Lord had already risen.

Then the mother of the sons of Zebedee came to him, etc. These two brothers put their mother up to it, lest it be imputed to them by the other disciples

(p. 53)

that they alone wanted to rule; and they thought it would not be imputed to the mother, because they would say she did it out of maternal love. As the Lord said, *And the third day he shall rise again,* they thought he would reign here on earth. The mother said: *Say that these my two sons may sit, one at your right hand and the other at your left.* For this reason the Lord said: *You do not know what you ask.*

Note: parents naturally love their children more than their own life. So it is understood, as Aristotle says in the eighth book of the *Ethics*: no one can love his father so vehemently that the father does not surpass the son in love. It is natural, for water descends more easily than it ascends. For if a father of a hundred years had a son of fifty, and the father were still to survive ninety years and the son to die at fifty, or the father to die at a hundred [so that] the son too should come to his hundredth year, the father would rather wish and choose to die than survive another fifty years while the son died under his fiftieth year. For the natural desire of parents is to wish their children to succeed them in taking the inheritance. And so Tully, in a certain letter, when he had been sent into exile by the Romans, and after he obtained from the Romans that he might return to Rome, wrote of the love of parents and wife and other kinsfolk; and when he came to the love of children he said: "My sons are dearer than my life."

He shall be delivered to be crucified. They that are Christ's have crucified their flesh from vices and concupiscences (Galatians). *Say that they may sit*: they wanted to sit, and they had never fought. Christ hung on the cross, and they wanted to sit. For this reason Jesus said, *You do not know what you ask.* You do not know that in sacred scripture the right hand signifies prosperity and the left adversity. Therefore to those who will be on the right on the day of judgement the Lord will say, *Come, you blessed*, but to those on the left, *Go, you cursed.* For this reason Jesus said *You do not know what you ask*, and further: *Can you drink the chalice?* etc.; as if Jesus said: "You think it is easy to sit at the right hand; can you drink the chalice?" They said: *We can.* As if the Lord said: "I see that you will be deceived, because you do not think me to be God, but because I am your cousin you think I should hold you in my lap." The apostles answered well that they could drink the chalice, although they did not understand. Acts 12: for James afterwards drank it, for he suffered. Likewise John, when he was sent into exile and into the cauldron of oil, although [it was not his death]; this was done by divine permission, but he was ready to suffer. Therefore the Lord said: *My chalice indeed you shall drink; but to sit

(p. 54)

at my right hand is not mine to give, but to those for whom it is prepared.*

The psalmist: *In the hand of the Lord there is a cup of strong wine, full of mixture.* The cup of pure wine is the cup of Catholics, namely those who rightly believe and live; they have the cup of pure wine in which there will be no mixture. But nonetheless in the present life their cup is full of mixture, because the wicked are mixed with the good. They are still called members of the body, although they are cut off pieces: rightly so, as a bodily member cut off from the body is a piece of a man. *And he has poured it out from this into that*, that is, that the good may be chosen; *but the dregs thereof are not emptied*, for there he will remove the dregs, of which *all the sinners of the earth shall drink.* For all rottenness, all dregs, all stench will go down to hell after the day of judgement, and generally all uncleanness. But the good can say this of the psalmist: *I will take the chalice of salvation.*

The apostles were indignant, saying, *Who, think you, will be greater in the kingdom of heaven?* Jesus answered: *The kings of the Gentiles*, etc. *Whoever is greater among you, let him be as the servant.* For *everyone who exalts himself shall be humbled.* So the faithless heretics, who say that communion is under both kinds, as was said above, will drink of the dregs. And they allege the Gospel there: *Likewise also the chalice … Drink of this, all of you.* They say "all" is a universal sign and makes a universal proposition. The answer is that he said these words after instituting the disciples as priests. For all the doctors hold that when he said these words, *Do this in memory of me*, as Luke writes, he instituted the apostles priests; and afterwards he said, *Drink of this, all of you*; and so he said it only to the apostles gathered there (?). Again, *Drink of this, all of you* is understood thus: let each take a little, so that you all drink.

Again, those who give communion to children or infants who do not have the use of reason err. For innocence alone is not enough for receiving the body of Christ, but understanding too; therefore Paul says, *Let a man prove himself.* Again, all the senses are deceived in perceiving the Eucharist except one. There sight is deceived, for we see the appearance of bread; taste, for we taste bread; smell, for we smell bread; touch, for we touch bread. But hearing is not deceived. Romans 10: *Faith comes by hearing, and hearing by the word of Christ.* How is hearing not deceived? Because I hear our Lord Jesus Christ saying, *This is my body*; and I believe the Lord's words more, etc.

Again, if a priest does not consecrate, he is not bound to communicate under both kinds, but under one, as on the day of the Lord's Supper. The Lord

(p. 55)

apostolic [the pope] has only one Mass, and after receiving the sacrament, namely the body and blood, he gives communion to the others, namely the cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops and abbots, under one kind only and not two. So it is held at Rome. Yet it is not forbidden to have several Masses, but according to the Roman Church it is held thus. See how the lord apostolic gives communion to the other priests under one kind only; so the heretics err who say that communion under both kinds is necessary for salvation. Also on Good Friday a host is not consecrated, or the Lord's body is not confected, but it is reserved from the Lord's Supper, and on Good Friday parts of the host are put into pure unconsecrated wine. See the error of the heretics! They think they believe rightly and that the whole Church, governed by the Holy Spirit, errs. O faithless race!

The Apostle too reproves them for going daily to church to receive the sacrament under both kinds (Corinthians): *When you come together into one place, it is not now to eat the Lord's supper. I praise you in this; I do not praise you.* "I praise you because you visit the church; in the other I do not praise you": so it seems to me that the father gave it to be understood. Augustine: God can do more than our reason can perceive. And so we must believe all things that holy Church has believed and instituted. So lay people who believe, believe as much as the pope, the cardinals and all the other doctors and priests.

Fourth, the priestly dignity is to be venerated in respect of benefit, that is, usefulness. We must therefore consider a twofold usefulness or benefit, namely temporal and spiritual. Temporal benefit is useful only a little, for the sustenance of the present life, namely insofar as temporal goods are necessary to us only for the sustenance of the body; rightly, like pilgrims who carry with them only as much as suffices them for sustenance. 1 Timothy 6: *For we brought nothing into this world, and doubtless* [the text reads "aut dubium"] *we can carry nothing out; that is, there is no doubt that we shall carry nothing out. Having food and wherewith to be covered, with these let us be content.* Paul speaks of all authoritatively [the editor queries "authoristice"]; yet it is understood of those who are perfect, namely in the state of religion. Understand it soundly, namely according to the degree and dignity of each; yet in such a way that the poor are sustained from the superfluous and pious places are built. What follows? *For they who will become rich fall into*

(p. 56)

temptation and into the snare of the devil. He detests avarice. It follows: *For the root of all evils is covetousness, which some coveting have erred from the faith*, as appears in the heretics. For they preached that priests ought to have nothing, and now they would like everything to be subject to them if they could. Temporal goods, then, are not stable but pass quickly and fail quickly. *The time is short*, says the Apostle to the Corinthians. O rich man, what has your pride profited you, what your boasting, what your riches, etc.? Whose will they be after death? David: *They have slept their sleep, and all the men of riches have found nothing in their hands.* He says "men" and not "lords". Hence the Lord likened riches to thorns, because as thorns tear clothes and flesh, so riches tear the mind. Gregory: *The only riches are those which make us rich in virtues. If, then, you desire to be truly rich, hasten to the virtues* and seek eternal riches, which are faith, hope, charity, prudence, fortitude, magnanimity, temperance and the other spiritual virtues. For the food of the mind is the word of God. Have, then, spiritual virtues, spiritual benefits and riches, which stand in true faith, firm hope and perfect charity, in equanimity, in justice, in fortitude, constancy and temperance.

Concerning this spiritual benefit we must consider that the priest has to minister seven spiritual benefits, namely the seven sacraments: the sacrament of baptism, of confirmation, of penance, of priestly order, of the order of matrimony, of the Eucharist, and of extreme unction. It is asked whether the ecclesiastical sacraments were instituted immediately by our Lord Jesus Christ or through his apostles. Some say some by Christ and some by the apostles. I say that we should believe the sacraments of the new law to have been instituted immediately by our Lord Christ, because the lawgiver must give the foundations of the law immediately; but Christ is the lawgiver of the new law, as was said above.

Again, we read that God wrote the precepts of the law in the Old Testament on tablets of stone, which he gave to Moses to carry to the Jews and command on God's behalf; and so Moses was the lawgiver of the old law, namely on God's behalf. Since, then, the ecclesiastical sacraments take their efficacy from Christ our Lord — as holy Mother Church holds that the efficacy of the sacraments is taken from the wound in the side of our Lord Jesus Christ, from which came forth blood and water: the blood as the price of redemption, the water as the washing of regeneration — it is fitting and just

(p. 57)

to hold without any scruple that all the ecclesiastical sacraments were instituted by our Lord.

The first sacrament, then, the door of all the sacraments, is called baptism. Of baptism let it suffice to believe and hold that it was instituted by our Lord Jesus Christ, not by John the Baptist; namely when the Lord went over to John the Baptist and wished to be baptized by him in the Jordan, he was baptized by John so as to sanctify and institute the sacrament of baptism. The sacrament of baptism, then, was instituted immediately by our Lord Jesus Christ. Again, afterwards Nicodemus came to him by night, praising him: *We know that you have come from God as a teacher.* Among other things the Lord said to him, in confirmation of baptism: *You must be born again.* Again it follows: *Amen I say to you, unless a man be born again of water and the Holy Spirit, he cannot enter the kingdom of heaven* (John). The proper ministers or administrators of the sacraments are priests; but in case of necessity a woman may baptize, any heretic, Saracen or Jew. For the Lord spoke to the apostles: *Going, baptize them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit*; and he said this after he had instituted them priests (Mark, last chapter).

Of confirmation they say: we do not read that Christ instituted this sacrament. I say to you that Christ Jesus instituted this sacrament immediately. In Mark 10 we read that some presented children to our Lord Jesus Christ, and he laid his hands on them and blessed them. There it is seen most expressly that Christ instituted the sacrament of confirmation. Yet holy Mother Church distinguished this power from the first: although all priests may baptize, not all may confirm, but it belongs only to bishops to confirm, not to simple priests. And although confirmation is not necessary for salvation as baptism is, yet if any adults, knowing themselves not to be confirmed, even of a hundred years, have despised confirmation, they sin mortally. And so such contempt prepares eternal condemnation (in the fourth book of the *Sentences*).

Now follows [the sacrament] of communion. For when someone is baptized, or also confirmed, and in the state of innocence, having the use of reason, he may communicate. Christ instituted this sacrament on that night when he gave them his body to eat and his blood to drink, saying: *As often as you do this, do it in memory of me*, as Luke writes, about which above. And it befits priests alone to receive and minister it to others. The sacrament

(p. 58)

of penance Christ instituted first when he called Adam in paradise after his fall, saying, *Adam, where are you?*, which are words of rebuke, as appears in Genesis 3. Again, in his first preaching the Lord began to cry out: *Do penance* (Matthew 4 and Luke 4). In three ways the Lord cried out and instituted penance. First, by promising the kingdom: *Do penance, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand*; as if to say, "He is among you who has the kingdom of heaven to give." Second, by threatening punishment: *Unless you do penance* — and twice he said, *Unless you do penance you shall not enter the kingdom of heaven.* Third, by announcing joy, when he gave the example of the master who had a hundred sheep (Luke 15), and at the end it concludes: *There is joy among the angels over one sinner doing penance more than over ninety-nine just.* Although John the Baptist also cried out, *Do penance*, he did not institute this sacrament; for he said, *for it will draw near to you*, in the future, but Christ said in the present, *is at hand*, as above. Again, Matthew 9: *For I came not to call the just, but sinners to penance.*

The sacrament of extreme unction Christ instituted. In Mark 6 we read that the apostles, when sent out, anointed the sick and healed them, principally in the soul. James: *Is anyone among you sick? Let him bring in the priests of the Church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil.* But James says this because he had first heard it from Christ. The sacrament of priestly order Christ instituted there: *Do this in memory of me* (Luke 22). The sacrament of matrimony Christ instituted immediately and properly speaking when he said: *What God has joined together, let no man put asunder* (Matthew 19), although he instituted it originally in paradise when he formed Eve from Adam's rib. As to the new law, Christ instituted this sacrament immediately, because he willed to be conceived in a virgin espoused to Joseph; he willed to be born of a mother married and wedded, but not by seed poured out. And with his first miracle he willed to strengthen this sacrament, namely when he made wine from water (John 2). And so it is plain that these seven sacraments were instituted immediately by Christ in the new law, and priests are their ministers. Priests, then, are deservedly worthy of honour. The Apostle: *Let the priests who rule well be esteemed worthy of double honour*: personally, by showing reverence; but really, namely that they be sustained; so let tithes and oblations be offered to them, etc.

XVI. Weekday after Reminiscere

(p. 59)

[Editor's date: fifth weekday; Thursday, 1 March]

They have Moses and the prophets; let them hear them (Luke 16). These words were spoken to the rich man buried in hell, and to all bad Christians who will not be converted to true penance; and they are the words of the patriarch Abraham. Among other parables the Lord told this rather terrible parable: *There was a certain rich man*, etc. The dogs showed the works of piety which the rich man refused, for they licked the sores of the sick man, namely Lazarus. Spiritually, preachers lick the sores of the sick when they exhort them to true penance and when they pray for them. David: *the tongue of your dogs* [may be red] *with the blood of your enemies*. When the poor man was dying, no one was there to clothe him, etc.; what men did not do, the angels supplied. The Master in the second book: each soul has a good angel appointed to it. Nonetheless all angels are *ministering spirits* for men, as the Apostle says. The psalmist: *God has given his angels charge over you.*

And the rich man also died and was buried in hell. O, it is evil to put down a pledge where there is no redemption. Job: *He who goes down to hell shall not come up.* Again, another example (Luke 12): *The field of a certain rich man brought forth plentiful fruits*; he said, *I will enlarge my barns*, etc. What follows? *You fool, this night*, etc. Whoever is subject to mortal sin is possessed by the devil. Proverbs: *His own iniquities catch the wicked.* "Who will give me tears to weep for the wretched entry of the human condition, the culpable progress of the human condition, and the damnable exit of the human condition?" Truly, the entry is made from earth: conceived in guilt, born to punishment. In the present it does wicked things that are not fitting; of the future: food of worms, rottenness, a mass for the fire, the dregs of hell.

And lifting up his eyes when he was in torments. An example of the mole, which does not see except when it dies; it opens its eyes, for the naturalists say that it has a certain membrane before its eyes, but death breaks this, and so it sees and dies. So with the sinner who will not know his own conscience: there punishment opens the eyes that guilt closes.

Note: as there are nine orders of angels, so too in hell there are nine orders, for the doctors say that angels fell from each order; so each prison has its order and appointed place. You might say: what of the wicked? *There no order, but everlasting horror dwells.* It is said there that there will be no order as to knowledge, though there is as to location. Deuteronomy 25: *According to the measure of the sin shall be the measure of the stripes.*

(p. 60)

The tenth prison is the limbo of children, where there is the pain of loss but not of sense. The Master in the fourth book, last distinction. [The eleventh is] the place of purgatory, where today all are purged who did not complete worthy penance in this life; and there is the pain of loss and of sense. The twelfth was the limbo of the fathers, where there was the pain of loss but not of sense, where no one now dwells; and that limbo of the fathers is called the bosom of Abraham.

And the rich man cried: Father Abraham, have mercy on me. You cried out late. Late came the oxherds. *Send Lazarus, that he may dip the tip of his finger.* It seemed to him [enough] if he had let only one drop of water fall on his tongue. You might say: has the soul a tongue? Note: the soul, when it is separated from the body, takes with it what belongs to it. A dead body does not see, does not discern flavours, does not hear; and this because those things belong principally to the soul. And therefore a dead body is called a corpse. The soul separated from the body does not have bodily organs, but it has the forces and powers instituted in it by that nature which creates it. *He cried*, that is, he had the force or power of crying out. "With this chastisement, then, the sinner is punished, that in dying he forgets himself, who while he lived forgot God."

Abraham answered: Son, of the race of Abraham, *remember that you received good things in your life*. Again: *But now you are tormented, and Lazarus is refreshed.* Matthew 20: *Take what is yours and go.* O poor wretch, why do you sigh, you who in life would not move your bowels to the prayers of the poor nor do penance? *Seeing it, they shall be troubled with terrible fear, and for anguish of spirit doing penance*, etc. (Wisdom). For great anguish they will have pain and penance, but not because they offended God. He does penance for the torments but not for the sins; he grieves to be tormented but does not grieve for the sins.

He said further: *I pray you, father Abraham — between us and you a great chaos is fixed*, and I endure such great pain — *for I have five brothers, that you send Lazarus.* Certainly great piety: you have compassion on your brothers and had none on yourself! Whence is he moved? He thinks perhaps that by the salvation of his brothers he could be saved. No: he has despaired of salvation. Whence, then, is he moved to have compassion on his brothers? Note that the punishment in hell is threefold: one substantial, and this is in the soul; another consubstantial, and this

(p. 61)

is in the soul reunited to the body; accidental, and this is in the company of the damned. All the damned would wish [others] to be damned; why then did he say, *I have five brothers*, etc.? It seems that he has compassion on them, lest they too be damned. The damned are so desperate that they would wish God to be damned, and the Blessed Virgin and all the saints, not with a rational will but an irrational one; but they consider that their desire in this will not be fulfilled, and rather their punishment is increased, because they see the great glory of the blessed which they themselves have lost. For before the day of judgement the damned see the glory of the saints, but after the day of judgement they in no way see the glory of the saints. And on the day of judgement they will see the humanity of Christ but not the deity.

It is hard to think ill of those one loves. So the damned would rather wish strangers damned than those close to them; for natural law too dictates this, namely that one loves one person more than another. Virtue, however, is beyond nature. For this reason, then, since this poor rich man is eternally damned, he considers that if his father or brothers were damned, his pain would be accidentally increased the more. Therefore, so that the accidental pain in him might be mitigated, he said: *For I have five brothers.* Abraham answered: *They have* the prophets and doctors; they have the law of Moses; *let them hear them. If they do not believe Abraham* [the text so] *and the prophets, neither will they believe if one rises from the dead.* So because this rich man did not do the works of mercy, he is eternally damned. Deuteronomy 32: *I will kill and I will make to live … If I whet my sword … I will take vengeance.*

XVII. Friday after Laetare

[As the text says; the editor notes that it should read "after Reminiscere", as the missal shows, and dates it Friday, 2 March]

When the chief priests and scribes had heard his parable, they knew that he spoke of them (Matthew 21). Since, among other things, our Lord always spoke in parables, he told the Jews this parable, which is given in Matthew 21. The whole human race is like a vineyard. He sent prophets and patriarchs, who were ill-treated and killed. *Last of all he sent his son*, our Lord Jesus Christ. He sought fruit from the Jewish people. Did they give good fruit? Only a few. He said: *They will reverence my son.* But they,

(p. 62)

seeing the Son of God in his humanity, did not believe him to be God; they said among themselves: *This is the heir; come, let us kill him, and we shall have the inheritance.* And they cast him out of the city, for the place of Calvary was then outside the city. When, then, the lord of the vineyard comes to judge the living and the dead, they pronounced the sentence: *He will bring those evil men to an evil end*; although they did not mean to say so. For many times even the wicked have pronounced sentence on themselves, although they do not understand it.

Again, Caiaphas prophesied, saying: *It is expedient for you*, etc. From this it is plain that even the wicked many times prophesy, and this comes from the Holy Spirit. And so John said that, because he was high priest that year, he prophesied, saying so; *and he did not say it of himself* [the editor notes: expressly corrected from "eum"], but from the Holy Spirit. See how the Holy Spirit, out of reverence for the priesthood, speaks even through wicked priests. So however wicked priests are, namely usurers, fornicators, misers, etc., they are to be venerated because of their dignity. Again, Balaam: *A star shall rise out of Jacob and a sceptre out of Israel*; the star, that is the Blessed Virgin Mary; the sceptre, that is Christ. See, Balaam was an idolater and enchanter of demons and a damned man, and he prophesied by God's counsel and the Holy Spirit.

Have you not read in the scriptures: the stone which the builders rejected? As if to say: "I am that stone which you rejected; but in my time I shall become the head of the corner, and then you will know me." *Therefore the kingdom of God shall be taken from you*: every grace shall be taken from you, every temporal good, all authority and power, the royal and pontifical sceptre, *and shall be given to a nation bringing forth its fruits.* The kingdom of God in this life is true hope, right faith, charity adorned with virtues, namely temperance and prudence.

And when the crowds [the Gospel: the chief priests] *knew that he spoke of them*, they would gladly have seized him, *but they feared the crowd, because they held him as a prophet*, etc. This was the vineyard that the Lord entrusted to the prophets and patriarchs who taught the Ten Commandments and the law of the Lord, whom the Jews killed. Last, when he sent his Son, they said: *This is the heir; let us kill him.* The cornerstone was Christ. Rightly, as the stone was rejected by the builders because they could not fit it into Solomon's temple — it could not be fitted — and afterwards it became the cornerstone at the top of the temple, so that it was seen by all; so Christ united the Jews with the pagans and was placed on the cross in the sight of all. Spiritually, here, the man who breaks, that is stains, the mind, wholly (?) kills the heir.

(p. 63)

Fifth, the priestly dignity is to be venerated in respect of nobility. *Nobilitas* is *non vilis aetas*, "a not-vile age". Again a certain doctor, Bartolus, [defines it] thus: "It is a certain quality conferred by one holding princely rule, by which someone is shown to be accepted above honest commoners." Certainly with princes even pimps are shown to be accepted; likewise other most shameful men, namely sorcerers [*sagarii*], murderers, sodomites; so this definition is worth nothing. And the rich, even usurers: such men are not noble, except that among fools they would be called noble. Jerome says in a letter that we must consider the root of

nobility. Nobility has its origin from the seed of Abraham, namely kings, dukes, margraves, etc. Is the emperor's blood perhaps redder than yours? Is he immortal? Can flies not harm him with poison? etc. Because someone perhaps has riches, therefore he is noble, like one who has much money and great palaces. But the nobility of birth is not so much to be regarded as that of virtues.

So Jerome says: "The only nobility with God is the liberty of not serving sins; the highest nobility with God is to be renowned for virtues." The nobility of birth was conferred by God on those who excelled in virtues. That man was made a knight and noble for his virtues; if you do not follow him, you are a most shameful beast and an old peasant. Chrysostom on Matthew: "He is renowned, he is serene, he is illustrious, who disdains to serve vices." Constantine: "What will it profit us to have conquered foreign nations if we are conquered by our own sins?" He said this when his most savage counsellors bade him make a hot bath from the blood of infants; when he saw the mothers weeping and groaning he said these words: "What will it profit …" There is no worse victory than the victory of vices. Whoever, then, is overcome by vices is ignoble and a villein and a gallows-bird. Innocent: "We, then, considering that not the nobility of birth but of virtues and honesty of life makes one pleasing to God and a fit servant." The highest nobility is to serve God and keep the divine worship.

Genesis 1 [the text reads "18"]: the angel is called the seal of likeness; but man is called so [the image of God] not according to the body but according to the soul. What did it profit Cain that he had a noble father, Adam? Again, under God there is no nobility as great as, or equal to, the nobility of the rational soul. So the nobility of the rational soul is nobler than the nobility of the angels. The Apostle: *Nowhere did he take hold of the nature of angels, but of the seed of Abraham.* Again, baptized children dying without merits of their own are joined to the angels; but those with more merits to the archangels, and so ascending further

(p. 64)

up to the ninth choir of angels, namely the seraphim. But the Blessed Virgin is exalted above all the choirs of angels. Let us place in the highest choir, namely the seraphim, John the Baptist or Peter, etc.; if that highest choir serves her, since the other blessed (?) … Again, God-made-man and the Blessed Virgin, a human being, are exalted above men and the choirs of angels. O how much you ought to rise to this nobility! God ennobled you at the beginning of creation.

To the point. That nobility is called greater which participates more in the highest nobility; but the priest participates more in the highest nobility, namely wisdom and knowledge, which are the Lord God's; therefore priests are nobler. Knowledge is a gift of God and wisdom is a gift of God: knowledge concerns lower things, wisdom higher; knowledge refers to temporal things, wisdom to eternal. To the point: knowledge is a gift of God; honourable knowledge, adorned with its honour, ennobles a man. The priesthood is adorned with knowledge and also with wisdom; through knowledge one comes to wisdom. Wisdom is appropriated to God more than knowledge. *The beginning of wisdom is the fear of the Lord.* Wisdom is the highest gift of God, and from the first one comes to the highest. The first gift of the Holy Spirit is the fear of the Lord. When someone fears God, he then grieves to have offended God and fears to offend God; and so he is moved to piety in himself, namely by living piously and justly. The Apostle: *Let us live soberly, chastely and piously in this world.* Then he sees how he can guard against sins, and so knowledge follows. The psalmist: *Who understands sins?* For it is difficult to guard against sins. When we know how we ought to serve God, fortitude will be necessary, namely that a man resolves and also ought rather to wish to die than to sin.

Next I need counsel; but because various people say various things, I run back to God: "Lord, give me counsel how I can serve you"; and he will give me understanding. The psalmist: *I will give you understanding.* And from understanding we come to wisdom. *Sapientia*, that is *sapida scientia*, savoury knowledge. *Wisdom is not known to all; but with those to whom it is known it remains even to the sight of*

God (Ecclesiasticus 6).

If the clerical order ennobles, much more the priestly, and much more the episcopal. Presupposing that priests live rightly and justly, I say that the nobility of the least priest is nobler than the nobility of a king or emperor. (De consecratione, dist. 2.) He is not a true Catholic who does not confess and communicate once a year. Is the emperor a Catholic? He is; so he is bound to keep God's commandments and to confess at least once a year.

(p. 65)

Does not the emperor kneel when he confesses before a priest? Yes indeed. And a cardinal wanted to confess to me, and when I could not escape it I said: "Kneel, for I am your judge in this case." Formerly it was laid down to communicate three times a year; Pelagius adds a fourth. But now it is commanded only once, namely at Easter; and from Palm Sunday to the octave day of Easter counts as Easter.

Jerome: there are two kinds of men. One is that which is given over to divine worship, like priests; these, then, are kings, ruling themselves and others by virtues. Jerome had it from Peter. Peter, 1 Peter 2: *But you are a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a people of acquisition. You have not chosen me, but I have chosen you* (John 15). For priests acquire souls. If they are kings, then princes, then dukes: each is the duke of his own. Not only priests but also minor clerics are called soldiers. So priests do not entangle themselves in secular business. Paul: *Be a good soldier of Christ. No one serving as Christ's soldier entangles himself in secular business.* So let them not entangle themselves in secular business, lawful [or] secular; and unlawful [business is forbidden] to priests: let them not mix themselves in usury, trade, simony. As a sign of the priests' knighthood they may wear gold. The other kind of men is the rest of the people, who are not priests. And so it is plain that priests must be venerated for their nobility, which you have heard set out in many ways.

XVIII. Saturday before Oculi

[Editor's date: Saturday, 3 March]

Bring forth quickly the first robe and put it on him, and put a ring on his hand and shoes on his feet (Luke 15), etc. Many times our Lord Jesus Christ spoke in parables, so that they might understand the meaning from the parable. So in today's Gospel the Lord spoke of two sons, as is written in Luke 15.

Note: sacred scripture is expounded in four ways, namely historically, allegorically, tropologically and anagogically. Historically: according to the history, as we believe it. Allegorically, these two sons signify two peoples, namely the Jewish and the Gentile. The Jewish is the firstborn; the Gentile is the younger, who wanted to have his portion and squandered his goods. Genesis 4 [Exodus 4]: *My firstborn is the house of Israel.* There is no worse squandering of substance than to squander one's own soul. The Gentile people adored idols, but the Jewish people

(p. 66)

God. The Gentile people squandered its goods, living with harlots in adultery, that is, because it did not keep the true faith, because it adored idols; and it fed swine, that is, it adored demons and served them. An example appears in Rome, which built a temple to the gods, namely the Pantheon, in honour of all the gods, and adored demons. And in the highest place they put the name of their god; and when some province was rebellious, then the god of that province turned his back to the god of the Romans; and so then they sent a prince or a citizen who subdued that province. O how many martyrs were killed by the Romans! And so they fed swine. But when God the Father, moved by mercy, in the time of Constantine gave liberty to build churches to God and keep the Christian faith, then the Gentile people, converted, seeing so many Christians and that they held the true faith, said: *Father, I have sinned*, etc. An example is the Canaanite woman who

cried out after Jesus. But the Jewish people, namely the elder son, would not have patience, seeing that God gave such great grace to the Gentiles; and so they will not go in at the father's request and will not be sons of God. They are therefore sons of the devil.

Tropologically, according to the tropological, that is moral, sense: the younger son represents any sinner who takes his portion, that is, wants to have free will; as if to say, *Give me my portion*, namely the five senses; and then he turns to his own pleasure, namely to pleasures, which pleasures are likened to the food of swine. Then, seeing that many are servants of God, he returns to himself and, coming to the father, says, *Father, I have sinned*, etc.; and God the Father gladly receives you, moved by mercy.

The elder represents the proud just. It is better to be counted among the humble sinners than the proud just. When the sinner has returned to himself, wanting to repent, the Lord gladly receives you. But the just, reckoning themselves just, are proud and despise sinners. And this appears from the publican (Luke 18). Likewise another example is had in Saint Mary Magdalene, who was actually a sinner and was canonized as one corrupted and not as a virgin. Some say that she was the bride of Saint John the Evangelist; but she was not corrupted by him, for Saint John the Evangelist was a virgin and remained one; but she was not his bride, and granted that she had been, then she was corrupted by another. And see what great benefits God conferred on her: for thirty years she was sustained without food by divine help, for seven times a day, lifted up from the earth and joined with the angels, she received heavenly

(p. 67)

food, which is never read of any other saint. *Where sin abounded, there grace also superabounded* (Romans 5). Again, at the raising of Lazarus, when Martha, who was a virgin, wept, Christ did not weep; but when Mary Magdalene came weeping, Christ too wept, because of his great love. Again, she first after the Blessed Virgin Mary saw the resurrection of Christ. Augustine: "Excepting the Blessed Virgin, for when I make mention of sins I do not mean this virgin. If all the saints were asked whether they had sin, they would say that word of John: *If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.*"

Anagogically, fourth, sacred scripture is understood according to the anagogical, that is higher, sense. The demons are the elder sons, because they were created before us; man was created in paradise after this; and yet our Father receives the humility of men and detests and despises the pride of the demons. And so the younger son is human nature. And so the devil, seeing that the father has received the younger son, that is man, envies human nature, because through his pride he cannot be saved.

An example of Paul, who is called Paul the Simple for his simplicity. To him a demon appeared, pretending to weep, and Saint Paul the Simple asked him why he wept so. The demon answered: "I grieve that I have lost such great glory, which our enemy took from us"; for he called God an enemy. Paul answered: "Do you want me to ask God to make peace between you and him?" The demon answered: "Let it be done; for I would gladly have back the former glory I lost." Saint Paul the Simple answered, and out of his simplicity he asked God for the demon. The Lord, knowing his simplicity, said: "I am willing to have peace, if only he will acknowledge his fault and say, 'I have sinned.'" Paul reported this to the demon. The demon said: "By no means will I do this. Should I acknowledge my fault? He should acknowledge his fault; I was not at fault, for he took my glory."

He said to his servants: the servants of Christ are those to whom the Lord said at the raising of Lazarus, *Loose him and let him go*; and they are the apostles and, in general, priests. The first robe, with which every Christian is clothed in baptism, is the sincerity of true faith, from which saving grace is conferred. Again, the first robe is the faith of Mother Church, from which divine grace is conferred: grace is conferred to adults from faith, to little ones from the sacrament of faith; and this grace is also conferred in absolution. The ring

(p. 68)

is the certainty of hope, which certainty, that is security, the priest gives you in absolution from sins. There he gives you the ring and pledges you that you may be certain of eternal glory. The shoes are the examples of the saints and the good, which the priest offers you and binds on in confession.

Sixth, the priestly dignity is to be venerated in respect of authority. Although the Holy Spirit remits sins mysteriously and principally, yet the priest remits sins ministerially [the text reads "misterialiter"; the editor corrects to "ministerialiter"], that is, they judge sins and discern them, and by virtue of the keys granted them by Christ they have authority to remit sins ministerially. So priests have authority to loose in the penitential forum by virtue of the keys, namely of knowledge and of power. For there are two keys of the Church, namely of knowledge and of power. So there are two keys which the Lord entrusted to Peter; therefore two keys ought to be shown in Peter's hand when his image is painted. There are two signs with which the priest is marked, namely knowledge and power. *The lips of the priest shall keep knowledge* (Malachi 2). So the priest must have the knowledge to discern leprosy from not-leprosy.

Again, there is no equal authority under heaven, as there is no dignity under heaven equal to the priestly authority. The authority of the least priest ordained according to the rite of the Church is greater than the emperor's. There is no authority above heaven, under God, equal to the priestly authority, except in those who are above heaven, namely the saints who in this world [the editor corrects "huius" to "seculi"] were priests. And yet, with reverence, the glorified saints in eternal life who were bishops, archbishops, abbots, although while living they had authority, yet now glorified do not have such authority that they could confect the sacrament of our Lord Jesus Christ.

The Virgin Mary, living in this world, could do more than any angelic creature, and also than any human creature; for that word spoken by the Blessed Virgin, *Behold the handmaid*, etc., was of such power that at once the divine Word penetrated the ears of the Blessed Virgin, penetrated the breast of the Blessed Virgin; at once the most pure blood of the Blessed Virgin was gathered; at once the body of our Lord Jesus Christ was organized and formed, perfect, from that most pure blood gathered; at once the soul of Christ was created, nobler than any other soul, as Damascene says. Whoever says that the soul of Christ was not nobler than others is worthy of punishment. At once the divine Word assumed human nature, which, after he assumed it, he never

(p. 69)

laid aside. Cursed is the man who says that the divine Word ever left human nature [the text says "nunquam … reliquisse", which reads literally "never left"; the sense requires "ever"]. The Blessed Virgin said eight words, namely *Ecce ancilla domini*, etc. And after she completed the last word, at once the divine Word was incarnate in her womb and assumed human nature, frail, weak, passible, etc. And so the Blessed Virgin Mary with eight words called God from heaven; but priests, with only four words, which are of the essence and substance of the form (?), call him from heaven with the fullness of the divinity and the fullness of the humanity: at once he is in the priest's hands when they have said the words of consecration. Which of the faithful doubts that when the priest has said the words of consecration he draws the whole glorified Christ from heaven, with the fullness of the divinity and the fullness of the humanity? Who doubts that a countless multitude of angels descends from heaven to serve our Lord Jesus Christ? O, if the bodily eye saw such brightness, it would be blinded! And yet the Virgin Mary did not have such authority, namely to confect the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ.

So deeply is the character impressed on the soul in the consecration of a priest, so great is the power of that character, that whether he be a heretic or have denied the faith of Christ, even if he were degraded, suspended, schismatic, etc., he confects the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ as well as Saint Peter, and as Christ himself confected at the Lord's Supper; although one so confecting sins mortally each and every time. Although the Master in the fourth book of the *Sentences*, dist. 14, seems to say the opposite; but,

saving his reverence, in this he is not followed, though he is saved [i.e. excused (?)], namely that according to justice he ought not to celebrate or confect because he sins mortally. Again, although in a case of necessity a layman could hear a confession, yet he does not have authority to absolve.

Seventh, the priestly dignity is to be revered in respect of example. So Jesus said: *For I have given you an example.* 1 Peter 2: *Christ, dying for us, gave us an example, that you should follow his steps.* The Apostle to Titus: *Show yourself an example of good works.* Matthew 5: *You are the light of the world.* The Decree witnesses: "They are worthy of as many deaths as the bad examples they offer to men." So priests must offer a good example to men, because they are the light of the world. Again, Matthew: *So let your works shine*, etc., so that men, seeing their good works, may also live justly and rightly. For all priests live on alms and bear the sins of men, just as our Lord Jesus

(p. 70)

Christ bore our sins on the wood of the cross. So let priests see to it that they pray for the sins of men. Of things seen there is no faith, but knowledge.

XIX. Oculi Sunday

[Editor's date: Sunday, 4 March]

Coming, he finds it swept with brooms and adorned (Luke 11). When our Lord Jesus Christ was going about the world, they brought him a man having a demon, etc. Jerome: there were three signs in this man: he was mute, deaf and possessed. To show how demons have pre-eminence in this world, Luke says: *Jesus was casting out a demon*, etc. Why is it mute? Because it has no tongue or mouth; yet it can assume an aerial body and delude the senses of men. It was mute, that is, it occupied the tongue of that poor man, his ears and sight and all his senses.

So a woman had been brought to me who, sitting on a horse, neither saw nor heard nor had the movement of going forward, but was like a piece of wood. When the demon was expelled it went out of her in the form of a black snail. So I said: "You appear well, black and twisted as you are." And it had been changed into hard stones, in the manner of a large die. I took it in my little cloth and said, "I will find you well", and hung it up in the window of my cell; and this happened in Italy. But while I was burning those vanities, namely gaming-boards, I had it brought and thrown into the fire; and it leapt out of the fire twice, and the third time I had it thrown in and it stayed. And so great a stench remained from that most evil die that all those present stopped their mouths, and this most evil stench could well be smelled for fourteen days. And I had the figure (form?) of the demon painted and hung over the fire; and when it came out of the fire, it took this paper on which the devil had been painted and carried it with it into the air; and when it had now risen high, I said [margin, written in red: "Snecke Concha", i.e. "snail" in German and Latin]: "In the name of the Father, in the name of Christ, come down"; and that figure came down to the fire and burned. See what an evil beast this is!

The Jews said: *By Beelzebub*, that is, by the prince of demons, or by the god of flies. For King Ninus had a god made which he named Bel; and from the sprinkling of the blood of animals, namely sheep and oxen, flies

(p. 71)

gathered and flew over this image, namely Bel, and wholly beset it, etc. The Jews, who did not adore idols, to the confusion of the pagans called this image Beelzebub, that is, god of flies. But Christ, rebuking the Jews, argues from a sufficient division thus: *Every kingdom divided against itself*, etc. *But if Satan is divided against himself, how shall his kingdom stand?* So Christ knew logic. Was it Aristotle, Socrates, Plato, etc.? Nothing to do with them; but from Christ Jesus is all wisdom, and true wisdom.

For so sometimes among us Christians there is division and discord. Gregory: "As by concord small things grow, so by discord the greatest things fall apart", as appears from Rome, which fell apart through discord. For when they were of one mind they subjugated the whole world; but afterwards, when one was against another, it fell apart. Paul: *If you bite one another, you will be consumed by one another.* No plague is more able to harm than a familiar and household enemy. It is much less to have a foreign war than a domestic and internal one. Jeremiah [the reference is uncertain]: *If we stand together, what can be against us?*

It follows: *Your sons, by whom do they cast them out?* That is, my disciples, who are your sons, cast out demons in my name; so *they shall be your judges* on the day of judgement. It follows: *If I by the finger of God,* etc., that is, by the power of God. The magicians [the text: "philosophi"], unable to drive the gnats from Pharaoh, said: *This is the finger of God,* that is, the power of God. The finger is in the hand, the hand in the arm, the arm in the shoulder, and the shoulder in the body. The arm is many times taken in sacred scripture for the Son of God, but the finger of God for the power of God. Isaiah 53: *Lord, who has believed our report? And to whom is your arm revealed?* The Virgin Mary in her canticle: *He has shown might in his arm,* etc., that is, in his Son.

It follows: *When a strong man armed,* that is the devil, *keeps his court, all things that he possesses are in peace*; for all the Gentiles adored demons, since no one was against the devil. *But if a stronger than he come upon him, he takes away his armour,* that is vices and sins. *When the unclean spirit has gone out of a man, he walks through waterless places.* Note: water in sacred scripture signifies sometimes virtues, sometimes vices, sometimes tribulation, sometimes grace. Of vices and tribulations, the psalmist: *Save me, O God, for the waters have come in even to my soul.* Again Solomon, in the last chapter of the Canticles: *Many waters could not quench charity.* Of grace it is had in John: *Whoever drinks of this water which I* etc., as the Lord said to the Samaritan woman. In a waterless place, that is, dry; and

(p. 72)

these are taken for souls which are not subject to the waters of vices, even if they are subject to the waters of tribulations.

Seeking rest and finding none: that is, he could not prevail against just men, much less against me. He would gladly rest if he could tread down a just soul; as if the Lord would say, "The devil tempts me, and I conquered him three times." Nor can he conquer the just, if only they resist. *Resist the devil and he will flee from you; draw near to God and he will draw near to you* (James 4). Whoever is subject to the devil is made a receptacle of demons (John). Relapse is the worst; therefore the Lord says: *And the last state of that man becomes worse than the first.* Those words most expressly contain the penance of those who are converted to God and in truth wish to do penance, etc.

Now, then, follows [the treatment] of penance. Note: the Philosopher says in the first book of the *Ethics*: "The more common a thing is, the more useful." But penance is useful and necessary to all, priests as well as lay people. Genesis 9 [8]: *Human nature is prone to evil* not only from youth but even from infancy. Above infancy is said to be childhood; but childhood is already capable of sinning mortally. Childhood, although it is not sufficient for generation — for young men from the fourteenth year and girls from the twelfth are sufficient for generation — yet a boy can blaspheme, steal, etc. And so above infancy mortal sin is imputed. (*Extra, De delictis puerorum,* c. 1.) From the seventh year he can sin, as is had. An example of a boy who was five years old and blasphemed God, and the devil took that same boy from his father's lap, which is well known. And if from the fifth year sin was imputed to him, much more from the sixth. Take care, then, parents, not to give your children their own will, etc.

Concerning penance we must consider three things, namely the definition, the distinction and the fruitfulness. *Penitentia,* according to verbal etymology, is said as it were *pene tencia,* that is, "to hold the penalty" [the text reads "temere"; probably "tenere"]. And according to Gregory, Ambrose and the Master in

the fourth book, dist. 14, penance is defined thus: "Penance is to lament evils done and not to commit again things to be lamented." That definition regards three times, namely present, past and future, as appears in the definition. No one is ever truly penitent unless in that instant, in that act in which he calls himself truly penitent, he grieves for the past up to the present, and in his mind is so firm, so deliberate, so established, that from now on and hereafter he would rather endure death than sin mortally

(p. 73)

and not only grieve for sins done before, but for all mortal sins, etc.

Ambrose: it is easier to keep innocence than to do true penance. For greater labour is required to acquire true penance than to keep innocence; for few are they who would rather endure death than have any delight in mortal sin. Therefore those do not repent well and justly who keep harlots in their houses, with whom they have sinned and still intend to sin. The father said that a certain parish priest had a harlot by whom he had two sons, grown men; and she fell sick, and after she died the priest buried her; and afterwards she had to be exhumed and thrown into a dung pit. Jeremiah 22: whoever dies in mortal sin — understand publicly — *shall be buried with the burial of an ass.* Gregory: "If a monk dies owning property, he shall be buried in a dunghill." In *Extra, De poenitentiis et remissionibus*, near the end, it is said: "Every person of either sex is bound at least once a year to confess and communicate", namely is bound to communicate at Easter; and Easter is counted from Palm Sunday inclusive up to the Easter supper [the text so] inclusive. "Otherwise, while living, let him be kept from entering the church, and when dead let him lack Church burial." In the same place, *De poenitentia,* dist. 3: "He is a mocker and not a penitent who still does what he must repent of." Do you think you can mock God? *God is not mocked*, believe me. *He who sows in blessings shall also reap in blessings* (Galatians, last chapter, etc.). Joel 2: *Be converted to me with all your heart, in fasting and weeping and mourning.* Exodus 5 [the reference is uncertain]: *I am God who searches the reins and hearts.* He sees who is ignorant of nothing. To betroth clandestinely is a mortal sin; yet since you have begun so, you must remain in the marriage.

Again, penance must be voluntary, because penance is a voluntary holding of the penalty. Again, according to Scotus, a doctor of the Friars Minor, and according to Peter of Aquila, we must consider four things for the definition of true penance. The first is to wish to repent of what one did wickedly; the second, to wish not to have sinned and offended God; the third, to accept freely the assessed penance; the fourth, to fulfil perfectly the penance imposed. Augustine: "Penance is a certain vengeance of one who grieves, the penitent punishing in himself what he grieves to have committed." And it is twofold, namely personal and real. The personal he must perform in himself; but the real can be performed by another, as you can give alms through a servant. Ambrose: penance is the detestation of sin, namely for the whole time of one's life, and hatred,

(p. 74)

sorrow of heart and mind for the sins which each has committed; not only past but present and future, and whatever he has committed in the whole time of his life. For Augustine says: "Let the true penitent always grieve, and grieve that he has not grieved, and rejoice in the sorrow of grieving." If, then, you do not always grieve with tears for sin committed before or in the present … [the editor notes that the main clause, "you are not a true penitent", is probably missing].

A third definition: penance is freely to accept the penalty assessed for oneself. Our doctors, namely of the Friars Minor, say that confessors ought to advise penitents, saying: "Dearest, I advise you that for every mortal sin you are bound to do penance for seven years; and if you had done ten in a year you would have to do penance for seventy years." Certainly a lifetime would not suffice; although some mortal sins have thirty years for penance. The confessor must in no way send away the penitent without penance, namely in despair; he should say, "If you do not want this one, keep that one." John Chrysostom: it is safer to dispatch a penitent with one Hail Mary than to impose on him the due assessed penance or to send him away in despair. It is

safer to give an account of great mercy than of great justice. Let the confessor rejoice that he has at least drawn the penitent out of the devil's chain and sent him on to purgatory. It is safer, then, for the confessor to impose a small penance than if he imposes the assessed one and the man remains in despair.

A fourth definition: penance is to fulfil perfectly and rightly the penalty imposed on oneself. And so let each one strive to fulfil the enjoined penance by his own strength, and beware of sinning further. Hence our Lord said to the man who was healed by him beside the pool: *Behold, you are made whole; sin no more, lest something worse befall you.* Hence too it is said in today's Gospel: *And the last state of that man becomes* etc. John 8, of the woman taken in adultery, the Lord said: *Go, and sin no more.* Judas Maccabeus: *It is better for us to die in battle than to see the evils of our nation.*

XX. Monday after Oculi

[Editor's date: Monday, 5 March]

There were many lepers in Israel under the prophet Elisha, and none of them was cleansed but Naaman the Syrian (Luke 4; the text reads "Mtth"). Isidore, *Etymologies* 12 [the text reads "ethicorum"]: even the sins of parents bring leprosy upon

(p. 75)

their children. He speaks of women's flux: namely, if a child is conceived in such a flux and the course of the menses, it is born leprous, or if it survives, in the following time it will become leprous. In the old law it was commanded that one who approached a menstruous woman be stoned; but no one was to be stoned except for mortal sin. It follows, then, that to approach a menstruous woman is a mortal sin. The story of Naaman and Elisha is given in 4 Kings 5 [the text reads "9"].

To our point, leprosy denotes mortal sin. We must also consider that in that miracle a form is given for eternal salvation for all men. Naaman is interpreted as it were "beautiful". The human soul after the sacrament of baptism is so beautiful and lovely that if the beauty of one soul in the state of grace could be seen, the one seeing would say that it is so beautiful that "I have never seen a more beautiful creature." Canticles 1: *If you know not yourself, O most beautiful among women, go forth*, etc. Again, Canticles: *O most beautiful among women*, that is, among creatures. For it is more beautiful than anything under heaven, even than the empyrean heaven, even than an angelic creature. Other creatures have indeed a trace of God, but the soul is created to the image of God. Therefore the soul, when it is stained by vice, becomes the foulest of creatures, for a stain on precious cloth shows much more than on a twisted [cheap] one.

Israel is said as it were "seeing God". So whoever wishes to be cleansed from leprosy must have the desire of seeing God. And as Naaman had to wash seven times in the Jordan — Jordan is said as it were "river of judgement" — so the sinner must go to the river of judgement, namely acknowledge his sins, and go over to the prophet, namely to the priest. He will judge and discern your sins; and wash seven times in the Jordan, namely from the seven deadly sins. For as often as you confess your sins, you will be freed from the devil's chain. Apocalypse 12: *Woe to the earth and the sea* — woe to the greedy and avaricious, woe to the proud and lustful — *because the devil* and Satan *is come down to you, having great wrath, knowing that he has but a short time.*

As there are seven capital vices, so there are seven captains binding man with seven chains. The first, the captain of pride, is Lucifer. The second, namely of envy, is the devil. Wisdom 2: *By the envy of the devil death entered the world* [the text: "the earth"]. The third, namely of wrath, is called Satan. Apocalypse 12: *Woe to the earth and the sea*, as above: to the earth, namely those dry in the love of God, and to the sea, that is those bitter in bitterness of heart. The fourth, namely of sloth, is called "demon". Luke 11: *Jesus was casting out a demon, and it was mute*; for the slothful are mute in confession, in prayers, etc. The fifth,

namely of avarice, is called Mammon. He

(p. 76)

with his chain conquers all the avaricious, usurers, etc. Matthew 6: *You cannot serve God and mammon.* Luke 16: *Make for yourselves friends of the mammon of iniquity.* The sixth, namely of gluttony, is called Behemoth. Job 40 [the text reads "IVte"]: *Behold Behemoth … eats chaff like hay* [conflated (?)]. The seventh is called Asmodeus, who with his chain conquers all the lustful, all adulterers.

Now we must speak of the second point, namely the distinction of penance. There are three integral parts required for due penance, and if one is lacking it will not be true penance, namely contrition, confession and satisfaction. And if in case of necessity contrition alone suffices, yet [it does] in case of ability, not in case of necessity [the passage is confused in the text]: namely, if one were placed in danger of death and had true contrition with the purpose of confessing and making satisfaction, he would be saved. Even if the time were so short that he could not deliberate on the purpose of confessing and making satisfaction, the contrition could be so great that he would fly at once to heaven. It is otherwise if there is ability: there the purpose does not suffice, but confession and satisfaction must be made.

As to contrition, we must ask three things: first, the definition; second, the condition; third, the perfection. Definition: contrition is sorrow voluntarily taken on for sin, with the purpose of confessing and making satisfaction. Contrition, according to the etymology of the word, is said as it were "a rubbing together". Hence the lord Bonaventure says that whoever wishes to understand it well must consider three things in contrition, namely the hard, the broken and the crushed. That is called hard which does not yield to touch. That is called broken when it is broken into large pieces by something acting powerfully. But it is called crushed when those large pieces so broken are wholly ground down and become as it were flour. These three are considered in material things; indeed, we must consider these three in spiritual things.

The sinner's heart is called hard when it does not yield to the divine touch. Apocalypse 3: *Behold, I stand at the door and knock; if anyone hears my voice* — the voice of the Lord is *Do penance, for* [the kingdom] *is at hand*, etc. (Matthew 4) — *and opens the door to me, I will come in to him and sup with him* through my grace, *and he with me* through my glory. But woe to the hard heart on the day of judgement, as the prophet says. God seeks to enter your heart and humble it, and you resist the divine touch and the Holy Spirit. Psalm: *A contrite and humbled heart*, etc. Job 41 [the text reads "IVto"]: *His heart shall be hardened as a stone, and pressed together as the smith's anvil.* He is not moved by divine inspirations, by angelic callings; the more he hears sermons, the more he is hardened. "I called" through preachers, angelic inspiration, one's own admonition, conscience. Proverbs 1: *Because I called and you refused; I stretched out my hands and*

(p. 77)

you did not regard, etc.

Second, we must also consider the broken. Any fragment broken by the millstone is broken but not yet crushed. It follows that if bread is to be baked, it must be crushed in this way. So it is not enough that you break sins into large parts, namely by dividing a large part piece by piece; but we must crush them wholly, that is, tell all the circumstances: how, when, with whom, how often, etc. Matthew 21: *On whomever this stone shall fall*, namely through grace, *it will grind him to powder*, that is, make him contrite for his sins. Isaiah 24: *The foundations of the earth shall be shaken; with breaking shall the earth be broken, with crushing shall the earth be crushed, with commotion shall the earth be moved, with shaking shall the earth be shaken like a drunkard.* First, the foundations of the earth: namely when a man thinks that he has offended God and that sin is a contradiction of reason; it is also denied, for the Philosopher says, "All things desire the good." Second, then he breaks the evil will and is crushed for sin. "With commotion", that is, he leads others to good. "With shaking", that is, then he is shaken in the grace of God like a drunkard, that is, he feels

spiritual joy, as drunkards are made merry.

It is said in the definition [that contrition is sorrow]; [but] not every sorrow is contrition. The psalmist: *I was dumb and kept silence … and my sorrow was renewed. My heart grew hot within me, and in my meditation a fire shall flame out,* etc. The essential spiritual sorrow related to contrition must be voluntary. *I will freely sacrifice to you, and will give praise to you, O Lord* (Psalm). You would say: how can sorrow be voluntary? For the Philosopher says in the fifth book of the *Metaphysics*: "Nothing saddening is voluntary." How then can sorrow be voluntary? On this, note: the voluntary is twofold. The voluntary simply is everything to which nature easily inclines. Voluntary in a certain respect is when something, even if it were involuntary, becomes voluntary with respect to the end. An example: if a physician gave a sick man a portion, namely a turbid (turvum?) draught, etc., for health, and he, because of its bitterness, would not take it willingly, yet he takes it willingly for the sake of the end, namely health. Hebrews 12: *Now all chastisement for the present indeed seems not to bring joy.* Since sin was voluntary, therefore sorrow too must be voluntary.

It is said "for sin", because if a father grieves for the death of his son, it is not for sins. It is said "with the purpose", because without the purpose of confessing and making satisfaction there is no contrition; for if, in a case of ability, the purpose of confessing or also of making satisfaction is lacking, it is not true contrition.

O how detestable are sins! Even nature detests sins,

(p. 78)

for a certain shame for sin is implanted in nature. So a girl in her fourth or fifth year is not ashamed if she stands naked in some gathering of people; but in her seventh year she is at once ashamed. Again, irrational animals too detest sins. So Aristotle writes to Alexander that when a certain horse had been deceived, and its mother was covered so that the horse did not recognize its mother, it mated with its mother (and this was done to produce offspring like their begetters); when the horse found that it was its mother, it raged within itself with great violence and broke into a run and ran until it came to the top of a mountain, and so threw itself down because it had mated with its own mother. So too it is read that a certain muleteer deceived a horse and covered its mother so that it did not recognize her; but after the horse found out, with a great roar it trampled the muleteer until he died.

XXI. Tuesday

[Editor's date: Tuesday, 6 March]

I do not say to you seven times, but seventy times seven (Matthew 18). These words were spoken to Peter and to every Catholic. For when Peter asked the Lord how often he should forgive his neighbour, whether seven times, the Lord answered with the words above. *If he sins*, etc.

Note: Blessed Thomas, John Chrysostom, likewise all the doctors and the gloss on Matthew say that correction is twofold. One is charitable, and it is general to all living charitably. The other is judicial [*iustificativa*], and that is special to prelates and those who preside. Therefore all adults are bound to have charitable, admonitory correction, because all who wish to be saved must keep charity, without which there is no salvation. The Apostle to the Corinthians, 13: *If I give my goods to the poor and my body to be burned, and have not charity*, etc.

All who wish to be saved must keep charity; for in adults without charity there is no virtue, neither faith nor hope nor charity. Therefore all adults are bound to charitable, admonitory correction. Richard: as all the members of the physical body help one another, so too it must be in the mystical body. For

(p. 79)

all the members of the mystical body of Christ must help their neighbours and brothers, namely by correcting them with charitable, admonitory correction. Why, rebuke your neighbour! "He did me insults; I was harmed, wasn't I?" That is not the way; but [do it] because I want to save his soul; he is lost; but you intend to gain his soul. So the Lord says: *And you shall gain your brother's* [the text: "his"] *soul.* So all Catholics, as far as lies in them, are bound to this correction, namely the charitable. Not all are bound to the judicial, but only those who preside: the father of a family is bound towards his household, and other heads. If your son sins, chastise him. Much more other heads, such as the fathers of the Church, namely the pope, bishops, etc., abbots, prelates, parish priests. Prelates, then, are bound to this correction according to the authority given them, in regard to their subjects. And so the Lord spoke not only to Peter but to all Catholics.

If your brother sins against you, as far as in him lay, corrupting you by his bad example, *rebuke him between you and him alone.* But if he has sinned not only against you but also against many others, so that the sin is not secret but public, then the correction too must be public. *Those who sin, rebuke before all* (1 Timothy 5). Innocent: "Manifest sins are not to be purged by hidden correction." If the sin is hidden, the correction must be hidden; but if it is manifest, then the correction too must be manifest and public. He says *Go, rebuke him*; so the Lord commanded, for these are words in the imperative mood. It is not expedient that you rebuke the whole multitude individually. *If one sins against you, rebuke him,* etc.; but if many, it suffices that they be rebuked in general, or at least by good example.

Augustine, in the first book of *The City of God*: if perhaps someone knows of a hidden sinner and holds back from this charitable correction, not from fear of death or of insult but perhaps from some slow putting-off — namely, "I know him to be a terrible man; he has been admonished many times and has not heeded the admonisher; I judge that it will not profit; if I knew it would profit I would not fear death" — if he holds back for a place and time in which he can better rebuke, he does not sin. But if from fear of death or of calumny he omits charitable fraternal correction, he sins mortally. Again, if he did not set aside the fear of death or of calumny but somehow neglected it, it could be counted among venial sins.

If he will not hear you, take with you one or two, etc. Augustine: first, to show him that he has sinned; second, to prove the act of his sin; third, to prove your innocence, namely to excuse you. *If he will not*

(p. 80)

hear the Church, let him be to you as the heathen and the publican. The heathen, that is a worshipper of idols or demons; and such are excommunicated and accursed. And so those unwilling to consent to the corrections of the Church are to be corrected and punished as heretics. Publicans are those given to public secular business to take earthly gains, such as the farmers of secular dues or tolls, who say: "I will give you so much a year; let us make an agreement about those dues or tolls."

Again, where "anathema" is put in sacred scripture it is taken for the greater excommunication. 1 Corinthians 12: *No one speaking by the Spirit of God says anathema* [to Jesus], *and no one can say Jesus* [is Lord] *except in the Holy Spirit.* And in many other places of sacred scripture anathema is spoken of. Wherever in sacred scripture a curse is pronounced, it falls in the place of excommunication. Whoever, then, is excommunicated is accursed in all his works and acts and will never be able to see the face of God unless he is saved by means of justice [i.e. absolution (?)]; so it is greatly to be avoided.

Amen I say to you, where two or three, etc. From those words it follows that if only two Catholic men living rightly were in the world, Christ would be with them, and whatever they asked for eternal salvation they would obtain from God. So too, if only one Catholic living rightly were in the world, Christ would be with him and would assent to his prayers, etc.

Continuing on contrition. Again, according to Isidore: "Contrition is compunction of heart and humility of mind with tears, coming from remembrance of sin and fear of judgement." Second, concerning contrition we

must ask about the condition, in which three things are considered: specification, duration and vocation [the text so]. Concerning specification three things are to be noted, namely the gathering of sins, the destruction of sins and the affliction for sins.

Concerning the first, namely the gathering of sins, Bonaventure and Saint Thomas ask whether spiritual contrition is required for each mortal sin. On this it must be known that there is a certain contrition remote from grace, namely when someone is in some desperation [the text reads "desperacione"; perhaps "disposition"] to be contrite, but yet is not contrite, nor has he thought one by one in what ways he offended God. Another is contrition formed by grace, and this is what is called true contrition, namely when a man is contrite for each sin, at least each mortal one, and thinks in what ways he offended God; and a man must have this singly for each mortal sin.

Saint Thomas declares it better and says: when we think of individual sins particularly before we come to confession,

(p. 81)

contrition is required singly for each sin. And hence the lord Bonaventure says that the sinner can be converted in a moment but not made contrite in a moment. But if, after gathering all our sins, we go to confession and have a general contrition for all sins, this suffices, because I had particular contrition before. Therefore it is said in the canticle of Hezekiah: *I said, in the midst of my days … I will recount to you all my* [years] *in the bitterness of my soul.* About which it will be seen later how, and in how many ways, such bitterness must be, etc.

Second, concerning specification, destruction must be named. Namely, when you are truly contrite, when you have formed contrition, namely that which is made in charity with the purpose of confessing, then your sins will be destroyed; for you send back all your sins to the feet of the priest, and he will tread your sins underfoot, sending them back to hell and you to eternal life. Romans 6 [the text reads "8"]: *Knowing this, that our old man is crucified once, that the body of sin may be destroyed, that we may serve sin no longer.*

Third, affliction is to be noted. On this it is asked how great the sinner's contrition must be. The answer is that the contrition for sin must be as great as the delight was in committing the sin, namely that the displeasure be as great as the pleasure was. Again, concerning affliction, namely how great the affliction and sorrow for sin must be, a distinction is made. For there is an intellectual sorrow, according to John Chrysostom, and such can never be excessive; so the sinner can never grieve so much that he ought not to grieve more. But it suffices that the sorrow be as great as the delight was, because every sinner must love God more than himself, and so, in grieving for sins, he is informed by divine grace. The sensible or bodily [sorrow] must not be so great [as to do harm], for it does not please God that anyone kill himself. But what the Apostle says pleases God, Romans 12 [the text reads "XI"]: *I beseech you that you present yourselves to God a living sacrifice, pleasing, your reasonable service.* So a measured bodily affliction suffices.

The second thing considered concerning contrition is duration. And such duration is twofold, namely intellectual and bodily. The intellectual or habitual must be perpetual and never fail; but the bodily not. But if once you have done worthy penance, it suffices for the reception [i.e. remission (?)] of sins. But since the time of life does not suffice for penance, as was said above many times, namely that for one mortal sin there is a penance of seven years and for some a penance

(p. 82)

of thirty years, therefore indulgences are given by the Church for the completion of penance. If once you have done sufficient penance for sins, they are remitted to you and there is no need for you to be renewed. But since it is doubtful whether you have done sufficient penance, I counsel you to abstain from future sins and redeem your sins with alms.

Again, in contrition three words are considered, namely necessity, grace and merit. The damned have necessity, and [not] grace nor merit. The blessed have grace but not necessity nor merit. But men here on earth have the necessity to be contrite, so that they may recover grace and merit eternal life.

Again, note: since contrition is named from crushing, namely if grain is to be crushed to make flour, there must be two millstones: one lower, on which the grain is crushed; the other upper, namely which crushes the grain. So, to the point, two stones are required and necessary for contrition: one upper, namely hope, and the other lower, namely fear. As one millstone without the other does not suffice to crush grain, so, to the point, fear is of no avail without hope. For we must not so grieve for sins and fear that you have offended God that you despair of his mercy; but you must also have the other stone, namely firm and true hope, namely that you hope that the Lord forgives you your sins whenever you grieve to have offended him and with the purpose of confessing, etc.

XXII. Wednesday after Oculi

[Editor's date: Wednesday, 7 March]

For out of the heart come forth evil thoughts, thefts, blasphemy, murders (Matthew 15). Isaiah 29: *This people honours me with their lips, but their heart is far from me.* Again, Christ came and freed us from the ceremonial and judicial laws, but not from the moral; indeed, as to moral things he says, *I have not come to destroy the law* (Matthew 5). So the Lord says: *What enters into the mouth*, etc., that is, what is external does not defile a man, but a bad conscience and a perverse heart. So the Lord says: *For out of the heart come forth* … Again, to eat with unwashed hands is not a sin, nor is it necessary for salvation, but it is a certain cleanliness. So too we first wash the mind, and then, out of reverence for the sacrament, let us also wash hands and face. And Thomas says in the fourth book: take care, when washing your mouth in the morning, not to swallow water,

(p. 83)

whether in a small or a large quantity, for then you would not keep the natural fast, and so in celebrating you would sin mortally, or also lay people in communicating.

Proverbs 4: *Keep your heart with all watchfulness, for from it life proceeds*, and in it life is preserved; so too the physicians say. Proverbs 20: *Who can boast that he has a clean heart?* Our doctors say, in the second book of the *Sentences*, dist. 12 [the reference is uncertain]: by the very fact that consent is given to an evil deliberation, mortal sin arises. Tobit said to his son: *Beware lest you ever consent to sin*, for as soon as you consent you have committed sin. *But every man is tempted by his own concupiscence.* The psalmist, in Psalm 50: *Create a clean heart in me, O God, and renew a right spirit within my bowels.* Isaiah 1: *Wash yourselves, be clean, take away the evil of your thoughts.* Beware, then, for an evil thought alone, with consent, gives birth to mortal sin, if at least such a thought is towards mortal sin: for example, if you thought, "If I had my adversary now, this is how I would avenge myself", you have already sinned mortally. And if a thought alone makes mortal sin, much more evil talk and evil deeds.

Continuing on penance, now follows [the topic] of provocation. Note: there are seven things that should provoke anyone to true contrition: first, knowledge; second, confusion; third, contempt; fourth, fear; fifth, sorrow; sixth, vigour; seventh, honour.

Of knowledge: the first thing is to examine diligently the past life, both as to the mind and as to the flesh. Bernard: "The beginning of salvation is knowledge of oneself." Whoever, then, has not known himself a sinner will never amend himself of sin. Psalm: *Have mercy on me, O God, for I know my iniquity.* Whoever acknowledges himself a sinner is led back to penance; but whoever does not acknowledge himself a sinner reproves the sins of others and reckons himself to be just. As many sins of thought as you have had will

appear on your forehead; all sins of speech will appear on your forehead; likewise those of deeds, on the day of judgement; and all the saints will see, all men, good and bad. For our Lord Jesus Christ, when he freed the woman taken in adultery, wrote with his finger on the ground, and all knew their sins, each his own, and each [knew those] of each, and each those of the others. And he said: *Let him who is without sin among you*, etc. See how in the sign or character which Jesus marked they saw their own sins and those of others. If Christ did this in a mortal body, much more in the future life

(p. 84)

will the Lord reveal all shameful things. Nahum 3 [the text reads "primo"]: *I will reveal your shame* [the text reads "pendenda"] *before kings and princes*, etc. And so the knowledge of sins with detestation of them induces formed contrition. Psalm [Isaiah 38]: *I will recount to you all my years in the bitterness of my soul.*

And this bitterness is threefold, namely of guilt, of punishment and of penance. Of guilt, in a threefold comparison, namely of wormwood, of gall and of poison. Wormwood is a very bitter herb, and its juice is unpleasant to drink. To one taking it in the act of sinning many things seem sweet; they do not consider the bitterness of sins. Proverbs 5: *The lips of a harlot are a honeycomb dropping, and her throat is smoother than oil; but her end is bitter as wormwood.* Paul to the Romans, 6: *For when you were servants of sin, you were free from justice. What fruit, then, had you in those things of which you are now ashamed?* Second, in comparison with gall. Deuteronomy 32: *Their wine is the gall of dragons and the venom of asps, which is incurable. Their vine is of the vineyard of Sodom and of the suburbs of Gomorrah; their grapes are grapes of gall and their clusters most bitter.* Such, then, is the bitterness of guilt as poison is. Many take poison, but while they take it they do not perceive that it is poison. [The text has a blot here: "Ecciam C (?)"; the editor notes it is illegible because of an ink-blot: text unclear.] Of the third, the psalmist said: *The venom of asps is under their lips*, in that psalm *The fool said in his heart.* As poison, when it has been treacherously given, is sweet at first to the taste but afterwards turns most violently bitter, so too the devil first suggests to man the delight and sweetness of sins; but afterwards they will be violently bitter.

Second, we must consider the bitterness of punishment. The bitterness of punishment is called bitter in three ways, namely in respect of life, death and torment. Of the bitterness of life it is said, Ecclesiasticus 30: *Death is better than a bitter life.* Would that after baptism I had never sinned mortally; would that the same day I was baptized I had been torn apart by dogs or killed by others! Death in the state of grace and innocence is better than the life of a sinner, who is not worthy to eat bread, water, etc., the elements. 1 Timothy 5: for the sinner living is dead before God; for as the body dies when the soul departs, so the soul dies when God departs. And so when the sinner is subject to sin he is in the bitterness of life, and his life will be death to him. Augustine: "Every disordered mind is its own punishment" [the text: "is subject to punishment"]. *Their worm shall not die and their fire shall not be quenched*: the worm, namely the synderesis of the higher reason and of conscience, always gnaws the sinner. And the fire not

(p. 85)

shall be quenched; for they will always have the pain of loss and of sense, as the Master holds in the fourth book. For a wounded conscience always presumes to know [ill] of itself.

Of the bitterness of death. But certainly the bitterness of death is more bitter and greater. You must leave all the desires of the world, namely the mistress you loved, riches, honours, dignities, etc. Isaiah 65 [the text reads "45"]: *My servants shall eat, and you shall be hungry.* Ecclesiasticus 41 [the text reads "21"]: *O death, how bitter is the remembrance of you!* And man is earth and will return to earth. Jeremiah 22: *Earth, earth, earth, hear the word of the Lord.*

Of the bitterness of torment. O how bitter will be the torment and the last judgement! Zephaniah 1: *The voice of the day of the Lord is bitter*, when sinners shall hear the voice of the Lord: *Go, you cursed, into everlasting*

fire. Deuteronomy 32 [the text reads "XXXIII"]: *I will heap evils upon them, and will spend my arrows among them. They shall be consumed with hunger, and birds*, namely demons, *shall devour them with a most bitter bite; I will send the teeth of beasts upon them.* The psalmist: *Their memory has perished with a noise, and the Lord remains for ever.* "A day of wrath, a day of calamity and misery, a great day and exceedingly bitter." *The mighty shall be mightily tormented.*

Third, we must consider the bitterness of penance, in a threefold bitterness, namely in contrition, confession and satisfaction: in contrition, sins acknowledged with bitter bitterness of heart; in confession, sins to be confessed with a more bitter and greater bitterness; with the most bitter and greatest, making satisfaction, grieving that you have done such great evils.

Penance: in contrition, bitter; in confession, more bitter bitterness; in satisfaction, most bitter.

Proverbs 14: *The heart that knows the bitterness of its own soul, in its joy the stranger shall not intermeddle*; but [not] the sinner who does not know bitterness in his heart for sins committed. Jeremiah 15 [the text reads "5"]: *I sat alone, because you have filled me with bitterness.* It says "bitternesses" in the plural. The first bitterness is in contrition; the second in confession, namely that you confess your sins with sorrow and bitterness of heart, so that nothing remains undiscussed that you have thought, spoken or done in your life. Job: *I will speak in the bitterness of my soul; I will say to God*, etc. Job 10: *I will speak with my God; I will talk in the bitterness of my spirit.* The third in satisfaction: the true penitent is not embittered by restitution; but because he committed the sin of robbery or theft, he must therefore gladly make restitution. Matthew 18: *Pay what you owe.* The prophet Amos: *I will bring sackcloth upon your backs*, namely of penance,

(p. 86)

and baldness upon your heads, and you shall know that I am the Lord. See, those who are covered with great heads of hair will be bald. Let us take up, then, the sackcloth of penance with the king of the Ninevites, and do true penance, and take up bitternesses for sins, so that the sweetnesses of eternal life may come to us. Let us consider the passion of Christ, for our Lord carried the wood of the cross on his back for us and suffered most bitter sufferings. *Having joy set before him, he endured the cross, despising the shame.* So we must bear and carry penance with joy.

XXIII. Thursday after Oculi

[Editor's date: Thursday, 8 March]

But he, laying his hands on every one of them, healed them (Luke 4). Again, sickness is twofold, namely bodily and spiritual. And the sick, both bodily and spiritually, if Christ lays his hand on them, are quickly healed. Christ Jesus lays his hands on each as often as he calls them to penance through divine inspiration, through angels, through synderesis, or also through preachers. Let us accept, then, the movements of God. The acceptance of the movement and the detestation of the crime belong to the sinner; but the infusion of grace belongs to God. And from the infusion of grace follows the expulsion of guilt, as darkness is put to flight by the infusion or diffusion of light. And in such a way will the ungodly be justified (fourth book of the *Sentences*).

And devils went out, crying: You are Christ, the Son of God. Here it is asked whether the glorified angels knew Christ to be God, since it is said here that the demons knew him to be God. The answer is that all at once knew the Son, Christ, to be God, as they knew him to be man; but the higher knew. For some angels are of lesser capacity and some of greater. Angels, archangels, virtues are of lesser capacity; principalities, powers, dominations of greater; thrones, cherubim and seraphim again of greater; but the highest are the seraphim, namely the higher ones. Also in each hierarchy some knew and some not; some in one and the same hierarchy are little ones, as here infants in the world. So the lesser angels asked the greater: *Who is this*

that comes from the valleys of misery *with dyed garments*, [stained] with blood, *this beautiful one in his robe, walking in the greatness of his strength?* Jesus Christ answered:

(p. 87)

I, who speak justice, and am a defender to save. They asked: *Why then is your apparel red?* The answer: *I have trodden the winepress alone.* And this is usually recited for the Ascension of the Lord.

Again, since it is said here that the demons knew him to be the Son of God, it is asked whether they knew Christ to be God; and if they had known, they would certainly have hindered his passion. Our Alexander [of Hales] says that "to know" must be considered in three ways: first, that is, to opine strongly and not be deceived; second, that is, to know through reasons; third, that is, to know a thing through its cause, as is said in the second book of the *Metaphysics*: "To know is to know a thing through its causes." The first does not deceive, and it is through a certain strong opinion, yet not true knowledge. An example of Solomon, who judged the true mother of the child in this way: he wanted to divide the child with the sword and give each woman half (one of them was a harlot). And the true mother said: "No, king, but give the whole to this other one"; but the other would not; and so the king recognized the true mother (3 Kings 3; the text reads "IV Reg."). Solomon knew the true mother, that is, he opined strongly and was not deceived, because natural reason dictated that the true mother could not bear the child to be cut.

Second, to know, namely, to know through reasons. It is one thing to know through reasons, another through causes. Through reasons: when I read, and in reading believe what I read; and natural reason also dictates this, that what is written through divine reasons must be true. And in these two ways the devils too could know Christ to be God; but yet they did not have true knowledge. In the third way, knowing is taken for causal knowledge; and in this way the demons could not know, for they could not know through the cause that Christ was the Son of God, because they could not know [it]. We see the Son of God; we hear the Son of God.

It is answered in another way: knowledge is considered in four ways. In one way, through natural inquiry; and so the philosophers came to the knowledge of one cause, namely God, and this through effects, because they considered three things, the firmament, the elements and the plants, and that they were produced by some efficient cause. Second, through doctrinal instruction, as because we read the books of Moses and the prophets and the whole Old Testament. In the third way, through spiritual infusion; and this neither demons nor wicked men can have, but only the angels confirmed in heaven, and also good men when it pleased God that such spiritual infusions be brought into their understanding. And so David knew. Canticles: *If you know not yourself, O beautiful among women, go forth after the steps of your flock.*

So the demons could presume our Lord Jesus

(p. 88)

Christ to be the Messiah through natural knowledge, for the knowledge of demons through natural knowledge is greater than with us. Second, too, they could know from the prophets and the Old Testament, namely through doctrinal instruction. Isaiah 35: *God himself will come and will save us; then the eyes of the blind shall be opened.* And the demons heard this read and saw it read, and the signs of Jesus Christ. And so they knew by opinion that Christ was the Messiah, not from true knowledge. Fourth, knowledge comes about through face-to-face vision, that is, through intuitive knowledge. In such a way all the blessed and glorified, both angels and men, know God. David: *What is man that you magnify him? You have made him a little less than the angels.* And so in a certain way they will know God not in shadow but truly. 1 Corinthians 13 [the text reads "XI"]: *We see now through a glass in a dark manner, but then face to face*; as in a mirror I see the shadow of my companion but not the true arrangement of the face. In such a way it does not belong to demons or wicked men to see or know God.

Blessed Thomas says that the vision of God comes about in two ways: in one way, by way of a passing act, and that can be had in this life, as is read of Paul; in another way, by way of a permanent act, and that can be had only in the future life. But wicked men and demons can have the vision of God neither in the first nor in the second way. Note: knowledge of the truth is given sometimes for salvation, sometimes for punishment. Hilary: the knowing of demons tends more to opining than to true knowing. They supposed Christ to be the Son of God from this, that they were hindered in their evil acts, so that after Christ's coming they could not have as much vigour for doing evil as before. But Christ did not want the Christian people to become accustomed to demons; therefore he rebuked them to be silent; and this because demons always mix falsehood with truth. Augustine, *City of God* 11: this little truth that demons tell, they do for an evil end, namely to lead the ungodly to eternal damnation; therefore he did not let them speak. Also Christ did not want the mystery of human redemption to be hindered. And so that [word] of the Apostle: *For if they had known, they would never have crucified the Lord of glory* is in one way understood of the demons, that is, they would never have suggested "Crucify him"; but they could well consider him to be the Son of God from the great signs which the Lord did.

The higher the state, the more dangerous the fall.

XXIV. Friday before Laetare

(p. 89)

[Editor's date: Friday, 9 March]

Whoever drinks of the water that I will give him, it shall become in him a fountain of water springing up into everlasting life (John 4). These words were said to the Samaritan woman when she had come to draw water. Our Lord Jesus Christ, wishing to show the Jewish and the Gentile people that he was no respecter of persons — but as he himself says, *Him who comes to me I will not cast out* (John 6) — likewise invites the Gentile people too to the water of grace and eternal salvation. Hence John writes: *Jesus came to a city of Samaria.* In this Gospel the Gentile people is notably brought into divine worship. As Jesus Christ then called the Gentile people, so now he calls all sinners to eternal salvation; therefore he says: *Whoever drinks of the water*, etc.

Let those, then, who wish to drink of this water consider that water is taken sometimes for tribulation, sometimes for grace; but here it is taken for grace. *Whoever*, then, *drinks* of divine grace, *it shall become in him*, etc. For as much as water descends, so much it ascends [the editor queries "aqua"], namely through the sun. So the water of grace descends from God, and conversely ascends. So the water of grace becomes, for any who take it, a fountain of life springing up, namely into eternal life. Ecclesiasticus 15: *With the bread of life and understanding she shall feed him, and with the water of saving wisdom she shall give him to drink.*

So the water of which Christ speaks here is called the grace of true penance, about which we had three things to consider, namely the definition, the distinction and the fruitfulness, as above. There it was said of the definition and the distinction. For there are three distinctions or parts of penance, namely contrition, confession and satisfaction. Concerning contrition three things are to be considered, namely specification, duration and provocation. And you heard the seven things that provoke to contrition, namely knowledge, confusion, contempt [etc.]. We were at the second, namely confusion.

The second thing promoting formed contrition, namely that it be in charity, is called the consideration of confusion. The sinner intending to be easily converted ponders within himself, and often weighs, what a confusion it is for him to remain in mortal sin. This confusion is to be considered in a threefold comparison, namely of adultery, of servitude and of robbery. Is it not most shameful to commit adultery, namely to leave one's own husband and be defiled with another? Is it not shameful to serve the body? Is it not shameful to be defamed as a robber? First, then,

(p. 90)

confusion is to be considered in comparison with adultery. For spiritually the soul commits adultery when it leaves God and follows the devil through sin. It was espoused to Christ in baptism; and so it breaks the vow which the godparents vowed for it, and goes to another husband, namely the devil, for earthly desires and the vices of the world.

Of the good woman it is said, Proverbs 12: *A diligent woman is a crown to her husband.* Again, the good woman is compared to the most beautiful thing (?) in the world. Ecclesiasticus 26 [the text reads "25"]: *As the sun when it rises to the world in the high places of God, so is the beauty of a good wife for the ornament of her house.* In the same place too: *A holy and shamefaced woman is grace upon grace. And no price is worthy of a continent soul.* The whole world cannot be compared to a virtuous soul; for whatever is said of women is also understood of men. But of the bad woman it is also said, Proverbs 12: *As rottenness in his bones is she that does things worthy of confusion.*

The rottenness of the human body is the greatest; and is the rottenness of any animals as fetid as that of man? As appears by experience. The dung of other animals does not stink as much as man's. So however smooth and polished a woman is, she is rotten and stinks inwardly beyond all beasts and all brute animals. Why do you delight in her beauty? Micah 6 [the text reads "5"]: *O Israel, you sleep; your humiliation is in the midst of you*, namely in the belly. Our rottenness will appear in all the organs of our senses and in the whole body. What do our eyes produce? Not balsam. What do our ears produce? Not wax [the text so; probably "only wax"]. Our nostrils, not honey. Our mouth and throat, not juice [i.e. not a sweet sap (?)]. Our flesh produces worms even while we live, namely lice and nits. See what our misery is. Ecclesiasticus 10: *Why are you proud, earth and ashes?*

From what is man formed? From earth. From what conceived? From filthy and unclean matter. From what is he nourished in his mother's womb? From poisonous and slippery matter, namely the menstrual blood. Hence it is that women do not suffer the menses in the time of pregnancy, because the menstruum, which otherwise flows and is expelled every month, beginning from the twelfth year up to the years of sterility, namely when they do not bear at all, namely to the fiftieth year, in the time of pregnancy is kept for the nourishment of the foetus and the curdling of milk in the woman. Again, of what sort is our nourishment? Which Isidore also reports: when the menstruum falls on living plants, the grasses wither; the air is infected. If a menstruous woman looks into a mirror, she stains it so that it cannot be wiped clean by any art. If a dog tastes it [the text reads "tingit"], it becomes rabid. And if a child at such a time, namely in the time of the menstrual flux,

(p. 91)

is conceived, it is born leprous, or if it survives, in the following years it will become leprous. It is a wonder that at our birth we are not torn, or do not tear our mothers; for unless man were helped by some human aid when he was born, he would perish. And if food is set before him, he will sooner weep to death than take the food, which is not so with other animals. Why do you glory in malice? What is infancy, what childhood, what youth? Consider Genesis 8 [the text reads "IX"]: *Human nature is prone to evil* not only from youth but from infancy; about which above, on Oculi Sunday. In youth sin is stronger than in other ages, because then a man's blood flows and easily leads him to sin. And the more you advance in age, the more you fail in quality, namely in natural strength. The prophet: *Seventy years* [are] *man's; beyond that, labour and sorrow.* Would that you advanced in spiritual strength!

Why do you glory in nobility, power, riches, etc.? He is not powerful, but rather powerless, who does not resist sin. He is not rich who is subject to sin. Corinthians 13: whoever *has not charity* has nothing. Jeremiah 9: *Let not the mighty man glory in his might, nor the rich man in his riches … but let him glory in this, that he knows and understands me.* Again, of the fornicating woman, Ecclesiasticus 9: *Every woman that is a harlot shall be trodden upon as dung in the way by passers-by.* It does not say of horse dung, not of oxen's. Again,

those who sin by fornication rot like beasts. Joel 1: *The beasts have rotted in their dung.* Gregory: "Those rot in their dung who, lying in their sins, do not do penance, but wallow in sins as swine in dung." Certainly, if a woman finds dung in her bedding she shudders and abhors it; how then does she wallow in the dung of lust and incontinence? If there were some woman who had a good name, namely who had been virtuous and modest up to her fiftieth year, and afterwards mixed with someone, she would lose all the reputation she had before, and every man and woman would say: "She is a most wicked harlot. She lived continently, and now in her age she defames her life."

An example of Lucretia of Rome, who was greatly harassed by the proud son of the emperor [the text so] Tarquin and violently overpowered, for he said: "If you do not consent to me I will kill you, and after this your servant." After this she would in no way visit her husband's bed, and said: "I have violated my bed, and I have been violently overpowered." Her husband, calling together Lucretia's friends, told before them how she had violated the marriage, violently overpowered. But she, overcome with shame, killed herself with a knife and said: "For I am in no way

(p. 92)

worthy to live in marriage; but you avenge that violence." See, she was a pagan, and she considered that such great foulness and shame lay in this vice. But Blessed Augustine condemns Lucretia's most foul act, because she killed herself; she should not have done it, but repented.

Again, the opinion of Blessed Augustine: fornication is outdone by adultery, and [adultery] is outdone by incest. It is evil to lie with another's wife, worse with one's mother; but the worst of these is what is done against nature. So, that you may purge yourselves of such a vice, do not do as Lucretia did, but take an example from Saint Mary Magdalene, who turned into a sacrifice all the things that had been turned to wrongdoing (Luke 7: *There was in the city a sinner*). Romans 6: *As you have yielded your members to serve iniquity unto iniquity, so now yield your members to serve justice unto sanctification.*

Second, confusion is to be considered in comparison with servitude. For it is shameful to serve sin, because the devil is the lord of that servant. If you saw a king today triumphing, placed at the summit of dignity and honour, and soon overpowered by enemies and so put in servitude, what glory would he have, what honour? So the sinner, who before was free, when he sins becomes the servant of sin. John 8: *Whoever commits sin is the servant of sin.* Augustine: "Whoever is killed for the world is conquered when he is killed; but whoever is killed for Christ conquers the world." Romans 6: *For when you were servants of sin, you were free from justice. What fruit, then, had you in those things of which you are now ashamed?* John Chrysostom: "If the sinner is a man — but otherwise I cannot say it: when he kicks like an ass, roars like a lion, is envious like a dog, raging like a lion, cunning like a serpent, deceitful like a fox — I cannot say that he is a man." And so a soul given over to vice can also be compared to a fornicating woman. Jeremiah 3: *If a woman leaves her husband and takes another, will her husband take her back? Is she not now polluted? But you have played the harlot with many lovers; yet return to me, and I will receive you.* Do not say, "God's mercy is great", and refuse to do penance. Ecclesiasticus 5 [the text reads "IX"]: *For mercy and wrath quickly come from him.*

So be ashamed of your sins and do penance quickly. Jeremiah: *You had a harlot's forehead; you would not blush.* See, you were the servant of sin; what is your wage? Death. Romans 6: *The wages of sin is death.* Again, in the Gospel of the wicked servant who owed: *The lord delivered him to the torturers until he paid all the debt.*

(p. 93)

Third, confusion is to be considered in comparison with robbery: as when a thief is caught in the theft and led to the gallows, O what great confusion is his! Jeremiah 2: *My people have done two evils: they have forsaken me, the fountain of living water, and have dug for themselves broken cisterns that can hold no water.* It

follows: *As the thief is confounded when he is taken, so are the sons of Israel confounded, and its people, and its kings, its princes, its priests and its prophets*, because they are caught in sins. Consider, then, your confusion, as a confounded harlot, as a confounded servant, as a robber. If someone called you a robber, this would displease you greatly. Certainly sin has made you the worst robber, although your robbery is not considered; in the future wrath of judgement it will be revealed, and with God it is open. Hebrews 4: *All things are naked and open to his eyes.* Jeremiah 6: *From the least even to the greatest, all study avarice; and from the prophet to the priest, all deal deceitfully.* Jeremiah [6:15; the text reads "4to"]: *They were confounded because they committed abomination; yet they were not confounded with confusion, and they knew not how to blush*, that is, they would not; *they are confounded, because God has rejected them.* Jeremiah 6: *And they healed the breach of the daughter of my people* [lightly], *saying, Peace, peace, and there was no peace.* So do not say, "God is at peace with us; he is kind, he is merciful", etc. Jeremiah [3; the text reads "4"]: *Return to me, and I will return to you.* Let us return, then, to the Lord and make formed contrition, lawful confession and possible satisfaction, and in the end we shall be sharers of eternal glory; to which may he lead you and me who lives and reigns without end. Amen.

XXV. Saturday before Laetare

[Editor's date: Saturday, 10 March]

Neither will I condemn you; go, and sin no more (John 8). These words were said to the adulterous woman taken in adultery. The Jews, tempting the Lord, brought him a woman taken in adultery. For if he had said, "She must not be stoned", the Jews would have said, "How do you keep the commandment of Moses?" If he had called for her to be stoned, they would have said, "You preach mercy, and you have her stoned." *And they went out* of the temple, *beginning with the eldest*, because in the old sins are graver than in the younger. Carnal vices are imputed more gravely

(p. 94)

to the old than to the young, because the natural heat of the blood in an old man is already cooling. But the vice of avarice is stronger in the old than the young, because the young are still robust in body and can work, but it is the reverse [with the old]. The old think daily: "What I acquired in youth I am using up, and now I cannot work." Jerome: "While all vices grow old in an old man, avarice alone grows young."

Again, Gregory [the Church] has set before us today as an example two women. One innocent, namely Susanna, who was accused by false judges, in the Epistle. O good women, rejoice! Susanna, unjustly accused, was freed from that unjust and false sentence, which is given in Daniel 13; and yet she endured chastisement, although she was chaste, for superfluous vanities, because she anointed herself with oil in the garden and washed herself. The other guilty, namely the one taken in adultery, who also was freed from stoning by our Lord Jesus Christ, because the Lord is merciful and does not will the death of the sinner. See how each, both Susanna and the adulteress, [sinned] (?): for Susanna sinned against the Lord with superfluous vanities; the adulteress sinned mortally because she committed adultery. But because Susanna called on the Lord she was freed; so the adulteress, because she was contrite for her sin, was mercifully freed by the Lord.

The third thing provoking to true contrition is contempt. A man can never be so learned, so wise, so lettered, so great a philosopher, so worthy of honour, rank and state, he can never be of such great excellence, that once the foulness of his sin is known — even if his teaching were angelic — he will not be despised for that sin. Gregory: "When one's life is despised, it remains that his preaching be scorned." Paul to the Romans, 2: *Wherein you judge another, you condemn yourself*, namely when you yourself have committed the same sin.

See how great was the wisdom of Solomon! Nevertheless, with all his wisdom and power, with all his heap of gold and precious stones and with all happiness on earth, he stained his honour. *You bowed your thighs to*

women (Ecclesiasticus 47 [the text reads "42"]). *For it is an evil and bitter thing to have forsaken the Lord your God, and that my fear is not with you* (Jeremiah 2). For Solomon disfigured his life: he took seventy foreign wives and had thirty concubines [the text so]; for the love of women he had become an idolater and profane. Therefore it is said of him: *You put a stain on your glory.* Although he built a temple to God, afterwards he adored demons.

(p. 95)

And because no penance of his is read of, therefore Innocent, in the chapter *Ne imiteris*, says — since no greater crimes appear than to deny God — that he is condemned, which other doctors also often hold. And because he committed public sins, he should also have repented publicly, which is read nowhere. In the first chapter *De poenitentia*: "Manifest sins are not to be purged secretly." Of this too it appears above.

A man can never be of such excellence that, if he is found in mortal sin, he is not made vile. Sin is reckoned vile in a threefold comparison: positive, comparative, superlative. Positively, the sinner is vile before God and his own conscience even if no one knows his sin; more vile from the deed; most vile from habit. Vile in life, more vile in death, most vile in judgement. Of the positive degree, Lamentations 1: *See, O Lord, and consider, for I am become vile.* You are made vile by consent alone, more vile by the act, most vile by the habit of sinning. Of the comparative, Wisdom 15: *His heart is ashes, and his life more vile than clay*; his life is despised, then, and the summit of dignity and learning, namely in the valley of Jehoshaphat on the day of judgement. Of the superlative, Daniel 11 [the text reads "15"]: *There shall stand up in his place one most vile, and unworthy of kingly honour.* There it seems to speak of Antichrist, but it is to be understood of all sinners. Positively, sinners are reckoned vile even if they were in the lowest rank; more vile in the middle rank; most vile in the highest.

The Decree witnesses, 1, q. [1], chapter *Vilissimus*: "He is to be reckoned most vile, unless he is pre-eminent in knowledge and holiness, who is more distinguished in honour and placed at the summit." Matthew 5: *You are the salt of the earth.* He said it to those in the greater dignity, namely the apostles. But it denotes discretion: *if the salt loses its savour, it is good for nothing* but to be trodden underfoot; for if discretion is not applied in good works, they are worth nothing. "For discretion is the charioteer of the virtues and of morals." Philippians [5:1, Ephesians]: *Be imitators of God.* So the more excellent and worthy someone is, the more dangerous the fall. The higher the state, the worse and greater the fall; for the higher the ascent, the steeper the descent.

The fourth thing provoking to contrition is the consideration of fear; and that fear is to be considered in a threefold comparison, namely of death, of judgement, and of torment, or Gehenna. First, the fear of death is to be considered. For every man is born to die. And this fear of death is to be feared in a threefold way: as a necessary way, a near way and an uncertain way. First, as a necessary way: since our first parents sinned, it is necessary to die. At first innocence was in human freedom; Adam could sin and not sin; and because he could sin he could

(p. 96)

also die. If he had not sinned he would not have died. And if Eve had not sinned [the text so], we would all not have sinned, for we would all have been conceived in the state of innocence. Paul to the Hebrews, 9: *It is appointed for man once to die.* The psalmist: *Who is the man* [that shall live and not see death]?

Isidore: if you had the wisdom of Solomon, the beauty of Absalom, the long life of Enoch, the strength of Samson, the happiness and riches of Octavian, what will it profit you if your flesh is handed over to worms to be devoured and your soul handed over to demons to be tormented eternally?

Second, because death is near, therefore it is to be feared. The more you have lived, the less you have to live, for today I am nearer to death than yesterday; and so the more I live, the less I live. Augustine: "What is the

present life but a race to death?" Job 14: *Man, born of a woman, living for a short time.* And since death is so near, therefore it is to be feared most. In a short space you can acquire much for eternal life, namely confess and do penance; and in a short space you can commit many vices. Also death is near because of the brevity of this life: few come to a hundred years. This present life, compared to the future life, is like a drop to the wide sea. And between the finite and the infinite there is no proportion [the text reads "initi item et onfiniti nulla et proportio"].

Third, the uncertainty of death is considered, because *man does not know whether he is worthy of the love or hatred of God, but all things are kept uncertain for the future.* The death of the sinner is bad in consenting to sin, worse in the act, worst in habit. Ecclesiasticus [Ecclesiastes] 9: *Man does not know whether he is worthy of love or hatred, but all things are kept uncertain for the future.* I can know today whether I want to repent of my sins; I can know today whether I delight in sins committed; but I cannot know whether I shall remain in the good purpose. While we are in the present life, all things are in God's hand. The psalmist: *And in their hands they shall bear you up, lest perhaps* … And it follows in the same place, Ecclesiastes 9: *Man does not know his own end; but as fishes are taken with the hook.* Augustine: "I think that death got this name because death entered the world through the bite of our first parents." For *mors* is said from *mordeo*, because it bites all.

Note that death arose from three things, namely from the divine sentence, from diabolical envy and from human disobedience. For the Lord said: *In whatever day you eat of this tree, you shall die the death*: see the sentence of God. Of envy, Wisdom 2: *By the envy of the devil death came into the world.* Of disobedience: *As by the disobedience of one man*, etc. Matthew 25: *Watch, because you know neither the day nor the hour.* 2 Kings 14: *We all die, and like waters that return no more we slip away*

(p. 97)

upon the water. To die is common; death spares no honour; the weak and the strong come to the threshold of death. So the fear of death should lead the sinner to penance. Gregory: "As I sinned daily and did not repent, the fear of death crushed me." *Mors* is etymologized thus: M, that is, most biting (*mordacissima*); O, that is, most hidden (*occultissima*); R, that is, most rapacious (*rapacissima*); S, that is, most savage (*saevissima*). O most savage death, which spared neither the Blessed Virgin, who committed no sin, nor the Son of God! O most cruel death! Why then should it spare the sinner? O, most cruelly it will attack, etc.

XXVI. Laetare Sunday

[Editor's date: Sunday, 11 March]

There is a boy here who has five barley loaves and two fishes (John 6). These are the words of the apostle Andrew, which he said to the Lord, so that Christ Jesus might show his mercy to the human race after he had done many signs. Among others he did the miracle that is read in today's Gospel, namely that he fed five thousand men from five loaves and two fishes, not counting little children and women. We wonder at small miracles but do not care about greater ones. Which is greater: that he feeds the whole world daily, or five thousand, etc.? Certainly the first is greater; but because this one is rare, namely to feed five thousand from five [the text reads "duobus"; the editor notes it is miswritten for "quinque"] loaves and two fishes, and the other is daily, therefore we wonder at that and not at this; for wonder arises from rare things. The prophet: *The eyes of all hope in you, O Lord*, etc. *Who gives to beasts their food, and to the young ravens*, etc. Is it not greater that from dead grass he produces crops?

Again, in the old law no more than three dead are read to have been raised. The first, Jonah, who was raised at the prayers of Elijah [the text so]. Of the second it is read in 4 Kings 5 [the reference is uncertain], namely the son of the widow of Zarephath. Of the third it is read in 4 Kings 13 [4], that a boy was raised at the prayers of Elisha.

And there is a boy here who has, etc. And the five barley loaves signify to us penance; for as such bread is made of barley, which has pricking awns, so penance is harsh and pricking. *Puer*, boy, is said from purity; so the penitent must be pure from sins. It says "one", for *one faith, one body, one baptism*, etc. But the fishes are sweet; they signify to us the sweetness and

(p. 98)

profit that follows from penance. *But what are these among so many?* That is, the penance of this world is to be reckoned as nothing towards the future glory. Hence the Apostle says to the Romans, 8 [the text reads "VII"]: *Brothers, I reckon that the sufferings of this time are not worthy to be compared with the glory to come that shall be revealed in us.* Again, Luke 17 [the text reads "15"]: *And when you have done all the things you ought to do, say: We are unprofitable servants.*

As a sign, then, of the sweetness that follows after penance, the Church invites us to joy in the Introit, *Laetare Jerusalem*. And for this reason too the supreme pontiff on this day sends to the emperor, or else to some prince, or to the church of Saint Peter, or wherever it pleases him, a sceptre, a golden rose, with balsam and musk. The golden rose or sceptre signifies the crown of eternal reward; but the balsam signifies the deity of Christ, which is sweet; and the fragrant musk signifies the humanity of Christ: as a sign that the Lord wishes to give himself, namely his deity and humanity, to us as a reward if we have fasted well and done due penance. Galatians 4 [the text reads "5"]. Again, in today's Epistle an example is given us: two sons of Abraham, one who was born of the free woman, and he was born according to the spirit; the other was born of the bondwoman, and he was begotten according to the flesh. And as he who was begotten according to the flesh persecuted him who was begotten according to the spirit, so too it is still that the good suffer persecutions from the wicked. Acts 14: *Through many tribulations we must enter the kingdom of heaven.*

Again, the five loaves signify to us five things necessary for penance. The first loaf, a pure conscience; the second, shame for sin; the third, delight in the good; the fourth, the need of the poor; the fifth, final perseverance.

The first loaf, then, is a pure conscience. Leviticus 21: those who had blemishes did not offer bread to God. Genesis 14: Melchizedek offered bread and wine; but lay people offered bread only, and not wine. Here it is manifestly read that it is not lawful to communicate except under one kind [the inference is the preacher's own]. Those who perhaps were defective in hand or foot [did not] offer to the Lord [the text so]. 1 Timothy 1: *The end of the commandment is charity from a pure heart, a good conscience and faith unfeigned*: from a pure heart, namely without defect of understanding; a good conscience, namely without lack of any good; and faith unfeigned, namely without any error. Matthew 18: *Unless you become as little children, you shall not enter the kingdom of heaven.*

The second loaf is shame for sin. The psalmist: *My tears have been my bread day and night.* Let us be ashamed to have sinned, as often as we have sinned, that we may be true penitents; and we eat the bread of tears. Genesis: *In the sweat of your face you shall eat your bread.* Again, in that psalm:

(p. 99)

Unless the Lord build the house … It is vain for you to rise before light, namely, rise before the light of divine grace, namely from sins, *after you have sat, you that eat the bread of sorrow.* All sinners who grieve to have sinned eat the bread of sorrow.

The third loaf is delight in the good. As it pleased you to do evil, so now let it please you to do good and live well. Romans 6: *As you yielded your members to serve*, etc. Ecclesiastes 9: *Go and eat your bread with joy, and drink your wine with gladness, for your works please God.* Rise from sins with delight in the good, and eat the bread of sorrow with joy.

The fourth loaf is the need of the poor. Let us, then, help the needy poor. Tobit 4: *Eat your bread with the hungry*. Isaiah 58 [the text reads "98"]: *Break your bread to the hungry, and bring the needy and the wanderers into your house*, etc. Matthew: *I was hungry and you gave me to eat.* Ecclesiasticus 34 [the text reads "24"]: *The bread of the needy is the life of the poor; he who defrauds them is a man of blood*, that is, a murderer. Hilary [the attribution is the text's]: "Feed the hungry; if you have not fed him, you have killed him." Luke 16 [the text reads "15"]: *Make for yourselves friends of the mammon of iniquity.* Wisdom 5: *What has pride profited us, or what advantage has the boasting of riches brought us?* Proverbs 11 [the text reads "14"]: *Riches shall not profit* [in the day of revenge]. What will Alexander the Great say, likewise Octavian, if they are asked what their riches profit them? Nothing, but: "O, we foolish and senseless! If we had gathered spiritual riches, which would have made us rich eternally — here we are needy eternally." Ephesians 5: *Rise, you who sleep, … and Christ shall enlighten you.*

The fifth loaf is continual perseverance in good works. Matthew 10 and 24: *Whoever perseveres to the end, he shall be saved.* Corinthians 5: *A little leaven corrupts the whole lump.* If you had done so many and such great good things — had founded churches, distributed your goods to the poor, never neglected God's commandments — and you saw a girl, yet said nothing to her and did not touch her, but desired her in your heart with consent, and so died without doing penance: since you did not persevere to the end, what will your many and great good things profit you towards eternal salvation? Nothing. Matthew 5: *Whoever looks on a woman to lust after her has already committed adultery with her in his heart.* So if someone in religious life had always lived chastely and did not persevere to the end, he will not be saved.

Saint Bernard and Saint Thomas say that entry into religious life, with the purpose of confessing, brings one back to the state of innocence. For as in baptism, if someone had committed a thousand thousand mortal sins, he is brought back to the state of innocence, although the tinder of sin remains there, so too in religious life.

(p. 100)

Bernard, to the brothers, on the death of God [the work is uncertain]: "As in the sacrament of baptism all the oldness of past guilt is put off and Jesus Christ is put on, *the new man, who according to God is created in justice and holiness* (Ephesians 4), so by entry into religious life with the firm purpose of persevering in regular observance until death, by the very fact that he receives the habit with such a purpose, all sins are remitted and he is brought back to the state of innocence." In [Decretum C.] 33, q. [5], it is said that it is the most solemn penance. For entry into religious life excels every other penance, in freeing from an oath, from a vow, from every other obedience under a bishop.

He does not cease always to pray who does not cease to do well. If I had done penance for thirty years or sixty, and I consented to delight in a beautiful girl, even if I never saw her, I would sin mortally; for delight alone also causes mortal sin, if at least it is mortal.

You have two little fishes. One swims in the bitter water, namely of tribulation, and is the consideration of eternal torment. The other swims in sweet water, namely the consideration of eternal reward. Of the time of judgement and of eternal torment Jerome says: "As often as I consider that day, I tremble with my whole heart and body. For whether I eat or drink or read or write or do anything else, that terrible trumpet always seems to sound in my ears: *Arise, you dead, come to judgement.*" So that day is to be dreaded and greatly feared, in which every hidden thought will be laid open, every immodest and indecent speech, every wicked and indecent deed. *For we must all be made manifest before the judgement seat,* all the things we did wickedly, both in thoughts and in deeds (2 Corinthians 5). The psalmist: *I thought upon the days of old, and I had in my mind the years.* Matthew 12: *Amen I say to you, of every idle word you must give an account* on that dreadful day. Bernard: "If of the idle, what then will become of the criminal?"

Of the pain of torment or Gehenna it is said, Apocalypse 19: *And I saw the beast and the kings of the earth and their armies gathered … and these were cast alive into the pool of fire burning with brimstone.*

Apocalypse 20: *And I saw a great white throne and one sitting on it, from whose face the heaven and the earth fled away, and no place was found for them. And I saw the dead, great and small, standing before the throne; and the books were opened, and the dead were judged by those things which were written in the books. And another book was opened, which is the book of life; and the dead were judged according to their works.* Let us consider, then, the two little fishes: one of torment, the other of eternal life.

XXVII. Monday after Laetare

(p. 101)

[Editor's date: Monday, 12 March]

For he knew what was in man (John 2). Since the other evangelists had omitted to write the particular things that our Lord Jesus Christ had done in the first year of his preaching, John completed them; and this happened in the first year. Hence John says: *Jesus went up to the temple and found in the temple those selling and buying.* By divine revelation it had been instituted through Moses that sheep, oxen and doves should be offered for sacrifice: the rich oxen, the poor sheep, the poorer doves. So Jesus found such sellers in the temple and cast everything out of the temple. It was fitting to show reverence to the temple in respect of him for whose sake it was built, and that in the temple he should be adored more devoutly. So it is not fitting to hold a market and other things, namely to gossip, etc., which do not belong to holiness. It says: *Holiness befits your house, O Lord, unto length of days.* Augustine: "In churches and oratories let nothing else be done but that for which they are ordained." Gregory: "Every action of Christ is our instruction."

Out of reverence, then, owed to the temple, Christ did such a good act. Christ loves one soul more than all bodily churches and than all visible creatures other than the soul. This was the teaching of the Apostle to us, 1 Corinthians 3: *The temple of God is holy, which you are, and the Holy Spirit dwells in you.* Since, then, we are the temple of God, we must drive out bestiality, namely sins and vices, as Christ drove out those selling sheep and oxen, etc. Corinthians 6: *Do you not know that your members are the temple of God?* etc. Since, then, the Lord Jesus cleansed the temple in such a way, he wished also that it be understood that the soul which subjects itself to the flesh must drive out all vices and sins. Jerome: "Always do some work, so that the devil may find you occupied" [the editor notes that "non" or "in" is missing: the sense is "may not find you idle" or "find you occupied"].

And when he had made a whip of cords: this signifies to us penance, for with the whips of penance we must drive out vices and sins. And so, by what he did in figure, he shows us the effect of penance, namely what we ought to do. Augustine: consider that he had cleansed the temple with such great fury when only things necessary for offering were being sold there. And our Lord is always read to be merciful; but in matters belonging to the temple of God he

(p. 102)

was roused to fury, because reverence must always be shown to God in the house of God, and nothing else. As Christ Jesus, then, knows what is in man, so we, doing penance, must examine ourselves, because he knows what is in our mind. So let us examine ourselves diligently, lest on the day of judgement we be judged before the Lord to eternal torment.

The fifth thing provoking to contrition is sorrow. Every sinner intending to come to true and formed contrition must grieve for his sins. And the things provoking us to sorrow are three which we have lost, conferred on us by the Lord: first, lost innocence; second, lost grace; third, the glory you have been cheated of.

First and principally he must grieve and lament so great a gift as he has lost. The gift of innocence is imperial before God. Joel 1: *Lament like a virgin girded with sackcloth for the husband of her youth*, that is, of her

virginity. If someone loses one ducat, he grieves all day. What if a hundred? Lost money is wept for with true tears, but sins are not wept for with true tears, namely coming from the whole heart. How much he ought to grieve if he has lost himself! Jeremiah 6: O sinful soul, *make mourning as for an only son, a bitter lamentation.* The gloss says: it teaches the penitent sinner what he ought to do, that as a father or mother laments at the death of an only son, so the soul, as often as it sins mortally, kills the only-begotten Son of God. Paul to the Hebrews, 6 [the text reads "IX"]: *Crucifying again to themselves the Son of God.* Matthew 16: *What does it profit a man if he gain the whole world … what exchange*, etc.

Consider, then, O soul, how greatly God has loved you, in three things, namely your creation, your redemption and your adoption. 1 Peter 1: *Knowing that you were not redeemed with corruptible gold or silver.* Galatians 4: *As long as you were a child*; and there it treats of redemption and also of adoption. Consider, then, O poor little soul, that he is your adoptive father; and adopted sons according to the laws take the inheritance with the true sons. Of creation: *Is not he your father, who possessed you, made you and created you?* (Deuteronomy 32).

Second, we must be provoked to sorrow by lost grace, for through sin we have lost the grace conferred on us by God. Just as water cannot stand with fire, so neither can grace with sin. But whenever the sinner returns to penance, the Lord has mercy and spares. Isaiah 30: *The Lord waits, that he may have mercy on you.* O what great grace you had, then, with the Lord, and you were most acceptable, for he had always been with you, and the Father wished you always to be in his presence; and this you have lost. O grieve, sinner, for

(p. 103)

lost grace.

Third, we must be provoked to sorrow by the glory we have been cheated of. You were not created by the Lord in vain; I see you pre-eminent over other creatures for eternal glory. "God and nature do nothing in vain" (*On the Heaven and the World*). So God created man for nothing except [the editor reads "nisi" for "nihil"] for eternal life; of which it is had in Titus 2. Since, then, you were not created in vain but for beatitude, consider your sins and grieve for them, lest you be tormented with eternal punishment; and do penance here, lest you must do it in purgatory. O, there is a great punishment there, and it is the same as is in hell, except that the infernal is perpetual but the purgatorial is temporal. I would rather suffer for a thousand years, if I had to live so long, all the pains and sicknesses of the body, and also endure all the pains and sicknesses of death, than suffer for two hours in hell or the pain of purgatory. Blessed Gregory knew this, who chose rather to be tormented with all the pains and sicknesses of the internal members, namely of the stomach, lungs, spleen, liver, epilepsy, fainting, disorder of the throat, fevers, gout and other sicknesses, than to be tormented for two hours in purgatory.

Of the first, namely the loss of innocence, there is an example. There was a certain emperor whose son was inflamed with love for the daughter of a certain peasant, because he had been told of her beauty. And the emperor sent princes, counts, knights and barons to procure her for his son; and they came with noble garments and precious coins, telling her how matters stood with her. But she thought that they were mocking her. But after they had brought such great tokens from the emperor and asked her whether she consented to the betrothal, she consented. They brought her with great joy, dancing and gladness, and the greatest reverence. But as she came to the bridegroom she always feared that he wished to mock her. The emperor [i.e. the bridegroom] showed signs of love, embracing her and receiving her joyfully. When this was done she thought within herself: "This can by no means be, that he will love me; for I am not his equal. Afterwards he will dismiss me and take another. What shall I do? When he comes to me I will prepare poison and infect him so that he dies; and so I shall have precious garments and precious stones and other riches and jewels, and I shall be a lady for the whole time of my life." And she did so, and on the first night, when the bridegroom came to her, she killed him with the poison. This came to the emperor's ears. He took from the

bride all the precious things and ornaments and had her clothed in sackcloth,

(p. 104)

as she had been clothed before, and go from the lordship of the father.

So the soul of man is espoused to Christ in creation; and although it is stained on coming into the body, this is not from God's side but from nature's side; so that in baptism it recovers its former innocence and is again espoused to Christ. But afterwards, not considering its beauty and innocence, through sin it kills the bridegroom, Christ the Lord, as is had in Hebrews 6: *Crucifying again to themselves the Son of God*; and so then it is clothed in sackcloth and will be twisted and disordered through sin as it was before, etc. Of that it is had in Ezekiel 16, where the prophet spoke of the espousal of the synagogue: *You were naked and full of confusion; and I passed by you and saw you, and behold, your time was the time of lovers … and I washed you with water and cleansed away your blood … and you became mine* [as a bride]; *and I adorned you … and put rings in your ears and a crown on your head … and I clothed you with embroidered work … and fine linen and purple … and covered you with gold and silver and precious stones; and your name went forth among the nations … but trusting in your beauty you played the harlot with every passer-by … and I will establish my covenant with you, that you may remember and be confounded, and may no more open your mouth.* Seek it in its place and you will find it better [i.e. read it in full there].

Of the loss of grace, an example. A certain king accepted a certain poor peasant and had given him great favour, so that he kept him more closely than himself and always wanted him in his presence, and at night he lay near him. Afterwards, promoted by the king and raised to be a prince, he dishonoured the king's daughter. When it came to the king's ears, he spared him. But afterwards he dishonoured the queen too, and he spared him that as well. And after this he thought: "Now you have done evil. The king will hate you and will see how to kill you. I would rather kill the king." And he plotted the king's death and set some men against him who were to kill him. This came to the king's ears. He called him to himself and asked him why he had plotted such an evil thing, etc. But he humbled himself and, prostrate on the ground, asked pardon of the king and obtained it. Which is to be weighed the more here, the king's mercy or the man's humbling? Certainly the king's mercy. So too the Lord has mercy on all who humble themselves before him; and the basis of that example also appears from Joseph, who obtained favour with Pharaoh, etc.

XXVIII. Tuesday after Laetare

(p. 105)

[Editor's date: Tuesday, 13 March]

Judge just judgement (John 7). These words set forth were said to those slanderers and Jews, the scribes and Pharisees, when our Lord Jesus Christ wished to show his wisdom, since he had not learned letters, etc. Hence John writes: *Jesus, going up, taught in the temple*, etc. *My teaching is not mine*, as human, but divine. *He who speaks of himself seeks his own glory*, like Plato, Socrates, Hippocrates and the others who sought human glory. *I have done one work and you all wonder.* This I answer not to their words but to their teaching: *one work*, etc., namely that he healed that lame man beside the pool who had been so for thirty-eight years; because he healed him on the sabbath, all murmured. Therefore the Lord said: which is more, to heal a man or to kill him? "I do not want to wound or kill; I came to heal." See, see, the simple Jews testified that they sought to kill him, saying: *Is not this he whom they seek to kill? Have our rulers known that this is the Christ?* They spoke these things trembling, and they spoke as if ignorant. Does not the psalmist say: *The Lord swore truth to David, and he will not make it void*? They thought him to be the son of Joseph.

To the point. *Judge just judgement* is understood allegorically of any Gentile people, but now of the Christian; tropologically, of any Christian man, namely that he must judge just judgement, namely what he has done, what he has thought, etc. And so those who wish to be penitent must judge just judgement on themselves, and if they do not know, they must ask. And so whoever judges justly of himself will stand well before the judge in the future judgement. Either he has kept innocence: let him humbly give thanks to God, who gave him his grace to keep innocence. But if he has committed guilt, certainly he needs penance, with which he may recover lost innocence. There are three parts of penance, namely contrition, of which we are now treating, confession and satisfaction. And there were seven things provoking to contrition; now we are at the sixth.

The sixth thing provoking us to contrition is vigour. And vigour is understood as a certain boldness [written above, in German: *kunheyt*, "boldness"] or power. John Chrysostom: for

(p. 106)

as long a time as the sinner can sin, for so long he can repent. Those who are in hell cannot sin, although they would gladly multiply sins, but they cannot. And those who are in heaven also cannot sin. But in this life we can sin and repent. So I take vigour here for the hope of confessing, also in three ways: for the hope of obtaining pardon, for the hope of recovering grace and for the hope of receiving glory.

First, then, and principally, every sinner must have God before his eyes and diligently attend to his readiness and kindness in sparing him, not only seven times but seventy times seven (Matthew); and so at whatever hour the sinner groans for his sins, God wholly forgets them. Ezekiel 33: *At whatever hour* — supply: and at whatever moment — *the sinner groans* for his sins. Again, Ezekiel 18: *I do not will the death of the sinner.* So Jesus speaks as he said to the paralytic: *Take heart, son; your sins are forgiven you* (Matthew 9, Luke 5). So as long as the present life lasts, we have intercessors for us, and principally our Lord Jesus Christ, *not only for our sins but for those of the whole world*, as the apostle John says (1 John 2): *We have an advocate with God.* We have, second, an advocate, namely the Blessed Virgin. Bernard: "You have sure access to God, where you have the Son before the Father and the Mother before the Son. The Son shows the Father his wounds; the Mother shows her breasts. There can be no refusal where so many signs of charity are presented." The Mother shows her breasts to the Son and says: "I pray you, my son: see, you were conceived and born in my womb; with these hands I handled you", etc. "Have mercy on the sinner; keep sinners commended." 3 Kings 2: *Mother, it is not possible that I should refuse you; whatever you ask you shall obtain.* And so then the Son with the Mother approaches the Father, and the Son shows his wounds to the Father.

We also have as intercessors all the saints and the priests in this world. Hence it says: *Spare, O Lord, spare your people.* Numbers 15: *And the priest prayed for him, and his sins are forgiven.* Beware, then, of despairing, lest it befall you as it did Cain and Judas. Let sinners consider that the Lord wishes to spare all sinners if only they themselves wish it. He would have spared Cain if he had wished to repent; Judas too, since he prayed for his enemies on the cross; not only did he pray, but he also excused their sin. Hence too he said to Judas: *Friend, why have you come?* Set before your eyes as an eternal mirror, through confidence, for the vigour of your friend [the sense is unclear], that God called wicked sinners to penance. Adam sinned; the Lord forgave, because he

(p. 107)

repented. Samson sinned thus, because he committed fornication with a concubine. David sinned bitterly, and nevertheless, by the very fact that he said *I have sinned*, he heard the voice of the prophet Nathan saying: *The Lord has taken away your sin* (2 Kings 12 [the text reads "XX"]). Ahab sinned thus (3 Kings 21): *Elijah, have you not seen Ahab humbled before me? Because he has humbled himself* [I will not bring the evil in his days; the text reads "Hunnuliabor ut non faciam mala sibi"]. Nebuchadnezzar sinned thus; nevertheless he

repented when Daniel announced to him: *Seven times shall pass over you; you shall dwell with beasts and eat grass,* etc., *till you know that it is the Lord who gives sceptres and kingdoms.* And so it happened that Nebuchadnezzar dwelt for seven years with beasts and ate hay. And he acknowledged himself and said: "Spare, O Lord, spare; I have sinned"; and the Lord gladly spared him and arranged that people sought him in the forest and found him and raised him up as king. As Augustine says (C. 23, q. 4, chapter *Nabuchodonosor*): as long as the soul is in the body, so long can it be converted and repent of its sin. And whenever the sinner turns to the Lord, God gladly wishes to turn to him. Jeremiah 4: *Return to me, and I will return to you,* God of Israel.

Do not say: "If I am predestined I shall be saved; if not, I shall not be." So Blessed Augustine says: "The very predestination to the everlasting kingdom is so disposed by God that the elect acquire it with labour, attain it with labour, and obtain it by prayers." So what they say is not true: whoever is predestined to eternal salvation will be saved; whoever is not will be hardened. The predestined will be saved in such a way to eternal salvation — why? Because at the end he will be found in penance and does not act against God. So too he who [is predestined] to damnation, because he acted against God and did not do penance. For we have an example in Pharaoh and Nebuchadnezzar: both were scourged, but Pharaoh would not accept the scourges, and his heart was hardened; but Nebuchadnezzar accepted them, etc. And so Nebuchadnezzar is saved and Pharaoh damned. All err, then, who say: "If God has predestined me to damnation, I cannot be saved." For the Lord created all for beatitude, if only they will. Again, another example, of Peter and Judas; again, of the thieves on the cross.

Second, vigour refers to the hope of recovering grace. For a man must grieve most when he loses the grace of the supreme king, namely God. If he grieves at losing the favour of an earthly king, much more of the heavenly. So have vigour. Bernard: *The Lord is near to all who call upon him.* Consider, then, sinner, that he who redeemed you with his own

(p. 108)

blood does not wish to deprive you of the eternal inheritance except for a just cause, namely because you deserve it. So I trust to recover grace, because I know the Lord to be kind and merciful; for it is proper to God to have mercy, and he is always ready to pardon and enlarge grace. After conversion he often enlarges grace more than he had before he fell; as appears from Paul, who was so enlarged in grace that he is even called by God a vessel of election (Acts). He enlarged grace to Matthew; to Mary Magdalene: he made her his intimate, his hostess, and exalted her among all penitents when he said: *Mary has chosen the best part.* The good part is in the state of beginners, the better in the state of those advancing, the best in the state of perfection and contemplation. Consider, then, that *where sin abounded, grace also superabounded*, and have hope of recovering grace.

For God is your Lord, your Master, the Son of God: *You call me Master and Lord,* and so *I have washed you.* For you are washed by the sacrament of baptism; yet it is necessary to wash the feet, if there are those who are free of mortal sins, but not of venial. Consider too that that Son of God is the Son of man, is your brother: *For he is my brother, my sister*, etc., *who does the will of my Father.* He is your friend: *You are my friends* (John); *you are they who have continued with me in my temptations.* And what is more, as our minister he ministers to us daily his most holy body and blood. Matthew 20: *As the Son of man came not to be ministered to but to minister, and to give his life for many.* Not only does he call himself minister in the present life but also in the future life. So he says, Luke 12: *Blessed are those servants whom* [the Lord] *when he comes* etc.; *amen I say to you, he will gird himself and make them sit down to meat, and passing will minister to them,* namely eternal life, or in eternal life. In eternal life he will join infants with the angels, boys with the archangels, youths with the virtues, again older ones with the powers, and the rest, always ascending according to age — not in years but in virtues. So those who were older in virtues will always ascend according to their dignity and the perfection of their virtues. *And passing he will minister to them*: and after

he has placed all, namely kings, princes and the rest, according to their dignities. If, then, he is our brother and of our blood, how should he damn us?

Third, vigour refers to receiving glory. Christ Jesus died for our salvation and life, to give us life, as he testifies to those two disciples going to Emmaus: *O foolish and

(p. 109)

slow* etc. *Ought not Christ to have suffered these things, and so to enter into his glory*, and to prepare glory for us too? See, God has given us his own Son as a pledge of eternal glory, and the Son has given himself to us as a pledge. Romans 5: *We glory in the hope of the glory of the sons of God. And not only so*, etc. Romans 8: *Who shall accuse against your elect? … If God is for us, who is against us? He who spared not even his own Son … how has he not also with him given us all things*, namely eternal life? *Who shall separate us from the love of God?* etc. Angels fell from every order of angels; and so neither angels, namely good and bad, shall separate us from the love of God. Augustine: certainly he would not urge us so insistently to ask if he did not wish to give. John: *Ask and you shall receive.* If, then, the Lord urges us to ask, why would we not ask?

Again, since predestination was spoken of above, it should be known that such an example is given about it. You say it is in God's foreknowledge whether you are to come from now up to Easter or not; and it is true, God foreknew from eternity. Suppose, then, that God has predestined you to come up to Easter: do not eat or drink, and see whether you stay alive. And so too if you threw yourself from the church [roof]. So it lies in you, not in God's foreknowledge or predestination, that you can be saved or damned. *God created man and left him in the hand of his own counsel … He has set water and fire before you* (Ecclesiasticus [15]).

XXIX. Thursday after Laetare

[As the text says; the editor notes that the missal shows it to be the Wednesday (fer. IV), 14 March; compare "in today's Epistle" on p. 110]

We know that God does not hear sinners; but if anyone is a worshipper of God and does his will, him he hears (John 9). When our Lord Jesus Christ had shown well enough that he was the Son of God, saying that he did nothing of himself as man but as God, John continues: *Jesus, passing by, saw a man blind from his birth. Neither has this man sinned nor his parents*, namely, that he should be born blind. Since it is certain that he was in any case conceived in original sin, he could also have added something above original sin. 1 John 1: *If we say that we have no sin …* Again, as spittle comes down from the mouth and head, so, if the human race was to be enlightened, it was necessary that the Son of God come from heaven. *He spat on the ground.* The Lord wished

(p. 110)

to show that, as he created man from the slime of the earth to his image and likeness — which was blinded through sin — so too he created medicines from the earth. And so he who created man from earth could also heal man with earth. Ecclesiasticus 38: *[The Most High] has created medicines out of the earth* [the text reads "De terra fecit terram"]. *You are earth and to earth you shall return.*

Go, wash, etc. Obey; cleanse your conscience, cleanse your soul. Isaiah [7]: *If you will not believe, you shall not understand.* Isaiah 1: *Wash yourselves, be clean, take away the evil of your thoughts.* In today's Epistle it is said: *If your sins be as scarlet, they shall be made white as snow; and if they be red as crimson, they shall be white as wool. Coccinum* [the preacher's gloss] is a blackened pot in which meat or fish have been cooked. *Natatoria* [the pool] says: you must swim across the world, and if you cannot swim you will sink into the deep. *Siloe* is interpreted "sent". *The waters of Siloe that go with silence* (Isaiah 8 [the text reads "1"]). Commonly waters that pass with silence are deeper than others, etc.

Dearest, every sinner is blind. *For their malice blinded them.* Go, then, wash at the feet of the priest; and seeing, wash in the pool of Siloe. As perhaps you have swum in many sins, so now you must swim, that is, confess openly, both everything and expressly. Siloe, that is, with silence, namely in the church, into the ears of the priest alone, and not in the street or in the market. Others too must not be near, lest they hear his sins, and so that the sinner can tell his sins without hindrance; or [lest] others hear: let your sins swim out of your mouth so silently that the priest alone hears your sins, and others are not so near that they hear your sins. For however great [the text reads "gracia", probably "grandia"] they are, if they are secret they must be confessed in secret, and a secret penance must be enjoined. *He went and washed, and saw* well. So the sinner, after he is washed, sees well and will be enlightened.

The blind man answered fervently, because he was now enlightened by the Holy Spirit. That blind man had become a logician and philosopher, wishing to infer and conclude that Christ was not a sinner. He argues: "If" etc., "but if this man were a sinner" etc. Augustine: "You err, blind man." It is no wonder that the blind man said "God does not hear sinners", because he is blind; he does not understand the truth. If God did not hear sinners, certainly we would fare badly in the world: who is without sin in the world? The answer, conclusively: sinners who are in the purpose of sinning are not to be heard by God, nor as to merit for eternal life; for while the sinner is in the purpose of sinning, he does not merit as to eternal life. But if sinners are in the purpose of making satisfaction and repenting, he must hear

(p. 111)

sinners. Again, the good works someone has done, however many, namely while he was in the state of grace, when he sins mortally he loses them all as to eternal life; but when he rises, they revive. But those which he did while in mortal sin do not revive. Nevertheless, although those good works which someone does in mortal sin do not profit for eternal life, yet they do not remain unrewarded here temporally, and also the sinner can be converted the sooner because of them. The Master in the fourth book, dist. 14 [the text reads "q. 44"]: "Those things revive which were mortified; those which were born dead cannot live." Sinners intending to do penance and be converted to the Lord are heard: this is the opinion of Augustine. But sinners not intending to do penance and be converted to the Lord are not heard: this is the opinion of the blind man.

The seventh thing provoking to true contrition is this. According to Church law, any mortal sin, if it is known to men and public, brings infamy. If it is not known, it nonetheless brings infamy with respect to God, the good and bad angels, one's own conscience and synderesis. So every sinner in mortal sin is made infamous. *There is nothing covered or hidden that shall not be revealed* (Luke 12 [the text reads "XI"]). *All things are naked and open to his eyes* (Hebrews 4). Every mortal sin brings infamy. The Decree witnesses: "All who have sinned mortally are made infamous" (6, q. [1], chapter *Infames*). But all the infamous are barred from promotion, from honour, from dignity, both ecclesiastical and secular (dist. 5 [the reference is uncertain], chapter *Infamibus*). So all the infamous are rejected from bearing witness, except in such cases as testifying to heresy or simony and things that are against the faith. The infamous are barred from election, from postulation, from accusing, from acting as proctor, from judging (in the chapter *Cum deputati*). Beware, judges: judging others while you are in the same fault, you condemn yourselves.

To the point. O poor man, if you are infamous, what will you do to recover your good name? Perhaps on sheepskin, goatskin or perhaps oxhide, by taking a charter of legitimation from the emperor or king? Whoever did not know before that you were a bastard, or otherwise defamed, will know it by reading the letter. Will you recover your good name? Not unless you have done such good things in superabundance that the memory of the evil ceases. If you had a thousand parchments for the recovery of your name or legitimation and lived badly, you will not recover your good name — perhaps as to secular matters, but not as to God — namely if you have the emperor's letter, etc. Romans 1: the apostle tells many

(p. 112)

infamies, and there you will see the proclamations of the sinner; look it up. Galatians 5: the same apostle also sings the proclamation of the sinner: *Now the works of the flesh are manifest, which are* … avarice. *If you live according to the flesh, you shall die.* And this proclamation praises infamous sinners more than the privilege of the emperor or king [ironically, i.e. publishes them]. Again, 2 Timothy 3: *Know this, that in the last days perilous times shall come, and men shall be lovers of themselves, covetous, haughty, proud, blasphemers, disobedient to parents, ungrateful … having an appearance indeed of godliness, but denying its power.* So it appears from the signs of Paul that we are already near the end of the world.

But if you wish in truth to recover your honour, then do penance while you are healthy, while you have time, and do good works. Apocalypse 2: *Do penance and do the first works.* And if you do so, you will blot out your infamy, and honour and dignity will be restored to you. The Apostle: *For when you were servants of sin*, etc., *what fruit, then, had you*, etc. In such a way spiritual honour is recovered, as the apostle says in the same place, namely Romans 6. Augustine, *City of God* 14, says: if there were no gods, what else would men have to seek but honour? He speaks in the Gentile manner. Suppose that there is no God, and that the soul of the just perishes in this way; suppose that no soul will be damned; suppose that your soul will die with the body like a brute animal; suppose that no one knows your sin: yet your conscience reproves and judges you. And so I must do good and pay heed to that inner conscience more than to the reproaches of men. Suppose there is no hell, etc. So, O sinner, since you know that man is reproached for vice, leave sin. O, if perhaps you have sinned, do penance. And so by violence we recover lost honour. Therefore the Lord says in the Gospel: *The kingdom of heaven suffers violence, and the violent bear it away.* Since, then, you are made so infamous through sin, do penance, so that you may recover the honour lost with God, and also with men if the sin is notorious. Gregory: "The evils that press upon us here compel us to go to God."

Saint Thomas, Richard, Bonaventure, Augustine and the other doctors on the fourth book of the *Sentences*: by formed contrition alone, in a case of necessity — as when they have not had the ability to confess, because perhaps one is overtaken by death — the sin is remitted; and it can be so great that he will fly at once to heaven, like the thief hanging on the cross. O sinner, why do you sleep? O Mary Magdalene, how you purged your infamy! O Peter, how you

(p. 113)

purged your infamy! Paul, David and the rest! So if you wish to purge your infamy, repent and live rightly afterwards; if you do not live rightly, you will be worse than before. How do you purge your infamy, priest, who keep a maidservant? "Oh," you say, "she makes my bed and my kitchen", etc. Certainly I tell you, you are already made infamous, even if you have never touched her, because it is forbidden by the Church. If you wish to be purged of infamy, put her out. Keep a male servant; he arranges what needs arranging for you as well as a maidservant.

XXX. [Thursday after Laetare]

[The text gives no day; the editor notes that, as "in today's Gospel" shows, it is the Thursday after Laetare, 15 March]

And he who was dead sat up and began to speak (Luke 7). Our Lord Jesus Christ, wishing to be conformed to the fathers, also raised three dead; for in authentic scripture in the old law no more than three dead are read to have been raised: one, Jonah, at the prayer of the prophet Elijah, as also appeared before [and the others]. So Christ, wishing to conform himself to them, also raised three dead, namely the girl, the widow's son and Lazarus. Matthew 9: the raising of the girl, whom he raised in her father's house, as it were secretly, for none were present but James, Peter and John. Second, the widow's son, in today's Gospel. Third, Lazarus, four days in the tomb. Hence Luke writes in today's Gospel of the raising of the widow's son.

Augustine, in the sermon on the Lord's words on the mount: the raising of those three dead signifies the threefold spiritual death of the soul (dist. 2, in the chapter *Sciendum*). For as our Lord Jesus Christ raised three dead — namely the girl under a roof in her father's house, and the widow's son in the public street, and Lazarus, four days dead, still more publicly, as appears in John — so too death is brought on the rational soul in three ways. First, as it were secretly in the house, namely when someone secretly consents to some mortal sin; although he does not intend to come to the deed, yet since he consents to mortal sin he already incurs the death of the soul. But this is called secret because it has not yet come to the deed. Second, the death, namely of the youth, is when the wretched sinner comes to the deed; and such a one is dead in public. The third death is of those who sin not only secretly and publicly but also glory in their sins and come into the habit and sin as much as they can. And such a death is Lazarus's, who already stank; so too the sins

(p. 114)

of such a man stink through the whole city. The girl's death was easily cured, with few present. The youth's with more difficulty: he went to meet him, touched him, consoled the mother and called the youth, etc. But as to Lazarus, still more difficult, for he waited outside the city.

Mystically [the text reads "Misterialiter"], as Blessed Augustine and Gregory say, whoever is in mortal sin is called dead, because he is dead spiritually. *The wages of sin is death* (Romans 6). But if this dead man comes to penance and comes to formal contrition, *he who was dead sat up.* Paul: *Rise, you who sleep, … and Christ shall enlighten you.* Through contrition the dead man sits up but does not yet speak; but through confession he speaks; and through satisfaction he not only speaks but also acts.

In the old law it sufficed to confess mentally to God, because one could sin only against God, since he was not man. But in the New Testament, after the Messiah came and spoke to us, after the Word of God was incarnate, God can never be offended without man being offended. Christ willed [that one] confess sacramentally and really to a man really appointed in God's place. Again, our doctors say on the fourth book of the *Sentences*, dist. 14 [17], that by contrition alone sin is remitted, provided at least it is made with the purpose of confessing; and so many times, before the confession is made in the mouth, the remission is made in the heart.

By contrition alone, then, with the purpose of confessing, sins are remitted as regards the Holy Spirit; but yet sacramentally he must make confession and satisfaction, if at least he has the ability to confess. So if there were an old man of a hundred years, however wicked, even if he had sinned so much that he could sin no more, and he had true contrition for his sins with the purpose of confessing, namely if he could have the ability, and he were overtaken by death before he confessed, the contrition could be so great that he would be freed from punishment and guilt and would fly at once to heaven after the soul's departure from the body. An example is had in the ten lepers, to whom Christ said: *Go, show yourselves to the priests*; *and as they went they were cleansed.* O what great kindness and mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ!

Concerning confession we must consider first the necessity, second the quality, third the usefulness. As to necessity, it is shown by a sevenfold law: first, political; second, from physical law; third, from Mosaic law; fourth, from prophetic law; fifth, the Gospel; sixth, the apostolic; seventh, the canonical. First it is shown by political law. The rule from political law is: by law

(p. 115)

the third, at the end (?) [a civil-law citation, uncertain]: "that one who confesses be dealt with more gently than one who denies." And Blessed Ambrose: "Confession is the shortening of punishments. Hence in secular courts those who deny are tortured with the goad, and a certain pity for the one who confesses touches the judge." Aristotle in the second book of his *Rhetoric* says that we flog more those who deny and contradict. So [confess] (?) in order that we may avoid not only temporal but also eternal punishments.

Second, the necessity of confessing appears from physical law. Tobit 4: *What you would not have done to you, do not do to another*; and this is the physical or natural law. For as a physician heals no one unless he first judges the sickness of the body from the urine, and from outward signs judges the inward signs, namely the pulse — Severinus [Boethius]: "If you expect the physician's work, you must uncover the wound" — so if you wish to heal your sins, you must uncover your sins truthfully and without cloaking. Aristotle, *Ethics* 4: "Every truthful man is to be praised and every liar to be blamed." It belongs to truthfulness to confess even what is against oneself. In order to be truthful you are bound also to express with your own mouth the sins you have done against yourself. For if you wish to be reconciled with someone you have offended, you must also ask him with your own mouth and reconcile yourself with him. For reason dictates that you must not offend your neighbour. Matthew 7: *Whatever you would that men should do to you,* etc. Hence too Aristotle, the prince of philosophers, says in the first book of the *Politics*: "As man is the best of animals when he cherishes law, so he is the worst when separated from law and justice." Man shares with the angels — the psalmist: *You made him a little less* [than the angels] — again with God in virtues and understanding — *I said: You are gods* — and with other creatures in being.

Third, it appears from the Mosaic law. Let us consider the first parent: after the sin the Lord called him: *Adam, where are you?* O poor man, you did not know how to keep yourself in the height of honour! The gloss on Genesis 3: these are words of rebuke, reproving and moving to confession. Ambrose in the book *On Cain and Abel*: "Adam was saved by confessing; Cain damned by denying", etc. Cain said: *Am I my brother's keeper?* (Genesis 4). Augustine: "O man, why do you delay to confess your sins? I am a man as you are, a sinner as you are." Augustine, *On penance and remission*: "O man, confess your sins to me; for what I know through confession I do not know as a man. Choose what you will: either, having confessed, you will be saved, or, unconfessed, you will be damned. For God saves the one who confesses in order to exalt humility;

(p. 116)

he damns the one who denies in order to humble the proud." We have an example in the publican: because he confessed his sins, he struck his breast, saying, *God, be merciful to me a sinner*; but the Pharisee, etc. The Lord said: *Amen I say to you, this man went down to his house justified rather than the other.* Again, by the striking of the sinner['s breast] [the text reads "tonsionem"; perhaps "tunsio", beating] venial sins too are blotted out, as by general confession.

[A mnemonic verse with glosses written over it:]

Confiteor (general confession), *aspergor* (the sprinkling of holy water), *tondor* (that is, the beating of the sinner['s breast]), *conteror* (contrition), *oro* (the Lord's prayer); *Signor* (when one signs himself with the sign of the cross), *edor* (communion), *dono* (alms): *per haec venialia pono* (by these I put away, that is remove (?), venial sins).

Fourth, the necessity of confession appears from the prophetic law. David in many places: *I said: I will confess against myself.* Again, Proverbs 28: *He who hides his sins shall not prosper,* namely to salvation, *but he who confesses and forsakes them shall obtain mercy.* And the son of Sirach, Ecclesiasticus 4: *For your soul be not ashamed to say the truth.* And so there is a shame that brings sin, and there is a shame that brings grace and glory. And below: *Be not ashamed to confess your sins.* Ecclesiasticus 17: *Before death, confess; living … living and sound you shall confess.*

Fifth, this necessity appears from the law of the Gospel. Leviticus 13: in the Old Testament lepers were sent to the priests, that they might distinguish leprosy from leprosy. That leprosy signified the leprosy of mortal sin. So Jesus, conformed to the fathers, sent the lepers to the priests. For the leper said: *Lord, if you will, you can make me clean.* The Lord said: *I will; be made clean*; and at once his leprosy was cleansed. "Be made clean" is a word of the imperative mood. Jesus said to him: *Go, show yourself to the priests, and offer the gift,* etc. (Luke 5, Matthew 8). So the Lord sent him to the priest. The cleansing is made principally and

efficiently by the Holy Spirit; yet the Lord willed that this cleansing, which is made efficiently by the Holy Spirit, should be made known before the priest, so that the priest may discern that he is cleansed. Luke 17: *Go, show yourselves to the priests.* There he did not wish to cleanse them then, but said *Go*; *and as they went they were cleansed*, namely by the Holy Spirit; but yet they still had to show themselves to the priests. And only the foreigner returned and gave glory to God and obeyed Christ; but the other nine were ungrateful and did not obey Christ. Again, Christ said to his apostles: *Whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven them*, and

(p. 117)

likewise to their successors. There he gave them the authority of binding and loosing. But since the Philosopher says in *On the Heaven and the World*, "God and nature do nothing in vain", that authority was not given in vain but for loosing and binding. From this it plainly appears that Christ, in giving the authority of binding and loosing, implicitly instituted confession as necessary for salvation.

Again, Scotus, a doctor of the Friars Minor, shows confession to be necessary for salvation thus: everyone is bound to love God above all and Christ [the text so; perhaps "the neighbour"] as himself. But he argues from remote premises: the love of himself and also of neighbours must be under God, for keeping oneself in divine grace; whoever is deprived of divine grace must recover divine grace by the easier way; but there is no easier way than that he confess his sins with formed contrition; and having confessed them he can recover divine grace. Again, the Lord also commanded penance, Luke 13: *Unless you do penance, you shall perish*; and Matthew 4: *Do penance, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand*; where he also implicitly instituted confession, because penance is composed of three things, namely contrition, confession and satisfaction. Again, Augustine also says of penance that unless there be formed contrition and lawful confession, it is not true penance.

XXXI. Friday after Laetare

[Editor's date: Friday, 16 March]

Loose him and let him go (John 11). These words were said to the apostles, according to all Catholic doctors, at the raising of Lazarus. Again, the doctors commonly believe that Lazarus was raised fifteen days before the Lord's passion. *This sickness is not unto death*, namely eternal; yet if it is unto temporal death, *it is for the glory of God, that the Son of man may be glorified by it. Let us go into Judea again.* It is good to go into Judea; Judea is interpreted (gloss) "confession". *It is good to confess to the Lord.* The Jews sought to stone him, and their heart was hardened like a stone. Therefore the Lord said: *Are there not twelve hours of the day?* Understand the artificial day; as if to say: if they sought to stone me in one hour or moment, they can be changed (?) [the text reads "invitari"]. *Are there not twelve hours of the day?* For at such a time is the spring equinox; as if to say, perhaps from that day or hour their heart has been wintered [i.e. chilled; the text reads "invernatum"].

(p. 118)

Lazarus is dead, and I am glad for your sakes, that you may believe, that I was not there; for if I had been there, perhaps some would have imputed to me that I did not keep him alive, as indeed some said later, as Martha too said: *Lord, if you had been here, my brother would not have died.* To believe in Christ is to live according to Christ. To believe in Christ is to eat Christ. To believe in Christ is to love Christ and by good works to go into Christ. James 2: *Faith without works is dead.* To believe in Christ is to drink Christ; to believe in Christ is to be given over to Christ, to live to Christ. Augustine: "Believe, and you have eaten."

And Jesus wept when he saw Mary Magdalene and the others weeping. It is natural. The Apostle to the Romans, 12: *Weep with those who weep; rejoice with those who rejoice.* For in battle, when some horse is

alarmed and trembles from pain and tumult, the rest too are alarmed, and tears appear in its eyes; how much more with men, that one provokes another to tears. And Jesus did not approach the tomb, lest they think that he had perhaps raised Lazarus by enchantment or the like. *Bound hand and foot with bands*: *institae* are the little bands with which the hands and feet of the dead are bound.

And Jesus cried with a loud voice: Lazarus, come forth. And Lazarus came forth, that is, leapt out quickly and raised himself from the tomb. Why did Jesus cry with a loud voice? It is answered that there were many heresies about the soul. Some said that the human soul perishes as the soul of brutes perishes. But some said that the soul separated from the body is shut up in the tomb with the body, though not united. So, to root out their heresy, Jesus cried with a loud voice, to show that the soul of Lazarus was far enough from the tomb. For if he had spoken quietly, they would have kept their heresy, saying: "See, Jesus knew that the soul lay hidden there in the tomb." O, if one had seen the joy of the fathers when they heard the voice of Jesus! For certainly they heard this voice.

It follows: *Loose* [him] *and let him go.* According to the Catholic doctors it is believed that these words were said to the apostles, not to Mary Magdalene, not to Martha. In these words it plainly appears that Christ committed ministerially to his apostles, and likewise to their successors, namely priests, the authority of binding and loosing. Although Christ loosed the man mysteriously from sin — for God alone can forgive sin and raise a man from eternal death — yet he does not wish to loose ministerially [himself], but committed it to priests to loose him; as here Christ raised Lazarus by himself, and ministerially commanded the apostles to loose him ministerially.

(p. 119)

For the Master of the *Sentences*, book 4, dist. 18, says: "God alone remits and retains sins; yet he has conferred on the Church the power of binding and loosing. But God binds and looses in one way and the Church in another. For God by himself forgives sins, because he cleanses the soul from the inner stain and frees it from the eternal debt. Yet he has given priests the power of binding and loosing, that is, of showing men bound or loosed in the face of the Church."

Sixth, the necessity of confession appears according to the apostolic law — persuasive and not institutive. The Apostle to the Romans, 10 [the text reads "51"]: *For with the heart we believe unto justice, but with the mouth confession is made unto salvation. For the scripture says: Whoever calls on the name of the Lord shall be saved.* These words mean that faith is in the heart, and from the heart a man will be justified; but confession is made for the salvation of the soul. And so a man must confess in the face of the Church, so that he may be judged. A verse: "Words bind men; ropes, the horns of bulls." The Apostle speaks here of faith: for it is not enough to believe with the heart, but also with the mouth. As if someone were forced [so the editor, for "augeretur"] by punishment to deny the Christian faith, and you thought in your heart: "I will deny Christ only in words, but not in heart" — I tell you, you deny God with your mouth, and he will deny you, believe me, and will say: *Amen I say to you, I do not know you.* You must rather die than deny Christ. Therefore words bind a man, as in the verse: "Words bind men; ropes, the horns of bulls."

As a sign of the public confession of Christ, when the Gospel is read let us sign ourselves on the forehead, heart and mouth, to denote that we wish to confess the name of Christ openly on the forehead and to carry the cross on the forehead, and with the heart and also the mouth, defending the holy Gospel by words and works. So it is necessary to confess Christ publicly with the mouth, not only with the heart.

Again, 1 John 1: *If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us. But if we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins and to cleanse us from all iniquity. … These things I write to you, little children, that you may not sin …* and *if we say that we have not sinned, we make God a liar, and the truth is not in us.* So confession is necessary. James 5 [the text reads "9"]: *Is anyone among you sick? Let him bring in the priests of the Church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with*

oil; and the prayer of faith shall save the sick man, and the Lord shall raise him up [the text reads "allienabit"], *and if he be in sins, they shall be forgiven him. Confess, therefore, your sins one to another, and pray for one another,*

(p. 120)

that you may be saved, etc. "Confess" is a word of the imperative mood; and yet James did not institute the sacrament of confession, nor command it, but exhorts and persuades. Again, from the words of James and of the Apostle we do not have that we must confess to a priest. So Augustine (dist. 2, chapter *Liquido*) and Innocent III said that Christ did not institute many things which he afterwards revealed to his Church, either through angels or through the Holy Spirit. And Augustine, Jerome, Bernard, John Chrysostom and the other doctors established that confession is to be made to a priest, as appears from the seventh law, namely the canonical. But Christ Jesus instituted it, as above. Again, Luke 13: *Unless you do penance,* and Matthew 4: *Do penance.*

From spiritual law [the text has the German phrase "aus dem geistlichem rechte", "from canon law"]: seventh, the necessity of confession is declared from the canon law. Gratian, citing Augustine, *De poenitentia*, dist. 1, chapter [*Quem poenitet*]: "Let whoever repents repent wholly; let him declare his sins to the priest." Again, *De poenitentia*, dist. 5, in the chapter *Consideret*, he reports the words of Augustine saying thus: "Let the sinner consider the quality of the crime, in place, in time, in manner, in cause and in the necessary circumstances. Finally the fornicator must confess his sin according to the manner shown with the harlot, with what mind, with what ardour." Again, Gratian, *De poenitentia*, dist. 6, reports the words of Augustine saying: "Let whoever wishes to repent seek a priest who knows how to loose and bind." So the priest must have the use of the keys, that is, be a priest ordained according to the rite of the holy Roman Church, so that he has truly received the character; and also, having the authority of binding and loosing, he must have skill as well, namely knowledge.

Priests hearing confessions are commanded not to reveal the sins confessed and disclosed to them (*De poenitentia*, dist. 6, chapter *Sacerdos*, and chapter *Placuit*). And if anyone falls into such a crime, let him be deposed from office and go as a pilgrim for the whole time of his life. Since, then, even from canon law we did not have it clearly determined who are bound to confess, at what time, at what age they are bound to confess, what they are bound to confess, to whom they are bound; how the confessor should conduct himself, how the penitent; what penance he deserves; what punishment a priest deserves who reveals a confession; and many easily erred [so the editor queries, for "erant"] who do not consider how they should conduct themselves, a decree was composed, as is said, at the Lateran council — some say in the time of Hilary, some of Honorius — but it was compiled in the time of Gregory IX in the chapters of the Decretals, under *De poenitentiis et remissionibus.*

(p. 121)

"Every one of the faithful of either sex, after reaching the years of discretion, shall faithfully confess all his sins alone, at least once a year, to his own priest, and shall strive to fulfil with his own strength the penance enjoined on him, receiving reverently the sacrament of the Eucharist at least at Easter, unless on the counsel of his own priest, for some reasonable cause, he should abstain from receiving it for a time. Otherwise, let him be kept from entering the church while living, and let him lack Church burial when dying. Therefore let this saving statute be published frequently in the churches, lest anyone take the veil of excuse from ignorance and blindness. But if anyone wishes for a reasonable cause to confess his sins to another priest, let him first ask and obtain leave from his own priest, since otherwise that one cannot loose or bind him. But let the priest be discreet and careful, so that, in the manner of a skilled physician, he may pour wine and oil on the wounds of the injured, diligently inquiring into the circumstances both of the sinner and of the sin, from which he may prudently understand what counsel he ought to give him or what kind of remedy to apply, using various

means to heal the sick man. But let the priest take every care not to betray the sinner in any way by word or sign or any other means. For whoever presumes to reveal a sin disclosed to him in the penitential forum, we decree that he is not only to be deposed from his priestly office and benefice but also, as a perpetual penance, to be thrust into a strict monastery."

XXXII. Saturday before Judica

[Editor's date: Saturday, 17 March]

If I bear witness of myself, my witness is true (John 8). For when our Lord Jesus Christ wished to show those faithless and blinded Jews the truth about himself, he says: *I am the light of the world*, etc. That word was so horrible to the Jews; they thought he said it out of boasting. "Is not God the light of the world? Is not God the light of life?" So the Jews said: *You bear witness of yourself; your witness is not true.* "Nor is there any man in the world who can bear witness of me better than I." So Jesus answered: *Even if I bear witness of myself, it is true. You judge according to the flesh; but I* etc. You judge me according to the flesh, because

(p. 122)

you see skin and flesh. *And if I judge, my judgement is true*; but now I have not come for active judgement but passive [i.e. to be judged]. *And in your law it is written* (Deuteronomy) *that the witness of two men is true. These words Jesus spoke in the treasury, and no one laid hands on him.* If someone bears witness of himself to the priest in the forum of confession, if he speaks truly of himself it will be his merit; and if he confesses truly he will have merit and attain eternal life.

On the quality of confession, namely what kind confession ought to be; how the penitent ought to conduct himself towards the confessor. For he must have, according to a certain law, namely sixteen conditions, which appear in certain little verses:

Let confession be simple, humble, pure, faithful, And frequent, bare, discreet, willing, shamefast, Entire, secret, tearful, prompt, Strong and accusing, and ready to obey.

And these verses are taken from the text of the decree cited above, namely *Omnis utriusque sexus*. For it says "all" (*omnia*): so it must be entire; "his" (*sua*): accusing of himself; "alone" (*solus*): so secret; "his sins at least" (*peccata sua saltem*): frequent, for well-being [i.e. desirable, not required]; "once" (*semel*): so simple, because there is no simpler number than one; "in" (*in*): so humble, because it is a simple word; "a year" (*anno*): so prompt, for well-being; "let him confess" (*confiteatur*), that is, acknowledge together: so pure; "faithfully" (*fideliter*): so faithful; "his own" (*proprio*): so shamefast; "to the priest" (*sacerdoti*): so strong; and tearful, for well-being; "the enjoined penance" (*iniunctam poenitentiam*): so willing; "on him" (*sibi*): so bare; "let him strive with his own strength" (*propriis viribus studeat*): so ready to obey. [The mapping of words to conditions is the text's own; some links are obscure.]

Again, three conditions are only for well-being: that it be frequent is for well-being; that it be prompt and tearful is for well-being. But the other thirteen are so necessary that if one were lacking it will not be a lawful confession. So if you have failed in one of them, begin again from the beginning, from the year of your discretion, to confess all your sins, according to the content of this statute and decree.

The first condition is that confession must be entire. In these words I take three principal conclusions. The first: confession must be entire as to the commandments, namely moral and legal, affirmative and negative. Second, as to the number of sins. Third, as to the circumstances, whether changing the species of sin or aggravating it. The first conclusion, about the commandments, has as many conclusions as there are commandments, namely legal and ecclesiastical. The second conclusion has as many conclusions as there are commandments, or as you have committed sins. The third conclusion has as many conclusions as there are circumstances of sins, as appears there: "Order, place aggravate", etc. The first conclusion, then, stands

concerning the legal and ecclesiastical commandments, of which some are affirmative and some

(p. 123)

negative; some ceremonial and some moral. The ceremonial have perished. (*De poenitentia*, dist. 6, chapter *Qui vult*.) A man must confess every transgression and omission of the legal and ecclesiastical commandments.

First let us speak of the affirmative ones according to the institution of our Lord Jesus Christ and also of Moses (Deuteronomy 6). There are three affirmative and seven negative, although the first commandment can also be resolved affirmatively or negatively. The first, then, is understood according to the description of our Lord Jesus Christ: *Begone, Satan; you shall adore the Lord your God*, etc. Exodus 20: *You shall not have strange gods. You shall adore the Lord your God and serve him alone.* Today, however, not having strange gods means not only not to adore idols but also not to stain the soul with any mortal guilt. Augustine: what someone loves above God, he adores as God; as the Apostle said to the Philippians, 3: *Whose god is their belly.* If you follow enchanters and conjurers, you do not adore the one God. For Blessed Thomas says: it cannot be but that the mind of such people is inclined to some affections of demons. He will give you your reward. And some use the *Little Keys of Solomon*, and they will perish with Solomon, because it was said above that he did not do penance for the sins he committed. And some [use] the *Dreams of Daniel*: Daniel was filled with the Holy Spirit and had the spirit of prophecy, but you have a demon who will pay you your reward. If ever you were in a [magic] circle, if the devil had bound your hands and feet and said, "Take care not to go out of the circle or the demon will take you" — and in the end it will happen that he takes you.

The second affirmative commandment: *Remember to keep holy the sabbath day.* At that time the sabbath day was fixed ceremonially and figuratively, for sabbath means rest. Many times, because that commandment is not kept, God sends fires and other things which have been experienced. So keep holy the sabbath day. And the seventh day denotes to us the seventh age, in which perfect rest is given; for the souls of the fathers in limbo could not have true and perfect rest [until] the soul of Christ was united to the deity. So we are bound to what is moral and not ceremonial. The moral is to sanctify, or sanctification; but the ceremonial is the sabbath. The ceremonial is dispensable, but the moral is indispensable, as our doctors say in the fourth book of the *Sentences* [the text reads "IV. sentent. 10 dist."; probably the third book], that even God cannot dispense in the moral commandments belonging to the deity. Affirmative commandments bind always but not for always, but in place and time; negative commandments bind always and for always. The moral commandments of the first

(p. 124)

table, as they belong to the deity, as to their morality are also indispensable with respect to God. If God said to me, "Blaspheme the name of God", certainly I would say: "It is not in conformity with reason, and you are rather the devil than God." For Augustine says: "He who neglects his good name is cruel." So if God dispensed his name to be blasphemed, he would be rather the devil than God.

The second affirmative commandment, then, is *Remember to keep holy the sabbath day.* Even God cannot dispense in this commandment. So there is no dispensation in its morality, but there is dispensation in its ceremonial aspect: such a transfer was made that we keep holy the Lord's day instead of the sabbath, because of the many mysteries that were done on the Lord's day: the beginnings of creation by God. For God created on the Lord's day the empyrean heaven and the matter from which he created the elements; afterwards he divided light from darkness; he created the two lights. The angel gave Abraham circumcision on the Lord's day. Joshua crossed the Jordan on the Lord's day. And Moses crossed the Red Sea; and the works of redemption were done on the Lord's day, as appears above on the Tuesday after Reminiscere. It stands, then, very well that we must venerate the Lord's day instead of the sabbath, because of the mysteries done on the Lord's day.

For the Decree witnesses (*De consecratione*, dist. 3, chapter *Pervenit*): "Whatever Christians presume to venerate the sabbath day in the manner of the Jews, let them be held strangers to the faith of Christ and as antichristians, and let them be excommunicated as heretics." But let us not follow them. If, then, anyone has presumed [to keep it], I forbid [you] to work on the sabbath in the manner of the Greeks [the text is confused]; or if you wish to be free on the sabbath and cease from servile works, and you say it is out of reverence for the Blessed Virgin, believe me, it will please the Blessed Virgin much more that you do not cease from servile works on the sabbath, lest you seem to Judaize, and that you give alms out of reverence for the Blessed Virgin instead of ceasing from servile works. So whoever has promised to celebrate the sabbath day out of reverence for the Blessed Virgin, the vow does not bind; he is absolved from the vow. But you could fast on the sabbath out of reverence for the Blessed Virgin. *They said in their heart, their kindred together: Let us make all the festival days of God to cease from the land; there is now no prophet,* etc. So keep the Lord's day and the other feast days commanded by the Church.

These, then, are the two affirmative commandments belonging to the divinity, and they order man to God: commandments of the first table, of which two are affirmative, namely *You shall adore the Lord your God and serve him alone* and *Remember to keep holy the sabbath day.* But the third

(p. 125)

commandment of the first table, pertaining to God, is negative, namely *You shall not take the name of your God in vain.* And if you do not keep them, God will send burdens, wild beasts, strife, storms, wars, famines, pestilences. Proverbs [1 Kings 2:30; the text reads "Prov. 18"]: *All who despise me shall be despised.* If perhaps you intend to earn a penny on the Lord's day, take care not to lose a florin, and perhaps fall into the hands of robbers, and perhaps [God] burns your house and everything is burned that you have perhaps earned over a hundred years.

The third affirmative commandment is the first affirmative of the second table, namely *Honour your father and your mother, that you may be long-lived upon the earth.* In this commandment is included what is to be shown to the neighbour and to superiors, namely parents, prelates and other superiors. Exodus 21, Leviticus 20: *Whoever curses his father or mother shall die the death; his blood be upon him.* What, then, do you think of one who curses God or the saints — how much worse! If, then, for cursing alone a mortal penalty is imposed, what for striking, wounding? Not only while they live must you honour parents, but also after death honour their memory. If perhaps they have made a will, you are bound to execute the will within a year. If you have not satisfied the will within a year, the bishop is bound to take it from your inheritance and execute it, and to excommunicate you if you will not execute it. Your father trusts you, and you deceive him and consume all his substance. You too, betrayer of your lord, have deceived your friend by keeping back what you ought to have paid out to others; unless you make satisfaction, the devil will carry you off, badly for you.

The works of mercy, both temporal and spiritual, are referred to the affirmative commandments; although they do not bind always and for always, yet in place and time they always bind, and according to your ability. If you have anything beyond your need, it belongs to the poor; by precept you are bound to give it to them. *If anyone sees his brother in need and shuts up his bowels against him, how does the love of God abide in him?* (1 John, the Catholic [Epistle]). Again, six works of mercy are given in Matthew 25 [the text reads "VII"]; of the burial of the dead, Tobit 12. The spiritual works of mercy: "Counsel, chastise, console, forgive, bear, pray." Galatians 6: *If a man be overtaken in any fault,* etc. Romans 12: *Rejoice with those who rejoice, weep with those who weep.* Again, since no one is without defect — this one proud, that one avaricious, this one lustful, that one furious — let one spare another and bear his burdens. Galatians, last chapter: *Bear one another's burdens.* Again, when in a common greeting or prayer you exclude your enemies, you sin mortally.

Again, with the affirmative

(p. 126)

commandments go also the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, which Isaiah described (11 [the text reads "15"]): *There shall come forth a rod out of the root … and the spirit … of wisdom … the spirit of fear shall rest upon him.* Did you have knowledge, namely, did you learn what pertained to salvation? Three things are necessary for eternal salvation, namely the Lord's Prayer, the Creed and the form of confession (*De poenitentia et remissione*, chapter *Deus qui*). And all Christians from seven [years] and upward are bound to say these three, because without them there is no salvation. Consider yourself, then, whether you have exercised yourself in the gifts of the Holy Spirit: namely, whether you had the fear of the Lord; in wisdom, namely whether you contemplated eternal things more than temporal — perhaps not only temporal things, namely the acquiring of money, but also the most shameful, namely the love of a mistress. Did you have more fear of a husband or men than of God? You sin mortally. Did you have fortitude to resist sins? Did you seek the counsel of the wise and learned in your days, or also, if you could not have it discussed, did you have recourse to him, saying: "O Lord, give me your counsel, that I may know what I ought to understand about this or that, lest I err in the faith", etc.

Also under the affirmative commandments are included the seven sacraments of the Church: namely, whether you kept the first innocence acquired in baptism; whether you had the greatest devotion you could in receiving the Eucharist. Again, when you did not show reverence to the sacrament of Christ's body: in church you ran to the images and did not adore the body of Christ nor show it reverence. You kneel on one knee only at the elevation of Christ's body; who created the other knee — the devil? O foul sinner! Whether you did due penance according to all the parts of penance, namely contrition, confession and satisfaction. Whether you kept marriage duly, namely in continence and chastity, as you were bound, on feast days and the first three nights. Again, Wisdom 8: sobriety.

With the affirmative commandments go the three theological virtues, namely faith, hope and charity, and the four cardinal virtues, namely prudence, temperance, fortitude and justice. James 2: *Whoever offends in one point is guilty of all.* Consider diligently whether you have kept the faith in all its articles and in the way you ought. Whether you kept prudence, namely more about spiritual than temporal things. Whether you kept fortitude or magnanimity. Whether justice: whether you rendered to God the things that are God's; whether love to your neighbour. Many times perhaps, reckoning yourself magnanimous in temporal things, you sinned mortally by pride. Whether you kept temperance in food, drink and the other virtues. Romans 13 [the text reads "III"]: *Honour to whom honour, tribute to whom tribute.* Whether you have not confessed and communicated

(p. 127)

when you entered marriage. For it is a precept of the Church; yet I do not say that you sin mortally. [But if] you began in mortal sin, you laid a bad foundation. Again, those are excommunicated who contract within the fourth degree, whether of affinity or consanguinity. Sins are the graver the longer they hold the unhappy soul bound.

Again, under the second commandment falls this: all Catholics over seven years are bound on Sundays and commanded feast days to hear the Mass of the day, not a votive Mass (*De consecratione*, dist. 1, chapter *Missas* and chapter *Omnis fidelis*). But if there were those who did not understand the Mass, they are excused. But if they know and understand that it was not the Mass of the Sunday or of the feast of the saint whose feast is being celebrated, they sin mortally. Therefore a priest who read a trental (?) [Mass] and did not hear the Mass of the day would sin mortally, or if he read a votive Mass and did not hear the Mass of the season. Therefore it says "not a votive", because when you have heard the Mass of the day you can hear ten votive Masses. So whoever despises that commandment of the Church sins mortally, unless he is excused by some reasonable cause.

Again, if you have not taken pains about forgotten sins, to bring them back to memory, you will not be excused. Some want to excuse themselves then at the end by concluding: "Of all forgotten sins I declare myself guilty." So when you confess, say your *culpa*: "I confess and declare myself guilty that never in my days have I been purely and duly confessed as I ought." And although the priest absolves you also of forgotten sins, that is true of those about which you have applied all diligence. So you should have a little paper and do as merchants do, noting their debts; so you should note all the sins of which you would consider your conscience to accuse you. If, then, you have failed in any of the aforesaid conditions, because you have not confessed entirely, you must begin anew. For this is an entire confession: that someone confess all his sins that he could bring back to memory, and that he took the greatest pains he could to bring them back to memory.

Examine yourself and bear witness of yourself: whether you have done the spiritual and bodily works of mercy; again, whether you received the gifts of the Holy Spirit from God in vain and uselessly; again, whether you erred in the articles, or in any article, of the faith; again, whether you venerated the seven sacraments of the Church as you ought, and whether you kept yourself in them as was fitting; again, whether you had and kept the seven virtues, namely the three theological and four cardinal. Examine yourself diligently in all these; for if you are guilty in any and have not confessed, your

(p. 128)

confession is worth nothing, but you must repeat anew everything you have done from the time of your youth, from the time you had discretion. And this is true if you omitted any of these knowingly. For it belongs to the entirety of confession that no one knowingly omit a mortal sin, or even a grave venial sin, of which his conscience accuses him. But if you are ignorant, learn now and confess.

XXXIII. Judica Sunday

[Editor's date: Sunday, 18 March]

Abraham is dead, and the prophets are dead, and you say: If anyone keeps my word, he shall not taste death for ever (John 8). These are the words of the detractors and rivals of our Lord Jesus Christ, who daily took the words of Christ in a contrary sense. When our Lord Jesus Christ had already endured many reproaches from the faithless Jews, wishing to show himself innocent he said: *Which of you shall convict* [me of sin]? *He who is of God hears the words of God*: sweet words for friends, terrible for enemies. And it is one sign of the four which Gregory gives of who is of the number of those to be saved: first, if he grieves to have sinned; second, if he resolves not to sin at all; third, if he hears the words of God gladly; fourth, if in hearing he intends to amend himself by the words of God. Gregory: "He does not hear the words of God who does not put the words of God into practice."

Abraham rejoiced that he might see my day; he saw it, namely spiritually, *and was glad.* He saw it in figure, namely when he sacrificed his son. Again, Abraham saw the day of the Lord, for it is said in Genesis 22 [the text reads "21"]: *In your seed shall all the tribes of the earth be blessed*: "in your seed", that is, in your seeds [the text so]. It greatly displeased the Jews that he said: *You are not of God.* Therefore the Jews said: *Do we not say well that you are a Samaritan and have a devil?* And they blasphemed Christ God. The Jews said: *You are not yet fifty years old.* Christ was not yet thirty-four years old; but because he was a serious man, and also fasted in the desert, he appeared so old. *He shall not taste death for ever*: he speaks this of eternal death and not temporal; so the Jews took the words wrongly. And because they did not understand him, the Jews said: *Now we know that you have a devil.* Luke, last chapter: *Ought not Christ to have suffered, and so to enter into his glory?* If Christ, in the humanity he assumed, entered into his glory by way of death, how

(p. 129)

much more must we die, and die well, namely through penance. For whoever lives well commonly dies well. It is impossible for one who lived badly to die well. Is it read in sacred scripture that anyone died well who did not do well, except that we read of the thief and of Samson that near death they did penance? Of Samson, Judges 16. So let those who wish to die well take care to live well. *I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course … as for the rest, there is laid up for me a crown of justice, which the Lord, the just judge, will render to me in that day* (2 Timothy [4]). So let wicked sinners beware lest they live badly and die a bad death. Psalm: *The death of sinners is very evil.* John Chrysostom; Augustine, from the sermon on the Innocents [the source is uncertain]: "With this chastisement, then, the sinner is punished, that in dying he forgets himself, who while he lived forgot God."

O poor man, in what misery and agony you are placed! In the hour of death you will have to say: *The sorrows of death surrounded me.* O what anguish the wretched sinner is in at the hour of his death, when he feels himself burdened with sins, when he feels a most heavy weight on his back, so that he says with the psalmist: *For my iniquities* [are gone over my head], *and as a heavy burden are become heavy upon me.* Hebrews 9: *It is appointed for men once to die.* No one could escape death; even Christ died for us.

To show the anguish of the most wretched sinner in the hour of death, let us gather twelve sorrows of death. The sorrows of death are heavy, but the sorrows of hell are much heavier. The first is of affliction; the second, of thought; the third, of deprivation; the fourth, of separation; the fifth, of doubt; the sixth, of offence; the seventh, of obligation; the eighth, of summons; the ninth, of appearance; the tenth, of examination; the eleventh, of condemnation; the twelfth, of handing over.

First and principally, in the hour of death the sorrow of affliction meets the wretched sinner. So great is the affliction in the hour of death that it puts an end to all temporal afflictions. Well do the unjust say so: *O death, how bitter is the remembrance of you!* (Ecclesiasticus 41). In the time of mortal sickness he has no peace in his possessions [the text reads "substancys"], because the whole body is afflicted. There is no member in the body that does not ache at the time of death: the genitals ache, the back aches; and so great is the pain about the heart that he forgets all outward pains, so that when he is asked, "What aches?", he answers, "Nothing." Yet his chest ached, his head ached, hands, feet, etc.; he ached in all his senses. David: *I am afflicted and humbled exceedingly; I roared with the groaning of my heart. Lord, all my desire is before you.* The Apostle to the Philippians, 1: *For me to live is Christ, and to die is gain.* It is not gain for the unjust:

(p. 130)

having a desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ; but the just say so. And also as in Tobit 3 [the text reads "4"]: *For it is better for me to die than to live.* And Balaam said in the person of the just: *Let my soul die the death of the just, and my last end be like to them* (Numbers 23).

The second sorrow is of thought. O what comes to a rich man in the hour of death! Principally four things: fear, sorrow, hope, joy. First, the thought of fear. O poor man, in your life — if only you had feared God earlier, while you lived here in the world! Sinners say: "O, that confessor imposed a great penance: I must visit churches barefoot; it is hard." Woe to you! The unjust, obstinate sinners *trembled for fear where there was no fear.* They would not do penance and make satisfaction, namely return what they had taken and accept the scourges. The unjust can say with the psalmist: *Fear and trembling are come upon me, and darkness has covered me.* "I am wholly blinded; I do not know what to say." And well were you blinded in life, and you will be blinded in death.

The second thought also comes to him, namely of sorrow. He loves a woman, a mistress, riches; he is foolish. The unjust and sinners who delight in sins would never wish to die; but the just would rather die sooner. And they say with the psalmist: *Woe is me, that my sojourning is prolonged … my soul has long been a sojourner.* What is held with love is not let go without sorrow. If you loved riches, if your flesh, if you loved your food, if beautiful and adorned garments, if public offices and scholastic dignities, and now you must let go what

you loved — how much will it please you? And so everything you loved in the world is called back to your memory in the hour of death, for which you grieve most, that you must let it go. But certainly it cannot be otherwise. All things that are loved are lost with sorrow. The psalmist: *Be not afraid when a man is made rich, or when the glory of his house is increased; for when he dies he shall take nothing away, nor shall his glory descend with him* [to hell]. Many times it comes about that a rich man's riches come to strangers, namely his enemies, and his sons beg.

Third, the thought of joy comes. So he rejoiced in earthly riches, as that rich man said: *Soul, you have many goods laid up* in your barns; *rejoice and be glad. Fool, this night they will require your soul of you* (Luke 12). *Lay not up for yourselves treasures on earth, where rust and moth … for where your treasure is, there is your heart also* (Matthew 6). Let that terrible [example] of our Anthony of Padua be an example to us. A certain great usurer died, who was rich in the highest degree. They pressed Saint Anthony to preach

(p. 131)

at that usurer's funeral; for it is the custom there that when someone dies a sermon is preached praising his parents, his friends and his good name. Anthony refused: "You will not give me that task. Certainly, if I come, you will be poorly consoled by me." He went up and preached, and began: "In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. *Where your treasure is, there is your heart also*", and wished to go away. They said: "Do not speak of the funeral in conclusion (?) or of the dead man's solemnity; if you will, say whatever you will." Anthony said: "In this man there is no heart." And he said: "Whoever has the keys to his money, you will find his heart." They said: "His son has them." And the son took with him those he trusted, and they found his heart swimming on florins and ducats. And Anthony said: "Cut him open and see whether he had a heart." And they did so, and found that this heart was his. So Anthony said: "I told you before, I will not console you; and I tell you, his soul is tormented eternally in hell."

To the point. O poor man, where is your joy? Where are your comforts, where your delights? Where are your curled locks? Where are your honours and dignities? You were a judge, an advocate, a councillor. What, then, will become of your joys? *Laughter shall be mingled with sorrow, and mourning takes hold of the end of joy* (Proverbs 14). I counsel you: keep your treasures in heaven, so that you may say with Lawrence: "For the treasures I require …" *Lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven.* Ambrose says on Luke 16: that same rich man who said, *Soul, you have many goods*, was also the one of whom it is written: *There was a rich man who feasted sumptuously every day.* What follows? *The rich man also died and was buried in hell.* 1 John 2: *The world passes away, and its concupiscence.*

The fourth thought comes to him, of hope. His wife or his concubine, or perhaps a harlot, consoles him and gives him good hope: "Your sickness will pass." They run to the physician, although they see that he must die. And his friends console him, saying, "You will get well"; and perhaps they do this so that he will not make a will and give [anything] written in the will. O what sorrow it will be for the father when he sees his sons and other friends weeping by the bed! Again, physicians must not give medicines unless the sick man first confesses; otherwise they sin mortally (in the chapter *Cum infirmitas*). *A very grievous sickness troubles the physician; so also the king* etc. (Ecclesiasticus 10 [the text reads "primo"]). When, then, hope fails him, and he sees joys failing him and himself deprived of honour and the other things he loved, then also what he feared comes upon him, namely when he sees himself at the extremity of death.

(p. 132)

The third is called the sorrow of deprivation. O sinner, you know you are deprived of all your goods in which you trusted. *That he might deliver us from this present wicked world* (Galatians [1]). O what a wicked traitor is this deceitful world! Augustine: "O unclean world! Those who love you do not know you; those who know you do not love you; those who love you perish with you." Again, there was a certain rich man who in the hour of death called on the garments in which he trusted, gold and silver and riches; after this he despaired

and gave himself to the devil. Romans 12: *I beseech you by the mercy of God that you present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, pleasing to God, your reasonable service; and be not conformed to this world, but be reformed in the newness of your mind, that you may prove what is the good, acceptable and perfect will of God*, despising all things and seeking nothing else but Jesus Christ our Lord hanging on the cross. "Good" as to beginners, "acceptable" as to those advancing, "perfect" as to the perfect. 1 John 5: *And the whole world is seated in wickedness.* You hoped in the vanities of this world. *Vanity of vanities, and all is vanity* (Ecclesiastes 1). You are so deceived; if you had hoped in God, better for you. It is fitting, then, that you perish with the world. 1 Corinthians 11: *Therefore are many infirm and weak among you, and many sleep. But if we would judge ourselves, we should not be judged*, that is, judged twice. For the sinner is judged in the hour of death and on the day of judgement. *He who does not believe is already judged*; so when the sinner sins mortally he is already judged. So the poor man hastening to death sees himself deprived of all comfort, all refreshment; therefore he grieves most.

The fourth sorrow is called the sorrow of separation. Augustine, *On the Spirit and the Soul*: in the hour of death the rational soul, going out from the body, departing from the body, takes with it what belongs to it, namely the power of hearing, seeing, knowing, remembering, the irascible and concupiscible. The soul, when it goes out of the body, takes everything with it, and the body remains motionless. Bernard: "The soul, when it is separated from the body, remembers the sweetness it had in the body and grieves to be separated." Again, another rich man grieved for the goods he was leaving [the text reads "miseratur"] here, saying: "O silver girdles, where do you remain? O gilded dishes, how [can I] leave you!" And at last he took a dish in his teeth as if he wanted to devour it, and so expired. As it is a sharp pain when the nails are torn from the flesh, much greater is the pain when the soul is separated from the body; for the nail is a part of the body, and because the nails are united to the body

(p. 133)

[the text reads: "so great is the pain"] as great as it will be when the soul is separated from the body. So great is the pain when the soul is separated from the body that death is called the most terrible of all things, as Aristotle says.

The fifth sorrow is called the sorrow of doubt. O how great is the doubt of the wretched sinner in the hour of death when he enters it and does not know where he will lodge the first night! There was a certain prince who had many castles; he said in the hour of death: "O, I have many buildings, and I do not know where I shall lodge the first night." John Chrysostom: the dying man greets everyone while he is in possession of his mind, that is, while he has reason. "Farewell," he says, "my friends. For I set out on a strange road which I have never walked; I go to a land where I was not before; I go to a land from which I shall never return; I go before a terrible judgement, and I do not know how I shall be judged. I seek an advocate; I can have none, and no one will go with me to help."

The sixth sorrow is called that of offence. Believe me, at the end of your life evils will meet you in the last time. O poor man, you did not see the light while you had the light. You covered your face with hair and other ornaments; better if tears had covered your face. Gregory: "The eyes which guilt closes, punishment opens." Rightly, as with the mole, which always gathers earth and fears it will run short, and never sees except in the hour of death; for then death opens its eyes and breaks the little skin it has before its eyes, as also above. He can carry nothing with him, except that the just carry their reward, the unjust their punishment. All your sins will be brought back to your memory: you sinned by pride, envy. The poor man will be so afflicted with sorrow that he must let go the delights he had in sins, which he would still like to have. He must know that he has offended God, and the more his sins come to him, the more he will be afflicted with sorrow. *The wicked man, when he is come into the depth of sins, contemns* [God; contemns his own soul] (Proverbs 18:3; the text reads "deutero XXII"). *And evils will meet you in the last time.* Wisdom 5 [rather Ecclesiasticus 11:29]: *In the end of a man is the disclosing of his works.* There your angel has written

all your good works and you will see them before your face. And the devil has written all your bad works and will show you in what and in how many ways you offended God.

The seventh sorrow is called that of obligation. It cannot be otherwise: since he knows he has offended God, he knows himself bound to punishment. He remembers that he received many good things from the Lord; so he grieves the more, the more benefits he received from God, and he was, and still is, ungrateful for such benefits.

(p. 134)

The eighth sorrow is called that of summons. He must grieve because he has been summoned. *The wrath of a king is messengers of death* [Proverbs 16:14]. The eyes grow dim, the chest aches, the heart can live no longer: he has been summoned. *It is appointed for man once to die* (the Apostle). Job 14: *You have appointed his bounds which cannot be passed.* Jeremiah (?) 20 [the reference is uncertain]: *Come to death and to the sword.* O what pain and sorrow it is for a man when he is summoned before the judgement!

The ninth, of appearance. Every soul, whether good or bad, must appear before the judgement so that sentence may be executed by him. Since he has been peremptorily summoned, he must appear and present himself before the judge and render an account of his stewardship: *For now you can be steward no longer* (Luke 16 [the text reads "15"]). The soul [separated] from the body in which it dwells must present itself, whether unjust or just. Your angel who was assigned to you must appear with a great company. If you have done perfect penance, the angel accompanies you into heaven; but if not perfect, he accompanies you to purgatory and consoles you. But if it was damned, he presents that soul to the demons of hell with great sorrow. *Take what is yours and go,* says the Lord in the Gospel. It is read in the *Lives of the Fathers* that a certain holy father said: "Three things I fear most: first, the hour of death; second, that I must appear before the terrible judge; third, that I must render an account of all my works." The third: it will be terrible to appear before the judge to come, Christ himself, so that even the damned would wish their punishment in hell to be multiplied a thousand times rather than to have to appear before the judge. Apocalypse [6:16; the text reads "19"]: *Mountains, fall upon us, and hills, cover us,* lest we see the terrible judgement of the Lord. In other words it is said there commonly (?).

The tenth sorrow is of examination. You must be examined. Bernard: "O poor man, how many enemies you will have against you!" And all creatures standing against you will accuse you. You yourself will be your own enemy; your angel will accuse you; heaven and earth and all the elements will accuse you; the devil will accuse you — Lucifer, the demon Mammon, Begoth [uncertain], Asmodeus, and the rest, as was said above. Every capital vice has a captain demon. The demon will say: "O most just judge, give sentence on this one, who is yours by creation but mine because of his sins; give a just sentence." O what will you say, poor sinner?

The eleventh sorrow is of condemnation or sentencing. Whoever loved iniquity deserves to be condemned. *The wages of sin is death.* "Since that soul would not follow me nor look upon the passion

(p. 135)

which I suffered for it, take it for yourselves, demons, into eternal punishment." And the demons wait outside for the soul of the most wretched man, horribly, and receive it with joy and in haste.

The twelfth sorrow is of handing over. Since it has been damned by just judgement, they will hand it over to hell. The Lord will say: "Let the sinners be handed over to hell." Matthew 18, of the debtor who had nothing to pay: *Wicked servant, all the debt* etc.; *and his lord, being angry, delivered him to the torturers.* Matthew 22: *Friend, how did you come in here not having a wedding garment? And he was silent.* He said: *Cast him into the outer darkness.* I counsel you, then: attend to these twelve sorrows of death and do penance, lest you meet a most shameful death. But say with Paul: *I desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ.* May he deign

to grant this to you who reigns without end. Amen.

Again, in that sermon he showed a little skull [the text reads "cerebellum"] and called it a mirror in which you will see everything you have done and in which you took delight, saying: "See where are the locks in which you delighted; where the nose with which you smelled sweet scents; where the tongue with which you slandered", etc. The worms have gnawed them.

Again, in the Gospel it is said: *Before Abraham was made, I am* — and not "I was", because with God all past things are present, and there is no before or after in time with God, because God is from eternity. Again, at the end of the Gospel it is added: *And he hid himself and went out of the temple.* Here we have the teaching that we ought to give way to angry and quarrelsome men in place and time. Paul: *Give place to wrath.* Again, the greatest of the works belonging to eternal salvation is continual remembrance of the passion of the Lord Jesus Christ. But since we can do nothing good of ourselves, the Lord must be implored for his grace and help. Again, on this day *the banners of the king go forth* (*Vexilla regis prodeunt*), namely the banners of the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, *on which in the flesh the maker of the flesh*, that is, of the human race, *was hung upon the gibbet.* Again, we have three things to consider about the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ. The first is the very great passion, interior and exterior, namely in the outward members; of the interior the Lord said: *My soul is sorrowful* [the text reads "Testis est anima mea", probably for "Tristis"] etc. The second is the great mercy of God, who gave his Son to us, unworthy but needy, for our redemption. The third is the example of our Lord Jesus Christ: that as he was patient and obedient unto death, so in like manner we may be patient in all our deeds. Again, Bernard says: "All wisdom and fullness of knowledge and perfection of understanding is

(p. 136)

to know God." For he says the highest philosophy is to know God, and that he bore the cross for us. But we shall not be able to know God except through visible things, namely because we hear his words and consider his mercy and compassion, and we know him from visible things, namely his creatures. For Gregory says in a certain preface: "That while we know God visibly, through him we may be caught up into the love of things invisible." [This is the Christmas preface, attributed in the text to Gregory.]

XXXIV. Monday after Judica

[Editor's date: Monday, 19 March]

If anyone thirst, let him come to me and drink (John 7). Since the Jews were faithless, they strove how they might seize the Lord. So they sent to him to apprehend him, and Jesus said: *Yet a little while* [I am with you]. Hilary: "The understanding of words is to be taken from their causes." Living waters are true virtues; they are graces of God; living waters are divine gifts and benefits. *If anyone thirst, let him come to me and drink*, as if to say: I will give him drink abundantly; so that we may only prepare ourselves to receive the more abundant grace of God, which he is always ready to pour into us. So if any have lost the grace of God, they must dispose themselves to recover it through confession, namely that after the first plank [the text reads "tribulationem"; read "tabulam"] of salvation, namely baptism, they may run back to the second, namely penance. Ezekiel 36 [the text reads "XXXIII"]: *I will give you a heart of flesh and take away from you the heart of stone.* Joel 2 [rather Romans 10:11]: *Whoever believes in him shall not be confounded.*

Let us speak further of penance. Above, we spoke of the three affirmative precepts, namely *You shall adore the Lord your God and serve him alone* and *Remember to keep holy the sabbath day*, which are of the first table, and *Honour your father and mother, that you may be long-lived upon the earth*, which is the first precept of the second table. And under the affirmative precepts fall fasts, the keeping of feasts, likewise hearing the Mass of the day on feast days, and communion once a year, as was said above. Again, to the first precept which is set down in Exodus 20, namely *You shall not have strange gods*, is reduced every

enchantment, every diabolical conjuring, sorcery, the observance of days, seasons and months. Blessed Thomas: in such conjurations either the devil, when invoked, quickly appears, or if he is not invoked he quickly thrusts himself in. They say then: "If you begin a new work on a Friday, it will not be lucky."

(p. 137)

If you begin on a Friday and it pleases almighty God, it goes well for you. But if you have refrained because of that superstition, the devil will carry you off, for you have sinned mortally. Apocalypse 14: *Fear God and give him honour, for the hour of his judgement is come.* Ecclesiasticus 15: *He who loves God does good.*

In the first table is also written the first negative precept, namely *You shall not take the name of God in vain.* As often as the name is taken without honour and the showing of reverence, it is taken in vain. Speaking commonly, every sinner who sins mortally takes the name of God in vain; speaking properly, the name of God is taken in vain as often as one swears vainly and without necessity and usefulness. Saint Thomas, on the third book of the *Sentences*, distinction 39, affirms this: as often as some truth is confirmed by way of oath without necessity or without usefulness, so often is it a mortal sin.

For an oath to be excused from being a mortal sin, or for an oath to be lawful, three things are required, namely truth, necessity and usefulness. Jeremiah 4: *And you shall swear in truth, in judgement and in justice.* Under justice is comprehended usefulness, and under judgement necessity. So whoever swears without usefulness and without necessity sins mortally, even though there is truth there. As if someone were asked by another, "Were you there?" and he answered, "By God, I was there; by the Blessed Virgin." O poor man, who forces you to swear? If you said, "I speak the truth" — that is not enough [the sense is uncertain]; there must be necessity and usefulness there. It is said in Matthew [5]: who can make his hair white or red? (Look up the true text.) And you want to make God a liar, and you want to whiten your hair with eggs and other wretched things. Again, Christ forbade superfluity and vanity of oaths, namely that no one should wish to swear variously, superstitiously and diabolically. Matthew 5 [the text reads "6"]: *Neither shall you swear by your head … nor by the earth.* Ecclesiasticus 4: an authority. Some, moved by pity, think they merit rather than demerit when they will not tell the truth if they are compelled to it: as if my neighbour has committed some crime, perhaps killed someone, and you saw it, and you swear that you knew nothing, because you think, "God forbid that I should be the cause of his death." O wicked pity! I tell you that in perjury you have committed a greater sin than he who killed. For perjury and the sin of blasphemy is a greater sin than homicide. When you swore by the holy Gospels that you knew nothing, and lied upon your own head — you ought to have told the truth; and if he is punished, what is that to you? You merited pardon by confessing the truth. But if you contradict the truth, you have merited eternal damnation. You swore for this, that you would tell the truth. If perhaps

(p. 138)

he is also your friend, you sin mortally as often [as you do so], as Saint Thomas affirms. Some want to cloak the truth because of a man's death.

When someone is offended, in which case is he more offended? You cut down his trees, you burned his house; you killed his servant — more; you killed his kinsman — more again; you killed his parents — more again; you killed his son — more again, because love towards sons is greater than towards parents, for water descends more easily than it ascends; so too with love. What worse did you do further, which you could inflict? You killed him himself. Is not offence against one's own person, and immediate, worse than mediate? So if you offended God or neighbour mediately, it is not so great an offence as if you offended God immediately. But the sin of idolatry, unbelief and blasphemy is an immediate offence against God, because it is against God's own person; so it is greater than [the offence against a man, namely] homicide [the text reads "immediata"]. And because of this the sin of blasphemy holds the second place in the first table, while homicide holds the second place [the text so] in the second table. Again, since human nature is finite and

bounded, but the divine is infinite and unbounded, blasphemy, because it is done against God, is a greater sin than killing a man. Again, if there were some castle that could not be harmed by lance or any missile, then those who blasphemed the castle would [do] more than if they had harmed it [the sense is uncertain]. Since, then, in this material matter there is nothing greater than to blaspheme the castle, it follows that blasphemy is more than any bodily offence.

So those who blaspheme one saint also blaspheme God. For one saint can never be blasphemed without blaspheming him who sanctifies that saint; and God alone sanctifies that saint. Hence in the Canticle of the angels, namely *Gloria in excelsis Deo*: *You alone are holy.* Much more does he blaspheme God who blasphemes the blessed Virgin; for the Virgin Mary is venerated in respect of her Son, and the honour paid to the blessed Virgin is also paid to her Son. Hence the most Christian Justinian says: whoever blasphemes the name of God or of any saint, and especially of the blessed Virgin, is to be punished with the extreme penalty. *Whoever blasphemes the name of the Lord, let him die the death* (Leviticus 24). [The text reads "Opinio yma (?)"; uncertain.] He who steals is hanged, and he who blasphemes pays ten groschen or the like. O what justice! You put money before God. Is not God greater and of greater account than money? The Saracens, who are infidels, have such a law: whoever blasphemes the name of the Lord and of the blessed Virgin, through

(p. 139)

the middle is cut in two, and the pieces are fixed upon some sharp object. Our princes have regard to blood, namely the shedding of blood, but they do not consider that blasphemers also shed the blood of Christ. Hebrews 6: *Crucifying again the Son of God.* And the wound of sin hurts God more than the wound in his side, says Bernard. The psalmist: *For they have persecuted him whom you have smitten, and they have added to the grief of my wounds.*

So whoever are compelled by necessity must tell the truth, so that usefulness may follow, namely that [the guilty man] may be paid what he deserved; for justice is to render to each his own. So all who swear justly merit, because all who keep justice merit. It is no sin to swear justly; rather it is merit. But telling the truth has its limits, namely in place and time; and let a man do what he can and tell the truth. Note: "by" (*per*) expresses the circumstance of an oath; so whoever says "by God", "by the cross" makes an oath. You cursed the day, the hour: in respect of the Creator you also cursed the Creator. You cursed the year: you also cursed all the saints whose feasts are kept and venerated through the circle of the year. You cursed every good, and you cursed the author of every good; the author of every good is God.

In the second table are also placed six negative precepts and one affirmative, the first, namely *Honour your father and mother*. The first negative: *You shall not kill.* Matthew 5: *You have heard that it was said to them of old: You shall not kill. But I say to you: whoever is angry with his brother* … And it is Augustine, witnessed by the Decree (*De poenitentia*, dist. 1, chapter *Homicidiorum tria sunt genera*). For homicide is committed in the heart by being angry. However grave the offence, then — if he killed your brother or father — if anger is now roused in your heart against that evildoer, however criminal and however grievously he offended, it is homicide of the heart. As often as you conceive fury in your heart against someone, thinking, "If I had my enemy now, I would like to beat him so", or the like, so often you sin mortally. O how hard it is, among seculars as well as religious, that those who have suffered wrongs and many injuries do not listen to reason. For it is wrong. Do not even brute animals conceive fury against someone who has hurt them by chance? But virtue and grace are stronger than nature. So forgive all your enemies from your heart. For *he who is angry with his brother is liable to judgement.* This is what John says (1 John 3): *Whoever hates his brother is a murderer*; and a murderer has no part

(p. 140)

in the kingdom of your Father. But if you show your inward anger and fury in some way, though not expressly — namely you say nothing to him and do not beat him, but yet you show some sign of the hatred in your heart against him — he *is liable to the council.* But if by an express sign you show hatred in your heart against him, saying "Fool", *he is liable to the fire of hell.*

You have committed homicide of the mouth whenever from some word of yours the death or homicide of someone follows or can follow. Even if death did not follow, you have nevertheless committed spiritual homicide, because by your word he deserved death. Secular judges, however, pronouncing sentence against someone, or also notaries, do not sin, but rather merit; yet they become irregular, and even the pope cannot dispense with them, unless perhaps it were some solemn person. Again, it is not safe for those who enjoy clerical rank to be present at a judge's sentence, because there all those standing by are called on as witnesses; so that they may not become irregular, you should not be present.

Homicide of deed, or of the hands, is well known. Again, if a wicked mother has conceived and perhaps by potions etc. has expelled the mass, even though the foetus is not yet ensouled, she becomes not only a homicide but also a foeticide. And those who took part in such a thing are not only homicides but also become irregular. A rule of law: those who do and those who consent are to be punished with equal penalty. But if the foetus is ensouled she commits a greater sin. If the foetus is killed after birth, greater again; how much graver if it is killed unbaptised, because of the scandal. O most cruel mother, you become not only a homicide but a foeticide, and you deprive God of a soul. Yet if you baptised with your own hands before you killed, it would not be so most horrible.

Augustine: detraction against a neighbour is counted as homicide, whether against a bad man or a good. For Paul says (1 Corinthians 9; the text reads "XI"): *For it is better for me to die than that anyone should make my glory void* (causa 2, q. 3). Detraction is the greatest iniquity, namely among the sins committed against man: homicide holds the first place, detraction the second. For the detractor spiritually commits homicide three times in one act: first, he kills the good name of him whom he detracts; second, he kills his own soul; third, the soul of him to whom he speaks and who also gladly listens. The detractor takes away from him whom he detracts all moral good, which is greater than all real or bodily good. Proverbs 22 [the text reads "XX"]: *A good name is better than great riches.* Ecclesiasticus 41: *Take care of a good name, for this shall continue with you more than a thousand treasures.* [The text reads "de bono homine … proderit"; quoted loosely.]

(p. 141)

The second negative precept in the second table: *You shall not commit adultery.* Under this precept is forbidden every carnal and unlawful act, except the use of marriage in due place and time and in due use. Likewise is forbidden simple fornication; graver is rape (*stuprum*), namely with a virgin; simple adultery; graver is incest. But again graver is double adultery; graver legal incest; graver carnal; graver spiritual; graver sacrilege; but the vice against nature is the gravest. The Decree witnesses, and it is Augustine (causa 32, q. 7, chapter *Adulterii*) [the text reads "XXII"]: fornication surpasses adultery [the text so], as above on Friday after Oculi. Again, in Genesis 19, of Sodom and Gomorrah, the detestation of this vice against nature is found, because God destroyed well six [the text so; the usual number is five] cities by fire because of this sin. Saint Thomas says: the vow of chastity admits no dispensation, because nothing is equivalent to chastity.

The third negative precept in the second table: *You shall not steal.* Under this precept is included every species of avarice. Sacrilege is included; likewise robbery, theft whether public or secret. Again, those who are public robbers must not be absolved unless they make satisfaction; they must not be given communion unless they make satisfaction. And if perhaps they have squandered everything and have nothing from which to make satisfaction, and are at the end in death and show signs of penance, they are to be given communion [the editor's note corrects "excommunicandi" to "communicandi"], and yet, in detestation of the crime, they

are to lack ecclesiastical burial (*Extra, De raptoribus*). Plunder is also included. Wars are included, and the homicides that follow from them; simony active and passive; every unjust acquisition of temporal goods; usury; false contracts; simulated contracts; all falsity of measures and weights; all wickedness in acquiring temporal goods; lying for temporal gain; swearing for temporal gain; false judgement; false witness for temporal gain. John [rather 1 Timothy 6:10]: *The root of all evils is cupidity.*

The fourth negative precept in the second table: *You shall not bear false witness against your neighbour.* Here are included all the sins which anyone can commit against his neighbour with the tongue, namely detraction, lying, pretence, etc. O what dangers the tongue stirs up: homicides, wars, burnings, contentions, quarrels! All beasts are tamed, but the tongue cannot be tamed.

The fifth negative precept in the second table: *You shall not covet your neighbour's goods.* Here is forbidden every inordinate and unlawful

(p. 142)

desire of the neighbour's temporal goods. Note: if I saw some thing and thought in my heart, "Ah, if I had that thing, I would not care where he stayed", or "I would not care whether it was to his loss or not" — even though I shall never have it, I have sinned mortally. Few consider this.

The sixth negative precept: *You shall not desire your neighbour's wife.* Here is included everything that pertains to unlawful carnal concupiscence. If it is done with a rational, sentient creature, it is grave; graver with an irrational sentient one; graver again if with an insentient one. Whoever is angry where he ought not to be angry sins mortally; and whoever is not angry where he ought to be angry also sins mortally.

XXXV. Tuesday after Judica

[Editor's date: Tuesday, 20 March]

Pass from here and go into Judaea (John 7). Christ from the beginning of the world knew not only things past but also all things to come; and his soul, after it was united to the deity, knew all contingent things present and to come, and therefore he knew well when the Jews would crucify him. And so [he is] an example to us, that we should not give ourselves frivolously into the hands of enemies, but also flee our enemies as far as we can. Therefore Jesus did not go up to the *scenopegia*, namely the feast of the Jews [the text reads "festinantes"], but as it were in secret. They were his brothers because they were kinsmen of the Blessed Virgin; but spiritually the brothers of Christ are those who do his will, as he himself declares (Matthew [12]). It is said: *My time* etc.; *but your time is always ready. Go up to the feast; I do not go up to this feast*, namely seeking the world's glory or pomp. James 4: *Adulterers, do you not know that the friendship of this world is enmity with God? Whoever therefore will be a friend of this world becomes an enemy of God.* Therefore the Lord says: *The world cannot hate you, but me it hates*, because I am not a friend of this world. The world cannot hate worldly people, namely those who love it. So the world is deceitful: it shows you delights, pleasantness, company; but in the end the devil says with Judas: *Whomsoever I shall kiss, that is he; hold him fast.* As Judas betrayed Christ under the appearance of friendship, so do the world and the devil. But afterwards what will he say? "Whomever I first kiss, showing him delights and pleasures, he is ours:

(p. 143)

hold him and lead him away carefully." *Therefore the world hates me, because I bear witness of it that its works are evil.* So whoever tells the truth has few friends.

He also went up to the feast. And before he had said, *I do not go up*: he said, "I do not go up as you do", namely in pomp and seeking glory, or passing frivolously as you suppose, namely with power. So John says: *He also went up, not openly but as it were in secret*, that is, not openly, nor yet wholly secretly. *And there*

was much murmuring etc. *Some said: He is good.* The others called him a deceiver [the text reads "mandacem"], and born of a woman not upright, namely the Blessed Virgin; they called him a glutton, a drinker of wine, having a devil, a fool. For they said: "Why do you stand here listening to him?" And they attributed many blasphemies to him. Why should not we wretches also suffer reproaches and blasphemies?

Pass from here, then, O sinner, namely from a bad life, if you know yourself a sinner, *and go into Judaea*. Judaea is interpreted, according to the gloss, confession. So confess your sins. O great folly! Because of one mortal sin I lose the fruit of the whole confession, and all the sins confessed before return; and with that you have acquired two other sins: namely a lie, when the priest asks, "Do you know of more?" and you say "No"; second, because you despise the precept of the Church. For the precept says to confess all sins. Of the number of sins, "all" is said in the text of the decree. Whoever says "all" excludes nothing.

Let six conclusions be set down, then. The first: if someone confesses a thousand mortal sins and knowingly and deliberately keeps silent one, his confession is invalid and not lawful nor fruitful. This conclusion is set forth by reason, truth [i.e. authority] and example. By reason thus: wherever anything is lacking of the integral parts of a whole, then that thing is not called entire (in the *Book of Causes*, causa 16, q. [the reference is uncertain]). But all mortal sins belong to the entirety of the whole confession; so where one of them is lacking, the confession will not be entire, therefore invalid. Again, to show the effect: nothing is done while something remains to be done; but when one mortal sin is left out, something remained to be done; therefore etc. (*Extra, De sacra unctione*, sole chapter).

It is proved by authority thus: Job 31: *If as a man I have hidden my sin and concealed my iniquity in my bosom … let him who judges write* [a book], as if to say: God himself condemns me. For he speaks in the singular, "iniquity". David: *For I am ready for scourges … For I will declare my iniquity*, that is, I will not keep silent, *and I will think for my sin* always. For David speaks only of one

(p. 144)

iniquity, that is, if I had only one iniquity. Again the same David: *I have acknowledged my sin to you, and my injustices I have not concealed*; here he speaks in the plural, all injustices. Proverbs 28 [the text reads "8"]: *He who hides his sins shall not prosper*, namely to salvation, *but he who confesses and forsakes them shall obtain mercy.* David: *I said, I will confess against myself my injustice to the Lord, and you forgave the wickedness of my sin.*

It is proved by examples thus. First, suppose that some man had about his heart a hundred serpents biting his body. A master comes, namely a physician, who says he knows skilfully how to rescue him from the serpents. Now let him take ninety-nine serpents from you, yet one serpent remains which bites you about your heart: can that one serpent bite your heart and kill you? It is true. So also to the point: if you had confessed a hundred mortal sins, or a thousand, and left out one, it is sufficient for eternal punishment. Sin is like a sword cutting on both sides, for it kills body and soul. For he says afterwards here "every (?) iniquity"; so a single iniquity suffices for damnation. Ecclesiasticus 21: *Flee from sins as from the face of a serpent; if you come near them they will take hold of you. The teeth thereof are the teeth of a lion, killing the souls of men.*

Again, physicians say in time of plague: "Flee, flee; quickly, quickly; far; late." For it is seen many times that the plague is universal; so there is no better remedy than "Flee, flee; quickly, quickly", before you are killed; "far, far", so that the infected air cannot reach you; "late" return to your house, until you know that the air is well restored. Let us understand this prescription of the physicians spiritually. In time of plague, take: flee, flee, as from the face of a serpent; flee sins totally and entirely. Quickly, quickly flee sins, as quickly as you can; quickly confess, quickly turn to the Lord. *Delay not to be converted to the Lord, and defer it not from day to day*; say not, *Great is the glory of the Lord* [the text so; the verse reads "the mercy of the Lord is great"], *for mercy and wrath quickly come from him.* Far: remove yourself far from sin, as far as you can, and

from all the circumstances of sins. Luke 15 [the text reads "Job. 19"]: *And he went into a far country.* In time of plague the best physician is the priest: as soon as you feel the plague, seek a priest. Isaiah 38 [the text reads "39"]: *Set your house in order, for you shall die.* Some pestilences come from the influence of the higher [bodies], others from the infection of the air, and this from the putrefaction of serpents or other venomous creatures. Satan is of a malignant nature; so he also brings in pestilence. John Chrysostom: the true penitent not only

(p. 145)

hates the sin, but its quality, quantity, the person with whom he sinned, the place, the time — all the circumstances of the sin. And return late: so late that you never return to sin again. The Lord said: *Behold, you are made whole; sin no more, lest something worse befall you* (John 5). He said "no more" [the text reads "noli"]: let your will to sin cease, and come to me, and I will preserve you from sinning. Again, John 8, to the adulteress he said: *Go, and now sin no more.*

An example of a wall, Job [30:14; the text reads "31"]: *As through a broken wall and an opened gate my enemies have rushed upon me.* If all the gates were shut and only one was open, can the enemies enter by that gate and break the city and burn it? So to the point: if you keep back one sin, the devil will destroy you and burn you. So if the walls were well prepared on every side, and only in one part the wall was broken, could the enemies enter? Certainly; so to the point: if the soul is broken by a single mortal sin, the enemies, that is, the devils, enter. A third example: you have vessels for keeping balsam or a liquid; if all the holes were well stopped except one, the liquid escapes entirely. So the sinner: if you have confessed all sins and knowingly left out only one, you are emptied of all grace. Jeremiah: *Death is come up through our windows.* Paul: *A little leaven corrupts the whole lump*: a little mortal sin corrupts your whole conscience, your whole life. Whoever offends in one thing loses many goods. So, sinner, if you had [not] confessed that one, you have lost many goods: the gifts of the Holy Spirit and all the grace of God, the effect of all the sacraments, the merit of the passions of our Lord Jesus Christ, the merit of all the saints, the communion of all the faithful of Christ. James 2: *Whoever offends in one point is guilty of all.*

The second conclusion: confession must not only be voluntary concerning all sins, but must also be premeditated, collected [the text reads "corvitata"; uncertain] and thought over beforehand with all the diligence that is possible: examine your conscience and your mind. Seneca: "What you are going to say to another, first learn yourself." So think diligently from the time you used free will, from the time you had an intellectual will, namely from seven years old (in the first chapter, *De delictis puerorum*). [A gloss in the text adds: So confession must be premeditated; and if a confession is not premeditated, and someone confesses all the sins he knows and negligently passes over one mortal sin, his confession is invalid. This is proved because if he had used greater diligence he would have brought it back to memory; or thus: if someone confesses all the sins he knows and through his own negligence passes over one sin, etc., it is proved because confession must be well premeditated.]

(p. 146)

For at seven years children begin to lie, to blaspheme. Whence comes this, that *the younger learns well to plough from the elder*. But Hostiensis says even from five years, as above, of the blaspheming boy. Isaiah 38 [the text reads "Esechie"; the song of Hezekiah]: *I will recount to you all my years in the bitterness of my soul.* Do as merchants do, who reckon this way and that so as not to lose any penny, groschen or florin; so you too should do. And since memory is slippery, memory must be helped, namely by writing. So if you fear to forget, write on paper, etc.

Although sins once confessed with formed contrition are purged, yet it is useful, though not necessary, to confess all the sins you have done from your youth, from the time you had the use of reason. And it is useful principally for three things. First, you will merit so much the more because of humility: as much as pride

displeases God, so much [does] humility [please him]. Second, because you will be surer, by way of caution. Third, because you will be more accustomed to confess well. For you will be the surer that you have confessed once, and you repeat it; and the more often you confess, the more you learn to confess, and you receive increase in virtues and bring it into practice. Augustine: "Hold what is certain and let go what is uncertain." Justinian: "Every craft receives increase through continual exercise." For you will be surer by way of caution: to confess all your sins from the time of your youth, namely from when you had free use of choice and reason. Who knows whether you repented duly? But it is not humanly possible that anyone can remember all sins from youth; it is enough that he confess those he can remember. So let a man think over the places where he was through the year, and the times: "In such a place you did this."

Again, pestilence also sometimes comes from turning over a field or mud by the water, because thence a foul and infectious stench is caused which for the most part infects the nearby air. So it is not good to do such turning over and burning [the text reads "torrefactionem"] near a city.

Again, so too Saint Sylvester understood spiritually the medicine given to the Emperor Constantine, namely that he should be washed in the blood of innocents to be cleansed of leprosy. But the emperor, seeing the mothers of the children weeping, was moved with pity and said: "Before, I had pity on strangers, and now should I kill the innocent children of my subjects? Far be it." And afterwards he was converted through Peter and Paul, who sent him to Sylvester, who baptised him. (This story is in the *Life of Sylvester*.)

(p. 147)

So Sylvester said: "The physicians said well that you cannot be healed except in the blood of innocents. Bring me all the idols", except one beautiful one which his son would not present. So Sylvester said: "Now you will be healed in the blood of the innocent Lamb." And he was healed, except one spot which appeared on his forehead. Sylvester said: "Now I know that you have kept one idol." And when the idol was presented, the spot vanished and he was wholly healed. So the leprosy of sins is not healed unless all the idols are presented, that is, all sins; and if one sin remained, every stain of the former vices would appear in the soul. So be careful not to omit any sin out of shame. *And pass from here into Judaea*, that is, to the confession of your sins, and you will certainly have eternal life; to which may he lead us who reigns without end.

XXXVI. Wednesday after Judica

[Editor's date: Wednesday, 21 March]

My sheep hear my voice (John 10). In today's Gospel the Lord shows more plainly to his enemies, namely the Jews, that he is the Son of God than we read in any other Gospel. Again, the faithful are called Christ's sheep because the sheep is a humble, innocent, fruitful creature; so it must be with the faithful. So the Jews said: *How long do you hold our souls in suspense?* They did not say this because they wished to search out the truth, but so that they might find a cause of death against him; for this happened in winter, and so the Jews did not have the warmth of divine love and divine grace in them. My sheep are all my faithful. *My sheep hear my voice*, and by hearing they keep it, and by keeping they act accordingly. James 1: *Be doers of the word and not hearers only.* For it is not enough to hear the voice of the Lord, but to follow it. Therefore it follows in the Gospel: *And they follow me, and I give them eternal life.* It follows: *And no one shall snatch them out of my hand*; because however many heresies there are, and however much the devil tempts you, if you hear the voice of the Lord and act according to it, the Lord will not let you [be] snatched out of his hand. It follows: *What my Father has given me is greater than all*: he gave me sonship, namely that I am God, and he gave me the same nature that he has, the same power. Therefore it follows: *I and the Father are one.* He says "one" because he gave the essence, that is, I and the Father are one essence,

(p. 148)

one nature, one substance, one power, one eternity. *Then the Jews took up stones.* And Jesus said: *Many good works* [I have shown you]: "I gave light to your blind, I restored the lame, I raised the dead; for which of these do you stone me?" As if he said: you are ungrateful for the good works I showed you. Bernard: "Ingratitude is a burning wind, drying up the fountain of mercy, the streams of grace and the dew of compassion." But the Jews, wishing to excuse themselves of ingratitude, said: *For a good work we do not stone you, but for blasphemy.*

Note here why the Jews wished to stone Christ for blasphemy, which they imputed to Christ. Caiaphas also rent his garments, saying: *What further need have we of witnesses? He is guilty of death.* See, the Jews condemned blasphemy as worthy of death. Therefore the Jews charge Christ rather with the sin of blasphemy. For Augustine says: "Those who blaspheme Christ reigning in heaven today sin no less than those who then crucified Christ on earth." From these words of Augustine it is plain that the sin of blasphemy surpasses all homicide, as was said above also concerning the precepts.

Jesus answered them: Is it not written in your law, I said, you are gods? If he called them gods to whom the word of God came, namely the prophets and priests, *and the scripture cannot be broken* … You too are sons of God if you are in the state of grace; you are adopted sons of God; but I am so by nature. Nonetheless, whether you will or not, you are sons of God by creation. So the sheep of Christ are the faithful of Christ in so far as they hear his voice and keep his commandments, which consist in just two letters, namely *a* and *m*, one repeated twice [i.e. *ama*, "love"]. Augustine: "Love, and do what you will; you will never err." Again, John 15: *This is my commandment, that you love one another as I have loved you.* Love God above all and more than all, and your neighbour as yourself. Love your [eternal] life more than temporal things, and your neighbour's life as your own. Love temporal things for necessity and the sustaining of life, and your neighbour's temporal things (?) as your own. So if we fail in some things through human frailty, let us do penance; for human frailty would never suffice for penance unless the merits of Christ's passion came to its aid.

The third conclusion: if a confession is not premeditated, and someone has omitted one sin, not knowingly but in ignorance and negligence, the confession is invalid in respect of the negligence, because you did not think over your sins beforehand. So think over your sins well for three or four days. For if you lose something, you certainly search for it with diligence. Hence Moses says (Deuteronomy 8): *Take heed lest you forget the Lord your God and neglect his commandments.*

(p. 149)

The fourth conclusion: if someone has premeditated and thought and thought again and examined himself well, and also asked God to give him knowledge of all his sins, and has forgotten one sin not through negligence but through natural defect of memory, he is bound to confess that sin as soon as he has called it back to memory, to the same priest having the same authority, if at least he has authority to absolve him from such a sin; if not, he must have recourse to another having authority to absolve from that sin. For although the priest says in the absolution, "I absolve you from all sins confessed, repented and forgotten" [the text reads "absolutis"], Richard says that this is done by way of caution, namely in case the man should die meanwhile (?) before he called the forgotten sin back to memory. When "forgotten" is said, it is always understood with this caution: if you did not forget through your own negligence but, when you had thought it over well, forgot one through defect of memory. If, then, you die after such a forgotten sin, if you applied your diligence, you will be saved. But if you survive and it comes to your memory, you are bound to confess; if you confess, you will be saved; if not, you will be damned.

The fifth conclusion: granted that someone applied all good diligence and examined himself well, and not through negligence but through defect of memory forgot one mortal sin, and afterwards it was brought back to memory, and he had the ability to confess and did not take pains to confess and neglected to confess —

dying thus, he will be damned. The reason: because he died in mortal sin. *The wages of sin is death* (Romans 6). Everyone who dies in mortal sin will be damned (causa 21, q. 3; Cyprian). Proverbs 1: *Because I called and you refused; I stretched out my hand, and there was none who regarded.* For not only those who pass over the commandments but also those who despise and neglect them are damned. Proverbs 1: *And you have neglected my reprehensions; I also will laugh in your destruction.* Hebrews 2: *For if the word spoken by angels became steadfast, and every transgression and disobedience received a just recompense of reward, how shall we escape if we neglect so great salvation?* See, it is said there that because of negligence about salvation we shall not escape eternal damnation. Again, Matthew 25: *The unprofitable servant, cast him into the outer darkness.* Numbers 15: [*For he has contemned the word of the Lord*.] Christ gave the example of the unprofitable servant who had gained nothing. *For he despised the word of the Lord*; therefore his memory shall be blotted out from the earth. Jerome: "Negligence breeds contempt; and contempt, as regards the Lord, breeds damnation."

(p. 150)

If negligence regarding others causes mortal sin, much more regarding yourself: as when I neglected to correct a sinner, if I am a prelate, or if I did not oppose or resist the wicked when I had the power to resist.

The sixth conclusion: if someone has confessed and through his own negligence forgotten some mortal sin, and afterwards approaches communion, receiving the body of our Lord Jesus Christ, without that negligence being purged, he sins mortally; because this sacrament requires innocence as far as is possible, and it requires reverence, and he has neither. Hence the Apostle, 1 Corinthians 11: *But let a man prove himself, and so let him eat of that bread and drink of the chalice. For he who eats and drinks unworthily … not discerning the body*, that is, not distinguishing the body of the Lord, that is, he does not distinguish spiritual food from bodily. For whoever receives under one species receives the blood of Christ just as well as whoever [receives] under two. For Christ after his resurrection resumed all his blood necessary to the being of a man and glorified it. So every man under one species receives the whole body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ glorified, and the soul with the deity, and no less than whoever [receives] under two. Whoever receives the body and blood of the Lord unworthily will be punished like Judas.

The seventh conclusion: if someone has been well and lawfully confessed, and used all diligence, and remembered all his sins well and omitted nothing, and in truth has been confessed and absolved, and yet his conscience gnaws at him, namely his conscience [the editor reads "conscientia" for "quod scientia"] tells him he is in mortal sin, and he approaches with that goad of conscience, he sins mortally. Romans 14: *All that is not of faith* [is sin; the text adds "builds for hell"]. Augustine resolves the same from conscience: whoever acts against conscience builds for hell (in the chapter *De inquisitione*, on heretics). One ought sooner to suffer all evils than to hear, speak or act against conscience. An example: if a woman had contracted with a man related to her in the third or fourth degree, and afterwards the woman has found it out and will not sleep with him, and the woman cannot prove it because the witnesses are dead, and even if for example she were excommunicated, she ought rather to suffer a thousand excommunications than act against conscience. So think over diligently beforehand what you ought to confess, so that your consciences may appear clean before the priest.

(p. 151)

My sheep hear my voice. So since we are the Lord's sheep, let us hear his voice and keep his commandments; and if perhaps we fail in some way, let us do true penance. For not only many sins, but sins however grave — if we do penance for them, we shall certainly have remission of all sins in the present age, and in the future eternal glory [the editor notes an anacoluthon here]; to which may he lead me and you, etc.

Again, if someone against his conscience lifted a straw from the ground he sins; and if someone could do something against his conscience thinking "certainly this is a mortal sin", he would sin mortally. So if

conscience tells you that you are in mortal sin and you approach the Lord's table, you sin mortally. I do not speak of fear of conscience [i.e. scruple], but of conscience, such that conscience has certainly told you that you are in mortal sin.

XXXVII. Thursday after Judica

[Editor's date: Thursday, 22 March]

Many sins are forgiven you, because you have loved much (Luke 7). These words were spoken to Mary Magdalene by our Lord Jesus Christ. Luke describes how our Lord Jesus Christ was invited by Simon the Pharisee, saying, "He asked" [*Rogabat*]. *There was in the city* — not a village but a royal city, since it was Jerusalem — *a sinner*: she lost her own name, so that she was called "the sinner in the city". Saint Mary Magdalene shows the form and figure of true and solemn penance.

In this Gospel, then, our Lord Jesus Christ shows the supreme mercy he has towards sinful men and women. Mark writes that she was full of seven demons. (Gregory:) Mary had seven demons because she was full of all vices. What, then, is to be considered more closely: Mary approaching or Christ receiving? Jerome: "Those whom we followed in sinning, let us follow also in repenting." *She brought an alabaster box*, namely sincerity of conscience, and the resolve [to confess] her sins and do penance. In the alabaster box is ointment, and that is the oil, namely grace, with which the Lord anoints sinners. *As soon as she knew*: the beginning of salvation is knowledge of oneself, *that Jesus* etc. Jesus, that is, Saviour: if you know yourself a sinner, recognise also that Christ can save you from sins, and do not

(p. 152)

despair. *Standing behind*, with humility. O, it is dangerous to run the way of sinners; so stand still, sinning no more. So "standing": she had a true resolve of not sinning in any way. "Behind": she had shame for sin. Nothing in the world is more shameful than sin, for shame is the effect of sin and sin is the cause of shame; and if sin is the cause of shame, the conclusion follows: "behind". Ecclesiasticus 3: *The greater you are, the more humble yourself in all things.* Therefore women ought to stand, not come close to the priest, namely lean on his shoulders or pass into his face, lest they lead the priest into sin and ... themselves [the text reads "aviare"; uncertain]. Because of the shame you have, God forgives you the greatest part of the punishment. Shame is the greatest part of penance, and you could confess to so many priests for the sake of the shame. "Standing behind" with humility: if by being proud you offended God, [be] reconciled to God with humility.

At the feet of the Lord. It is not safe for the confessor to look into a woman's face, for perhaps the priest will carry more sins home than he had before. *She washed the feet of the Lord with tears*: here the quality of confession is set down, that it must be tearful; *and wiped them with her hair.* Here Saint Mary Magdalene gives us the form of true penance: with the things with which someone offended God, with those he must also do penance. Augustine: "The sin is not forgiven unless what was taken is restored" — if you have it and will not restore; but if you would gladly restore and do not have it, it is otherwise. *She kissed his feet*: it is a sign of devotion; she trusted in the healing of the physician. The ointment is a sign of holiness. Jerome says on Origen [the reference is uncertain] that she was a harlot, and behold, she was made holy. We do not read of any other harlot that she shed tears.

The Pharisee murmured. The devil murmurs when he sees us repenting. But Christ excuses Saint Mary Magdalene: *Two debtors*, etc. He to whom more is given loves the giver more. You reckon yourself so just that there is nothing in you which God should forgive you; but she reckons herself a great sinner, and therefore, because the whole sum is forgiven her, she also loves much; but you show no sign of true love. *And with tears*: consider how much she wept, that she washed the feet of a grown man with tears. *And wiped them with her hair*: although she had a little cloth on her head, yet because she had sinned with her hair, she also wiped with her hair. She sinned with her eyes, so she repented with her eyes. And as hair is superfluous,

so restore what you have over and what is not yours; even if you must beg, you must restore. But if you had nothing and would gladly [restore], it would be otherwise.

(p. 153)

And anointed his feet. The psalmist: *Therefore God has anointed you with the oil of gladness.* "Let us follow them repenting if we have followed them sinning." Mary of Egypt — was she a sinner? She was, because she not only committed the act of lust but also hired herself [the text reads "appreciabatur"] to those who sinned with her. The adulterous woman, the Canaanite, etc. *Many sins are forgiven you, because you have loved* etc. So great can the flame of love and the force of formed contrition be today that if, immediately on having formed contrition, namely with the resolve of confessing and making satisfaction, death came upon someone before he confessed and made satisfaction, I would say to him what Jesus said to Saint Mary Magdalene: *Your sins are forgiven you.* But do not wait for the last hour. Augustine: "Hold what is certain and let go what is uncertain." *And your faith has saved you*: here our Lord Jesus Christ attributes the works of mercy or piety to faith.

The Apostle: *All his works are done in faith.* When Christ gave light to the blind he always attributed it to faith. That burning charity informed by faith *has saved you; go in peace.* Since deeds also inform more than words, holy mother Church sets before us as an example the penitential works of Saint Mary Magdalene.

One owed five hundred, that is, offended God with all five senses; but the other fifty, which is the tenth part of five hundred: as if to say, you reckon you have sinned little, perhaps only venially, namely by seeing or hearing or speaking vain things. Therefore much is forgiven her, because she loved much; but you have not loved much, so neither are many things forgiven you, because you owed not many.

On the circumstances of sins. Concerning circumstances it must be understood that a circumstance is a certain accident of a voluntary act, touching the act itself only as regards what is principal or substantial [the sense is uncertain]. Or a circumstance is an accident that changes the species of a sin, or aggravates the sin by reason of the special order you ought to have towards God and towards your neighbour. Here such a rule must be given (on the fourth book of the *Sentences*, distinction 16): whenever a voluntary act is deprived of some order of reason by some circumstance, then such an act of sin committed with that circumstance changes the species of the sin. But if the voluntary act is not deprived of any order of reason, but is intensified, then it does not change the species of the sin but aggravates it. But if it is neither deprived nor intensified, then it neither changes the species nor aggravates the sin.

An example. The divine law says: *You shall not steal*, of which it speaks of all things. If a thief steals a horse, or a sheep, or a pig, he must be hanged. And if someone steals himself

(p. 154)

from God, is he not worthy of hanging? So under the name of theft must be understood any stolen thing, both reputation and honour, and everything that can be included. One theft is secret, another public. In this the species is not changed, but it is aggravated; for public theft is a graver sin than secret theft. Another theft is of a sacred thing, namely sacrilege; another of a thing not sacred. Real sacrilege is committed: first, when a sacred thing is taken from a sacred place; second, when a non-sacred thing is taken from a sacred place; third, when a sacred thing is taken from a non-sacred place. Theft, as to sacrilege, changes the species of the sin, because sacrilege is graver than [theft] of a thing not sacred. Sacrilege is called the violation of a sacred thing. The voluntary act is deprived of the order of reason in this circumstance, namely regarding the sacred thing; therefore the species of the sin is changed; and so it is sacrilege. If someone burns or destroys a church, if before he has been proclaimed [excommunicate] by the bishop he seeks absolution, he can be absolved by the bishop; but if he has been proclaimed by the bishop, he cannot be absolved except by the Apostolic See. Again, this extends not only to ecclesiastical goods but also to profane ones: for whoever cuts

down fruit-bearing trees, burns villages or the houses of the poor, is under sentence of excommunication, etc.

So personal sacrilege is graver than real, and sacramental graver than personal and real. In the same species there also concurs not deprivation but intensification. When a non-sacred thing is taken from a sacred place it is grave; for sacrilege is graver when a sacred thing is taken from a non-sacred place; again, graver when a sacred thing is taken from a sacred place. And that is called real sacrilege. So here, as to that circumstance, namely that the theft was committed in a sacred place, the species of the sin is changed; therefore such a circumstance must be confessed.

The second is called personal sacrilege, namely in offending against the sacraments [the text so; read perhaps "sacred persons"] or clerics. And whoever strikes a cleric, even one having only the first tonsure, by that very fact incurs the greater excommunication, which is reserved to the pope. But it has many limitations [the text adds "Si de quo minus et de quo magis"; uncertain]. If a good woman poured water on a priest's head, not with intent to injure nor in anger but in jest — or rather if she did it with intent to make him fall [the text reads "decidendi"; uncertain] — perhaps she is excommunicated. So if someone took a priest's horse by the tail or bridle, on which horse the cleric sits, without the cleric's will, he is by that very fact excommunicated. So you should not play jokes with priests. There are, however, some cases in which the bishop also can absolve, as if a woman struck a cleric who desired to sin with her, as if a cleric asked some

(p. 155)

woman to consent to his wickedness. If someone killed a cleric, he cannot be absolved except by the Apostolic See. If he mutilated a cleric, likewise he cannot be absolved except by the Apostolic See. If he struck him with shedding of blood, he cannot be absolved except by the Apostolic See. If he laid violent hands on a cleric, he cannot be absolved except by the Apostolic See.

Sacramental sacrilege is when abuse is made of the seven sacraments of the Church, whether through simony, or through enchantments, or through sorceries; as many use these sacraments, namely anointing, in the worship of a demon; so such is graver than the former. Likewise some abuse the sacrament of baptism in conjuring or other enchantments. Saint Thomas: among the sacrileges committed in the sacraments of the Church, the highest place is held by sacrilege committed about the sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. Nothing in the sacraments is greater than the sacrament of our Lord Jesus Christ; so it is to be received with all devotion and reverence.

Again, theft by embezzlement (*peculatus*) is also committed, namely of the goods of the commonwealth. So the sin is aggravated: for whoever commits theft of public property commits a greater sin than of private property, because whoever takes something from the community takes from many and offends more than whoever offends one; so it is more sin than if you had taken something from one person's own house. Again, there is cattle-theft (*abigeatus*; the text reads "ambigiatus"), namely when the herd is scattered; or also suppose that it is a herd of the commonwealth. And so that wicked man, in order to steal, scatters the herd and seeks the edges so that he may steal the more; and that is graver than of private property, but of public property graver again. Again, another theft is kidnapping (*plagium*), namely when someone steals a boy or girl, namely to serve him, because he would like to sell [the child], though he is of free condition. It is graver to steal a man than a beast; and so the species is changed and the sin aggravated.

There is a third case, when the species is neither changed nor intensified, and then the sin is not aggravated: as if someone had taken a chalice from the altar with his right hand and other jewels with his left, it is not necessary to confess such a circumstance, because there the voluntary act is not changed.

Augustine sets down eight circumstances, in the verse: "Who, what, where, through whom, how often, why, how, when." "Who" gives the circumstance of the efficient cause. "What" regards the act, namely what sin you committed, lust or pride. "Where", namely in what place. "Through whom", namely who were your

counsellors. "How often" you sinned. "Why": with what intent, what mind

(p. 156)

you sinned. "How", namely how you acted in sinning. "When", namely at what hour. And these circumstances appear in these verses:

Order, place, person, knowledge, time aggravate, Age, condition, number, delay, abundance, cause, And the manner in the fault, high station, a small struggle, What the outcome was, and besides, wicked compulsion.

The first thing that aggravates sin is order. A sin is imputed more gravely to an acolyte than to a simple [layman]; again, more gravely to a subdeacon than to an acolyte; again, more gravely to a deacon than to a subdeacon; to a priest more gravely again; to a bishop more gravely than to a priest; and so ascending up to the pope; and to the pope it is imputed most gravely. Again, a religious sins more gravely than a secular priest. For all clerics, especially from the subdiaconate, are bound by the institution of the Church to keep continence (dist. 32 [the text reads "2m dist."], chapter *Praeter hoc*, and chapter *Verum*); but religious are bound and constrained to keep continence by their own vow and their own will. So order, whether regular or secular, aggravates sin.

The second thing that aggravates sin is place. Hence Augustine: the sinner confessing must consider the place (*De poenitentia*, dist. 5). Augustine says: "Let the sinner consider the quality of the crime", as if perhaps in a church, or in the house of some senator to whom you were bound to show reverence. So whoever sins in a church sins more gravely than in another, undedicated house. If in the house of an emperor, king or prince, or of one to whom you were bound to show reverence, it is graver than in a simple house.

The third is the person. A priest sins more gravely than a layman; a citizen more gravely than a peasant; an emperor than a king. A rule of law: the higher the station, the greater and steeper the fall. And the Decree witnesses (causa 1, q. 1, chapter *Vilissimus*): "he is to be reckoned most vile", as above on the Saturday before Laetare.

The fourth thing that aggravates sin is knowledge. Luke 12 [the text reads "19"]: *The servant who knew the will of his lord* (*De poenitentia*, dist. 2, chapter *Sicut tribus*). Sin can be committed in three ways. First, through ignorance: it is grave because it is damnable. The Apostle, 1 Corinthians 14: *He who is ignorant shall be ignored*, [namely] as to salvation. So no one is excused by gross ignorance; if you are ignorant, learn what you are bound to (*Extra, De vita et honestate clericorum*, chapter *Ut quisque*). All the faithful over seven years are bound of necessity for salvation to know what they must believe, what they must do, from what they must abstain, and what they must ask for, as above. Second, through weakness, namely frailty: it is graver than

(p. 157)

through ignorance. Third, through malice, which is the gravest, because it is sin against the Holy Spirit, of which [we spoke] above.

The fifth thing that aggravates sin is time, namely perhaps on a Sunday. For some doctors hold that a double sin is formally committed on a feast day [as compared] with another, ferial day; or at a time when you ought to have been doing penance, or perhaps while Masses are being celebrated.

The sixth is age. For children can sin from seven years, as above (*De delictis puerorum*). So whoever sins in his tenth year sins more gravely than whoever sins in his seventh. Again, in a young man the sin of avarice is greater than in an old man; the reason is that old men are more inclined to avarice than young men. But in the vices of lust old men sin more than young men, because young men are more easily inclined to lust than old men, since the blood boils in the young. So age aggravates, because old men sin more gravely than young men in certain kinds of sin: as if old men delight in ornaments of clothing or of faces, as commonly old men

many times sin more than young men. So also in worldly and wicked songs old men sin more than young men; so in ornaments of the hair or the growing of locks old men sin more than young men.

XXXVIII. Friday after Judica

[Editor's date: Friday, 23 March]

Jesus was to die for the nation, and not only for the nation, but to gather together in one the children of God who were scattered (John 11). The chief priests and Pharisees gathered a council, which, as is commonly said, was done on this day. The Jews feared for temporal things and temporal riches, but they did not care about the soul; and therefore the Romans afterwards came and took their place and nation and laid waste the city, as in the time of Titus and Vespasian. For they said: *Lest perhaps the Romans come.* So one of them, named Caiaphas, said: *It is expedient for you that one* [man should die]. It was good counsel for us, but Caiaphas did not understand what he said. Therefore John says: *And this he spoke not of himself, but being the high priest of that year* [he prophesied]. So here the Holy Spirit spoke; for the Lord many times speaks even through wicked men. An example is Balaam, who was an enchanter and profane, who wished to curse the children of Israel, and God spoke a prophecy through him, namely *There shall come forth a rod out of the root of Jesse* [the text so; Balaam's prophecy is Numbers 24:17]. *And so, being

(p. 158)

the high priest of that year*: note here the power of the Holy Spirit, which is attributed to the pontifical office, although he was also most foul, because he planned to kill Christ. So priests, however bad, are to be revered in respect of their dignity, as above. *That he might gather together in one the children of God who were scattered*: so that there might be one universal Church, one fold and one shepherd, one mystical body of Christ, which is brought back to one mystical head, namely Christ, and a ministerial [the text reads "misteriale"] head, namely the pope, as above. So there is one universal holy mother Church, outside which there is no salvation at all.

When our Lord Jesus Christ willed to die for our salvation, namely to cleanse us from our sins, as is said in Apocalypse 1 [the text reads "12"]; Peter: *Christ died for us, the just for the unjust.* Again: *Christ died for us, leaving us an example, that we should follow his steps.* If we too wish to live with Christ, we must also die with Christ. We must mortify the outer man so that we may give life to the inner. The outer man is mortified when sensual appetite is manfully resisted. So we must resist the daughter of Babylon. The daughter of Babylon, that is, of confusion, is our sensuality, or the daughter of guilt. The psalmist: *O daughter of Babylon, miserable; blessed is he who shall repay you your payment which you have paid us.* Blessed is he who resists the daughter of Babylon and repays her the payment she paid us; for as sensuality attacks us, so conversely we must attack and resist sensuality by chastising the body. *Blessed is he who shall dash your little ones against the rock*: the little ones, namely the thoughts that come to us in first movements; and the rock is Christ. So let him dash these thoughts against the rock: think on Christ's passion. So if we have lost the first innocence, which we recovered in baptism, and having recovered it have lost it a second time, we must recover it through the second plank, namely penance. Therefore we must mortify the outer man so that we may give life to the inner.

Six circumstances, then, have been spoken of; now follows the seventh. The seventh circumstance that aggravates sin is condition, namely of what means, what condition, what craft, what skill, what dignity, and the like. An example: this one is a noble, that one a knight, that one a baron, that one a count, that one a marquis, that one a duke, that one a prince, that one a king, that one an emperor; as in the higher hierarchy there are also nine orders, we give examples.

These are the differences in nobility. A sin is to be imputed more gravely to a knight than to a simple noble, and to a baron

(p. 159)

more gravely than to a knight, to an emperor more gravely than to a king. So also a sin is imputed more gravely to a lord than to a servant, because a lord is of greater capacity and dignity or condition than a servant. The higher the authority, dignity or power anyone has, the more gravely he sins. David laments of the traitor (?) against our Lord: *For if my enemy had reviled me, I would verily have borne it; and if he who hated me* etc., *I would perhaps have hidden myself from him.* For one is reckoned more gravely offended by a pretended friend than by an old enemy. Therefore the psalmist adds: *Let death come upon them, and let them go down alive into hell.* As if he trades with a simple peasant or layman, who would consider whether he sold bad cloth, and perhaps at a dearer price than another would have given him if he had known the cloth [the sense is uncertain].

Again, one must also consider the condition as to kin: as, you, a married man, committed adultery with your sister: you committed adultery and incest. Or whether you committed adultery with a married or a free woman: so you must specify the adultery, because these circumstances change the species of the sin. So if you did not express that circumstance, you did nothing; and if the priest did not question you, he too did wrong. So whoever sinned with a spiritual daughter, namely one he raised from the font of baptism, or if you sinned with your co-mother [i.e. a godparent of your child], it would be spiritual incest, which is graver than carnal, because [the spirit] is more excellent than the flesh, etc.

The eighth circumstance is number. This one sins once, that one a hundred times. Whoever sins a hundred times sins most gravely; and it is sin against the Holy Spirit to sin continually, because it is obstinacy. So whoever sins with an obstinate mind sins more gravely than others, granted even that it does not change the species. Whoever has stolen a hundred sheep [sins] more gravely than whoever [stole] one. So number is a circumstance necessary to express in confession.

Again, the example of Theodora. A certain young man often flattered her and burned with love for her. But she would not consent and said: "I would rather die than act against God." He went to an old hag and promised to give her a fee if she knew how to give counsel so that [Theodora] would consent. O most wicked Rebecca [i.e. go-between; uncertain], old hag, worse than the devil: what the devil could not accomplish, she accomplished. She went to Theodora and said: "That young man burns with love for you; if you do not consent he will die." Theodora said: "I will by no means do this, for it is against God." The hag said: "God does not see by night, nor does he know." And she out of simplicity supposed it was so, and consented. But afterwards she went to the abbess and asked her: "Does God know sins at night?" And she: "Why do you ask so foolishly?

(p. 160)

Is anything hidden from God? God sees all things." She, afflicted with sorrow that she had once sinned against God, put on a man's garments and entered a certain monastery in the guise of a man, and did penance thirty years. And afterwards her husband, wishing to seek his wife, came at length to the monastery. Theodora recognised him, and on the same day died; and the brothers, seeing that she was a woman, said: "O, what is this?" And the husband also entered the same monastery. See, Theodora's sin was not as great as yours, because she sinned mortally only once and did penance thirty years. But you, foul woman, once the gate is open, let in whoever will. [I say you must] confess how often you have sinned.

The ninth circumstance is called delay (*mora*). The final chapter, *De consuetudine*: "Sins are the graver the longer they hold the unhappy soul bound." One killed [a man; the text reads "mortuum"], and at once, when he saw him, was pierced in heart. But another killed another of the same condition and after that cut off his nose, hands, feet: he sins more gravely than the first, who [only] committed [the killing of] the whole body. For the longer and more lingeringly someone dwells on the killing, namely by also mutilating and dividing the body, the graver the sin is. See what lingering you have had inwardly (?) in sins: lust, pride.

The tenth is abundance, namely as to the quantity of the thing; for where there is love of abundance (greater abundance?) there is graver guilt: how much unjust gain you took, how much you harmed him. The eleventh is cause. For some sins are less grave because of their cause, some more grave: as, for what cause you committed the sin, namely killed a man. As if someone said to you: "If you kill this enemy of mine in any way, namely with a weapon or poison, I will give you so many ducats", it is graver, because it is for money. But if [you did it] because perhaps he killed your father, it is not so grave. But if an injury went before, because your father perhaps had also killed his father, graver again [the sense is uncertain]. But if no cause went before, it is very grave.

The twelfth is the manner in the fault, namely how you sinned. You sinned mortally, perhaps, with some public harlot: you must say in what manner you practised your foulness. Again, you killed a man: in what manner? With poison is graver than if on the public road, because poison is the seasoning of treachery. For it is a graver sin if someone is killed by way of treachery than otherwise. Graver is he who burned someone, because commonly (?) he caused more losses, namely in temporal things. So there is also manner in the fault in vainglory, namely "because I had such a garment made, which did not befit me".

(p. 161)

The thirteenth: high station aggravates sin; for the higher the station, the graver the fall, as was said above.

The fourteenth circumstance is a small struggle, that is, little resistance. An example: Eve sinned and Adam sinned. Eve at once consented to the devil's suggestion; Adam sinned afterwards. In respect of priority Eve sinned more gravely; but in respect of quality, namely manhood, Adam more, because he was a man. Suppose there were three cities under one prince. The first let in the enemies and sent them the keys of the city gates. The second would not submit to the enemies, but says: "We will write to the king whether he will give us sufficient help so that we can resist; if not, we will submit to you." But the third would rather die and eat one another before it submitted to the enemies. Which of them will be more acceptable to the prince? Certainly the third.

So one ought rather to die and resist manfully than act against the Lord's commandment. For some make no resistance to the devil; rather they forestall him and run to evil and do not wait to be tempted by the devil; rather they conjure devils and practise enchantments. Proverbs [1:16; the text reads "15"]: *Their feet are swift to shed blood.* Others resist somewhat, but not in the way they could have. But others say: the demons cannot tempt and infect or attack me so much; the devils importune, and he would rather die than act against God. A girl ought rather to die than consent to the vice of the flesh, and she must not think, if someone wished to kill her, "Homicide is greater than the vice of lust", and consent to the sin. James 4: *Draw near to God, and he will draw near* [to you]. So whoever resists less sins more gravely.

The fifteenth is the outcome: what the outcome is. The more evils follow from some sin, the graver the sin is said to be. As if a woman had committed adultery with someone, and the woman's friends killed him, and again the adulterer's friends killed them: you must tell all that came of the sin. As, "I sinned publicly before everyone", or before such as were scandalised by my sin. So also, "I invented novelties, and every woman wanted to follow them", namely in clothes.

The sixteenth is wicked compulsion: as this one deceives a woman with flatteries, that one with violence. He sins more gravely who [does it] with violence. Leviticus 19: *Nor shall you oppress your neighbour by violence*. In any sin whatever, whether adultery or homicide, compulsion or violence aggravates the sin. These, then, are the sixteen circumstances necessarily required for confession, etc.

XXXIX. On the Annunciation of Mary

(p. 162)

[Editor's date: Saturday, 24 March. The editor notes that when the Annunciation falls on Palm Sunday the feast is moved (Grotefend, Zeitrechnung).]

Hail Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with you; blessed are you among women. These are the words of the archangel Gabriel at the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary. When almighty God himself had from eternity predestined and determined to exalt human nature in hope [the sense is uncertain] to his divinity, when the fitting time came, as divine wisdom had foreknown from eternity, Luke writes: *The archangel Gabriel was sent.* For the Most High had foretold that from the seed of the first prophets and patriarchs all nations would be blessed. Genesis 22: *And in your seed shall the nations be blessed.* The psalmist: *Of the fruit of your womb* — the humanity is signified, with the divinity mediating — although the translators put "your" [i.e. "of your body"]; this was done because of heresies, for heretics said that Christ was not true man. Jerome: virgins remained in the temple serving God until they were of marriageable age. But when the other virgins went out of the temple, namely in the fourteenth year, the Blessed Virgin excused herself, because her parents had made a vow to God that the Blessed Virgin should keep chastity; and afterwards the Blessed Virgin, when she came to the years of discretion, also vowed by herself to keep chastity.

Behold, a virgin shall conceive and bear a son, and he shall be called (Isaiah 7). The Jews say the text says *almah* and not "virgin". What else does it mean to say *almah*? It is said as it were "an intact girl". *And his name shall be called Emmanuel*, that is, God and man, for Emmanuel means "God with us". If with us, then with all. What follows? *He shall eat butter and honey.* So here he was God and man: God from the honey, man from the butter. For honey is the dew of heaven, but butter comes from milk, which comes from blood, which signifies Christ's humanity. These are also the new things of which Jeremiah speaks (Jeremiah 31): *The Lord shall create a new thing upon the earth: a woman shall compass a man.* It is not said here that she should conceive from human seed, but "she shall compass a man"; for in the same instant in which the Blessed Virgin said these words, *Behold the handmaid of the Lord*, at once the most pure blood of the Blessed Virgin was gathered, and the Holy Spirit formed the perfect and whole body of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in the same instant one soul was created, namely

(p. 163)

Christ's, infused into the body, nobler than other souls, although [the body] was small. For Augustine says that the body of our Lord Jesus Christ at his conception was so small that it could scarcely be perceived; but Christ was, from the instant of his conception, with as great wisdom as he had on the cross. So it is said: *a woman shall compass a man.*

For Damascene says: whoever says that the soul of Christ was not nobler than others is worthy of punishment.

A greeting can be fourfold, namely wishing, gracious or bestowing grace, gladdening, commending. Wishing, as we say "Salve", "Ave", "Avete"; as David uttered a wishing greeting after the death of Saul: "Hail, king" (2 Kings [Samuel] 20 [uncertain]); as we also write in letters. The second is called gracious, as the apostle Paul in his thirteen epistles gives this greeting, and the other apostles also give that greeting: *Grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ*; and in like manner Peter and James [the text so] give the same. The third, gladdening, as Raphael to Tobit (Tobit 5): *Joy be to you always.* Tobit answered: *What manner of joy shall be to me, who sit in darkness and see not the light?* The angel answered: *Be of good courage; your cure from the Lord is at hand.* The fourth, commending, as is said in Judith 13 [the text reads "15"]: *Blessed are you among women*, because you have so pleased the Lord. So the angel said these four to the Blessed Virgin Mary: "Hail" is the wishing *salve*; "full of grace", gracious; "the Lord is with you", gladdening; "blessed", commending. So this greeting comprehends all the said greetings.

Again, the *Ave Maria* was composed by God in immortality, but the *Our Father* was composed by God on the Mount of Olives in mortality. So it is sung: "Go, messenger, say *Ave*", etc. [hymn incipit; uncertain].

Again, the first word empties all the faithful of all guilt and sin [an allusion to *A-ve* as "without woe"; the text does not explain]; the second infuses grace; the third gladdens us, because he said, "the Lord is with you"; but the Blessed Virgin is of our race, so he will also be with us. And the fourth offers us blessing, because *blessed are you among women*. So the *Ave Maria* is also composed by three, namely by Gabriel, who said, *Hail Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with you, blessed among women*; Elizabeth, *and blessed is the fruit of your womb*; Gregory adds "Jesus". Since, then, Gabriel the messenger of God, Elizabeth and Gregory composed this greeting, there is great dignity in this greeting, both in respect of those who greet and of what it contains. O what a great gift has been conferred on us! Whence did we merit that God contracted kinship with us, namely with the human generation, through the blessed Virgin, through whom the whole

(p. 164)

human race has been saved and blessed? Hence John the Evangelist described her excellence (Apocalypse 12) [a gloss in the text: "O great dignity of the Blessed Virgin! To whom shall I liken you, or what shall I call you? If I call you heaven", etc.]: *A woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and on her head a crown of twelve stars.* The woman clothed with the sun is the blessed Virgin — not with that bodily sun but with the eternal sun, and of justice, of which it is said: *To you who fear my name the sun of justice shall arise, and health in his wings* (Malachi 4). The wings are the nails fixed in the hands and feet, and the crown of thorns, and the lance [the editor notes that "lancea" is doubtful but compare p. 172]. So the health of the human race is in his wings. *And the moon under her feet*: the moon is naturally cold and dark; it signifies the coldness and darkness of this age. But Mary trod down the coldness and blindness of guilt and the fickleness of concupiscence. For she despised all things, namely guilt, riches and all sins, and lived without stain, because she was conceived without original sin and remained immaculate. *And on her head a crown of twelve stars.* Bernard gathers twelve stars, namely twelve privileges and prerogatives of graces: first, ennobling; second, preservation; acquisition; jurisdiction; exaltation; dominion; sublimation; diffusion; perfection; coronation; retribution; inexplicability or incomprehensibility.

The first star is called ennobling. Such a conclusion is given: under God no nobler individual is to be found than the blessed Virgin. This is proved by this rule: nobility is the greater the more it approaches the highest nobility. But the blessed Virgin approaches the highest nobility more than any creature; so the blessed Virgin is the most noble above all creatures. That the blessed Virgin approaches the highest nobility more is plain first because from her the divine Word was incarnate; since the divine Word was incarnate from her, she therefore approaches God more than any other creature. Second (?), since she approaches more nearly to God and our Lord Jesus Christ, it follows that there is no greater and nobler individual than the blessed Virgin. And what Christ has, namely the humanity, he has from the most pure blood of the Virgin. Nobility consists in virtues, as above [a gloss: "she lacked no kind of virtue", etc.]. We also have regard to nobility of birth; but the blessed Virgin sprang from a noble stock, as Matthew describes: forty-two names, and they are three times fourteen; he sets fourteen patriarchs, fourteen kings, fourteen leaders. But no race is read or found to have had so great nobility of birth. Of nobility it is also written in the Apocalypse: *King of kings and Lord

(p. 165)

of lords.* For John says [rather Philippians 2:7]: *And in habit found as a man.* If, then, he took humanity from the blessed Virgin, and the God-man was King of kings, it follows that the Blessed Virgin had this nobility first; nothing gives what it does not have. Again, let us show nobility of birth thus. The emperor is the noblest in the world in respect of genealogy; so the noblest after him is whoever is in the first degree of consanguinity. But God has no one nearer in consanguinity than his mother; so since God is the noblest of beings, it follows that his mother is the noblest creature. So the blessed Virgin is ennobled not only by nobility of birth but also by the nobility of all virtues.

The second prerogative or second privilege is preservation. God knew from eternity that Lucifer would fall, and that he would create Adam, and that Adam and Eve would sin and therefore deserve deposition like the demons. And yet, considering kindly and mercifully the frailty of the earth, that is, of human nature, he preordained human redemption from eternity. God considered that man sinned from frailty and not malice, and that he was formed from the slime; therefore he willed to redeem man and not the angels. God knew from eternity that man, since he is of finite power, could not satisfy God, who is infinite and unbounded; but God could satisfy, although he was not bound to. So Anselm says in the book *Cur Deus homo* that God could make satisfaction but man ought to; therefore God was made man. So God preordained from eternity that his Son should be conceived of the Holy Spirit and born of this most pure Virgin. And so that the God-man might make satisfaction, God spared Adam, so that in her time this blessed Virgin, who would take her origin from Adam, [might bear] God [to be] born. He meant to say: "If Adam perished, where would the mother of my Son remain?" Therefore in place of Abel the Lord gave Adam another son, namely Seth, and to the other nations and ages. For if Adam had not sinned, there would still have been the God-man, not for redemption but for the perfection of the universe, as above. He preserved Noah, so that in his time God might be born of this Virgin. God preserved Abraham from the four kings (Genesis 14). Then afterwards God preserved Isaac from the hand and hatred of Ishmael (Genesis 21 [the text reads "12"]). God preserved Jacob from the fury and hatred of his brother Esau (Genesis 27). Then afterwards Joseph, born of Jacob, God preserved, and his brothers, because the Lord was born of the stock of Judah (Genesis [the text reads "20"]). So also Moses was wonderfully preserved, that he might lead the people out of the land of Egypt (Exodus).

(p. 166)

Then came the sixth age, namely David. What dangers he suffered while he kept the sheep, namely from wolves and bears; afterwards he suffered danger from Goliath, whom David killed. See, from so terrible a man the Lord preserved David — to what end? Because *of the fruit of your body I will set upon your throne.* So every preservation of the human race was made to its end, that this Virgin might be born, of whom Christ the Son of God was to be born.

The third privilege is acquisition. For the whole time of the world's duration the angels acquired their glory. Could the angels merit so much that the Son of God should take their nature, as the blessed Virgin merited and inclined the Son of God to take human nature? Hebrews 2: *For nowhere does he take hold of the angels, but of the seed of Abraham he takes hold.* What all the saints acquired — they could not acquire so much; and so of all creatures. Our Francis of Meyronnes says: when the angel came to her, the Blessed Virgin was sitting in her cell or chamber and had before her the book of the prophet Isaiah, namely *Behold, a virgin shall conceive.* And while she read this she thought within herself: "O most high God, if I were worthy to be the handmaid and serve this virgin!" [And again:] "O what are you thinking? How could you be worthy to serve so great a virgin?" For no creature understood the scriptures as the Blessed Virgin Mary did, nor did any of the prophets. Again she thought: "O if I could be worthy to wash the feet of so great a virgin and to loose the strap of her shoes!" "O what are you thinking? How could you be worthy to wash the feet of so great a virgin, who is to be the mother of God?" Again she thought: "O if I could be worthy that at least the dust of my bones, or my marrow or flesh, might lie under the footstool of so great a virgin!" And she humbled herself so much that she could go no further. And then the angel came, saying: *Hail, full of grace,* etc., as if to say: You are this virgin of whom you were thinking. *And she was troubled at his saying,* and did not think, "You are the mother of God and queen of the world", etc. But what did she say? *Behold the handmaid of the Lord*: she reckoned herself unworthy. So the humility of the Virgin called God from heaven. And since God came down from heaven for us, therefore she was also made the mother of God for us. So she is also our mother; how then should she not hear our prayers? When the Virgin said, *Behold the handmaid of the Lord*, this answer so pleased God that at the completion of the last word he came down from heaven into the womb of the Virgin Mary. Of the acquisition of the Blessed Virgin the wise man also says (Proverbs, last chapter):

Who shall find a valiant woman? etc. *Many daughters have gathered

(p. 167)

riches*, namely as to acquisition; *you have surpassed them all.* She acquired so much that not only was the tinder [the text reads "vomes"; read "fomes"] of sin extinguished in this blessed Virgin, but also that thereafter she could not sin. So the blessed Virgin acquired, not only for herself but for the whole human race, the purging of all guilt and the remission of punishments, the redemption of all elect souls, eternal glory, and the glorification of all men.

The fourth prerogative which she had is called jurisdiction or power. God could infuse grace into the blessed Virgin so that she might do what God could not have done in himself. Could God have begotten a God who was passible, mortal, temporal, and a God who was a servant? What God alone could not do, he did with the Virgin Mary. Great is the jurisdiction of the Blessed Virgin; never was there greater, nor will there be until the end of the world. The blessed Virgin, with God co-operating, could do more than he could of himself. She conceived a Son, God, mortal, temporal, a servant; but this God could not do, but he gave this Virgin power and grace to bring forth of herself a Son, God and man, mortal, temporal, servant.

The fifth privilege is called exaltation. For God exalted the Blessed Virgin so that, as God the Father is the first principle in the divine persons, and the Father alone of himself begets the Son, and the Holy Spirit proceeds from both, and the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit are the principle of all beings (the Master [of the Sentences], book IV [uncertain]), so the Blessed Virgin alone has this power, that she begot the Son of God; so she is called the Mother of God. Hence the Church sings: "You are exalted" [*Exaltata es*]. The Blessed Virgin is exalted not only above men and the choirs of angels but above all the heavens, and as queen she holds the place next to God the king, reigning and the lord of lords [the text so].

The sixth privilege is called dominion. Dominion was lost by the first parent; for the Lord said to Adam and Eve: *Rule over the fishes and the sea.* This they lost; but the Blessed Virgin Mary recovered it, because she was lady of all creatures. Anselm: "It was fitting [the text reads "Docebat"; read "Decebat"] that the blessed Virgin should shine with such purity that no greater can be conceived under God." Adam through sin lost dominion, so that he no longer ruled creatures at all; but the Virgin Mary recovered it through innocence. So if the Blessed Virgin had willed, all creatures would have been obedient to her, as they were to Adam before sin. So the chosen Virgin alone, before the Lord's incarnation, recovered

(p. 168)

the dominion of the human race, and this by the merit of her purity and innocence, because she excelled in the purity and innocence of the first parents.

The seventh privilege is called sublimation, of which let this be the conclusion: all things serve the divine command, and all things and God [himself] serve the command of the Virgin [the text reads "virgo virginis"; uncertain]. The first part is plain; the second is proved thus. Christ is God, and Christ God is the son of the Virgin; and the son of the Virgin is subject to father and mother: his father, according to the divinity, is God, and his mother the Virgin. So when he gave the law, Exodus 20, *Honour your father and mother*, he is subject to his mother. And nature also teaches us that we must honour father and mother, as is found in Luke 2: *And he went down with them to Nazareth and was subject to them*, namely not only to his mother but also to his foster-father, namely Joseph. Again, the law prescribes that sons succeed their parents, and if sons die before their parents, the parents succeed the sons. Hence the gloss on the laws says: "The natural desire of parents is that sons succeed the parents." Bulgarus set down a gloss: "When the order is disturbed, Bulgarus succeeds his son" [the reading and sense are uncertain]. Note the sublimation: Christ God is ruler of the whole universe, and this God was made man in the Virgin's womb; and as he is Son of God by nature, so he is son of the Virgin by the human nature he assumed. And since dominion over all creatures belonged to

Christ, when the son died first and the mother remained, the dominion of all things, whether in heaven or under heaven, belongs to the mother, and every kingdom, and she is raised up both heavenly and earthly. So we are all the vassals of the Blessed Virgin, and all the fiefs we have, we have from the Virgin Mary. So we see that we hold [them] well.

The eighth is diffusion. Whatever good we can receive from God, we receive from the hand and grace of the blessed Virgin. For goodness and grace from *the Father of lights*, as James has it, comes down and is poured into the Son, from the Son into the Holy Spirit, from the Holy Spirit into the Virgin Mary, from the Virgin Mary into the Seraphim, and so further descending through the nine choirs of angels; at last from the angels it is poured into us.

The ninth prerogative is called perfection. Every creature, whether rational or bodily, whether spiritual or intellectual, desires its perfection. *Metaphysics* 12: "Beings do not wish to be governed badly; let there be one prince." From the blessed Virgin was born the Son of God, Christ the Lord. He brought to the world the most perfect spirit above every spirit, and bodily things received a most perfect body above every body. The psalmist: *Beautiful in form* [above the sons of men]. So the blessed Virgin

(p. 169)

brought perfection, namely God, who makes us perfect in soul and body. Again, the psalm: *I have seen an end of all perfection; your commandment is exceeding broad.* This consummation is in Christ Jesus.

The tenth prerogative is called coronation. For we are as much bound to the Virgin Mary as to the Virgin's Son, and as much as to God. O wretched creature, have you considered your crown? And the crown of our head is the blessed Virgin, from whom was born he who crowned the blessed Virgin, his saints and us. Judith 15 [the text reads "16"]: *You are the glory of Jerusalem, you are the joy of Israel,* and the crown. The Virgin Mary is our crown in respect of the Son who crowned all; she is our joy and glory in respect of the Son, who glorifies us, through whom and in whom we shall triumph.

The eleventh privilege is called retribution. The blessed Virgin alone repaid God more than all angelic and human nature could have repaid. For God created man from the slime of the earth (Genesis); for the slime of the earth the blessed Virgin repaid God her most pure blood. For God created man from the slime of the earth and prepared food for him, namely trees, etc., and after sin provided garments of skins for the first parents. God created man from slime, but the Blessed Virgin gave most pure blood, which was more than the whole universe. For blood has a share with water, because it is a humour; with air, because it is of airy nature; and with fire, because of hot nature. God gave man food and provided [for him]; so the Blessed Virgin repaid God with her most pure milk for nourishment. For garments, the Blessed Virgin not only provided her Son with blood, milk, bones and flesh, but also afterwards wrapped him in the seamless tunic. The seamless tunic signifies the unity of the faithful of Christ; and rightly, as that tunic was not divided, so Christ never lets this unity be divided from the faith. God gave man memory, understanding and will; so the blessed Virgin instructed her Son in memory, understanding and will. For there is no doubt that she instructed Jesus as was fitting to instruct her child according to the humanity, although Jesus had no need, because from the beginning of his conception he was full of all wisdom.

The twelfth prerogative is called inexplicability or incomprehensibility. As God is incomprehensible — for it is said in the Gospel, *No one knows the Father but the Son* — the divine power, divine wisdom, divine clemency, divine goodness, divine mercy are incomprehensible. Again, in the Virgin Mary too the divine power, divine wisdom, divine kindness are incomprehensible. So, as far as

(p. 170)

was possible to God, he exalted and raised up the Blessed Virgin so much that it is an incomprehensible mystery. Therefore the angel unfolded it as far as he could, saying: *Hail, full of grace.* So in the blessed

Virgin all virtues are most abundant and most overflowing, and our lips are not sufficient to unfold the least praise of so great a Virgin.

XL. Palm Sunday

[Editor's date: Sunday, 25 March]

In the name of Jesus let every knee bow, of those in heaven, on earth and under the earth (Philippians 2). This is the first week in which holy mother Church begins to sing the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ. Hence also the Apostle, admonishing us to meditate on the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, writes in the epistle: *For let this mind be in you* … This name Jesus, *which is above every name*, is inexpressible by every tongue; for as God is incomprehensible, so also is his name, namely Jesus. Psalm: *Magnify the Lord with me, and let us exalt his name together*, namely Jesus. But human capacity, knowledge and wit are not sufficient to exalt and magnify this name Jesus.

Again, three works of God are comprehended in this name Jesus, namely the work of creation, of redemption, and of glorification. As to creation: *By the word of the Lord the heavens were established, and by the spirit of his mouth* (Psalm). *All things were made by him.* As to the second work, namely redemption: Jesus himself redeemed us with his precious blood (1 Peter 1): *not with gold or silver.* As to glorification: this name Jesus is also our glory. For he glorifies us and in our glory. Apocalypse 14: *I saw a Lamb standing upon the mount, and with him a hundred and forty-four thousand, having his name and the name of his Father written on their foreheads*, namely the name Jesus.

Again, certain doctors say that Paul for three days neither ate nor drank after the Lord appeared to him on the way and threw him to the ground and struck him with blindness, as is written in the Acts of the Apostles; and in these three days he had been caught up to the third heaven, because this had happened fourteen years before, as the Apostle writes to the Corinthians. And then Paul saw the glory of God, but in a passing manner; and while he thus saw the figure of God in his glory, he cried, "Jesus, Jesus, Jesus"; and when he so saw the angels

(p. 171)

in heaven bending the knee, and likewise the demons in hell — therefore Paul writes in today's epistle: *In the name of Jesus let every knee bow.*

Again, that name which is above every name was first preordained from eternity by God the Father, because God from eternity begot his Son, whose name from eternity is Jesus, that is, Saviour. For the apostle Jude writes: *Jesus, saving the people out of Egypt.* See, before the Lord's incarnation this name Jesus was named. Second, it was prefigured by the patriarchs. For Jacob had twelve sons; Joseph was the twelfth [the text so], who was loved by Jacob more than all the rest, and he was sold for thirty pieces of silver [the text so], like Christ Jesus; and [Pharaoh] changed his name in Egypt and called him saviour of the world. Again, the law of Moses made no one perfect; for Moses led the Jews out of the desert and near to the land of promise, but Moses died before he led them into the land of promise; but Joshua [Jesus] led the children of Israel into the land of Egypt [the text so; read "of promise"]. Again, Jesus son of Sirach was a great prophet, namely one who wrote great wisdom; so Jesus the Son of God was a great prophet, as is found in the Gospel; and Jesus is the wisdom of the Father; *and a great prophet is risen up among us.* So also it is read of the two disciples going to Emmaus, who said [*concerning Jesus of Nazareth, who was a prophet*]. Third, it was announced by the prophets. Habakkuk 3 [the text reads "2"]: *And I will rejoice in God my Jesus.* Fourth, it was proclaimed by the angel (Luke 1): *And you shall call his name Jesus.* Fifth, it was magnified by the Blessed Virgin: *My spirit has rejoiced in God my saviour* (*salutari*), that is, my Saviour, namely Jesus. Sixth, it was given by Joseph. Seventh, it was preached by the apostles (Acts 3 [rather 2 and 4]): *And they were all together*, etc., preaching the name Jesus. In the same chapter, when Peter went up into the temple at the ninth hour of

prayer, he said, calling out to him who asked him for alms: *Silver and gold* [I have none] … *in the name of Jesus, arise*; and leaping up he was made whole. And when the Jews asked him by what power he had done this, Peter said plainly: it is this name of Jesus in which he was made whole. And likewise it is read of Paul that Christ said: *This man is a vessel of election to me, to carry my name.*

Again, when Paul was beheaded, the head leaped three times into the air and said, "Jesus"; and where it came down to the ground, there a living spring was made. Consider how much this name Jesus was in Paul's heart, that even when he was dead he named the name Jesus. And so instead of blood he poured out milk, in sign of the greatest love; for the love a woman has for her sons or daughters creates milk from blood in the breasts; so it was also with Paul. Again, Paul

(p. 172)

in four hundred ways in thirteen epistles named this name Jesus. So also the other apostles preached this name Jesus and suffered for the name of Jesus. Eighth, it was designated by the evangelists. For the whole foundation of the evangelists stands in the name of Jesus, as is plain by reading; and the evangelist John named this name Jesus more than all the other three. The reason: because the Lord had loved him more than the rest, so he in turn loved the Lord and named his name; for whoever loves someone gladly hears him named.

Ninth, it was testified by the martyrs. Of Stephen it is read: *Behold, I see the heavens opened, and Jesus standing.* So also it is read of Lawrence and other martyrs, who were tormented because they bore witness to Jesus. So it is read of Ignatius, who suffered much because he named Jesus, and at last was deprived of his tongue so that he should not name Jesus; even so tongueless he still named Jesus, and bore witness to this name Jesus, as above. So also in Italy there is the heart of a certain virgin in which are the instruments of Christ's passion, namely the lance, the crown of thorns, the nails, just as if they were carved in flint; this is because she always had the passion of Christ in her heart. So love caused the instruments of Christ to be thus imprinted on her heart.

Tenth, it was foretasted by holy virgins. Hence the most holy bride says in the Canticle: *Your name is as oil poured out; therefore the young maidens have loved you.* Bernard: oil has three things in it: it gives light, it floats on top, and it seasons. Hence Bernard says in a sermon etc.: "Whence, I ask, so great a light of faith in the whole world, except from the name of Jesus?" It floats on top: hence the Apostle says: *And he gave him a name which is above every name.* It seasons: for Bernard says: "If you read and do not say this name Jesus, it has no savour for me; if you discourse and this name Jesus does not sound in my ears, nothing will please me." If I sleep, I would wish to dream of this name Jesus, and whether I eat or drink.

Eleventh, it was praised by the confessors; for the whole devotion of the confessors is in the name Jesus. Twelfth, it was exalted by all the saints. Psalm: *From the rising of the sun to its going down, the name of the Lord is worthy of praise.*

[It is asked] why Jesus willed to receive so much praise and glory from the Jews before his passion. It is answered: first, because, as Wisdom says, *Let us condemn him to a most shameful death*; so he willed to be known by all, so that his passion might be made more shameful and more grievous. Second, he willed to receive so much honour so that afterwards the disciples, when in his passion they saw him so blasphemed and afflicted, might not despair, but might also reflect

(p. 173)

on the honour which they had shown him before. Third, he willed to be called [king] by the voice of the Jews, so that afterwards the superscription which Pilate wrote, namely *Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews*, should not be erased, as indeed happened. Fourth, so that the Jews should have no excuse, saying, "We did not know that he was the Messiah or our king"; therefore the children cried, *Hosanna, blessed* etc. Fifth, so

that even if honour is shown to other prelates, namely bishops and others, we should not wonder or disdain it, because Jesus too willed to be so honoured.

XLI. Sermon on the Sacrament

[Editor's date: Maundy Thursday, 29 March]

On the sacrament of the body of Christ it is to be noted: concerning the sacrament of the body of Christ three things must be considered, namely its institution, the obligation, and the preparation. Again, this sacrament was first prefigured in Melchizedek (Psalm 109): *You are a priest for ever according to the order of Melchizedek.* Second, because manna rained on the fathers in the desert. Third, the blood that flowed from the side of the crucified Lord signifies the effect [the text reads "electum"] of this sacrament, namely the price of our redemption. The excellent one among the prophets, David (Psalm 110): *He has made a remembrance of his wonderful works; he has given food to those who fear him.* For the sacrament is the beauty of the Holy Trinity. For as man was made to the image of the Holy Trinity as to three things, namely memory, understanding and will, so this sacrament is a memorial for the memory, a marvel for the understanding, and a delight for the will, his voluntary power.

For the sacrament is a memorial of three things, namely of his love, of our redemption, of his excellent gift. From two things can be known the great love someone bears another [the text reads "ergo reliquum"]: first, from vast or great works. The Apostle [rather Gregory]: "For the proof of love is the showing of the work." Again, John 14 [the text reads "15"]: *If you love me, keep my word.* Second, from vast gifts. Luke 7: Jesus said to Simon, when Mary Magdalene came to [the Lord] and washed his feet: *There were two debtors*, etc. *Which loves more? Simon answered: I suppose he to whom more was forgiven.* Christ had no greater gift than that he gave himself to us as food and willed to be with us until the consummation of the world. Apocalypse [1]: *He loved us and washed us in his blood.* John 13 [the text reads "12"]: *Having loved his own, he loved them to the end.* It is understood: first,

(p. 174)

thus, "to the end", that is, to the limit of life; second, to the end of causes, so that the love he had for us was the cause of all the works he performed [the text reads "extribuit"] for us; third, "to the end", that is, to perfection, that is, he loved his own perfectly. John 15: *Greater love than this no one has, that a man lay down his life for his friends.* What more? He laid down his life not only for friends but also for enemies. Romans 5 [the text reads "6"]: *When we were enemies we were reconciled to God* through Jesus Christ. "What will you not do to redeem the body? You will suffer iron and fire" [a quotation; source uncertain]. But it is greater charity when someone gives his life for enemies than for a friend. Ecclesiasticus 38: *Give a sweet savour and a memorial of fine flour, and make a fat offering.* Of fine flour, namely flour well cleansed and sifted, the bran being cast out. Hosea, last chapter: *His memorial as the wine of Lebanon.* That wine is very strong and greatly intoxicating; and as drunkards are made like fools, not caring about any scandal — even if they walked naked before men they would not care — so Jesus was so intoxicated with the wine of love and charity he had for us that, as it were a fool, he hung naked for us on the cross, heeding no scandal.

Second, the sacrament of the body of our Lord Jesus Christ is a memorial in respect of our redemption (Exodus 12). For so he redeemed us with his precious blood. And concerning this one must consider the commemoration, the offering, and the mystical meaning of the signs. Of the first it is said to the Corinthians: *As often as you receive this, do it in commemoration of me.* Of the offering it is said (*De consecratione*, dist. 2, chapter 2): "Let this mystery be offered until the Lord comes" — not that he dies again, but until he comes to judgement. And so this sacrifice is always offered for the living and the dead until the consummation of the world. One must also consider the mystical meaning of the signs which are made in the offering of this sacrament, namely in the Mass. The amice [the text reads "umbrale"] signifies to us that the God-man, made

[man] for us, veiled his divinity in his humanity. The alb signifies Christ's innocence and purity; the stole, obedience; the cincture or girdle, chastity; the maniple, justice. Look up these mystical meanings of the signs in the office of the Mass. And so every Christian in hearing Mass should attend to the mystical meanings of the signs, so that he may be stirred up thereby to devotion; and men should not run through [during Mass] the things to which they are bound, either the seven [penitential] psalms for penance or other prayers enjoined for penance. And it can (?) be understood of those days on which one is bound to hear [Mass]. For all things have their time; so penance is enjoined so that time formerly neglected may be recovered.

(p. 175)

Third, it is a memorial by reason of his excellent gift. First, because he gave us all things to serve us, namely heaven and earth, namely the firmament, plants and elements. The psalmist: *You have subjected all things under his feet.* Second, he gave us the angels. Hebrews 1 [the text reads "2"]: *They are all ministering spirits.* Third, he gave himself to us. Isaiah 9: *A child is born to us, and a son is given to us.* He is our master, our Lord. John [13]: *You call me Master and Lord, and you say well.* He is our leader. Exodus 15: *You have been the leader of your people whom you redeemed.* He is our companion, for he says: *Where two or three are gathered together in my name* [there am I]. Luke 22: *But I am in the midst of you.* Again, he is our servant. John [rather Matthew 20:28]: *I came not to be ministered to but to minister.* And reigning, he gave himself to us for service, and in eternal life as eternal food.

Second, this sacrament is a marvel for the understanding, and this in four ways: by reason of wisdom in its institution, by reason of power in the consecration, by reason of clemency in its fruitfulness, by reason of justice in punishment.

Why he gave himself to us as food: by reason of corruption, by reason of failing, by reason of condition. For we were made corruptible because of the sins of the first parents; therefore the Lord gave us food which makes us incorruptible. The wisdom of Christ is considered in this, that he gave himself to us as food veiled under the accidents. Again, we fail here in the present life; therefore John says: *The bread that I will give you is my flesh for the life of the world.* By reason of condition, because we are rational. For the Lord created two rational spirits, namely the soul in the flesh and the angel without flesh. So by reason of condition the soul requires spiritual food.

Why he gave us his body veiled: first, for the profit of the good, because we have a greater reward than if we saw the Lord's body plainly. Gregory: "Faith has no merit where human reason offers proof." Second, because of the unworthiness of the wicked, as the figure is found in Kings 6 of the ark: all who looked on the ark of the Lord were killed. Again, in Paralipomenon: Oza the priest [the text reads "Osee"], who touched the ark of the Lord wishing to steady it lest it fall, died a sudden death. What, wretch, you who receive the Lord's body after embracing a harlot — woe to you! Third, because of the weakness of the eyes, as we have the example of Moses, whose face so shone when he saw the Lord on Mount Horeb, where he received the precepts from the Lord, that when he wished to speak with the Jews he spoke through a veil. Likewise of the Lord's transfiguration. Third,

(p. 176)

because of horror. Fourth, because of mockery, lest unbelievers mock us, saying that we eat a living body and living blood.

Third, the sacrament is a memorial [the text so; read "marvel"] by reason of power in the consecration. For among all the miracles that Christ did, this is the greatest, that he converts bread into his body and wine into his blood. Again, God did a miracle in the old law (Exodus 17): he turned the rock into water; there the substance remained and also the accident, because the water flowed from the rock. Christ did a second miracle (Ecclesiasticus 36: *Renew your signs*): that he turned water into wine; he changed substance and

accident. Again, he changed the bitterness of water into sweetness: there the substance remained but the accident was changed. In the power of the miracle of this sacrament the substance is changed but the accident remains, which is very marvellous; and that accident in the sacrament stands supernaturally without a subject, and miraculously. For the substance of the bread is changed into the substance of the body of our Lord Jesus Christ. Yet it is not bread but the body of our Lord Jesus Christ. So although we see bread, we adore, etc., as above; the figure of Esau: only the hearing is not deceived.

Again, that it is possible for God thus to transubstantiate the bread into his body is plain from nature, scripture, fracture [i.e. working of matter; uncertain] and example. First, from nature: for nature changes bread into flesh and blood; for we consist of the same things by which we are nourished, says the Philosopher. Again, from an egg comes a chick. Second, scripture: Genesis 2: *God made man of the slime of the earth.* Kings 19 [rather Exodus 17]: he turned the rock into water. Again, a human being, namely Lot's wife, into a stony pillar of salt. Third, fracture: for iron [comes] from stone, silver and gold from earth, glass from ashes. Again, 4 Kings 6: Elisha made iron float on the water. Fourth, it is proved by example.

For many examples are found. There was a certain man who had bees, with which he did not prosper. A certain old hag instructed him to receive the body of Christ and carry the body (?) home and put it in the hive, which he did. The bees then (?) made for the body of our Lord Jesus Christ a church of wax, and in it an altar on which they placed the Lord's body. When a year had passed, the peasant came, wishing to see how things stood. The bees all flew out and stung him so that he scarcely escaped alive. And the wretched man, pierced in heart, went to the church and told the priest, who went with great solemnity and devotion to the hive and took the Lord's body, carrying it back to the church; and they [the bees] escorted their Creator to the church with song and joy. See, irrational animals

(p. 177)

recognised their Creator. Why do you doubt, wretched man, a rational creature?

Third, this sacrament is a marvel for the understanding by reason of clemency in its fruitfulness, because we are made one with Christ. For just as our nourishment and we are made one, so also with the spiritual nourishment, namely the sacrament of Christ's body. Augustine: "I am the food of the grown: grow, and you shall eat me; nor shall I be changed into you, but you shall be changed into me" [the text reads "Cibus supra quotidianum (?)"]. Hugh says: love transforms the lover into the beloved. So if you love earth, you will be turned into earth; if money, you will be turned into money; if heaven, you will be made heavenly; but if God — I dare not say, but scripture says that you will be made God, for *I have said: you are gods.*

Again, the fruitfulness of this sacrament appears in three things. First, it frees from past evil. Ambrose: "As often as you receive this sacrament, it will be for you for the remission of sins", namely venial ones; the gloss [adds] also forgotten mortal sins about which you applied all diligence and could not call them back to memory. Second, it frees from present evil, because the tinder [the text reads "vomes"] of sin is extinguished in us. Third, it frees from future evil, because we have three evils against us, namely the world, our own flesh and the devil, from which the fruitfulness of this sacrament frees. Of present evil it is said, Genesis 8: *For the senses of men are prone to evil.* Paschasius (*De consecratione*, dist. 2, chapter *Iteratur*): "Daily Christ is sacrificed for us, because we sin daily; therefore we also need a daily remedy. I speak of those sins without which the life of man cannot well be."

Second, it profits in the good of faith: certainty is strengthened. Gregory: "Faith has no [merit]" [as above]. Second, it profits in the good of hope: strength is made firm. God *spared not his own Son*; how then should we despair? Second, it profits in the good of charity: we are inflamed. Third, it profits the understanding. For it enlightens the rational power, strengthens the irascible, delights the concupiscible or the will. Ecclesiasticus 29 [the text reads "20"]: *Forget not the kindness of your surety, for he has given his life for you.* Bernard: "O hard and hardened sons of Adam, whom so great love does not soften! He died for us."

God could not devise a more fitting and apt way than to die for us on the cross. For as, by the rule of physicians, contraries are cured by contraries, so, as Adam stretched out his hands to the tree, so Christ to the cross. He sinned in the pleasure of taste; Christ was given to drink the bitter taste of vinegar and gall. Adam heard flattering words; Christ, blasphemies. Adam naked in paradise; Christ naked on the cross. Second, because he could not devise another way

(p. 178)

by which he might draw us to himself, namely to love, than this: *And I, if I be lifted up, will draw all things to myself* (John 12). Third, to deceive the devil he could not find a more apt way; for the Lord prepared a mousetrap for the devil on the cross. For the devil sat on the cross until Christ's death, and by Christ's death he was caught, so that all who love Christ cannot be caught by the devil.

A physician recognises the infirmities of a man often (?) from the urine and from the outward signs of the blood, but more from experience, namely when he himself suffers this infirmity. Jesus from the beginning knew the infirmities of men; but before he had experienced our infirmities he struck sinners horribly in the old law. But when he came and experienced our infirmities and sorrows, now he is merciful to all. Isaiah 53 [rather Hebrews 4:15]: we have a high priest who suffered with us and was tried in all things. So this way of Christ [the text reads "malus iste modus"] was most apt, because most acceptable for appeasing God. Again, Adam and Eve looked on the tree, and Jesus' eyes grew dim. Adam wished to be exalted, and Christ humbled himself to the death of the cross. Philippians 2 [the text reads "3"]: *Christ became obedient for us unto death, even the death of the cross.* Second, it was most fitting for healing the disease, as above. Third, it was most wise for deceiving the devil. Ephesians 5 [the text reads "IV"]: *He delivered himself up as an offering* unto death.

It would be marvellous if light turned to darkness, life to death, bread [the editor: the sense requires "panis"] to poison. So it is with those who receive unworthily. It is found in the Gospel: *I am the life of the world* (John 12) [uncertain]. Again: *I am the way* [and] *the truth*; *I am the living bread.* Job 20: *His bread in his belly shall be turned into the gall of asps* [the text adds "incurable"].

Again, a man can have six kinds of conscience, namely: a scrupulous conscience, a fearful, an indiscreet, a blind, a rash, a shameless. Scrupulous: namely those who reckon the least sin as great, or very great, or mortal, and have remorse in their conscience, and make scrupulous consciences for themselves, namely about wicked thoughts and other things. That conscience must be laid aside. The psalmist: *There they trembled for fear where there was no fear*: namely that perhaps you laughed in church from levity, or otherwise, etc. Such is a nocturnal temptation, and of the devil, namely that you want to walk a dark way and certainly leave the good and right one. When you have used your diligence, put away such scrupulous consciences and approach the sacrament of our Lord Jesus Christ. The psalmist: *He has set me in dark places,

(p. 179)

as those who have been dead of old.* A fearful conscience: namely, I have such a conscience that I fear I am in mortal sin, as when a thought of a woman came to me; I had a will, which I truly know, although I did not have the will to accomplish the deed; and so you doubt whether you sinned mortally. Confess first: "Hold what is certain and let go what is uncertain." For the doctors say on the fourth book, dist. 15 [uncertain]: when someone doubts about some sin whether it is venial or mortal, he must confess that sin before communion. "If anyone approaches the sacrament of the Eucharist before the judgement of the priest, even if he truly grieves and groans grievously, he sins mortally", says Richard in the book *On the Power of Binding and Loosing,* chapter 21.

Indiscreet: as, "I confessed perhaps on Ash Wednesday", and afterwards he sinned, perhaps swore, or otherwise, and says: "Once I was obedient to the Church; I am sorry for my sins; there is no need to confess." This is indiscreet, because you must confess. For although you had contrition, and perhaps God also forgave you, and you have the ability to confess and do not confess, you sin mortally. Yet a distinction is made: perhaps you cannot have the opportunity of confessing, as if the priest had begun the canon; let him grieve for the sin, and let us confess as soon as possible when the Mass is finished. The opinion of Scotus, dist. 9, chapter 4 [uncertain]. So also if someone were already before the altar and was immediately to receive communion and remembered some mortal sin, let him grieve and afterwards confess as soon as he can. So when necessity presses, he can communicate having contrition alone, yet with the resolve to confess. So also a sick man, if he became dumb so that he could not confess, having contrition can communicate, nor should the Lord's body be denied him if he shows a sign of true penance; but after he can speak he is bound to confess.

A blind conscience: they have committed many sins and do not consider or deliberate. Examine yourself well first concerning your sins; for when you have used your diligence and have forgotten some mortal sin, even if there were a hundred, you could approach. But if you have not used diligence, you sin mortally if you communicate. But go and deliberate well about your sins; and also, having received leave from your parish priest, which gives you a delay, you could put it off to the fortnight [after Easter], or even to Pentecost.

A rash conscience: namely whoever knowingly and rashly approaches this sacrament while in mortal sin. The psalmist: *Let their table become as a snare before them, and a recompense, and a stumbling-block.* Here the psalmist sets down ten evils that follow a man who receives the body of our Lord Jesus Christ unworthily and rashly. First, it snares him in sins;

(p. 180)

it prepares damnation; it scandalises his neighbour; it blinds the mind; it entangles in worldly things; it provokes the wrath of God; it shortens life; it robs of grace; it aggravates sins; it hardens the mind.

First, it snares sinners. Let the body of Christ be a snare for you, with which you will be hanged eternally. Of Judas: *Going away, he hanged himself with a halter.* John 13: *He who eats my bread shall lift up his heel against me.* The gloss: whoever eats my bread not in charity and with true penance, but because [he wishes] not to be reproached by everyone, tramples me here with his feet and will betray me. Augustine: "He sins more who betrays Christ to sinners of the mind than they who betrayed Christ to the crucifiers."

Second, it prepares damnation: there, *and a recompense.* Apocalypse [rather Judges 15:11]: *I will repay them as they have repaid me.* Corinthians [1 Cor. 11]: *Whoever eats and drinks unworthily is guilty* etc. Augustine: "He will be guilty of the body and blood", that is, he will be punished eternally in hell. Bernardine [the text reads "Berhardin"]: whoever approaches the sacrament of the Eucharist undevoutly receives unworthily, and whoever has the will to sin will be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord, and will be punished as if he had handed Christ over to death and crucified him. Matthew 26: *Woe to that man by whom the Son of Man shall be betrayed; it were better* etc. Remigius: woe to men who betray Christ, namely who receive with an unclean and impure heart, etc. For their guilt is not less than Judas's, who betrayed him. Augustine: whoever receives the great sacrament unworthily merits torment.

Third, it scandalises his neighbour. Ecclesiasticus 1: *Be not incredulous to the fear of God, and come not to him with a double heart … and God shall reveal your iniquity, because you came falsely.* See, whoever scandalises his neighbour, and the neighbour knows him to be a sinner, or thinking with a double heart, namely no one knows but God: God will afterwards uncover and reveal your iniquity, and it will be a scandal to you.

Fourth, it blinds the mind: there, *Let their eyes be darkened.* John 9: *I came into the world that those who do not see may see, and those who see may become blind.* So those who receive the Lord's body unworthily are blinded, so that they do not know their sins at all. "Those who do not see": namely those who humble themselves, not reckoning themselves worthy of so great a sacrament. Wisdom 2: *For their own malice blinded them.*

Fifth, it entangles in worldly things: there, *And bow down their back always.* Jerome: "As bodily food, if it finds the stomach occupied by various humours, does not profit but harms the one who takes it, so too with the body of Christ: if it finds you indisposed, it will be eternal damnation to you" — not by the nature of the sacrament but by the fault of the receiver. Jeremiah [rather Isaiah 51:23]: *They have said to your soul, Bow down, and you have bowed down your life* [the text so] *to those who passed over.* So

(p. 181)

worldly people always bow their back to the earth, that is, to worldly things, because they received the Lord's body unworthily. Jeremiah 31: *Every man who eats the sour grape, his teeth shall be set on edge.* Gregory in the *Moralia*: Christ is the vine [the text reads "vita sive uva"]. John 15 [the text reads "14"]: *I am the true vine.* See that you do not eat it sour, namely before it ripens: do not receive the Lord's body before you confess, namely in mortal sin. *And their teeth are set on edge*: that is, your senses are bound so that you cannot behold heavenly things and contemplate them.

Sixth, it provokes the wrath of God: there, *Pour out your wrath upon them*, etc. Hebrews 10 [the text reads "1"]: *It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God.* The psalmist: *As yet their meat was in their mouth, and the wrath of God came upon them.*

Seventh, it shortens life: there, *Let their habitation be made desolate.* The Apostle: *Therefore many are infirm and weak among you, and many sleep.* Many infirmities follow from it, namely that leprosy [uncertain]. *And many sleep*, that is, their life is shortened, and pestilences follow (1 Corinthians 10 [the text reads "XI"]): *They all ate the same* [spiritual food], *but with most of them God was not well pleased*; and God laid them all low in the desert; for six hundred thousand [the text reads "sex milia"] went out of the land of Egypt and only two entered into the land of promise.

Eighth, it robs of grace: there, *And in their tabernacles let there be none to dwell.* Wisdom 1 [the text reads "19"]: *The Holy Spirit will flee from the deceitful.* The psalmist: *For they have persecuted him whom you have smitten.* [Psalm 108:2:] *The mouth of the wicked is opened against me.*

Ninth, it aggravates sins: there, *Add iniquity upon their iniquity.* For whoever receives the Lord's body unworthily is so weighed down in sins that he heaps one sin upon another.

Tenth, it hardens the mind: there, *And let them not come into your justice; let them be blotted out of the book of the living, and with the just let them not be written.* They are hardened so much that they neither gladly hear [preaching; the text reads "sumentes"] nor do any good works.

The sixth conscience is shameless: *they rejoice when they have done evil and exult in most wicked things. You had a harlot's forehead; you would not blush.* There are still some in mortal sin shamelessly, namely because they still live with a woman; likewise manifest adulterers, manifest usurers. You would say: what of such manifest sinners — must the body of Christ be given to them too? Augustine, dist. 20 [uncertain], and it is Saint Thomas; again, Matthew [7]: *Give not that which is holy to dogs*: that it must not be given to him, at least if their sins are manifest and public. But if a secret usurer, adulterer or robber, the priest himself knowing it — what is to be done? A distinction is made: either he asks for the sacrament publicly or secretly. If publicly, the priest must not deny it to him, because he must not judge before judgement is given. But if he asks secretly,

(p. 182)

the priest must by no means give him the Lord's body, but admonish him to confess and make satisfaction. Yet if he is not his parishioner and asks publicly, he can say: "Go to your own parish."

Whether it was necessary for Christ to die for our salvation. The doctors commonly raise that question, and it is certain (on the third book of the *Sentences*, dist. 20 [the text reads "14"]). It must be said that by absolute power it was not necessary for Christ to die for our salvation, because he could have made satisfaction by will alone; but by ordained power it was necessary for Christ to die for our salvation. Anselm (*Cur Deus homo*, book 1) sets down that God does not save, nor will he forgive sins, unless man makes satisfaction for sin; so, by ordained power, if God had not made satisfaction for our sins he could not have saved [us]. Anselm in book 2 of *Cur Deus homo* says that satisfaction is the rendering of an equivalent not otherwise owed. But for making satisfaction to friendship [the text so], first, friendship of both parties is required; second, that he who will make satisfaction be sufficient to make it; third, that he not otherwise be bound to it. Likewise for making satisfaction three things are also required: first, that it be voluntary; second, that it be equivalent; third, that it be not owed. God said, as appears through the psalmist, *I will set*, namely friendship, *in my salvation*; man, namely, answered, *I will deal confidently in him.* Here the friendship of both parties is touched on: for when God said he wished to make friendship in his salvation, namely the son of Adam [the text so], [man] answered "confidently", etc., as if to say "I gladly will", etc. From what has been said, then, it is plain that God could make satisfaction, because he was not bound to make satisfaction; but man was bound, but could not.

Whether Christ's merit was finite or infinite. In every merit, as regards God, there are two goodnesses: one intrinsic, namely what comes from the grace of God and the good outward circumstances; the other extrinsic, and that is acceptance. And these goodnesses stand so that one cannot be without the other. Apocalypse of John 13 [the text reads "1"]: *Worthy is the Lamb who was slain from the beginning of the world.* It is understood according to Scotus on the third book, dist. 18 [the text reads "8? dist. 1899"], who says with others that there are two graces in every merit: one is created grace, namely infused by God and freely given; the other is uncreated, namely the Holy Spirit. And not only created grace is in merits, but also uncreated, namely the Holy Spirit; for if the Holy Spirit does not work, nothing is effected. A rule: the worthier a man is, the greater his merit and the more he is loved by God. But Christ has two natures [the text reads "creaturas"], namely divine and human. In respect of the divine nature he is an infinite person; for Athanasius says, "The Father immeasurable, the Son immeasurable", etc. So also his merit was infinite. So our merit, compared with Christ's merit, is nothing; for between the finite

(p. 183)

and the infinite there is no proportion, as appears (?) in the *Metaphysics*.

Two rules are set down. The first: every rational creature is bound in duty to all the good it can do. The second: every innocent creature is not bound to sufferings. So however many good works Christ had done, as he indeed did, namely by fasting, keeping vigil, praying, etc., he could not, by ordained power, have made satisfaction except through his passion and death, to which he was not bound, by the second rule; and also the satisfaction was not owed, that is, he was not bound to make satisfaction. Peter: *Who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth*; so he was innocent.

Alexander of Hales, likewise Bonaventure, Scotus and other doctors say commonly that the life of Christ was the life of God, etc. For he loved his life as God. And the Philosopher says that delight is the union (?) of the agreeable with what is agreeable [the text reads "veniente"], but the removal of the beloved from the lover is sorrow. It follows, then, that Christ loved his life infinitely, because [he loved it] as God; so his passion and death too were unbounded. Jeremiah 11: *O Lord, you have shown me and I have known; you showed me their doings. Come, let us put wood on his bread*, namely the cross on Christ's body. John 6 [the text reads "10"]: *And the bread that I will give is my flesh for the life of the world.*

Again, the Jews who killed Christ sinned more than Adam. [Objection:] so Christ ought to die again, and again and again; and so one proceeds to infinity, which is not allowed. [Answer:] the Jews sinned in killing Christ, and more than Adam sinned; yet this was not on Christ's part, or Christ was not the cause, but the Jews' malice. What could Christ do about it, that the Jews out of envy handed him over, etc.?

XLII. Saturday after Quasimodogeniti

[Editor's date: Saturday, 14 April. No sermons for Good Friday through the week after Easter appear in the edition.]

Your lips are as a dropping honeycomb; honey and milk are under your tongue, etc. (Song of Songs 4). Proverbs 16: *Well-ordered words are as a honeycomb.* When we have turned over sacred scripture well, it is read that the blessed Virgin spoke only seven times. Yet her words are so well composed, so weighty, that the seven utterances of the blessed Virgin well suffice us for salvation; and I do not believe that any mere creature spoke so well composed and so weightily.

(p. 184)

For these seven utterances of the blessed Virgin give teaching to men in whatever state they are, whether in the state of beginners, or of those advancing, or of the perfect, as will appear afterwards. So all who have been saved and will be saved in the future must be saved in one of these three states [the text reads "stativo"]. The Holy Spirit did not record that the blessed Virgin spoke more than seven times; yet her words are so sweet that we can well say with David (Psalm 118 [the text reads "108"]): *How sweet are your words to my palate, Lord, more than honey to my mouth!* "More than honey, and a dropping honeycomb": the sweetness of honey is sweeter in the comb, and the comb is honey in wax, named from *phagein*, to eat. Again, the psalmist: *Your word is exceedingly refined, and your servant has loved it.*

If we consider well, the seven utterances of the blessed Virgin are like seven flames of fire, according to the seven properties of fire. It plainly appears, first, that fire has the property of separation, because it separates gold from copper, etc. Second, the property of transformation, because it transforms wood into itself, fire, and stones and earth, etc. Third, the property of communication or spreading, because as far as it can work, so far it extends itself. Fourth, of gladdening: naturally it is so, that everything bright is gladdening, as is most plainly seen at night when a flame appears. Fifth, of savouring: what savour has a bannock [the text reads "pasca"; uncertain], what raw meat? So fire has a savouring power, because it makes such things savoury; also meat roasted by fire is commonly more savoury than boiled in water. Sixth, fire has the property of compassion; for in winter it has compassion on the poor and even the rich, because they gather to the fire because of the cold. Seventh, it has the property of consumption or consummation. If wood is put into the fire it is certainly consumed; are not stones also consumed by fire and turned into white ashes, whence we speak of lime? So too we speak of consuming earth, iron and lead, etc. Are not stones, namely bricks [the text reads "lares"], made from liquid earth, namely clay, and afterwards put into the fire and hardened? And so will be the consummation of such things. And gold which is not perfect, fire tests and perfects or renders perfect.

In like manner, then, let us say that the blessed Virgin in these her seven utterances, concerning the property of separation, teaches us the virtue of discretion; concerning the property of transformation, she teaches us the virtue of humility; concerning the property of communication, she teaches us to communicate ourselves and whatever goods are granted by almighty God to our neighbours; concerning the property of gladdening, she teaches us to rejoice in God; concerning

(p. 185)

the property of savouring, she teaches the virtue of love; concerning the property of compassion, she teaches us the virtue of mercy and compassion; concerning the property of consummation, she taught us the virtue of last and highest perfection.

Luke 1 [the text reads "2"]: *The angel Gabriel was sent*, etc. Bernard: the Virgin Mary was more astonished at this greeting than if the angel had said, "Mary, I announce to you that you are viler than every creature"; for she reckoned herself so vile and abject that when the angel said these words it seemed to her that the earth would open and swallow her. So Mary begins to teach us her first lesson, saying: *How shall this be?* Certainly we firmly believe that the blessed Virgin had certainty of keeping her perfect virginity, her vow (?). And when the angel announced that she would be a mother, she did not ask *How shall this be?* because she doubted, but to teach us not to be easily deceived by evil spirits. For so it pleased the Most High, to teach us discretion. [Thomas (?):] "Discretion is a certain distinguishing of things, to see where they tend." And it comes from the word *discerno, -is*, that is, to separate vice from virtue, the true from the false. Jeremiah 15: *If you separate the precious from the vile, you shall be as my mouth*, says the Lord: know that I have given you discretion, rational understanding, so that you may know how to discern vice from virtue, the true from the false. So the blessed Virgin said: *How shall this be?* etc.

On the fourth book of the *Sentences*, dist. 30 [the text reads "3519"]: as Mary, so also Joseph, each had vowed to God to keep virginity. Bernard introduces this out of devotion: the Virgin Mary so loved virginity that she would rather bargain with the angel, namely she would rather keep virginity than be made the mother of God by losing virginity — although the blessed Virgin knew well that she would not lose it; but these words are said for the sake of devotion, namely that she so loved virginity that she would by no means wish to lose it; and she also knew this, that she would not lose it. Therefore she said: *How shall this be? Because* etc. As if the blessed Virgin [said]: "I have read, *Vow and pay*: 'vow' as counsel and 'pay' as precept. I have read that whoever vows and does not pay incurs the vengeance of God." Psalm: *Vow and pay to the Lord your God*, etc. Ecclesiastes 5: *If you have vowed anything to God, pay it, and do not delay … it is much better not to vow than after a vow not to perform the things promised.* Saint Thomas says that the vow of chastity and virginity admits no dispensation, because it is said in Ecclesiasticus 26 [the text reads "20"]: *No price is worthy of a continent soul*

(p. 186)

[a gloss in the text: "note: gratum (?)"]. So the Virgin Mary asks: *How shall this be?*

Note: one doubt is of unbelief, and such is damnable (John 3): *He who does not believe is already judged.* Another is the doubt of slowness, and such is blameworthy. Gregory: "The slowness of Thomas to believe profited us more than the quickness of Mary Magdalene." The third is the doubt of piety, and such was this — laudable is the doubt that appeared in the blessed Virgin. She said: "Piously I ask you, angel of God, not only for myself but also for all women and men who have vowed to God to keep virginity", namely that they should not be quick to believe evil spirits and men alike; for *he who believes quickly is light of heart. How shall this be?* So the blessed Virgin teaches the virtue of discretion. Bernard: "In all things discretion must always preside, which is known to be the mother of all virtues. For this is not only a virtue but the mother of virtues, the teacher of morals, the charioteer of spiritual gifts. Take it away, and every virtue will be a vice." Anthony was asked what was the greatest virtue. Some said: to fast is a great virtue; to give alms is a great virtue; to pray is a great virtue, etc. Anthony said: "I say that all virtues without discretion are worth nothing." So the highest virtue and the mother of virtues is discretion. Therefore fasting without discretion is reprehensible; prayer without discretion is not praiseworthy; charity without discretion, faith, hope are worth nothing; prudence without discretion is not prudence but rather folly; justice without discretion cannot be justice; constancy without discretion is rather rashness; temperance without discretion is damnable; fortitude without discretion is worth nothing, etc. Therefore Bernard says, "Take it away", etc. So no virtue without discretion can be true virtue. The angel declares to the blessed Virgin: *The Holy Spirit shall come upon you*,

etc. So learn the first lesson diligently, so that you may know how to temper the virtues with discretion.

The second lesson: *Behold the handmaid of the Lord* (in the same chapter, Luke 1). In this second lesson she teaches us the virtue of humility. When the angel had so excellently and highly praised the blessed Virgin and announced to her that all past guilt in Eve and her successors was emptied in this greeting, when he said *Ave* etc. — reverse the letters and you have *Eva*: Eve is emptied of guilt, and Mary is filled with grace; and full of grace — no creature was so filled with grace as the blessed Virgin — *Behold the handmaid of the Lord*, etc., as if to say: I am ready, the handmaid of the Lord. And in conformity the angel says: "Behold, I have proclaimed, I have announced you as the future mother of the Lord." And you say: *Behold the handmaid*

(p. 187)

O what great humility! For the angel said: *The Lord is with you.* Bernard: "The humility of Mary pleased God more than virginity alone." So the blessed Virgin humbled herself so much as an example to us; for the more virtuous we are, the more we must humble ourselves. There were many virgins before Mary and in Mary's time, but none with such steadfastness and with a binding vow to keep virginity. Hence the blessed Virgin had read what divine wisdom had revealed (Ecclesiasticus 3): *The greater you are, the more humble yourself in all things, and you shall find grace before God; for great is the power of God alone, and he is honoured by the humble.* Again, as if the angel said: "Mary, I advise you that under God there is no worthier creature than you. And therefore, since you call yourself handmaid, I advise you that God will humble himself so far that he will be shut up in you." Isaiah 10: *The Lord shall make a shortened word upon the earth.* The Lord will make such a shortening, namely, "him whom the heavens could not contain you have borne in your lap."

Again, a most firm rule: the more one humbles oneself before God, the more capable one is made of receiving divine grace, and one will receive a greater fullness of divine graces. For water does not ascend but descends; so the water of divine graces descends into the hearts of the humble and does not ascend into the hearts of the proud. If there were some vessel filled to the top with water or another liquid, well stopped above so that air or wind could not enter, and below there were several holes which were opened, the water would not go out; but as soon as the hole above was opened so that the air came in, immediately the water would go out through the lower holes. So whenever a little wind and air of pride enters a man's heart, all the water of divine graces goes out and is emptied. So whoever humbles himself more for God makes himself more capable before God and will receive a greater fullness of graces.

Again, you will make a most beautiful circle: the humbler, the holier; the holier, the humbler; and the humbler, the holier, etc. The more you empty yourself through humility of your own reputation, of all esteem of yourself, and submit yourself wholly to divine help and divine grace, the more capable you make yourself of divine grace, and you will receive a greater fullness. 1 Corinthians 10: *Let him who thinks himself to stand take heed lest he fall.* It is also plain in Galatians, last chapter; Luke 14, also 18: *Everyone who humbles himself shall be exalted,* etc. Philippians 2 [the text reads "3"]: *For let this mind be in you* etc.; *he emptied himself, taking the form of a servant.* [1 Corinthians 4.] The highest humility was in the divine Word; after the divine Word, no humility so great is found in

(p. 188)

a mere creature as was in the blessed Virgin (on the third book of the *Sentences*, dist. 18). *Therefore he gave him a name which is above every name* (Philippians 2). He merited the super-exaltation of his name, and for us the remission of guilt and the increase of grace, and afterwards the exaltation of glory.

The third utterance. The evangelist writes that as soon as the angel departed from her, *Mary rising up went into the hill country*, etc., *and greeted Elizabeth* (Luke 1). In this lesson she taught us to communicate ourselves and our goods to our neighbours. To greet (*salutare*) is the same as to wish salvation (*salutem*

optare); so she greeted, that is, wished salvation. Salvation proceeds from the Saviour, our Lord Jesus Christ, for Jesus is called as it were Saviour. The Holy Spirit chose to pass over in silence Mary's greeting, of what kind it was and what it was, so that we might meditate on it and be stirred up to devotion. Already the Virgin had conceived, and the divine Word had taken human nature, and the human body was already given life. So the Saviour in his mother's womb came to greet Elizabeth and her child. So the Blessed Virgin came and greeted Elizabeth, as if she said: "Our Saviour Jesus Christ, already made man in the womb, saves you and your child." Bernard, in a certain sermon on the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin: what great joy the angels must have had from the presence of the blessed Virgin. So both Elizabeth and her child had great joy from the glorious Virgin: *The infant leaped in my womb*, that is, he leaped from the other side [uncertain].

Every master instructs his disciples in manners and knowledge, etc. Jesus knew from eternity that John would be a most eminent man, and knew that in his mother's womb he was disposed for teaching. Hence John the Baptist in his mother's womb, instructed in manners by the presence of the Saviour, by the Holy Spirit his master, when Jesus came to him in his mother's womb, showed reverence to Jesus Christ and knew him as his Saviour. For physicians say that a male child holds its face towards the shoulders [i.e. the mother's back], and so the child John turned, reverently bowing his head towards his Saviour. And so Jesus sanctifies John in his mother's womb, and the mother, filled with the Holy Spirit, became a holy prophetess, saying: *Whence is this to me* etc. 2 Peter 1: *Not by the will of man* etc., *but the holy men of God spoke inspired by the Holy Spirit.* So the mother communicates the grace given by God, namely to Elizabeth and the child John. So also we must communicate ourselves to our neighbours, and our goods. The blessed Virgin communicated her Son spiritually and herself bodily; for three months she served Elizabeth.

(p. 189)

Bernard says that the blessed Virgin received John from his mother's womb with her own hands. So also we must communicate to our neighbours the graces and gifts conferred on us by God. Galatians, last chapter: *Brethren, if a man be overtaken in any fault*, etc., *you who are spiritual instruct such a one* [in spiritual things].

The fourth lesson. When Elizabeth had cried out and said, *And blessed are you who believed*, etc., the blessed Virgin came to the fourth lesson and made a longer speech than she had ever made, saying: *My soul magnifies* etc., as if the blessed Virgin said: "How could I have believed if I did not have it from God? You praise me and call me blessed; I do not have this gift from myself, but from God." Heeding the saying of James 1: *Every best gift and every perfect gift is from above, coming down from the Father of lights.* John 15: *Without me you can do nothing.* Our singer and chantress of the praises of God instructs us to render thanks to God, the blessed Virgin, as the disciple of her father [David], who says: *Not to us, O Lord, not to us, but to your name give glory* [the text reads "graciam"]. She too gives thanks [the text reads "graciam"; uncertain] to God and not to herself. Elizabeth calls the blessed Virgin blessed, and Mary magnifies [God]. At other times she dispatched [her words] more quickly, but here she sets down ten verses for our teaching: that other necessary things we should dispatch briefly, at least where it is not necessary and useful to make many words; but when we praise God we should praise incessantly and without end. In the praises of God we should persevere longer.

So the blessed Virgin said: *My soul magnifies* etc., *and* [my spirit] *has rejoiced* etc. Whether they will or not, *all generations shall call* her *blessed*, because it will be known by all that she is the mother of the Lord. The Jews will call me blessed, the Saracens will call me blessed. The Saracens so honour the Blessed Virgin that whoever is heard to speak evil of her is cut in two; and they are infidels. So also the pagans hold the name of the blessed Virgin in great honour and reverence. The Turks [the text reads "teucri"], Tartars and [other] nations will call me blessed. *For he has done great things to me* etc., as if to say: I do not have it from my own virtue, but from the grace of God. *And holy is his name*: holy, terrible to the just [the text so], but to the unjust … *And his mercy from generation* etc., namely from Adam to the generation of Abraham, etc. *He has*

shown might in his arm etc. The arm is not cut off from the body; it extends beyond the body. So the divine Word is extended as it were the arm of God; and so "arm" is put for the Son of God, but "finger" for the power of God or for the power of the Holy Spirit. Luke 11: *But if I by the finger* etc. Isaiah 53: *Lord, who has believed our report? And to whom is the arm* [of the Lord] *revealed?*

(p. 190)

Psalm: *Put forth your hand from on high. He has scattered the proud*: not only men but also demons. *He has put down the mighty from their seat*: understood not only of mighty and lofty men but also of demons. *The hungry*: Matthew 5: *Blessed are those who hunger* etc. The more you hunger, the more gladly you eat; and the more fit someone is to eat, the more he eats. So those who hunger for justice will be filled with good things. The rich are like a puffed-up wineskin full of wind; pierced, all the wind goes out of it and the skin remains empty. Psalm: *They have slept their sleep, and all the men of riches have found nothing.* Proverbs 10 [the text reads "12"]: *Treasures of wickedness shall profit nothing. He has received Israel his servant* [the text reads "puerum", child], namely the humble one. God is not a deceiver but a most faithful rewarder. So the blessed Virgin refers to that promise of Genesis 22: *And in your seed shall all the tribes of the earth be blessed.* Galatians 3: *He does not say "to seeds", but "to one", who is Christ.* So she said: *As he spoke* etc.

The fifth lesson. When Jesus went up to Jerusalem etc., the Virgin said: *Son, why have you done so to us? Your father and I have sought you sorrowing.* In this lesson she teaches us to keep due love. *Filius* [son] is named from Greek *philos*, that is, *amor* in Latin. "My beloved son, how much I love you! If it were possible I would die for you. Your supposed father, as your foster-father …" So the blessed Virgin speaks to instruct us that we too must instruct and form our sons in good works and correct them, etc. Ecclesiasticus 7: *Have you sons? Instruct them … Have you daughters? Give them* [in marriage]. And the blessed Virgin puts the father first, as the one who is set over her. She gave an example to all women that they should hold their husbands in reverence and honour. Bernard says that the boy Jesus in those three days begged from house to house, seeking nourishment. The blessed Virgin instructs us in this lesson to love God above all and more than all; our neighbour as ourselves; our neighbour's life as our own; our neighbour's goods as our own; let us love the honour and good name of our neighbours as our own; for it is possible to grieve as much at our neighbours' disgrace as at our own, etc. She says, "sorrowing". O blessed Virgin, did you remember the prophecy of Simeon, who said: *Behold, this child is set for the fall* etc., *and your own soul* etc.? *And Simeon took Jesus into his arms*, as if to say: "Mary, I will bargain with you. You wish to have your son; I am willing. I cannot give him back to you on any other terms than this: that you take on his death, and his death be your death", as Jerome says. "Therefore I advise you: *A sword shall pierce your own soul*", etc. Jerome: bodily suffering

(p. 191)

is small in respect of mental suffering. Many mothers have suffered, but your suffering will be in the soul. Therefore Jerome concludes that she was not only a martyr but more than a martyr; for as the Virgin Mary surpasses others in love, so also in suffering. So the blessed Virgin in this lesson taught us to love the Lord God with all our heart and all our soul, etc., and our neighbour as ourselves.

The sixth lesson. In this lesson she took the property of compassion, when she said the brief words: *They have no wine.* Wine (*vinum*) is named from the vineyard (*vinea*). Isaiah 5: *The vineyard of the Lord of hosts.* For true wine is coloured otherwise than other wine; it is also stronger than another and more vigorous; wine is also sweeter than another. Again, wine contains three things in itself: colour, vigour and savour. As if she said: here colour, vigour and savour are lacking. Colour signifies the truth of faith; and faith is to believe what you do not see. Vigour signifies the certainty of hope; for hope is the certain expectation of future blessedness, proceeding from the grace of God and preceding merits. Savour signifies the virtue of charity; charity is the virtue by which God is loved for his own sake and the neighbour in God or for God's sake. 1 Corinthians 13: *And now there remain faith, hope and charity, and the greatest of these is charity.* Believe

me, understood intellectually, the blessed Virgin asks of her Son the bestowal of true virtues, with which their handmaids also follow: for prudence follows with faith, justice with hope, fortitude with charity; temperance is the moderating virtue of all the other virtues. Isaiah 4 [the text reads "Jerem. IV"]: *Seven women shall take hold of one man.* Augustine, *City of God*, book 4 [uncertain]: there could never be any true virtue without true faith. The Apostle: *Without faith it is impossible to please God.* Jesus said: *Woman, what is that to me and to you?* As if to say: what [do I have] from you, that I can work miracles; or [what do] you [have] from me? You have received more from me in so far as I am God than I from you.

The seventh lesson. In the seventh lesson, when she said, *Whatever he shall say to you, do it*, as if she said: "Do not mind the harsh answer, but whatever" etc. Would that we did everything the Lord has commanded and told us to do! Here the blessed Virgin gives us the teaching that we must diligently keep and fulfil the divine precepts. Not only you who wish to be perfect, keep the divine precepts, but also you who are in the state of those advancing and of beginners. So the blessed Virgin in this last lesson taught us to keep the virtue of ultimate perfection. And you who wish to be perfect, keep not only [the precepts] but also the counsels as precepts. For the Lord [says] (Matthew [19]): *If you will be perfect, go and

(p. 192)

sell all that you have and give to the poor*: go through obedience, and sell through poverty, *and come, follow me* through perpetual continence. And these are the three essential vows belonging to religion.

So the blessed Virgin taught us the virtue of humility and discretion as to the state of beginners; the virtue of communication as to the state of those advancing; the virtue of divine praise, charity, compassion and ultimate perfection as to the state of the perfect. It is not read that the Blessed Virgin spoke more than in these seven lessons. It is read that she stood by the cross, but it is not read that she spoke. Yet no one doubts that she spoke; and no one doubts that she spoke with the kings coming from the east to adore her Son, etc., as in his passion. But the Spirit chose to keep silent about it in order to show the teaching which she gave us in these seven lessons. So love the blessed Virgin; for never was anyone commended to the blessed Virgin who was emptied of grace, and for whom the blessed Virgin did not obtain grace and eternal life; to which may he lead you and me who is to be praised for infinite ages of ages. Amen.

XLIII. On the day of James the Apostle. John of Capistrano

[Editor's date: Wednesday, 25 July]

My chalice indeed you shall drink (Matthew 20). These are the words of our Lord Jesus Christ spoken to his glorious apostles James and John, and recited today by our mother the Church for our teaching, consolation and salvation. When our Lord Jesus Christ had foretold to his apostles his most sacred passion and death and also his resurrection, the two brothers, namely James and John, thought among themselves that he would reign here on earth. And as Chrysostom deduces, and Mark touches on in chapter 10 [the text reads "IX"], they thought within themselves: "Behold, the King of kings and Lord of lords is about to go down to the torment of hell and to redeem the fathers. We know he is generous, and he has promised us (John 16): *If you ask the Father anything in my name, he will give it you.*" The negligence of the one asking is blamed, since there is no doubt of the giver's generosity. "Let us ask something, then, of our brother and cousin. When he has risen from the dead he will reign for ever. Let us ask, then, for the better place and greater dignity, that we may be as it were

(p. 193)

his assessors", etc., "so that one may sit at his right hand and the other at his left. But if we ask, the others will be indignant with us; so let us put our mother up to it. If she obtains it, we shall have it; if not, a mother's tenderness is more easily forgiven than we are." So *the mother of the sons of Zebedee came*, etc. *So the*

mother came, and they with her, adoring — as it were flatteringly — *and asking something of him.* The Lord knew well that she would ask, so he said: *What do you want?* The mother said: *Say that these two may sit* etc. *And Jesus said: You do not know what you ask.* You do not know that in sacred scripture the right hand signifies prosperity and the left adversity; and you do not know why he will set the sheep on the right and the goats on the left, and those who are on the right will reign for ever, but those on the left will be tormented for ever. Wherever Christ is, he is at the right hand of God the Father. The right hand is stronger than the left, and the whole right side is more effective, because it has the influence of natural heat from the heart, etc. In such a way one of you wishes to be saved and the other damned; so you do not know what you ask. But I tell you what is your part: *Can you drink the chalice that I am to drink?* They said: *We can*; and perhaps they thought of drinking a cup of good wine, etc. *He said to them: My chalice indeed you shall drink; but to sit at my right hand is not mine* etc. You asked for carnal things and have regard to carnal things; so I answer you that it is not mine to give you, according to the flesh or humanity, to sit at the right hand.

To the point. Many times it is as blessed Augustine says, that many ask of the Lord certain graces which, if they understood that they were not graces for them but rather disgraces or non-graces, they would not ask. Proverbs, last chapter: *Favour is deceitful and beauty is vain*, etc. Likewise according to Augustine: temporal goods, whether personal or real, must always be asked for with a condition — in so far as the granting turns to the praise or honour of God and is more profitable to eternal salvation — but eternal goods are to be asked for absolutely. To the point: the Lord Jesus promises what is useful and denies what is useless; he speaks with the effect of eternal salvation, and therefore he comprehends much in few words: *My chalice indeed you shall drink.*

In the words set forth three things are briefly found. The first, a compendious word comprehending many things: there, *Chalice indeed* etc. The second, a gracious [word], showing Christ's cross: there, *my*. The third, a fruitful utterance, advancing his dearer friends: there, *you shall drink.* The first, I said, is a compendious word comprehending many things; in that comprehension we shall also have the gracious word and the fruitful utterance, etc. The compendious word, then, I say, is "chalice".

(p. 194)

For "chalice" in sacred scripture comprehends many things. Yet twelve or thirteen suffice for us. First, it is called the natural chalice; second, the ministerial [the editor: read "ministerialis" for "misterialis"]; third, the penitential; fourth, of continence; fifth, temporal; sixth, of reverence; seventh, poisonous; eighth, infernal; ninth, of mercy; tenth, of the passion; eleventh, sacramental; twelfth, triumphal. Under the infernal we will also include the chalice of judgement.

First and principally, I say that "chalice" in sacred scripture is taken naturally. A natural or material chalice is a certain vessel, whether of silver or gold, etc. Of such a chalice it is briefly and succinctly found in Genesis 40. For such a chalice as Pharaoh drank from was material; look up the story. And there too it speaks of the ministerial chalice, where it says, *He will remember your ministry.* The third is called penitential. For when David had committed adultery with Bathsheba, etc., Nathan came to him saying, "Give me a judgement: *There were two men*" etc. (2 Kings 12). But David knew nothing else to say but *I have sinned.* O sweet was that chalice of penance! O fruitful word, O sweet word, O gentle word, etc.: *I have sinned.* So the prophet said: *The Lord also has taken away your sin; you shall not die.* "I have sinned" is as much as to acknowledge one's sins. Whoever in truth says "I have sinned" is a true penitent. "But let the true penitent always grieve, and rejoice in his grief, and be saddened that he has not grieved [more]." Augustine: "Penance is to lament evils done and not to commit again what must be lamented." 1 John 1: *If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.* Again, Solomon (3 Kings 8 [the text reads "VII"]): *For there is no man who has not sinned.* Bernard: "The beginning of salvation is knowledge of oneself." And let the true penitent not return to his vomit. John 5: *Behold, you are made whole.* Certainly he is not a true penitent unless he is so firm in mind that he would rather die than sin (*De poenitentia*, dist. 1, chapter *Poenitentia*, and

dist. 3). He is the true penitent who has in his heart formed contrition, in his mouth lawful confession, in deed worthy and possible satisfaction.

The fourth is called the chalice of continence. Solomon means to speak of such (3 Kings 7 and 2 Paralipomenon 4). Again, Wisdom 4: *O how beautiful is the chaste generation*, etc.

The fifth chalice is called the temporal chalice. We are mixed together in this world, good and bad, faithful and unfaithful, Catholics and heretics. But many good and faithful people are pressed down, while the wicked and even heretics are exalted, honoured, held in reverence, etc. The Apostle, 2 Timothy 3: *All who will live godly

(p. 195)

in Christ shall suffer persecution.* And from the beginning of the world the wicked have persecuted the good. For first Lucifer with his followers persecuted Christ in heaven, as is found in Isaiah 14: *I will set my throne in the north and be like the Most High.* Again, in the first age Cain persecuted Abel (Genesis 4). Again, Esau Jacob, etc. Speaking of this chalice the psalm says: *This one he humbles, and that one he exalts*, etc. In this life many holy men have been humbled, and conversely many plunderers, thieves, robbers, devourers of men's entrails and the like are exalted to heaven; and many times heretics are exalted and Catholics pressed down. *For in the hand of the Lord there is a cup of strong wine, full of mixture*: all the Catholic faithful are [in it; the sense is uncertain], that is, *a cup in the hand of the Lord of strong wine, full of mixture.* For the whole world is full of mixture in wickedness, so that the good are mixed with the wicked. 1 John 5: *And the whole world is seated in wickedness. And he has poured it out from this to that*: that is, the just, the just who are troubled in this world, will triumph in the Lord's chalice; but those who were proud here will be pressed down. So *he has poured* [the text reads "inclinabit"] *from this to that*: that is, now the just are persecuted, troubled and pressed down, but the wicked are first exalted, honoured and triumph; but the time will come in which *he will pour from this to that*, namely that the just will triumph eternally in heaven and be exalted, but the wicked will be pressed down and tormented eternally in hell. So it follows: *But the dregs thereof are not emptied: all the sinners of the earth shall drink* of the dregs of this chalice. Psalm: *Those who sow in tears shall reap in joy.* Peter [rather Paul and Barnabas], Acts 14: *Through many tribulations we must enter into the kingdom of God* [the text adds "of heaven"]. The example of the rich feaster and the poor Lazarus is plain. What followed? *The poor man was carried into the bosom of Abraham, and the rich man was buried in hell* (Luke 16).

The sixth is called the chalice of reverence. If we consider well how many and how great benefits we have received from God — not only the benefit of being, which is great, but also the benefit of a worthier being than other creatures. The psalmist: *What is man that you magnify him?* etc.; *you have made him a little less than the angels*, etc. As long as this present life lasts, man suffers tribulations and is pressed down; but after this life he will be exalted, even above the angels if he has merited, as will appear. So he says, *You have made him* [a little less] etc. The angel is a spirit, and the soul is also a spirit, which is the more principal part, from which [man] is named. For the Lord magnified man at the beginning of the creation of the world. Was it not said by the Lord, *Let us make man to our image and likeness* (Genesis 1)? It was not said of the angels; but the angel is called the seal

(p. 196)

of likeness [Ezekiel 28:12], but man the image or likeness of God. And in the middle [of time], did God become an angel? No, but man. John 1 [the text reads "3"]: *The Word was made flesh.* Likewise the Apostle: *For nowhere* etc., *but of the seed of Abraham he takes hold.* And at the end the Lord will magnify man, etc. Will not some man, in the sight of God after the general resurrection, be more dignified than the angels? Indeed there will be many men and women who will be compared with the holy Seraphim. Are not the Cherubim lower, and the Thrones and Dominations, etc.? Is not the blessed Virgin above all the choirs of

angels, and she is a human being? Does not Christ, in the humanity he assumed, triumph over all the choirs of angels, because he is God? And nothing is above God. Gregory: the angel who had shown John the Evangelist so many and such great things in the kingdom of heaven would not be adored by John, because he knew that human [nature] had been exalted and dignified above the angelic through Christ's assumed humanity. So the angel refused to be adored and said: *See you do it not, for I am your fellow servant,* etc. — whereas in the old law we often read that men adored angels. What, then, must we render to God the Most High for such great benefits? Charity. Gregory: "When gifts increase", etc., as is plain: "the reckonings of the gifts also increase" [the text reads "tanto debes ergo esse humilior quanto crescunt vationes donorum"]. So we must show God reverence and thanksgiving; and this is called the chalice of reverence. Psalm: *What shall I render to the Lord for all* etc. *I will take the chalice of salvation,* etc. So the chalice is taken for the reverence shown in acknowledging God's benefits.

The seventh is the poisonous chalice. This chalice is evil; for it is understood of the chalice of diabolical and wicked sweetness, indeed most poisonous. O diabolical poison! Proverbs 23: *A harlot is a deep ditch, and a strange woman is a narrow pit. She lies in wait in the way as a robber, and him whom she shall see unwary she will kill* — namely spiritually, and in her time also bodily; for many are killed because of wicked women. *Who has woe? Whose father has woe? Who has pits? Who has quarrels? Who has redness of eyes? Surely they who pass their time in wine and study to drink off their cups.* O deep, dangerous, poisonous chalice! Woe, woe, woe to those who are choked in such a chalice!

The eighth is called the infernal chalice. For those who in this life keep company with the vicious and study to drink off cups await the chalice of the wrath of God. As Christ testifies (Lamentations 4) through his revelation: *The breath of our mouth, Christ the Lord, is taken in our sins,* etc. But other Bibles have "spirit". Many sins are conceived in the heart and not shown in the mouth; many are also conceived in the heart and shown in the mouth; and many

(p. 197)

are conceived in the heart and shown in deed. As if the prophet said: who is true man as we are, who intend to make [us] partakers of his eternal glory [the sense is uncertain]. 1 Peter 3 [the text reads "VII"]: *Put to death indeed in the flesh, but made alive in the spirit.* Hebrews 2. Those who do not desist from vices also do not escape the torment of hell, but await the chalice of the wrath of God, namely the infernal one, of which the Lord testifies in many places, namely Isaiah 51, Jeremiah 25, Jeremiah 49, Apocalypse 14. Again, in Apocalypse 16 this chalice is found. But it is little that I have said, that is, little in respect of the other pains that are in hell. Augustine: if anyone were to suffer all the torments, all the tribulations and dangers that could befall in this world, it is as much as a shadow in respect of the thing whose shadow it is; namely, in consideration or comparison of this material fire to the infernal, as a painted fire to a true fire. Psalm: *He shall rain snares upon* them; so they will be ensnared, etc.; *fire and brimstone and storms of winds shall be the portion of their cup.* As if he said: all these are little in respect of the other torments. Matthew 13: *Bind them into bundles to burn.*

Four chalices still remain. So, *My chalice indeed* etc. For these two apostles, namely James and John, drank the Lord's chalice, because both suffered: John was sent into exile and James was beheaded. And likewise their desire was fulfilled even here on earth, because one, namely John, was sent into Asia, which is on the right, and there he received his end; and I say that now he reigns in heaven both in soul and in glorified body; but the other, namely Saint James, rests in body at Compostela, but his soul reigns in heaven.

Again, the following matter the father did not preach, but another of the order of Minors. [This note stands in the text: the rest of the sermon is not Capistrano's.] But other doctors say that he [John] is in paradise still living in the flesh, as Francis of Meyronnes. And they say that Christ willed to have one from each law who bears witness to him and at the end will preach to the people who will be living then and convert them: from

the law of nature, Enoch; from the law of scripture, Elijah; from the law of grace, John the Evangelist. Again, Augustine: "The mildest pain of hell is greater than all the torments of this world." So take heed [the text reads "recipe respectum"], etc.

XLIV. Sunday between the Ascension and Pentecost. By Brother John of Capistrano

[Editor's date: Sunday, 13 May. The edition places this sermon after the feast of James (25 July), out of date order.]

*Be prudent, therefore, and watch in prayers. But before all things have a constant mutual charity among yourselves; for charity

(p. 198)

covers a multitude of sins* — and it is found throughout in the Acts of the Apostles [the reference is confused] — 1 Peter 4. In brief words the Apostle has taught us in the words set forth to keep the Catholic faith. For when he says, *Be prudent*, he includes in this epistle all the virtues: namely charity, when he says, *Charity covers a multitude of sins*; prudence, when he says, *Be prudent*; and likewise all the virtues, both theological and moral, as is plain to one who looks, etc.

For charity is the queen of all virtues, and prudence the first of the moral virtues; and prayer extends both to the theological and to the moral virtues. So he adds that charity is referred to Christians, for he writes (?): *Using hospitality one towards another without murmuring.* For the measure of virtues is given in common: *Brethren, to each one of you is given the manifestation of the Spirit for profit: to some is given the word of wisdom, to others of knowledge, according to the same Spirit; to others the speaking of tongues, according to the same Spirit*, as appears in the epistle of [the feast of] the Holy Spirit. And likewise in today's epistle it is said: *As every man has received grace, ministering the same one to another, as good stewards of the manifold grace of God. If any man speak, let him speak as the words of God; if any man minister, let him do it as of the power which God administers, that in all things God may be honoured through Jesus Christ our Lord.* So if anyone has divine knowledge, let him communicate it for the love of God; and whoever has an understanding intellect, let him communicate it for the love of God, namely to his neighbours. And if anyone is great-souled, let him show it in his strength by fighting for the truth. And whoever is for himself must also be for others; for it is plain that speech is given to others according to the same Spirit; for as in one body we have many members exercising different operations, so also we are one spiritual body, as appears in the epistle.

Be prudent, therefore, as is told in the words set forth. Concerning prudence, then, three things are to be noted: first, the definition; second, the distinction; third, the fruitfulness. First, then, the definition must be treated. For "prudent", according to Isidore, is said as it were *porro videns*, that is, seeing far, because he considers from afar what is coming and what is fitting. Or it is said as it were "seeing beforehand". Hence prudence is as it were foresight; for prudence is foresight. For prudence according to Tully is thus defined: "It is the knowledge of divine and human things, of good and bad, with the choice of the good and the detestation of the bad." For there are three powers of the soul, namely memory, understanding, will. The first recalls the past; the second knows and orders the present; the third chooses what pleases it. So be wise

(p. 199)

for Seneca says: "If you are prudent, let your mind be dispensed", that is, divided, "among three times": remember the past, order and know the present, and choose and foresee the future. If you desire to be prudent, recall what you have done: how you committed your sins; how on feast days you did not rise at the due time for Mass and hear Mass, etc. So memory, understanding and will are necessary. If you are prudent,

you will be the same wherever you are, and you will not change yourself in anything; for it is the same hand that is clenched, raised and closed. For the prudent man abides in the same will and gladly has peace with all, as far as it can be done. And likewise the father [Capistrano] said: "I would gladly have peace with all, if it could be done", as the Apostle also says: *Having peace with all men, and giving offence to none.* Again: *Be not conformed* or assimilated *to this wicked world, but be renewed in spirit, and put on the new man*, etc. (Ephesians 4; look it up). Again: *Not to be wise more than it behoves*, but let each be wise as far as he can; and it is not permitted stubbornly to understand sacred scripture otherwise than the Holy Spirit understands and expounds it.

So prudence has three parts: to consider oneself, to remember the past, to order the present and to foresee the future. Do not even beasts do this? For it is found in Proverbs 6: *Go to the ant, O sluggard, and learn wisdom*, because she gathers in summer so as to have food in winter; and likewise many other brute animals do this. So be prudent too: remember what you have thought about, what you have seen, what you have thought — evil things; what you have seen — worse things; what you have done — much worse. Bernard says: "You will be prudent if you do penance for past sins, if you grieve for sins committed and resolve not to sin hereafter, if you humbly confess your sins, if you take care to render to each what is his." So you will be prudent if you use the present rightly, having rightly remembered the past, namely how you have spent your life. For Brother John said that for fifteen years he had spent his life badly; "but", he said, "alas, I grieve and do penance." But it is better to do penance early. *It is good for a man when he has borne the yoke from his youth*; it will be good for the young if they keep the Lord's commandment. For the Lord says: *Take up my yoke*, for [it is] a sweet yoke. For the Lord's yoke is humble obedience, as he says of himself: *I came not to do my own will, but the will of him who sent me* (John 5 [6]). *He became obedient unto death* (Philippians 2); [and in] Hebrews 5 he wrote (?): *being consummated, he became to all* etc. Blessed will be all those young people who take up the yoke. But I [have spent badly; the text is defective here; the editor queries "verbum? jugum accipio? considero?"]

(p. 200)

my life. And I can say that word of Jeremiah [rather Matthew 26]: *My soul is sorrowful even unto death.* Again, I have often thought: "If I had been devoured by beasts after baptism, before I offended your majesty!" For I was baptised twice: first, with formal baptism; and if I had been devoured then, I would have flown straight to heaven. Secondly, I was baptised on entering religion, in my thirtieth year; and if [I had died] then, that too would have been good, but the first better, since at first I had not offended your majesty.

Again, Thomas says that all guilt, both actual and original, is wiped out in the young and likewise in the old [in baptism]; so also in receiving the religious or regular habit the old guilt is forgiven and the new man is put on — at least if it is taken with the resolve to persevere, [when] someone takes the habit and wishes to renew his life. This is the meaning of the Apostle: *Be renewed in the spirit of your mind, and put on the new man.* And if you have received the habit so, see that you do not fall. *For it is better not to have known the way of truth than, having known the truth, to turn back from the way*; which the Lord himself attests in the gospel: *Go*, he says, *and sin no more, lest something worse befall you.* For he said that if someone makes entry into religion with the resolve to persevere, it is not permitted to him to leave before profession, nor after it [to return] to the state he had before, namely to change his habit for an easier habit. If, then, you proceed by the right road and the right path and resolve, in the habit your rule will be your law.

To the point, then: if you wish to be prudent, think what you have done, what you have conceived in your mind, what you have seen, what you have chosen, and how you have offended God. "For the true penitent should always grieve, and rejoice in grieving, and grieve [the text reads "rejoice"] at not grieving." And let him acknowledge that there is no grief so great as would suffice, and as great as the grief could be: "For I grieve as much as I have offended", and they cannot grieve so much. For no single man, nor even all men together, can satisfy of themselves for one mortal sin; and for the least mortal sin they cannot satisfy, but by

means of Christ's passion they satisfy well enough. Yet it suffices for us to have formed contrition. But because Christ's merits are of such great efficacy, I hope to be saved by means of them. For one drop of his blood was worth more than all our sins. So by the merits of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by the merits of the blessed Virgin, and by the merits of the apostles, and by the merits of the confessors and virgins and all the saints, I hope to be saved and to make satisfaction enough for my sins. For someone says: "It is better to die than to act against virtue", [even for one] who

(p. 201)

has not yet known the way of truth. So think about keeping virtue. For Anselm says: "If I saw hell, and saw a beautiful virgin, and hell said, 'Embrace this virgin and I will do nothing to you for ever; and if you do not embrace her, I will devour you' — yet since I am a man (*vir*), and *vir* is named from *virtus*, it is more fitting to choose to suffer all the pains of hell than to act [against] virtue [the editor notes that "contra" is evidently missing], and rather to be devoured by hell than to embrace the virgin, because virtue forms me." But alas, many do not consider or weigh this, but for a lesser danger, namely for a single flame of fire perhaps, they would act against virtue.

The second part of this sermon. We must consider the distinctions of prudence. We must consider human and worldly prudence. Human prudence is carnal; therefore carnal prudence too is considered in three ways: first, according to God; second, apart from God; third, against God. The first is good; but the second holds a middle way; namely, [the third] is also diabolical prudence. And by the first prudence I refer myself to wisdom. Anselm: "Wisdom [relates] to eternal things, knowledge to earthly and temporal things." For wisdom, knowledge and prudence differ. Prudence according to God, as to earthly things [rather "eternal things"; the text is confused], is much to be desired, much more than as to earthly things. For many have despised temporal things to attain the least particle of divine knowledge. For he related that in his own time two kings had put on the habit, and two queens likewise had taken up the observance of Saint Clare in their regions. Wherefore it is said in [the book of] Wisdom [Proverbs 3]: *Blessed is the man who finds wisdom and is rich in prudence. For the acquiring of it is better than the merchandise of gold*; look it up in the common [text]. Again: *I wished, and understanding was given me.*

But as to temporal things it is to be desired according to God: for if I eat, I will do it for this reason, that I may be able to serve God more strongly; likewise if I drink, if I sleep, and whatever I do, I order all things to the praise of God; and therefore everything I do, I do for his love and honour; so such things are always meritorious. Again, prudence according to God is to abstain from sins and direct the mind to God, and to deceive no one and not be deceived [the text reads "nullum vallere et valli"; uncertain]. Matthew: *Be prudent as serpents.* Again, prudence according to God is to esteem things according to what they are and to judge them distinctly and not confusedly, in particular and not in the lump. Know also their particular conditions; for such a prudent man rightly and justly dispenses to his neighbours the goods granted and entrusted to him beyond necessity. So the man prudent according to God provides for himself the necessities of life, namely food and clothing, as was shown, and all to the praise of God. For this

(p. 202)

prudence sins in nothing; daily it merits (?), because it acts with this intention, that it may be able to serve God more easily and fittingly; and therefore it contains no sin, neither venial nor mortal.

Second, prudence apart from God is considered. Such a one, because it exceeds somewhat, holds a middle way. For I know that it suffices me to eat a little bread and it suffices me to drink one flask [the text reads "appollam"] of wine; nevertheless I eat and drink more, yet I do not intend to turn myself from the divine will, although in some way I turn myself to bread or wine; but yet I would more gladly and sooner die than sin mortally. So it is some excess, but not mortal, though venial indeed, as Augustine also says: to eat a little beyond necessity, and to drink a little, and to sleep a little beyond usefulness, to speak a little [too much], to

delay giving alms, and to hear [only] part of the Mass on feast days are venial. For if someone delays the Mass or a part of it with the intention that he resolves to come in time, and not deliberately — as if I wished to hear Mass and went, and on the way some person met me and dealt with me somewhat, and I delayed past the beginning of the Mass and came at the *Gloria in excelsis* — I do not think I sin mortally, since I did not do this deliberately but out of frailty. To the point, then: prudence apart from the flesh [rather "apart from God"] relates to venial sin.

The third prudence is against God, and such is death, because it is carnal. For it finally places its intention in delights and carnal things; so it is mortal sin. For such is the prudence of heretics. For the Apostle says: *For those who are according to the flesh mind the things of the flesh. For the prudence of the flesh is death, but the prudence of the spirit is life and peace. Because* he who is so prudent *cannot please God*; for one so prudent *is not subject to the law*, nor cares to be subject. For such are heretics; for commonly they all act under the cloak of a certain prudence. And here he told of certain heretics living in caves, practising carnal things, seeing the devil under the appearance of the Saviour and of the glorious Virgin; and so lust blinded them. Wherefore he concluded that finally every heresy is reduced to the vice of the flesh. He said that Rokycana had twelve women adorning his bed. [This is reported as Capistrano's charge; it is not verified.] *But you are not in the flesh*, as Paul adds. *Whoever* [has not] *the Spirit of Christ* is not his, but the devil's and Rokycana's. *For it is the spirit that gives life; the flesh* edifies no one [rather "profits nothing"]. Whoever contradicts the Spirit of Christ and Christ does not have the Spirit of Christ, but understands sacred scripture otherwise than the Holy Spirit. So if such people have the prudence of the flesh, they still do not

(p. 203)

have the spirit; wherefore it does not profit them but harms them more.

And the third is also called worldly, and relates to visible temporal goods. O how beautiful is gold! How beautiful are precious stones! [If] we delight in gold against God, we sin mortally; but not if we use them according to God, at Mass and in the other divine offices, because it is to the praise of God. But the avaricious do not delight according to God, nor apart from him, but against God; therefore they sin mortally. Therefore the Lord says: *For the children of this world are more prudent in their generation than the children of light.* Again, the Lord praised the steward who stewarded badly, not for his deed but because he acted prudently; and therefore he praised the prudence of the spirit and not of the flesh. The same Lord in the gospel: *Make to yourselves friends of the mammon of iniquity.* Spiritual prudence is the one you have heard about. Again, worldly prudence underlies many imitators who put spiritual things together with temporal, to gain a hundred from one penny, not caring how it is sought, justly or unjustly; so daily they have sinned mortally, as often as [they do so], because they choose the changeable good in place of the unchangeable. This is also the opinion of blessed Augustine. So to put eternal goods last is diabolical prudence. For such is that of the heretics, who lay waste churches and seize church goods, etc. *Nothing is more wicked than an avaricious man.* He will not be filled with money or riches. Ecclesiastes 5: *He who loves riches shall not be filled.* The Apostle, 1 Timothy, last chapter: *We brought nothing into this world, nor shall we carry anything away. For those who will become rich fall into the snares of the devil. For the root of all evils is covetousness, which some coveting have erred from the faith.* For so have the modern heretics done, who have seized spiritual goods and still hold them because of their avarice.

Again, it is found in law: all heretics are excommunicated; all who believe them, all who adhere to them, all counsellors, all supporters, all receivers, all protectors, all sharers and those taking part in any way whatever against the precept, are excommunicated by the deed itself (chapter *Excommunicamus*, *De haereticis*). Take the first penalty for all such: that they are excommunicated. Understand, then, the foundation: no one should be excommunicated except for mortal sin; so they sin mortally as often as they take part, or give counsel, and the like. Behold the second penalty. The third: all such are made infamous, both heretics and adherents, etc. (chapter *Excommunicamus*), as is plain. For good repute is praise arising from a virtuous life; but they are

without virtue; so such are not to be honoured. For John says: *If any man come to you and bring not this doctrine, receive him not

(p. 204)

into the house, nor say to him, God speed you. For he who says to him, God speed you, communicates with his wicked works.* So by greeting such as such, they sin mortally. So the third penalty is infamy.

The fourth penalty, as in the same chapter: all such heretics and those taking part with them are made incapable of receiving offices, honours and dignities; for they cannot lawfully be made knights, nor should they be. Fifth: they are incapable of elections, both active and passive; for the vote of such men in a consistory is to be held as nothing, and they should not be sent to the consistory or to councils, because one must not confide in suspected heretics. Again, the sixth penalty: no Catholic is bound to answer such persons in a common or a special court; but when someone has a case against them, they are bound to answer. The seventh penalty: they cannot hold any public office, such as being a prefect and the like. Eighth: the testimony of such persons is to be held as nothing, because no faith is to be given to them. The common proverb: "There is no faith in a Bohemian." Again, the ninth penalty: all their goods are "obfuscated" [i.e. confiscated; the text reads "obfuscati"] by the apostolic see. For as soon as someone falls into heresy, so soon he must be deprived of all his goods; and as soon as someone communicates or takes part with them, so soon he is liable to the same penalty. For realms are divided into three parts: some are subject to the pope, some to the emperor, some to a king. If such a person is under [spiritual] power, because his spiritual goods fall to the pope; so also if [they are] secular, they fall either to the emperor or to the king. And so they have nothing of their own. The tenth penalty is incapacity to bear witness [rather, to make a will]; and if any such person makes a will, the will of such persons will be null. Again, if someone makes a will and has a heretic, or one taking part with them or adhering to them, as executor, his will will be null, since they are incapable. Again, the eleventh penalty: the heirs of such persons cannot have and share in the paternal inheritance, even granted that he had acquired his goods with all diligence and justly, because now they are not his but his superior's, as was shown. Again, the twelfth penalty: their subjects can rise up against them, and vassals can withdraw from obedience to them. The subjects are released from their oath; and against such it is permitted for a son to rise up against his father, and a father against his son, a wife against her husband, a sister against her brother, a friend against a friend, etc. Therefore it is said in Deuteronomy 18 [rather 13]: whoever appears as a heretic, whether father or mother, is at once directed to eternal curse. Therefore guard yourselves from this prudence against God, and keep prudence according to God; then you will be made partakers of eternal glory, to which may he lead you and me who is to be praised for ages of ages. Amen.

Sermon on the Passion of Christ

Opening (acephalous)

(fol. 149r) [The text begins mid-sentence.] …to whom I commend myself for obtaining divine grace. For it is not fitting [she says] to say to me: Hail, full of grace; rather she may say: Do not say “Hail” to me, for there is no woman on earth so filled [with sorrow] as I. If you say "full of grace", how can it be fitting that I am full of grace? Do you not see that today every misery surrounds me? Now neither with the Father nor with my Son nor with the angel nor with men do I find the grace of which you speak. If we say to her: The Lord is with thee, rather today my Son has been taken from me, the only hope of my salvation, who is not treated as a lord but is hanged like the vilest thief. If we say to her: Blessed art thou among women, how can that fit her? No woman is so cursed and despoiled as I. If lastly we say: Blessed is the fruit of thy womb, she will say: Do you not see and hear that today he is cursed like an evildoer and handed over to death? So say no more to her, but with a devout heart: Tell us where your beloved has gone, O fairest among women, and to what end. And she will answer with the words of the Canticle, chapter 6: My beloved went down into the garden of olives, and waits [uncertain] on the palm, that is, the holy cross. For he himself said, Canticle 7: I will go up into the palm tree, etc. Let us go, then, to her and to the Crucified, and greet him devoutly, saying: Hail, O cross, our only hope. Then, to obtain grace, let the Lord’s Prayer be said: Our Father. Hail Mary.

The Ten Ways

Where has your beloved gone? etc. Anselm says in the treatise named: Where, O glory of heaven, joy of the angels, tell me the truth; forget the sorrows which I do not doubt you had today. I beg you, pour into my heart those tears which you shed under the cross at the passion of your Son. Tell me then where your Son went in his passion, and I seek him with you with true compassion of heart. And [Mary] answered Anselm: What you ask of me, O devout soul, is a spur to compunction and to the greatest grief. I say, then, that my Son went ten ways this night and day, and on each of them his soul was filled with sorrows. First he went into Jerusalem, to be fed there. Second, to the garden, to be taken there. Third, to Annas, to be slapped there. Fourth, to Caiaphas, to be mocked there. Fifth, to Pilate, to be falsely accused there. Sixth, to Herod, to be despised there.

(fol. 149v) Seventh, to the praetorium, to be scourged there. Eighth, to the lithostrotos, to be sentenced there. Ninth, to Mount Calvary, to be crucified there. Tenth, he went to the sepulchre, to be buried there.

The First Way: To Jerusalem

First I say that he went into Jerusalem to be fed there. Tell me then, I beg, O fairest virgin, what was done with your Son on this way. Anselm answers in the person of Mary: Truly we must consider six things done by my Son on this way, namely: First, a monstrous betrayal; Second, a sorrowful separation; Third, a sweet refreshment; Fourth, an astounding humiliation; Fifth, a fruitful calling back; Sixth, a most sweet instruction.

I say first that we must consider the monstrous betrayal. Concerning it note two things: the cause and the execution. The cause why Judas treacherously betrayed Christ: as John says in chapter 12, Jesus, six days before the feast of the Passover, saying that his hour had come to pass from this world to the Father, came to Bethany on the Saturday, the eve of Palm Sunday. It is two Lombard miles from Jerusalem, and there, eight days before, he had raised Lazarus. In that same town, in the house of Simon the leper, a banquet was made for them. This Simon had once been a leper but was cured by the Lord, and was afterwards named Julian, bishop of Le Mans. And as a sign of the miracle Simon keeps the name "leper". At that banquet Mary Magdalene anointed Christ. Lazarus too was at this table with Jesus. She did this because she knew that Christ had travelled thirty Gallic miles and was tired. So she brought an alabaster jar of precious ointment of

spikenard and anointed the feet of Jesus. Augustine, Bede and Gregory say that she anointed Christ twice: once in Galilee, when she stood at the feet of Jesus as a sinner, Luke 7; the second time in Bethany. And on the first occasion, as Augustine says, she anointed Christ's feet to drive the weariness from them. At this table the Lord Jesus knew the whole course of his passion which was to be fulfilled in him, and from this imagining he became quite pale. Seeing this pallor, the Magdalene at once began

(fol. 150r) [to take] the alabaster jar of ointment and poured it over the head of Jesus. That is why she poured the ointment over his head: because he wore no covering on his head. And the house was filled with the scent of the ointment, John 12. Then one of the disciples, Judas Iscariot, said: Why was this ointment not sold for more than three hundred denarii and given to the poor? As if Judas said to the disciples: See how delicate our master is, who lets himself be anointed with such costly ointment. In this Judas found fault not only with the woman who did it but also with Christ, who allowed it, counting as lost what love of Christ spends. And many are unclean in this way, namely those who count as lost what is spent in Christ's service, but count as gain what is spent in the devil's service. He said this not because he cared for the poor, but because he was a thief, and having the purse he carried what was given, for his wife and children.

But you might say: Since Christ knew that he was a thief and his betrayer, why did he make him steward in the first place? [The answer is] that at the beginning, when that office was given him, he was not a robber and a thief, but Christ knew he would become one; nevertheless he gave him that office. First, to satisfy his desire, so that, sated in his present avarice, he might cease from sin. The second reason: to take from him every occasion of grumbling; for he could not say that he betrayed Christ for lack of money, since he was steward and had the purse. So says Chrysostom. The third reason: to show that, rather than the cure of souls, he entrusted the purse to the one who was the worst in Christ's company. From this it appears that the worse [men] still obtain riches. This tells against those who rejoice at being given charge of temporal goods and wish to be glorified and honoured for it, and think little of the churchmen to whom spiritual things are entrusted. Seeing this, the other disciples were indignant, saying: Why this waste? This ointment could have been sold for much and given to the poor. So Matthew. The disciples [spoke] from the true charity they had for the poor, but Judas grumbled from indignation and avarice. For it was Christ's custom to have a tenth part of what was given him handed to the poor, and Judas stole it and gave it to his wife, because he was a thief. And because thirty is the tenth of three hundred denarii, and he saw the ointment was worth that, he reckoned that he had lost thirty silver pieces. Seeing that he could not get his tenth part, namely thirty denarii, in that same hour he began to think how he could betray Christ and sell him to the Jews and recover those thirty denarii

(fol. 150v) which he reckoned he had lost on Christ's account. So Luke 22 says: Satan entered into Judas, who was called Iscariot, first by suggesting the betrayal to him, by which he might recover his loss. Christ, hearing the disciples indignant over the pouring out of this ointment, said: Why do you trouble this woman? She has done a good work for me. For the poor you have always with you, but me you will not always have. In doing what she could she has done this; she has anointed my body beforehand. As if he said: By this deed she prefigures my burial, for what she would then wish to do, she does now. Amen I say to you: wherever this gospel is preached in the whole world, what she has done will also be told in memory of him, that is, of Christ, as regards his passion and burial. In the morning on Palm Sunday he came into Jerusalem and was received there with the greatest honour, so that the whole Jewish people cried out: Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord, as if saying: O blessed Son of God, born of a virgin, we beg you to save us in the highest, that is, in your glory. On that day Christ did three noble things: first, he cured lepers; second, he cursed the fig tree; third, with a whip he drove the sellers and buyers out of the temple of Jerusalem, as is clear in the gospel; for that day he had been received with honour. And although they had received Christ with honour that day, none of them invited him to dinner, nor would anyone take him in as a guest, but he returned to Bethany, to the Magdalene. On Monday Christ again entered the temple and taught, and there

they sought occasion to accuse him; for they brought to him a woman taken in adultery, and he set her free, John 8. On Tuesday he again returned to Jerusalem and taught the Jews there. When evening came he went up the Mount of Olives with his disciples and foretold to them the signs of the coming judgement, and finally concluded: As you know, after two days the Passover will come, that is, the paschal lamb will be sacrificed, and the Son of Man will be betrayed; for that same night he was betrayed by Judas to the Jews.

Second, the execution of this betrayal is noted. For on the Wednesday after Palm Sunday the chief priests gathered to the high priest Caiaphas, who was high priest that year, who agreed for a certain sum

(fol. 151r) of the high priests, and they said: What are we to do, for this man does many signs? John 11. So Caiaphas said: It is expedient for you that one man should die for the people, lest the whole nation perish; as if he said: If we can have no other charge of death against Christ, let this be the reason, the preservation of the common good, lest the Romans come and take away our place and nation. Then they all planned to kill him, but they said: Not on the feast day, lest there be an uproar among the people. On that same Wednesday Christ stayed in Bethany with his mother. Judas, wishing to meet the Jews gathered in council in the morning without suspicion, told the other disciples that he wanted to go to Jerusalem to buy some things needed for the feast. But he went to the chief priests unasked, not compelled but of his own will, and said: What will you give me, and I will hand him over to you? As if he said: You [are taking] counsel how you may seize and kill [uncertain] Jesus. You know that I am his secret disciple and close to him; but name the sum you will give me, and I will hand him over to you and put him in your hands secretly and without noise. He did not ask a fixed sum, but, as Chrysostom says, it is as if he said: He is so cheap to me that if you gave me one denarius I would hand him over to you. They were very glad, as Luke says in chapter 22. And they agreed and settled on thirty silver pieces, each worth ten common denarii. And from then on he sought a fitting time and place to hand him over to death without crowds, that is, without an uproar of the people. And, he said, so that you are not deceived: [be] quiet where we find him; I will first lay hands on him and give him into your hands, and then lead him away carefully. As a sign I will kiss him, so that you can recognise him, if he should escape. But let the silver pieces be mine beforehand, in the temple; this pleased the Jews, and he promised to keep his word inviolate. Of the execution of the betrayal Richard says: O Judas, wicked and faithless thief, you would not have pity on the Son; you ought to have pitied the heartfelt sorrow of Christ's mother. What did your master do to you? Do you betray him because he called you back from an evil state? You killed your reputed brother and your father and sinned with your mother, and he pardoned you; he made you an apostle, gave you power over demons, and gave you authority to heal the sick;

(fol. 151v) washed your feet, gave you his body, and at last even promised you primacy? Tell me, foul traitor, what drove you to do this? What did you lack with him? Did he not say to you and the other apostles, when he sent you without purse, without bag or shoes: Did you lack anything? And did you not say with the others: Nothing? O fool, if you wanted to sell him, why did you not sell him to the Magdalene, who would have offered you not thirty but a thousand denarii for him? Why did you not offer him for sale to Mary his mother, who would surely have settled a great [uncertain] price on you? You put up for sale a priceless treasure, one drop of whose blood was worth more than all the gold and silver of the whole world. And so much for that.

Second, we must consider the sorrowful separation. Note: on Wednesday evening, having promised the Jews that he would betray Jesus, he came to Bethany. And Christ, though he knew that he was his betrayer and had sold him, embraced and kissed him at his coming. Likewise the Virgin Mary received him kindly, asking him whether he had heard anything bad about her Son. Judas answered, as Anselm says: All is well in every way; [nothing] untoward [uncertain] about him. For Mary loved him, because she knew him to be known to the leading men in Jerusalem, and she entrusted her Son to him, saying: Dear Judas, I entrust to you my beloved Son. Judas answered: He has always been well entrusted to me. And that evening the Magdalene made a supper in Bethany. At this supper Christ placed Judas between his mother and himself, as a sign that by his betrayal he meant to divide and separate them from each other. At this supper Christ set out in order the

mystery of his passion, and while he was speaking thus, with Judas persisting [uncertain] in the betrayal, Christ became so bitter that he laid his head down on the table. And when supper was over and the Virgin Mary saw this, she said: My Son, I have something to say. And she said: O light of my eyes, tell me the truth, what this pallor and bitterness mean; for my heart is torn by the bitterness of your face. Christ answered his mother: O mother, you shall know why I am troubled on your account; since you want the cause of my bitterness, I say that the time has come, the hour in which I shall be separated from you by a most bitter death. Seeing that I am thinking of this harsh pain and death which I must undergo, I am made bitter. When the mother heard that the death

(fol. 152r) of her Son was close at hand, she grieved so much that great tears flowed from her eyes. The Blessed Virgin, wishing therefore to invite her Son to another kind of redemption, puts a petition to him, saying: O my Son, I know that in his mercy he has decreed to redeem the human race. But if indeed you must die, my heart will break within me. I ask, then, that you redeem the race by another way, without dying. The Son answered her: Though, dear mother, I owe you obedience, because I have my humanity from you, yet I owe it still more for the divinity I have from the Father; thus it has been determined for me. Hence in the person of Isaiah 53: He was offered because he himself willed it. And it was prefigured in Genesis chapter 22 in Abraham, who stretched out the sword to sacrifice his son. Yet for your sake I will go to prayer and ask whether he will hear me, and [whether] it is possible to redeem the human race in another way, without my death. On that day he sent Mary Magdalene into Jerusalem as a messenger to hear what was being plotted against Jesus. As Anselm says: When the messenger returned and reported of Jesus that by the counsel of the Pharisees he was in the end to be crucified and die, then both of them, Mary Magdalene and Mary, went to Jesus, and the Magdalene said: O sweetest Jesus, my guest, I ask that you not go to Jerusalem, but we will prepare the Passover for you here. Jesus said: This time has been fixed beforehand by my Father, and now it has come in which I must redeem the human race; the will of my Father must be fulfilled. Hearing this, the Blessed Virgin made another petition, saying: O light of my eyes, if you will go to Jerusalem, I ask you to let me go with you. And at once [uncertain] he dismissed the Magdalene and stayed alone with his mother, saying to her: O dear mother, all my disciples will let go of their faith and fall away in my passion; so you must stay with them, so that they may receive from you strength in faith and some consolation in my passion. And the Lord Jesus, on bended knees before his mother, said: O dear mother, I thank you for carrying me nine months, conceiving, nourishing and nursing me; for as many drops of virgin milk as I received from you, so many thanks I give you; I thank you for the anguish of the flight into Egypt, and that you sought me three days when I was in the temple. In this petition of yours you cannot be heard, because my whole passion was foretold by the Holy Spirit through the mouth of the prophets. O broken mother's heart, what grief you bore

(fol. 152v) when she heard this from her Son. In the morning both, kneeling, bade each other farewell, both weeping and kissing each other. And as he went from Bethany with the disciples to Jerusalem, the Virgin Mary followed with Mary Magdalene and her sister, and kissing and weeping she said: O my Son, sweetness of my heart, spare me in this my tribulation; why do you leave me so orphaned and desolate? Until this hour I never left you. Jesus answered her in a tearful voice: O my mother, why do you trouble me with your tears? The distress of the bitter passion is enough for me. As often as I see a tear flow from your eyes, a sword pierces my heart. I beg you, do not be sad; I commend you to my beloved, that is, to her house [uncertain], and do not hinder my passion any further. In parting from Christ the sorrowful Mary said to Judas: O Judas, my friend, now I commend my Son to you again. If you hear anything harmful about him, let me know. Richard says: O Virgin Mary, did you not know that you were entrusting your Son to a fox, truth to a liar, the lamb to the wolf? With these words the mother was sorrowfully separated from her Son. That is why I said that we must consider, second, the sorrowful separation of the Virgin from her Son, etc.

Third, I say we must consider the sweet refreshment. Concerning it three things are to be considered: first, the preparation of the paschal lamb; second, the eating of the lamb of the Law; third, the institution of the sacramental Lamb. First, of the preparation of the paschal lamb. Mark says in chapter 14: Early on the Thursday the disciples said to Christ: Where do you want us to prepare for you to eat the Passover, that is, the paschal lamb? And he sent Peter and John as his confidants, saying: Go into the city, and a man will meet you carrying a jar of water; follow him, and wherever he enters, say: The Master says: Where is the guest room where I may eat the Passover with my disciples? And he will show you a large upper room furnished. They went and found it as Jesus had told them, and prepared the Passover. For the Jews were commanded, Exodus 12, when he willed to free the children of Israel from the captivity of the Egyptians, that on the tenth day of the first month they should take a yearling lamb without blemish, which must be neither lame nor blind. When he came

[the text breaks off here; a passage is missing]

(fol. 153r) had reclined, he said to them: You call me Master and Lord, and you say well, for so I am: a master without error, a master without falsehood, a master of supreme goodness; Lord, lord of life, lord of death, and lord of heaven and earth. If then I have washed your feet, you also ought to wash one another's feet, bodily or spiritually; for I have given you an example, that you should do likewise.

Fifth, I say we must consider the fruitless calling back of Judas. For the Lord meant to call him back from his evil purpose by three things: first by charity, second by humility, third by severity of words. First by charity, because at supper he gave his body to the other disciples [and to him too], as is said in C. 23 q. 4: "You, being good, bear with the evil man. For Christ too bore with Judas, though he knew him to be a thief, and sent him to preach, and gave him the Eucharist with the others", as Augustine says in the book On the Words of the Lord. And he gave his body to Judas with the other disciples so that a hidden sin should not be betrayed—an example for us, that no one should deny the body of Christ to a secret sinner. So even if a priest knows for certain that someone is in mortal sin, but secretly, if he comes with others to receive the body of Christ, he must give it to him, because if he refused he would betray him, which is not lawful. Second, to take from him every occasion of betraying; for if he had given his body to the others and not to Judas, then he would have thought: Since he has shown the others a sign of love and not me, therefore I will betray Christ. Third, so that Christ should not expose his betrayer. For the Gloss on John says: If Peter had known the betrayer, he would have torn him apart with his teeth. Second, he meant to call him back by humility, in washing his feet before the others. For, as Origen and Chrysostom say, Christ began with Judas, and in this he did as a good physician, who, having many sick, begins with those who are most ill. Third, he meant to call him back by severity of words. For, as is said in John 13 and Mark 14: When he had said to them, I have given you an example, Jesus was troubled in spirit and testified and said: Amen I say to you, one of you who eats with me will betray me this night. He wished to make his betrayal known to the disciples at supper, to show, as Chrysostom says, that he was willing to suffer, though he could [have avoided] the death he foreknew. Looking at one another, then,

(fol. 153v) the disciples began each to say: Is it I, Lord? Matthew chapter 26; each one [as if] saying: Tell us openly whether I am to betray you; I would rather the other brothers killed me. And he answered: He who dips his hand with me in the dish, he will betray me. Or "in the bowl", according to Mark chapter 14. The bowl was an earthenware vessel in which the juice of wild lettuces had been prepared for eating the paschal lamb. The other disciples did not notice this. While he was speaking thus, one of the disciples was reclining on the breast of Jesus; it was John, to whom Peter beckoned, because he was far from Christ; he signalled with his eyes that he should ask Christ who it was that would betray him. Peter did not ask himself, because, as Matthew 16 has it, he had been sharply rebuked by Christ. So John said: Lord Jesus, who is it that betrays you? Jesus said: He to whom I shall give the dipped bread. And when he had dipped the bread, he gave it to Judas son of Simon Iscariot, John 13; as if [saying]: Take care not to reveal it before my passion is

accomplished. And at once, as Alexander of Hales and other doctors say, John was rapt and placed in ecstasy while reclining on the Lord's breast, and there all the secrets of heaven to come until the day of judgement were revealed to him. And after the morsel Satan entered into him, to possess him more fully, urging him not to abandon the betrayal he had begun but to carry it through. After this Judas said: Is it I, Rabbi? He said "Rabbi" and not "Lord", because Judas was already a very devil. But why did Judas ask, when he knew he would betray him? The doctors say: if, when the others were asking, he had kept silent, by keeping silent he would have shown himself the traitor; so he said: Is it I, Rabbi? Jesus said to him: You have said it, that is, you have shown yourself. For Christ would not expose him to the disciples, as Saint Augustine says, to teach us not to reveal others' hidden sins, unless it were against the common good. For if it is a mortal sin to lay a false charge on an innocent man, so it is a mortal sin to reveal a neighbour's hidden crime, even if it were true, because that is against charity toward one's neighbour, whom everyone must love as himself. Matthew 26 and Luke 22: The Son of Man goes as it is written of him,

(fol. 154r) Isaiah 53: He was offered because he himself willed it. But woe to that man by whom the Son of Man will be betrayed according to the flesh; that is, it would be much better for him if he had not been born, for it is better not to exist at all than to exist after death in torment [uncertain]. Then, as John 13 has it, Jesus said to Judas: What you do, do quickly. And he did not say this commanding or counselling him, but secretly hinting at his sin, which he rebukes; and it was not the voice of one commanding but of one permitting sin. Then Judas immediately went out to the chief priests, where they were then gathered, offering them counsel how to seize Jesus. O wretched going out! For, as Saint Richard says, he went out from the company of angels to the company of demons, from joy to eternal punishment, from God to the devil. And so much for the fifth principal member, etc.

Sixth, I say we must consider the most sweet instruction. For, as Luke says in chapter 22: When Judas had gone, Christ gave a good sermon to strengthen the disciples. And after that sermon Jesus said: Rise, let us go; behold, [we go] to meet my betrayer. And after the hymn had been said, when they had given thanks to God, Christ and the other disciples went out of Jerusalem to the Mount of Olives, which was a mile from Jerusalem; Acts 1: The mount was a sabbath day's journey from Jerusalem, because on the sabbath the Jews were not allowed to go more than a thousand paces, which make one mile. Then on the mount Jesus said to his disciples: You will all suffer scandal, that is, ruin, that is, sin, because of me this night. For it is written in Zechariah 13: I will strike the shepherd and the sheep of the flock, that is, the apostles, will be scattered. But after I have risen from the dead, I will go before you into Galilee, that is, into the village on the Mount of Olives called Galilee. As Luke 22 says, he said: Simon, behold, Satan has demanded you, that is, has obtained from God by permission, to sift, that is, to tempt you, like wheat, by the shaking of temptation, against all your weakness. But I have prayed for you, Peter, singly, that your faith may not fail, namely finally, but that after your fall you may rise to your former state by repenting; and you, when once converted, strengthen your brethren, that is, sinners; comfort them by the example of your penance, that they may not despair of God's pardon and grace. Peter, who was more fervent than the others, hearing this said: Even if all the rest of the disciples are scandalised, I will not be scandalised. He said this presumptuously,

(fol. 154v) trusting in himself out of the fervour of love with which he loved Christ more than the others. Jesus said to him: Amen I say to you, before the cock crows twice you will deny me three times. Then Peter said: Even if I must die with you, I will not deny you, for I am ready to go with you to prison and to death. And all the other disciples said the same. Then he said to them, as Luke 22 has it: When I sent you without tunic and shoes, did you lack anything? They said: Nothing, that is, of necessities we lacked nothing. So he said to them: But now let him who has a purse take it, and likewise a bag. And let him who has no sword sell his tunic and buy a sword, namely for defence, not for revenge. And they said: Behold, here are two swords. These two swords are the two laws by which the universal Church is defended against her adversaries, namely canon law and secular law. The secular punishes in the body, by putting to death; but the spiritual or

canon law punishes by excommunication, as is said in C. 11 q. 3, c. Evidenter. And Jesus said: It is enough. And after this he preached a long sermon to them: I am the true vine, etc., John 15. After the sermon he added that most sweet prayer; lifting up his eyes to heaven Jesus said: Father, glorify your Son, the hour has come. Now I come to you, and now glorify me, that is, accomplish your will in me. I have glorified you on earth, that is, I have done your will, John 17. In this prayer he prayed first for himself, not that he needed prayer as to his divinity, but he prayed as to his humanity. Second, he prayed for the disciples, saying: I have made your name known to the men whom you gave me; now I pray for them: Holy Father, keep them in your name, that the love with which you loved me may be in them, and I in them; that is, as I am your Son by nature, so may they be your sons and my brothers by grace. Third, he prayed for all the faithful people, saying: I do not pray for these only, but for those who will believe in me through their word, that is, the disciples'; as if he said: I pray for all believers in the world in every age, and I commend to you those who will believe in me, that you keep them from evil, that is, from sin. And thus the most sweet instruction is clear, etc.

There follows the second way. At the third hour of the night he entered the garden, prayed devoutly, roused the sleepers.

The Second Way: To the Garden

(fol. 155r)

O fairest of women, where did your Son go second, going from Jerusalem to the Mount of Olives? etc. The most sorrowful mother can answer: My beloved went into the garden, to be taken there. And the devout soul, suffering with the sorrowful mother, can ask: Tell me what was done concerning your Son on this second way. She can answer that six things were done on this second way: First, my Son prayed devoutly; Second, my Son roused the sleepers; Third, he sweated drops of blood; Fourth, he made known that the traitor was approaching; Fifth, he urged Judas toward salvation; Sixth, he healed the ear of the prince's servant.

First I say that, by the sorrowful report of the Virgin, her Son prayed devoutly. Of this prayer all the evangelists speak—Luke 22, Mark 14, Matthew 26, John 18—that Jesus went out with his disciples across the brook Kidron, that is, across the stream at the foot of the Mount of Olives, which was called the brook Kidron because of the cedar trees planted at the foot of the mount. Beyond this brook was a garden near the village called Gethsemane, into which Jesus and his disciples often went to pray. For Judas knew the place, because Jesus frequented it to pray, as was his custom, and so Jesus made himself openly available to be taken. And he entered the garden, as Thomas says in the third part, to make satisfaction for the sin of our first parents committed in the garden of paradise, so that the restoration might correspond to the fall. Then Jesus said to the disciples: Sit here while I go yonder and pray, Matthew 26. In this he taught, according to Chrysostom, that at the time of prayer we should flee the crowd, Matthew 5 [rather 6]: But you, when you pray, go into your room, and shut the door and pray to your Father in secret. And, as Mark says, he took with him Peter, James and John, Mark 14, because these three were closer to Christ and were admitted more to his secrets than the others: Peter for the fervour of his faith, John

(fol. 155v) for his virginity, James because he was the first to suffer martyrdom for Christ. Morally this signifies that whoever wishes to pray to God must first have Peter with him, that is, firmness of faith. Second, James, which is interpreted "supplanter", because whoever wishes to pray well must supplant all earthly things. Ambrose: God does not hear that prayer to which the one praying does not attend. Third, he must have John, which signifies that a man who wishes to pray fruitfully must prudently and devoutly prepare himself for God's grace. And he took these three because to them he had earlier shown the glory of his godhead on Mount Tabor, Matthew 17; it was fitting that he should also reveal to them the sadness of his passion. And he said to those three: My soul is sorrowful unto death; that is, the sadness that is in me for the loss of souls lasts in me until I die on the cross. This sadness, as the Gloss says, arose in him because of

unhappy Judas, because of the disciples' scandal, because of the people's unbelief, and the overthrow and misery of Jerusalem. Here is shut out the error of those who say that Christ the man bore [only] a likeness and imagining of passion and pain, but felt no pain. The Master recites this error in the third book of the Sentences, distinction 15. And he proves it false by Scripture, Isaiah 53: Surely he has borne our infirmities. And "my soul is filled with evils", which Augustine expounds thus: not with the evils of guilt but of punishment, with human evils, that is, sorrows, the soul of Christ was filled. "Now you will see the crowd surround me; you will take flight, and I go to be sacrificed for you. Stay here", namely [under] the weight of tribulation, "and watch with me." And he withdrew from them about a stone's throw, as Luke 22 says, and Matthew says that he fell on his face. This tells against those who sit in church at the time of the Body of Christ, or stand with necks erect, showing no sign of humility. This prayer was prefigured in 3 Kings 18, where we read that Elijah, going up Mount Carmel, bowed to the ground and put his face between his knees, praying for rain. Elijah is interpreted "strong one who prays" and signifies Christ. And as at Elijah's prayer the cloud gave rain, so at Christ's prayer his flesh gave forth a flow of sweat. And Mark says in chapter 14: He prayed thus: Abba, Father, all things are possible to you. My Father, if it is possible to redeem the human race otherwise than by my dying, take the cup of this bitter passion

(fol. 156r) from me; yet not as I will, but as you will, Father.

Here a question arises. Since Christ says, "If there is another possible way of redeeming man than that I suffer and die", was another way of saving the human race possible than the passion and death of Christ? It seems not, because Anselm says in the book Why God Became Man that Christ could not let the cup pass unless he drank it—not because he could not avoid death, but because otherwise he could not have saved the world. On the contrary is blessed Gregory in book 21 of the Moralia: The Lord who made us from nothing could also have re-created us from death without his passion. It is also proved by reason: the devil held us wholly unjustly, by force; and nothing seems unfitting in repelling force, as is held in the Sext, On the sentence of excommunication, chapter Dilecto filio: All laws permit force to be repelled by force. Therefore it seems it would have been more fitting for him to snatch us away by power than to undergo death. The doctors on the third book of the Sentences, distinction 20, say that, as far as God is concerned, another way of our liberation was possible, for his power is not limited, if he had chosen it; yet it would not have had the character of redemption, which includes satisfaction, but only of liberation, because it would not have been made by payment of a price. But as far as man is concerned, no other way was possible except the one God gave him, because man himself could not make satisfaction. But the merciful Lord, through the bowels of the mercy of our God, the dayspring from on high, visited us, and so wrought the redemption of his people, Luke 1. Taking both God's side and man's, there was another way, but no more apt or more fitting way than this; so blessed Augustine in book 13 On the Trinity. And though the devil held us unjustly, yet we were justly held because of our voluntary guilt, and so it was fitting on our side that he should rescue us justly by satisfaction. It is plain that Christ conformed his will to the Father's will, saying, Matthew 26: Yet not as I will, etc. And so much for the first.

Second, I say that, by the sorrowful report of the Virgin, her Son roused the sleeping disciples. Of this Luke 22 says: When he rose from prayer and came to the disciples, he found them sleeping

(fol. 156v) for sorrow, and said to them: Rise and pray, that you may not enter into temptation, that is, that temptation may not overcome you; and this: Why are you sleeping? As if he said: Since you see me desolate in such anguish, can you not watch with me even one hour, you who would afterwards die for me? This sleeping was prefigured in 1 Kings 26, where we read that David came one night into Saul's camp and found Abner and the people sleeping; none of the guards was awake. And David cried to Abner: Why have you not guarded your lord the king? For one of the people went in to kill the king your lord. What you have done is not good. Spiritually, David is interpreted "strong of hand" and signifies Christ, who on the night of his passion entered the garden, finding Abner and the people asleep. Abner is interpreted "father of light" and

signifies blessed Peter, who was full of light, because he recognised the divinity in Christ, and who slept with the other apostles, Luke 22. And he said to Simon Peter: Simon, are you asleep? As if he said: Though the others do so, allowance must be made for them; but you, since you are to be the shepherd of the Church, ought to have watched more than the rest. And just as David rebuked only Abner, so Christ rebuked only Peter for sleeping, saying, Matthew 26: Could you not watch one hour with me? Now your weakness appears. Are you not the one who promised to go with me to prison and to death? Why have you not guarded me, your king, whom you loved, saying, John 13, I will lay down my life for you? Behold, one has gone in, namely Judas, to the chief priests to kill me, your king. What you have done, sleeping thus, is not good. Likewise he said to the other disciples, Luke 22: Why are you sleeping? The spirit indeed is willing to promise, but the flesh is weak to do good. Then he went away a second time and prayed, saying: My Father, if this cup cannot pass unless I drink it, your will be done; as if he said: Lord, if the human race cannot be saved except by my crucifixion, let it be according to your good pleasure. And he came again to the disciples and found them sleeping; for their eyes were heavy, because they had eaten late

[the text breaks off here; a passage is missing]

(fol. 157r) …but in their hearts. Then as soon as Judas had kissed Jesus, he was the first to lay hands on him, as if he said: I have done enough for the honour and the oath I made to you; it remains for you to pay me the money promised. And those who had been sent by the chief priests came up, raging against Christ like ravening wolves against a lamb. And with one accord they laid hands on Jesus and held him fast, most wrongfully. One pulled him violently by the ropes, another by the beard, one in front, another behind. Then was verified the word of the prophet: Behold, they have seized my soul and the mighty have rushed upon me. It was prefigured in Genesis 37 in Joseph, that is, Christ, seized by his brothers and led into Egypt, which is interpreted anguish or darkness, etc.

Sixth, I say that, by the sorrowful report of the Virgin, her Son healed the ear of the prince's servant. For Luke says in chapter 22: Those who were around him, seeing what was going to happen, namely Christ's seizure and binding, said to him: Lord, shall we strike with the sword? And before the Lord answered, Simon Peter, who was bolder than the others, inflamed by the divine love he had received at supper, and thinking of nothing but the defence of his master, drew his sword and struck the high priest's servant, named Malchus, who had been the first to lay hands on Christ, and cut off his right ear. And Chrysostom says: He did not intend to cut off his ear but his head. And it was not a sword in the proper sense, but a large knife which they had used at supper for the lamb, which Peter carried with him; just as in many parts of Italy and Spain swords are still called knives. But Jesus answered and said: Let them go thus far, that is, permit their malice up to my death, which the Lord commanded them, that is, permitted them. And when Jesus had touched his ear, he healed him. He did this, first, to show his clemency and compassion. Here it is asked why the Jews, who saw this miracle, had hearts so hard that they did not believe and turn to the Lord. The answer is that perhaps they did not see the miracle, because it was night, and because they had hearts hardened and darkened in malice, which can hardly be softened. Second, he healed the ear to strengthen the disciples in faith. Third, so that the Jews should have no cause to accuse him before the judge that his disciple had wounded their servants. Then the Lord rebuked Peter, saying,

(fol. 157v) Matthew 26: Put your sword back into its sheath; as if he said: I will not be defended by the sword. And John 18: The cup which the Father has given me, will you not have me drink it? As if he said: The passion which the heavenly Father has ordained for me for the salvation of the human race you ought to bear more patiently. So this is no place for resistance and defence, but for patience. For everyone who takes the sword for revenge on his own authority will perish by the sword. Do you think, Peter, that if I wished to defend myself, I could not ask my Father to give me more than twelve legions of angels? As if he said, according to Jerome: I do not need the defence of twelve apostles, since I can have twelve legions of angels. A legion contains six thousand six hundred and sixty-six. And one angel is so strong that in one night he

killed 185 thousand, 4 Kings 19. And Jesus said: You have come out as against a robber, with swords and clubs, to seize me. Daily I was with you in the temple teaching, and you did not lay hold of me; as if he said: I was with you a long time, not in hiding but openly, so that you could have seized me and done with me whatever you wished, and you did not stretch out your hands against me. Why then have you now come with so great a multitude of armed men to seize me as if I were a robber? But this is your hour, and the power of darkness; for he who does evil hates the light, John 3. On this way weigh, O man, that Christ was shamefully betrayed for your salvation, and say: Lord Jesus, who bore being betrayed by your disciple Judas, grant me never to betray you, neither in my neighbour nor in myself; and by your example to show love and kindness to those who take me captive. Let us give thanks, then, to the Lord God, who suffered so much for us on this second way, saying: Our Father, etc.

The Third Way: To Annas

O fairest of women, where did your Son go, going from the garden in which he prayed? etc. The most sorrowful Virgin mother can answer: My beloved went third to Annas, to be slapped there. And the devout soul can ask what was done concerning your Son on this third way. First, my Son was shamefully bound; Second, he was led bound into the house of Annas; Third, he was firmly denied by beloved Peter;

(fol. 158r) Fourth, my Son was questioned by Annas; Fifth, he was struck on the cheek by a servant; Sixth, [the servant] was most gently rebuked by Jesus.

First I say that, by the sorrowful report of the Virgin, her Son was shamefully bound. Of this binding John 18 says: The servants of the Jews seized Jesus and bound his hands in front, and put a rope round his neck, and so, dragging him by the rope, they led him into the city of Jerusalem. And the doctors say: When they came to the end of the garden toward the city, where the brook Kidron ran, the servants crossed by a little bridge and dragged the bound Christ through the water so violently that he fell against a great stone lying hidden in the water, which is to be seen in the house of our order at the Lord's Sepulchre in Jerusalem; from that fall on the stone some of his teeth were knocked out, so that his blood flowed abundantly. They dragged him so shamefully and violently that Christ could not rise again; seeing this they rushed upon him: one plucks out his hair, another drags him by the rope, others prick him with thorns. And when they led him out of the water, Christ endured great cold, because the night was cold, Luke 22. And they led him barefoot along a stony road. For, as I have seen with my own eyes, from the brook Kidron to the city of Jerusalem, off the public highway, [the way] is stony and hard; going by the straight way, they dragged Christ barefoot along a sandy and stony road, so that his feet were so injured that blood flowed from them. As Richard testifies, saying: Who is so hard of heart that he can think without groaning and sorrow how they dragged the most holy body of Jesus, now by the arms, now by the clothes; others struck his feet from below, so that he often fell to the ground, and they rained blows with sticks on all his battered limbs. This was prefigured in Genesis 22: Abraham, wishing to sacrifice his son, bound him. So the heavenly Father permitted his Son to be bound by the Jews. Isaac, which is interpreted "joy", signifies Christ. Then the disciples, who saw that Christ would not defend himself, all left him and fled, John 18. Then was verified the word of Job 19: My acquaintances have withdrawn from me like strangers. It was prefigured in Jeremiah 39: The army of the Chaldeans pursued King Zedekiah and

(fol. 158v) seized him in the desert near Jericho, and all his company fled from him. Zedekiah is interpreted "justice of the Lord" and signifies Christ, from whom all the company of the apostles then fled, when the army of the Jews pursued him. And this is marked in the stripping of the altars. For the altar is Christ, the ornaments of the altar are the apostles. It is also signified in the extinguishing of the twelve candles, because the apostles in some measure then fell away from the faith; and they left it whole only in the hands of the women [uncertain]; and this the one candle left after the others are extinguished signifies. And Mark says in chapter 14: And a certain young man followed, wrapped in a linen cloth over his naked body, and they took

hold of him; and he, leaving the linen with them, fled naked from those who were leading Christ captive. Some say this was James the Less; but Bede and Gregory say it was John the Evangelist. And though he was not so perfect that he then followed Christ to death, yet he was ready to stand by Christ. And so much for that, etc.

Second, I say that, by the sorrowful report of the Virgin, her Son was led bound into the house of Annas. John 18 says: Then the cohort led Jesus bound to Annas. Now Annas was the father-in-law of Caiaphas, who was high priest that year. For these two, Annas and Caiaphas, were high priests in turn, each holding his year by agreement among the Jews; and though he was not high priest that year, they sent Christ to him for three reasons: first, because the road went past his house; second, because Annas was one of the elders who with the other Jews had counselled that Christ be seized; third, because Caiaphas arranged that Christ be led to Annas, so that he, the younger, should not alone be guilty of Christ's death. And so much for that.

Third, I say that, by the sorrowful report of the Virgin, he was insistently denied by Peter, the beloved apostle. All the evangelists say that Peter followed at a distance, to see the end; as if he said: I want to see the end; if it goes well for him, I will go to him; if badly, I will flee from him. That he followed him was a sign of devotion and fervour, but that it was at a distance was a sign of fear. And another disciple, namely John, followed with Peter; though these two, like the other apostles,

(fol. 159r) had first withdrawn, yet afterwards they followed Jesus because they were more fervent than the rest. Now John was known to the high priest, perhaps because he had often been sent by his father with fish to the high priest, since he was a fisherman. And he went into the house of the high priest Annas to see what would be done concerning Christ. But Peter stood outside at the door, but little by little [came nearer] to see the outcome. So the disciple went out and spoke to the portress, perhaps some kind and pleading words, and brought Peter in—not John, but the portress. Why John did not bring him in, Chrysostom explains: John clung to Christ and was attending diligently to every word so as to write it truly; because he was occupied, he did this through the woman. Then the maidservant, seeing Peter come in timidly, said: Are you not one of this man's disciples? These are the words of one mocking, as if she said: Are you a disciple of that feeble man standing before Annas my master, who is so abandoned and so inhumanly treated? As if she said: Flee, lest the like happen to you. Peter said: I am not. That Peter was afraid was natural; that he denied came of deception and surprise; that he repented came of faith. Then immediately after Peter's denial the cock crowed the first time. But Peter, taken up with the denial, did not notice the cockcrow because of the tumult. Ambrose says: Why does a maidservant betray him first, when men could have recognised him better? Augustine answers: Because that sex is practised in deceiving men; for as through woman the devil cast down Adam, the strongest Samson, the holiest David, the fairest Absalom, the wisest Solomon, so here too a woman led Peter to denial. Hence Ecclesiasticus 25: From a woman was the beginning of all sin. And so much for that, etc.

Fourth, [I say] that, by the sorrowful report of the Virgin, her Son was questioned by Annas. For, as Luke says, while Peter was denying Christ, the high priest Annas questioned Jesus about two things, namely about his disciples and about his doctrine. Christ answered nothing about the disciples, because at that time he could say nothing good about them, only evil; and he would not say it. By this he teaches us to keep silent about a neighbour's evil, not only by imputing it, which is detraction, but also by publishing a hidden sin, which is defamation. Second, he questioned him about his doctrine, as if he said: What is this doctrine of yours that you preach? Why is the doctrine of Moses not enough for you, but it seems to you that you

(fol. 159v) would renew [all things] with your doctrine through the whole world? And with these new inventions of yours you lead men astray. Jesus answered him, showing that his doctrine was not suspect but sound, from two things. First from the place, where he says: I have spoken openly; as if he said: In this is marked the sign of holy and wholesome doctrine, that it is taught openly and in public. And good that is spread abroad is lost to no one, which I have done; I always taught in the synagogue. Second, he proves the

truth of his doctrine from the testimony of his hearers, when he says: I taught in the temple, where all the Jews come together, and in secret I have said nothing; this is to be understood as regards the feasts, by this excluding what he said in secret to his disciples. And he said: Why do you ask me? Ask those, namely the Jews, your friends and my enemies, who heard what I said to them; they know what I said; as if he said: If you want to know my doctrine, ask them, the Jews and Pharisees who heard me; I am ready to submit to their testimony, which is more credible than my own word, etc.

Fifth, I say that, by the sorrowful report of the Virgin, her Son was struck on the cheek by a servant of the high priest. John says of this blow: When Jesus had said this, one of the servants standing by, as it were by the will of his master Annas, gave Jesus a blow, wishing to please his lord; and according to some it was the one whose ear he had healed. He wanted to clear himself before the prince, [showing] that because of the benefit Jesus had done him he was not his friend. And this blow was such that the marks of the fingers remained on Christ's face. And he did not simply strike him, but struck Jesus with the iron gauntlets he wore, so that he fell to the ground. Of this Ambrose says that this blow would have sufficed for the liberation of the human race, because it was so painful to him that he fell to the ground. But the Gloss says that it was the paralytic whom he healed by the pool, John 5. And he said: Is that how you answer the high priest? As if he said: You ought to bend your knees with reverence to my lord. Then was verified the word of Lamentations 3: He will give his cheek to the one who strikes him; he will be filled with reproaches, etc.

Sixth, I say that, by the sorrowful report of the Virgin, the high priest's servant was rebuked by her Son, the Lord

(fol. 160r) Jesus Christ, most gently, etc. For all the evangelists say that Jesus answered with great patience, saying to the servant: If I have spoken evil, bear witness to the evil; but if well, why do you strike me? As if he said: If I spoke falsely, you ought, if you could, to bear witness, and not strike me so unjustly. You have done wrong, moved by your own malice. O great mercy of Christ! Christ rebuked him patiently, as Chrysostom says, to make him repent. So Chrysostom says to Christ: O sweet Jesus, what you suffer you bear in yourself, which the Lord nevertheless punished in your servant. For he punished the blow given to the apostle Thomas, so that a black dog, as Chrysostom says, tore the man who struck him in the middle of the hall and carried off his arm. After this blow John went from the house of Annas, leaving Peter, to Bethany, to Mary. When Mary saw him, she embraced John and asked: O my John, where did you leave my Son, the light of my eyes? Why have you come so soon? And John for tears could not speak for a long time. At last John said: O Mary, mother of my most beloved Master, my own aunt, though I would and ought to tell you what was done to your Son, for grief of heart and flood of tears I cannot. For I was with your Son in the garden, where they bound him cruelly and inhumanly led him into the house of Annas, in which I saw your Son struck so cruelly in the face that he stumbled and fell to the ground, and I fear he is already dead. O man, weigh the mother's heart of Mary, what pain she had then when she heard this from his disciple. It is piously to be believed that, overcome by love, she fell to the ground on hearing that her Son was in danger of death. Soon Mary Magdalene and Martha begged everyone in the whole village to go with the afflicted mother to Jerusalem, and bring Mary, and help seek her Son; and so it was done. For they arrived in Jerusalem still before midnight. And so much for the third way, etc.

The Fourth Way: To Caiaphas

O fairest of women, where did your Son go fourth, going from the house of Annas? The most sorrowful mother can answer: My beloved went fourth to Caiaphas, to be mocked there. And the devout soul can ask: O blessed Virgin, what was done concerning your Son on this fourth way? The sorrowful Virgin can answer: six things; first, etc.

(fol. 160v) First, Peter repeated his denials; Second, the Jewish cohort brought false witness; Third, Caiaphas furiously put him on oath; Fourth, Jesus answered sweetly; Fifth, the high priest tore his garments; Sixth, the

common people spat on him and buffeted him, etc.

I say first that, by the sorrowful report of the Virgin, on the fourth way Peter first repeated his denials. For while John was with the Virgin Mary in Bethany, Annas again bound Christ cruelly with his hands behind his back like a robber, and sent Jesus thus bound to Caiaphas, high priest that year, who was his son-in-law. Then was fulfilled the figure of Genesis 28, where we read that Jacob was led from the house of Isaac to the house of Laban, and Jacob went alone, without companions and friends. So Christ, the true supplanter of all vices, was led from the house of Annas to Caiaphas without companions, that is, without disciples. But Peter followed at a distance into the courtyard of the chief priest, to see the end of the whole business. And he did not come near him, lest anything be said of him that he was his disciple; so he followed at a distance. And Luke 22 says that a fire was lit in the middle of the courtyard, and John 18 says that the servants and attendants stood at the coals and warmed themselves, for it was cold. Peter too was standing and warming himself with them, because the fire of divine love had gone out within him. Then when a maidservant saw him, as Luke says, sitting by the fire warming himself, she said: This man too was with him. But he denied, saying: Woman, I do not know what you are saying, that is, I do not know this man of whom you speak. In this he showed the greatness of his fear, that he denied not only faith in Christ but even knowing his person. Augustine On the Creed says: Truly the thief confessed him whom Peter denied. Then, says John 18, one of the servants of the high priest Caiaphas, a kinsman of the one whose ear Peter cut off, said to Peter: Did I not see you in the garden with him? At this Peter kept silent, terrified with great fear. And Matthew 26 says that after a little while those who stood by the fire came up and said to Peter: Surely you too are a Galilean, who were with Jesus. For you are a Galilean, and your speech betrays you. Then

[the text breaks off here; a passage is missing]

(fol. 161r) …one struck him on one cheek and another on the other, and they dragged Christ by the hair from one corner to another, and treated him worse than a foolish robber. And John says: The suffering which Jesus endured that night, and especially in the three hours before day, at the hands of the vilest grooms, [God] will never reveal until the last day, in which God will reveal the secrets [uncertain] of hearts [uncertain]. Behold, man, consider that Christ passed the whole night in watching. And Saint Richard says: Let the Christian blush who rests in bed this night, when his king was being handled naked on the ground in the house, in those hours when Christ was so vilely treated. Mary came to Jerusalem barefoot, hurrying over the stony mount. O how many wounds she pressed into her feet, how many tears she shed on that road going to Jerusalem with John, the beloved disciple. And John led her to the house of Annas, where he had left him. Then Mary with the other devout women sought there the Son whom her soul loved. When she did not find him in the house of Annas, she suspected that he had been put to death, so that for the violence of her grief she could hardly put one foot before the other. But when she learned that he had been taken to the house of the high priest Caiaphas, she hurried there at once. And when she came to the door of the house, she heard them shouting and hurling shameful words at her Son. While the Blessed Virgin stood there thus with the other devout [women], Peter came out of the house of Caiaphas weeping; and Mary, seeing him, addressed him: O my dear Peter, why do you weep? Why do so many sighs and tears come from the depth of your heart? What do you say of my sweet Son, and what has now been done with him? Peter, seeing the afflicted woman, wept the more, so that he could say no word to her. And then the Blessed Virgin, seeing his agitation, thought that her Son had already been killed. While the Virgin stood thus with two other women, she was told that Peter had denied her Son. Mary said with tears: O my beloved Son, what have your enemies done to you today? I know that you were denied by your beloved friend, Peter the disciple. Then the Blessed Virgin, standing before the doors, heard the blows and the buffeters and the great noise with which they struck him, and as often as she heard it a sword pierced the Virgin's heart. Think, O man, how much spittle clung to his cheeks and hair—foul spittle clung to his hair—and weigh this suffering which the innocent one bore.

(fol. 161v) [It] was so cruel that the evangelists for shame were ashamed to write it. And afterwards, as dawn approached, they bound him naked to a stone pillar, and dragged him with bonds. Give thanks to the Lord God, who patiently bore these things for us wretches. And say: O Lord Jesus Christ, who on this night were harshly bound and cruelly led, accused before the high priests, buffeted, spat upon, your face veiled, and three times denied by Peter, look upon us sinners with the eyes of your mercy with which you looked on Peter in the courtyard; give us constancy to weep for our sins and to bear patiently the injuries of our enemies; and at last may we deserve to contemplate your desirable face for ever. At this passion let everyone, praying devoutly, say: Our Father. And so much for the fourth way.

The Fifth Way: To Pilate

O fairest of women, where did your beloved go fifth, going from the house of Caiaphas? The most sorrowful mother can answer: My beloved went into Pilate's praetorium, to be accused there. And six things were done concerning my Son on this fifth way, etc.: First, he is led bound into the praetorium; Second, Judas hangs himself; Third, he is falsely accused of a crime; Fourth, he is examined by Pilate; Fifth, he bears witness to the truth before Pilate; Sixth, his innocence is proclaimed.

I say first that on this fifth way Christ is led bound into the praetorium. Matthew 27, Mark 15, Luke 23 and John 18 testify: When morning came on the Friday all the priests and elders of the people and the scribes took counsel against Jesus to put him to death. And the Evangelist says: Binding him they led him to Pilate the governor, who had been appointed governor of Jerusalem by the Romans. For Pilate, according to the Master in the [Scholastic] History, was from Lyon. And he was led to him, first, that Christ's death might be more shameful, in that a gentile judge should condemn him to death; second, because by this they wished to hide their malice and lay the blame on Pilate. As John 18 says: They themselves, the Jews, did not enter the praetorium

(fol. 162r) so that they might not be defiled, but might eat the Passover clean, that is, the unleavened bread. Chrysostom says: O impious blindness of the Jews, fearing to be defiled by a stranger's touch, and not afraid to shed the blood of the innocent Christ. He says: There are many who make a matter of conscience of light sins, and fear great ones not at all. So Pilate went outside and said: What accusation do you bring against this man? As if he said: I will not bring him to judgement without guilt, for I have been appointed governor by the Roman princes, whose custom is to condemn no one without cause. For Pilate was moved with indignation, seeing Christ so spat upon and his face swollen. For he knew that they had handed him over out of envy, because he publicly rebuked the vices of the priests and Pharisees. They answered: If this man were not an evildoer, we would not have handed him over to you bound; as if they said: We are pillars [uncertain] of truth and justice; you ought to believe us on our word, without the examination which you can do without; so they wanted him to believe their words. And so it is now: men are wont to believe the words of the powerful even against the just. For people commonly say that such and such men or persons would not say such things unless they were true. Then Mary, as Anselm says, saw her Son bound before the governor in pitiable pain, spat upon [uncertain] and with bowed head. And the Blessed Virgin cried out in a loud voice: Is this my Son? Alas, how wretchedly he is treated! Christ heard this voice, and bore a greater suffering because of his mother's presence. For Bernard says: Mary's presence doubled his pain. So Pilate said to the Jews: Take him yourselves and judge him according to your law; as if he said: If he is worthy of death, you know the law, and know what your law judges of such men; so judge him by it. And Pilate said this in derision. So the Jews said: It is not lawful for us to put anyone to death—because their jurisdiction had passed to the Romans, who had taken from them the supreme judgement. And these things were done at the first hour of the day. And so much for that, etc.

Second, by the sorrowful report of the Virgin, Judas hangs himself and is damned. Then, as Matthew 27 says: Judas, who betrayed him, seeing that he was condemned, that is, handed over to secular judgement, and that

through him [Judas] was damned with perpetual damnation as the due of his sin, led by repentance, that is, by

(fol. 162v) a certain sadness, etc. But that repentance profited him nothing, because it did not proceed from the love of God. And he brought back, that is, returned, the thirty silver pieces to the chief priests, saying: I have sinned in betraying innocent blood; I took it without cause, for vile temporal gain. John says: Though in Judas there was sorrow of heart, confession of mouth, satisfaction of deed, yet it was not true and fruitful penance, because hope of salvation was lacking. For it is said in On Penance, distinction 3: Judas repented fruitlessly, for he hanged himself with a noose. And when the noose broke, he burst asunder in the midst, Acts 1. And wonderful to say, his wretched soul could not go out through the mouth, because it had been kissed by the mouth of Christ. And it is said in C. 23 q. 5, c. Si non licet, that Judas sinned more by despairing than by betraying Christ. For by betraying he sinned against the humanity, but by despairing he sinned against the divinity. And Pope Leo says: Before Christ suffered on the cross, Judas hanged himself. Then the chief priests, taking the silver pieces, said: It is not lawful for us to put them into the corban, that is, into the place for offerings assigned to the support of the ministers of the temple, because it is the price of blood, that is, the price given for blood. And taking counsel they bought with it the potter's field for the burial of strangers, which they did not out of mercy for the poor but to the disgrace of the Saviour. And the field was called in the tongue of the Jews Akeldama. And so much for that.

Third, I say that, by the sorrowful report of the Virgin, her Son is falsely accused of crime. As he stood thus before the governor, as Luke 23 says, they said: We found this man perverting our nation. And this was false, Luke 19: The Son of Man came to seek and to save what was lost. And forbidding to give tribute to Caesar—which was also false, for Matthew 22 says: Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's. And saying that he is Christ a king—which is false, for when they wanted to make him king, he fled, John 6. And when they accused him thus, Pilate said to him: Do you not hear how many things they testify against you? And he did not answer him a single word, so that the governor wondered. He did not answer because of their malice, lest they become worse through mockery. For Proverbs 27 [rather 25] says: As vinegar upon nitre, so is he who sings songs to a most wicked heart. It is said: Nitre crackles when vinegar is put on it; so a hard heart crackles with grumbling. And he gave us an example:

(fol. 163r) that one falsely accused conquers more by keeping silent than by speaking. And so much for the third, etc.

Fourth, I say that, by the sorrowful report of the Virgin, her Son is examined by Pilate, John 18, who questioned him, saying: Are you the king of the Jews? As if he said: This is the charge laid on you by the Jews, namely that you wish to usurp the name of king against the king of the Romans; as if he said: You do wrong. Or thus: Since you are poor, despised and naked, can it be true that you are a king?

Fifth, I say that the Virgin's Son bears witness to the truth. Of this John 18 says: Jesus answered Pilate, saying: Do you say this of yourself, or did others tell you of me? As if Christ said: [Has] someone [said] that I wish to be king of the Jews? If you saw that I behaved as a king, then say that you saw it; but if you heard it from others, make a proper inquiry; ask them where and when this was done. And Jesus did not answer what Pilate asserted, because if he had had to answer, he would have said that of John 5: I have done many works among them from my Father; and he would have given Pilate occasion to free him, which he would not do. But he answered about the kingdom, saying: My kingdom is not of this world; if my kingdom were of this world, my servants would surely fight. But now my kingdom is not from here. Pilate said to him: So you are a king? Jesus answered: You say that I am a king, but I did not come to reign in such a way. For this I was born into this world of a virgin, and for this I came into the world, to bear witness to the truth. Then Pilate said: What is truth? To this question Jesus answered nothing, for three reasons: first, because he himself was the truth; second, because Pilate was unworthy to hear the exposition of the truth, so he kept silent; third, because Pilate went out at once and did not wait for the answer, God so willing. And suddenly there came

into his mind the custom of the Jews, that he used to release to them one prisoner whom they wished at the Passover, that is, at the paschal feast; they did this in memory of the deliverance by which God freed them through Moses from the Egyptian bondage; and by it he tried to free Christ. But he went out also because a tumult had arisen outside, so that Pilate had to go out to quell it; and therefore he could not wait for Christ's answer. And so much for that.

(fol. 163v) Sixth, I say that Christ's innocence is proclaimed by Pilate. For Matthew [rather John 18] says: When Pilate had gone out, he said to the Jews: I find no cause of death in him; as if he said: I know not what devilish people you are! I who am a gentile have examined this man diligently, and I cannot find a cause why he should die. Now you who are Jews, and under the emperor [uncertain], what have you found, or for what has he deserved death? Tell me; I am the judge. But while Pilate spoke thus for Christ, they grew stronger in evil, crying out, as Luke 23 says: He has stirred up the whole people. The Gloss: namely by teaching his new doctrine; [as if they said:] it is strange that you cannot find a cause, when the whole world is now filled with his evil deeds, from Galilee even to here; therefore he must die. And so much for that.

The Sixth Way: To Herod

Where, O Blessed Virgin, did your beloved go, going from the praetorium from Pilate, etc.? She can answer: My beloved went sixth to the house of Herod, to be mocked there. And on this way we must note six things that were done: First, a petty joy; Second, a friendly [read: vain] desire; Third, an unjust examination; Fourth, a strict silence; Fifth, a malicious mockery; Sixth, a wicked pact.

First I say we must consider the petty joy. For Pilate, hearing "Galilee", as Matthew 27 and Luke 23 say, asked Christ whether he was a Galilean. And when he learned that he was under Herod's jurisdiction, he sent him back to Herod, who was in Jerusalem in those days, because, Josephus says, he came to eat the paschal lamb, since he was a Jew. For his father, the elder [Herod] of Ascalon, who killed the children in Bethlehem because of Christ, had him circumcised so that he might become and be king of the Jews in Galilee. Otherwise he would not have come to the feast of the Jews, but would have been a gentile. Herod, seeing Jesus, rejoiced greatly—not with the affection of charity but of curiosity. Then, as they led him

(fol. 164r) to Herod, they wretchedly bound Jesus again. And they led him through the middle of the city to Herod, and there the Jews accused him as before Pilate. And so the first is clear.

Second, we must consider Herod's vain desire. Of this desire Luke [23] says: For he had long been desiring to see him, namely since the beheading of John, because he had heard of many signs he had done, and he hoped to see some sign from him. But God would not do a sign in the sight of this most wicked man. Then, as Josephus says, Herod put his own crown on Jesus' head—with this crown all the emperors are still crowned—and promised him, if he would do some sign, to make him a prince in his kingdom. In this he gave an example to preachers, that they should not seek to make a show of themselves before princes, etc.

Third, we must consider the unjust examination made by Herod. For the Evangelist says that Herod questioned him not as a lover of truth but as a tempter. And he questioned him with many words, mocking and sneering at him. Here certain doctors say that Herod said to Jesus: Are you the one because of whom my father killed the children in Bethlehem? Are you the one who gave sight to the man blind from birth, and raised Lazarus from the dead after four days? Are you the one at whose coming the idols fell down? And he asked him many other things, etc.

Fourth, we must consider Christ's strict silence. Matthew 27 [rather Luke 23] says: But he answered him nothing, because it would have profited nothing, indeed it would have done harm, because he would have become worse; and there would have been no fruit in Herod, but only wonder; for Herod questioned him maliciously, to draw something from his answer for which he could reproach him; therefore he did not answer.

But you will say: Why did Pilate send Christ to Herod? I say: because Pilate would not usurp what was another's right. Also Pilate did this because he knew Christ to be innocent, and thought: I will send you to Herod, who will also find you innocent, and will free you from your impious accusers. And so much for that.

Fifth, we must consider the malicious mockery. For Herod, seeing that Christ did no sign, nor answered any word

(fol. 164v) to his questions, despised him as powerless, because he did no sign; as ignorant, because he kept silent; and as a fool, because he did not defend himself against his accusers. As a sign of this he clothed him in a white garment, as fools are commonly clothed in some garment by which foolish men are recognised. This Herod did to Christ. And as was revealed to blessed Bridget, Herod had his head shaved like a fool's. And they made a ring in the middle of the palace before Herod, and stood round him, and put him in the middle of the ring like a fool. And they arranged that the Hebrew boys should pelt him with filthy mud. And he sent him back to Pilate. And then they led him from Herod to Pilate clad in a long white garment, so long that part of it trailed under his feet, so that Christ often trod on it and fell to the ground; and lifting him from the ground they struck him with blows, and led him through the middle of the city, shouting at him so that he would be reckoned an evildoer by all. And so much for that.

Sixth, we must then consider the wicked pact, etc. Of this pact Luke 23 says: And Pilate and Herod became friends that day, for before they had been enemies. As is read in the Ecclesiastical History: When Pilate had been appointed prefect over Judaea by the emperor Tiberius, this displeased Herod. But Herod, hearing of Pilate's cunning, was glad, called Pilate to him and entrusted his cities in Judaea to him; but Pilate, having gathered money in his office, without Herod's knowledge secretly went to Caesar in Rome and obtained from [the emperor] the kingdom of the Jews for money; this was the tinder of enmity between them. Another cause is given in the Scholastic History: that there was a certain magician who said he was the Son of God, when Christ had already been born, before his passion, and who said he would come to Mount Gerizim, and he was to be awaited there, and many came and offered him sacrifices. Then Pilate came and killed the magician and all who were with him, and this was in the region of Galilee, and because of this they became enemies. But when Christ was led from Herod to Pilate, then they became friends. Think, O man, how great that contempt was, and with what patience Christ bore it for your salvation. So give him thanks, saying: O Jesus, who before Herod heard false accusers against you and would not defend yourself by a word, and were willing to be despised as a fool, grant me

[the text breaks off here; a passage is missing]

[The Seventh Way: The Praetorium (fragment)]

(fol. 165r) …for Pilate could not grasp its explanation. Isaiah 53: Who shall declare his generation? As if he said: no one. Second, as Augustine says, he kept silent to show his patience; he kept silent not as one guilty but as an innocent lamb. Third, he kept silent lest he hinder his death. For his spirit had so suffered, because he had spent the whole night and part of the day in suffering, and nothing else now remained but the cross; so he was hastening, panting, toward death. And so much for the fifth, etc.

Sixth, on this way Pilate boasts of his power. When Christ kept silent thus, Pilate was moved, saying: Do you not speak to me? Do you not know…—as if he said: Do you think, Jesus, that you may scorn my question, when you are placed in my hands and abandoned by all, and have no one speaking for you but me, who set myself against the Jews for you and incur their enmity? And Pilate wondered that Christ in such need did not try to win his favour. So he said: Do you not know that I have power to release you and to crucify you? By these words, as Chrysostom says, Pilate condemns himself; for if the whole judgement lay in his power, and he found in him no cause of death, then he will have no excuse at the last day for not releasing him as innocent. Hence at the judgement will be said that of Matthew 25 [rather Luke 19]: Out of your own mouth I

judge you, wicked servant. Since Pilate boasted thus, Christ answered him, saying: You would have no power over me at all, not even the least, unless it had been given you from above, namely from your superiors, God permitting, and entrusted by the Roman prince. Therefore he who handed me over to you has the greater sin than you; as if he said: Though you have treated me so, you do indeed commit sin in wishing to please the people; but you did this from a certain fear, whereas Judas handed me over from avarice, and the Jews from envy. And from then on Pilate sought to release Jesus, so as not to commit this sin by killing him. O man, think what grief the mother's heart had when on this way she heard that he wished to chastise him and correct him. She thought: O if I could, I would cast myself wholly down before Pilate, that he might not afflict him so inhumanly, or at least I would ask him to afflict me with my Son. So she went to the praetorium. And when she wanted to enter the praetorium to Pilate, she could not, because the Jews drove her from the door and cursed her, saying: You are that cursed woman, [mother] of this perverse man; take care lest the like happen to you with him. And then Pilate led him out and said: Behold the man. The mother stood in the middle of the people and saw her Son so wretchedly treated, his face

(fol. 165v) on every side defiled with spittle, and crowned with a crown of thorns. She was beside herself and sank to the ground; but, lifted up by the devout women, she cried out in a sorrowful voice: O my Son, joy of my heart, why have they treated and dishonoured you so cruelly? O my Son, why have you let me live so long, that I, most unhappy among [women], should have to look with my own eyes on your venerable head so sharply pierced with thorns? And Christ, seeing his mother so distraught and weeping, grieved more for her than for his own pain, so that he too was moved to weeping. And so much for the seventh way.

The Eighth Way: To the Lithostrotos

O fairest of women, where did your beloved Son go eighth, going a second time from Pilate's praetorium? She can answer with grief of heart: He went to the lithostrotos, to be sentenced there. And so the devout soul can say: [Tell] us, Virgin Mary, what was done with your Son on this eighth way? And she can answer: six things: First, my Son is led to the judgement seat; Second, he is excused by Pilate's wife; Third, Pilate means to prove his innocence by washing his hands; Fourth, the curse is accepted by the Jews; Fifth, Barabbas the robber is released; Sixth, the innocent Christ is sentenced to the cross.

First I say that on this eighth way the Virgin's Son is led to the judgement seat. For, as John 19 says: When Pilate sought to release Jesus, the Jews cried out, saying: If you release this man, you are not Caesar's friend; as if they said: If you release him, you are not faithful to the office entrusted to you by Caesar; Caesar will be against you, and you will lose his friendship, because you foster his public adversary. For everyone who makes himself a king, as this man has done, speaks against Caesar and holds his power cheap. This commotion drew him from the good purpose by which he meant to free him. So when Pilate heard these words, according to Chrysostom, he feared the king of the Romans more than the king of heaven, and for this fear he drew back from freeing Christ. He fulfilled that of Proverbs 29: He who fears man will soon fall from justice. And Chrysostom says here: O most unhappy Jews, where can you show that he made himself a king, who fled [rather than be crowned] with the royal diadem by the crowd,

(fol. 166r) [and had no] soldiery or armed men? Was he not alone, and did he not go about with his twelve disciples, poor and humble? You saw in him no royal signs, but rather those of the poorest man; for not only did he not wish to be king, but he even despised earthly things, and taught that earthly things are to be despised. But Pilate, when he heard these words, not wishing to act against Caesar, brought Jesus out, thus mocked, clad in a scarlet garment, crowned with a crown of thorns, bearing a reed in his right hand in place of a sceptre. And he sat on the judgement seat in the place called Lithostrotos, that is, a pavement with a vault above. And there are two stones there, one red, the other white, which I have seen with my own eyes; on the red sat Pilate, on the white Christ before him. In Hebrew it is called Golgotha [read: Gabbatha], etc.

Second, on this eighth way the Virgin's Son is excused by Pilate's wife. For it is said that as he sat on the judgement seat, his wife Procula sent to him, saying: Have nothing to do with that just man; as if she said: In no way condemn him, for if you do so, you will fall [uncertain] [text unclear]. For I have suffered many things today [in a dream]. For the devil, realising that through Christ's death he would lose his empire, repented that he had caused him to be seized. And so he sent a vision to this woman; and so the apparition was made to her by the devil in her sleep. And Christ was brought to Pilate very early, and meanwhile his wife was still lying in bed and [the devil] urged her, saying: This man whom your husband means to condemn to death is a friend of God and a great holy man; so restrain him, that he may not die. For the devil perceived by certain signs that he was the Christ: first by his patience; second by the fulfilment of Scripture; third by the signs done by him, for he raised Lazarus, John 11, gave sight to the man blind from birth, and cured the paralytic at the pool, John 5; fourth because of the exultation of the holy fathers in limbo. So he wished to hinder his death, etc.

Third, on this way Pilate strove to prove his innocence by washing his hands, etc. There it is said: Pilate, seeing that he was achieving nothing in freeing Christ, but rather a tumult was arising, took water and washed his hands before the crowd, though he was not washed of guilt; yet he washed himself before the people so as to appear innocent before the people, though he was guilty before God; as if he said: Before you I wash my hands and protest that I have no guilt in the death of an innocent man.

(fol. 166v) But you compel me to put him to death, which I do unwillingly. It was the custom of the Jews, when someone was innocent of some deed, to wash his hands before others. So did Pilate, and said: I am innocent, that is, I wish to be, of the blood, that is, of the shedding of the blood, of this just man; see to it yourselves what will befall you as to punishment for the guilt you commit against this just man. I am a minister of the law. Consider what kind of man you hand over to me, for I must give sentence from what is alleged, not from conscience. But Pilate was lying, as is plain: first, because he knew that they had handed him over out of envy; second, he said: I find no cause of death in him; third, because he had the power to release him, etc.

Fourth, the curse is accepted by the Jews. For when Pilate washed his hands, all the people answered, saying: His blood be upon us and upon our children; as if they said: Kill him without fear, for we want his blood, that is, the guilt of his death, to be upon us and upon our children. In this they did not believe that this sin would be punished by God. From that hour the Jews are cursed with the curse of Cain: in the head by trembling, in the face by pallor. Hence because of this curse God often permits them to be punished thus, and the penalty of Christ's blood comes upon them. O what an evil inheritance they left their children! Brabantinus [Thomas of Cantimpré] says in the Apiarius: I heard of a very learned Jew prophesying to the Jews, saying: I assure you that no one can be healed of this flux of blood, by which you are punished with a most shameful torment, except by blood alone. Then the other Jews who heard made it known to all the Jews, and so throughout the provinces [they resolved] that Christians' blood must be shed, so that by such blood they might recover. But they understood badly, for he did not mean the blood of any Christian whatever, but that blood which is daily shed on the altar for the salvation of sinners; whoever of the Jews, converted to Christ, receives it will be healed at once of this ancestral curse. And thereafter each of them suffers [it] from month to month, as they asserted, etc.

Fifth, on this way Barabbas the robber is set free. For Matthew 27 says: Then he released to them Barabbas, whom they asked for. Bernard says: O hard blindness of the Jews: in place of the giver of life they asked for a murderer. And Richard also says: O good Jesus, how sweetly you lived among them, without any fault

(fol. 167r) and offence; you did many good works for the Jews [text partly unclear], and they did you every evil, John 10. So you could say that of the Psalmist: They repaid me evil for good, and hatred for my love, etc. So much for that, etc.

Sixth, on this way the innocent Christ is sentenced to the cross. For John 19 says that Pilate handed over the scourged Jesus to the Jews to be crucified and to die the death of robbers. When Jesus had been handed over to the Jews, the chief priests rejoiced greatly that they had their purpose. The form of the sentence is not set out by the evangelists, but it is written in the Gospel of Nicodemus. Pilate pronounced sentence in these words: Your nation, the chief priests and Pharisees, the scribes and elders of the people, have presented you in judgement and accused you of the crimes they named. First, that you preached your false doctrine and caused seduction in the regions of Galilee and of the Jews; and that you said and named yourself their king and lord. Therefore, according to their laws and customs, I sent you to be scourged with rods, scorpions, whips and chains. And now [I pronounce] the sentence of death against you in express terms: that they must crucify you and hang you on high, where they are to raise you among other robbers, so that all who pass by may look on you. In the same hour he likewise condemned two robbers to the same death. And when he had been sentenced thus, he sent trumpets to sound, to gather all the common people, noble and common, children and grown. And he had Jesus led from the place Lithostrotos with an iron chain tied round his neck and his hands bound behind his back, as is customary with thieves. And Pilate went into the middle of his assembled cohort and cried with a loud voice: Jesus of Nazareth, son of Joseph and Mary, I judge by sentence to be worthy of death, and that he be crucified. And then all the people, to please Pilate, cried out: Well done, Pilate! For we, our sons and our elders, are ready to do you service [uncertain]. O man, think how our Lord was cruelly led to the judgement seat, and stood there where his accusers prevailed, crying with their voices: Away, away, crucify him. For this was more grievous than all that went before. Consider these things diligently. And say: Lord Jesus Christ, who at the sixth hour of the day today willed to be brought before the judgement seat for human salvation, and, the judge sitting, willed to undergo the sentence of condemnation to death, grant that I may

(fol. 167v) not deserve this sentence of death either in body or in soul, and for your love may never fear the judgements of men. Then say the Lord's Prayer, namely Our Father, etc.

The Ninth Way: To Calvary

Where did your beloved Son go ninth, O fairest Virgin, when he had been adjudged to death, etc.? She can answer: He went to Mount Calvary, to be crucified there. And the devout man can therefore say: [Tell] us, Virgin Mary, what was done with your Son on this way? And she says: six things: First, my Son is led out, adjudged to death; Second, Simon of Cyrene is compelled to carry the cross; Third, the women following and weeping are addressed; Fourth, he is stripped of his garments and crucified naked; Fifth, as he hangs on the cross his sweet word is heard; Sixth, by a variety of miracles he is known to be true God.

First, by the Virgin's report, her Son is led out, adjudged to death. For Matthew [27] says: They led him out to crucify him. And John 19 says that he went out carrying the cross. And the Gloss says that they laid on his shoulders the beam of the holy cross, fifteen feet long, besides the crosspiece, that he might carry it to the place of the passion. And before they put the cross on him, they stripped him of the purple. When they stripped the garments from his body, namely the purple garment which had stuck to the wounds with the gore, they dragged it violently from the wounds, and all his wounds were opened and renewed as if they had been inflicted for the first time, so that blood again flowed to the ground. When they stripped off the purple, the crown of thorns clung to the purple, and they somehow pulled it from his head. Seeing this, the Jews pressed the crown into his head with clubs deeper than before. And so, stripped of the purple, he stood naked for some time in the midst of all in the praetorium, until they brought his own tunic, which they had left in Pilate's house. Then they put his tunic on him, and with hands bound they laid the cross on his shoulders, that he might carry it to the place of the passion. They also led two wicked men with Jesus; this was done that he might be the more disgraced, so that the cause of his death might be thought the same as the robbers'. And carrying his cross he went out to the place called Calvary, etc.

(fol. 168r) O unheard-of spectacle, never seen before nor found written, that any thief should be compelled to carry his own gibbet, as Christ was compelled to carry the cross; which cross Jesus, wearied by so many and such great insults and sufferings, could not carry, because the greater part of his natural strength was already exhausted. As Jesus was being led out of the gate, the Virgin Mary stood among the throng in a certain street of the city where Christ was being led, grieving and weeping. And when Jesus had seen his mother, he was tormented by a greater suffering, so that Jesus fell with the cross, and the Blessed Virgin Mary fell too. The Virgin, seeing her Son fall, fell, then quickly rose and kissed Jesus, so disfigured. The Jews, seeing Mary with her Son, cursed her, and with terrible violence thrust her away from her Son, and laid the cross on him again. And so much for that.

Second, on this way Simon of Cyrene is compelled to carry the cross with Jesus. As Matthew and Mark [15] say: They found a man, Simon of Cyrene, the father of Alexander and Rufus, a fellow-student [uncertain], coming by God's ordinance from the country; him they compelled to take up, that is, to carry, the cross of Jesus. And they did not do this from compassion or reverence for Christ, but so that they might come more quickly to the place of the passion with Christ, lest Pilate revoke the sentence, or lest Christ, whom they saw carrying it [so] weakened, should die on the way before they crucified him. And so much for that.

Third, Jesus addressed the women who followed. For Luke says: A great crowd followed him, Jews as well as gentiles, but not with the same intention. For Bede says: A great crowd followed the Lord to his cross, but not with one and the same mind. There were many men most sorrowful over his passion, but they held back their weeping for fear of the Jews; but the women, of the frailer sex and more prone to weeping, showed the sorrow of their hearts with tears. So Luke 23 says that a crowd of women followed him, who were mourning and lamenting him. And certainly in this crowd was the Blessed Virgin, who wept; and no wonder, for there is no mother, nor ever was one of so base a condition, who, if she saw her son in such torments and shame, would not as it were die and faint with grief; how much more

(fol. 168v) the Virgin Mary, who saw God so foully mocked by men. This was the grief above all griefs she ever had in this world, when she saw the creator of heaven and earth held cheap by the Jews, and the Lord of heaven carrying the gibbet on which he was to be hanged. The figure of 2 Kings 1 is fulfilled: The daughters of Zion mourned Saul. For when Saul and Jonathan had died on Mount Gilboa, David and his men mourned him until evening, and the daughters, that is, the women. For turning to these women the Lord said: Daughters of Zion [Jerusalem], do not weep for me; as if he said: There is no need for you to weep for me, for the sentence of my death will not be revoked by your weeping. But weep for yourselves and for your children; as if he said: You rightly ought to weep for yourselves, who with other people are the cause of my death and passion. But weep for your children, who out of hatred and malice of heart have brought about my being led to death and killed. For behold, the days will come in which they will say: Blessed are the barren, who have not borne, and the breasts that have not given suck; which was fulfilled in the time of Titus and Vespasian, when wretched days came upon them. For they sold thirty [Jews] for one [coin], as Josephus says in the book On the Jewish War. But the Jews and soldiers, seeing that Jesus had begun to speak, feared that he might stir up the people. So, to take him by force [uncertain], they suddenly pushed him on and dragged him inhumanly to the place of Calvary, etc.

Fourth, on this way Christ was stripped of his garments and crucified naked. When they came to the place called Golgotha, where they wanted to crucify him, Christ fell with the cross, face against a stone, and his wounds were opened afresh, so that blood flowed abundantly from his head and face. And the Virgin [uncertain] says: When they wanted to crucify him, they stripped off his own tunic, which had become glued and pressed into his wounds; and again in the stripping of his own garment his wounds again appeared, flowing with blood. And so he stood naked before all the people, trembling with cold and the pain of his wounds. As he stood thus, the Jews took Jesus Christ and, without any humanity, with violence laid him on the cross, so that the crown of thorns, by the blow, was driven more strongly into his brain. And as he lay

thus on the cross, they took first the left hand and bound him to the left arm of the cross, and put that hand over the hole they had made beforehand. And they drove a blunt nail with violence through his hand, and dragged the other hand to the second hole. And when the hole

[the text breaks off here; a passage is missing]

(fol. 169r) Of this John 19 says: There stood by the cross of Jesus his mother, and his mother's sister Mary of Cleophas, and the mother of James the Less. For earlier, because of the turmoil of the Jews, she had not dared to approach the cross. And it is said in the Revelations of Saint Bridget, book 5, that the most sorrowful mother Mary stood trembling and as it were half dead, because no one was ever so afflicted in love at the death of her son as she. This is clear from three things: first, because the Virgin's soul was more united in love to her Son than any other mother's, and where there is greater love there is greater grief. Second, her Son was more glorious and precious, and the nobler a thing is, the more grievous the pain it causes if it is lost. Third, because what the Son endured hanging in the body, she endured in her heart. She stood under the cross looking at her Son. And when she heard him say to the thief: Today you will be with me in paradise, she addressed her Son: O my Son, my God and my fountain, how is it that I find no mercy? You promise to give paradise to a thief, and you abandon me? You console the thief sweetly, and me, your most chaste mother, weeping and mourning, you do not console with a single word. O heavenly Father, you chose me to be the mother of your Son; where now is the grace by which Gabriel said I was "Ave", that is, without woe? Behold, my soul is filled with bitterness. And you said: The Lord is with thee; and now he is taken from me, not as Lord but as the vilest thief. O my Son, woe to me, a sad mother, that I may not now [die] with you. When Jesus saw his mother lamenting thus, and the disciple standing whom he loved, he said to his mother: Woman, I whom you once clasped in your virgin arms am now clasped by the wood of the hard cross; I who once rested and slept in the manger now rest and shall die on the gibbet. And Richard asks: O good Jesus, why did you speak so harshly to your most sweet mother, who nursed you so sweetly and nourished you so carefully? And he answers: This was not the time to speak sweetly and to utter the name of mother. I believe that if he had spoken sweet things, the Virgin's heart would have burst in the midst. Second, Ambrose asks: How could that delicate virgin, the mother of Jesus, stand, wearied with so many griefs by the most bitter death of her Son? And he answers: first, she stood by the cross of Jesus not only to consider the pain of Christ's passion but to await the salvation of the human race. And so the mother's grief was [mixed] with joy. For she had the greatest grief from her Son's death, but the greatest joy from the redemption of the human race. Second, she stood because she had no chance to sit. For because of the press she could not

(fol. 169v) sit, which was around the cross. For there were Jews and pagans there who were walking now away from the cross, now toward the cross, so that she could not sit. Third, she stood so that she might see more freely without interruption. And she pressed forward so far that she came so close to the cross that drops of blood flowing from her beloved Son's body dripped on her face and clothes, as is shown by her veils, which are still kept in certain places, on which drops of blood are still seen. Richard asks: O joy of all the afflicted, O joy of the despairing, O queen of heaven, what are you doing in this lamentable and foul place of the gibbet, among thieves, among the bones and skulls of the dead? O Virgin Mary, have you something singular there, that you guard it with such great care? And Richard answers: You have good reason for standing under the cross. For on the cross hangs your treasure, your solace, true God and man, your Son, my creator and redeemer. There you were made mother and treasurer of all indulgences for relieving miseries. Where else, Virgin, did you draw such most abundant grace and mercy, which you bestow so willingly and abundantly on all wretched sinners, if not by the cross, where they flowed out generously from the fountain of the Saviour? Isaiah 12: You shall draw waters with joy from the fountains of the Saviour; there she drew with devout heart plenary indulgences. Another reason why she stood under the cross is to show herself mediatrix between God the Father and wretched sinners. So he said to her: Woman, behold your son; as if he said: John, whom I commend to you, signifies men living in grace; be a most sweet

mother, so that those for whom I suffer may be your adopted sons. And when my heavenly Father, as justice demands, wishes to condemn the sinner, you intercede for him. Then he said to the disciple: Behold your mother; as if he said to all sinners: You who for shame of your crimes do not dare to lift up your heads before God the just judge, nor dare to appear before him, flee to Mary as to a mother; she will cherish you as her sons, advance you, change you and defend you. For she drew me from heaven to earth, and by her mercy she will draw [you] from earth to heaven, etc.

But you will say: Why did Christ commend his mother to John rather than to another disciple? Chrysostom answers: because he loved him more intimately for his purity, so it was fitting that he should become the Virgin's guardian. And Richard says: O wonderful exchange! The servant is given for the Lord, John for Jesus, the creature for the creator, the fisherman's son for the son of the Maker, the son of Zebedee for the Son of God, the mortal for the immortal, the temporal for the eternal.

(fol. 170r) From that hour the disciple took her as his own, namely as mother, or into his care, as Bede says, because he served her from his own [means], etc.

The fourth word was of goading love. For Matthew 27 says: From the sixth hour there was darkness over the whole earth until the ninth hour. This darkness, as the Gloss says, was such that the stars were seen as at night. Then was fulfilled that of Amos 8: The sun shall go down at noon, and I will darken the earth in the day of light. Of this darkness the doctors say: Jerome says it was caused by the withdrawal of the sun's rays; Augustine says it was caused by the interposition of thick clouds. But here we should rather believe Dionysius, who says in the letter to Polycarp that at the time of the darkness he was at Athens [read: Heliopolis] [text partly unclear], in Egypt, where the air is so pure that no clouds or rain, or very few, occur. Hence at the time of Christ's passion Dionysius, seeing the moon eclipsed, said: Either the creator of the world is suffering, or the fabric of the world is being dissolved. And the Gloss says that the darkness came so that the light of the sun should not shine on the impious, and so that Christ hanging naked on the cross should not be seen by men; and it lasted from the sixth hour to the ninth. And about the ninth hour Jesus cried out with a loud voice the fourth word, which is of goading love, as Mark 15 says: Jesus cried with a loud voice, for the greatness of his pain: Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani, that is, My God, my God, why have you forsaken me? As if he said: O Father, I love men in the world [so much] that for their sake the Jews have abandoned me without mercy. As Bridget says in book 2, his eyes were then half dead, his mouth appeared bloody, his face pale, wholly as it were livid and stained with blood. Then the pain from his limbs and pierced veins rose up to his heart and tormented him cruelly, so that in anguish he cried to the Father with a loud voice, weeping and saying: O Father, why have you forsaken me? And this voice was supernatural and miraculous, for one so treated could in no way have cried out so naturally unless the divinity had stood by him; and he willed to use this strength until then, to show that he was God and man. Christ cried out, first, to confirm the truth of his human nature against the Manichees, who said he had a phantom body; second, to show the greatness of his passion. Then some bystanders said: He is calling Elijah, to take him down or save him. Wait, that is, hold on, let us see whether Elijah comes to free him, namely from our hands. The Jews said this to Christ's disgrace, as though he needed Elijah's help; but they lied, for Christ did not need Elijah.

(fol. 170v) For he himself was to free Elijah and the other holy fathers. And so much for the fourth, etc.

The fifth word was of anguished pain, etc. Of this word John 19 says: After this, Jesus, knowing that all things were accomplished, said: I thirst. He said "I thirst" according to the threefold heaven of this saying: first, he hung for the earth; second, for the abyss; third, for heaven, for all men. Certain doctors say that he thirsted bodily, and he could well thirst bodily, because the moisture of his blood had been wholly drained from him by all his sufferings. Others say that he hung in the great heat of the sun, and so thirsted. Others say this thirst was nothing else than a burning desire for the salvation of the human race. So Richard says: Lord, the thirst of the soul torments you more than that of the body. From the cross you cry out more for thirst, because you desire the salvation of all. Jews and gentiles thirst for your blood by killing you; you thirst for

their salvation by dying for them; as if he said, in the person of Christ: I thirst for the salvation of your souls. And a vessel was set there full of vinegar. And the soldiers, as Mark 15 says: Filling a sponge with vinegar and wine mixed with gall, and putting hyssop about it, they put it on a reed. Alexander of Hales on John says that it was wine which the soldiers had with them, that is, which the Jews had procured for the soldiers. For certain devout women in Jerusalem, out of compassion, had set down spiced wine, which they gave to those led to death to drink, so that they might bear the suffering more easily; this wine had turned sour from the heat of the sun, and gall and myrrh had been mixed into it. On a sponge on a reed they held it to his mouth. Then was fulfilled that of the Psalmist: They gave me gall for my food, and in my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink. Behold the cruelty of the Jews, that they gave such a drink to a dying man. So the Psalmist says: Their wine is the gall of dragons. And they did this because by then he was wholly exhausted, except in heart and nature. So they offered him a drink afflicting nature, bitter, with a foul stench and sour taste. When he had taken it, according to Matthew and John, he would not drink. And Bede says: he did not take it to drink, but that the Scripture might be fulfilled.

The sixth word was the word of triumphant victory. Of it John 19 says: It is finished. The doctors expound this word variously. First, it is finished, that is, whatever Scripture says of my life and death is now fulfilled. Second, the Father's desire is fulfilled

(fol. 171r) and his command. The final service is finished. The mystery of redemption is finished, the prophecy of the prophets, and the desire of all the holy fathers. And third thus: it is finished, that is, all charity is fulfilled, and every penalty and wound I have borne, and I have shed so much of my blood that my life is wholly finished. In this he gave us an example, that whoever climbs the cross of penance must not come down until he says: My body is finished by death. Fourth, it is finished, as if he said: I have done all that I ought to do for the redemption of man. For a good physician does four things for a sick man whom he wishes to cure: first he imposes a diet, second he provokes sweating, third he lets blood, fourth he gives a bitter draught. So Christ fasted for us, Matthew 4; second, he sweated bloody sweat; third, he let blood from his whole body; fourth, he drank a most bitter draught for us. So he said: It is finished, etc.

The seventh word was of burning, instructing fervour. Of this word Luke 23 says: And crying with a loud voice Jesus said: Father, into your hands I commend my spirit. In this he taught that the dying must implore God's hand with their whole heart, and must commend themselves devoutly to God, and, leaving all else, have spiritual care of the soul. When his most sorrowful mother heard this voice and cry, all her limbs trembled with grief. Richard says: Christ went up on high to be heard farther; he cries louder so that no one may be excused; and he added tears to his cry so that man might suffer with him. And Chrysostom says: Christ did not expire at once when he cried out, but bowed his head. Hence Bridget says that Christ cried out with great pain: O Father, into your hands I commend my spirit. And the doctors say: Christ did not cry out only these words, but the whole psalm, beginning from "O God, my God, look upon me" as far as "Into your hands I commend my spirit". When he came to these words, he raised his head a little, and at once bowed it. And bowing his head he gave up his spirit. Then his mother under the cross, seeing that he had expired, fell to the ground senseless, and the devout women lifted her up. Then the Jews standing round, seeing this, shouted at his mother. Others said: Mary, now your son is dead, that seducer; and they said other insulting words. In that hour his hands drew back a little from the place where the nails pierced them, by the weight of his body; so that then his body was held up by the nails with which his feet were fixed. And the doctors say: Then Christ, before he expired,

(fol. 171v) bowed his head toward his mother, bidding her a last farewell, as if he said: O my most sweet mother, though I cannot bid you farewell in words, yet I thank you for all the benefits bestowed on my humanity. So I bow my head to you, giving thanks. Hence the devout Bernard says: Who is not carried away to hope of obtaining salvation, considering the posture of Christ's body hanging on the cross? For he had his head bowed to give a kiss, his arms stretched out to embrace, his hands pierced to give and keep nothing for

himself, his side pierced to love, his feet fixed to remain with us. O man, turn over the passion of Christ in your heart, and consider how Christ, innocent, crucified between thieves, left us wholesome lessons, and at last commended his soul to the Father for us sinners. Hence, Lord, let us give thanks to you who suffered for us today, saying: O Jesus Christ, lover of the whole human race, who gave your whole body to scourges and torments for our salvation, and at last, as death drew near, commended your soul to the Father, grant me so to ponder your most bitter passion that the water of devotion may flow most abundantly day and night from my eyes in compassion for your most dear passion. Grant me in the hour of my departure so to commend my soul to the heavenly Father that it may in no way be deprived of the heavenly reward. Then say the Our Father once again.

Sixth, by a variety of miracles after his death he was recognised as true God. When Christ had died in his humanity, then the veil that was at the entrance of the temple was torn in two from top to bottom. For the temple was divided into two parts by a veil set between. One part was outer and was called the court; the other was called the inner, that is, the holy of holies. Into this inner part the high priest alone entered once a year. And this veil before the holy of holies was torn as a sign of the revealing and understanding of the sacraments of the new law, which were veiled under the figures of the old law; and moreover as a sign that the priesthood of the Jews must then cease, therefore the veil was torn. Second, the earth was shaken—no wonder, when its maker was dying in the flesh; so it was shaken, and throughout the whole world it was felt at the moment of his death, as though [the earth] could not bear what the Jewish people did; and it trembled, because the just suffered for the unjust, the holy for sinners, God in the flesh for men. And the rocks were split, showing that they suffered with Christ's death,

(fol. 172r) as a sign that the hard hearts of men today ought to suffer with Christ dying for them. Third, the tombs were opened, and many bodies of the saints who had slept arose. For Jerome says that when the Lord rose, then they rose. It is said that the tombs stood open from that hour of Christ's death in which the earthquake took place until the hour in which the Lord, returning from the underworld, took up his body again and rose, when the bodies rose with the Lord. Within that time the bodies [lay] long, and the bones of some were dissolved, and [this] was plain and declared to all who looked on, the stones having been removed from their tombs. And they came into the holy city and appeared to many, bearing witness, namely, to the resurrection of Christ. And so much for the ninth way, etc.

The Tenth Way: To the Sepulchre

Where, Virgin, did your beloved Son go, going from the gibbet of the cross? The most sorrowful mother can answer that he went to the sepulchre, to be buried there. And so the devout soul can ask what was done there on this tenth way. The most sorrowful mother can answer: six things: First, the soldiers guarded the body by Pilate's order; Second, a soldier pierced his side with a lance; Third, Joseph asked for the body of Christ to take it down; Fourth, Nicodemus anointed the dead man with precious ointment; Fifth, they laid it in a new tomb; Sixth, Pilate ordered it to be guarded by soldiers.

First I say that, by the sorrowful report of the Virgin, the soldiers guarded the body by Pilate's order, who, seeing the earthquake, were afraid and beat their breasts. Hence Matthew 27 says: The centurion, who was over a hundred soldiers, a prudent man, and those with him guarding Jesus, seeing the earthquake and such great miracles, had such fear that they did not know what to do, grieving that the elements had suffered with Christ at his death. Hence they began to glorify God and say: Truly this was the Son of God. Yet some among them, simpler men, did not dare at that time to proclaim it publicly because of the throng of Jews and princes, but at once returned to Jerusalem weeping and beating their breasts. For as in a mirror one sees only one image, but when it is broken two shine back, so while Christ was alive the centurion could not see

(fol. 172v) his divinity, but only considered him to be a mere man. But when he was broken by death, many Jews recognised from the appearance of the miracles that he was God and man. And there were many women

there standing afar off, who had followed Jesus from Galilee ministering to him, among whom was the mother of Jesus, and Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James and Joseph, and the mother of the sons of Zebedee. Chrysostom says: O wonderful thing, the disciples fled and the women stood by; as if Chrysostom said: Where is that which you said, to suffer together with you in death, etc.?

Second, a soldier pierced Christ's side with a lance. For John 19 says: The Jews, because it was the Parasceve, namely the Friday, on whose evening began the solemnity of the following sabbath feast—the Friday was called Parasceve, that is, preparation, because on it they prepared and cooked what was to be eaten on the sabbath. Then the Jews went to Pilate; when the signs had ceased, and Christ remained alone on the cross, his mother being left with the other women who had stayed with him, they asked Pilate that the robbers' legs might be broken and they be taken away, because such was the custom out of reverence for the feast, and it was a statute of the law, Deuteronomy 21: When one adjudged to death has been hanged on a gibbet, his body shall not remain on the tree, but shall be buried the same day, because cursed is everyone who hangs on a tree. Pilate agreed. So soldiers came, going out from Jerusalem; when the Blessed Virgin saw them, she and the other women said: Behold, the robbers who crucified your Son have come; the Jews are not content with killing your Son, but have come seeking to slaughter you with your Son; let us flee from this place. But the Virgin, constant and fearless, said: I will not go away until I clasp in my arms my Son, whom I loved living, now dead, and kiss him. While they stood thus, the soldiers came and broke the legs of the robbers, because they were still alive. But when they came to Jesus and saw him already dead, they did not break his legs, that the Scripture might be fulfilled, Exodus 12: You shall not break a bone of it, namely of the paschal lamb, which was a figure of Christ. But one of the soldiers, coming up as the others went away, ran his lance into his side so deep that it passed through the heart to the other side. And when he drew out the iron of the lance, a stream of blood came abundantly from the wound, and one warm drop flowing down the lance touched the soldier's blind eye. When he had felt this

[the text breaks off here; a passage is missing]

(fol. 173r) …so that no one could enter without their knowledge, etc.

And note that they secured the sepulchre with three things: first with a great stone, second with their seal, third with guards, who kept watch in this triduum, day and night. Hence Bede says: The greater the care with which they set guards at the sepulchre, the more certain they have made us of the faith, and the greater the power of God is shown. And Jerome: In vain do they guard the sepulchre, lest he come forth alive from death, whom death could not hold nor hell shut in. And so much for the sixth, etc.

Six Ways of Considering the Passion

From this passion we ought especially to consider six things: First, the Lord's passion for imitating; Second, for compassion; Third, for wondering; Fourth, for exulting; Fifth, for resting; Sixth, for giving thanks, etc.

First, the passion of Christ is to be considered for imitating, according to the Saviour's saying, Matthew 16: If anyone will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me. How we ought to take up the cross blessed Gregory teaches: we take up the cross in two ways: first, when we curb the body by abstinence, 1 Corinthians 9: I chastise my body. Second, we take up the Lord's cross when we break the soul by compassion for our neighbour, 2 Corinthians 11: Who is weak, and I am not weak? As if he said: Whenever we see our neighbour consumed [uncertain], afflicted or suffering, and we suffer with him, we carry the Lord's cross, etc.

Second, the passion of Christ is to be considered for compassion. Here two things are to be noted: first, how we suffer with Christ; second, what leads a man to compassion. First, the manner of compassion appears to us in Philippians 2: Let this mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus; he does not say "understand" but "feel"; where he expresses the manner of feeling, Galatians 6: I bear the marks of the Lord in my body. Lyra

says it is credible that from the stripes and blows inflicted on him marks remained in his body. Therefore devout people often take the discipline of rods or scourges, etc.

But you will say: Is bodily discipline, then, necessary to salvation,

(fol. 173v) [that one must] beat oneself with rods to suffer with Christ? It is not read in the texts that it is necessary for the salvation of all men, except for those on whom it is incumbent by reason of religious life. But this is necessary for every man, which the Apostle expresses in Galatians 5: They who are Christ's have crucified their flesh with its vices and concupiscences. Gregory says: He who renounces all vices [suffers] a great martyrdom against the vanity of the world and the cunning of the devil. But you will say: Is it expedient for a Christian to conform himself to religious in these rigours and abstinences? Blessed Augustine says in the book On the Christian Life that since this is not a precept but a counsel, a man should use sound counsel in such things, and test himself whether he is fit for these things, lest he begin and be unable to finish; hence the Lord says: He who wishes to build a tower first counts the cost.

Second, we must see what leads us to suffer with Christ. Two things were touched on at the beginning of this passion: the first was the cause of the sweet passion; the second, compassion [text partly unclear]. But the third is the mercy and clemency of the crucified, who today shed his own blood for us. And note that the blood of Christ is the more precious in that it does not ask for vengeance but for pardon and the remission of all sins. So on the cross he cried: Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do. Therefore a man ought rightly to suffer with this blood shed today. But you will say: I ought then to suffer with [this] blood, shed for me; yet I feel such hardness of heart that I can in no way weep. Hugh of Saint Victor says: [Turn] rightly to the Lord's passion. For Richard says, on the Lord's Supper: He who attentively ponders the bitter passion of the Lord and its manner cannot hold back his tears. For the women seeing Christ led to be crucified wept, Luke 23; so the Lord said to them: Daughters of Jerusalem, do not weep for me, etc. And so much for the second.

Third, let us consider the passion for wondering. For according to Bernard there are three things that lead us to wonder at the Lord's passion. The first is the greatness of the passion; for the Son of God suffered. [Why] was it fitting for the Son of God to undergo such a death? The Master answers in the third book of the Sentences: Christ is called not only liberator but also redeemer. An angel could have freed us, but could not therefore redeem, that is, buy back. For to buy is to pay a price. He paid the price, who laid down his bodily life for our peace. From this it was fitting for Christ alone. For blessed Thomas says: He had to redeem us who could and ought.

(fol. 174r) And again none ought but man, not an angel, so that the order of justice might be kept, because man sinned; so man ought to pay for this sin. And none could make satisfaction for the as it were infinite sins of the whole world but God, who is of infinite power. John 1: Behold the Lamb of God, behold him who takes away the sins of the world. It is greatly to be wondered at that he paid what he did not owe. So the Psalmist could say: Then I paid what I did not take away. Then, in this wonder, Bernard says on the Lord's Supper: O immense and infinite goodness, O unheard-of mercy! My brothers, who can explain this sufficiently? For this is the height of mercy, that God, taking the form of a servant, should be the maker of man's death in man, that man might remain in him. The second thing that leads us to wonder at the Lord's passion is to consider by whom Christ suffered: for according to Richard, by those to whom he had shown every kindness. Hence holy Church sings in the person of Christ lamenting: I led you out of the land of Egypt, and brought you into a land flowing with milk and honey; you have prepared a cross for your Saviour. The third thing leading to wonder at the Lord's passion is to consider for whom he suffered. Richard says: Surely for the most wicked enemies, first for the devilish and the children of the devil, for the despisers of the divine majesty and the ungrateful for divine mercy. And this is greatly to be wondered at, that though men are his enemies, yet God's clemency has never wholly deserted them, but, turning toward sinners, shows a sign of friendship and love, lest man fall wholly into despair. Wisdom 11: You hate none of the things you

have made. Hence today the Son of God called his most wicked betrayer friend, saying: Friend, why have you come, etc.

Fourth, let us consider the passion of Christ for exulting. For according to Bernard there are three things that lead you to exult in the Lord's passion. The first is the joy of Christ; for he exulted in his blessed passion, as is said in the parable of Luke 15: when he has found the stray sheep, he lays it on his shoulders rejoicing. The second [cause] of joy is this: for blessed Thomas says: Love is the cause of joy; and because Christ loved us, he resolved to redeem us; so he rejoiced on the day of our redemption. But you will say: It is wonderful that Christ exulted today, when all have proclaimed that he was sad today and sweated bloody sweat from his body, indeed today he wept on the cross, shedding tears. What joy, then, could he have in such suffering? The answer is that in Christ there was a higher and a lower reason, or the sensual and the rational.

(fol. 174v) For the sensual [part] suffered bitterly, Lamentations 1: O all you who pass by the way, attend and see, etc. And Matthew 26 says: He began to be weary and sorrowful. Yet the higher reason exulted, because it clearly saw the divinity, which is not seen without great joy. Hence the Master says in the third [book of the Sentences], distinction 15: Christ from the instant of his conception had full enjoyment of the divinity. The second thing leading to exultation in the Lord's passion is the redemption of the human race. For the Master says in the third book, distinction 19, that through Christ's passion we are freed from three things, namely from sin, from the devil, and from hell. Of the first, 1 Peter 2 says: He bore our sins in his body upon the tree. Of the second, John 12: The prince of this world shall be cast out. Of the third, Luke 23 says: the Lord said to the thief: Today you will be with me in paradise. For before Christ's passion all the saints whatever went down to the limbo of hell. If then we are freed through Christ's passion, we ought rightly to rejoice. The third thing leading to exultation in the Lord's passion is the restoration of the angels, because, as the Apostle says, [he came] to restore all things that are in heaven and on earth. Hence we ought rightly to rejoice that our souls are to be taken up in the homeland to the thrones of the angels. Hence Albert says in his commentary on the second book of the Sentences, distinction 9, that our souls are to be taken up into the fellowship of the choirs of angels according to the requirement of their merits. So the Saviour says, Matthew 22: They shall be as the angels of God. So today we ought to rejoice in that, etc.

Fifth, the Lord's passion is to be considered for resting. In the Lord's passion we rest for love, as blessed Bernard says. To this rest the Lord exhorts us, John 16: In the world you will have distress, but in me peace; so remain in my love. Remain in me and I in you. Let us therefore enter today into the wounds of Christ, and make a tabernacle there, where we shall find rest. Then the devout soul can say that of Matthew 17: It is good for us to be here. For it is good for those devoted to God to wish to be for ever as in a wall [uncertain] of the watchful. Hence: If we will always have our heart fixed on God, the precepts of God must be written [there], for so our heart will cleave to God for ever. On this way there must be a seal, that is, Christ through grace, as is said in Canticle 8: Set me as a seal upon your heart. For as a seal is cut with characters, so Christ's crucified body was cut with characters, the consideration of whose wounds should never be absent from us; so too our heart will cleave to God. And so much for that.

Sixth, we must consider the Lord's passion for giving thanks, etc.

(fol. 175r) For the Lord Jesus in his passion gave thanks to God our Father; the Psalmist: In a great people I will praise you, Psalm 34. However great was the people of the Jews who were grievous to Christ for destroying him, yet before that people Christ praised God, giving us an example that at all times we ought to give thanks to God for his bitter passion. Hence Augustine says: Let no one think that Christ's passion profits him unless he devoutly meditates on it often and gives thanks to his redeemer. For God bestows three goods on the man who devoutly meditates on his passion, giving thanks. First, he will give such a man devotion, and with it grace for his prayer. Hence when someone is dry of all devotion, he should then have recourse to the passion of Christ, and in devout prayer say with the Samaritan woman: Lord, give me of the fountain of the living water of devotion, that is, of the grace of God. So when someone wishes to ask something

earnestly of his God, whether for himself or for the dead, he should first give himself to meditation on Christ's passion, and then in that devout meditation make supplication to God; and then he hears all, if one asks something wholesome and useful. Second, a man who meditates and gives thanks for the passion can obtain greater grace from God than if the whole Church and holy men were praying for him. Hence Chrysostom on Matthew: Nothing profits more for men's salvation than to give thanks for the bitter death. Third, whoever gives thanks for the Lord's passion, [God] will gladden him in the hour of his departure, console [him for his] merits, and after death give him the kingdom. From this comes the custom, for every dying man, that the sign of the holy cross is set before the eyes of the dying, so that by this sign he may be moved to give thanks to God for his passion. And this thanksgiving also strengthens against the greatest temptations which the devil brings on men at the end of life.

But you will say: Is a man more bound to thank God for the passion and redemption than for creation? The doctors say that we ought and are bound more to give thanks to God for his passion and our redemption than for creation. Ambrose in the book On Virginity: For I owe more, Lord Jesus, to your injuries by which I was redeemed than to your works by which I was created. This is clear in this example. A certain hermit of most holy life asked God to deign to reveal to him what service from him would please him most. It happened once, when this hermit was in his cell praying, that he heard the voice of a poor man; he rose, wondering what it was. And when he went out, he saw a naked poor man carrying a great cross on himself; and when he had looked at him, he said: Who are you, or where have you come from? And he said: I have come from heaven; by your prayers you have

(fol. 175v) drawn me here. For you have long asked me to show you which service I accept most among others. Now I have come to show you this, telling you that nothing is more acceptable to me than daily to give thanks for my passion, and to carry my cross by constant meditation. Let us therefore carry in memory the nails, the lance and the wounds. And let us give thanks to the Lord God here in the present for his passion, that in the future we may deserve to become sharers of his glory; which may he grant us, who lives and reigns, God, for ever and ever. Amen.

Sermons at Leipzig

The Matter Preached in Thirty-Six Sermons at Leipzig

Translator's note: Despite the title, the manuscript gives only the outline of the first of the thirty-six Leipzig sermons. It breaks off at the heading of the second sermon. No other Leipzig sermon text is printed in this volume.

(p. 7)

The matter noted below Brother John of Capistrano preached to the people in Leipzig in thirty-six sermons.

So shall it be at the end of the world (Matthew 13). Reverend fathers and most excellent lords, renowned and distinguished nobles, and all others standing here, redeemed by the precious blood: our Lord Jesus Christ, meaning to instruct us not to place our life and hope in the passing things of this world, as did the Epicureans, who, not understanding the highest glory, placed their hope in pleasures; the Stoics in the moral virtues; the Peripatetics in the carnal [corrected to] cardinal virtues, and above all in magnanimity. All these our Church forbids, because *we have not here a lasting city, but we seek one to come* (Hebrews, last chapter); for, as Galatians 4 says, *the Jerusalem that is above is our mother*. Therefore John says in his first canonical letter, chapter 2: *O dearest ones, love not the world nor the things that are in the world; for all that is in the world is either the concupiscence of the flesh, or the concupiscence of the eyes, or the pride of life. For the world passes away and its concupiscence; but he who loves God abides for ever.* All things perish except loving God, for, 1 Corinthians 13: *Charity never falls away*, etc. Hence our Lord

(p. 8)

Jesus Christ said in the present Gospel: *The kingdom of heaven is like a treasure hidden in a field.* That treasure is the truth of the Catholic faith. He is called Catholic who errs in nothing; hence it is understood as universal (Extra, De haereticis, ch. 1). Whoever errs in one point is guilty of all, and whoever is doubtful about one article is a heretic. The field is the present life, which hides this treasure, that is the Catholic faith, in its heart until eternal life (Romans 10): *With the heart one believes unto justice*; yet in time of necessity one must confess the faith publicly. Therefore it adds: *but with the mouth confession is made unto salvation. And for joy of it he goes and buys that field*, the present life. We ought therefore to buy and desire it, because it is the way to eternal salvation. For the laureate poet [Petrarch], listing the evils of this life, of the world and of the age, says that among so many evils there is only one good: that the present life is the way to the fatherland. Here indeed alone can we merit or demerit. Ecclesiastes: *Whatever your hand is able to do, do it earnestly.* Hence the Apostle, 2 Corinthians 6: *Behold, now is the acceptable time; behold, now is the day of salvation.* Again: *The kingdom of heaven is like a merchant seeking good pearls.* The merchant is man the wayfarer, who must seek precious pearls, which are the seven virtues: the three theological and the three [the editor notes: should read four] cardinal virtues. Not temporal riches, which the Lord calls thorns (Matthew 13), where Gregory says: "Who would believe me if I called riches thorns, since they delight and thorns tear? Yet it is certainly so that riches are compared to thorns, because

(p. 9)

they tear and disquiet the rich man's mind in acquiring, in keeping and in spending." Hence Gregory says: "Dearest brothers, if you truly wish to be rich, love [the true riches]," etc. *Having found one precious pearl*, etc. That precious pearl is contained in two letters, repeated once, namely A and M, as in AMA, "love": love God and neighbour. For the one precious pearl is charity or love. As blessed Augustine says in the fourth book of *The City of God*, no virtue and no work has perfection [without it]. Therefore the Apostle says in 1 Corinthians 12–13: *Brothers, be zealous for the better gifts,* etc. *If I speak with the tongues of men and of angels*, etc. Go through the whole text in order, up to: *but have not charity, I am nothing.* He says "I am

nothing", which is worse than being evil: "I am nothing" with respect to the being of things, namely spiritual being, which is in Christ Jesus. Rather, man then becomes like a beast, as blessed Bernard says on the psalm: *Man, when he was in honour, did not understand; he is compared to senseless beasts and made like them.* It is worse than being a beast, he says, *siclibet* (?), because it is worse to be likened to a beast than to be a beast: the former is a matter of vice, the latter of nature. All things, then, must be sold and set aside for that pearl, because according to blessed Augustine it alone leads to the kingdom. It alone shuts out every vice. Hence the same blessed Augustine: "Hold this one pearl, namely the love of God and neighbour, and do what you will." Again: *The kingdom of heaven is like a net cast into the sea and gathering of every kind of fish.* That net is holy mother

(p. 10)

Church, which gathers of every kind of fish, because she does not close her bosom to anyone running to her. Therefore the Saviour too said: *Him who comes to me I will not cast out* (John 6). And according to the Apostle, Romans 10: *There is no distinction of Greek and barbarian* with God, who is no respecter of persons, as Peter said (Acts 10). *And when they had drawn it out, sitting by the shore they chose the good into vessels.* The good alone remain in the sharing of the merits of the Church, according to the psalmist [the text reads "114"; the verse is Psalm 118:63]: *I am a partaker with all who fear you and keep your commandments. But the bad they cast forth.* Those who do not come to the unity of the Church they cast forth, because outside the Catholic Church there is no salvation for anyone. Therefore whoever will not conform himself to the rites of the Roman Church is a heretic and must be reckoned outside her. The disobedient too, within the Church, are cast outside her by ecclesiastical censure, namely excommunication.

So shall it be at the end of the world. About the end of the world three things are to be investigated: what will precede, what will accompany and what will follow. As to the first, three things will precede the end of the world and the final judgement. First, a terrible threatening; second, a terrible persuasive confutation; third, a wonderful sealing. The threatening is found according to a fivefold law and scripture: Mosaic, prophetic, evangelical, apostolic and ecclesiastical. First, Moses, wishing to exhort the people to keep all that was to be observed, so as to prepare themselves for that judgement, said (Deuteronomy 28): *Thus says the Lord God: If you hear my voice and keep my commandments, all these blessings shall come upon you. Blessed shall you be in the city*, etc. *If you do not keep my commandments,*

(p. 11)

all these curses shall come upon you: cursed shall you be in the city, etc. O how fearful is this curse of God, which cannot contain falsehood, as the Saviour testified (Matthew 5): *One jot or one tittle shall not pass from the law till all be fulfilled.* For we read of Saint Francis that he cursed a sow for a lamb it had killed, and it at once fell dead. Likewise of John of Capella, who was a brother of blessed Francis and always disparaged him; he cursed him that he should hang himself by the throat like Judas, and so it happened. Likewise blessed Gregory relates in the book of *Dialogues* about Saint Benedict, who was only a deacon, as Francis also was, out of humility, that he once cursed and excommunicated two nuns. They at length died having received the sacraments, confessed and contrite, and three times the earth vomited them out after burial. This was reported to blessed Benedict. He asked whether they had been absolved by his leave, and received the answer that they had not, etc. If, then, the curse of a mere man is so effective, how much more to be feared is the curse of almighty God himself! For according to all Catholic writers God is supremely just and supremely merciful, even for this life. Hence Origen foolishly presumed to say that God is merciful without justice. Therefore Jerome says of him: "Where Origen is bad, none is worse; where good, none better." For nowhere is it held that (?) … in the *Flores* which Jerome [collected] from his sayings.

(p. 12)

God, then, is never without mercy, and also never without justice. Justice rules, mercy tempers. Hence in Psalm 84 it is said: *Mercy and truth have met each other; justice and peace have kissed.* For Mercy cries and has cried, "Spare, Lord, spare!" But Truth says, "Let justice be done!" But then they kissed, when *truth sprang out of the earth*, etc.: that is, in the incarnation of the Word of God to redeem the lost human race. That earth is the Virgin Mary. The second threatening is prophetic; hence in Psalm 5 it is said: *You will destroy all who speak a lie.* And see the many threatenings of all the prophets in order. The third is evangelical (Matthew 25): *Depart from me, you cursed, into everlasting fire, which was prepared for the devil*, etc. Let us therefore dispose ourselves, by keeping God's commandments, to receive that blessing: *Come, you blessed of my Father*, etc. The scriptures of the other two threatenings the diligent reader will easily find. And this much for the first sermon, following the division of the above-named brother.

There follows the sermon on contempt of the world and of the things of the age (?). *Be renewed in the spirit of your mind.* What follows lacks its parts [*speciebus*, uncertain] (?). Note. Laurent. Sarte. [The editor considers these last words doubtful.]