# LIBERA NOS A MALO: LUXURIA AS EVIL IN THE PREACHING MANUAL QUI BENE PRESUNT

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THE present study examines the particular depiction of the vice of *luxu*ria as evil in the summa *Qui bene presunt*, a preaching manual written in around 1220 by Richard of Wetheringsett, a chancellor of Cambridge University between 1215 and 1232, and a student of the famous master of theology William de Montibus in Lincoln.<sup>1</sup> This treatise was most likely composed in response to some of the edicts of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), addressing the concerns of Pope Innocent III, the convener and intellectual promoter of this synodal gathering, for enhancing the religious instruction of the shepherds of the Christian flock and for appointing new preachers to assist with episcopal duties.<sup>2</sup> Even though little known today and still unedited in its entirety,<sup>3</sup> the *Qui bene presunt* was extremely pop-

<sup>1</sup> For William and Richard, see Joseph Goering, *William de Montibus (c. 1140–1213): The Schools and the Literature of Pastoral Care*, Studies and Texts 108 (Toronto, 1992), 86–95, and "The Summa 'Qui bene presunt' and Its Author," *in Literature and Religion in the Later Middle Ages: Philological Studies in Honor of Siegfried Wenzel*, ed. Richard Newhauser and John A. Alford (Binghamton, 1995), 143–59; and Greti Dinkova-Bruun, "Notes on Poetic Composition in the Theological Schools ca. 1200 and the Latin Poetic Anthology from Ms. Harley 956: A Critical Edition," Sacris Erudiri 43 (2004): 299–391, at 306–14.

<sup>2</sup> These are Constitutions 10 and 11 of the Council. For the latest critical edition of the text, see *Concilium Lateranense IV*, in *Conciliorum oecumenicorum genera-liumque decreta, editio critica,* vol. 2.1: *The General Councils of Latin Christendom, From Constantinople IV to Pavia-Siena (869–1424),* ed. A. García y García and A. Melloni, Corpus Christianorum, Conciliorum oecumenicorum generaliumque decreta 2.1 (Turnhout, 2013), 151–204, at 172–74. A Latin text with a facing-page English translation is provided in Norman P. Tanner, Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils, 2 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1990), 1:230–71.

<sup>3</sup> Only representative excepts are found in Fritz Kemmler, '*Exempla' in Context:* A Historical and Critical Study of Robert Mannyng of Brunne's 'Handlyng Synne' (Tübingen, 1984), 46–67; and Greti Dinkova-Bruun, "The Ten Commandments in the

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ular in the Middle Ages, not only in England but also on the continent. It is preserved today in at least sixty-three manuscripts and in two distinct versions, a short original and an expanded text, which is probably not by Richard.

The *Qui bene presunt*'s importance is seen in a number of innovations in the organization of the priestly and pastoral material included in it. For the first time in a manual of this kind, a novel selection of twelve topics presented as theological *distinctiones* is put together by the author who clearly believes that this is the most useful way to provide spiritual guidance and, even more importantly, practical advice to every priest and preacher with the ultimate aim of aiding them in their mission of caring for the souls of their parishioners.<sup>4</sup> The treatise is a skillful composition, which offers a synthesis of the subject matter at hand drawn from multiple authoritative sources, often followed by a mnemonic verse summary of the same material. The didactic value of this approach was widely recognized in the later Middle Ages and often imitated.

Of the twelve distinctions in the *Qui bene presunt*, two have direct bearing on the understanding of evil: in *Distinctio 2 (De septem petitionibus)* evil is examined in the context of the main objective of the seventh and final petition of the *Pater Noster*, i.e, "libera nos a malo," and linked with the seventh and final vice, *luxuria*, discussed in *Distinctio 5 (De septem uiciis)*. Through this connection, *luxuria* becomes synonymous with the concept of *malum* to a higher degree than the remaining six vices, evil as they are in their own right.

Thirteenth-Century Pastoral Manual *Qui bene presunt*," in *The Ten Commandments in Medieval and Early Modern Culture*, ed. Youri Desplenter, Jürgen Pieters, and Walter Melion (Leiden, 2017), 113–32, at 127–31: Appendix: *De quarto precepto (Honora patrem et matrem)*.

<sup>4</sup> The twelve topics covered in the *Qui bene presunt* are outlined in the prologue to the treatise under the rubric *Que et quot sunt predicanda frequencius* (see Cambridge, University Library Add. 3471, fol. 125rb-va): 1) *Symbolum fidei, duodecim continens articulos;* 2) Oratio dominica, septem habens petitiones; 3) Septem dona *Spiritus Sancti;* 4) Septem uirtutes; 5) Septem capitalia uitia; 6) Septem sacramenta; 7) Duo mandata caritatis; 8) Decem moralia mandata legis (i.e., the Decalogue); 9) *Que sit merces iustorum;* 10) Instruendi sunt subditi in quibus a multis erratur; 11) *Quid uitare debeant;* 12) *Quid agere debeant.* This division is clearly marked in the Cambridge manuscript by marginal notes giving the number of the distinction, i.e., *di.i, di.iii, etc.* The distinctions are discussed in Goering, "Summa 'Qui bene presunt,'' 144–45.

### THE LORD'S PRAYER AND EVIL

As is well known, the universally used Lord's Prayer is found in Matthew 6:9–13. It contains seven entreaties or pleas called *petitiones* in the writings of the Church Fathers. The first three petitions, that is, "sanctificetur nomen tuum," "adveniat regnum tuum," and "fiat voluntas tua" concern God, whereas the remaining four, that is, "panem nostrum supersubstantialem (or cotidianum) da nobis," "dimitte nobis debita nostra," "ne nos inducas in temptationem," and "libera nos a malo" are related to mankind. It was generally understood that the first three entreaties were asking for eternal things (*aeterna*), while the remaining four were begging for temporal ones (*temporalia*).<sup>5</sup> In the introductory paragraph of the *Qui bene presunt*'s second distinction Richard opts for a slightly modified categorization:

Tres enim prime peticiones in futura uita perficientur, tres ultime ad presentem uitam pertinent, media uero ad utramque uitam pertinet.<sup>6</sup>... In hac oracione tres peticiones pertinent ad impetracionem bonorum et tres ad remissionem malorum (Cambridge, University Library Add. 3471, fol. 128va–b).<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> See for example, Augustinus, *Enchiridion ad Laurentium, de fide et spe et caritate* 115 (ed. E. Evans, CCL 46 [Turnhout, 1969], 23–114, at 110): "Proinde apud euangelistam Matthaeum septem petitiones continere dominica uidetur oratio, quarum in tribus **aeterna** poscuntur, in reliquis quattuor **temporalia**, quae tamen propter aeterna consequenda sunt necessaria." ("Hence, it seems that in the Gospel of Matthew the Lord's Prayer contains seven petitions; eternal things are asked for in three of them and temporal ones in the remaining four, which however are necessary for obtaining the eternal things.")

<sup>6</sup> This idea is found also in Innocent III's Sermones de sanctis, Sermo 12 (PL 217:512D), and Sermones in natalitiis et festis sanctorum apostolorum, martyrum, confessorum ac virginum, quos Communes vocant, Sermo 5 (PL 217:616A).

<sup>7</sup> "The first three petitions will be fulfilled in the future life, the last three pertain to the present life, but the middle one pertains to both lives.... In this prayer three petitions pertain to achieving good and three to the decrease of evil." The Cambridge manuscript is traditionally dated to ca. 1260, thus only forty years after the composition of the treatise. It contains the short version of the text, and all quotations from the *Qui bene presunt* are transcribed from it. In some manuscripts the phrase *ad remissionem malorum* (the decrease of evil) is replaced by *ad remotionem malorum* (the removal of evil).

This more nuanced understanding of the temporal significance of the prayer's petitions is further supported in the last sentence of the opening paragraph of the second distinction which asserts that the first three petitions help to achieve good, whereas the last three combat evil. It is evident that in this grouping of the petitions, the middle one about the daily bread remains in an intermediary position, since, on the one hand, it is a good thing like the divine pleas, but, on the other, it pertains to the realm of humanity's needs, both present and future, and is not directly linked to the battle against *malum*.

In the beginning of his second distinction Richard states that he is going to discuss the *petitiones* of the Lord's Prayer, explaining in more detail what they mean,<sup>8</sup> and clarifying their meaning morally for the spiritual life of the believer as well as their connection to other important sets of seven, such as the vices, the virtues, the gifts of the Holy Spirit, and the evangel-ical Beatitudes:<sup>9</sup>

Singule enim petitiones intellecte et moraliter exposite singula mortalia septem remouent, et execute donis Spiritus Sancti et uirtutibus euuangelicis informant et ad beatitudines euuangelicas perducunt (Cambridge, University Library Add. 3471, fol. 128va).<sup>10</sup>

The powerful symbolism associated with the number seven in Christian discourse is very likely why Matthew's version of the Lord's Prayer with its seven pleas became much more influential than the text in Luke 11:2–4,

<sup>8</sup> Richard gives his own summary exposition on how the petitions should be understood (Cambridge, University Library Add. 3471, fols. 128va–129vb), which is followed by a section introduced with the marginal rubric *Alio modo de septem peticionibus* and based on Augustine's discussion of the topic in his letter 130 adressed to the widow Proba and entitled *Quomodo sit orandus Deus*. The passage cited in the *Qui bene presunt* is chapter 11 of the letter (see PL 33:502), which Richard introduces as follows: "Beatus Augustinus sic legit dominicam oracionem in libello quodam quem composuit de orando Deo uel diligendo, ubi eciam docet easdem peticiones esse apud antiquos sic dicens."

<sup>9</sup> For additional sets of seven, especially in the *Speculum virginum* of Conrad of Hirsau (ca. 1080–ca. 1150/1160), see Marco Rainini, "Symbolic Representations and Diagrams of the *Lord's Prayer* in the Twelfth Century," in *Le 'Pater Noster' au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. Francesco Siri (Turnhout, 2015), 157–86, esp. the table on 184.

<sup>10</sup> "For the individual petitions—understood and morally explained—remove the individual seven mortal sins and—carried out by the gifts of the Holy Spirit—both instruct with evangelical virtues and lead to the evangelical beatitudes."

where the supplications are reduced to five, with the final one about the deliverance from evil missing altogether.<sup>11</sup>

At this point it is important to turn to Richard's definition of evil in the context of the Lord's Prayer, which reads as follows:

*Libera nos a malo,* omni scilicet uisibili et inuisibili, scilicet mundo, diabolo, carne, peccato, scilicet originali et ueniali, mortalitate corporis, penalitate anime (Cambridge, University Library Add. 3471, fol. 129vb).<sup>12</sup>

This short sentence already gives us a good sense of the characteristics of *malum* (visible and invisible), the reasons for its existence (the world, the Devil, the flesh), and the consequences of not eradicating it in oneself (sin, death of the body, and punishment of the soul). And yet, a later reader of the Qui bene presunt thought that further explanation was necessary, providing a much more precise definition of both evil and sin.<sup>13</sup> Here, the anonymous reviser of Richard's text enumerates four categories of sin: original and venial, mentioned also in the short version, to which he adds two more: actual and mortal. He also states that evil is threefold (triplex): innatum, additum et inflictum (or inborn, added, and inflicted). This idea and the terminology expressing it seem to be borrowed from Innocent III's treatise De sacro altaris mysterio, written before Lothar of Segni was elected pope in 1198. Still, the author of the expanded version of the Qui bene presunt does not follow slavishly Innocent III who argues that the triple evil can be defeated by a threefold fear of God, namely timor servilis (or fear of punishment), timor filialis (or love of justice), and timor

<sup>11</sup> For a discussion of the issue, see David Clark, *The Lord's Prayer. Origins and Early Interpretations* (Turnhout, 2016), especially chapters 3 and 5.

<sup>12</sup> "*Deliver us from evil*, both visible and invisible, that is, from the world, the Devil, the flesh, and also from sin (both original and venial), the mortality of the body, and the punishment of the soul."

<sup>13</sup> See London, British Library Royal 9.A.XIV, fol. 26va, which contains an expanded version of the original: "Set *libera nos a malo*, omni scilicet uisibili et inuisibili, hoc est a mundo, diabolo et carne. Item *libera nos a malo*, hoc est a peccato, scilicet originali, actuali, ueniali et mortali. Item *libera nos a malo*, et est triplex malum: malum innatum, malum additum, malum inflictum. Malum innatum quod contraximus ab originali peccato, unde ad Eph.: *Omnes* nascimur *filii ire* [Eph 2:3]. Item malum additum est peccatum actuale, unde Ier. ii: *Duo mala fecit populus meus: me dereliquerunt fontem aque uiue et confoderunt cisternas dissipatas, quia continere non ualent aquas* [Ier 2:13]. Item est malum inflictum quod nos sustinemus, I Mach. ii: *Inundauerunt super* nos *mala*, etc. [1 Mach 2:30]."

*initialis* (which is part fear of punishment and part love of justice).<sup>14</sup> Instead, he simply gives biblical examples for each of the three types of *malum*. The inborn evil, or the one that mankind has contracted through original sin, is illustrated with a verse from the Letter to the Ephesians (2:3); the added evil, or the wrongdoings people commit in addition to original sin, is demonstrated with Jeremiah 2:13; and the evil that is inflicted upon a person by somebody else is exemplified with 1 Maccabees 2:30.

In the section in which Richard discusses the Lord's Prayer *moraliter*,<sup>15</sup> each of the seven petitions is connected to one of the seven capital vices or deadly sins, against which it can be used as a powerful remedy or effective weapon. This is not a novel idea, but we find it best articulated in Hugh of St. Victor's *De oratione dominica* (*On the Lord's Prayer*) written in the first half of the twelfth century.<sup>16</sup> After a discussion of the seven vices, Hugh states that the first plea is effective against *superbia*, the second against *invidia*, the third against *ira*, the fourth against *accidia*, the fifth against *avaritia*, the sixth against *gula*, and the seventh against *luxuria*.<sup>17</sup> Richard's own petition vs. vice opposition scheme follows Hugh's precisely. Apart of the general framework of this particular section, however, the two works have nothing in common. The idea of the correlation between petition and vice must have been widely known and a starting point for Richard's own composition.

For the argument of this study the most fascinating fighting couple is the petition *Libera nos a malo* vs. *luxuria*. In the context of the discussion on the vices and virtues the semantic range of the word *luxuria*, whose much broader original meaning is "excess, extravagance, luxury," becomes lim-

<sup>14</sup> See Innocent III, *De sacro altaris mysterio libri sex* 5.20: *De triplici malo a quo petimus liberari* (PL 217:900A).

<sup>15</sup> Cambridge, University Library Add. 3471, fols. 130ra–131ra.

<sup>16</sup> See Hugh of St. Victor, *De oratione dominica, De septem donis spiritus sancti,* ed. Francesco Siri, CCCM 276 (Turnhout, 2017), 8, where the date for the composition of the *De oratione dominica* is given as 1115/18–1141. The edition of the text is on pp. 177–210.

<sup>17</sup> See Hugh of St. Victor, *De oratione dominica*, ed. Siri, CCCM 276:185–86. Hugh articulates the same idea also in his *opusculum De quinque septenis* (*On the five sevens*), also written in the first half of the twelfth century; see *Hughes de Saint-Victor: Six opuscules spirituels*, ed. Roger Baron (Paris, 1969), 100–119. The difference between the two works is that in the *De quinque septenis* Hugh uses *tristitia* instead of *accidia* for the fourth vice. ited to denoting sexual desire of one kind or another. Traditionally, the vices *luxuria* and *gula* (gluttony) are often linked to each other, because of the close proximity of the stomach and the genitals in the human body. These are also the two among the seven mortal sins that are called *peccata corporalia* in contrast with the remaining five (*superbia, ira, inuidia, auaritia,* and *accidia*) which are considered to be *peccata spiritualia*.<sup>18</sup> Not surprisingly, Richard makes the same connection.<sup>19</sup> Still, the fact that the culminating petition in the Lord's Prayer "sed libera nos a malo" is tied to the vice *luxuria* demonstrates that lust with its carnal appetite and sexual deviance was considered an extremely dangerous and harmful enemy of mankind. This inference is made so explicit in the *Qui bene presunt* probably because the treatise is supposed to provide the preacher with practical aid in his daily work. Thus, combatting lust becomes one of the most important battles to wage.

It is clear that on a basic level the plea to be delivered from evil and *luxuria* are paired simply because both *petitio* and *vitium* occupy the seventh position in their respective lists of sevens. The link, however, once established, provides a starting point for an intricate discussion of how evil in general manifests itself in this particular vice. It is apparent that all vices are harmful and thus embodying the idea of evil, but the explicit connection between "libera nos a malo" and *luxuria* gives Richard the opportunity to develop a striking discourse on the great damage lust inflicts on body and soul, behaviour and morals, worldly life and eternal salvation. This section of the *Qui bene presunt* is discussed in the following.

#### THE VICE OF LUXURIA

The discussion of *luxuria* continues in *Distinctio* 5 of the *Qui bene presunt*, which is entitled *De uiciis*. This is the longest of the twelve distinctions of the treatise, occupying fols. 135ra–144rb in the Cambridge manuscript, or 22% of the entire work. This careful treatment of the vices is seen also in the fact that the fifth distinction contains an exceptionally

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> This idea, expressed by Richard on fol. 137rb of the Cambridge manuscript, is found also in Thomas de Chobham, *Summa de arte praedicandi* 7 (ed. Franco Morenzoni, CCCM 82 [Turnhout, 1987], 285.839–42), and *Summa confessorum*, a.7 d.1 q.4 (ed. F. Broomfield [Louvain and Paris, 1968], 328).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Cambridge, University Library Add. 3471, fol. 130vb.

high number of mnemonic verses, which suggests that Richard was concerned with making sure that the reader could remember easily his words about the seven most dangerous enemies of human morality, virtue, and salvation.<sup>20</sup> The distinction is crafted thoughtfully; it begins with an introductory section on the meaning of original sin, the cleansing power of baptism, and the progression, characteristics, and various *species* of each of the seven capital vices. This general treatment is followed by seven sections, each dedicated to one individual vice, starting, as is customary, with *superbia* and ending with *luxuria*. The discussion returns to all seven vices as a group in the final sections of the distinction which are on the figurative meanings attached to each of the vices and the special remedies that can effectively cure them.

Even though all seven vices are analyzed with attention and precision, *luxuria* still occupies a singular place in the argument, and its treatment can be compared in length and detail only to that of *superbia* which is the root of all *vitia capitalia*. Richard opens his exposition on the last vice with the well-known text from Colossians 3:5: "Put to death, therefore, whatever belongs to your earthly nature: fornication, impurity, passion, evil desire, and greed (which is idolatry)," but he leaves out "greed" from the quotation at this particular point of his treatise.<sup>21</sup> One of the earthly characteristics that need to be put to death, namely *fornicatio*, is presented by Richard as almost synonymous of the entire vice of *luxuria*.<sup>22</sup> Since by definition *fornicatio* is "any copulation apart from the legitimate one" (see n. 21), it shows itself in multiple forms, both carnal and spiritual. Richard enumerates five such manifestations: first, adultery (*adulterium*) which is

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<sup>20</sup> For example, the section on *superbia* contains nineteen mnemonic verses and the one on *luxuria* twenty-three; among them only a few are attested previously.

<sup>21</sup> "Mortificate membra uestra que sunt super terram: fornicacionem, inmundiciam, libidinem, concupiscenciam malam, etc. [Col 3:5]. Quid fornicacio. Fornicacio est omnis concubitus preter legitimum concubitum [connubium annotat MS sup.l. a.m.]. Quid inmundicia. Inmundicia (est) quod contra naturam agitur. Quid libido. Libido (est) ardor per quaslibet turpitudines discurrens, ut in hiis qui procurant motus carnis ex contactu et sollicitacione mulierum et exinde in sompnis inquinantur et frequenter in uigilando quod nulli dubium debet esse fore illicitum cum uigilanter et scienter se procurat aliquis inquinari. Quid concupiscencia. Concupiscencia mala est ad uoluptatem pertinens de alterius ancilla uel uxore et huiusmodi" (Cambridge, University Library Add. 3471, fol. 142va–vb).

<sup>22</sup> "Fornicacio generaliter omne peccatum apellatur, sed specialius omne genus luxurie" (Cambridge, University Library Add. 3471, fol. 142vb).

often called *moechia* in the Gospels and which is defined as "violation of somebody else's spousal bed"; second, *stuprum* or the illicit deflowering of virgins; third, *incestus* or the abuse of women who are related to a person, be it by blood, religious devotion, or marriage; fourth, *raptus* or the taking of a woman by force and against her will in order to make her one's wife; and fifth, sodomy (*uitium sodomite*) which is defined as the most shameful, abominable, and unnatural vice.<sup>23</sup>

In light of this description, *luxuria* and its sinful avatar *fornicatio* are truly a supreme evil that permeates human life, since "eagerness and petulance precede it, foulness and filth accompany it, pain and penance follow it." This is another of Innocent III's *dicta* probably borrowed by Richard from his treatise *De miseria humanae conditionis*.<sup>24</sup> Richard, however, makes the pontiff's sentence much more memorable by adding that because of its permutable nature *luxuria* can be compared to Chimera, a monstrous animal from Greek mythology, which has a lion's head, a goat's body, and a snake's tail.<sup>25</sup> He thought that this association was so noteworthy that he added a poem to help the reader remember it:<sup>26</sup>

<sup>23</sup> "Adulterium. Adulterium proprie est alterius thori uiolacio, unde et nomen habet quasi a thoro alterius. Stuprum. Stuprum proprie est illicita defloracio uirginum. Incestus. Incestus abusus consanguinearum carnalium uel spiritualium uel affinium quasi sacrilegium est contractus illicitus sanctimonialium, anachoritarum et mulierum Deo dedicatarum [dicatarum MS *a.c.*] per uotum continencie. **Raptus.** Raptus est cum inuita et uiolenter aliqua corumpitur et eciam cum cogitur ut in uxorem habeatur. Libera enim debent esse coniugia, non coacta. Vicium ignominiosum est et abhominabile quo leguntur infecti sodomite ..." (Cambridge, University Library Add. 3471, fols. 142vb–143ra).

<sup>24</sup> "Semper illam praecedunt ardor et petulantia, semper comitantur fetor et immunditia, sequuntur semper dolor et poenitentia" (Innocent III, *De miseria humanae conditionis* 2.21: *De luxuria*, PL 217:725B). Innocent III seems to be fond of this sentence, since it is found also in his sermons (PL 217:684C) and in his commentary on the penitential psalms (PL 217:1039A).

<sup>25</sup> "Que precedunt luxuriam concomitantur et secuntur. Notandum est quod luxuriam semper precedunt ardor et petulancia; et concomitantur fetor et inmundicia; secuntur dolor et penitencia, unde chimere comparatur" (Cambridge, University Library Add. 3471, fol. 143ra).

<sup>26</sup> This poem was printed in A. G. Rigg, A Glastonbury Miscellany of the Fifteenth Century: A Descriptive Index of Trinity College, Cambridge, MS 0.9.38 (Oxford, 1968), 61, no. 11: Nota de luxuria. It is clear that in this miscellany Richard's poem must have been excerpted from an unknown copy of the Qui bene presunt because the poem is preceded by the prose text cited in n. 25. This copy cannot be Cambridge, University Library Add. 3471, which I am using here, because there are some

Ex triplici forma constat monstrosa Chimera: Parte leo prima, media caper, anguis in ima. Hanc speciem retinent Venerem quicumque frequentant: Vt leo non trepidi pergunt implere quod optant, Fetent ut capri petulantes luxuriosi, Ritu serpentis pungunt nouissima mentis.<sup>27</sup>

The Chimera is a familiar figure in the medieval period during which it is used to exemplify different metaphorical realities. For Isidore of Seville (ca. 560–636), who quotes Lucretius's *De rerum natura* 5.903, the *tri-formis bestia* denotes the three ages of man, who is wild and unruly like a lion in his adolescence, who possesses clearer understanding like a sharp-sighted goat in his middle years, and who finally is twisted like a snake in his old age.<sup>28</sup> The poet Marbod of Rennes (1035–1123) understands Chimera differently. In his *Liber decem capitulorum*, chapter 3, which is entitled *De muliere mala*,<sup>29</sup> Marbod states at vv. 45–57 that the threefold image of the mythical monster alludes to the nature of the whore (*ad naturam meretricis*, v. 50) who lures her prey with the noble face of a lion, who excites in its heart incontrollable desire in a manner of a lustful goat, and whose venomous serpent's sting causes its damnation.<sup>30</sup> In contrast,

variant readings between the two versions of the poem (see verse 3: *formam* in the Trinity College manuscript for *speciem* in Cambridge, Add. 3471; and verse 5: *scorti* in the Trinity College manuscript for *mentis* in Cambridge, Add. 3471). Richard's poem, separated from its *Qui bene presunt* context is found in two further fifteenth-century manuscripts: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 3638, fol. 6v (three poems only), and Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket C 218, fols. 58v–64v (*Collectio uersuum notata*).

<sup>27</sup> "The monstrous Chimera is made of three parts: at the top it is a lion, in the middle a goat, at the bottom a snake. Those, who engage often in love affairs, have the same shape: the lustful are bold like lions when they rush to fulfill their desires; they are foul like goats while being wanton; and they bite like serpents the depths of their minds."

<sup>28</sup> Isidore, *Etym.* 1.40.4.

<sup>29</sup> Marbodo di Rennes 'De ornamentis verborum', 'Liber decem capitulorum': Retorica, mitologia e moralità di un vescovo poeta (secc. XI-XII), ed. Rosario Leotta (Florence, 1998). The text of the De muliere mala, ninety verses in total, is found on pp. 38–40; for verses 45–57, see p. 39.

<sup>30</sup> In the early 1180s Walter Map uses the same Chimera image in a similar antiwomen's context in his very popular *Dissuasio Valerii ad Ruffinum*. The *Dissuasio* circulated both independently and as part of Map's *De nugis curialium*, Dist. 4, c. 3;

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Marbod's contemporary Baudri de Bourgueil (1045–1130), while using in his long mythological *carmen* 154 Isidore's comparison of Chimera to the three ages of man, does not explicitly link the image with the feminine wiles but presents it as a more general allegory of the three stages of love, during which man has to guard himself against the dangers of carnal desire (vv. 1037–64).<sup>31</sup> Richard, writing a century after Baudri, adopts this idea in his *Qui bene presunt* and connects the horrifying monstrosity of the ancient mythological creature to the violent and violating vice of *luxuria* and to the behaviour of the indecent *luxuriosi*. This does not mean that women are not dangerous temptresses and polluters, as can be seen in what follows in Richard's account.<sup>32</sup> If, however, for Marbod and Walter Map they themselves could be described as chimeras, for Baudri and Richard the real monsters are the vice of *luxuria* itself and the men who cannot stop themselves from succumbing to it.

# FIGURATIVE REPRESENTATIONS OF THE SEVEN VICES

As already mentioned, after dealing with each of the seven vices individually, Richard includes a section on the manifold figurative representations of the vices ("possunt ... multiplici significari figura"). Thus, after stating that the seven as a group symbolize the biblical *gentes* expelled from their land by the Jews,<sup>33</sup> Richard provides comparisons that in turn associate each vice first with various parts of the human body, then with

see *Walter Map De Nugis Curialium: Courtiers' Trifles*, ed. and trans. M. R. James, rev. C. N. L. Brooke and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1983), 288–310, at 290–291.

<sup>31</sup> Baldricus Burgulianus, *Carmina (Baudri de Bourgueil, Poèmes)*, ed. and trans. Jean-Yves Tilliette, 2 vols. (Paris, 1998–2002), 2:61–97, at 92.

<sup>32</sup> On the same folio of the manuscript (Cambridge, University Library Add. 3471, fol. 143rb) Richard talks about the five *linee* (lines, threads) of *luxuria* which, in addition to the actual lustful act (*factum*), include *uisus, colloquium, tactus,* and *osculum,* all having to do with the dangers of seeing, conversing, touching, and kissing a woman. The mnemonic verse preceding this passage reads "Linee luxurie. Quinque eciam dicuntur esse quasi linee luxurie que sic retinentur: Visus et alloquium, contactus et oscula, factum."

<sup>33</sup> See Judges 3, according to the marginal note in Cambridge, University Library Add. 3471, fol. 143rb.

| Vice     | Body part   | Plant                          | Animal   | Bird                       |
|----------|---|--------------------------------|--|----------------------------|
| superbia | <i>caput</i> (head)                                       | <i>cedrus</i><br>(cedar)       | <i>leo</i> (lion)  | <i>pauo</i><br>(peacock)   |
| invidia  | <i>oculi</i><br>(eyes)                                    | <i>rubus</i><br>(bramble)      | <i>serpens</i><br>(serpent)  | <i>noctua</i> (night-owl)  |
| ira      | <i>dentes</i> (teeth)                                     | <i>r(h)amnus</i><br>(hawthorn) | <i>aper</i><br>(boar)  | <i>cornix</i> (crow)       |
| accidia  | <i>pectus</i> (chest)                                     | <i>coloquintida</i><br>(gourd) | <i>onager</i><br>(wild ass)  | <i>strucio</i> (ostrich)   |
| avaritia | <i>bracchia</i><br><i>et manus</i><br>(arms and<br>hands) | <i>iuniperus</i><br>(juniper)  | <i>uulpis et</i><br>( <i>h</i> ) <i>ericius</i><br>(fox and<br>hedgehog) | <i>coruus</i><br>(raven)   |
| gula     | <i>uenter</i><br>(stomach)                                | <i>salix</i><br>(willow)       | <i>ursus</i><br>(bear)   | <i>miluus</i><br>(kite)    |
| luxuria  | <i>renes</i><br>(kidneys)                                 | <i>urtica</i> (nettle)         | <i>asinus</i><br>(ass)   | <i>passer</i><br>(sparrow) |

plants, and finally with animals and birds as in the following table:<sup>34</sup>

These connections paint a remarkable picture in which the human body becomes a map of depravity,<sup>35</sup> while nature offers figurative parallels of sinful behaviour from among its flora and fauna. These analogies are truly memorable. It is not easy to forget the envy of the coveting eye, the anger of the clenching teeth, or the avarice of the grasping hand. It is even easier to retain in one's memory the image of sloth (*accidia*) as a bitter gourd (*coloquintida* = *colocynthida*) hanging from a vine or an ostrich (*strucio*) suffering from chest pains (*strictio pectoris*). In the case of *luxuria*, the

<sup>34</sup> For the precise Latin text, see the Appendix, sections 1–3: *De significacione septem criminalium uiciorum, Quod septem uicia bestiis possunt adaptari,* and *Simili-tudines eorum in auibus*. Some of Richard's connections between the vices and the various parts of the body are found also in *Sermo* 225 of William of Auvergne (ca. 1180/90–1249); see William of Auvergne, *Sermones de tempore*, ed. Franco Morenzoni, CCCM 230A (Turnhout, 2011), 323.129–152.

<sup>35</sup> It should be mentioned that after the pair *luxuria-renes*, Richard adds also the feet (*pedes*), even though they are not directly linked with any of the vices. He seems to include the feet in this context in order to give a full head to toe coverage of the sinful human body, as seen in Isaiah 1:6, which is also quoted in the text.

vice is linked to the kidneys (*renes*), while in the plant-world it is denoted by the nettle (*urtica*) which, Richard says, shows a lovely green colour on the outside but burns those who touch it.<sup>36</sup> The animal linked with lust is the ass (*asinus*), because this beast has a powerful posterior,<sup>37</sup> and finally, the bird that symbolizes *luxuria* is the sparrow (*passer*), which at first glance might seem a strange likeness until one remembers that in classical mythology this humble avian was the sacred bird of the goddess of carnal love, Aphrodite/Venus. Even if Richard was not aware of this precise association, the link between the sparrow and *luxuria* seems to have been common knowledge in Richard's time. The connection is made explicit by Alexander Neckam († 1217) in his *De naturis rerum*, chap. 60,<sup>38</sup> as well as by Thomas of Chobham († 1233/36), whose sermons Richard seems to have known very well (see also nn. 36 and 37).<sup>39</sup> Richard's own teacher William de Montibus composed verses that characterize *passer* as a fickle, wanton, and litigious bird.<sup>40</sup> Just this one example shows in a striking way

<sup>36</sup> The pairing of *luxuria* and *urtica* is seen also in Thomas de Chobham, *Sermo* 23 (ed. Franco Morenzoni, *Sermones*, CCCM 82A [Turnhout, 1993], 236.130): "Per urticam intellegitur luxuria que pungit et urit." ("The nettle signifies lust which stings and burns.")

<sup>37</sup> On the seven natures of the ass which one by one signify the human flesh, see Thomas de Chobham, *Sermo* 11 (ed. Morenzoni, CCCM 82A:113–14.124–55); *luxu-ria* is connected to the seventh nature of the ass, which is to carry vile loads on the posterior part of its body which is much stronger than its anterior (114.145–49).

<sup>38</sup> Alexander Neckam, *De naturis rerum* 60: *De passere* (ed. Thomas Wright [London, 1863], 109–10). Neckam starts the chapter as follows: "Passer avis est libidinosa." ("The sparrow is a lustful bird.")

<sup>39</sup> Thomas de Chobham, *Sermo* 3 (ed. Morenzoni, CCCM 82A:36.324–28): "Quidam enim fiunt uulpes per dolositatem, quidam leones per ferocitatem, quidam lupi per rapacitatem, quidam porci per uoracitatem, **quidam passeres per luxuriam**, quidam asini per stoliditatem, quidam bubones per inmundiciam qui nidos inquinant, et ita de ceteris." ("Indeed, some become foxes because of deceitfulness, some lions because of ferocity, some wolves because of rapacity, some pigs because of greediness, some sparrows because of lustfulness, some asses because of stupidity, some owls because of uncleanness since they soil their nests, and so on.")

<sup>40</sup> See William de Montibus, *Versarius* (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 186, fol. 91r); the first verse is printed also in Goering, *William de Montibus*, 449:

"Instabilis, pugnans, petulans auis, alta requirens

Est agilis, modica, socialis, garrula passer,

Vilis, et inmundis uescens, et litigiosa,

Apta sacrificis, uastans, intentaque nidis."

("The sparrow is a bird that is fickle, combative, wanton, high-flying, agile, small,

how much meaning was imbedded in these at-first-glance common analogies, a realization that also provides an insight into Richard's vast learning and willingness to enliven his text for the benefit of his audience.

It is worth noting here that the connections between the vices and the human body, on the one hand, and the vices and the plants, on the other, are for the most part inspired by the Bible and supported by biblical quotations, which probably was aimed to provide help to the preacher in the preparation of his sermons.<sup>41</sup> In contrast, the associations with the animals and the birds are not linked to scriptural passages. It is quite likely that at least some of these analogies came from medieval aviaries, bestiaries, and encyclopaedic treatises on nature.<sup>42</sup>

#### **REMEDIES AGAINST THE VICES**

From everything discussed so far, it becomes apparent that evil in its manifestation as immoral behaviour permeates the past and present of human life. This lamentable situation can even become the believer's eternal future, if the sinful thoughts and acts are not combatted vigorously and eradicated in time. But how is this battle to be fought? And is there an effective remedy to this all-encompassing sickness of body and soul? In the previous section dedicated exclusively to *luxuria* Richard already gave a short verse summary on how lust could be diminished and prevented through love of God, fasting, corporeal punishment, spiritual labour, and repression of the senses,<sup>43</sup> but here he introduces a set of exceptional *re*-

sociable, garrulous, cheap, garbage-eating, litigious, suitable for offerings, ravaging, and eager for nests.")

<sup>41</sup> See the notes to the edition of the section entitled *De significacione septem criminalium uiciorum* (Appendix, section 1).

<sup>42</sup> For example, the link between the peacock and *superbia* is found in the *De avibus* of Hugh of Fouilloy (†1172); see Carmen Brown, "Bestiary Lessons of Pride and Lust," in *The Mark of the Beast: The Medieval Bestiary in Art, Life, and Literature,* ed. Debra Hassig (New York and London, 1999), 53–71, at 61–62; and in Alexander Neckam's *De naturis rerum,* chaps. 39 and 90–93 (ed. Wright).

<sup>43</sup> See Cambridge, University Library Add. 3471, fol. 143rb:

Remedia uero contra luxuriam sic retinentur:

Hec celestis amor, ieiunia, uirga, flagella [flagellas MS]

Corporis, ac anime labor, atque repressio sensus,

Et fuga luxurie uires minuando uetabunt.

("Thus the cures against lust can be remembered as follows: Heavenly love, fasting,

*media specialia* for all seven vices which Christ, believed by all to be the greatest physician, administers to the sinners in order to cure them from their deadly transgressions and to secure their salvation and acceptance into the kingdom of Heaven. These remedies are represented first by various elements in the nativity story, and second by events in Christ's passion. Finally, also the believers themselves can contribute to the healing process by various devotional acts preformed during Lent:<sup>44</sup>

| Vice     | Remedy in<br>Nativity                              | Remedy in Passion   | Remedy in Lent                                      |
|----------|--|---|---|
| superbia | Christ is made last from being first               | Christ is hanged with thieves   | applying ashes and washing feet                     |
| invidia  | Christ is born for<br>the salvation of<br>mankind  | Christ prays for his enemies  | lowering of the head                                |
| ira      | Christ is born a small child                       | Christ never<br>responds to the<br>injuries and insults<br>inflicted upon him   | genuflection  |
| accidia  | Christ is born in<br>the harshness of<br>time      | Christ speaks seven<br>times on the cross<br>and resurrects on<br>the third day | processions   |
| avaritia | Christ is born in<br>somebody else's<br>house      | Christ hangs naked,<br>his hands pierced  | giving alms   |
| gula     | Christ lies in the manger                          | Christ suffers of thirst  | fasting   |
| luxuria  | Christ is wrapped<br>in rags and is<br>circumcised | Christ suffers in all<br>his bodily members                                     | lack of food and<br>drink; the veil on the<br>altar |

beating and whipping of the body, labour of the soul, repression of the senses, and avoiding lust will diminish and abolish its forces."

<sup>44</sup> See in the Appendix the sections *Specialia remedia contra uicia capitalia, Item alio modo de eadem ratione*, and *Item de eisdem remediis*.

The medicinal power of Christ's birth, death, and resurrection is indeed unprecedented and immeasurable. By simply being born Christ secures the salvation of mankind, but the circumstances of his miraculous but at the same time humble nativity are linked one by one to each of the seven vices as successful measures that oppose, combat, and cure them. The same is true also for the events of the passion, where everything-from Christ's hanging on the cross among thieves to his patience and benevolence towards his tormentors to his thirst, injuries, nudity, stigmata, and swift resurrection—is again a representation of a different remedy that is to be used to heal each and every one of the capital vices that corrupt the human body and denigrate the human soul. Since the remedies of both the Nativity and Passion are administered by a physician who cannot be surpassed by any medical practitioner and who can never fail in his cures, they do not require complex prescriptions; rather, what is needed for them to be effective is for the believer to remember the events of Christ's life and death and to transform this memory into acts of prayer and fasting, almsgiving and mercy, humility and chastity throughout his entire life but especially during the celebration of Lent. This section in the Qui bene presunt seems to be inspired by Peter Comestor's sermon In quadragesima, where the medicinal power of the Church rituals during Lent is discussed in even more detail.45

It is worth mentioning that also in this context *luxuria* is closely linked with *gula*, since, as the famous saying goes, "Without Ceres and Bacchus [or without food and drink] Venus cools off easily."<sup>46</sup> Still, additional help against the seventh vice is given to the devout by the presence of the veil placed between the congregation and the altar as a reminder to the faithful that in order to avoid temptation one should never look at what should not be desired. This shows once again that lust is a most insidious evil that is difficult to control and even more difficult to eradicate.

<sup>45</sup> See Peter Comestor, *Sermo* 11 (PL 198:1752C–1754C).

<sup>46</sup> This famous quotation from Terence, *Eunuchus* 732, is used often in connection with abstinence during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. It is found, for example, in Jerome's letter 22 to Eustochium; Isidore's first book of the *Etymologies* 1.37.9, where we see the original *Libero* instead of the later rendering *Bacho* with no change in meaning; and Peter Comestor's sermons (see previous note).

#### CONCLUSION

The summa *Qui bene presunt* represents a landmark in the corpus of thirteenth-century pastoral literature. Inspired by the writings of Pope Innocent III and some of the central constitutions of the Fourth Lateran Council, the treatise strives to devise a new approach to clerical education by gathering multiple complex ideas on the care of souls, combining them with practical advice, and enriching them with noteworthy interpretations, memorable verse summaries, and remarkable analogies. Richard is a master of organizing this vast material into easily searchable and logically accessible *distinctiones*-format through which meaning is clarified, intensified, and made useful for the reader.

On the issue of the origin, meaning, and manifestation of evil, the Qui bene presunt offers some striking insights. Because for Richard and his audience the discussion of the seven capital vices represents a topic of central importance which informs the structure and the contents of the treatise, the understanding of evil, not surprisingly, is filtered through this lens. What is novel is that for Richard the vice of *luxuria* in its meaning of sexual excess and deviance becomes the epitome of evil, to which it is linked through the final petition of the Lord's Prayer, "libera nos a malo." This insidious enemy is difficult to withstand because it assails the virtuous man not only when he touches and kisses a woman, but also when he talks to a female, and even when he only catches a glimpse of one.<sup>47</sup> The results are disastrous: the body is polluted and the soul is murdered, riches are consumed and strength is diminished, sight is lost and the voice becomes hoarse,<sup>48</sup> and the fight against such a powerful opponent is impossible to win without help from Christ whose birth and ultimate sacrifice offer a mighty medicine with the power to cure the ailing body, heal the wounded soul, and restore the failing faith. The veil on the altar during Lent provides a reminder to the faithful that they need to be vigilant and cautious because the cunning enemy is ever present and the battle is never ending. In this struggle, however, the hope of attaining eternal happiness after death should be a most worthy incentive.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> See n. 32 above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> "**Effectus luxurie.** Constat [costat MS] enim quod luxuria polluit corpus, adnichilat opes, interficit animam, debilitat uires, uisum orbat et uocem acerbat" (Cambridge, University Library Add. 3471, fol. 143rb).

### APPENDIX

This appendix offers a partial preliminary edition of Richard of Wetheringsett's text on the figurative representations of seven capital vices and their remedies from the fifth distinction of his treatise *Qui bene presunt*. The manuscript used for the edition is Cambridge, University Library Add. 3471 (ca. 1260), fols. 143rb–144ra, which is assigned the *siglum A*. This particular manuscript has been chosen for a number of reasons: 1) its relatively early date; 2) the incipit of the text attributes it to Master Richard, chancellor of Cambridge; 3) the manuscript preserves the original (short) version of the treatise, without any later expansions; and 4) numerous rubrics, which divide the main divisions of the text into shorter and very useful conceptual units, are present in the margins of the codex; these are written by the same hand as the main text, and should thus be considered an important feature in the early transmission of the work. In order to avoid repetition in the critical notes to the edition, the fact that these rubrics (printed in bold) are found in the margins of *A* has not been recorded.

Numerous references to biblical books and chapters are also provided in the margins of *A*, mostly by a later hand. Since these annotations do not provide the verse numbers and sometimes diverge from our modern divisions, precise references are given in the *apparatus biblicus*. Further textual comments are provided in the footnotes.

Finally, the orthography of the edition follows that of *A*, even when it shows inconsistencies. At the same time, obvious errors have been corrected.

#### De significacione septem criminalium uiciorum.

Possunt pretaxata uicia septem capitalia multiplici significari figura. Hec significantur per septem gentes frequenter in scriptura nominatas quas expulerunt Ebrei et loca eorum inhabitabant. | Possunt eciam membris *A* 143va humani corporis adaptari ut scilicet elacio attribuatur capiti, iuxta quod dicitur: *Inicium omnis peccati superbia*; occulis inuidia iuxta quod dicitur:

**3–4** Iud 3:1–5 **6** Ecclesiasticus 10:15

5

**<sup>2</sup>** capitalia] talia *add. A a.c.* figura] fugura *A* **4** Iudic. iii *add. A in marg. a.m.* **6** Ec. iiii *add. A in marg. a.m.* 

Oculus nequam liuidi; dentibus iracundia, secundum quod dicitur: Stridebant dentibus in Stephanum; pectoris striccioni accidia, secundum quod dicitur: Tristicia seculi mortem operatur;<sup>1</sup> brachiis et manibus arriditas auaricie, iuxta quod legitur in Euangelio<sup>2</sup> de habente manum arridam et in Zacharia de pastore stulto: brachium eius arriditate siccabitur; uentri gula et renibus luxuria patet, pedes uero dicuntur moraliter affectus, ut timor et apetitus. Ideo enim peccat homo, quia malum non timet et appetibile cupit. Et de premissis potest illud Ysaie exponi: A planta pedis usque ad uerticem capitis non fuit in eo sanitas.

10

15

Possunt et predicta uicia in arboribus significari, frequenter in scriptura comparantur superbi cedro, unde Ysaias v:<sup>3</sup> *Dies Domini … super omnes cedros sublimes et erectas.* Inuidi comparantur rubo qui lacerat approximantes.<sup>4</sup> Iracundi rampno, de quo ignis egreditur, ut legitur in (libro)

20 Iudicum. Accidiosi comparantur coloquintidis, unde legitur in iiii Regum, quod coniecte in ollam amare sunt inuente quasi mors esset in olla et quasi in continuo tedio et in amaritudine sunt accidiosi. Iunipero comparantur auari, unde et de auaris dicit Iob quod *mandunt arborum cortices et radix* 

8 Ste-7 Ec. xiiii add. A in marg. a.m. 7-8 Ac. vii add. A in marg. a.m. phanum] in eum Vulg. pectoris striccioni accidia] pectori stricto gelicidium accidie A in marg. a.m. striccioni] struccioni A 9 dicitur] ii chor vii add. A in operatur] Prou. xxv: Tristicia uiri mortem operatur add. A in marg. marg. a.m. a.m. [cf. Prov 25:20: Tristitia viri nocet cordi] 10 Euangelio] Luc. vi add. A in 11 Zacharia] xi add. A in marg. a.m. siccabitur] quod add. A marg. a.m. 13 apetitus] affectus A a.c. : corr. A in marg. a.m. 14 Ysaie] ii add. A in marg. 20 Iudicum] ix add. A in marg. a.m. a.m. 15 fuit] est Vulg. coloquintidis] intellege colocynthidis iiii Regum] v add. A sup.l. a.m. 21 ollam] olla A 23 Iob] xxx add. A in marg. a.m. mandunt] mandebant Vulg.

 <sup>7</sup> Ecclesiasticus 14:8
 7–8 Act 7:54
 9 2 Cor 7:10
 11 Zach 11:15–17

 14–15 Is 1:6
 17–18 Is 2:12–13
 19–20 Iud 9:14–15
 20–22 4 Reg 4:39–40

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The annotator seems to have conflated 2 Corinthians 7:10 and Proverbs 25:20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The story of how Jesus, even though it was Sabbath, cured the man with the withered hand is told in Matthew 12:9–13, Mark 3:1–5, and Luke 6:6–10. It is unclear why the annotator has chosen to include a reference only to Luke.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> This is actually Isaiah 2:12–13. There is no marginal note here so perhaps the annotator was unable to identify the correct reference.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> This reference does not seem to be biblical.

*iuniperorum cibus eorum.* Gulosi comparantur salicibus de torrente cuiusmodi circumdant Beethmoth, ut legitur in Iob. Libidinosi comparantur urtice que uiridis est in superficie et urit tangentes, unde in Prouerbis: *Fauus distillans labia meretricis*, et *sunt nouissima eius amara quasi absinthium*.

# Quod septem uicia bestiis possunt adaptari.

Possunt et predicta uicia bestiis assignari, ut leoni superbi, serpenti in-30 uidi, apro iracundi, onagro accidiosi, uulpibus et hericiis auari, ursis gulosi, asinis qui fortes sunt in posterioribus luxuriosi.

# Similitudines eorum in auibus.

Possunt eciam predictorum simili-|tudines in auibus inueniri, ut assimilentur superbi pauonibus, inuidi noctuis, iracundi cornicibus, accidiosi
strucionibus, auari coruis, gulosi miluis, petulantes luxuriosi passeribus. Et ad similitudinem predictorum ad utilitatem audientium adaptatis rerum proprietatibus pro loco et tempore multe comparaciones possunt assignari.

# Specialia remedia contra uicia capitalia.

Specialia uero remedia contra septem capitalia uicia sunt septem peti ciones dominice oracionis et septem dona Spiritus sancti, ut patet in prece dentibus.<sup>5</sup> Valet eciam specialiter consideracio natiuitatis Christi necnon et passionis.

#### Contra superbiam.

In natiuitate enim factus est Christus de primo nouissimus, contra super-45 biam.

**23–24** Iob 30:4 **24–25** Iob 40:17 **26–27** Prov 5:3–4

25 circumdant] circumdat A p.c., Vulg.Iob] xl add. A in marg. a.c.26 Pro-uerbis] v add. A in marg. a.c.27 eius] illius Vulg.29 bestiis] bistiis A a.c.30 hericiis] herinaciis A a.c.34 pauonibus] pauanibus A a.c. : corr. A sup.l. a.m.iracundi] iracucundi A35 strucionibus] intellege struthionibuspasseribus]pasceribus AA

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Here Richard refers to the second and third distinctions. The fourth, fifth, and sixth also deal with sets of seven. See p. 232 n. 4 above.

# Contra inuidiam.

Natus est pro salute hominum, contra inuidiam.

## Contra iracundiam.

Natus est paruulus, contra iracundiam.

# 50 Contra accidiam.

Natus est temporis asperitate, contra accidiam.

### Contra auariciam.

Natus est in alterius diuersorio, contra auariciam que omnia appetit appropriare.

# 55 **Contra gulam.**

Reclinatus est in presepio, contra gulam.

### Contra luxuriam.

Panniculis est inuolutus et eciam circumcisus, contra luxuriam.

#### Item alio modo de eadem racione.

- 60 Item in passione est suspensus uiliter inter latrones, contra superbiam. Orauit pro inimicis, contra inuidiam. Lacessitus multis iniuriis et obprobriis nec uerbum asperum respondit nec semel se mouit, contra iracundiam. Septies in cruce locutus est et cito et uiriliter tercia die resurrexit, contra accidiam. Nudus in cruce pependit et perforatis manibus, contra
- 65 auariciam. In cruce sitiuit, contra castrimargiam. Passus in omnibus membris, contra uoluptatem et luxuriam. Premissis potest adaptari quod dicitur in Trenis sub hac littera: *Thau. Dabis eis scutum cordis laborem tuum. De corde*, ut dicitur in Matheo et Marco, *exeunt* peccata que *coinquinant hominem*, contra que scutum, idest defensio, est considerata Christi passio, ut dicitur aut.
- 70 ut dictum est.

### Item de eisdem remediis.

Et in inicio quadrigesime die cinerum consideratis hiis que aguntur, facile est inuenire remedia contra septem uicia capitalia. In inicio contra

**67** Lam 3:65 **67–69** Mt 15:18, Mc 7:20

**67** Trenis] iii *add*. *A in marg. a.m.* Marco] vii *add*. *A in marg. a.m.* 

68 Matheo] xv add. A in marg. a.m.

superbiam est cineris inposicio et et quia superbia magis infestat contra
eandem in fine quadra-|gesime est pedum ablucio. Contra inuidiam est *A* 144ra capitis inclinacio; non enim libenter intueretur quis illum cui inuideat. Contra iram (est) genuum inflexio; facile enim ad pietatem mouetur cui genua prosternuntur. In quadragesima fiunt processiones et staciones contra accidiam. Elemosine contra auariciam inducuntur. Ieiunia contra gulam
instituuntur. Et facile "sine Cerere et Bacho friget Venus,"<sup>6</sup> et contra Venerem uelum ponitur inter nos et altare ad significandum quod non liceat

intueri quod non licet concupisci.

74 infestat] infistat A a.c.76 intueretur] tueretur A a.c.78 processiones]prostraciones A a.c. : corr. A in marg. a.m.81 altare] altari A a.c m.

<sup>6</sup> Terence, *Eunuchus* 732, but probably borrowed from Peter Comestor. See n. 45 above.

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