# A NEW SOURCE FOR THE *SOMNIUM VIRIDARII:* PIERRE CEFFONS'S *PARVUM DECRETUM**

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O NE of the most prolix, popular, influential, and justly famous political treatises of the Middle Ages is the *Somnium Viridarii,* completed on 26 May 1376 by Evrart de Trémaugon for King Charles V of France and quickly translated into French in 1378 as *Le songe du Vergier,* part of a major translation project at the Valois court.[1] The Latin original survives in at least eight mostly deluxe manuscripts and three early printings, but the French translation is preserved in at least twenty-five medieval codices, a minimum of ten others are known to have existed, and it was printed twice before 1505. Marion Schnerb-Lièvre published an edition of the French text in two volumes in 1982, and later she added an edition of the Latin original in 1993–95, also in two volumes.[2] Recent editing work on the much shorter and practically unknown *Par-*

[1] On this, see now Deborah McGrady, *The Writer's Gift or the Patron's Pleasure? The Literary Economy in Late Medieval France* (Toronto, 2019), and its bibliography, although we do not necessarily agree with her statements about the *Le songe du Vergier* in particular.

[2] *Somnium Viridarii,* ed. Marion Schnerb-Lièvre, 2 vols. (Paris, 1993–95), 1:xiii–xxvii contains a list of manuscripts and editions of the Latin version; Jürgen Miethke, "Die *Octo Quaestiones* Wilhelms von Ockham in zwei unbeachteten Handschriften in Lissabon und Tübingen," *Franciscan Studies* 56 (1998): 291–305, at 297–98, has added a further manuscript to those known to Schnerb-Lièvre. See the last section of this article for a list of witnesses. For manuscripts and editions of the vernacular version, see the introduction to the edition in *Le songe du Vergier, édité d'après le manuscrit Royal 19 C IV de la British Library,* ed. Marion Schnerb-Lièvre, 2 vols. (Paris, 1982), 1:xix–xlii.

*vum Decretum de potestate Sancti Petri* of the Cistercian Pierre Ceffons, written between 1349 and 1353 in Paris, revealed that around two thirds of the *Parvum Decretum* was absorbed into the *Somnium Viridarii* and hence translated into the *Le songe du Vergier,* making Ceffons's text one of the largest single sources used by Evrart. This fact alone justifies a return to the issue of the methodology of composition of the *Somnium Viridarii* and the specific use of the *Parvum Decretum,* the subject of the first two sections of this paper. Because portions of the *Somnium Viridarii* essentially constitute another witness to the *Parvum Decretum,* however, and yet Schnerb-Lièvre did not produce a critical edition of the *Somnium Viridarii* for its own sake, but rather as an ancillary text for understanding the *Le songe du Vergier,* the third section contributes the first real analysis of the manuscript tradition of the *Somnium Viridarii* by presenting the results of a full collation of the sections that include the *Parvum Decretum.*

IN PURSUIT OF THE SOURCES OF THE *SOMNIUM VIRIDARII*

Many studies devoted to the *Somnium Viridarii* are tightly linked to the identification of its sources. This is far from surprising, since the compilative character of this work in dialogue form has been well known to scholars at least since Carl Müller's ground-breaking article of 1877.[3] Müller's main purpose, as he declared at the beginning of the study, was to show that the *Somnium,* despite the high regard in which it was held, is nothing but a compilation, or, to use his own words, a *Mosaikarbeit.*[4] In a long list that occupies more than twelve pages, the German historian enumerated literal (or almost literal) correspondences between chapters of the *Somnium* and other works. Among them one finds outstanding masterpieces of fourteenth-century political theory, such as Marsilius of Padua's *Defensor Pacis* and William of Ockham's *Octo quaestiones*. In his list, Müller also included Michael of Cesena, albeit admitting that the

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[3] Carl Müller, "Über das *Somnium Viridarii*. Beitrag zur Geschichte der Literatur über Kirche und Staat im XIV. Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift für Kirchenrecht* 14 (1877): 134–205.
[4] Ibid., 137.

quotations he had identified from Cesena's *Litterae deprecatoriae*[5] are not verbatim, and this feature differentiates them from the method usually applied by the compiler in the rest of his work.[6]

In an *addendum* to his article, Müller pointed to further information he had collected in Paris, at the Bibliothèque nationale, only after completing his study. In these lines he actually offered a clue for a more precise identification of a source, since he had recognized some similarities between some chapters of the *Somnium* and a treatise contained in the *Chronicle of Nicholas the Minorite*. Unfortunately, he could not proceed beyond these remarks because of the lack of time. The present paper shows that he was indeed close to a discovery.[7]

Although Müller's contribution has been widely recognized as the starting point for an exhaustive investigation into the *Somnium* and its sources, this last suggestion of his was not taken up.[8] His survey of the sources of *Somnium,* however, was improved and supplemented in various respects. For example, as early as 1925–26 George W. Coopland, correcting available evidence and adding new elements, was able to describe the *Somnium*'s debt to the Italian canonist John of Legnano.[9] For his part, the influential French historian of political thought Georges de Lagarde, while commenting on the importance of the *Somnium* for "Gal-

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[5] Michael of Cesena's *Litterae Deprecatoriae* are printed in Melchior Goldast, *Monarchia S. Romani Imperii,* II (Frankfurt, 1614), 1344–60. On this text, see Carlo Dolcini, *Il pensiero politico di Michele da Cesena 1328–1338* (Faenza, 1977), reprinted in idem, *Crisi di poteri e politologia in crisi. Da Sinibaldo Fieschi a Guglielmo d'Ockham* (Bologna, 1988), at 152 and 199–212, with reference to previous scholarship.

[6] Müller, "Über das Somnium," 143–46.

[7] Ibid., 204. Müller had access to the copy of the *Chronicle of Nicholas the Minorite* in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 5154, and found some matches with the *Somnium* in a treatise beginning on fol. 344. See n. 56 below.

[8] François Châtillon, "Notes brèves et premières remarques sur quelques accidents survenus de nos jours dans l'étude du *Somnium Viridarii,*" *Revue du Moyen Âge Latin* 12 (1956): 297–357, has biting remarks about Müller's unfortunate reception among French scholars, especially with Coville and de Lagarde.

[9] George W. Coopland, "An Unpublished Work of John of Legnano, the *Somnium* of 1372," *Nuovi studi medievali* 2 (1925/26): 65–88. The relationship between the *Somnium Viridarii* and John of Legnano is investigated in detail by Diego Quaglioni, "La tipologia del '*Somnium*' nell'ambito del dibattito su scisma e concilio," in *Conciliarismo, stati nazionali, inizi dell'Umanesimo* (Spoleto, 1990), 97–117.

licanism," managed to identify borrowings from Bartolus of Sassofer-rato.[10] Since then, our knowledge of the sources of the *Somnium* has been slowly but continuously advancing.

Understandably, editorial enterprises concerning the *Somnium* were accompanied by an updating of Müller's list. In 1960, Marion Lièvre, who would go on to publish editions of both the French translation *Le songe du Vergier* and the Latin original of the *Somnium Viridarii,* published an article with a new list, encompassing Müller's, Coopland's, de Lagarde's, and her own findings.[11] After 1960, however, new sources came to light.[12] An enriched inventory was included in Schnerb-Lièvre's two-volume edition of the French *Songe,* published in 1982.[13] In her introduction, the editor declares that "tout les sources ne sont pas encore identifiées"[14] and in fact further discoveries are registered in the edition of the Latin *Somnium,* printed again in two volumes more than a decade later. In this version, the list of the sources occupies sixteen pages.[15]

Nevertheless, research into the sources of the *Somnium* was far from over. To mention an excellent example, Lydwine Scordia demonstrated that the *Summa de casibus conscientie* by Astesanus de Asti[16] is among

[10]  Georges de Lagarde, "Le '*Songe du Verger*' et les origines du Gallicanisme," *Revue des Sciences Religieuses* 14 (1934): 1–33; two decades later, Friederich Merzbacher, "Das *Somnium viridarii* von 1376 als Spiegel des gallikanischen Staatskirchenrechts," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte / Kanonistische Abteilung* 42 (1956): 55–72, focused on the concept of "Gallicanism" as it appears in the *Somnium,* without adding further information about its sources.

[11]  Marion Lièvre, "Note sur les sources du *Somnium viridarii* et du *Songe du vergier,*" *Romania* 81 (1960): 483–91; on the biography of this scholar, who devoted most of her research to the *Songe,* see Claude Badalo-Dulong, "Marion Schnerb-Lièvre (1921–2005)," *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 163 (2005): 602–3.

[12]  See, e.g., Beryl Smalley, "Jean de Hesdin: a Source of the *Somnium Viridarii,*" *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 30 (1963): 154–59.

[13]  *Le songe du Vergier,* ed. Schnerb-Lièvre, 1:xliii–xlix.

[14]  Ibid. 1:xlvi.

[15]  *Somnium Viridarii,* ed. Schnerb-Lièvre, 2:527–43; for a balanced but quite critical judgement of Schnerb-Lièvre's editorial choices, see Howard Kaminsky's review in *Speculum* 71 (1996): 1015–19.

[16]  See Roberto Abbondanza, "Astesanus," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 4 (Rome, 1962) https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/astesano_(Dizionario-Biografico)/ (last visited 28/12/2021); Giovanni Ceccarelli, "Usura e casistica cre-

the texts exploited by the *Somnium* in the chapters concerning royal taxation. Moreover, through the mediation of Astesanus's work, which is in turn a compilation, passages from texts by Raymond de Peñafort and Richard of Menneville (a.k.a. Middleton[17]) found their way into the *Somnium*.[18]

One would be mistaken to think that scholarship has limited its efforts to the identification of sources. Leaving aside the thorny question of the relationship between the Latin original and the French version, which need not occupy us here,[19] what has changed is the approach to the *modus operandi* of the author, in the meantime identified as Evrart de Tré-

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ditizia nella '*Summa Astesana*': un esempio di sintesi delle concezioni etico-economiche francescane," in *Ideologia del credito fra Tre e Quattrocento: dall'Astesano ad Angelo da Chivasso. Atti del Convegno internazionale, Asti, 9–10 giugno 2000,* ed. Monica Molina and Giulia Scarcia (Asti, 2001), 15–58.

[17] Sylvain Piron, "Franciscan *Quodlibeta* in Southern *Studia* and at Paris, 1280–1300," in *Theological Quodlibeta in the Middle Ages. The Thirteenth Century,* ed. Chris Schabel (Leiden, 2006), 403–38 (esp. 417–20); idem, "Richard of Mediavilla," in *Encyclopedia of British Philosophy,* ed. A. C. Grayling, Andrew Pyle, and Naomi Goulder (Thoemmes, 2006); Chris Schabel, "Note on the Vernacular Name of *Richardus de Mediavilla:* Of 'Menneville,' Not 'Middleton,'" in *Philosophical Psychology in Late-Medieval Commentaries on Peter Lombard's "Sentences,"* ed. Monica Brînzei and Chris Schabel (Turnhout, 2020), xix–xxii.

[18] Lydwine Scordia, "Les sources du chapitre sur l'impôt dans le *Somnium Viridarii,*" *Romania* 117 (1999): 115–42.

[19] For example, Jean-Pierre Royer, *L'Église et le royaume de France au XIVe siècle d'après le "Songe du Vergier" et la jurisprudence du Parlement* (Paris, 1969), maintains that the *Somnium* and the *Songe* support different political views; other specialists, among them Georges de Lagarde and Marion Schnerb-Lièvre, think that the *Somnium* in Latin was the first draft (*brouillon*) of the French text. This persuasion can explain the idea of editing first the *Songe* and only later the *Somnium,* which had been, by common consensus, written earlier. This is in all likelihood the reason an entire section of the critical apparatus in Schnerb-Lièvre's edition of the Latin *Somnium* is devoted to a comparison with the *Songe,* listing omissions, additions, and changes that occurred in the process of the translation into French. Jeannine Quillet was deeply indebted to this approach too. Otherwise, it would be difficult to understand why she devoted a monograph expressly to the political philosophy of the *Songe du Vergier,* the adaptation in the French vernacular of the Latin original; Jeannine Quillet, *La philosophie politique du Songe du Vergier. Sources doctrinales* (Paris, 1977).

maugon.[20] The image of the "mosaic" used by Müller, as with many metaphors, captures only part of the truth, since it seems to suggest that Evrart limited himself to assembling previously existing tiles (*tesserae*) into a work he had already designed. As Diego Quaglioni has shown in relation to Bartolus de Sassoferrato, Evrart's compilation is often the result of a very selective operation.[21] Although quoted verbatim, or almost verbatim, the sources are not always inserted as blocks in a mechanical way but undergo some process of adaptation for the author's purposes. From this viewpoint, Lagarde was right in writing of "ciseaux":[22] the *Somnium* can be seen as the result of a "cut-and-paste" technique that many centuries later would become ubiquitous with the diffusion of word processing.[23]

Such remarks do not imply that it is legitimate to speak of "originality" in the modern sense of the word. As Jürgen Miethke has pointed out, Evrart's aim (according to the wishes of his king, Charles V) was not to make an original contribution to the discussion, but to cast in dialogue form a sort of "encyclopedia" of the debate about the relationship between spiritual and temporal power. Compilations similar to the *Somnium* fulfilled an important function in late-medieval learning, which is confirmed also in this case by the number of the extant manuscripts. Given the length of this dialogue**,** eight surviving manuscript copies suggests a rather lively interest in the work even outside the royal court, not to mention the more extensive manuscript tradition of the vernacular version.[24]

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[20]  Marion Schnerb-Lièvre, "Évrart de Trémaugon et le Songe du Vergier," *Romania* 101 (1980): 527–30; see also Evrart de Trémaugon, *Trois leçons sur les Décrétales,* ed. Marion Schnerb-Lièvre (Paris, 1998).

[21]  Diego Quaglioni, "'Somnium Viridarii' I, CXXXIV: una fonte, un errore, alcune varianti," *Bullettino dell'Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo e Archivio muratoriano* 91 (1984): 441–51; Royer, *L'Église et le royaume,* 60, had written of a "usage savant d'emprunts."

[22]  Lagarde, "Le 'Songe du Verger,'" 8.

[23]  Smalley, "John of Hesdin," 156: "scissors-and-paste method."

[24]  Jürgen Miethke**,** "Théorie politique dans les dialogues bilingues au XIVe siècle: Public et fonction du 'Somnium Viridarii' ou 'Songe du Vergier' d'Évrart de Trémaugon," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 231 (2014): 275–92.

## THE *SOMNIUM VIRIDARII* AND THE *PARVUM DECRETUM*

As noted above, the compilative nature of the *Somnium Viridarii,* which contributed to its success, implies that progress in our knowledge of late-medieval writings can lead to the discovery of unrecognized sources. This is the case with Pierre Ceffons: in the context of a wider project concerning this prolific Cistercian theologian, active at Paris in the late 1340s and early 1350s,[25] we have unearthed a hitherto unknown source of the *Somnium.* As is clear from its incipit, "Circa 18 distinctionem quarti *Sententiarum,* in qua de potestate ministrorum Ecclesiae tractatur," this source was originally composed as a *quaestio* to be inserted into Ceffons's questions on book IV of the *Sentences,* ostensibly based on lectures given in the first half of 1349. There is little indication that the *Lectura* on the *Sentences* ever circulated beyond a couple of Cistercians with access to the only known witness, the presentation copy made for the abbot of Clairvaux, now Troyes, Médiathèque Jacques Chirac 62.[26] The text's later reception is thus mainly due to its circulation as an independent text under the title *Parvum Decretum de potestate Sancti Petri.*[27] The *Parvum Decretum* asks *Utrum summi pontificis auctoritas*

[25] See Chris Schabel, *Pierre Ceffons et le déterminisme radical au temps de la peste noire* (Paris, 2019), but also "*Lucifer princeps tenebrarum...* The *Epistola Luciferi* and Other Correspondence of the Cistercian Pierre Ceffons (fl. 1348–1353)," *Vivarium* 56 (2018): 126–75, and "Pierre Ceffons," in *Encyclopedia of Medieval Philosophy,* ed. Henrik Lagerlund, 2nd ed. (Heidelberg, 2020), 1516b–20a. The project builds on the pioneering work of Damasus Trapp, "Peter Ceffons of Clairvaux," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 24 (1957): 101–54.

[26] Schabel, *Pierre Ceffons,* 19–35. The edition of the old catalogue of the Dominican convent of Vienna in Theodor Gottlieb, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Österreichs. I. Band. Niederösterreich* (Vienna, 1915), 355.8–15 and 357.30–358.2, refers to two lost manuscripts that contained, among other things, the questions on the *Sentences* of *Petrus Bernhardita.* As is clear from the descriptions, however, in one case the Cistercian John of Mirecourt is meant and in the other there is most likely a similar error, *pace* Friedrich Stegmüller, *Repertorium Commentariorum in Sentenias Petri Lombardi,* 2 vols. (Würzburg, 1947), 1: 321–22, who was followed by Schabel, *Pierre Ceffons,* 57.

[27] Schabel, *Pierre Ceffons,* 50–54. We have found that, around 1370, the Augustinian John Hiltalingen of Basel cited Ceffons's text three times in his unpublished *Decem responsiones,* question 3, once as "Petrus Claraevallensis in sua *Lectura Sententiarum*." On the *Parvum Decretum,* aside from the studies in the

*super principes saeculares aliqualiter in temporalibus se extendat* and discusses it according to the usual pattern. After the first group of *pro* and *contra* arguments, Ceffons divides the question into three distinctions, concluding in support of an affirmative answer: papal authority over the secular princes does extend to temporal matters.

Verbatim matches between the *Somnium Viridarii* and *Parvum Decretum* can be ascertained already in the *Prologus* of Trémaugon's work. As is well known, this opening section reproduces long passages from another "dream," written by John of Legnano as recently as 1372. This use of the Bolognese canonist can be seen as a sort of homage by Evrart to his former teacher, where the model, more than copied, is skilfully adapted to a different purpose.[28] In this way, John of Legnano's two weeping queens, canon and civil law, asking Pope Gregory XI for help against the attacks of artists and theologians,[29] are transformed into *Potestas spiritualis* and *Potestas saecularis,* who complain to King Charles V of the quarrels and altercations between their respective servants. The speech of the queens to the king incorporates excerpts taken from John of Hesdin[30] and an invective against clerics that matches almost completely a passage of the *protestatio* that Pierre Ceffons inserts in his *divisio quaestionis,* even including the same verses from Walter of Châtillon's *Alexandreis* and the same quotation from Horace. Whereas the criticism of the *Parvum Decretum* is directed solely to the clergy, however, the *Somnium Viridarii* adds a jibe against noblemen, an impartiality that is more appropriate for a complaint common to both queens.[31]

previous note, see Constantin Teleanu, "Lucifer et son vicaire: le mélange du pouvoir de l'état à l'autocratie de l'église selon Pierre de Ceffons," in *Legitimation of Political Power in Medieval Thought,* ed. Celia López Alcalde, Josep Puig Montada, and Pedro Roche Arnas (Turnhout, 2018), 405–22, at 411–13 and 419–21.

[28] An edition of John of Legnano's *Somnium* is available in a very rare volume: Giovanni da Legnano, *Somnium,* ed. Giulietta Voltolina (Legnano, 2004). For a recent synthesis on this prolific author and influential politician, see Berardo Pio, *Giovanni da Legnano. Un intellettuale nell'Europa del Trecento* (Bologna, 2018).

[29] See Helmut G. Walther, "Giuristi contro teologi. Il contesto storico della nascita della facoltà di teologia dell'Università di Bologna," *Memorie domenicane* 45 (2014): 29–42.

[30] Smalley, "Jean of Hesdin," 156–58.

[31] *Parvum Decretum,* Divisio quaestionis et protestatio: "plurimi qui sunt de Ecclesia odiunt Ecclesiam, a qua tamen plurima bona recipiunt et ad altiora totis

This coincidence alone, of course, would be insufficient for claiming that the author of the *Somnium* drew on the *Parvum Decretum,* but further reading into his compilation only corroborates what is already suggested by the prologue. As is well known, in the first part of the *Somnium,* the uneven chapters mainly correspond to arguments put forward by the cleric. Chapters 61, 63, and 65 reproduce, with a slight change in their order, the three *rationes quod sic* that open the *Parvum Decretum*. The following chapters from 67 to 73 are taken with some minor modifications from distinction 1, chapter 1, of the *Parvum Decretum,* where the *rationes* appear in the same order as the *Somnium* chapters. We are aware of the fact that Marion Schnerb-Lièvre, albeit cautiously, had stressed a similarity here with the text known as the *Quaestio de potestate papae: Rex pacificus*. For example, in the apparatus for chapter 71 she writes: "quelques passages sont emprunté à la *Quaestio* III de la *Quaestio de potestate*."[32] In fact, in this context Evrart has the cleric putting forward some stock-in-trade arguments that are repeated in different forms in many texts belonging to the *de potestate papae* genre. In this case, a synopsis shows that the *Parvum Decretum* and the *Somnium Viridarii* are definitely closer:

| *Rex pacificus* | *Parvum Decretum* I.1 | *Somnium Viridarii* I.71 |
|---|---|---|
| Item nullus potest aliquem deponere a dominio temporali, nisi sit eius dominus temporalis. Sed Zacharias Papa de- | Ex his argui potest quod, si eos deponere potest, habet iurisdictionem aliquam super eos et, si eos privare | Ex hoc argui potest quod si eos deponere potest, habet iurisdictionem aliquam super eos. Et si privare potest |

adhuc anhelant conatibus, quorum plures libenter iurisdictionem extinguerent Ecclesiae, si possent, a qua tamen pro beneficiis et patrocinio frequenter recurrunt, idcirco contra eos volo partem affirmativam quaestionis aliquantulum colorare"; Evrart has taken the first part verbatim from Ceffons, until "si possent," adding a critique of the temporal officers; see *Somnium Viridarii,* Prologue (ed. Schnerb-Lièvre, 1:6): "Sunt enim plurimi ministri qui sunt de Ecclesia qui, tamen odiunt Ecclesiam a qua plurima bona recipient et ad alteriora totis adhuc hanelant conatibus, quorum plures juridiccionem extinguerent Ecclesie si possent. Sic sunt plurimi in gremiis dominorum secularium enutriti, sed ut mus in pera, serpens in gremio, ignis in sinu suis se consueverunt hospitibus exhibere"; "alteriora" is obviously an unhappy choice of the editor.

[32] *Somnium Viridarii* I.71 (ed. Schnerb-Lièvre, 1:84), where "*quaestio* III" must be corrected to "*ratio* III."

posuit regem Francorum Childericum, sicut habetur 15 q. 1, Alius item. Et Innocentius IV deposuit Imperatorem Fredericum. Ergo papa habet temporale dominium super Regem Franciae, et imperatorem. Et si super istos ergo et super omnes alios: cum isti sint maiores in temporalibus omnibus Christianis.[33]

potest temporali gladio et temporalibus, quod ei aliquo modo subsunt in temporalibus.

Et notetur quod non solum istum leguntur summi pontifices deposuisse, sed alios principes. Taceo de imperatore Frederico et aliquibus aliis de quorum statu possent nonnulla ad hanc materiam pertinenter adduci.

Item, distinctione 96, capitulo "Si imperator," dicitur: "Episcopis caput subdere principem solitum est, non de eorum capitibus iudicare."

temporali gladio, et temporalibus quae ei aliquo modo subsunt.

Et notetur quod non solum istum leguntur summi pontifices deposuisse, sed etiam alios, quod de imperatore Frederico et pluribus aliis planum est.

Item, XCVI distinctione, capitulo "Imperator," dicitur episcopis caput subdere principem solitum est et non de eorum capitibus iudicare.

Usually, the compiler limits himself to adjusting the form of the *rationes* to the framework of a dialogue, but sometimes he slightly rephrases the argument. Some of his interventions are more concerned with the content. For example, at chapter 67, "Claraevallensis abbas venerabilis beatus Bernardus pater noster," which is more than understandable in Ceffons's text, perhaps originally part of his *Lectura* on the *Sentences* delivered in early 1349 at the Bernardins in Paris,[34] becomes an ordinary "Beatus Bernardus," and the same thing happens in the same context to "abbas noster."[35] Chapters 75–81 of *Somnium Viridarii* I reproduce the arguments listed in *Parvum Decretum,* distinction 1, chapter 2, which, unlike those given in chapter 1, rely not on *auctoritates,* but mainly on *ratio*. In this way, a passage from the late thirteenth-century Augustinian

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[33] *Quaestio de potestate papae: Rex pacificus,* in *Quaestio de Potestate Papae (Rex Pacificus) / an Enquiry into the Power of the Pope. A Critical Edition and Translation,* ed. and trans. Robert W. Dyson (Lewiston, N.Y., 1999), 6.

[34] Schabel, *Pierre Ceffons,* 19.

[35] *Somnium Viridarii* I.67 and 79 (ed. Schnerb-Lièvre).

theologian James of Viterbo becomes one of the few sources explicitly cited by the *Somnium,*[36] but only indirectly through the *Parvum Decretum*. The compiler omits Ceffons's rhetorical reference to himself by hypothetical critics: "Insanis Petre! Litterae non intellectae in insaniam te convertunt!" but he retains a very long quotation from James's Parisian *Quodlibet* I, question 17.[37] In chapter 79 Evrart modifies a legal quotation, switching from canon law to civil law. As a doctor *in utroque iure,* he is likely to have felt that civil law would be more "to the point," that is, that all temporal rulers are subject to the emperor:

| *Parvum Decretum* I.2 | *Somnium Viridarii* I.79 |
|---|---|
| … imperator subest papae et iurat papae oboedientiam, ut patet satis in Decretis, et sic de iure sibi subest, et per consequens multo magis alii terreni principes, qui sibi subsunt a iure, 7, quaestione 1, "In apibus." | … imperator subest papae et iurat ei oboedientiam, per consequens et multo magis alii terreni reges et principes universi qui sibi iure communi subsunt, lege Bene a Zenone, capitulo "De quadrienni praescriptione"; lege Deprecatio Eudaemonis, ff. "Ad legem Rodiam de iactu." |

To sum up, a whole series of interventions by the cleric in book I of the *Somnium Viridarii* depend on *Parvum Decretum,* distinction 1, where Ceffons gathers arguments in favor of the affirmative answer to the main question he is discussing, i.e., whether papal authority over secular princes also involved temporal matters.

In book II of the *Somnium Viridarii,* the compilation becomes more sophisticated, because the first 74 chapters are taken mainly from *distinctiones* 2 and 3 of the *Parvum Decretum* (although three arguments are taken from the *rationes generales in oppositum*), according to the

[36]  Ibid. I.77 and 88–90 (ed. Schnerb-Lièvre).

[37]  Iacobus de Viterbio, *Quodlibet* I, q. 17, a. 1, in *Jacobi de Viterbio O.E.S.A. disputatio prima de quolibet,* ed. Eelcko Ypma (Würzburg, 1968), 208–11.49–127. Mostly known for his treatise *De regimine Christiano* (1302) in defense of Boniface VIII, the Augustinian friar James of Viterbo had previously expressed his political views in his Parisian *quodlibeta;* see, e.g., Karl Ubl, "Johannes Quidorts Weg zur Sozialphilosphie," *Francia* 30 (2003): 43–72, especially 54–57.

following pattern, with minor exceptions.[38] The arguments corroborating the negative answer, contained in distinction 2, are put forward by the knight, who, according to the prologue, in *Somnium* II plays the role of the *opponens*.[39] Ceffons's *solutiones* to the arguments, which make up the content of distinction 3, become the answers given by the cleric, the *respondens* of *Somnium* II. In this way, two large portions of a *quaestio* are taken apart and restructured as a dialogue.

Transforming series of *rationes* and their *solutiones* into a sort of debate does not entail, for Evrart, a mechanical transposition, where the dialogue follows slavishly the order of the arguments of the *quaestio*. In some cases, he moves an argument from one context to another. For example, in chapter 4 of the *Somnium Viridarii* II, after the knight puts forward a *ratio principalis in oppositum* of the *Parvum Decretum* (based on the famous and much debated passage in Matthew 17:24–27 where Jesus and Peter pay the tax with a coin found in a fish), for the cleric's response Evrart resorts to a passage taken from a different discussion in a different context, more canonical then exegetical.[40] At the beginning of distinction 3, in fact, Ceffons discusses at length a quite complex argument that he himself describes as consisting of two canons from the *Decretum Gratiani* and the respective *glossae*. The *Glossa ordinaria* on the *Decretum,* distinction 10, canon 8, siding in this case with the supporters of the autonomy of secular powers, refers to the fact that, according to another canon (namely, causa 11, question 1, canon 28[41]), churches do pay taxes to the emperor.[42] Countering this very passage, the Cistercian theologian employs the argument that Evrart inserts in the exegetical dis-

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[38] To mention one example, the first paragraphs of *Somnium Viridarii* II.38 (ed. Schnerb-Lièvre, 2:20–21) do not depend on the *Parvum Decretum*. Although this escaped previous scholarship, Evrart's source for this passage is in all probability John Buridan, *Quaestiones super decem libros Ethicorum* VIII, q. 15 (Paris, 1513), clxxxi(d)–clxxxii(a–c).

[39] *Somnium Viridarii,* Prologus (ed. Schnerb-Lièvre, 1:9).

[40] *Somnium Viridarii* II.4 (ed. Schnerb-Lièvre, 2:5).

[41] *Glossa ordinaria in Decretum,* c. 11, q. 1, can. 28, in *Corpus Iuris Canonici* I (Rome, 1582), col. 1202.

[42] *Glossa ordinaria in Decretum,* d. 10, can. 8, ad verbum "discrevit," in *Corpus Iuris Canonici* I (Rome, 1582), col. 43.

cussion on Matthew 17.[43] The following chapters, in which the *clericus* responds, draw heavily on the beginning of Ceffons's distinction 3, but the issue of taxes does not come to the fore, most probably because it would be redundant.[44] Examples of the same sort could be multiplied, but would not add much to the finding that the author of *Somnium Viridarii* made extensive use of the *Parvum Decretum* without feeling the need to respect the structure of his source.

It is not surprising that the compiler makes major and minor modifications with respect to the *Parvum Decretum* in *Somnium* II as well. Evrart suppresses, for example, internal references to the structure of the question.[45] Sometimes he adds a final sentence that summarizes the core of the argument, as in chapter 33.[46] As in *Somnium* I, one notes the insertion of references to civil law that are lacking in *Parvum Decretum,* as in chapter 22:

| *Parvum Decretum* | *Somnium Viridarii* II.22 |
|---|---|
| hic posset dici faciliter quod consequentia non efficaciter probatur, nam rex vel imperator, esto quod sit dominus in temporalibus super principes alios et burgenses, non tamen potest | Sic potest dici faciliter quod consequentia efficaciter non probatur, nam rex vel imperator, esto quod sit dominus in temporalibus super principes alios et burgenses, non tamen potest |

[43] *Parvum Decretum,* d. 3, c. 1: "Hic patet primo intuenti profunde quod hoc non infringit quin papa sit dominus in temporalibus, quia ecclesia aliqua subiecta papae posset solvere alicui subiecto papae aliquod tributum. Dico etiam cum aliis quod ecclesiae solvunt tributum imperatori non in signum dominii, sed pro pace et quiete."

[44] A peculiar transmission accident could have contributed to the obliteration of the issue in the taxes paid to emperors in *Somnium Viridarii* II.8 (ed. Schnerb-Lièvre, 2:8); here in fact the cleric responds to an argument of the knight (c. 7, 2:7), where the quotation of the *Glossa* is completely mistaken: "Glossa dicit XI, q. 1. c. Magnum: Ego credo potestates esse distinctas, licet Papa quandoque utramque potestatem assumat sibi etc." While, as seen above, the canon c. 11, q. 1, can. 28, refers to taxes, the quoted text is a passage from the *glossa* on another canon, namely d. 10, can. 8. The confusion did not originate in the *Parvum Decretum,* d. 3, c. 1, where the quotations are correct.

[45] *Somnium Viridarii* II.6 and 8 (ed. Schnerb-Lièvre); after the word *sciendum,* in the *Parvum decretum* one reads: "sicut ex verbis cuiusdam doctoris superius allegatis trahi potest."

[46] Cf. *Somnium Viridarii* II.33 (ed. Schnerb-Lièvre, 2:19): "Clare igitur Romanus Pontifex concludit quod Rex prerogativam habet in temporalibus."

de eorum bonis pro suae disponere beneplacito voluntatis. Dicitur etiam quod in casu exigente causa rationabili papa potest fundare ecclesiam aliquam de bonis alicuius militis vel burgensis. Haec etiam, inquam, et maiora licerent papae in casu.

de eorum bonis pro suae disponere beneplacito voluntatis. Dicerem tamen quod, exigente causa rationabili, papa posset fundare ecclesiam de bonis alicuius militis vel burgensis, quia et maiora licerent papae, secundum quod et princeps temporalis, in casu, potest bona subditorum militibus assignare, l. Si fundus, ff. De evictionibus; l. Item si verberatum, in fine, ff. Ad legem Acquiliam.

Chapter 2 of distinction 2 of the *Parvum Decretum* mainly consists of arguments that Ceffons declares to have found in a quire; he suspects that they could go back to Marsilius of Padua and John of Jandun, or to one of their supporters. Upon closer scrutiny it emerges that the *quaternus* mentioned by Ceffons must have contained at least a section of the treatise known as *Allegationes de potestate imperiali*. This text belongs to the impressive literary output of the group gathered around the deposed Franciscan Minister General Michael of Cesena after his rebellion against the Avignon papacy, and it has been attributed to various figures of that milieu, among them Francis of Marchia and William of Ockham. After a painstaking investigation, Hilary S. Offler came to the conclusion that the *Allegationes* cannot be attributed to anyone with precision, although friars such as Bonagratia of Bergamo and William of Ockham are likely to have exerted some influence on the text.[47] Offler therefore decided to include the *Allegationes* among Ockham's *Dubia et Spuria,* volume IV of the *Opera Politica,* which was published only posthumously.[48]

More pertinent to our present purposes, through the mediation of Ceffons's *Parvum Decretum,* arguments taken from the *Allegationes* were incorporated, with some modifications, into *Somnium* II as the odd-numbered chapters 39–73, i.e., 39, 41, 43 (in part), 45, 47, 49, 51, 53, 55, 57, 59, 61, 63, 65, 67, 69, 71, and 73. Ceffons did not leave these *rationes*

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[47] Hilary S. Offler*, "*Zum Verfasser der 'Allegaciones de potestate imperiali' (1338)," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 42 (1986): 555–619.

[48] *Allegationes de potestate imperiali,* in William of Ockham, *Opera politica* IV, ed. Hilary S. Offler (Oxford, 1997), 367–444.

unanswered: his counterarguments, collected in distinction 2, chapter 2, were inserted into *Somnium* II in the even-numbered chapters, where the cleric defends his position. Towards the end of distinction 3, chapter 2, Ceffons thinks that he has sufficiently answered the arguments of the "quire" and ceases to respond separately to each objection, instead offering a comprehensive confutation of the *rationes* put forward by his counterpart. Not by chance, therefore, some of the interventions of the cleric (see especially chapters 58, 64, and 72) reveal no correspondence to *Parvum Decretum,* but are limited to very short remarks, referring to what has already been said before: "ut prius," "ut supra." Lacking a direct textual basis, in some cases Evrart assembles the cleric's answers by drawing on different contexts of the *Parvum Decretum*. The most telling example is in chapter 74: here the *clericus* counters an objection based on Pseudo-Chrysostomus's commentary on Matthew, where the anonymous author stressed the fact that the three Kings (Magi) were in search of a spiritual lord, not a temporal one. To corroborate the cleric's claim that Christ's kingship is both temporal and spiritual, Evrart does not draw anymore on distinction 3, but goes back to distinction 2, where Ceffons had inserted a quotation from John Baconthorpe's relatively recent canonical questions on book IV of the *Sentences*.[49] More precisely, the quoted text derives from question 11 of the prologue, where the Carmelite master maintains that Christ as a human being enjoyed a universal temporal lordship.[50] In this way, albeit tacitly and indirectly, one of the

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[49] Iohannes Baconis, *In quartum librum Sententiarum* (quaestiones canonicae), Prologus, q. 11, aa. 1–3 (Venice, 1526), vol. 2, fols. 81vb–82ra. Walter Ullmann devoted a seminal study to Baconthorpe's canonist learning as it emerges from these questions: "John Baconthorpe as a Canonist," in *Church and Government in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Christopher R. Cheney,* ed. Christopher N. L. Brooke et al. (Cambridge, 1976), 223–46; Baconthorpe's attitude to the canonist tradition is further developed by Takashi Shogimen, "The Relationship between Theology and Canon Law: Another Context of Political Thought in the Early Fourteenth Century," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 60 (1999): 417–31.

[50] See Thomas Turley, "Tradition, Papal Power, and John Baconthorpe," *Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law* 12 (1982): 81–89; idem, "*Ab apostolorum temporibus*. The Primitive Church in the Ecclesiology of Three Medieval Carmelites," in *Studia in honorem Alphonsi M. Stickler,* ed. Rosalio Castillo Lara (Rome, 1992), 559–80, at 574–76.

most prominent supporters of papal theocracy in the first half of the four-teenth century also finds his place among the sources of the *Somnium*.[51]

The following correspondence table lists the passages of the *Parvum Decretum* that are partially or fully copied or paraphrased into the *Somnium Viridarii* (SV) according to book and chapter (e.g., SV.I.LXIII):

| *Parvum Decretum*<br>Preliminaries and d. 1 | *Parvum Decretum*<br>distinctions 2 and 3 | |
|---|---|---|
| | ⟨**Distinctio 2**⟩ | ⟨**Distinctio 3**⟩ |
| ⟨Rationes principales sic⟩ | ⟨Capitulum 1⟩ | ⟨Capitulum 1⟩ |
| SV.I.LXIII | ⟨Auctoritates | SV.II.VI.1–3 |
| SV.I.LXI | negativa⟩ | SV.II.XII |
| SV.I.LXV | SV.II.V | SV.II.VI.4 |
| ⟨Oppositum⟩ | SV.II.VII | SV.II.VIII |
| SV.II.I.B | SV.II.IX | SV.II.IIII.3 |
| SV.II.III | SV.II.XI | SV.II.X |
| SV.II.V | SV.II.XIII | SV.II.XIIII |
| ⟨Divisio quaestionis⟩ | SV.II.XV | SV.II.XVI |
| SV.Prol.24 | SV.II.XVII | SV.II.XVIII |
| SV.Prol.25–28 | SV.II.XIX | SV.II.XX |
| | SV.II.XXI | SV.II.XXII |
| ⟨**Distinctio 1**⟩ | SV.II.XXIII | SV.II.XXIIII |
| ⟨Capitulum 1⟩ | SV.II.XXV | SV.II.XXVI |
| ⟨Auctoritates...affirmativa⟩ | SV.II.I.suite | SV.II.II |
| SV.I.LXVII | SV.II.XXVII | SV.II.XXVIII |
| SV.I.LXIX | SV.II.XXIX | SV.II.XXX |
| SV.I.LXXI | SV.II.XXXIII | SV.II.XXXIIII |
| SV.I.LXXIII | SV.II.XXXV | SV.II.XXXVI |
| | SV.II.XXXVII | SV.II.XXXVIII.4–5 |

[51] See Eugenio Randi, "Baconthorpe politico. Il commento a *De civitate Dei* XIX dal ms. parigino lat. 9540," *Acme. Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università degli Studi di Milan*o 35 (1982): 127–52, at 146–50; Alain Boureau, "L'Immaculée Conception de la souveraineté. John Baconthorpe et la théologie politique (1325–1345): Postille sur Bernard Guenée, entre L'Église et l'État, p. 189–201," in *Saint-Denis et la royauté: Études offertes à Bernard Guenée,* ed. Françoise Autrand, Claude Gauvard, and Jean-Marie Moeglin (Paris, 1999), 733–49, a revised version of which is available in Alain Boureau, *La religion de l'état. La construction de la République étatique dans le discours théologique de l'Occident medieval (1250–1350*) (Paris, 2008), 236–52.

| ⟨Capitulum 2⟩ | ⟨Capitulum 2⟩ | ⟨Capitulum 2⟩ |
|---|---|---|
| ⟨Rationes…affirmativa⟩ | ⟨Dicta…negativa⟩ | ⟨Ad…negativa⟩ |
| SV.I.LXXV | SV.II.XXXIX | SV.II.XL |
| SV.I.LXXVII | SV.II.XLI | SV.II.XLII |
| SV.I.LXXIX | SV.II.XLIII | |
| SV.I.LXXXI.1 | SV.II.XLV | SV.II.XLVI |
| (SV skips Baconthorpe) | SV.II.XLVII | SV.II.XLVIII |
| | SV.II.XLIX + LI | SV.II.L |
| | SV.II.LIII | SV.II.LIIII |
| | SV.II.LV | SV.II.LVI |
| | SV.II.LVII | |
| | SV.II.LIX | SV.II.LX-suite |
| | | SV.II.IIII.1–2 |
| | | SV.II.LX.suite |
| | SV.II.LXI | SV.II.LXII |
| | SV.II.LXIII | SV.II.LXXII |
| | SV.II.LXV | SV.II.LXVI |
| | SV.II.LXVII | |
| | SV.II.LXIX | |
| | SV.II.LXXI | |
| | SV.II.LXXIII | |
| | ⟨Determinatio Bacon⟩ | |
| | SV.II.LXXIIII | |

The preceding review should have provided sufficient evidence that Evrart de Trémaugon indeed exploited, and at length, Pierre Ceffons's *Parvum Decretum*. At the same time, a more nuanced image of Evrart's "art of compilation" has emerged. Although quoted verbatim, or almost verbatim, his sources are not inserted as blocks in a mechanical way, but quite frequently undergo some process of adaptation to the purposes of the author: he abbreviates, summarizes, inserts additions, or combines two sources to build a new textual unity. From this perspective, the *Somnium Viridarii* can really be seen as the result of a sophisticated "scissors-and-paste method," as Beryl Smalley put it.[52] In 1934, George de Lagarde wrote, rather optimistically, that the evidence collected by Mül-

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[52]  Smalley, "Jean of Hesdin," 156.

ler was going to be completed "dans un proche avenir."[53] In 2021, revealing Evrart de Trémaugon's dependence on Pierre Ceffons's *Parvum Decretum* is surely a major step forward, but we suspect that much is still to be done.

Unlike Evrart, the Cistercian theologian quotes explicitly some of his sources, among them James of Viterbo and John Baconthorpe. As noted above, Ceffons also mentions a quire he tentatively attributes to Marsilius of Padua or John of Jandun, or to one of their supporters. In preparing his excellent critical edition of the *Allegationes,* Offler established the existence of two redactions, respectively called "G" and "Z." "Z" is witnessed by manuscripts carrying the longer version of the so-called *Chronicle of Nicholas the Minorite.*[54] A recent note presents evidence that Ceffons had access to redaction "Z" of the *Allegationes,* or at least part of it, a version witnessed by only two manuscripts: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 4008, and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 5154.[55]

In this way, we are back to the traces that Müller could not follow during his stay in Paris. He was right in noticing the literal (*wörtlich*) correspondence between that treatise[56] and the *Somnium Viridarii.* He could not have known, however, that the relationship was mediated by Pierre Ceffons's *Parvum Decretum.*

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[53]  Lagarde, "Le 'Songe du Verger,'" 4.

[54]  *Nicolaus Minorita, Chronica: Documentation on Pope John XXII, Michael of Cesena and the Poverty of Christ with Summaries in English. A Source Book,* ed. Gedeon Gál and David Flood (St. Bonaventure, N.Y., 1996); "Z" is also edited from Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 5154, under the title *Tractatus de potestate papae,* in this meritorious "sourcebook" at 1163–1227.

[55]  Chris Schabel and Roberto Lambertini, "New Evidence for the Reception of the Michaelist Treatise *Allegationes de potestate imperiali* (1338–39): The *Parvum Decretum* of Pierre Ceffons and the *Somnium Viridarii,*" *Picenum Seraphicum* 34 (2020): 173–78.

[56]  See above, n. 7. Curiously enough, some years later, Karl (he did not sign "Carl" as in his 1877 article) Müller, offering a survey of the context of the Paris manuscript, again mentioned the text he had noticed during his visit, judging it, however, completely devoid of interest: "Einige Aktenstücke und Schriften zur Geschichte der Streitigkeiten unter den Minoriten in der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 6 (1884): 63–112, at 77 and 102–3.

THE *PARVUM DECRETUM* AND THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION OF THE
*SOMNIUM VIRIDARII*

In terms of verbatim sources used in compiling the *Somnium Viridarii,* William of Ockham's political works are the most prevalent. Three Pierre's vie for second place, Pierre Bertrand, Pierre de Cugnières, and Pierre Ceffons, with Ceffons perhaps having the edge. It is difficult to calculate the percentage of the *Somnium* that is copied from Ceffons's *Parvum Decretum,* because the number of lines in the critical edition of the *Somnium* varies greatly from page to page and section to section, and for book I Ceffons is the source only for the arguments of the cleric in one section. That said, we calculate that roughly 45 pages of the *Somnium,* between 7% and 8% of the whole, comes from the *Parvum Decretum*. Specifically, in Volume I of the edition of the *Somnium,* consisting of the Prologue and book I, much of a couple of paragraphs of the Prologue (§§24–28, pp. 6–7) and the odd numbered chapters of book I from LXI to LXXXI.1 (on pp. 76–94) are from Ceffons, while in Volume II, corresponding to book II, the bulk of chapters I.B to LXXIIII (almost all of pp. 3–40) are from the *Parvum Decretum*.

In terms of the much smaller *Parvum Decretum,* of course, the amount of text reproduced in the *Somnium Viridarii* is even more impressive: approximately two thirds of Ceffons's text made its way verbatim, paraphrased, or summarized into the *Somnium Viridarii,* representing parts of Ceffons's preliminary arguments and both chapters of each of the three distinctions, the only section of the *Parvum Decretum* that was ignored being the conclusion. Our preliminary edition of the *Parvum Decretum* runs to around 1620 lines, of which the *Somnium Viridarii* borrows 77 lines from the opening section (66% of the total of 116 lines); 108 lines from distinction 1, chapter 1 (63% of 188); 87 lines from d. 1, c. 2 (41% of 212); 121 lines from d. 2, c. 1 (93% of 130); 279 lines from d. 2, c. 2 (95% of 292); 256 lines from d. 3, c. 1 (79% of 326); and 212 lines from d. 3, c. 2 (93% of 227). Since nothing is taken from the final section of the *Parvum Decretum,* at 216 lines, which largely consists of a detour on ecclesiastical poverty and a final *protestatio,* around 80% of the main body of the *Parvum Decretum* is in one way or another included in the *Somnium Viridarii*.

As discussed above, in terms of the *Somnium Viridarii,* here are the sections taken in full or in part from the *Parvum Decretum:* I.Prol.24–28 (pp. 6–7); I.LXI, LXIII, LXV, LXVII, LXIX, LXXI, LXXIII, LXXV, LXXVII, LXXIX, LXXXI.1 (i.e., odd chapters 61–81.1, arguments of the cleric, pp. 76–94); II.I.B–XXX, XXXIII–XXXVII, XXXVIII.4–XXXIX–XLIII, XLV–LI, LIII–LVII, LIX–LXIII, LXV–LXVII, LXIX, LXXI–LXXIIII (i.e., almost all of pp. 3–40 of volume II down to chapter 74, except chapters 31–32, 44, 52, 58, 64, 68, and 70 and portions of chapters 1 and 38).

As a result, the *Somnium Viridarii* constitutes an extra witness to some two thirds of the *Parvum Decretum*. Unfortunately, the methodology followed in the edition of the *Somnium Viridarii* did not produce, indeed was not meant to produce, a critical edition of the original Latin text, but rather a text that was subordinate to the later French translation. Marion Schnerb-Lièvre knew of seven manuscripts and three early printings for the *Somnium Viridarii,* and Jürgen Miethke identified an eighth manuscript in Lisbon:[57]

A = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 3459 A [1482]
C = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 3180 C [sixteenth century]
E = Paris 1516 edition Galliot du Pré (rpt. Lyon 1548 and Hanau 1611)
H = Cambridge, MA, Harvard University: Houghton Library, Typ. 127 [early fifteenth century]
L = Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Manuscritos de Livraria, 447 [fifteenth century]
M = Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine 3522 [fifteenth century]
X = Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodl. 338 (S.C. 2399 [fifteenth century]
Y = Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodl. 339 (S.C. 2400) [1439]
Z = Oxford, Bodleian Library Laud Misc. 731 (S.C. 1494) [fifteenth century]

There is good evidence that the second and third printings reproduce the *editio princeps* of 1516, and without examples Schnerb-Lièvre further asserted that "la plupart des erreurs et des variants des quatre éditions se trouvent dans le manuscrit latin nº 3459 A de la Bibliothèque nationale," so she did not employ any of the printings in her edition.[58]

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[57] *Somnium Viridarii,* ed. Schnerb-Lièvre, 1:xiii–xxvii; Miethke, "Die *Octo Quaestiones* Wilhelms von Ockham," 297–98.
[58] *Somnium Viridarii,* ed. Schnerb-Lièvre, 1:xxvi–xxvii.

Schnerb-Lièvre's *ratio edendi* is brief enough to warrant quoting and paraphrasing: "Après une étude approfondie des sept manuscrits connus, j'ai pris la décision d'établir le texte d'après trois manuscrits seulement," i.e., ACM, with M "pris comme manuscrit de base," "d'une parte en raison de sa date probable (il semble être l'un des plus anciens connus) et aussi parce que c'est celui qui se rapproche le plus souvent du manuscrit original français." As for HXYZ, to which she did not assign sigla, without any examples she declares, "Les quatre autres manuscrits suivent presque totalement le manuscrit C et ne présentent que des variantes si minimes qu'elles auriaent rendu la lecture fastidieuse." Even with A and C, however, the *apparatus criticus* is minute, because she used them only when necessary to correct the reading in M: "Lorsque cela s'est avéré nécessaire, je l'ai corrigé, soit d'après les deux autres manuscrits, soit d'après les sources, soit d'après le texte français."[59] She thus studied the manuscripts in depth, chose M as her base, ignored HXYZ as following C almost completely, and used A and C merely to correct the reading in M where necessary, but she also corrected M via the sources and the French translation.

In discussing errors, omissions, and variants, again without examples, Schnerb-Lièvre elaborates only slightly: she corrects errors in M with AC, indicating this in the note, but when the French text has the same error, she does not make the correction but merely notes the error in the apparatus. Thus, she only reports a variant of AC if it appeared to be better or is confirmed by the French text, in which case M's reading is reported in the apparatus, unless the two readings are close enough that M's reading can be retained anyway. If only one of the three manuscripts agrees with the French text or the source, she puts its reading in the apparatus if the other manuscripts have a variant that is "plus logique." She further notes that, unless it is important for the sense, she ignores spelling differences, word order, tense, and "erreurs flagrantes," because these would render the apparatus criticus "fastidieux et peu utile."[60]

As a paradoxical result, Schnerb-Lièvre's apparatus criticus is "peu utile" for establishing the original text of the *Somnium Viridarii* and hence determining whether the manuscript of the *Parvum Decretum* Evrart employed was independent of the known surviving witnesses and

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[59] Ibid. 1:liii.
[60] Ibid. 1:lvi–lvii.

thus useful for establishing the text of the *Parvum Decretum* itself. Indeed, Schnerb-Lièvre's final statement is that "Dans la mesure du possibile, j'ai toujours choisi la version qui se rapprochait le plus du texte français."[61]

The shortcomings of this methodology have already been pointed out, along with the impossibility that four fifteenth-century manuscripts literally and almost completely "suivent" a copy of the sixteenth century, and the fact that the edition is less than perfect even within the frame of its own methodology.[62] Nevertheless, even an analysis of the very few variants reported suggests where the *Somnium Viridarii* fits in the *Parvum Decretum* stemma, and, as we shall see, Schnerb-Lièvre's choices were quite sensible. The *Parvum Decretum* survives in four known mid-fourteenth-century manuscripts, three in Troyes and one in Paris (P = *Parvum Decretum*):

$P^a$ = Troyes, Médiathèque Jacques Chirac 62 (fols. 215rb–219ra) [in *Sentences* questions]
$P^b$ = Troyes, Médiathèque Jacques Chirac 859 (fols. 59vb–70rb)
$P^c$ = Troyes, Médiathèque Jacques Chirac 930 (fols. 68ra–76va)
$P^p$ = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 3315 (fols. 50rb–59vb)

The *homoeoteleuta* and other variants reveal that $P^{abc}$ and $P^p$ represent two sides of the stemma roughly equal in quality. For $P^{abc}$, $P^a$ and $P^c$ are independent from each other and likely both stem from $P^b$.

If we look at the *homoeoteleuta* in the pertinent sections of the *Parvum Decretum,* the three manuscripts employed in Schnerb-Lièvre's edition of the *Somnium Viridarii,* ACM, share all three or four of the *homoeoteleuta* of the $P^{abc}$ side of the *Parvum Decretum* stemma and none with the $P^p$ side, and minor variants confirm that Evrart de Trémaugon employed a manuscript belonging to the $P^{abc}$ side.

> SV.II.XIIII, §1, l. 3 (2:10): *firmitatem* [*hom.* of 37 words] *qui*
> SV.II.XV, §1, l. 1 (2:10): *imperator* [*hom.* of 4 words] *Honorius*
> SV.II.LXI, l. 6 (2:34): *Augustinus* [*hom.* of 2 words] *libro*
> SV.II.XVI, l. 8 (2:11): after *debet* there is a *hom.* of 10 words in $P^{abc}$ that must have confused Evrart de Trémaugon, who tried to fix the text.

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[61] *Somnium Viridarii,* ed. Schnerb-Lièvre, 1:lvii.
[62] Kaminsky's review in *Speculum* 71 (1996): 1015–19.

Among P$^{abc}$, the *Somnium Viridarii* shares only one of the eight pertinent *homoeoteleuta* of P$^c$:

> SV.II.XXVIII, l. 4 (2:17): *singulari* [*hom.* 5 words] *quidquid.*

In addition, while P$^c$ has forty-nine other variants against P$^{abp}$ in the sections copied into the *Somnium,* the *Somnium* shares just one of these. Thus the one shared *homoeoteleuton* and the one minor shared variant of the *Somnium* and P$^c$ are merely coincidental.

In contrast, wherever P$^a$ has a major omission the *Somnium* does not follow the other manuscripts of the *Parvum Decretum* and in five cases this is related to an error in P$^a$:

> SV.II.V, l. 8 (2:6): *implicaret* is followed by 14 words in the *Parvum Decretum* omitted *per homoeoteleuton* in P$^a$ and not present in the *Somnium* either, although Evrart immediately adds text from a different section of the *Parvum Decretum.*
> SV.II.XXXIX, §Début, l. 2 (2:22): *celorum* [et regnum terrenorum *om.* P$^a$] *ex.*
> SV.II.L, l. 5 (2:28): *Deus dedit illi aliquod bonum* [aeternum, igitur non dedit aliquod bonum *hom.*] *temporale.* Here P$^a$ does have *aeternum,* but omits the rest.
> SV.II.LXVI, §6, l. 7 (2:57): *me* [etc. De quo Christus dixit *om.* P$^a$] *facilius.*
> SV.II.LXVII, l. 3 (2:79): after *inquit,* Evrart skips nine words of a quotation from Bernard of Clairvaux, perhaps because P$^a$ omits three words, garbles another, and ends up reversing the meaning.

There is a short omission *per homoeoteleuton* in P$^a$ at SV.I.LXXIII, l. 2 (2:86) that is not followed in the *Somnium,* but Evrart could easily have replaced the *Parvum Decretum*'s *omnes ubi dicit sic* with *omnes ubi dicitur,* since it introduces a canon law reference.

Evrart thus used a manuscript that was close to P$^a$, and this is confirmed by an analysis of minor variants in P$^a$. In the eighty-seven pertinent cases where P$^a$ has an unshared variant against P$^{bcp}$, the *Somnium* agrees with P$^a$ forty-four times and with P$^{bcp}$ forty-three times, a statistic strongly suggesting that Evrart employed a manuscript that shared a common exemplar with P$^a$. That is, disregarding corrections by a scribe or by Evrart, half of the time that P$^a$ deviates in minor ways from the text of the *Parvum Decretum* as edited, it is following its exemplar and the *Somnium* agrees, and the other half of the time P$^a$ is straying from that

exemplar. Evrart surely did correct the flaws in this exemplar sometimes, or simply skipped garbled passages altogether, but the statistics are clear.

Although Schnerb-Lièvre does not usually record *homoeoteleuta* qua *homoeoteleuta,* we have determined that, of the three manuscripts used for the *Somnium Viridarii* edition, ACM, the apparatus criticus reports no unshared *homoeoteleuta* for A or C, but six for M (in addition to another large omission of another sort), while AM share three (plus one other), CM share two (plus one other), and ACM four, as follows:

*Homoeoteleuta* in the edition of *Somnium Viridarii*

SV.Prol.36: 4 words *om. CM* (possibly *hom.*)
SV.I.XXXVI.27: 7 words *om. M* (not *hom.*)
SV.I.LXVII: 4 words *hom. CM*
SV.I.CXXII.1: 5 words *hom. M*
SV.I.CXXII.29: 5 words *hom. AM*
SV.I.CLVIII.2: 3 words *hom. ACM*
SV.I.CLX.9: 4 words *hom. AM*
SV.I.CLXX.5: 6 words *hom. M*
SV.I.CLXXVIII.5: 4 words *hom. ACM*
SV.I.CLXXVIII.5: 5 words *om. AM* (not *hom.*)
SV.I.CLXXXIIII.1: 5 words *hom. M*
SV.I.CLXXXIIII.2bis: 3 words *hom. ACM*
SV.II.LIX.2: 3 words *hom. M*
SV.II.LXVI.1: 6 words *hom. M*
SV.II.CCXCI.27a: 5 words *hom. AM*
SV.II.CCCLVIII.11: 4 words *hom. M*
SV.II.CCCLVIII.13: 4 words *hom. CM*

Although the individual and perhaps shared *homoeoteleuta* of AC are not reported, the above data alone demonstrate that M contains eleven *homoeoteleuta* against A, C, or both, and, checked against the translation, reveal that M cannot have been the (exclusive) model for the French text. Although the data is weaker, the apparatus criticus in the edition of *Somnium Viridarii* sometimes hints that A is closer to the *Parvum Decretum* than is C or M, with A reading with the *Parvum Decretum* eight times against CM, M three times, and C zero times, and in combinations AC five times, AM four times, and CM three times, with proximity totals of seventeen for A, ten for M, and eight for C. These findings suggest that A is closest to the archetype of the *Somnium Viridarii,* but the three

witnesses are independent, each of them having errors that the others do not, and in any case Schnerb-Lièvre did not supply a full apparatus criticus.

This result, along with the fact that the editor's *ratio edendi* was never intended to reconstruct the archetype, entails that in order to approach as closely as possible a reproduction of that archetype, a true critical edition of the *Somnium Viridarii* is called for, using all eight known manuscripts and at least the *editio princeps* of 1516. Since our goals are limited to the text of the *Parvum Decretum,* only those sections of the *Somnium Viridarii* that are reproduced from the *Parvum Decretum* have been collated and analyzed below.[63]

The full collation of the section of the *Somnium* taken from the *Parvum Decretum* verifies most of Schnerb-Lièvre's basic claims about the manuscript tradition of the *Somnium* and, unfortunately, the above impression obtained from her apparatus criticus about the location on the stemma of the manuscript of the *Parvum Decretum* that Evrart de Trémaugon employed. Schnerb-Lièvre was correct to suggest that HXYZ, the manuscripts in Oxford and Harvard, go together, although of course none of them stems from C, to which they are nevertheless closer than to A or M. Schnerb-Lièvre was also right in asserting that the early printed tradition is very close to A, even if A is not the exemplar for these printings. Finally, she rightly deduced that A, C, and M are independent. As we shall see, the new Lisbon manuscript, L, belongs with M.

The problem is that, in the case of Ceffons, Evrart de Trémaugon started off on the wrong foot: his model belonged not only to one of the two branches of the *Parvum Decretum* stemma, $P^{abc}$, but also to a sub-branch of that family, since Evrart's model and $P^a$ stem from a common exemplar that in turn stems from $P^b$. All manuscripts of the *Somnium* share an omission *per homoeoteleuton* of 5 words against all extant manuscripts of the *Parvum Decretum* and probably another of 24 words.[64] As mentioned, all manuscripts of the *Somnium* share many of the singular errors of $P^a$ and, along with $P^{abc}$, all manuscripts of the *Somnium* share

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[63] The critical edition of these sections of the *Somnium Viridarii,* to be published as an appendix to the critical edition of the *Parvum Decretum,* will then serve as a fifth witness to two thirds of the latter text.

[64] SV.II.LXI, l. 9 (2:34): *felicitas* [*hom.* of 5 words] *natus;* perhaps at SV.II.V, l. 9 (2:6): *dicit* [*hom.* of 24 words] *glossa.*

three or four common *homoeoteleuta,* including one of 37 words, against
P$^p$. Finally, there are good indications that all extant manuscripts of both
the *Somnium* and the *Parvum Decretum* share *homoeoteleuta* of 18, 13
and 12, and 3 words against Ceffons's sources, probably too many to be
attributed to Ceffons himself, but rather hinting at a common exemplar
below his archetype.[65] Here is the first part of the probable stemma, with
S = *Somnium Viridarii* archetype:

ω
|
α
P$^p$        P$^b$
β        P$^c$
S        P$^a$
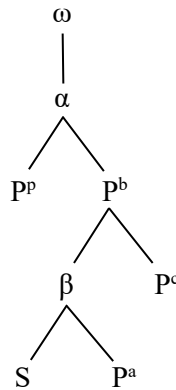
The common exemplar of P$^p$ and P$^{abc}$, α, was already imperfect, as is
apparent in the errors in presenting verbatim biblical, patristic, and other
quotations. Afterwards, Evrart's model is a copy of a copy of α. More-
over, Evrart's autograph does not survive, or at least it has not been iden-
tified. Thus, had she known about the borrowing of material from the
*Parvum Decretum,* Schnerb-Lièvre would have been faced with the
choice of reconstructing the reading of a manuscript that was rather cor-
rupt in the first place or of printing the text that she thought was closest
to the French translation, and she chose the latter.

Let us look at the *Somnium*'s manuscript tradition for this section. In
just about the first sentence taken from Ceffons, in the prologue of the
*Somnium,* we get an indication of the tradition:

> Sunt enim plurimi ministri qui sunt de Ecclesia *qui* tamen odiunt Eccle-
> siam, a qua plurima bona recipiunt et ad *altiora* totis *adhuc* anhelant cona-
> tibus, quorum plures iurisdictionem extinguerent Ecclesiae, si possent.

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[65]  SV.I.LXVII, §5, l. 9 (1:90): *publica* [*hom*. of 18 words] *recta;* SV.II.LXI, ll.
9–10 (2:34): *intacta* [*hom*. of 3 words] *permansit;* SV.II.LXXIIII, §2, l. 3 (2:40):
*humanitatis* [*hom*. of 12 words] *assumetur;* SV.II.LXXIIII, §3, l. 4 (2:40): *dicitur*
[*hom*. of 13 words] *Spiritus*.

*Altiora* is Ceffons's reading and it is that of A and E, representing the prints. Schnerb-Lièvre unfortunately went with *alteriora,* the reading of her base manuscript, M, which is also the reading in the Lisbon codex that Miethke later discovered, L. Schnerb-Lièvre also reported C's *ulteriora,* which is also the reading of HXY. Still, rather than *adhuc,* C alone has the erroneous *ad haec,* suggesting that it was not the model for any of the others. *Qui* is missing in E, but written above the line in A, an indication that the scribe of A had access to a second exemplar.

The *homoeoteleuta* of 4 words or more in the *Parvum Decretum* section of the *Somnium Viridarii* are as follows:

A (19 words)
E (24; *partim mg.* A) (26; *mg.* A)
L (6)
LM (7) (5)
C (24) (10) (6; *mg.* L)
H (10) (11)
X (5; *mg.* L) (5) (6)
XY (5)
XYZ (8) (9)
CHLMXYZ (4)

Preliminary remarks on the basis of these *homoeoteleuta:*

(1) AE are thus independent from each other (neither can be the exclusive model for the other) and their common exemplar before A's corrections cannot be the exclusive model for any other manuscript.

(2) M could be the exclusive model for L, but L cannot be the exclusive model for M. M or the common exemplar of ML cannot be the exclusive model for any other manuscript.

(3) C, H, and X cannot be the exclusive model for any other manuscript. It is still possible that Y is the exclusive model for X, but neither Y, the common exemplar of XY, or the common exemplar of XYZ can be the exclusive model for any other manuscript.

(4) On the basis of *homoeoteleuta,* there is only a very slight indication that CHLMXY could have a common exemplar independent of AE.

The minor variants against the reading of the *Parvum Decretum* or otherwise at least against the other branches of the stemma (see below) shed more light on the tradition. There are occasional indications that, just as A, M is also contaminated, corrected with a manuscript from an-

other branch. On a handful of occasions L has the correct reading where M is in error, but there are no instances where the scribe of L could not have made those corrections tacitly (ut > te; et *om*. M), and in fact L made a couple of easy corrections after writing what M has (fides > fideles; exponunt > exponit; capere > rapere, in a biblical quotation). When compared to the ca. 40 unshared variants of L and the ca. 90 occasions when LM read against the rest, this suggests that L may indeed be a copy of M, if we aim for simplicity in the stemma. This has the happy result that Schnerb-Lièvre's *ratio edendi* remains unaffected by the discovery of L.

The quality of AE is difficult to assess, because the scribe of their exemplar, the scribe of A, and the editor of E show frequent signs of trying to improve or fix an admittedly flawed text. On over 20 occasions AE add "*capitulo*" to a reference, for example. That A had access to another exemplar is reinforced by the occasional reference to a second reading as "*alias*." Although AE together read against the other witnesses about 140 times, and A does so another 85 or so instances, one is tempted to put this independent pair on par with LM. For E's part, it has around 105 unshared variants and about five other types of omission, perhaps by abbreviation, one of them over 60 words long.

CHXYZ indeed form a group. It is clear that XY are quite close, reading together against the rest on over 60 occasions, including omitting the entire chapter 81 of book I, although only 42 words in length, with Y leaving a note to the reader summarizing what is missing. X has only about 15 unshared variants, Y about 25, probably too many for it to be the model for X, which, as we have seen, has unshared *homoeoteleuta* and cannot be the model for Y. On about 115 occasions, XYZ read against the other witnesses, but Z has around 135 singular variants, so Z shares an exemplar with the common model for XY. HXYZ in turn read against the rest over 70 times, but H has around 100 unshared variants, so it shares an exemplar with XYZ. Finally, CHXYZ also read almost 65 times against the rest, and C has ca. 105 unshared variants, indicating that C and HXYZ have a common exemplar. Other combinations of shared readings within CHXYZ are statistically negligible compared to the above numbers.

There are anomalies, but statistically they are not very significant, especially when we do not have the manuscript of Ceffons's *Parvum De-*

*cretum* that Evrart employed and the AE branch shows signs of intelligent correction and, in the case of A, contamination with another witness. Thus we should probably ignore the 15 or so instances when CHLMXYZ read against AE and the *Parvum Decretum*.

The overall stemma thus looks like this, assuming that L stems from M:
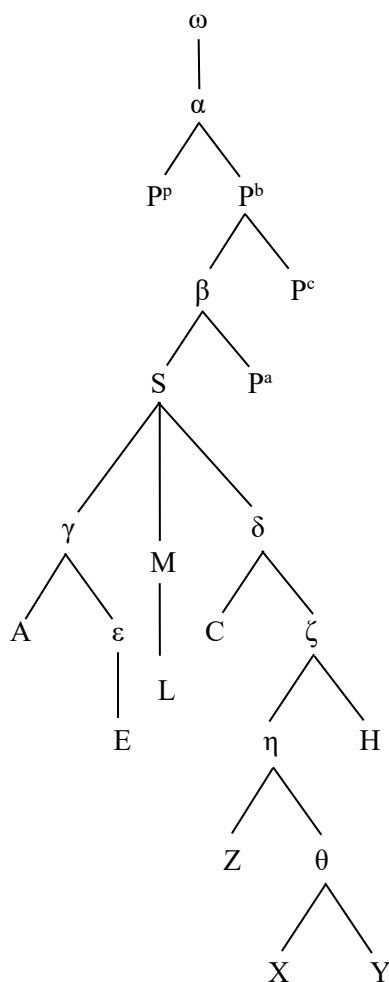
In the fairly clear cases, the distance from the individual witnesses to Ceffons's text or what seems to be Evrart's archetype can be measured as follows:

| Siglum | Minor | Major (Wds) | Total |
|--------|-------|-------------|-------|
| A | 225 | 1 (19) | 244 |
| C | 190 | 4 (44) | 234 |
| E | 245 | 7 (143) | 388 |
| H | 270 | 5 (32) | 302 |
| L | 130 | 5 (28) | 158 |
| M | 95 | 4 (22) | 117 |
| X | 350 | 8 (82) | 432 |
| Y | 360 | 5 (78) | 438 |
| Z | 410 | 3 (21) | 431 |

Schnerb-Lièvre's choice of manuscripts, A, C, M, therefore looks quite solid, as does her employing M as her base manuscript. Given the stemma above, however, perhaps it would have been better to choose the reading based on the three independent branches. For ML, since L appears to be a copy of M, or close enough to one, M suffices. For AE, given the attitudes of the scribe of A and editor of E, it would be safer to follow the agreement of the two witnesses before correction and where they disagree follow the reading that is in accord with M and/or the reading of CHXYZ. Likewise for CHXYZ, one would choose between C and the rest depending on the agreement with the other branches. In more complicated cases, where the sense is uncertain, one could follow M, all else being equal.

Unfortunately, in the case of the section from Ceffons, Schnerb-Lièvre would still have ended up with a corrupt text, and one can understand her decision to try to recreate the Latin text that is closest to the French translation, in which Evrart was free to rewrite what did not make sense. One can also understand her desire to forgo the compilation of a systematic apparatus criticus. The execution was not always solid, but the rationale was clear. For our purposes, however, reproducing S is the goal, regardless of sense or lack thereof, in order to employ S in the edition of the *Parvum Decretum*.

## CONCLUSION

The above discussion brings us back to specific questions about the *Somnium Viridarii* and general issues about editing medieval texts of this nature. Although without the manuscript of the *Parvum Decretum* used by Evrart de Trémaugon and without his autograph of the *Somnium Viri-*

*darii* we cannot be sure, there are many indications that Evrart worked in haste without polishing his Latin text for grammar and sense. For example, when writing *Somnium* I, chapter 77, Evrart had before his eyes a syllogism from James of Viterbo in Ceffons:

A: Spiritualis potestas temporali superior est, non solum dignitate, sed etiam causalitate;

B: sed "quae sunt causatorum praeinsunt causis," sicut dicit Dionysius *De divinis nominibus;*

∴ igitur oportet potestatem temporalem in Ecclesia residere apud illum qui est summus et Universalis Ecclesiae praelatus.

Maior autem huius rationis sic declaratur: quod enim spiritualis potestas sit superior….

Evrart decided to remove the syllogistic structure, making it into a consequence, but retaining what had then become a meaningless reference to the major premise, as follows:

Spiritualis potestas temporali superior est, non solum dignitate, sed etiam causalitate. Patet sic: "Quae sunt causatorum insunt causis," sicut dicit Dionysius, *De divinis nominibus,* igitur oportet potestatem temporalem in Ecclesia residere apud illum qui est summus Universalis Ecclesiae praelatus. Maior autem huius rationis sic declaratur: quod vero (!) spiritualis potestas sit superior….

There is no doubt that Evrart put much thought into the structure of his Latin text, but the phrasing is often awkward or even ungrammatical. When we consider that he then rearranged the dialogue again[66] and produced a French translation rather quickly, one has to wonder to what extent this was the goal from the beginning and whether, despite a respectable tradition with lavishly illustrated manuscripts, the Latin version was just step one in a two-step process. If so, this would further justify the editorial choices of Schnerb-Lièvre, although the *Somnium* still deserves attention because it had a life of its own.

   More generally, even pretending the *Somnium* was never translated into *Le songe,* the *Somnium* confronts us in an unusually complicated way with the perennial editorial problem of what text to print. The text is a compilation the sources of which we are still discovering, as this article demonstrates, and yet it is clear that the text of the surviving man-

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[66] See the correspondence tables in *Le songe du Vergier,* ed. Schnerb-Lièvre, 1:li–lxv, and *Somnium Viridarii,* ed. Schnerb-Lièvre, 1:xxxvii–xli

uscripts of the *Somnium* is often far from the text found in critical editions of the sources, indeed occasionally so far that the *Somnium* makes little sense grammatically or doctrinally. Apparently, none of the extant manuscripts is from the fourteenth century, and we have no idea how many once existed, but the investigation above reveals that it is highly unlikely that Evrart's autograph of the *Somnium* would have been much better than what we can reconstruct from the surviving witnesses, and it is fairly certain that his manuscript of the *Parvum Decretum* was rather poor in the first place.

Schnerb-Lièvre made a sensible choice: attempt to produce the Latin text as close as possible to the French translation, using the three independent manuscripts that were in fact the best of their branches and where necessary employing Evrart's sources. What are the alternatives to this procedure, which Howard Kaminsky termed a "disparaging approach to the text" of the *Somnium* that is not "apt to appeal to those who think that the desiderated text in a scholarly edition should be one that is not merely 'clear' but comes as close as possible to what the author dictated or wrote"?[67] Kaminsky went on to be rather damning, but if we confine ourselves to the portion of the *Somnium* that reproduces parts of the *Parvum Decretum,* we find all options problematic: (a) a critical edition following the majority of the three branches of the stemma will still produce an often garbled text, even if it is closest to Evrart's original; (b) the best manuscript, M provides a text that is even worse; (c) the shared text of CHXYZ is closer to what most medieval readers would have seen, but it would be only about as good as M's version; (d) a text corrected according to Ceffons's original, and perhaps even according to Ceffons's sources, gives us something that never existed.

Perhaps the best solution would be to print (a) and provide three or four levels of apparatus, allowing the reader to see how Ceffons's sources differ, how Ceffons's text differs, and what the different branches of the stemma contain. If the apparatus fontium for the entire *Somnium Viridarii* is ever completed, perhaps someone will be up to the challenge of providing a new edition along those lines.

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[67]  Kaminsky's review in *Speculum* 71 (1996), at 1015 and 1016.