

ps. THEODOLUS

by BETTY NYE QUINN
(Mount Holyoke College)

Fortuna.

I. *Ecloga.*

Commentaries.

1. Bernardus Traiectensis.
2. Alexander Neckam (?).
3. Anonymus Teutonicus.
4. Independent commentaries.
5. Minor commentaries.
6. 'Stephanus Patringtonus'.
7. Odo Picardus.

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FORTUNA *

The *Egloga Theodoli*¹ is a 344 line debate poem written in Leonine hexameters in the

(*) I wish to express my appreciation for their patience and assistance to the Editorial Board of the *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum*, to the Faculty Grants Committee of Mount Holyoke College for helping to make possible the checking of some manuscripts in England, and to the many libraries here and abroad which made books, manuscripts and microfilms available, in particular the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Bodleian Library and the British Museum.

1. Ed. M. Goldast, *Manuale Biblicum*, Frankfurt 1610, 1618, 1620; I. B. S. Schwabe, Altenburg 1763; A. Aem. Alf. Beck, *Sangershusiae* 1836; Joannes Osternacher, progr. Urfahr-Linz 1902. A detailed list of manuscripts and printed editions of the book was compiled by J. Osternacher, 'Die Ueberlieferung der Ecloga Theoduli,' *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft fuer aeltere deutsche Geschichtskunde* XL (1915-16) 331-376.

In some manuscripts and mediaeval library catalogues the poem is referred to as 'eglogae,' a plural reflecting the standard division of the work into three parts, i.e. 1-36, 37-180, 181-344. This threefold division appears in Bernard of Utrecht's commentary and is preserved with further subdivisions in later commentaries.

Since the preferred spelling in commentaries

amoeban style of Vergil's third *Eclogue*. The author preserves the pastoral conventions of the classical eclogue: the debaters are shepherds, one of whom provokes the contest by means of personal abuse; stakes are agreed upon and a third party is appointed to judge the contestants; the debate ends at the coming of night. The participants are the shepherdess Alathia² (or Truth) and the goatherd Pseustis³ (or Falsehood)

from the twelfth through the fifteenth century is Theodulus rather than Theodus, the example of the mediaeval commentators has been followed in respect to the poet's name.

2. The name of the defender of Christianity is variously spelled in the manuscripts and printed editions: Alicia-Allicia, Alithia, Alathia-Alatia-Alatya-Alathyia. The most popular spelling by far is Alathia which has, therefore, been retained here. Manuscripts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are more likely to contain the spelling Alitha or Alicia, while Alathia and its variants are predominant in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. This same progression in spelling has been noted by L. Laistner ('Zum Reinfrid und Archipoeta' in *Germania* XXVI [1881] 420-22) for the reference to Alathia in the *Confessio Archipoetae* (ix.4).

3. Although the name Pseustis is transliteration of the Greek noun meaning 'a female liar,' the author definitely pictured the goatherd as a man,

with the shepherdess Fronesis (or Prudence), the sister of Alathia, as their judge. Pseustis and Alathia present arguments, four lines in length, dealing respectively with heroes of mythology and the Old Testament. Thus, the praises of Saturn and of the Golden Age are answered by the story of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden, the sole survivors of the world-destructive flood are presented on the one hand as Deucalion and Pyrrha and on the other as Noah and his family; and Hercules and Samson are matched as strong and virtuous heroes betrayed by their wives. Eventually when Pseustis admits defeat in the face of the overwhelming arguments of Alathia and asks Fronesis for relief, she calls a halt to the contest as night falls.⁴

The poem was written in the ninth or tenth century⁵ and has sometimes been

as is clear from Fronesis' instruction to him to speak the first verse of the debate (34): 'perge prior, Pseusti, quia masculus.' In the course of the poem not only are falsehood and truth contrasted but also man and woman (i.e. 4-5 with 8-9, 269-72 with 273-76, 296 and 311 with 300 and 316) and Pseustis in despair near the end cries that he cannot endure being conquered 'fraude puellari' (327). Whether the name represents *ψεύστης* by iticism or is merely a misunderstanding of Greek by the author, the commentators interpreted it generally as 'falsitas', or, in connection with 'pseudo', as 'falsus propheta,' or as a hybrid formation of 'pseudo' and 'sto, stas,' meaning therefore 'stans in falsitate.'

4. A few manuscripts contain six or eight additional lines in which Alathia acknowledges her victory and sings a psalm of praise to God in celebration thereof. There are indications in the commentaries that their writers were critical of the poem's conclusion because Fronesis delivers the last verse and Alathia has no chance to accept the decision. This addition, composed perhaps in the thirteenth century (Osternacher, *op. cit.*, 1902, pp. 8, 54), was apparently intended to remedy this alleged defect.

5. Opinion differs as to the date of composition. Those supporting the ninth century are: J. Osternacher *op. cit.*, 1902, pp. 11 sqq.; Paul von Winterfeld, 'Hrotsvits literarische Stellung' in *Herrigs Archiv f. neuere Sprachen* CXIV (1905) 68-9; G. L.

attributed to Gottschalk of Orbais whose name may be represented by Theodulus or, as it is more commonly spelled in the manuscripts, Theodolus, a Greek translation of the German, slave of God.⁶ By the eleventh century Theodolus was a well-established 'historical' figure and his scanty biography appears both in standard biographical dictionaries⁷ and in the many commentaries on the *Egloga*. He was generally assumed to be an ancient author, that is one who had studied and written his poem in Athens before Justinian closed the philosophical schools there in 529. Initially Theodolus was accepted as a personality in his own right but by the fourteenth century the name was regularly understood by the commentators to be a pseudonym adopted

Hamilton, 'Theodolus: A Mediaeval Textbook' in *Modern Philology* VII (1909-10) 171; Max Manitius, *GLL* I 572-74; M. Boas, 'De librorum Catonianorum historia atque compositione' in *Mnemosyne* XLII (1914) 24; F.J.E. Raby, *A History of Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1957) I 228.

Those supporting the tenth century are: G. Bauch, 'Geschichte des Leipziger Frühhumanismus' in *Beihefte zum Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* VII (1897-99) 367; H. Walther, *Das Streitgedicht in der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (Munich, 1920) 95 sqq.; K. Strecker, 'Studien zu karolingischen Dichtern: VII. Ist Gottschalk der Dichter der *Ecloga Theoduli?*' in *Neues Archiv d. Gesellschaft f. ält. deut. Geschichtskunde* XLV (1923-24) 18-20; K. Polheim, *Die lateinische Reimprosa* (Berlin, 1925) 342; E. Curtius, *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter* (Bern, 1948) 57, 264, note 1.

6. Von Winterfeld, *loc. cit.* Hamilton, *loc. cit.*, Manitius, *loc. cit.* On the other hand Strecker argues against this authorship, *loc. cit.*

7. Sigebert of Gembloux, *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis* 134 (*PL* CLX, col. 576-77); Honorius of Autun, *De luminaribus ecclesiae* III. 13 (*PL* CLXXII, col. 222); Anonymus Mellicensis, *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis* 36 (*PL* CCXIII, col. 973); Conrad of Hirsau, *Dialogus super auctores* (ed R. B. C. Huygens, *Collection Latomus* XVII. [Berchem-Brussels, 1955] 32; *Accessus ad auctores* (ed. R. B. C. Huygens, *Collection Latomus* XV [Berchem-Brussels, 1954] 21-22).

by St. John Chrysostom for this particular work.⁸ By the sixteenth the author of the poem was identified as Theodulus of Coelesyria⁹ who lived in the fifth century. Not until the eighteenth century did scholars agree that the Theodulus of the *Egloga* was a mediaeval Western writer.¹⁰

The poem had entered the school curriculum by the end of the eleventh century when Bernard of Utrecht wrote his commentary; it was prescribed as an elementary text book by most educators, although a few recommended its study at a more advanced level.¹¹ Casual references to the protagonists, moreover, reveal that knowledge of the poem formed part of the regular background of the educated man.¹²

8. One commentator (Vatican, lat. 2826, f. 46r, s. XIII [section # 5] states that this poem was written as a result of John's attendance at the Council of Nicea (!) 'where the Catholic faith was confirmed by 318 bishops'. After he had seen there 'the dispute and trickery of Arius and others who wished to destroy the Catholic faith he composed this little book and for that reason was called John of the Golden Mouth'.

9. J. Trithemius, *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*, s.v. *Theodulus* (Fabricius BE 32); Sixtus Senensis, *Bibliotheca Sancta* (Cologne, 1576), p. 327, s.v. *Theodulus*; Antonius Possevinus, *Apparatus Sacer* (Cologne, 1608) II 469, s.v. *Theodulus*. For a list of other writers who followed this theory, see Schwabe, *op. cit.*, 9-10, note x.

10. Fabricius *BLMA* III 527, s.v. *Theodulus*; P. Leyser, *Historia poetarum et poematum medii aevi* (Halle, 1721) 293-99; C. Oudin, *Commentarius de scriptoribus ecclesiae antiquis* (Leipzig, 1722) II 480, s.v. *Theodulus*; Jöcher IV. col. 1115.

11. For an account of the poem's use, see Hamilton, *op. cit.*, 175-85 and Manitius *GLL* I 573-74. Cf. also Charles Thurot, 'Notices et extraits de divers manuscrits latins pour servir à l'histoire des doctrines grammaticales au moyen-âge' in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale* XXII. 2 (1868) 119, 208, 425-26, 438, 451-52, 562; Bauch, *op. cit.*, 393-96, 414-18.

12. For example, John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon*, praef.; II. 13; IV. 14; *Entheticus* 11-24. John Wycliffe, *Triologus*, praef. Walter of Châtillon, *Plange Sion et Judaea* (*Analecta Hymnica XXXIII* 315). Nativity hymn: 'Alathia canit, quia Pseus-

Between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries the *Egloga*, in company with the *Disticha Catonis* and a variable group of other poetical works, is found in an increasing number of manuscripts, with and without commentaries; this shifting group of popular school texts gradually developed into a canon of eight authors which formed the basis of elementary instruction in Latin.¹³ With the invention of printing, this anthology, the *Auctores Octo*, appeared in numerous editions until about the middle of the sixteenth century when the use of Theodulus as well as of other mediaeval texts was generally discontinued in the schools of Europe.¹⁴

Most of the manuscripts and editions cited below were listed, without incipits or identification of commentaries, by Johannes Osternacher in his edition of the poem (progr. Urfahr-Linz, 1902) and in a later article (*Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft fuer aeltere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, 40, 1915-16, 331-376). References to his pages and serial numbers are given for both works. 0-1 stands for the 1902 edition, and 0-2 for the later article.

tis obmutescit' (*Analecta Hymnica* XX 105). Archpoet, *Confessio Goliae* ix.4. Chaucer, *Hous of Fame* 1227-28. For the use of the poem as illustrative material for bronze bowls, see Josepha Weitzmann-Fiedler, 'Romanische Bronzeschalen mit mythologischen Darstellungen, ihre Beziehungen zur mittelalterlichen Schulliteratur und ihre Zweckbestimmung' in *Zeitschrift für Kunsthissenschaft* X (1956) 109-34; XI (1957) 22-30.

13. Boas, *op. cit.*, 17-46. The ultimate eight works comprise: 1) *Disticha Catonis*, 2) *Theodulus*, 3) *Facetus* (a handbook of manners, sometimes attributed to John of Garland), 4) *Carmen de contemptu mundi*, 5) *Tobias*, 6) *Alani Parabole*, 7) *Esope*, 8) *Floretus*.

14. The last datable edition containing a commentary was published in Lyons in 1538. Antonius Gorcius printed the last sixteenth century edition of the poem as a part of the *Auctores octo morales cum appendicibus* in Toulouse in 1544 (Municipal Library, Oporto). An edition, *Theoduli duellum*, published in Lyons in 1578, is listed by Beck, (*op. cit.*, 24) and by Osternacher (*op. cit.*, 1902, p. 26, # XXVI and 1914, p. 339, # 34) who notes that he could find no extant copy.

I. *Ecloga*

COMMENTARIES

1. BERNARDUS TRAIECTENSIS.

His commentary was written between 1076 and 1099, that is during the incumbency of Bishop Conrad of Utrecht¹⁵ to whom the

15. A. Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands* (Leipzig, 1896) III 991. E. Martène and U. Durand (*Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum historicorum, dogmaticorum, moralium amplissima collectio* [Paris, 1724-33] I 512), who print the dedicatory epistle to Conrad 'ex ms. Hardenhousano,' give the date as circa 1080.

An obscure schoolmaster of the eleventh century, Bernard of Utrecht has often been confused with the better known Bernardus Silvestris of Tours (Schwabe, *op. cit.*, 46-47; F. G. Freytag, *Adparatus Litterarius* [Leipzig, 1752] I 500; Oudin, *op. cit.*, II 1006). The association of the name of Silvestris with a commentary on the *Egloga* was current as early as the thirteenth century when commentators were quoting Silvestris as their source for an explanation of Alathia's riddle (v. 323); 'Where is the earth higher than the light axis of the sky?' (Dic ubi terra levem celi supereminet axem): 'Super hoc enigma multe sunt opiniones vel expositiones. Bernardus Silv. stris, qui commentatus est super hunc librum, hunc locum sic legit. (Paris, B.N., lat. 15.158, f. 32v). The name is clearly Bernardus Silvestris in some manuscripts; in others the source is given as Beatus Silvestris, a reference presumably to Pope Sylvester III (Gerbert), as is made clear by the identification in one manuscript of Beatus Silvestris as *papa* (Prague, Bibl. Univ., 1614. VIII G. 31, f. 117^r). The explanations recorded depend upon a pun on the word *celi* which is taken to be a proper name - Celius; it is obviously reminiscent of a similar pun recorded by Servius and Philargyrius for the riddle involving the *spatium caeli* in *Eclogue* III. 105. Some of the manuscripts of Bernard of Utrecht's commentary offer an abbreviated version of this pun which emerges as a full-fledged anecdote in later commentaries.

The catalogue of the Amplonian collection at Erfurt, compiled in 1414, lists a manuscript which contains among other works a 'Commentum Bernhardi Silvestris super Theodulum' and the

work was dedicated, and was designed for young students at the elementary stage in their education. The Latin is clear, direct and simple in sharp contrast to the polished, if labored, style of the dedicatory epistle with its intricate balanced phrases and studied use of alliteration and assonance. Emphasis is laid upon grammatical explanations, comprehension of the text of the poem and careful narration of the myth or Biblical story on which the verse is based. Less attention is paid to interpretations of the myths or stories than is found in later commentaries.

Dedicatory epistle: (Munich, CLM 22293, ff. 1r-1v) Epistola Bernhardi ad Chuonradum¹⁶ episcopum. Dilectissimo domino suo sacro-sancte Traiectensis sedis episcopo Chuonrado suorum minimus clericorum Bernhardus, gregem sibi a domino commissum sic pascere ut a summo pastorum Christo mereatur audire: 'Euge serve bone et fidelis quia super pauca fuisti fidelis, super multa te constituam: intra in gaudium domini tui' (Matthew 25: 21).

[Inc.]: Lecturus aliquando Theodolum pueris quibus docendis doctorem doceri quam docere aptiorem me prefecistis, primum quidem in his que extra queri solent, dehinc in historiarum fabularumque misteriis eos cepi rudis rudes erudire. Que cum vellemus nec

same scholar's commentary on six books of the *Aeneid*. (Schum 793, 35). John Bale (*Index Britanniae Scriptorum*, ed. R.L. Poole [Oxford, 1902] 48) also preserves the tradition of a commentary by Silvestris: 'Bernardus Sylvestris, scripsit Expositiones in Aeglogas Theoduli. li.i. Domino suo sacrosancte. Ex Nordovicensi scriptorum catalogo.' The *incipit* quoted by Bale, however, is actually the beginning of the letter of dedication written by Bernard of Utrecht to his bishop and represents the version found in London, B.M. Burn. 251 in which the word *dilectissimo* (included in other versions), is omitted from the salutation.

It seems unlikely that Silvestris wrote a commentary on the *Egloga* but probable that his name became attached to the one written by an earlier, less well-known teacher of the same name.

16. The spelling of the manuscripts and books has been retained throughout, although relevant capitals and punctuation have been added.

valeremus - ego quidem satis dicere, illi vero retinere - cupientes ipsi doceri docere cupientem me rogitaverunt, ut quibus et de quibus colloquendo satisfacere non poteram, eis et de eis scribendo satisfacerem. . ./. . . [Expl.] : Quod factum nonnullos peiores in partem accepturos non dubito qui utilibus aliorum laboribus inertie nomen imponunt laudique bonorum livoris nubila pretendunt, parati omnia destruere, non volentes, immo non valentes quicquam componere. Vobis igitur pater piissime, religionis assertor et decus ecclesie, vobis hunc librum devovi, devotum transmisi, quatinus vestro iudicio examinatus vestraque auctoritate suffultus laudetur vigeat placeat relegatur ametur. Vale.

Intro. [Inc.] : (Munich, CLM 22293, f. 1^v) Liber equivoce dicitur. Nam liber appellatur pergamenum cum notulis, dictus a libro, arboris cortice, in quo ante usum membranae scribebatur ; de quo Virgilius ait : 'Alta moriens liber aret in ulmo' (*Ecl. X.* 67). . .

The following sentences have been substituted for the dedicatory epistle in 3 manuscripts and precede the regular introduction : (Munich, CLM 2601, f. 1^r) Philosophia est divinarum humanarumque rerum scientia (Isid., *Ety.* II xxiv. 1). Philos enim Grece, Latine amor ; sophia, sapientia. Hec dividitur in tres vias, id est in tres vias scientie : Phisicam, Ethicam, Logicam. . .

Commentary :

[Inc.] : (Munich, CLM 22293, f. 5^v) Explanacio ad sensum. *Ethiopum terras iam fervida torruit estas.* Tres Ethiopias esse aiunt qui de terre ritu (sic) scribunt : orientalem, occidentalem, meridianam.

[Expl.] : (Munich, CLM 22293, f. 41^r) Ex libro autem habetur Fronesis pro confenti victum se esse non solum orare sed etiam cur indulgendi (sic) sit sibi ostendere. Patet ergo Alithiam Pseusti ignovisse cum de quo cuncta pendeant iudex legatur hoc voluisse et hoc Theodolum prudenter tacuisse. Explicit commentarios (sic).

Manuscripts :

(*) Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibl., 337, ff. 17-119, s. XIII/XIV. Does not include dedicatory epistle.

Intro. [Inc.] : Incipit commentum super Theodolo. Philosophia est divinarum humanarumque. . .

Commentary :

[Inc.] : Not available.

[Expl.] : Prudenter tacuisse. Explicit.

(G. Meier, *Catal. Einsiedlensis* (Einsiedeln, 1899) 310 ; 0-1, p. 18, # 47 ; 0-2, p. 361, # 39).¹⁷

(Micro.) Graz, Universitätsbibl., 1530, ff. 88^r-114^v, s. XIV. (Dedicatory epistle) : Domino suo sacrosancte. . .

Intro. [Inc.] : (f. 88^v) Incipit commentum Bernhardi in Theodolum. Quid est liber ? Liber equivoce dicitur.

Commentary :

[Inc.] : (f. 91^r) Explanacio ad sensum. *Ethiopum t. i. f. t. estas.* Tres Ethiopias esse aiunt qui de situ terre scribunt.

[Expl.] : Et movebit te ad procacem bla. . . (Full commentary ends with that on vv. 333-36 and the seven and a half lines which follow, written in another hand, more or less sum up the situation at the end of the poem.).

(A. Kern, *Handschriftenverzeichnisse österreichischer Bibliotheken : Steiermark, II. Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Graz*, Vienna, 1956, 2, 348-49).

(Micro.) Kassel, Landesbibl., theol. qu. 27, ff. 61^r-82^v, s. XII. Incomplete : Between ff. 68^v and 69^r there are missing the conclusion of the commentary on vv. 41-44, all of the commentary on vv. 45-152 and the beginning of the commentary on vv. 153-56 ; the commentary ends with that on vv. 273-76. (Dedicatory epistle) : Dilectissimo domino suo sacerdoti (sic).

Intro. [Inc.] : (f. 61^v) Liber equivoce dicitur.

Commentary :

[Inc.] : (f. 65^r) *Ethiopum terras iam fervida torruit estas.* Tres Ethiopias esse aiunt qui de terre situ scribunt.

[Expl.] : Bene Holofernes proprio gladio decollatus dicitur quia qui in ligno vincebat, in ligno quoque vicitus est. Liber. . . (ad. vv. 273-76 ; cet. des.). (0-2, p. 360, # 29).

17. References to Osternacher's listing of manuscripts and editions is noted throughout according to the following key : 0-1 for his edition of the poem, 1902 ; 0-2 for his article in *Neues Archiv XL* (1915-16) 331-76.

(Micro.) London, B.M., Burn. 251, ff. 22^r-93^v; s. XII. (Dedicatory epistle) : Domino suo sacrosancte.

Intro. [Inc.] : (f. 23^r) Incipit commentum Bernardi in Theodolum. Liber equivoce dicitur.

Commentary :

[Inc.] : (f. 25^v) Explanatio ad sensum. *Ethiopum terras iam fervida torruit estas.* Tres Ethiopias esse aiunt qui de terre situ scribunt.

[Expl.] : Prudenter tacuisse. Explicit liber tercius quo terminatur hoc opus.

(Catal. MSS. BM. New Series 2. 65; 0-1, p. 19, # 65; 0-2, p. 365, # 76).

(Micro.) Munich, CLM 673, ff. 9^r-53^r, s. XIII (commentary), s. XIV (text). Does not include dedicatory epistle.

[Inc.] : Incipit commentum Theodoli. *Ethiopum iam fervida terras torruit estas.* Tres Ethiopias esse aiunt qui de terre situ scribunt.

[Expl.] : (The commentary on the last quatrain ends : Prudenter tacuisse. It is, however, followed by a summary of material usually carried in the introduction). Dei filius ad hanc nigredinem dealbandam ab arce patris missus est ; contra diabolum, cuius imaginem tenet Pseustis, sub specie Alithie certamen suscepit.

(Catal. CLM III. 1, 132; 0-1, p. 20, # 74; 0-2, p. 366, # 89).

(Micro.) Munich, CLM 2601, ff. 1^r-47^v, s. XIII. Does not contain dedicatory epistle.

Intro. [Inc.] : Commentum super Theodolum. Philosophia est divinarum...

Commentary :

[Inc.] : (f. 7^r) *Ethiopum terras iam fervida torruit estas.* Tres Ethiopias esse aiunt qui de terre situ scribunt.

[Expl.] : Philologia Fronesis idcirco dicitur filia quia prudentia gignit amorem investigande rationis (ad v. 335; cet. des.).

(Catal. CLM III. 2, 12; 0-1, p. 21, # 85; 0-2, p. 366, # 91).

(Micro.) Munich, Staatsbibl., CLM 22293, ff. 1^r-41^r, s. XIII. (Dedicatory epistle) : Dilectissimo domino suo.

Intro. [Inc.] : (f. 1^v) Liber equivoce dicitur.

Commentary :

[Inc.] : (f. 5^v) Explanatio ad sensum. *Ethiopum terras iam fervida torruit estas.*

Tres Ethiopias esse aiunt qui de terre ritu (sic) scribunt.

[Expl.] : Theodolum prudenter tacuisse. Explicit commentarios (sic).

(Catal. CLM IV. 4, 38; 0-1, p. 20, # 84; 0-2, p. 368, # 104).

(Micro.) St. Paul im Lavanttal, Stiftsbibl., 26. 4. 25 (D 255), ff. 42^r-44^r, s. XIV. Contains only the introduction to the commentary.

Intro. [Inc.] : Incipit commentum Bernhardi in Theodolum. Liber dicitur equivoce . . . dehinc ad allegoriam et ad moralitatem ; post hec dictionum enucleabimus rationem. Incipit opus super summam misteriorum. Explicit commentum Bernhardi in Theodolum.

(Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum ex monasteriis S. Blasii in nigra silva et Hospitalis ad Pyrhum montem in Austria nunc in monast. S. Pauli in Carinthia, Library of Congress microfilm, reel 2521, 97).

(Micro.) Salzburg, Stiftsbibl. St. Peter, a.V. 13, ff. 63^r-102^r, s. XII/XIII. Does not contain dedicatory epistle.

Intro. [Inc.] : Commentum super Theodolum. Prologus incipit. Liber equivoce dicitur.

Commentary :

[Inc.] : (f. 67^r) *Ethiopum terras iam f. t. e.* Tres Ethiopias esse aiunt qui de terre situ scribunt.

[Expl.] : Theodolum prudenter tacuisse. Amen. Explicit commentum super Theodolum. Post opus expletum iuvenem rogo plaudere cecum. Vivat qui scripsit. Vivat qui scribere iussit. Vivite, salvete, semper florete, vates.

(R.B.C. Huygens, 'Notes sur le *Dialogus super auctores* de Conrad d'Hirsau et le *Commentaire sur Theodule de Bernard d'Utrecht*' in *Latomus* XIII 1954, 426; 0-2, p. 371, # 139).

(Micro.) Vienna, Nationalbibl. 1757, ff. 24^r-67^v, s. XII/XIV. (Dedicatory epistle) : Lectorus aliquando Theodolum pueris quibus docere.

Intro. [Inc.] : (f. 25^r) Liber equivoce dicitur.

Commentary :

[Inc.] : (f. 32^v) Explanatio ad sensum. *Ethiopum terras iam fervida torruit estas.* Tres Ethiopias esse aiunt qui de terre ritu (sic) scribunt.

[Expl.]: De quo cuncta pendeatur iudex
legatur hoc voluisse et ex hoc Theodolum
tacuisse...

(*Tabulae I* 286-287; 0-2, p. 374, # 168).
Biogr.:

Nothing is known of Bernard of Utrecht except what is revealed in the dedicatory epistle.¹⁸ A teacher of young boys in the diocese of Utrecht, he expressed doubts about his ability as a teacher and misgivings about his finished work. Nevertheless, if we are to believe his account that the book was written at the demand of his pupils, it is clear that he had their confidence and friendship and that he had inspired them to seek further and fuller knowledge. Bernard had, apparently, some ill-wishers in the diocese who he anticipated would find fault with his book despite their own indolence and he looked to the Bishop's approval of the commentary to stifle criticism. Despite his modesty and humility, he was genuinely proud of his undertaking and hoped that the book would be reread and cherished.

The commentary was well-known to Conrad of Hirsau in the twelfth century who not only mentions Bernard's work but draws heavily upon it for his own *Dialogus super auctores*.¹⁹

Bibl.: Manitius, *GLL III* 194-96; J. Frey, *Über das mittelalterliche Gedicht 'Theoduli ecloga' und den Kommentar des Bernhardus Ultraiectensis* (Münster, 1904) in which selected portions of the introduction and of the commentary are printed. The dedicatory epistle has been printed by E. Martène and U. Durand, *Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum historicorum, dogmaticorum, moralium amplissima collectio* (Paris, 1724-33) I 512 and by R.B.C. Huygens, 'Notes sur le 'Dialogus super auctores' de Conrad de Hirsau

18. He is not listed in the biographical handbooks of Honorius of Autun or of the Anonymus Mellicensis and is known to Sigebert of Gembloux (*De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis* 164 [PL CLX col. 586]) only as the author of the commentary on the *Egloga*.

19. R. B. C. Huygens, 'Notes sur le *Dialogus super auctores* de Conrad de Hirsau et le Commentaire sur Theodule de Bernard d'Utrecht' in *Latomus XIII* (1954) 420-25.

et le Commentaire sur Theodule de Bernard d'Utrecht' in *Latomus XIII* (1954) 420-28.

2. ALEXANDER NECKAM (?)

This commentary completely supplanted that of Bernard of Utrecht in the schools of Europe and England, became the basis of a later commentary (see section 6) and at the beginning of the fifteenth century was known as the *glose communes*. It is characterized by Euhemeristic interpretations of pagan myths with additional interpretations of legends as natural phenomena, ethical exempla and occasionally Christian allegory; Biblical stories are mainly seen as prefigurations of Christian doctrine. There are extant various versions and it is no surprise that schoolmasters deleted, added and altered the basic text in accordance with their particular situation.

The commentary is ascribed to Alexander Neckam in two Paris manuscripts, B.N. lat. 2638²⁰ and B.N. lat. 1862.²¹ His voluminous writings in prose and poetry on a variety of subjects, and particularly his reworking of two elementary school texts, Avianus and Aesopus,²² give credence to the suggestion that he may have written such a commentary.

In nine of the forty-seven extant examples of this commentary Alexander Neckam is mentioned by name as the source for the definition of a distich. The debate proper of the poem is divided into three parts (of unequal length) by two pairs of invocations to pagan and Christian gods respectively, one at v. 181 and the second at v. 285. In the second Pseustis calls to his aid the Muses, nymphs of the countryside and the gods whom Ennius mentioned in his distich: 'Quos in distichii serie com-

20. Beck, *op.cit.*, 18, 24-28.

21. Osternacher (1902) 5, note 7; Hamilton, *op. cit.* 4., note 1; 6, note 7.

22. John Bale, *Scriptorum illustrium Majoris Brytanniae catalogus* ([Basel, 1557-59] 272-73) lists as well a work on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, on the *De nuptiis Mercurii et Philologiae* and on the *Fabulae poetarum*, all of which would connect him with textbooks for school use.

plecteris, Enni' (v. 288). Following an amazing explanation of *dystigii* (as it is normally spelled) as derived from *dys-* and *stix,-igis* and referring to Ennius' book on the rivers of the underworld, the commentaries include another explanation of the word as 'materia comprehensa sub duobus versibus'; the Ennian couplet naming twelve Olympians (*Martianus Capella, De Nuptiis Mercurii et Philologiae*, I. 42) is cited with many vagaries of spelling, order and personnel. This definition is attributed to 'Magister Alexander Nequam' by nine of these commentaries dating from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century from the continent and England alike and all, with a single exception, belonging to the first and largest version of the commentary.²³

An additional seven attribute this definition to 'Magister Alexander' and two others merely to Alexander. A completely different commentary of the fourteenth century (Besançon, 534; see section 4) also cites 'Magister Alexander Nequam' for this definition, as does also a short commentary of the thirteenth century (Kampen, Archief der Gemeente, 2843; see section 5).²⁴

Stephen Patrington, Bishop of St. David's and Chichester (d. 1417), who played a prominent role in the attacks on Wycliffe, was also the author of a commentary on the *Egloga* and his name has been associated with three different versions, two of which

23. Lincoln, Cathedral Library, 132 (C. 5. 8), s. XIII/XIV; London, B.M. Add. 21,981, s. XIV; Paris, B.N. lat. 7537A, s. XIV; Paris, B.N. lat. 8259, s. XV; Paris, B.N. lat. 15.158, s. XIII; Pommersfelden, Schlossbibliothek, 84 (2804), misc., s. XIII/XIV; Stuttgart, Landesbibliothek, Cod. poet. et philol. 34b, s. XIV; Vatican, Vat. lat. 1479, s. XIII - all in Group A. In Group C, Berlin, lat. oct. 166, mbr. misc., s. XIV.

24. The commentary listed in section 3 shows little or no interest in this quatrain, but one version (Wolfenbüttel, 212 [185 Helmst], s. XV) cites as authority for the definition of *dystigium* 'Alexander in poetria sua'. The 'Stephen Patrington' commentary (section 6) contains only the corrupt derivational definition, while that of Odo Picardus (section 7) includes the second definition without mentioning a source.

are in this series. (For the third, see section 6). Manuscript Y 4 Sup. in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana at Milan bears the following note: 'commentum in Theoduli Aeglogam fortasse Steph. Patrington'; this note, according to Dr. Angelo Paredi of the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, was added by Pietro Mazzucchelli (d. 1829). Whatever commentary Patrington wrote, it was not this one, since this fifteenth century manuscript is an almost word-for-word copy of Vat. lat. 1479 dating from the thirteenth century.

John Bale²⁵ mentions Patrington's commentary and includes the *incipit* 'Aestas fer', an *incipit* which corresponds to that of the commentary in this series found in manuscript 74 at the Stiftsbibliothek, Kremsmünster. Since the commentary in that manuscript is a short version of the standard text, it surely cannot represent an independent publication. Bale has either confused the authorship or Patrington's commentary, now lost, is different from that found at Kremsmünster.

The basic commentary in this series was written long before Patrington's days and had fully established itself as a school text by the time he was himself educated. Although the attribution to Alexander Neckam is attractive, there is no sure evidence for his authorship.

The chief, and perhaps, the original *incipit* is 'Eglogarum tres sunt diversitationes' or 'partes' or variations thereon, and as such the commentary was identified at the beginning of the fifteenth century by Odo Picardus, who used it as a source for his own commentary (see section 7): 'Ita dicunt glose communes per quas ego semper intellego glosam qui incipit: 'Eglogarum tres sunt partes', etc.' (ad vv. 93-96). While about 60% of the extant versions carry this conventional introduction, it is

25. *Ibid.*, 539, s.v. *Stephanus Patringtonus*. His authorship of a commentary is also mentioned by Antonius Possevinus, *op.cit.*, II 432, John Leland, *Commentarii de scriptoribus Britannicis* (Oxford, 1709) 429-30, Leyser, *op. cit.*, 299, T. Tanner, *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica* (London, 1748) 581 and by Fabricius, *op. cit.*, III. 506, all s.v. *Stephanus Patringtonus*.

in itself no guarantee of the closeness of the various texts. Thus commentaries with the same introduction may vary considerably in the body of the text (i.e. Paris, B.N., lat. 1862; Bern, Burgerbibl., 403; Munich, CLM 391), while on the other hand the contents of those with different introductory sentences may be almost identical (i.e., Prague, Bibl. Univ., 1611-12, VIII G. 29; Erfurt, Ampl. Q 388; Michaelbeuern, Stiftsbibl. 78 - m.c. 87).

The same variation is apparent in the *incipit* of the commentary proper where a little over 40% of extant commentaries favor one beginning with geographical notes on Ethiopia, while the rest follow one of two other patterns or are completely different. Again identical *incipits* are no guarantee of continued similarity through the work (i.e., Vatican, Vat. lat. 1479 and Bern, Burgerbibl., 512 which represent quite different versions), while commentaries with totally different beginnings may be on the whole very close to each other (i.e., Paris, B.N., lat. 15.158 and Stuttgart, Landesbibl., Cod. poet. et philol. 34b).

Intro. [Inc.]: (London, B.M., Add. 21.981, f. 1^r) Eglogarum tres sunt partes seu diversitationes. Quedam consistit in cynicis vel amaris reprehensionibus; et huiusmodi egloga usus est Horatius in Sermonibus suis. Egloga dicitur ab egle, quod est caper, et logos, quod est sermo, quasi caprinus sermo. Caper est animal fetidum; similiter id carmen quod consistit in reprehensionibus viciorum...

Commentary:

[Inc.]: (Paris, B.N., lat. 8259, f. 38^v) *Ethiopum terras*, etc. Nota tres esse Ethiopias, sc. orientalem, meridionalem, occidentalem; sed dicit de meridionali quia magis exusti sunt a calore quam alii homines.

(Amiens, 436, f. 27^r) *Ethiopum terras iam fervida estas*, i. ebullicio viciorum que fuit ante tempus gracie; *torruit*, i. torruerat, tempus pro tempore.

(Prague, Bibl. Univ., 1611-12, VIII G. 29, f. 37^v) Iste liber principali sua divisione dividitur in tres partes: in prima enim proponit, ibi *Ethiopum terras*; in secunda narrat ibi *primus Cretheis* (v. 37).

[Expl.]: (London, B.M., Add. 21.981,

f. 13^v) Scimus vero quod multa restant dicenda sed *desine*, O Alithia, *ne desperacio ledat* Pseustum, sicut lesit Cayn et Judam.

Manuscripts:

Group A:

(Micro.) Auxerre, 86 (80), ff. 1^r-38^r, s. XV.

[Inc.]:²⁶ Sicut in aliis libris consuetum est querere in isto libro.

[Expl.]: Et hec de expositione partis libri dicta sufficient. Explicit Theodolus.

(Cat. Gen. Fr. Dept. Octavo VI 35-36; 0-2, p. 356, # 2).

(Micro.) Berlin, Staatsbibl., Diez B (Santen) 4, ff. 19^r-30^r, s. XV (1443).

Intro. [Inc.]: Eglogarum sunt tres divisiones.

Commentary:

[Inc.]: (f. 19^r) *Ethiopum*. Nota tres Ethiopias esse, sc. meridionalem, occidentalem sed dicit de meridionali.

[Expl.]: Desperationem ledere sc. Pseudostim. Et hoc est totum etc. etc. et cet. etc. et cet. etc. [Verse] Laus tibi sit Christe quoniam labor explicit iste.

(G. H. Pertz in *Archiv d. Gesellschaft f. ält. deutsche Geschichtskunde* VIII 1843, 852).

(Micro.) Berlin, Staatsbibl., Diez C. quarto 60, pp. 3-74, s. XIX-1804. A copy of Berlin, Diez B (Santen) 4.

(G. H. Pertz in *Archiv d. Gesellschaft f. ält. deutsche Geschichtskunde* VIII 1843, 853).

(Micro.) Biberach an der Riss, Spitalarchiv 37, ff. 1^r-14^v, s. XIV.

Intro. [Inc.]: Eglogarum tres sunt partes.

Commentary:

[Inc.]: (f. 1^r) *Ethiopum terras* etc. Nota tres esse Ethiopias s. orientalis, meridionalis et occidentalis.

[Expl.]: Est mundata a Spiritu Sancto ab omni macula et carne soluta infusa fuit anima et facta est plena sapientia (ad vv. 329-332; cet. des.).

(0-2, p. 358, # 15).

(Micro.) Erfurt, Ampl. Oct. 15, ff. 41^r-61^r, s. XIII/XIV.

[Inc.]: Et sic notat modum pastoris quia cum virga sua oves (ad vv. 3-7, followed by commentary ad v. 37 to the end of the poem.)

26. In some cases there is no introductory material preceding the main commentary.

[Expl.] : (f. 59^v) Quatuor se offerunt lecture primo sic debemus commendare. Explicit laus Deo nostro de hoc. Immediately following this *explicit* begins the commentary ad vv. 8-36 (ff. 59^v-60^v) which ends : Laus Deo quia explicit istud opus demum. This section of the commentary is followed by sentences usually included in the introduction (ff. 60^v-61^r), beginning : In principio huius libri hec sunt inquirenda, s. que sit materia autoris, que intencio. The actual end of the commentary (f. 61^r) is : His visis ad litteram accedamus.

(Schum 682).

(Micro.) Erfurt, Ampl. Q. 388, ff. 173^v-189^v, s. XIV (1366).

Intro. [Inc.] : Eglogarum tres sunt partes.

Commentary :

[Inc.] : (f. 174^r) *Ethiopum terras* etc. Nota tres esse Ethiopias.

[Expl.] : Lesit Cayn et Judam et multos alios.

(Schum 650-52 ; 0-2, p. 361, # 40).

(Micro.) Esztergom (Hungary), Library of the Archbishop, II. 395, ff. 80^r-129^v, s. XV (1490).

Intro. [Inc.] : Incipit egloga Theodoli. Notandum, quod quatuor sunt generalia distinctionum.

Commentary :

[Inc.] : (f. 80^v) Hic (?) est liber ipsius Theodoli in quo autor dicet de veritate et falsitate et dividitur in duas partes.

[Expl.] : Ergo si non cessaveris, ipse Pseustis cadit in desperationem, a qua desperatione liberet nos Ihesus Christus, filius Dei, qui est benedictus in secula seculorum. Amen. Factum per me Ladislauum de Zalka, anno domini 1490, feria quarta post festum Epiphanie.

(0-2, p. 390, # 140).

(Micro.) Kremsmünster, Stiftsbibl., 74, ff. 107^r-119^v, s. XV.

[Inc.] : Egloga Theodoli clarissimi incipit. *Estas fervida torruit Etiopia sive regio Maurorum adurebatur estivo calore.*

[Expl.] : O Alathia, dic mihi problemata vel propositum ut eum dicas sive secretum Troyanum (ad v. 320 ; cet. des.).

(Bibliotheca Cremifanensis, Catalogus Manuscriptorum, excerpt by P. Beda Lehner from a draft by P. Hugo Schmid (Microfilm

in Library of Congress) 12^b, # LXXIX ; 0-1, p. 16, # 21 ; 0-2, p. 360, # 34 ; 0 in both instances lists the ms. as 14. F. viii. 8 but the correct number 74 has been confirmed by Pater Willibrord Neumueller OSB, via Paul O. Kristeller).

(Micro.) Lincoln, Cathedral Library, 132 (C. 5. 8), ff. 11^r-19^v ; 31^r-36^v, s. XIII/XIV.

Intro. [Inc.] : Eglogarum tres sunt partes vel diversitationes.

Commentary :

[Inc.] : (f. 11^r) Notandum quod tres sunt Ethiopias.

[Expl.] : Ne desperacio ledat Pseustim sicut lesit Caym ore fando Christo quia son... Theodolus iste. Explico (?) explicat (?) ludere scriptor etc.

(R. Wooley, *Catalogue of Manuscripts of Lincoln Cathedral Library*, Oxford, 1927, 92 ; 0-1, p. 19, # 59 ; 0-2, p. 364, # 69).

(Micro.) London, B.M., Add. 21,981, ff. 1^r-13^v, s. XIV.

Intro. [Inc.] : Eglogarum tres sunt partes seu diversitationes.

Commentary :

[Inc.] : (f. 1^r) *Ethiopum terras*, etc. Nota tres esse Ethiopias.

[Expl.] : Sicut lesit Cayn et Judam. Explicit egloga Theodoli.

(Catal. Add. MSS. 1854-75, 567 ; 0-1, p. 19, # 63 ; 0-2, p. 365, # 74).

(Micro.) Lübeck, Stadtbibl., Philol. 169, ff. 95^r-119^v, s. XIV (1322).

Intro. [Inc.] : Eglogarum tres sunt partes.

Commentary :

[Inc.] : (f. 95^r) *Ethyopum terras* etc. Notandum tres esse Ethyophum.

[Expl.] : *Desine, peto, ne desperacio ledat* Pseustim sicut lesit Caym et Judam et multos alios. Explicit opus Theodoli scriptum per manus Hinrisci (?) et completum anno domini M^o CCC^o XXII^o in die Valentini martyris.

(By letter from Dr. Hegener of the Bibliothek d. Hansestadt Lübeck).

(Micro.) Lund, Universitetsbibl., 30, ff. 72^r-107^r, s. XIV.

Intro. [Inc.] : Eglogarum tres sunt partes.

Commentary :

[Inc.] : (f. 72^v) Dicit ergo *Ethiopum terras* etc. Nota tres esse Ethiopias, scilicet orientalis.

[Expl.] : (After the regular *explicit* a discourse on allegory) Iecur suum (i.e. Promethei) in Caucaso monte corrodebat, nichil aliud est quam quod hoc quia tuta (sic) cor eius in Caucaso monte studentis corrodebat, sicut adhuc corredit corda studentium. Amen. Benedictus Deus semper. Historia de Adam, de Cayn et Abel. . . de rege Assuero et Hester. Laus Deo.

(0-2, p. 365, # 79, called HLω 12, mscr. 49). (Micro.) Marburg, Universitätsbibl., 85 (Muellerianus), ff. 1^r-36^r, s. XV (1458).

Intro. [Inc.] : Eglogarum tres sunt partes.

Commentary :

[Inc.] : (f. 1^r) Nota tres esse Ethiopias.

[Expl.] : Lesit Cayn et Iudam et multos alios. Explicit Theodolus cum commento. Anno domini LVIII ipsa die sancti Gregorii. Ponitur hic finis perfecto carmine litis.

(0-1, p. 21, # 86 ; 0-2, p. 365, # 81).

(Micro.) Melk, Stiftsbibl., 926 (formerly 1226), pp. 187-226, s. XIV. A short version.

Intro. [Inc.] : In principio huius operis sunt exquirenda extrinsecus s. que materia, que intencio.

Commentary :

[Inc.] : (p. 187) *Ethyopum* etc. i. ebulicio (sic) peccatorum vel viciorum.

[Expl.] : Nisi cesses s. desperationem ledere Pseustim. Finis erit.

(M. Kropff, *Bibliotheca Mellicensis* (Vienna, 1747) p. 47, # 88 ; Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum qui in *Bibliotheca Monasterii Mellicensis O.S.B. servantur* 3, Library of Congress microfilm # 2507. 2, 1493).

(Micro.) Michaelbeuern, Stiftsbibl., 78 (M.C.87), ff. 211^r-247^v, s. XV (1468).

Intro. [Inc.] : Iste tractatus poeticus est titulatus egloga Theodoli sive Theodori sive Paradisi pro quo notandum quod egloga dicitur ab egle.

Commentary :

[Inc.] : (f. 211^r) Allegorice quod *fervida estas* i. estus peccati torruit.

[Expl.] : Ideo a fortiori, o Alathia, moveri debet ad misericordiam et cessare a disputatione cum Pseusti. Explicit egloga Theodoli per me Michaehelem Zoyfz in vigilia Sancti Wolfgangi 1468.

(0-2, p. 366, # 87).

(Micro.) Milan, Bibl. Ambros., Y 4 Sup., ff. 3^r-150^r, s. XV (1402).

Intro. [Inc.] : Eglogarum tres sunt diversitates.

Commentary :

[Inc.] : (f. 4^v) *Ethiopum terras* etc. Nota tres esse Ethiopias.

[Expl.] : Nisi enim cesses desperatio ledit Pseustim. Amen. Dextere (sic) scriptoris faveat Deus omnibus horis.

[Inventario MSS. [Inventario Ceruti] XXXI, p. 4, # 4 (micr. DLC) ; 0-1, p. 20, # 71 ; 0-2, p. 366, # 84 ; Kristeller, Iter I 316].

(Micro.) Munich, Staatsbibl., CGM 3974, ff. 290^r-317^r, s. XV (1454).

Intro. [Inc.] : Eglogarum tres sunt partes.

Commentary :

[Inc.] : (f. 290^r) Iste liber principali sua divisione dividitur in tres partes.

[Expl.] : Sic lesit Caym et Judam et in hoc terminatur huius libri glosa ex diversis commentariis recollecta. Pro quo sit laus et gloria Christo per infinita secula. Amen. Anno domini 1454 Urbani pape et martyris die.

(0-2, p. 368, # 106).

(Micro.) Munich, Staatsbibl., CLM 15612, ff. 170^r-234^r, s. XV (1445).

Intro. [Inc.] : Sciencia utilis est acquisitio felicitatis eterne.

Commentary :

[Inc.] : (f. 173^r) Hoc viso prohemium dividitur in partes duo ; pars autem describit tempus quo disputatio fingitur esse facta.

[Expl.] : Theodolum prudenter tacuisse. Et in hoc finiatur huius libri glosa ex diversis commentariis studiose transcollecta. Pro quo sit laus Deo per infinita secula seculorum. Amen di. . . Explicit Theodolus per magistrum Rippertum Loer tunc temporis priorem et custodem ecclesie professum in Roti anno domini 1445 in die sancti Urbani pape et martyris hora quasi duodecima. Libro finito sit laus et gloria Christo.

(Catal. CLM IV. 3, 23-24 ; 0-1, p. 20, # 81 ; 0-2, p. 367, # 98).

(Micro.) Paris, B.N., lat. 1862, ff. 99^r-114^r, s. XIII.

Intro. [Inc.] : Eglogarum tres sunt diversitates.

Commentary :

[Inc.] : (f. 99^r) Dicit ergo *Ethiopum* etc. Nota tres esse Ethiopias.

[Expl.] : Ne desperacio ledat Pseustim. Convenientia est in hoc quod Pseustis victus est de illo ab Alatia. Finito libro reddatur gloria Christo. Amen.

(Catal. Bibl. Regiae III 202 ; 0-1, p. 15, # 13 ; 0-2, p. 368, # 116).

(Micro.) Paris, B.N., lat. 7537A, ff. 38v-75v, s. XIV.

Intro. [Inc.] : In primis videndum est que materia, que intencio.

Commentary :

[Inc.] : (f. 39r) *Ethiopum terras* etc. *Ethiopum corporis falsitas* que maxima est.

[Expl.] : Si componitur de seorsum corripitur (ad vv. 317-20 ; cet. des.).

(Catal. Bibl. Regiae IV 371 ; 0-1, p. 16, # 15 ; 0-2, p. 369, # 120).

(Micro.) Paris, B.N., lat. 8259, ff. 38r-72r, s. XV.

Intro. [Inc.] : Tres sunt partes sive diversitates.

Commentary :

[Inc.] : (f. 38v) *Ethiopum terras* etc. Nota tres esse Ethiopias.

[Expl.] : Sicut lesit Cayn et Judam. Sic tandem finis posito certamine litis. Explicit egloga Theologi (sic). Amen.

(Catal. Bibl. Regiae IV 442 ; 0-1, p. 21, # 93 ; 0-2, p. 370, # 124).

(Micro.) Paris, B.N., lat. 15.158, ff. 14r-34r, s. XIII.

Intro. [Inc.] : Actor iste Theodus Athensis existens.

Commentary :

[Inc.] : (f. 14r) *Ethiopum terras* etc., i.e. peccatores sive homines existentes ante tempus gracie abutentes peccatis suis.

[Expl.] : Sic pepercit Threicio vati dum adivit ad infernalem sedem.

(L. Delisle, ‘Inventaire des manuscrits latins de Saint Victor conservés à la Bibliothèque Impériale sous les numéros 14.232-15.173’ in *Bibliothèque de l’École des Chartes* XXX (1869) 77 ; 0-1, p. 21, # 96 ; 0-2, p. 370, # 127).

(Micro.) Pommersfelden, Schlossbibl., 84 (2804), ff. 1v-20v, s. XIII-XIV.

Intro. [Inc.] : Eglogarum tres sunt diversitates vel partes.

Commentary :

[Inc.] : (f. 1v) Dicit ergo *Ethiopum terras*. Nota tres esse Ethiopias.

[Expl.] : Nisi cesses desperatione ledes Pseustim. Following the last verse of the poem : Explicit Theodus. Finito libro sit laus et gloria Christo. Scriptor qui scripsit sua dextra sit beti. . . a.

(Bethmann, ‘Einige Handschriften der Gräflich Schönborn’schen Bibliothek in Pommersfelde’ in *Serapeum* VI 1845, 33, # 1804).

(Micro.) Prague, Universitní knihovna, VIII G.29, ff. 36v-49v, s. XIV.

Intro. [Inc.] : Scientia est utilis ad acquisitionem felicitatis eterne. Hanc propositio nem scribit Algazar in principio sue logice.

Commentary :

[Inc.] : (f. 37v) Iste liber principali sua divisione dividitur in tres partes.

[Expl.] : Joseph Pharaoni venditus est, i.e. Christus (ad vv. 129-32 ; cet. des.).

(Truhlář I 598, no. 1611-12 ; 0-2, p. 370, # 133).

(Micro.) Prague, Universitní knihovna, VIII G.31, ff. 72r-119v, s. XV (1412).

Intro. [Inc.] : Utilitas sciencie est acquisitione felicitatis eterne. Hanc hanc (sic) propositionem scribit Algasael in principio sue logice.

Commentary :

[Inc.] : (f. 73r) Iste liber principali sua divisione dividitur in tres partes.

[Expl.] : Sperne superbos. Explicit Theodus per manus Petri decani Oraci de Pryzbram finitus in vigilia visitacionis Elizabeth hora ante XVII sub anno domini millesimo CCCC XII, sub anno domini M^o CCCC XII.

(Truhlář I 600, no. 1614 ; 0-2, p. 370, # 134).

(Micro.) St. Florian, Augustiner-Chorherren Stift, XI. 279, ff. 228r-260v, s. XV.

Intro. [Inc.] : Eglogarum tres sunt partes.

Commentary :

[Inc.] : (f. 228v) Dicit ergo *Ethiopum* etc. Nota tres esse Ethiopias.

[Expl.] : Cayn et Judam et multos alios. Explicit notula Theoduli. Amen.

(A. Czerny, *Die Handschriften d. Stiftsbibliothek St. Florian* (Linz, 1871) 115-16 ; 0-1, p. 18, # 49 ; 0-2, p. 361, # 44).

(Micro.) St. Paul im Lavanttal, Stiftsbibl., 26. 4. 25 (D 255), ff. 23r-42r, s. XIV.

Intro. [Inc.] : Incipit glosa Theodoli. . . opus autor dicit. Eclogae tres sunt partes sive species.

Commentary :

[Inc.] : *Ethyopum terras etc.* Partes tres sunt Ethiopiae s. origentalem (sic), meridionalalem et occidentalem.

[Expl.] : *Ne desperacio ledat Pseustum sicut Cayn et Iudam.* Amen.

(*Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum ex monasteritis S. Blasii in nigra silva et Hospitalis ad Pyrhum montem in Austria nunc in monast. S. Pauli in Carinthia*, Library of Congress microfilm, reel 2521, 97).

(Micro.) Stuttgart, Landesbibliothek, cod. poet. et philol. 34b, ff. 61^r-76^v, s. XIV.

Intro. [Inc.] : Eglogarum tres sunt partes sive diversitatem.

Commentary :

[Inc.] : (f. 61^r) *Ethyopum terras etc.* Nota tres esse Ethiopes.

[Expl.] : Sic lesit Chaym et Judam. (Verse) Sic tandem finis posito certamine litis. Explicit egloga Theodoli.

(C. F. Stälin, ‘Zur Geschichte und Beschreibung alter und neuer Büchersammlungen im Königreich Würtemberg, insbesondere der Königlichen öffentlichen Bibliothek in Stuttgart und der mit derselben verbundenen Münz-, Kunst- und Alterthümer-Sammlung’ in *Württembergische Jahrbücher für vaterländische Geschichte, Geographie, Statistik und Topographie* 1837 [1838] 310 ; 0-1, p. 22, # 101 ; 0-2, p. 371, # 141).

(Micro.) Vatican, Vat. lat. 1479, ff. 15^v-25^r, s. XIII.

Intro. [Inc.] : Eglogarum tres sunt diversitatem.

Commentary :

[Inc.] : (f. 16^r) *Ethyopum terras etc.* Invocat iste tres Ethiopes.

[Expl.] : Nisi cesses desperatio ledat per (sic) Pseustis.

(Cod. Vat. lat. III 11 ; 0-1, p. 22, # 105 ; 0-2, p. 372, # 151).

Group B :

(Micro.) Amiens, 436, ff. 27^r-51^v, s. XIII.

Intro. [Inc.] : Eglogarum tres species diverse sunt.

Commentary :

[Inc.] : (f. 27^r) *Ethyopum terras iam servida estas,* i. ebullicio viciorum que sunt ante tempus gracie.

[Expl.] : Ledat Pseustum.

(*Catal. Gen. Fr. Dept. Octavo XIX* 213 ; 0-2, p. 356, # 1).

(Micro.) Bern, Burgerbibl., 403, ff. 13^r-27^r, s. XIII (1284).

Intro. [Inc.] : Eglogarum tres sunt diversitatem.

Commentary :

[Inc.] : (f. 13^r) *Ethyopum terras*, i. peccatores, s. gentes existentes ante tempus gracie abutentes peccatis suis.

[Expl.] : Nisi cesses, scilicet desperacione ledas istum. Explicet egloga Theodoli.

(Hagen 366 ; 0-1, p. 17, # 27 ; 0-2, p. 357, # 7).

(Micro.) Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibl., Gl. kgl. Samling 2036, ff. 2^r-18^v, s. XIV.

Intro. [Inc.] : Eglogarum tres sunt diversitatem.

Commentary :

[Inc.] : (f. 2^r) *Estas servida*, i. ebullitio peccatorum que facit peccatorem servidum.

[Expl.] : Sicut adhuc corrodit corda studeneium et cetera. Sorte superiorum scriptor libri pociatur morte superborum raptor libri moriatur. Amen. Finito libro sic super nos soleant (?).

(Jørgensen 345 ; 0-1, p. 19, # 56 ; 0-2, p. 363, # 59).

(Micro.) Darmstadt, Landesbibl., 2640, ff. 18^r-36^v, s. XIV. Immediately following the Latin commentary is a French commentary on part of the poem.

Intro. [Inc.] : Eglogarum tres sunt species vel diversitatem.

Commentary :

[Inc.] : (f. 18^v) Notandum tres Ethiopes vel Ethiopie, s. orientalis, meridionalis et occidentalis.

[Expl.] : Scimus nam quod multa restant dicenda sed *desine*, o Alicia, *ne desperacio* Pseusti sicut lesit.

(F. W. E. Roth, ‘Mittheilungen aus mittel-lateinischen Handschriften der Hofbibliothek zu Darmstadt’ in *Romanische Forschungen* VI 1891, 261 where Roth, failing to recognize a commentary on the *Disticha Catonis* which precedes that of Theodolus, records the *incipit*, ‘Cum animadverterem’ for the commentary on Theodolus ; 0-1, p. 18, # 44 ; 0-2, p. 360, # 35).

(Micro.) Oxford, Ms. Canonici Lat. class. 72, ff. 82^r-97^v, s. XIII (1274).

Intro. [Inc.]: Iste Theodolus episcopus Actenensis fuit.

Commentary:

[Inc.]: (f. 82v) *Ethiopum terras* etc., i. ebullicio peccatorum que fuit ante tempus gracie.

[Expl.]: Alicia, desine quod restat, i. quod superest, desperacio que ledat eum. Anno domini M CC LXXIII mense iunii fuit liber iste scriptus in die lune ante festum sancti Iohannis Batiste vel finitus. Scandit summa domus nolente volente cato mus.

(Oxford, Quarto Catal. 3 [Canonici] col. 141-42; Madan IV. 319, # 18653; 0-1, p. 21, # 88; 0-2, p. 368, # 110).

(Micro.) Oxford, Digby 100, ff. 75^r-100^r, s. XIV.

Intro. [Inc.]: Eglogarum tres sunt diversitates.

Commentary:

[Inc.]: (f. 76r) *Terras Ethiopum*, i. terrenos peccatores.

[Expl.]: Et aliter, desine quod restat, i. quod superest. Nisi cesses scies desperationem ledere.

(Oxford, Quarto Catal. 9 [Digby] 114-15; Madan II. 1. 73, # 1701; 0-1, p. 21, # 89; 0-2, p. 368, # 111.

(Micro.) Paris, B.N., lat. 2638, ff. 32r-50v, s. XII-XIII.

Intro. [Inc.]: Eglogarum tres sunt species.

Commentary:

[Inc.]: (f. 32r) Dicit ergo *Ethiopum terras* etc. Debemus scire quod in tres partes esse *Ethiopiam*.

[Expl.]: Sicut Caym et Judam vel sic, o Alicia, desine quod restat, i. quod melius est vel desine desperationem ledere ne desperacio ledat te. (Verse) Explicit liber Theodoli sive Theodori.

(Catal. Bibl. Regiae III.308; Lauer II 559; 0-1, p. 14, # 1; 0-2, p. 369, # 117).

(Micro.) Urbana, University of Illinois Library, 57, ff. 6v-13r, s. XIV/XV.

[Inc.]: *Fervida estas*, i. fervor et ebullitio peccatorum.

[Expl.]: *Ne desperacio Pseusti* i.e. seustum (sic) sicut lesit Chaym fratrem Abel etc. Hic explicit liber Theodoli etc. There follow two additional sections, the latter of which is comparable to a standard introduction: (1): In hoc pro apologia docet autor quod

nemo debet nimium.. manus diaboli nisi abstineas te a peccatis; (2): In principio huius autoris hec quinque inquirenda: materia, intencio.. Theodolus igitur tractans de spirituali pugna quo tempore primum pugna incepit esse inter diabolum et veritatem dicendo *Ethiopum iam terras*.

(*Supplement to De Ricci's Census of Medieval and Renaissance MSS.*, by C. U. Faye and W. H. Bond, p. 168).

Winchester, Cathedral Library, XV, Liber T. Silkstede²⁷ (III. A), ff. 79^r-100^r, s. XV.

Intro. [Inc.]: Quoniam in hoc opere iter magnum sumus aggressuri.

Commentary:

[Inc.]: (f. 79v) Ethiope sunt populi habitantes in extremitate mundi.

[Expl.]: *Pectine*. Hic posita pars pro toto per methanomiam. (Verse) Explicit liber Theodoli.. Magister M. Grene.

(*Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Cathedral Library, Winchester*, typewritten and handwritten; H. Schenkl, 'Bibliotheca Patrum Latinorum Britannica' in *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* [Vienna], *Philosophisch-Historische Classe* CXXXI (1894) 49, # 3795; M. Boas, 'De Librorum Catoniarum Historia atque Compositione' in *Mnemosyne* N. S. XLII (1914) 41; 0-1, p. 22, # 112; 0-2, p. 373, # 164).

Group C:

These versions are different from the above and different from each other.

(Micro.) Berlin, lat. oct. 87, mbr., ff. 15^r-31^r, s. XV.

Intro. [Inc.]: Eglogarum tres sunt partes.

Commentary:

[Inc.]: (f. 15r) *Ethiopum terras*. Notandum tres esse *Ethiopias*.

[Expl.]: Et erugo est *triste*, id est tristis res; erugo est vel metallum (ad vv. 301-304; cet. des.).

27. This manuscript book was purchased by Thomas Silkstede, Prior of St. Swithin's from 1498-1524 for 13 shillings, 4 pence and contains seven school texts with commentaries, including Cato and Avianus, both copied by the same Magister Grene. Although the numbering of the folios is continuous (modern hand), there is at least one folio missing between 86 and 87 which contained the text and commentary for vv. 125-148.

(0-1, p. 17, # 30 ; 0-2, p. 357, # 10).

(Micro.) Berlin, lat. oct. 166, mbr., ff. 3^r-23^r, s. XIV.

Intro. [Inc.] : Noticia de aiunt olim : In principio huius libri has causas inquirendas.

Intro. [Inc.] : (f. 3^v) In principio huius operis auctoris vel ethici ista sunt inquirenda.

Commentary :

[Inc.] : (f. 3^v) *Ethiopum terras iam fervida torruit*, i. ebullicio peccatorum aut viciorum que sunt ante tempus gracie.

[Expl.] : Nisi cesses, desperatio ledat Pseustim, etc.

(0-1, p. 17, # 32 ; 0-2, p. 358, # 12).

(Micro.) Bern, Burgerbibl., 439, ff. 138^r-151^v, s. XIII/XIV.

Intro. [Inc.] : Tres esse partes eglogarum invenimus.

Commentary :

[Inc.] : (f. 138^r) *Estas fervida*. Ebullicio peccatorum qui fuit ante tempus gracie.

[Expl.] : Vel sic, desine alia dicere multa, s. quod restat, i. quod superest si cessas ledat Pseustim et hoc est quod dicit in littera *Treicus vates*, etc. (Verse) Explicit Theodolus. Pro tanto dono tamen plus scribere nolo.

(Hagen 383-84 ; 0-1, p. 17, # 28 ; 0-2, p. 357, # 8).

(Micro.) Bern, Burgerbibl., 512, ff. 125^r-142^v, s. XIII.

Intro. [Inc.] : Eglogarum tres sunt species vel diversitates.

Commentary :

[Inc.] : (f. 125^v) Dicit ergo *Ethiopum terras torruit*. Notandum quod tres sunt partes Ethiopie.

[Expl.] : Nisi cesses desperacione ledas istum vel conversum vite vel... (Verse) Explicit iste liber scriptor sic... liber.

(Hagen 431-32 ; 0-1, p. 17, # 29 ; 0-2, p. 357, # 9).

(Micro.) Donaueschingen, Hofbibl., 24, ff. 2^v-34^v, s. XV.

[Inc.] : Pars prohemialis adhuc dividitur in duo : prima enim describit tempus in quo.

[Expl.] : (Actual commentary ends with that on vv. 293-96 : latet sub nube, etc. Verses 297-344 follow) Explicit eglogarum Theodoli per fratrem Georgium qui etiam si non invenio ad plenum forsitan historiam

ac fabulam quam propter distuli, Deus reprietur.

(K. Barack, *Die Handschriften d. . . . Hofbibliothek zu Donaueschingen*, Tübingen, 1865, 15-16).

(Micro.) Ghent, Bibl. Univ., 336, pp. 2-52, s. XIV and XIII.

Intro. [Inc.] : Eglogarum tres sunt diversitates.

Commentary :

[Inc.] : (p. 2) *Ethiopum terras fervida estas*, i. ebullitio viciorum que fuit ante tempora gracie.

[Expl.] : *Desine quod restat ad dicendum ne desperacio ledat Pseustim vel aliter desine ne desperacio ledat Pseustim quod restat ei*, s. desperacio.

(de Saint-Genois, *Cat. . . . mss de la Bibliothèque de la ville et de l'université de Gand*, Ghent, 1849-52, p. 252, # 321 ; 0-2, p. 362, # 48).

(Micro.) Munich, Staatsbibl., CLM 391, ff. 9^r-18^r, s. XIV.

Intro. [Inc.] : Eglogarum tres sunt diversitates.

Commentary :

[Inc.] : (f. 9^v) *Ethiopum*. Tres sunt Ethio pie : orientalis.

[Expl.] : *Ne desperacio ledat Pseusti*. Hoc quod restat, s. salus restat Pseusti.

(Catal CLM, III. 1 74 ; 0-1, p. 20, # 73 ; 0-2, p. 366, # 88).

(Micro.) Oxford, Auct. F. 5. 6, ff. 97^v-104^v, s. XIV.

Intro. [Inc.] : Autor huius operis Athenis existens.

Commentary :

[Inc.] : (f. 97^v) Item notandum quod primo ponit prologium operi suo in quo dicit tempus quando predicte venerunt.

[Expl.] : Assunt virtutes omnes. Nec negabo me ergo victum esse. (ad v. 336 ; cet. des.).

(F. Madan, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, 1895-1953, II. 1, 1922, pp. 253-4, # 2195 ; 0-1, p. 21, # 87 ; 0-2, p. 368, # 109).

(Micro.) Vatican, Reginensis lat. 1556, (Montfaucon, no. 1733), ff. 7^r-12^r, s. XIII.

[Inc.] : Incipit prologus Thedoli (sic). Tercia Eciophia, asseritur tres esse Eciopias, scilicet australem, meridionalem, orientalem.

[Expl.] : (Following the last verse and its commentary, there is information normally contained in the *incipit* plus notes on the opening words of the poem) *Aureus axis solis*, i. sol in axe, i. Christus qui est verus sol iusticie existens in axe, i. in divinitatis potencia. *Aureus ab aura* (sic). In prima pagina libri quere residuum.

(M. Boas, 'De librorum Catonianorum historia atque compositione' in *Mnemosyne* XLII 1914, 18; 0-1, p. 22, # 110; 0-2, p. 372, # 156).

Biogr. :

See above, Martianus Capella 8.

3. ANONYMUS TEUTONICUS

The author of this commentary, found chiefly in manuscripts in Germany, liberally interprets pagan myths as Christian allegory and also as moral exempla for relationships between faculty and students, the difficulties and rewards of scholarship, etc. The Biblical stories are interpreted as foreshadowing events of the New Testament and particularly the role of the Virgin Mary. Little help is offered the student in the way of grammatical explanations or of comprehension of the text of the poem. Two French manuscripts carry a version of the commentary which contains throughout large excerpts from the 'Alexander Neckam' commentary.

Intro. [Inc.] : The introductory material for this commentary varies from manuscript to manuscript and no single example will illustrate fully the nature of its contents. The basis of the introduction is the traditional group of items to be discussed at the beginning of any book ; these items may number as many as nine, may be confined to the four Aristotelian causes, or may represent a combination of both systems. Large pieces of the 'Alexander Neckam' introduction are sometimes inserted verbatim, although this material may be repetitive or inconsistent.

Commentary :

[Inc.] : (Metz, 326, f. 106r) Iste libellus dividitur in partem prohemiale et executivam. Pars executiva incipit ibi, *Primus Cretheis* (v. 37). Prima pars adhuc dividitur ;

nam primo ostendit tempus (i.e. compilationis), secundo inducit personas de veritate et falsitate disputantes ; secunda pars ibi, Compuleratque suas (v. 3).

[Expl.] : (typical version) Allegorice Fronesis supplicat Alathie ut a disputatione vellet desistere et sic quilibet peccator debet dulciter et curialiter tractari postquam cognovit peccata sua per lacrimas ne cadat in desperacionem. Sic ab errore falsitatis ducatur ad viam veritatis ad quam nos perducit Jesus Christus qui sine fine vivit et regnat in secula seculorum. Amen.

Manuscripts :

Group A :

(Micro.) Basel, Öffentliche Bibl. der Universität, F. IV. 50, ff. 120r-131r, s. XV (1450-1500). A short version.

Intro. [Inc.] : Circa inicium huius libri antequam procedatur ad textum primo notandum quod qualiter eius sunt cause, s. materialis, formalis, efficiens et finalis.

Commentary :

[Inc.] : (f. 120r) Primus libellus dividitur in partem prohemiale et executivam.

[Expl.] : Ad veritatis viam ad quam nos perducat qui sine fine vivit et regnat deus in secula seculorum. Amen. Deo gratias.

(0-2, p. 357, # 4).

(Micro.) Bonn, Universitätsbibl., 725, ff. 23r-81v, s. XVI (1526).

Intro. [Inc.] : Circa initium huius libri, sicut circa inicia aliorum librorum, quedam possunt inquiri, s. que est causa materialis.

Commentary :

[Inc.] : (f. 23r) Ad ipsum textum accedendo, dividitur iste libellus in partem prohemiale et executivam.

[Expl.] : Ad quam nos perducat qui sine fine vivit et regnat in secula seculorum. Amen. Et sic est finis pro quo de quo sit benedictus deus trinus et unus. Et sic est finis. Sit laus et gloria trinitati.

(A. Klette, *Catalogi Chirographorum in Bibliotheca Academica Bonensi*, Bonn, 1858-76, 190 ; 0-1, p. 17, # 34 ; 0-2, p. 358, # 17).

(Micro.) Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibl., Gl. kgl. Samling 1634, ff. 71r-86v, s. XV (1468). A short version.

Intro. [Inc.] : Iste liber, cuius principalis materia est de disputatione Pseustis et Alatie.

Commentary :

[Inc.] : (f. 71r) *Dum aureus axis solis, i. Christus qui est verus sol iusticie volvitur, i. vertitur in cancro, i. in utero virginis Marie.*

[Expl.] : Ad viam veritatis ad quam nos perducat ille qui sine fine vivit et regnat in secula seculorum 1468. Et sic est finis tractatus.

(Jørgensen 347-48).

(Micro.) Marburg, Universitätsbibl., 49 (D 12), ff. 227r-256v, s. XV.

Intro. [Inc.] : Iste liber, cuius principalis pars intencio de disputatione Pseustis et Alathie patet de veritate et falsitate; cuius subiectum sive causa.

Commentary :

[Inc.] : (f. 227r) Iste liber dividitur in partes prohemialem et executivam.

[Expl.] : Et in hoc terminatur queque libelli explanacio pro cuiusque complecione gloria laus et honor sit omnipotenti Deo per secula cuncta. Amen. (Verse) Explicant egloge Theodoli feliciter.

(C. Hermann, *Catal. codd. mss. . . in Bibliotheca Academica Marburgensi.* . . (Marburg, 1838) 62-3; 0-1, p. 14, # 4; 0-2, p. 365, # 80).

(Micro.) Metz, 326, ff. 106r-150v, s. XV, date of assembling the manuscript volume but, according to M. Chatin, Librarian at Metz, the date of writing is not known.

Intro. [Inc.] : Circa inicium huius libri sciendum est quod eius quatuor sunt cause, s. materialis, formalis, efficiens et finalis.

Commentary :

[Inc.] : (f. 106r) Iste libellus dividitur in partem prohemialem et executivam.

[Expl.] : Da veniam ne desperacio ledat eum quia si prius dicens forte cadet in desperationem. Sic est finis.

(V. J., i.e. Jacob, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Metz*, Metz, 1875, 103; Cat. Gen. Fr. Dept. Quarto, V, p. 140, # 326; 0-2, p. 366, # 86).

(Micro.) Munich, CLM 5243, ff. 160r-189r, s. XV. A short version.

Intro. [Inc.] : Circa materiam libri presentis est primo sciendum.

Commentary :

[Inc.] : (f. 160r) *Fervida estas, i. calor solis.*

[Expl.] : Ad viam veritatis ad quam nos perducat qui sine fine regnat deus.

(Catal. CLM III. 2. 235 ; 0-1, p. 20, # 77 ; 0-2, p. 367, # 94).

(Micro.) Munich, CLM 5594, ff. 278v-315v, s. XV. This manuscript contains a German poetic translation of the *Egloga*, each quatrain being rendered by a six-line stanza.

Intro. [Inc.] : Quemadmodum in paradis machinis materiam primus preparat artifex.

Commentary :

[Inc.] : (f. 279r) Iste libellus Theoduli qui de veritate et falsitate a quibusdam.

[Expl.] : Ad quam nos perducere dignetur Deus qui vivit et regnat per infinita secula seculorum. Amen.

(Catal. CLM III. 3. 24-5 ; 0-1, p. 20, # 78 ; 0-2, p. 367, # 95).

(Micro.) Trier, Dombibl., Cod. 26, ff. 190r-242v, s. XV.

Intro. [Inc.] : Circa inicium presentis libri est sciendum quod quatuor sunt eius cause.

Commentary :

[Inc.] : (f. 190r) Accedamus igitur ad textum. Dividitur iste liber sive libellus in partem prohemialem et executivam.

[Expl.] : Ad viam veritatis ad quam perducat nos qui sine fine vivit et regnat in secula seculorum. Amen.

(0-2, p. 372, # 147).

(Micro.) Utrecht, Bibl. der Rijksuniv. 292, ff. 1r-61r, s. XV.

Intro. [Inc.] : Notandum primo circa inicium libri quod sunt quatuor cause.

Commentary :

[Inc.] : (f. 1r) Accedendo igitur ad textum. Dividitur iste liber in partem prohemialem et executivam.

[Expl.] : Ad veritatis viam ad quam nos perducat qui sine fine vivit et regnat deus in secula seculorum. Amen.

(Catal. codd. mss. *Bibliothecae Universitatis Rheno-Trajectinae*, Utrecht, 1887, I 94 ; 0-2, p. 371, # 145).

(Micro.) Wolfenbüttel, 212 (185 Helmst.), ff. 133v-198r, s. XV (1471).

Intro. [Inc.] : In principio huius libri sunt principaliter quedam inquirenda: primo que materia, secundo que forma, tertio quis finis, quarto quis auctor.

Commentary :

[Inc.] : (f. 133v) Primus liber in duas dividitur partes principales, videlicet in partem prohemialem et executivam.

[Expl.]: Qui sine fine vivit et regnat per infinita secula seculorum. Amen. Qua Pseustim vicit ratione, poeta retexit, Virgo ; quod dicit ipse namque Teodolus exit.

(Heinemann I 167-69 ; 0-1, p. 19, # 51 ; 0-2, p. 362, # 53).

Group B :

A version containing throughout large excerpts from the 'Alexander Neckam' commentary.

(Micro.) Paris, B.N., lat. 8115, ff. 2r-55v, s. XV.

Intro. [Inc.]: In principio cuiuscumque operis iiii cause sunt inquirende.

Commentary :

[Inc.]: (f. 3r) Item nota quod tres sunt Ethiopie, orientalis, meridionalis et occidentalis.

[Expl.]: *Desine quod restat ne desperacio ledat.* Sequitur textus tocius rei. Finito libro sit lausque gloria Christo.

(Catal. Bibl. Regiae IV 429 ; 0-1, p. 21, # 92 ; 0-2, p. 369, # 123).

(Micro.) Toulouse, 877, ff. 311r-349r, s. XIV.

Intro. [Inc.]: In principio cuiuscunque operis quattuor cause sunt inquirende.

Commentary :

[Inc.]: (f. 312r) Notandum quod tres sunt Ethiopie, s. orientalis et meridionalis et occidentalis.

[Expl.]: *Cum totidem nervis*, i. cum totidem arcibus, chorda arcus solebat fieri de nervis antiquitus (ad. v 264 ; cet. des.).

(Cat. Gen. Fr. Dept. Octavo VII 518 ; 0-2, p. 371, # 144).

4. INDEPENDENT COMMENTARIES

They are different from the above and from each other.

(Micro.) Besançon, 534, ff. 13r-34r, s. XIV.

Intro. [Inc.]: Circa inicium huius libri, sicut in principio aliorum librorum, quedam possunt inquiri, scilicet, que sit causa talis.

Commentary :

[Inc.]: (f. 13r) *Ethiopum terras.* In ista parte auctor nichil aliud facit quam describit tempus in quo litigium veritatis et falsitatis.

[Expl.]: Ergo parcas ipsi ne ex nimia desperatione moriatur.

(Cat. Gen. Fr. Dept. Octavo XXXII 304 ; 0-2, p. 358, # 16).

(Micro.) Munich, Staatsbibl., CLM 19876, ff. 21r-57r, s. XV (1474).

Intro. [Inc.]: Commentum et declaratio Theodoli et fabule super Theodolum. Sribit philosophus primo Elencorum gloriosum est enim in omnibus exercitatum.

Commentary :

[Inc.]: (f. 21r) His prenotatis liber iste cuius subiectum est connexio fabularum et hystoriarum dividitur principaliter in tres partes, scilicet in prohemium, tractatum et epilogum.

[Expl.]: Nunc bene dicit ne desperacio ledat sicut lesit Cain et Judam. Pro quo complemento gloria laus et honor sit omnipotenti Deo per secula cuncta. Amen. Finit fauste fabula super Theodolum. 1474.

(Catal. CLM IV. 3. 281 ; 0-1, p. 20, # 83 ; 0-2, p. 368, # 103).

(Micro.) Naples, Bibl. Naz., cod. Già Vienesi lat. 53 (formerly Vienna, Nationalbibl., 3403), ff. 44r-79r, s. XV (1423).

[Inc.]: Saturnus ut gentiles testantur fuit primus deus sine patre et matre qui primus in Creta apparuit (ad vv. 37-40).

[Expl.]: Et mulier est dulce viro, i. mulier dicit dulcedine viro (ad v. 305 ; cet. des., although scattered marginal notes follow on the rest of the poem). (Verses). Deo gratias. Amen. Franciscellus Mancinus.

(Tabulae II 279 ; E. Martini, 'Sui codici Napoletani restituti dall' Austria' in *Atti della Reale Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti* N.S. IX, 1926, 177-78, # 53 (Cavalc. 72 = Tabb. 3403) ; 0-1, p. 22, # 114 ; 0-2, p. 374, # 170 ; Kristeller, *Iter I* 437).

(Micro.) Vienna, Nationalbibl., 15071, ff. 85r-101v, s. XIV (1346).

[Inc.]: *Ethiopum terras iam.* Iste liber principali sua divisione dividitur in duas : prohemium et executivam ; pars executiva incipit *Primus Cretheis* (v. 37).

[Expl.]: Ne Pseustis cadat in periculum vite et in hoc terminatur sententia huius libri. Explicit glosa ultima super Theodolum anno domini M^oC^oC^oC^o (two words scratched out) XLVI^o proxima quinta feria post assumptionem sancte Marie. Istum scriptorem Christus faciet meliorem. Qui me scribebat Maenhardus nomen habebat.

(*Tabulae*, VIII 122 ; 0-1, p. 22, # 117 ; 0-2, p. 375, # 173).

5. MINOR COMMENTARIES

These commentaries contain prose paraphrases of the poetic text, narration of the story mentioned in the verse and/or grammatical and comprehension aids but no interpretations of myth or Bible story. They are all different from each other.

(Micro.) Cambridge, Peterhouse 207 (2. 1.0.), ff. 5v-12v, s. XIII/XIV.

[*Inc.*] : Liber intitulatur de Deo et dolo, i. veritate et falsitate. Bene igitur intitulatur. Incipit eggloga Teodoli, i. Dei et diaboli.

[*Expl.*] : Mopso intelligendum quod Mop-
sus quesivit Calcantem de quibusdam pomis,
s. cuiusmodi arboris essent poma. Cum
Calcas solvere non potuit periit magno
dolore (ad v. 326 ; cet. des.).

(M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Peterhouse*, Cambridge, 1899, 247-48 ; 0-1, p. 18, # 38 ; 0-2, p. 359, # 22).

(Micro.) Gotha, Gymnasialbibl. 1 (deposited in the Landesbibl.), ff. 149r-165r, s. XV.

[*Inc.*] : Eglogue Theodoli felicis inicium libri cuius subiectum est proportionalis con-
nexio fabularum et historiarum.

[*Expl.*] : Sunt enim quidam homines qui verberationibus non emendantur sed quanto magis correguntur tanto deteriores efficiuntur et obstructiores ; hoc perpendens et videns Fronesis iussit cessare ipsam Alathiam ne Pseustis sic desperando ob...aret.

(H. Habich, *Codicem miscellaneum bibliothecae gymnasii Gothani descripsit*, progr. Gotha, 1860, 14 ; 0-2, p. 362, # 51).

(Micro.) Kampen, Archief der Gemeente, 2843, ff. 17v-30r, s. XIV (1339).

[*Inc.*] : The first pages of the manuscript are illegible according to the Assistant Archivist of Kampen.

[*Expl.*] : Quia Judas plus peccavit in desperatione quam de correctione. Explicit Theodolus. Explicit Theodolus.

(0-2, p. 358-359, # 18).

(Micro.) London, B.M., Add. 10.089, ff. 2r-13r, s. XV.

[*Inc.*] : Construe : *fervida estas torruit*, i. cremavit iam, i. illo tempore.

[*Expl.*] : Remanet dicendi ne desperacio ledat. Explicit liber Theodoli.

(Catal. Add. MSS. 1836-1840, 10 ; 0-1, p. 19, # 64 ; 0-2, p. 365, # 75).

(Micro.) Madrid, Bibl. Nac., 564 (B.166), ff. 67r-85v, s. XIII/XIV.

Intro. [*Inc.*] : Egloga dicitur ab egle quod est caper et logos quod est sermo quasi sermo caprinus.

Commentary :

[*Inc.*] : (f. 67r) *Estas*, i. estus viciorum que facit peccatores nigros.

[*Expl.*] : Fere fatetur se devictum per hoc quod conqueritur esse (ad v. 296 ; cet. des.).

(*Inventario de Manuscritos de la Biblioteca Nacional* II, Madrid, 1956, 67 ; 0-1, p. 20, # 69 ; 0-2, p. 366, # 82).

(Micro.) Munich, CLM 7597, ff. 84r-86r, s. XV.

[*Inc.*] : *Ethyopum terras* etc. Que verba si exponuntur secundum propriam et pri-
mariam vocabulorum significationem.

[*Expl.*] : Construxit Athenas et Pallas imposuit civitati nomen. Alathia : ymmolat ante Deum Cayn. Pseustis : Licaon Archas (ad v. 61 ; cet. des.).

(Catal. CLM III. 3. 177 ; 0-1, p. 20, # 79 ; 0-2, p. 367, # 96).

(Micro.) Munich, CLM 8219, ff. 1r-9v, s. XIV.

Intro. [*Inc.*] : In principio huius libri ista sunt inquirenda...

Commentary :

[*Inc.*] : (f. 1r) *Ethyopum terras* etc. Notandum quod tres sunt Ethiope, s. orientalis, meridionalis, occidentalis.

[*Expl.*] : Iam tollit cornua quia novilunium tunc temporis erat. Explicit Theodolus. Finis adest operis ; mercedem posco laboris sive opus et dicta sua. Ave Maria.

(Catal. CLM IV. 1. 9 ; 0-1, p. 20, # 80 ; 0-2, p. 367, # 97).

(Micro.) Padua, Universitaria, 955, ff. 21r-28v and 1r-10r, s. XIII/XIV.

[*Inc.*] : (f. 21r) Incipit liber Theodoli et primo prologus eius. Incipit Theodolus et primo proemium super prologum eius. Mate-
ria huius libri sunt fabule et ystorie.

[*Expl.*] : (f. 10r) Ideo dixit *Desine quod restat*. Expliciunt glosule Theodoli. Qui scrip-
sit scribat, semper cum deo vivat... Vivat in celis Damianus nomine felix qui scripsit
... (Data supplied by Dott. Angela Zanini).

(0-1, p. 21, # 98 ; 0-2, p. 370, # 129).

(Micro.) Pallanza, Bibl. dell'Archivio Notare, fragmentum codicis, s. XIV. Found in 1914 in a file of notary's records. It contains vv. 165-344 and commentary thereon.

[Inc.] : Non potuerat propter honestatem et castitatem maximam dicte Alculmene (sic) sed quoniam Juppiter scivit quod Amphitruo valebat venire domum (ad vv. 165-68).

[Expl.] : *Desine, pro dimitte, quod restante desperatio ledat ipsum, supple Pseustim* Explicit liber Theodoli. Deo gratias. Amen.

(0-2, p. 369, # 113).

(Micro.) Paris, B.N., 1702, ff. 115^r-118^r, s. XIV (1396).

Intro. [Inc.] : In principio uniuscuiusque philosophici tractatus . . .

Commentary :

[Inc.] : (f. 115^r) *Estas, i. estus peccatorum fervida quia facit peccatores ferventes.*

[Expl.] : Ex inde pulsus longo tempore pastor Admeti regis (ad v. 96 ; cet. des.).

(Catal. Bibl. Regiae III 173 ; 0-1, p. 15, # 5 ; 0-2, p. 369, # 115).

(Micro.) Paris, Mazarine, 3794, ff. 130^r-162^r ; s. XIII.

Intro. [Inc.] : In principio uniuscuiusque philosophici operis quinque videntur inquire, scilicet, que materia, que intencio. . .

Commentary :

[Inc.] : (f. 130^v) *Ethiopum terras etc.* In principio ostendit actor tempus in quo convenerunt persone de quibus tractatus est ad litigandum.

[Expl.] : Ledat istum Pseustim. Et hec de Theodolo sufficient quo ad presens. Explicit Theodolus.

(Cat. gen. Fr. Mazarine III 85 ; 0-2, p. 369, # 114).

(Micro.) Prague, Bibl. Univ., 1810 (M.S.A 7), ff. 274^r-283^v, s. XIV. Commentary only on Biblical stories mentioned by Alathia. Commentary is omitted for the mythological tales used by Pseustis, for the introductory verses (1-40), for those replies of Alathia not concerned with Old Testament history (185-88, 249-52) and for the concluding portion of the poem (285-344).

[Inc.] : Incipit hystoria de Adam. Deus summe bonitatis post eiectum Luciferi qui superbia inflatus dicit. (ad vv. 41-45).

[Expl.] : In solio Vasti, i. loco synagoge sponsam sibi iunxit et post modum cladem intentam amovit (ad vv. 281-84). Explicit historia Theodoli.

(Truhlář II 34 ; 0-2, p. 370, # 135).

(Micro.) St. Florian, Stiftsbibl., XI. 117, ff. 51^r-92^v, s. XV.

Intro. [Inc.] : Quoniam in primordiis librorum. . .

Commentary :

[Inc.] : (f. 51^v-52^r) *Exposicio. Fervida estas, i. fervens calor torruit, i. adussit iam, i. modo terras, i. peccata.*

[Expl.] : Et de eis nuptiis tractat Marcianus Capella in libro qui intitulatur : Incipit Marcianus de nuptiis Mercurii et Philologie (ad vv. 334-35 ; cet. des.).

(A. Czerny, *Die Handschriften d. Stiftsbibliothek St. Florian*, Linz, 1871, 55-56 ; 0-1, p. 16, # 22 ; 0-2, p. 361, # 43).

(Micro.) St. Florian, Stiftsbibl., XI. 649, ff. 116^r-125^v, s. XII-XV.

Intro. [Inc.] : In principio uniuscuiusque philosophici operis. . .

Commentary :

[Inc.] : (f. 116^r) *Iam fervida estas, i. estus peccatorum, fervida quia facit peccatores ferventes.*

[Expl.] : Ne procedat ulterius plura dicere et cetera reddere in scutella. Amen. Voluptate cessa quum manus est tibi fessa. Finis adest operis ; mercedem posco laboris. (In later hand) Discere nocte die virtutis dogmata die. Cunctis quid sit opus instruit illud opus.

(A. Czerny, *Die Handschriften d. Stiftsbibliothek St. Florian*, Linz, 1871, 220-21 ; 0-1, p. 16, # 23 ; 0-2, p. 362, # 45).

(Micro.) Stuttgart, Landesbibl., H B VIII 19, ff. 134^r-150^v, s. XV.

Intro. [Inc.] : Auctor illius libelli fuit episcopus et secundum quosdam Theodus vocatur. . .

Commentary :

[Inc.] : (f. 134^r) Dicit ergo sic quod in terra Ethiopum fuit maximus fervor solis cum sol esset in cancri signo.

[Expl.] : Ne Pseustis et sui sequentes cadant in desperationem et errorem ; possent enim tamen de profunditate tristitatis loqui quod homines non possent mitigare et ducere etiam in errorem et quia melius est similiter cedere. Et sic est finitum.

(K. Löffler, *Die Handschriften des Klosters Weingarten*, Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, Beiheft XLI. Leipzig, 1912, p. 135, # K69 ; 0-1, p. 22, # 103 ; 0-2, p. 371, # 143).

(Micro.) Vatican, Vat. lat. 2826, ff. 34^v-47^v, s. XIII.

[Inc.] : *Saturnus ut gentile testatur fitticum (?) (ad vv. 37-40).*

[Expl.] : Fronesim retulisse hoc affirmare quia nullo modo fuit verum quod Orpheus vivus ita descenderet ad infernos quod fabula requiritur retro, ubi dicitur *certavere sequi* (v. 189). Following the last verse and its commentary there is material normally contained in the introduction plus notes on the opening words of the poem. This section ends : *torruit terras*, i. terrenos. *Ethiopes* vocat quasi nigros factos propter fervorem peccatorum.

(B. Montfaucon, *Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum Manuscriptorum Nova*, Paris, 1739, I 106 ; 0-1, p. 22, # 107 ; 0-2, p. 372, # 153 ; Kristeller, Iter II 314).

6. 'STEPHANUS PATRINGTONUS'

Found in only one manuscript and in six printed editions, this commentary represents a 'modern' revision of the popular 'Alexander Neckam' commentary. The author studded the basic text with quotations from recent authors, such as Thomas Aquinas, and inserted many more citations from classical writers, particularly Seneca's letters to Lucilius. His most striking addition, however, comprises many references to Aristotle, most of which are clustered heavily at the beginning and at the end of the commentary.

This commentary was identified by the librarian Lauterbach at Wolfenbüttel as that of Stephen Patrington and he wrote on the title page of one of Quentell's editions : 'Cum scholiis Stephani Oxoniensis'. Lessing accepted this authorship without question.²⁸

28. *Zur Geschichte und Literatur: Aus den Schätzen der herzogl. Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel*. Erster Beytrag in 1773, in *Sämtliche Schriften*, Ed. Karl Lachmann. XI (Stuttgart, 1895) 494.

That Stephen Patrington actually did write a commentary on the *Egloga*, as well as on Aesop's fables, is well attested but it is impossible, from the evidence available, to identify his commentary, if it is indeed still extant (see above section 2).

Intro. [Inc.] : Circa initium huius libri sciendum quod Averrois circa prologum phisicorum dicit quod quatuor sunt que impediunt humanam naturam, scilicet ignorantia, taciturnitas, defectus et vicium. Contra ignorantiam inventum est quadrivium, scilicet quattuor artes liberales, sicut sunt musica, geometria, arithmeticā et astronomia . . .

Commentary :

[Inc.] : Iste liber (cuius subiectum est connexio fabularum et historiarum) dividitur principaliter in tres partes, scilicet in prohemium et in tractatum et in epilogum.

[Expl.] : Item dicitur, *opacum*, et dicitur esse corpus quod non est aptum illuminari vel illustrari per radios solares, sicut est paries. Et causatur hic color qui dicitur translatio quia hic transsumitur illa dictio opacum ad significandum tenebrositatem. Et in hoc sopitur liber Theoduli de quo sit benedictus deus gloriosus in secula seculorum. Amen.

Manuscript :

(Micro.) Halle, Archiv der Francke'schen Stiftungen, 61 F 15, ff. 4^r-62^r, s. XV. The commentary in the manuscript is a little less full than the version found in the printed editions ; some quotations, occasional interpretations and explanations of rhetorical figures are omitted. The manuscript, however, contains a German verse translation of the poem, each Latin quatrain being followed by a German one.

Intro. [Inc.] : Circa inicium huius libri sciendum.

Commentary :

[Inc.] : (f. 5^r) Hec est pars prohemialis. Hec in tres dividitur partes.

[Expl.] : Quia hic transsumitur illa dictio opacum ad significandum tenebrositatem. Et in hoc sopitur liber Theoduli de quo sit benedictus deus gloriosus in secula seculorum. Amen.

(K. Weiske, 'Mitteilungen über die Handschriftensammlung der Hauptbibliothek der

Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle a.d.S.' in *Aus der Hauptbibliothek der Franckeschen Stiftungen: Zur Begrüssung der 47. Versammlung Deutscher Philologen und Schulumänner in Halle a. S. dargebracht von dem Kollegium der Lateinischen Haupschule*, progr. Halle 1903, 11-12).

Editions:

(*) 1489, Leipzig : Conradus Kachelofen. H 15482 ; Proctor 2859 ; Pol. 3826 (0-1, p. 24, # VIII ; 0-2, p. 334, # 9).

1492, Leipzig : Conradus Kachelofen. H 15483 ; Proctor 2861 (0-1, p. 25, # XII ; 0-2, p. 335, # 13).

(*) 1492, Sept. 3, Cologne : Henricus Quentell. H 15484 ; Proctor 1310 (0-1, p. 25, # XI ; 0-2, p. 335, # 14).

(*) 1494, Cologne : (Henricus Quentell). H 15485 ; GW (by letter) confirms existence of a copy at Le Mans, Bibl. Munic. (0-1, p. 25, # XIII ; 0-2, p. 336, # 16).

1495, Feb. 11, Cologne : Henricus Quentell. H 15486 ; Proctor 1328 ; Pol. 3684 (0-1, p. 25, # XV ; 0-2, p. 336, # 18).

(*) 1499, Leipzig : Conradus Kachelofen. H 15487 (0-1, p. 26, # XIX ; 0-2, p. 338, # 29).

Biogr.:

A native of Yorkshire, Stephen Patrington was educated at Oxford and was spoken of as Doctor of Theology in 1389. He became a Carmelite monk and was appointed provincial of his order in 1399. In 1415 he was consecrated Bishop of St. David's and became Bishop of Chichester shortly before his death in 1417.

Works: Active in the movement against Wycliffe and the Lollards, Patrington may have written a portion of the narrative of the *Fasciculi Zizaniorum Magistri Johannis Wyclif cum Tritico* and collected many of the documents contained therein. Fifteen publications are attributed to him by Bale including commentaries on the Sentences, on Theodulus,²⁹ on Aesop's fables, on Paul's

29. It is of interest to note that Wycliffe's *Trialogus*, a compilation of his doctrines and philosophy, is written in the form of a colloquy among three persons whose names stem from the *Egloga*: Alithia, the philosopher; Pseustis, the non-believer and Phronesis, the theologian (ed. Lechler, Oxford, 1869).

Epistle to Titus, attacks against Wycliffe, the Lollards and Nicholas Hereford, a book of letters, etc.

Bibl.: *Fasciculi Zizaniorum Magistri Johannis Wyclif cum Tritico*, ed. W. W. Shirley (Rolls Servies V, London, 1858) lxxv-lxxviii. John Bale, *Scriptorum illustrium Majoris Brytanniae catalogus* (Basel, 1557-59) 539 ; Antonius Possevinus, *Apparatus Sacer* (Cologne, 1608) II 432 ; John Leland, *Commentarii de scriptoribus Britannicis* (Oxford, 1709) 429-30 ; Polycarp Leyser, *Historia poetarum et poematum medii aevi* (Halle, 1721) 299 ; Thomas Tanner, *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica* (London, 1748) 581 ; Fabricius BLMA, s.v. *Stephanus Patringtonus* ; *Dict. of Nat. Biogr.* 15 (1895-96) 492-493 (by C. L. Kingsford).

Gotthold Lessing, *Zur Geschichte und Literatur: Aus den Schätzen der herzogl. Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel*. Erster Beytrag in 1773 in *Sämtliche Schriften*, ed. Karl Lachmann, XI (Stuttgart, 1895), 494. G. L. Hamilton, 'Theodulus: A Mediaeval Textbook' in *Modern Philology* VII (1909-10) 174, 183-84.

7. ODO PICARDUS

Odo Picardus wrote his commentary in 1406-07 at the request of the Dauphin Louis, Duke of Guienne and Aquitaine, brother of Charles VI. The commentary was written for the Dauphin, son of Charles VI, but there is no information about Odo's connection with him or with the king. He was engaged by the Dauphin's uncle, Louis, Duke of Orleans, as a tutor for his son, John, very shortly after its completion. Making free use of earlier commentaries and especially the 'Alexander Neckam' commentary which he terms the *glose communes*, Odo enlivens his material with advice to the prince on the duties and responsibilities of kingship, references to contemporary literary and educational personalities and interpretations of myth and Biblical story as symbolic of the schism then plaguing the Church.

The editors of the *Auctores Octo* omitted the fulsome dedicatory epistle, the reference to his royal patrons in the introduction and throughout the body of the commentary deleted Odo's references to himself, to his

beloved Picardy and to some events and personalities contemporaneous with the writer. By Levet's 1495 edition of Theodolus such editing had become standard for all printings of the commentary.

Dedicatory epistle : *Epistola que ad manus illustrissimi ac serenissimi principis domini Ludovici ducis Aquitanie et Delphini Vienensis deferenda est.*

[*Inc.*] : (ed. 1491, Paris) *Totus equidem tremo horreoque ; meus profecto animus in varias partes diripitur et nunc huc nunc illuc celer dividitur* (*Vergil, Aeneid IV. 285*). *Nam ex parte una intueor celsitudinem eius regiam, generis nobilitatem, imperii ac dominii gloriam... Ex quibus vobis ad bene beateque vivendum via patefacta est ut sic illud Virgilianum vulgo personet : 'redeunt Saturnia regna'* (*Ecl. IV. 6*), *ut vobis, ipsi patri et patrie predicemini hoc unum ultimum vigili memoria retinentes quod in subditorum pace, tranquillitate, prosperitate, sospitate atque divitiis vestre divitie, gloria, potentia, pax rursum atque tranquillitas resideant que singula ut feliciter consequamini donet altissimus ille et clementissimus rex regum et dominus dominantium. Amen.*

Intro. [*Inc.*] : *Multi licet magno et excellenti ingenio viri ad presentis libelli expositionem se applicaverunt, unde haud iniuria labor iste quem aggredior supervacuus atque superfluos videbitur, quoniam tamen regali celsitudini et mandatis domini ducis Aquitanie et Delphini Viennensis me non obtempore non est fas, dabo equidem operam (quantum magis valuero) quo minus superfluos ipse reperiar. Nec intendo quovis modo ab his que ab aliis bene conscripta fuerunt ex arrogantia recedere...*

Commentary :

[*Inc.*] : *Dicit ergo quod tempus in quo primo cepit esse disputatio et lis inter veritatem et falsitatem fuit tempus estivum quo aduruntur terre Ethyopum.*

[*Expl.*] : *Et per ista taliter qualiter expedita est lectura Theodoli ubi Pseustis (per quem intelligitur falsitas) superatus est ab Alithia, i. a veritate et dyabolus a Deo qui dignatus est pro nobis assumere carnem humanam et predicare et dare nobis legem evangelicam per quam aperta est nobis eterne*

vite ianua. *Quam nobis concedat Deus ille gloriosus qui est via, veritas et vita. Amen.*

Manuscripts :

(Micro.) Ghent, Bibl. Univ. 112^e, pp. 203-79, s. XV. A manuscript copy of Levet's edition of 1487 made for Raphael de Marcotel, abbot of St. Bavon in Ghent, according to Dr. K. G. Van Acker of the University Library of Ghent. (*de Saint-Genois, Catalogue... des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de la ville et de l'Université de Gand* 251-52, # 320; 0-2, p. 362, # 49).

(Micro.) Leiden, Bibl. Rijksuniv. B.P.L. 138, ff. 46^v-113^v, s. XV (1437). Dedicatory epistle omitted.

Intro. [*Inc.*] : *Consuetum est circa principia librorum inquirere de quatuor.*

[*Expl.*] : *Qui sine fine vivit et regnat deus unus benedictus in secula seculorum. Amen. Et sic est finis istius totalis libri etc. Dieu bestoyt si elle estoit belle.*

(Catal. Leyden III 79 ; 0-2, p. 363, # 64).

Printed editions :

A. *Theodolus only*

(Micro.) 1487, Jan. 9, (Lyon : Matthias Huss). Contains dedicatory epistle, etc. Proctor 8690 ; Goff T-152 (0-1, p. 24, # V ; 0-2, p. 333, # 5).

(*) 1487, August 20, Paris : Petrus Levet. Contains dedicatory epistle, etc. Pol. 3682 (0-2, p. 334, # 6).

(*) 1488, Jan. 12, Paris : Petrus Levet. Contains dedicatory epistle, etc. HC 5783 ; Proctor 8059 (0-1, p. 24, # VII ; 0-2, p. 334, # 7).

(Micro.) 1491, May 27, Paris : Antoine Caillaud. Contains dedicatory epistle, etc. Pol. 3683 (0-1, p. 25, # IX ; 0-2, p. 334, # 11).

(Micro.) c. 1495, Paris : Petrus Levet. Proctor 8090 (Bodl. Libr. ; W. Beattie, 'Supplement to the Hand-list of Incunabula in the National Library of Scotland' in *Edinburgh Bibliographical Society Transactions* II 1946, p. 186, # 261 ; 0-1, p. 24, # VI ; 0-2, p. 333, # 4 and pp. 336-37, # 21).

(*) —, —, (Paris : Petrus Levet). (0-2, p. 334, # 10 ; Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal).

(*) 1497, March 15, Paris : Michael le Noir (0-2, p. 336, # 20 ; Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal).

(*) c. 1500, Caen : Petrus Regnault. Pol. 3681 ; GW (by letter) suggests Tours or Rouen as place of publication as well as Caen.

(*) c. 1505, Rouen : Guilleramus Gaulemier and Petrus Regnault. (0-1, p. 26, # XXI ; 0-2, p. 338, # 24 ; BM).

(Micro.) 1505, London : Richard Pynson (0-1, p. 26, # XX ; 0-2, p. 337, # 23 ; BM).

(*) 1505, Apr. 1, Rouen : Richard Auzolt. Brunet V 791 ; Graesse, *Tresor de livres rares et précieux* VI 121 with the date of 1507 ; Delisle, *Catalogue des livres imprimés ou publiés à Caen avant le milieu du XVI^e siècle* (Caen, 1903-04) I, p. 331, # 364 (0-1, p. 26, # XXII ; 0-2, p. 337, # 25).

(*) 1505, Jun. 1, London : Julianus Notary (0-2, p. 337, # 26 ; Trinity College Library, Dublin).

(*) 1507, Apr. 4, Rouen : Petrus Olivier for Raulin Gaultier. Brunet V 791 (0-1, p. 28, # XLIV ; 0-2, p. 338, # 27).

(Micro.) 1508, London : Jodocus Pelgrim and Henricus Jacobus : STC 23940^a ; Nijhoff 3936 (0-1, p. 26, # XXIII ; 0-2, p. 338, # 28).

(*) 1509, Nov. 7, Caen : Laurentius Hostingue, Michael Angier, Johannes Mace. Brunet V 791 ; Delisle, *Catalogue des livres imprimés ou publiés à Caen avant le milieu du XVI^e siècle* (Caen, 1903-04) I, p. 331, # 365 (0-1, p. 26, # XXIV ; 0-2, p. 339, # 30).

(Micro.) 1509, London : Winandus de Worde. BM ; STC 23941.

(*) 1510, London : Richard Pynson. STC 23942 ; (Trinity College Library, Dublin).

(Micro.) 1515, Mar. 10, London : Winandus de Worde. Panzer VII 241, 41 ; STC 23943 (0-1, p. 26, # XXV ; 0-2, p. 339, # 32).

(*) —,—, (Rouen) : Laurentius Hostingue and Iametus Lovys. (0-1, p. 24, # IV ; 0-2, p. 333, # 3 ; Paris, Bibl. Ste. Geneviève).

B. *Auctores Octo.*

(*) 1488, Dec. 31, Lyon : Johannes de Prato. GW 2780 ; Pell. 1425 ; H 1914 (0-1, p. 27, # XXIX ; 0-2, p. 342, # 44).

(*) 1489/90, Mar. 17, Lyon : Johannes de Prato. GW 2781 ; HC 718 ; Pol. 345 ; Pell. 1426 ; Goff A 1183 (0-1, p. 27, # XXX ; 0-2, p. 343, # 52).

(*) 1490, Lyon : Johannes de Prato. GW 2782 ; Pell. 1422 ; Goff A-1182 (0-2, p. 343, # 48).

(*) (1490?), [Lyon ?] : —,—, .BM, Theo-

dolus cum commento, part of collection known as *Auctores Octo*.

(*) 1490/91, Jan. 23, Lyon : Johannes Fabri. H 1915 ; GW 2783 ; Pell. 1427 ; Pol. 346 (0-1, p. 27, # XXXI ; 0-2, p. 344, # 53).

(*) 1491, Mar. 29 ; Lyon : Johannes de Prato. GW 2784 (0-2, p. 344, # 55).

(*) 1492, Nov. 20, Lyon : Antoine Lambillion. GW 2785 ; HR 1678 ; Pell. 1429 ; Pol. 347 (0-2, p. 345, # 59).

(*) 1492, Dec. 10, Lyon : Johannes de Prato. GW 2786 (0-2, p. 344, # 57).

(*) 1492/93, Jan. 23, Lyon : Matthias Huss. GW 2787 ; HC 719 ; Pell. 1430.

(*) 1493, Aug. 28, Lyon : Perrin Le Masson with Boniface Jehan. GW 2789 ; Pell. 1431 (0-2, p. 345, # 60).

(*) 1494, Feb. 16, Lyon : Perrin Le Masson with Boniface Jehan. GW 2791 ; HC 721 ; Pell. 1432 ; Proctor 8642 (0-2, p. 345, # 61).

(*) 1494, Jun. 9, Lyon : Matthias Huss. GW 2790 ; HC 720 ; Pell. 1433 (0-1, p. 27, # XXXV ; 0-2, p. 345, # 62).

(*) 1493/95, Paris : André Bocard. GW 2788 ; Proctor 8152/8151 ; Pell. 203. Only *Facetus* and *Aesop* with commentaries are extant.

(*) 1495, Mar. 14, Lyon : Johannes de Vingle. GW 2794 ; Pell. 1434 (0-1, p. 27, # XXXVI ; 0-2, pp. 345-46, # 63).

(*) 1496, Aug. 24, Lyon : Petrus Mareschal and Barnabas Chaussard. GW 2796 ; H 1918 ; Pell. 1435 ; Pol. 348 (0-1, p. 27, # XXXVII ; 0-2, p. 346, # 65).

(*) 1496, Paris : Felix Baligault. GW 2795 ; HC 717 ; Pell. 1424 ; Pol. 344 (0-1, p. 24, # III ; 0-2, p. 343, # 51).

(*) 1496, Jan. 21, Lyon : Jean Bachelier with Pierre Bartelot. GW 2797 ; HC 722 ; Pell. 1436 (0-2, p. 346, # 64).

(Micro.) 1498, May 17, Lyon : Petrus Mareschal and Barnabas Chaussard. GW 2798 ; Proctor 8629A ; Pell. 1438 ; HR 1679 (attributed to Huss) (0-2, p. 346, # 67).

(*) 1498/99, Apr. 12, Lyon : Johannes de Vingle. GW 2799 ; HC 723 ; Pell. 1437 (0-1, p. 27, # XXXIX ; 0-2, p. 346, # 66).

(*) 1499, Dec. 3, Lyons : Jean Pivard. GW 2800 (0-2, p. 347, # 69).

(*) 1495/1500, Paris : André Bocard. GW 2793 ; Proctor 8168. Only *Facetus* and

Floretus with commentaries extant. (0-2, p. 343, # 49).

(*) —,—, Lyon : Antonius du Ry (0-1, p. 28, # XLVII ; 0-2, p. 349, # 81 ; Venice, Bibl. Naz. di S. Marco).

(*) 1502, Lyon : ——. (0-1, p. 28, # XL ; 0-2, p. 347, # 72 ; Brussels, Bibl. Royale).

(*) 1505, Mar. 5, Lyon : Stephanus Baland. Baudrier XI 5-6 (0-1, p. 28, # XLI ; 0-2, p. 347, # 74).

(*) 1506, Aug. 5, Lyon : Stephanus Baland (0-2, p. 348, # 75 ; Parma, Bibl. Palatina.)

(*) 1507, Mar. 20, Lyon : Stephanus Baland (0-1, p. 28, # XLIII ; 0-2, p. 348, # 76 ; Leipzig, Universitätsbibl.).

(*) 1507, Lyon : Martinus Boillon. Panzer VII 288, 101.

(*) 1508, Jun. 19, Lyon : Martin Havart. Baudrier III 474.

(*) 1509, Feb. 21, Lyon : Thomas de Campanis. Baudrier XI 282 (0-2, p. 348, # 78).

(*) 1509, Sept. 22, Lyon : Johannes de la Place and Jacobus Myt (0-1, p. 28, # XLV ; 0-2, p. 348, # 77 ; Uppsala, Universitetsbibl.).

1510, Strasbourg : Johannes Knoblauch. GW, after 2800 ; C 5782 ; Proctor 8818. Only Theodolus with commentary is extant. (0-1, p. 25, # XVI ; 0-2, pp. 334-35, # 12 ; NN).

(*) 1511, Nov. 8, Lyon : Johannes de la Place. (0-1, p. 28, # XLVI ; 0-2, p. 349, 80 ; Vienna, Nationalbibl.).

(*) [1513], Lyon : Martinus Boillon (0-2, pp. 349-50, # 82 ; Oslo, Universitetsbibl.).

(*) 1514, Lyon : Jacobus Myt (0-2, p. 350, # 83).

(Micro.) 1519, Apr. 28, Lyon : Johannes Marion for Eustache Mareschal. Baudrier XI 366-67 (0-1, p. 28, # XLVIII and XLIX ; 0-2, p. 350, # 84).

(*) 1520, Lyon : Eustache Mareschal. Panzer VII 329, 440.

(*) 1521, Lyon : Johannes Remy (0-2, p. 350, # 86 ; Modena, Bibl. Estense).

(*) —,—, Rouen : Jacobus le forrestier (0-1, p. 24, # II ; 0-2, p. 342, # 45 ; Paris, Bibl. Ste Geneviève).

(*) 1528, May 25, Lyon : Guido Morinus and Benedictus de Telio. Baudrier XI 135 ; Beaulieu I 32, # 646.

(*) (Micro.) 1538, Mar. 8, Lyon : Matthias Bonhome. Baudrier X 205 ; Brunet I 550 (0-2, p. 351, # 90).

C. Doubtful Editions : *Theodolus*

(*) 1494, Lyon : —,—, Beck, ed. *Ecloga Theoduli* (Sangerhusiae, 1836) 23 (0-1, p. 25, # XIV ; 0-2, p. 336, # 17).

(*) —,—, [Paris] : (Ulrich Gering). GW (by letter) reports a copy sold in 1925 by Jacques Rosenthal at Munich.

(*) 1514, London : Winandus de Worde. Graesse, *Trésor de livres rares et précieux* VI 121 (0-2, p. 339, # 31).

Biogr. :

Odo Picardus (Eudes or Oudart de Fouilloy) was engaged by Louis, Duke of Orléans, brother of Charles VI, as the tutor for his youngest son, John of Angoulême, shortly before his own assassination in November 1407. The arrangements were confirmed by his widow Valentine so that Odo had entered the service of the ill-fated House of Orléans by Easter 1408. He accompanied his young pupil, sent as a hostage to England in 1412, and when Charles, Duke of Orléans, taken prisoner at Agincourt, joined his brother in English captivity, Odo served as the Duke's secretary and agent as well as continuing his tutorial duties with John. Odo was still living and writing at the time of the death of Jeanne d'Arc (1431) but whether he lived to return to Orléans with Charles in 1440 or with John in 1445 is unknown.³⁰

Works : He is probably the author of two poems in dactylic hexameter found in a manuscript³¹ originally belonging to the

30. In connection with Odo's commentary found in Ghent, Bibl. Univ., 112e, Osternacher (0-2 p. 362, # 49) comments that Odo died in 1415, apparently on information from Delisle. Since letters referring to Odo's commissions for Charles of Orléans beyond that date are extant and since he also wrote verses on the career and death of Jeanne d'Arc, Osternacher is mistaken. Louis of Guyenne, however, for whom the commentary was written did die in 1415.

31. Paris, B.N., lat. 9684 which contains the handwriting of John of Angoulême, of Charles' tutor, Nicole Garbet, of Odo and probably of Charles of Orléans.

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library at Orléans: 'Indole Cesarei fratres solique nepotes' (an address by the Sibyl to the sons of Duke Louis) and 'Urbs Roma- na potens, claris celebrata triumphis' signed by Odo (the story of Marcus [sic] Curtius' plunge into the abyss in the forum to save Rome - Valerius Maximus V.vi.2). He also wrote 'Flos florum compilatus ex sacris dictis doctorum ecclesiae et moralium philosophorum' dedicated to John of Angoulême, acrostic verses on the name of his pupil and patron and chronogrammatic verses on the life and death of Jeanne d'Arc.

Bibl.: Paris, BN, Pièces Originales 1215 (ms. franc. 27699), Fouilloy, # 5; 1216 (ms. franc. 27700), Fouilloy, # 6; lat. 9684, ff. 35r-37r.

Pierre Champion, *La Librairie de Charles d'Orléans* (Paris, 1910) 96-100; Pierre Champion, *Vie de Charles d'Orléans (1394-1465)* (Paris, 1911) 168; Léopold Delisle, *Le Cabi-*

net des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale I (Paris, 1868) 50-51, 103-04, 147; Jean DuPort, *La Vie de Jean d'Orléans dit le Bon, Comte d'Angoulême* (ed. J. F. E. Castaigne, Angoulême, 1852) 63-64; F. M. Graves, *Quelques pièces relatives à la vie de Louis I, Duc d'Orléans et de Valentine Visconti sa femme* (Paris, 1913) 244; Léon, Comte de Laborde, *Les Ducs de Bourgogne* (Paris, 1852) III, # 6231, # 6251, # 6400; Jean Masson, *Histoire Mémorable de la vie de Jeanne d'Arc* (Paris, 1612) Avertissement 4; Jules Quicherat, *Procès de condamnation et de réhabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc dite La Pucelle* (Paris, 1847) IV 273, 313-25; A. Thomas, 'Les premiers vers de Charles d'Orléans' in *Romania* XXII (1893) 129-31; Vallet de Virivalle, 'Notes bibliographiques sur *Le Mirouer des femmes vertueuses*' in *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* 4th ser. I (1855) 554-55.