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UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI

May 31, 1950

I hereby recommend that the thesis prepared under my supervision by Gerard Sullivan

entitled Pagan Latin Poets in Geraldus Cambrensis

be accepted as fulfilling this part of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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PAGAN LATIN POETS IN GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS

A dissertation submitted to the

Graduate School of Arts and Sciences

of the University of Cincinnati

in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

1950

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PREFACE

This dissertation was set in motion by the late Rodney Potter Robinson. He had examined the mass of the writings of Giraldus Cambrensis for possible information on the manuscript tradition of Suetonius and Tacitus, and he was particularly anxious to find out whether Giraldus had used any florilegia containing Tacitean lines. While paging through the medieval author's works Professor Robinson was struck by the abundance of classical quotations. These had been noted by the Rolls Series editors, but in an incomplete and haphazard way. At the suggestion of Professor Robinson, therefore, I gladly undertook the collecting and organizing of classical quotations and allusions in Giraldus. Before long I saw that I must limit myself to the pagan Latin poets as used by him; I also saw clearly that my findings would have little real value unless a link was established between Giraldus and his contemporaries in respect to their common use of classical quotations. So I set about my threefold task simultaneously: (a) the careful reading of all Giraldus' writings several times; (b) the reading of all the works of the pagan Latin poets whom he quotes; (c) the rapid reading of his contemporaries. To achieve the last goal I limited myself to the pertinent volumes in the Rolls Series, Migne's Patrologia Latina, and the Monumenta Germaniae Historica, well over a hundred in all, and published florilegia. Of the standard bibliographical tools and periodicals only the most recent proved helpful, especially Medievalia et Humanistica and Traditio. Almost all the work was with the medieval authors themselves.

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In the early stages of my research it was obvious that the results, whatever they might be, would have a direct bearing upon the history of medieval education. Therefore Professor Krueger was invited to direct this phase of my dissertation. The dissertation, therefore, is in the field of Classical Languages, since the material studied is the text of ancient Latin poets as they survived in the twelfth century; at the same time it throws light on the history of education in the Middle Ages.

Because of this twofold viewpoint the work is partly philological, partly humanistic. Homage has been paid to the philologian's point of view in the exact recording of texts and in a reasonable amount of attention paid to variations in manuscript readings and the accuracy of copyists. On the other hand, statistical conclusions have been shunned and a consistent effort has been made to portray more accurately a picture of the medieval scholar and literary artist, as exemplified in Giraldus Cambrensis.

In passing judgment upon the present dissertation one should keep in mind that it is a survey. Giraldus is worthy of a more detailed and extensive inquiry. A work similar to this one should be compiled to determine the extent and manner of his borrowing from the ancient prose writers, but I believe that such an investigation should be preceded by an attempt to establish the chronology of Giraldus' works.

Were Mr. Robinson alive today, I should thank him before all others for his constant kindness to me; instead, I pray that God may reward him in His own way. I am deeply grateful to my adviser and friend, Mr. Hilmar C. Krueger, and to Mr. Carl Trahman, who in the last

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weeks substituted for Mr. Robinson; to those who typed the final version, especially Mrs. Gerald Moore and Mrs. Herbert Hays; to my students at the University of Dayton, who afforded secretarial help from 1946 to 1949; to my religious Superiors and confreres for their advice and encouragement; to my friends in the department of Classics at the University of Cincinnati, particularly Mr. Malcolm F. McGregor, in whose special debt I shall always be; to members of the General Library staff, especially Mr. E. A. Henry and Miss Jane Bertenshaw, for innumerable kindnesses; to Professor Julius Weinberg for views on medieval writers; to my very dear friend, Dr. Eric Werner, whose scholarly counsel has often cleared and cheered my way. I cannot find the proper words with which to express my gratitude to Miss Eva Matthews Sanford, who spent precious hours of her 1949 Christmas vacation reading and annotating my huge manuscript. I have long admired her scholarship but my admiration for her kind generosity is even greater. As I consider my student days at the University of Cincinnati (1943-1950) the path appears long but pleasant and I am brought to paraphrase the lines of Horace (Epp. 1.18.109-10) of which Giraldus was so fond:

sit mihi librorum et sociorum dulcis in annos
copia.

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Chronological List of the Works of Giraldus Cambrensis (c.1147-c.1220).

Symbol	Title	Date (approx.)	Volume	Pages
mc	Metrica Cosmographia	1167	1.	341-349
th	Topographia Hibernica	1188	5.	1-204
eh	Expugnatio Hibernica	1189	5.	205-404
ik	Itinerarium Kambriae	1191	6.	1-152
vg	Vita Galfridi	1191	4.	355-431
dk	Descriptio Kambriae	1194	6.	153-227
vd'	Vita S. Davidis	1197	3.	375-404
vd"	Vita Davidis II	1197	3.	431-434
vr	Vita S. Remigii	1198	7.	1- 80
ve	Vita Ethelberti	1199	e.	222-244
pi'	De Principis Instructione	1200	8.	1-154
ge'	Gemma Ecclesiastica	1200	2.	1-364
rg	De Rebus a Se Gestis	1203	1.	1-122
li'	Libellus Invectionum	1203	d.	75-130
sy	Symbolum Electorum	1203	1.	201-395
vh	Vita S. Hugonis	1209	7.	81-147
ej	Ep. ad Joannem Regem Anglorum	1210	5.	405-411
ge	Gemma Ecclesiastica	1213	2.	1-364
pr	Praefatio in Vitam S. Remigii	1213	7.	3- 7
pd	Praefatio in Descr. Kambriae	1213	6.	155-158
jm	De Jure Menevensis Ecclesiae	1215	3.	99-373
li"	Libellus Invectionum	1215	d.	130-237
sl	Ep. ad Stephanum Langton	1215	1.	403-407
sp	Speculum Ecclesiae	1215	4.	1-354
pi"	De Principis Instructione	1217	8.	155-329
gr	Giraldi Retractationes	1218	1.	425-427
cb	Catalogus Brevior	1218	1.	421-423
ch	Ep. ad Capitulum Herefordense	1218	1.	409-419

This list is intended for handy reference. More detailed information will be found in section 2 of the Introduction.

Superior symbols (',") designate earlier and later portions of a work.
(a,b) designate private and public editions.

The Symbolum Electorum (sy) is placed at the time of its probable appearance, although the individual pieces in it were composed at various periods of Giraldus' career. In most cases no dates can as yet be assigned to them. An important exception, Mundi Cosmographia, has been listed in its proper place.

In the last column the books listed as 1, 2, 3, etc. are in the Rolls Series, where they are called parts 1, 2, 3, etc. of Volume 21. The letter e stands for English Historical Review, 32 (1917) and d stands for Y Cymmrodor, 30 (1920), edited by Davies.

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Format, Symbols, and Other Arbitrary Features.

(a) Format.

In general the traditional arrangement has been followed: introductory and background material, text, discussion, conclusions. Of these divisions the central two are so arranged that all quotations from ancient and medieval authors follow one another in an unbroken series, while the commentary, with necessary references and cross-references, forms a separate unit after the texts. From the outset a difficulty presented itself: severe economy in presenting contexts from Giraldus and his contemporaries would enable the reader to proceed more rapidly but would often prevent him from examining the validity of the contentions set forth in the commentary; on the other hand, fulsomeness would have made the book hard to read and would have lessened its value as a reference manual. In an attempt to solve this dilemma a compromise was made: independent texts and independent commentary.

(b) Symbols.

The works of Giraldus are referred to by means of abbreviations. A special list furnishes the key to these and other symbols used throughout the work. In the commentary, however, numerals have been assigned to all the medieval citations. This makes a handier reference device. For example, in the sentence, "We find the same application in Giraldus and Neckam (3, 10), whereas Alanus (8) obviously departs from the original intentions of Ovid," the numerals indicate that the medieval citations in question are, respectively,

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the third, tenth and eighth which appear under the particular Ovidian passage being discussed.

(c) Spelling, Spacing, Punctuation.

In citing ancient works the best available critical texts have been used and their form rigidly reproduced. However, for purposes of clearness I have taken some liberties with editions of the medieval authors. Giraldus' Libellus Invectionum and his Vita Ethelberti, so painstakingly edited by Davies and by James, have the spelling of the printed edition, but the bulk of Giraldus' writings, published in the Rolls Series nearly a century ago, do not command the same respect. The spelling, spacing and punctuation were determined by the editors, Brewer, Dimock, and Warner. I have omitted all quotation marks and have changed semicolons, which precede a direct quotation, to colons. In spacing I have tried to follow the manifest intention of Giraldus. In the case of the Migne texts, of course, even less faith should be put in the appearance of the printed page. I have presented hitherto unedited portions of Giraldus in a way which very closely approximates the original, but have expanded the abbreviations of the manuscript.

(d) Allusions and Parallels.

The present work is not definitive and for that reason statistical conclusions cannot be drawn from it. I have included allusions to the ancient Latin poets along with evident quotations. However, unless otherwise stated, the reader should assume that my excerpts from Giraldus himself are exhaustive inasmuch as they include all

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pertinent passages in any of his works. The same cannot be said for contemporary parallels. It would be unscientific therefore to conclude that Giraldus is the only writer of the twelfth century who uses a specific quotation, merely because I have not discovered the excerpt in any other twelfth-century author. Still more rash would be the assumption that, where no parallel contemporary citation can be found, Giraldus was the only person of his time who used the given quotation in speech or in writing.

(e) Floruits.

For the sake of immediate comparison I have included each medieval author's floruit behind his name. It should be clearly understood that the date is approximately his fortieth year.

(f) Scope of the Word "Contemporary".

Since the parallels adduced in this book deal with trends and usages in the scholarly world of Giraldus' era, I have permitted myself a broad interpretation of the word "contemporary" as applied to the authors quoted. Some of them preceded Giraldus by nearly a century, while others produced their best work in the generation after his death. The great majority, however, lived during his lifetime or very close to it.

(g) Form of Proper Names.

At the risk of seeming pedantic I have tried to maintain the same spelling of medieval authors' names throughout the book. In most

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cases the Latin spelling is used.

(h) Tables and Indices.

A conspectus of the quotations from ancient authors found in Giraldus serves as a supplement to the Table of Contents. A single index is offered to simplify the work of search and cross-reference for the reader.

(i) Incomplete References.

I have listed a few references to parallels, which Manitius notes, but which I have not actually read. Excerpts of this kind may at some future time reveal further information and yet do not seem sufficiently important to my present purpose to warrant the time and labor required for tracking them down.

(j) Bibliography

It is unnecessary, at times impossible, to list all the books one has used, especially the indispensable standard works. Moreover, I deal chiefly with primary sources.

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Chapter I.

Life of Giraldus Cambrensis

Giraldus, as his favorite surname shows, was a son of Cambria, the oldest Latin name for Wales. He was born about 1147 at the castle of Manorbeer, Pembrokeshire, to the Norman-Welsh family de Barri, related to the leading Welsh princes and more remotely to the reigning family of England. Giraldus' early destination to the priestly life can be traced to a variety of causes, among which his own inclination and aptitudes seem to have played the principal role; there were also, however, the influence of his uncle, bishop of St. David's,[1] and the fond hope of his father to see another member of the family wear the episcopal robes. To the son's credit it must be said, that despite his violent, ambitious nature and in the face of the enticements of English court life, Giraldus seems to have remained a true priest to the day he died.

His brilliant mind and tremendous memory had soon mastered, it would seem, all that the tutors appointed by his uncle, the bishop, could teach him in Wales and he was sent to England for formal education. There he was the pupil of Haimon at St. Peter's Abbey, Gloucester.[2]

---

1. Town at S.W. extremity of Wales.
2. So far as I know, I am the first to suggest this information about Giraldus Cambrensis. This amazes me because he himself states it so clearly in the Speculum Ecclesiae (f.107). The passage was overlooked by the Rolls editors and by Manitius, all of whom refer to his pre-Paris education in the vaguest terms.

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That he had in him an excellent teacher is evident from his reference to Haimon as vir literatissimus, an epithet which Giraldus always applied with caution. His residence at Gloucester must have extended from about his tenth to his twentieth year,[1] but apparently not beyond the age of twenty-one. This assumption is based upon his silence respecting an incident which took place in Gloucester in the year 1168. In late February a number of Jews kidnapped and hid a Christian boy named Harold. In April they tortured him horribly and killed him. Nearly everyone in Gloucester gathered to view the body when it was found, not long after,[2] and it is inconceivable that Giraldus should have passed over such an event without a mention. Soon after 1167 then, he spent several years as a student of liberal arts at the University of Paris. Among his teachers were Petrus Cantor and Petrus Comestor. Giraldus' admiration seems to have been greater for Petrus Comestor but his spirit was closer akin to that of Petrus Cantor and it is his influence we see more clearly in Giraldus' writings. There were many journeys to Paris in Giraldus' career and several extensive sojourns but it is not yet possible to give exact dates or numbers, as Wharton and Brewer attempted to do.[3]

---

1. In sp 4.107 Giraldus uses these words: "pueribibus olim in annis viridisque juventae diebus, cum apud Gloucestriam sub viro literatissimo magistro Haimone studerem, in abbatia S. Petri,..." In other parts of his works (jm 3.372, cb 1.421) Giraldus refers to his twentieth year as juvenilibus annis and annis adolescentiae.
2. Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriae, Vol. I, edited by W. H. Hart, London, 1863, p. 20. In the Rolls Series this is Vol. 33, part 1.
3. rg.xcvii; rg.23. In the latter passage Brewer's marginal gloss indicates a misreading of the Latin text.

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In 1172, at the age of 25, Giraldus returned to Wales after having completed his studies in the liberal arts. From the powers he exercised almost from the outset it is reasonable to suppose that he was now a fully ordained priest. In 1175 he was appointed Archdeacon of Brecknock, a position which he retained through calm and storm for thirty years. In Giraldus' time Archdeacons were people of great importance in their respective dioceses; today in the Roman Catholic Church the office would correspond, in the United States at least, to that of Vicar General, who is the bishop's lieutenant and often his representative. In fact, when in the following year Giraldus' uncle, David Fitz-Gerald, died, the chapter of St. David's, undoubtedly aroused to a pitch of enthusiasm by Giraldus' dream for the elevation of St. David's to the rank of an archbishopric (the metropolitan position in Wales) and already visualizing independence of Canterbury, were rash enough to nominate Giraldus to the vacant see. Henry II, however, for political reasons and contrary to the advice of his episcopal advisers, received this news in a rage and proceeded to the nomination of Peter of Leia, a monk who would never attempt to become an archbishop. As a result of Henry's choice Giraldus' life now assumed an unswerving orbit around two principal ideas: "I have a canonical right to the see of St. David's," and "The see of St. David's should be a metropolitan one, independent of Canterbury." At the turn of the century Giraldus went to extreme lengths to prove his contentions to the Pope himself. For the moment, however, Giraldus prudently left the country, and until 1180 he studied and taught the Sacred Canons in Paris.

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In 1184 Henry II invited Giraldus to court, in order to remove him from the Welsh scene and to use his influence in the pacification of Wales. As one of the royal chaplains Giraldus was now associated with another outstanding writer of that period, Petrus Blesensis. In 1185 Giraldus was sent with Prince John on the expedition for the conquest of Ireland. This journey resulted several years later in two excellent works, the one descriptive, the other historical: Topographia Hibernica and Expugnatio Hibernica. In 1188 Henry II and his court took the cross, vowing to wrest the Holy Places from the Saracens. Giraldus was sent with Archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury to traverse Wales, loca hispida et horrida to use Giraldus' phrase, and enlist an army of crusaders there. The presence of the idolized Welsh chief, Rhys ap Griffith, intensified the mounting religious fervor of the people, so that, when Giraldus added the powerful weight of his eloquence and dramatic power, there was nothing left for the simple folk but to break down and cry. It was all the more surprising, because Giraldus addressed them, not in Welsh, but in French and Latin, not a word of which they understood. In 1189, however, Henry II died and the whole situation changed. Giraldus received from the Papal Legate a dispensation from his crusader's vow. Although he was in the good graces of the new king's brother, Prince John, Giraldus continued to see his hopes for preferment to the see of St. David's lie unfulfilled. In the early years of the 1190's he retired to Lincoln and there devoted his time to the study of Scripture and theology. On the death of Peter of Leia in 1198 the chapter of St. David's urged Giraldus to accept the nomination to the vacant see and sent his name, with several subordinate

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choices, to Archbishop Hubert of Canterbury. Up to this time Giraldus had refused several bishoprics but now, since the issue was the hoped-for metropolitan dignity of St. David's, Giraldus and the chapter remained as obdurate as the archbishop of Canterbury. Finally, Richard I intervened, but he proved so hard to find that the four emissaries, representatives of the chapter, learned of his whereabouts and of his death at the same time. At Chinon John, now king, received them warmly and gave them every assurance of his favor and support; they had merely to hold a canonical election and send him a delegation with the news and he would gladly ratify Giraldus' appointment to the see of St. David's. On the 29th of June, 1199, Giraldus was unanimously elected by the canons of the chapter, but he made a fatal mistake in acceding to their request for insistence on the metropolitan rights of St. David's with the Holy See. Archbishop Hubert ordered the chapter to elect the prior of Lanthony instead and Giraldus fled across the channel. He had to pass through the Ardennes, Champagne and Burgundy and, crossing the Alps in November, reached Rome where he would appeal to Innocent III. That great pontiff took an immediate liking to Giraldus, and, although from the very first he probably saw the hopelessness of the Archdeacon's cause, he showed him great kindness and many marks of favor. In the preceding decade Giraldus had added to his literary output and was now able to offer His Holiness a gift of books rather than a gift of money, in Giraldus' own pun, libros et non libras. The suit between Archbishop Hubert and Giraldus in the Roman court dragged on during four years and required several trips to Rome on the part of Giraldus. Meanwhile the interest of the

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chapter waned and soon he stood alone in the contest.

The final stage reads like some great play or novel. He made his last journey to Rome amid unbelievable hardships and as a fugitive from the English officers of justice. The Pope, after having cleverly maneuvered for position during so many months, was able, without personal offence to Giraldus, to declare the nomination null on both sides. After another crossing of the Alps and further adventures in France, Giraldus arrived in England in time to cause greater confusion and a worse impasse than there had been before. Finally, he was persuaded to acquiesce to the nomination of the prior of Lanthony to the see of St. David's, by which action he put an end to half-a-lifetime of contention and reprisals. He was soon reconciled to the king and the archbishop. He was reimbursed for the expenses of his long suit and promised a small annuity. What is more, Giraldus was permitted to nominate his own nephew as his successor in the Brecknock archdeaconship. The remaining years of his life were spent in retirement and much of his time must have been occupied in the composition, completion, or revision of new and old works, as an inspection of the list of them will reveal. We are certain from his own account that he reached and passed his seventieth year; moreover the tone in which he referred to his activity at that time may be taken as a safe reason for assigning the date of his death to approximately his seventy-third year, — to about 1220.

Giraldus' whole makeup was a mass of the most colorful contradictions. His tall, erect figure, handsome face, warm heart and charming speech were enough not only to influence his friends, but to win

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quickly for him the benevolence of great men like Innocent III and people in high positions. At the same time he was hopelessly vain, prejudiced and intransigent, fierce in personal attack and bitter of invective as needlessly blunt in his expression, qualities little calculated to make or keep friends. Despite his narrowness where self-interest was concerned and his naturally partisan point of view Giraldus possessed a lucid and intensely active intellect, which gloried in difficult achievement and cowered before no obstacle however great. He came from an obscure corner of the world and made himself the intellectual and literary equal of the best men of his time. He was constantly busy with a dozen things at once, yet he enjoyed solitude with the liberty it affords for study so much that he carried a fair library with him in his travels and spent many of his nights perusing his literary ideals. A man of strong, almost rigid principles, he was genuinely loyal to everyone he loved and everything he held in esteem, yet at times he allowed himself rather cheap tricks for attaining a desired end. He seems to have been an ardent promoter of high ideals in the sacerdotal life, yet his aversion to the avarice and luxuriousness of certain monastic communities caused him to violate truth and charity in an attempt to promote the love of chastity and evangelical simplicity.[1]

---

1. The account in the Rolls Series, Vol. 33, part 1, pp. 19 ff., of the incumbency of Abbot Hameline at St. Peter's, Gloucester, leads me to believe that during his stay there Giraldus first conceived his intense dislike of monks who strain after wordly possessions.

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Chapter II.

The Works and Style of Giraldus Cambrensis.

(1) Metrica Cosmographia (c. 1167; see 3.372)[1]

Little more than a school exercise in which the young author displays aptness for Latin versification and a general knowledge of biblical and philosophical studies. Part of the Symbolum Electorum, which contains other poems which evidently go back to Giraldus' schooldays at Gloucester, notably Descriptio Cujusdam Puellae, De Subito Amore, Ad Quandam Puellam Litteratam etc., Descriptio Famae.[2] From its title and from its language as well, I should judge his very earliest extant work to be the short poem entitled: Versus Puerilis Aetatis Ejusdem et Primo Discipuli ad Magistrum.

(2) Topographia Hibernica (c. 1188; see 5.xi)

The only non-political source of information about Ireland in the Middle Ages. Intermingled with a great deal of trustworthy scientific observation is a mass of legends, stories, opinions, and allegorical interpretations, which are often fantastic and sometimes dull. Giraldus' Retractationes tell in what spirit all this should be read. Giraldus held a public reading of this work, probably in 1189, in the town of Oxford. Since he not only read but also entertained for three days, the procedure was very costly, but it made him famous.

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1. These references (3.372, etc.) are to the Rolls Series edition of Giraldus as noted on page 4, below the Chronological Table. Each reference offers evidence for the date to which it is attached.
2. These poems are found in SY (in the order given) as follows: 349, 352, 356, 357, 355; Metrica Cosmographia occupies pp. 341-349.

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(3) Expugnatio Hibernica (c. 1189; see 5.lviii)

The conquest of Ireland by Prince Joh. The facts are accurate, but the interpretation is biased. It contains artificial speeches which Giraldus puts into the mouth of the Irish leaders and a gallery of their portraits; of these speeches and portraits Giraldus was very proud.

(4) Itinerarium Kambriae (c. 1191; see 6.x)

In 1188 Archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury, to whom Giraldus was ever devoted and grateful for his admiration and interest, preached a crusade in Wales. Giraldus traveled with him and wrote this work as a result.

(5) Vita Galfridi (c. 1191; see 6.xxxvi)

The nature of this work is explained by its full title, De Vita Galfridi Archiepiscopi Eboracensis sive Certamina Galfridi Eboracensis Archiepiscopi, (d. 1210) and more fully by the title Giraldus uses elsewhere, Liber de Promotionibus et Persecutionibus Gaufridi Eboracensis Archiepiscopi to which he adds the comment: "quod nec incunabulis aut celsitudine generis, nec in divitiis aut fortunae blanditiis spes ponenda, exemplum praebendo."[1] The struggle referred to is the one between Geoffrey and the Chancellor, William Longchamp, Bishop of Ely. In the condemnation of the latter Giraldus' invective and abusive style reaches its zenith. The book, published anonymously, was also called

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1. ch 1.414.

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Liber Apocriphus.

(6) Descriptio Kambriae (c. 1194); see 6.xxxix)

It is superior to Topographia Hibernica for consistent merit, and contains, besides the praises of the Welsh a frank discussion of their principal weaknesses.[1] Chapters on polyphonic music, speech and literature are extremely interesting and informative. Giraldus is right when he says that they are among his very best products.

(7) Vita S. Davidis Archiepiscopi Menevensis (c. 1197)

During his period of retirement at Lincoln (c. 1194-99) Giraldus devoted himself to sacred studies and is known to have produced other hagiographies. (d. 601) This is my reason for assigning 1197 as a date for this work. Three circumstances, I believe, influenced him in its production: (a) The memory of his own uncle, Bishop David Fitzgerald; (b) the fact that St. David was patron of his native diocese; (c) Giraldus' desire to restore the metropolitan dignity to the see.

(8) Vita Davidis Secundi Episcopi Menevensis (c. 1197) (d. 1176)

Dating as in #7. Brewer hesitated to include this fragment with the genuine writings of Giraldus, although he adduced three good reasons for doing so: (a) It appears on the fly leaf of a genuine Giraldus manuscript in a hand not unlike that in which a genuine Giraldus

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1. In the preface to volume 7 (p. liv) E. A. Freeman refers to Giraldus as "the father of comparative philology." Compare Coulter's article in Speculum 1 (1926), pp. 104-109.

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fragment is found; (b) the internal evidence of the style; (c) the impossibility of finding any other plausible claimant.[1]

To Brewer's second reason, the resemblance to the style of Giraldus, I should like to add the following: (a) the presence of iter arripuit, very frequent in Giraldus, although found in other writers of his time; (b) the presence of diem clausit supremum, typical of Giraldus; (c) the presence of certain doublets: canonicis contradicentibus et reclamantibus; non immemores dilapidationis et oppressionis; se eis daturum et facturum promisit;[2] (d) abundant alliterations; (e) miscellaneous phrases in the style of Giraldus: et tam ipse quam sui; statim reducens ad memoriam; conscientia cauteriata; male repositas, sicut male acquisitas; Et quia; (f) the presence of Welsh names used by Giraldus a good deal elsewhere; (g) most of all, however, the appearance of sub quo securos posset carpere somnos (based on Verg. Aen., 4.555), words which Giraldus uses, exactly in the same order, in li d.88 and li d.96; likewise, in jm 3.160, Giraldus, quoting in his own rhetorical way a remark of Richard Fitztancred, says: Securos itaque,..., carpite somnos. If we had an Index Verborum to the works of Giraldus other resemblances with his genuine writings would probably appear. With all these reasons in mind I have included the Vita Davidis Secundi Episcopi Menevensis as a genuine product of Giraldus Cambrensis.

(9) Vita S. Remigii (c. 1198; see 7.xi)

It is clear from the heading of his table of contents that Giraldus

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1. 3.xlvii; the third reason is a weak one!
2. Infra p.

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intended the full title to be Vita (or Legenda) Beati Remigii, Lincolniensis Episcopi Primi, (d. 1092) but the work is much more than that: it is a history of Remigius and the succeeding bishops of Lincoln down to and including Hugo Primus. The entire account is little more than a transcript of the Lincoln records, but touched up, rearranged, and compressed or amplified by Giraldus throughout. Concerning Remigius' successors he seems accurate enough, but in treating Remigius himself Giraldus freely calls a lively imagination to his aid.

(10) Vita Regis et Martyris Ethelberti (c. 1199)

There is no real title in the manuscript. The first line has: Proemium in uitam Regis et martiris AEthelberti a Giraldo digestam. (d. 616) The Bollandists, with only a superficial knowledge of Giraldus' style, rejected this document as spurious and used instead a life of Saint Ethelbert which appears in the chronicle attributed to Brompton. The latter, however, was largely taken from Giraldus' work.

(11) Principis Instructione. Distinctio Prima (c. 1200; see 8.xx)

This part of the book is so different from the remaining ones as to form quite a different kind of work. It is a moralizing treatise on the virtues befitting a perfect ruler and may have been originally begun in the second-last decade of the twelfth century when Giraldus served as a tutor to Prince John. It is merely a compilation, although a very learned and skilful one, of philosophical maxims about the various virtues, explained by examples and anecdotes. Although no acknowledgement is made, the work is frankly lifted in large part from an

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extremely popular book entitled Moralium Dogma Philosophorum believed to be the product of Gulielmus de Conchis (fl. 1120). Giraldus also borrowed heavily from Hugo Floriacensis (fl. 1109) yet his unmistakable personal touch makes the book distinctly his own. It is crammed with classical quotations. Unfortunately for our purpose here, Giraldus was ill-fated in the scribe through whom this fascinating volume has come down to us.[1]

(12) Gemma Ecclesiastica (Private edition, c. 1200)

This seems to have been Giraldus' first choice for excellence among his writings. It is written rather simply because it was addressed to the unlearned clergy of his diocese and I strongly suspect that his own "preference" for the book proceeded less from conviction than from the flattering attitude which Innocent III adopted toward it. When Giraldus had presented that illustrious Pontiff with half-a-dozen of his books, the Pope kept them at his bedside and, though he let the Cardinals borrow the other five, no one was allowed to take the Gemma Ecclesiastica from the room. In fact the Pope teased the Cardinals by reading choice passages to them without allowing them to see the rest. As I interpret Giraldus' account in jm 3.372, the public edition of this work appeared about 1213. The private copy presented to Innocent about 1200 was an unusually beautiful one. The work was intended as a manual for priests in the discharge of their functions, especially the

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1. The whole problem of Gulielmus de Conchis and Giraldus will be referred to in the Appendix. The difficulties caused by Giraldus' poorly instructed copyist will often appear in the Commentary.

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saying of Mass and the administration of the Sacraments, as well as a guide for their personal conduct. It is full of principles, precepts, stories and examples. Sometimes called Sacramentalis Instructio.

(13) De Rebus a Se Gestis (c. 1203; see 3.372)

This work seems to me unique in medieval Latin literature and possibly in the whole field of ancient and medieval Latin combined. It is an autobiography for its own sake. Augustine's Confessiones, the Praises (of God) were the outpouring of a deep religious conviction and are a psychological study rather than an autobiographical. The next closest approach to autobiography, I believe, are some of the letters which Peter Abaelard wrote to Eloise, but they also fall far short of the mark, if our modern interpretation of the word autobiography is employed. Unfortunately Giraldus did not extend his memoirs very far into the thirteenth century. Perhaps, after his defeat in the cause of St. David's, he felt that there was nothing more of importance to say. Up to 1203, however, his account is very full, falling down only in the matter of the dating of his works. For the (to him) all-important period of the struggle with Archbishop Hubert Walter at the court of Rome (1199-1204) he actually composed three separate accounts: the De Jure et Statu Menevensis Ecclesiae, the Libellus Invectionum, and the part of De Rebus a Se Gestis. Unfortunately the larger portion of this last work, the part covering events from the winter of 1199 onward, has been lost.

(14) Libellus Invectionum. Pars Prima (c. 1203; see d.111)

The entire work takes its title from the first document, which

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is really an invectio; it is a letter of Archbishop Hubert Walter of Canterbury to Pope Innocent III and is an attack upon Giraldus. The rest of the book is a collection of documents intended by Giraldus as a defense of his conduct respecting the see of St. David's and its friends and enemies. It is cast in the form of a narrative addressed to Innocent III.

(15) Symbolum Electorum (c. 1203; see 3.372)

Reference already has been made to this collection of pieces in describing the Metrica Cosmographia. Giraldus gathered what he felt were his finest productions and, at the request of his friends, published a symposium, comprising: (a) Thirty-two letters written, apparently, before 1199; (b) many of his poems and a few that were not his own without mention of the fact; (c) select descriptions and speeches from his works (up to that time) and all the prefaces.

Brewer included a group of poems gathered from various periods of Giraldus' career but they were never part of the Symbolum Electorum. I suppose Brewer's heading, Juvenilia, can be defended, but for the present-day reader it is likely to be misleading. Actually these poems are chiefly the products of his maturer years.

(16) Vita S. Hugonis Lincolniensis Episcopi (c. 1209; see 7.83)

Perhaps the most accurate of all his works historically and, for that reason, perhaps also the dullest. (d. 1200)

(17) Epistola ad Joannem Regem Anglorum (c. 1210; see 5.405)

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Dedicatory epistle with second edition of Expugnatio Hibernica.

(18) Gemma Ecclesiastica (Public edition, c. 1213; see 3.372)

See #12

(19) Praefatio in Vitam S. Remigii (c. 1213; see 7.3)

Dedicatory letter addressed to Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of England, and Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, to use Giraldus' own salutation.

(20) Praefatio in Descriptionem Kambriae (c. 1214; see 6.xliii)

Like the above.

(21) De Jure et Statu Menevensis Ecclesiae (c. 1215; see 6.xliii)

Like the above. Whether, in writing this work, Giraldus had in mind to present it to Stephen Langton or not, he nevertheless points out his purpose in making the actual presentation: the Descriptio Kambriae will furnish the Cardinal Primate with a means of understanding the character and conduct of the Welsh people and the present work will make him aware of the quality of their bishops and clergy. If past mistakes cannot be undone, he adds, a good deal can be done to prevent their repetition.

I have already observed that three of Giraldus' large works, De Rebus a Se Gestis, Libellus Invectionum, and De Jure Menevensis Ecclesiae, covered the same ground and from practically the same point view. The latter two contain many identical passages and the first,

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which for this period is lost, is referred to as a parallel account in both of the others. One is inclined to ask: How could Giraldus have worked successfully on so many projects at once? How could he find time to improve his earlier works and also turn out the De Principis Instructione and the Speculum Ecclesiae.

The answer, it seems to me, comes from Giraldus himself. In the latter part of De Jure et Statu Menevensis Ecclesiae (jm 3.334) he says:

> Item sicut et librum de Gestis propriis, necnon et Dialogum, inter ultimos fere labores ipsomet auctore vel adjutore conscriptos.

The Dialogus is a name he frequently gives the present work which in its shorter form is known as De Jure Menevensium. From the passage just quoted it appears that Giraldus could carry on the composition and publication of several works at once because he had sufficient secretarial help. In fact I should also infer from his words that he did not personally write every word of the three works under discussion; he probably wrote most of it himself and had his scribes transcribe sections from one work into another or even continue the narrative at certain points along the lines indicated by Giraldus and in imitation of his style. This theory goes far toward explaining the stylistic unevenness of these works as well as the evident borrowings.[1]

(22) Libellus Invectionum. Partes II-VI. (c. 1215; see d.204)

Much of what has been said under #14 and #21 also applies here. The contents are as follows: Pars II, historical and quasi-historical

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1. Throughout most of his life Giraldus appears to have been financially able to command such secretarial services.

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documents pointing to the metropolitan rights of St. David's; Pars III, Letters of Giraldus' lifetime; Pars IV, continuation of the same together with poems by Giraldus; Pars V, an unabashed description of numerous praiseworthy acts of the author; Pars VI, relation of visions which favored Giraldus and his claims.

(23) Epistola ad Stephanum Langton (c. 1215; see 1.403)

The letter has a twofold purpose: (a) to dissuade the Cardinal Archbishop from resigning his see in a time of England's spiritual need: (b) to protest against the Benedictine monk who had brought Langton a copy of the Speculum Ecclesiae and subsequently went about railing against Giraldus and threatening to burn the volume. The monk had good reason for his attitude because the Speculum Ecclesiae is a violent and often unfair attack upon monastic orders in England, particularly the Cluniacs and the Cistercians. On the other hand, the first point of Giraldus' letter helps to ascertain its date. He speaks of having met Langton shortly before in England. This narrows the time to the years 1213-1215. Stephens's intention to resign his see hardly fits into the pre-Magna Charta period, when Stephen was the spearhead of the barons' opposition to the tyranny of King John. This brings us to the late summer and fall of 1215, the time of Langton's suspension by Innocent III for apparent disobedience. What could have been a stronger inducement for him to resign his see, punished and misunderstood as he was after ten years of heroic effort to govern his flock properly even from a place of exile? What is more, Giraldus states that Langton will leave for Rome at the end of September. This would

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give the Cardinal a reasonable time to reach the Holy City and prepare for the Fourth Lateran Council which opened November 15, 1215.

(24) Speculum Ecclesiae (c. 1215; see 1.405)

A long and biased recital of monastic depravity in the English realm of Giraldus' day. I suspect that his deep-seated prejudice against the monastic orders of his day had its origin in his long stay at St. Peter's Abbey, Gloucester. When Giraldus arrived Abbot Hameline was probably in the full stride of temporal acquisitions which marked his incumbency:[1]

> Iste Hamelinus multas terras et possessiones et redditus et ecclesias tempore suo eidem ecclesiae et prioratibus ejusdam acquisivit, ut patet in kalendario, in diversis litteris.

The other vice which Giraldus attacks most strongly in this work is unchastity among clerics, which furnishes him some of his most lurid anecdotes. His sensitiveness on this point agrees completely with his constant fight against the Welsh clergy's attitude toward celibacy.

The problem of dating the Speculum Ecclesiae I consider too thorny to deal with at the present time.

(25) De Principis Instructione. Distinctiones II-III (c. 1217; see 8.xv)

In the words of Warner, "it is the rise and fall — and more especially the fall — of Henry II, who is held up throughout for an awful example of the Nemesis attending the neglect of the rules of

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1. Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriae, Vol. I, p. 20. In the Rolls Series this is Vol. 33, part 1. Such worldly aggrandizement was one of Giraldus' richest themes in Speculum Ecclesiae.

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conduct laid down for a prince in the book preceding."[1] Much of the last part is taken directly from Richard Aldgate's Itinerarium Regis Ricardi.

(26) Retractationes (c. 1218; see 1.422)

This short piece is headed by a long title which is obviously the work of Giraldus:

> Tractatum Retractationum et Catalogum Librorum diligentia Giraldi compositorum in calce libelli de Kambriae Descriptione digne duximus adjiciendum.

Giraldus, after calling attention to misrepresentations of which he felt guilty, generously clears the name of Archbishop Hubert Walter. He insists, however, on the archbishop's worldly spirit.

(27) Catalogus Brevior (c. 1218; see 1.423)

In the manuscript there is this heading: Sequitur de Catalogo et numero Librorum a Giraldo compositorum. This list of his works makes no mention of the Speculum Ecclesiae. It specifically refers to the Retractationum Tractatus as well as Librorum nostrorum Catalogus in such a way as to make the latter seem an independent and therefore lost work.

(28) Epistola ad Capitulum Herefordense de Libris a Se Scriptis (c. 1217-1220; see 1.409)

This is a very full account of his writings and includes the Speculum Ecclesiae. As always the chronology of his works is not made

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1. 8.xx-xxi.

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clear. It is even possible that this letter preceded Catalogus Brevior and the possible lost work Catalogus Librorum Suorum, alluded to in #27.

Lost Works of Giraldus Cambrensis

(29) Catalogus Librorum Suorum

There is the possibility, however, that this is the same work as #27, Catalogus Brevior Librorum Suorum, but I do not think it is.

(30) De Fide Orthodoxae Fructu Fideique Defectu

Mentioned by Giraldus in his Catalogus Brevior and elsewhere.

(31) Mappa Kambriae

Detailed description in the Catalogus Brevior; mentioned elsewhere.

(32) Speculum Duorum

In the Catalogus Brevior Giraldus describes it thus:

> Item, Speculum duorum Commonitorium et Consolatorium; et quod sola peperit indignatio, cum Epistolis paucis ad injurias illatas respondentibus ac remordentibus, quasi querulum carmen emissum.

(33) Vita S. Karadoci

A local confessor whose canonization Giraldus had pleaded at Rome.

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Throughout the present dissertation I have attempted to present the excerpts from Giraldus in chronological order, but from time to time my ideas on the correct order have slightly changed. In any case no consistency is possible until the sequence of his works has been more firmly fixed.

Evolution of Giraldus' Prose Style

The early full-blown quality of Giraldus' prose and the striking consistency of his style throughout a long literary career posit an elementary training in Latin prose and poetry which was solid and thorough. This formation gave him the equipment traditional among superior Latinists throughout the Middle Ages.

No matter how radically writers diverge when applying the principles of elegant Latinity, every specimen of medieval Latin prose shows a standard grammar, a basic style code and a basic vocabulary, which go to form a common element, a unifying substratum. This common element is found in all the documents of the Roman Curia and most of all in the Papal registers. We see it in the Annales and more plainly still in the Chronica Majora for all areas of Western Europe. There is the same underlying element in the documents of the various royal curias and especially in the letters of Emperors and Kings. The innumerable Lives of Saints and of other exemplary men show the same basic elements of Latin prose style and often this is true despite an extreme simplicity. Under tons of verbiage and technical jargon we discover it in the output of theologians, exegetes and canonists. It is apparent in the Sermons which have been preserved, whether they

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are in the florid or (as is oftener the case) in the simple style. One may find it, elusive but always there, even in the collections of Latin laws and decretals.

The medieval poets are, for the most part, slavish imitators of classical models. Yet they too help us determine the common substratum; where their language coincides and where it agrees with the language of prose writers generally, we most certainly have hit upon the basic Latin prose tradition as applied by superior writers in all parts of Europe and in all centuries of the Middle Ages.

Well-trained schoolboys came by this heritage naturally. Giraldus was no exception. While still in his teens he made exceptional progress in the evolution of a highly personalized Latin Prose style. His penetration, as a boy, into the elements of elegant and forceful expression was no doubt unusually keen. His prodigious memory was served by a nice sense of proportion inherited from his Norman progenitors and by a musical gift, which, he assures us, was the common endowment of Welshmen. Given the right teachers and the chance to absorb the choice quotations found in twelfth-century school texts, the result could not but be a splendid Latin style, which, despite Giraldus' numerous absurdities, much bombast, unmeasured ranting, vain display, numberless repetitions and self-quotations, a passion for puns and for alliterations, a certain quality of rambling under the urge of pent-up emotions, some concession to current non-classical Latin vocabulary, and even some slips in Latin syntax, nevertheless carries the reader along in a mighty surge of colorful, well-chosen words and images, and achieves in an artistic way what is after all the purpose of all writing: to say clearly and with

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force exactly what the author has in mind.

Poetic Tendency

The unusually high poetic content in Giraldus' vocabulary, the poetic coloring in his style, and his fondness for quotations from ancient and medieval poets, all point to a study of Latin prosody which started early and was very intense. Not only the known practice of the times but also the evidence of his writings justifies a picture of the young Welsh nobleman hard at work in the Abbey of St. Peter at Gloucester, turning out reams of Latin hexameters, most of which he was wise enough to destroy and some of which he was vain enough to preserve and even to insert in his writings of maturer years.

One would never set him up against a genuine poet like Joannes de Altavilla, yet Giraldus is a completely reliable metricist and occasionally turns out lines that have real poetic inspiration. Curiously, he offends through exhibitionism less in his verse than in his prose. Put alongside many other versifiers of his period, Giraldus appears less attached than they to the tinsel of excessive alliteration, superficial word-play, meaningless repetition through endless paraphrase, duple and triple rhyme within a single line or distich. I do not recall more than one case in which Giraldus uses a license that even Vergil permitted himself, the lengthening of a short vowel through caesura, although such diastole was much used in twelfth-century quantitative poetry. Likewise he is sparing of elisions. Given a different temperament, with the same intellect, memory, and imaginative faculty, Giraldus Cambrensis might have devoted himself wholly to metrical

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composition and become one of the outstanding poets of his age.

What struck me when I first began to read Giraldus, and what still impresses me today, is the fact that his verse reflects the qualities of his prose. In those who show a marked poetic gift we usually expect the opposite. A typical example is Alanus ab Insulis. There can be no doubt that he was a poet and a clever versifier. This is shown by his refutation of Claudian in the manner of Claudian himself. Whether he was really a first-rate poet may be questioned. I should think not. Be that as it may, his substantial prose work, De Planctu Naturae, is as insufferably poetic as the first chapters of Martianus Capella, and equally hard to understand. Alexander Neckam, on the other hand, writes in one way as a prose stylist and quite differently as a poet, yet he does well in each field. One enjoys reading his fantastic, preachy, "little" encyclopedia, De Naturis Rerum, and, if not too demanding, one may be intrigued by his roving poem De Laudibus Divinae Sapientiae. De Vita Monachorum cannot be called very good poetry because its extreme cleverness is too obtrusive.

We have from the pen of Giraldus a limited amount of poetry from various periods of his life, most of it, I believe, written before he was forty and a good deal of it, perhaps, before he was twenty-five. In every place we immediately sense Giraldus! There he is, moving among his hexameters or elegiac distichs with complete naturalness and no little show of skill. A pet expression in his prose will probably be detected (perhaps, as Horace says, parce detortum) among the spondees and dactyls.

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Reading Background

Rather early in life Giraldus must have begun reading the historians and chroniclers. It is obvious, of course, to what an extent he was indebted to such men as Geoffrey of Monmouth, Hugh of Fleury, and William of Malmesbury. Yet he imitated none of them. The Rolls Series presents his extensive borrowings in smaller type, but even without such help one can tell in general where Giraldus stops and one of his sources begins.

One is tempted to conclude: Giraldus was probably well acquainted with the works of the earlier historians and inevitably showed the influence of their language. This, however, is far from the truth. In his twenties, surely an impressionable time of life, the Welsh cleric listened for several years to the lectures of Petrus Comestor and Petrus Cantor at Paris. He even lifted generous portions of the latter's Verbum Abbreviatum (as Eva Sanford has shown) for his Gemma Ecclesiastica. Nevertheless he does not write like either of his masters. Giraldus admired the work of Hildebert of Le Mans and Marbod of Rheims, and he used the first part of Richard Aldgate's history, but he does not write like any of these. It is known that the prose style of Giraldus Cambrensis began to develop in his early years under Haimon at St. Peter's Abbey, Gloucester; it was solidly founded upon classical Latinity through the intensive analysis and memorization of the usual school authors (Cicero, Caesar, Sallust, Seneca, Macrobius, Vergil, Horace, Juvenal, Ovid, Lucan); it was further evolved for the most part by the young Welshman himself, under proper guidance, before he was twenty; it was conditioned powerfully by his natural musical

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endowment and in a general way it was influenced, not by a single prose author, ancient or medieval, or by any single poet, but rather by all the writers whose works he at any time read and enjoyed.

In another field of reading, however, he seems to have been strongly influenced during his maturer years. Giraldus spent a good deal of the last decade of the twelfth century in studious retirement at Lincoln. We know from a letter to Walter Map, as well as from remarks in his writings generally, that this period of seclusion marked a turning-point in his literary tastes. While continuing to use pagan literature as a source of mental relaxation and literary embellishment, he now concentrated on absorbing the materials of theology, Scripture, and canon law, with which he had become acquainted in his student days at Paris and Bologna. Three major works show the impact of this intense study and this fresh point of view: the Gemma Ecclesiastica, the De Jure et Statu Menevensis Ecclesiae, and the Speculum Ecclesiae. In fact, if we did not know from the lips of Giraldus himself that the De Principis Instructione was begun early and occupied many years in the writing, we should assume as much from his change of style and shift in literary interests after the First Distinction.

Emotional Coloring

Endowed with an unusually ardent, straightforward and impetuous nature, Giraldus had to be guided chiefly by his emotions when writing. His aspirations, inclinations and prejudices turn up in every sentence. When composing the lives of Saints he restrained this tendency remarkably well, so well, in fact, that only a minute study of the

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language helps us to identify these works as those of Giraldus. The Bollandists refused to recognize his authorship of the Vita Sancti Ethelberti. In other parts of his works he achieves a similar detachment and a fair degree of real objectiveity, but the bulk of what he wrote is so clearly his that we seem to spy the bushy brows and flashing eyes peering through every line. In the De Principis Instructions he comes rather close to using the ancient classics. for example, in the humanistic manner of John of Salisbury, but this is true for the First Distinction only. Giraldus on the whole employs rhetorical devices (his verborum flosculi) and literary allusions to captivate and impress his readers; or to prove a point. The first of these purposes amply fulfilled in the Topographia Hibernica and Descriptio Kambriae, written for public recitation. Polemic by every circumstance of birth and breeding, Giraldus never let slip an opportunity to drive home a point scored or gloat over an intellectual advantage, so that even when quoting ancient and contemporary literature he habitually marshals his excerpts (which therefore tend to be rather brief) for dialectic combat rather than for the purpose of creating a stimulating atmosphere of thought.

Specific ideas seemed to dominate his imagination and sway his thinking. A book might easily be written on this subject so I can scarcely do more than briefly draw attention to them here. He is constantly coming back to the idea of Fortune's wheel, for example, and usually in about the same words. Other extremely common motifs are related to this larger one: fama, livor, invidia. These expressions, of course, are not new to those familiar with the contemporary litera-

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ture. In fact, the preoccupation of some authors with what their rivals or enemies might say about them, seems almost too childish to us who were born into an epoch of mass education and literary mass production. Be that as it may, the reader certainly will leave the last page of the last work of Giraldus with this distinct impression: here is a Welsh nobleman, an intelligent cleric, a tireless advocate and a writer of exceptional talent, whose undying ambition is to earn a niche in the hall of Fame (well toward the front) and to prove to the whole world, but especially to his opponents that, although "Cambria begot him" (his words) he overcame the handicap and met the best on equal terms.

Varying Style

At various epochs in the history of Latin literature one can find what may be called stylistic chameleons, writers who change their style to a marked degree to harmonize with a complete change in subject matter or in the nature of their audience. Tacitus, for example, by employing a distinct style in the Dialogus de Oratoribus, has caused no end of trouble to critics and scholars ever since. Among the works of Augustine, the Sermones, Confessiones, and De Civitate Dei might, in some ways, be taken as the work of three separate authors. For the period contemporary to Giraldus (the late eleventh to the early thirteenth centuries), there are less striking but not less real examples of literary chameleons. Hugh of St. Victor rarely quotes the ancient classics except in a single unpublished work, De Grammatica, which is full of classical excerpts, according to the testimony of Manitius.

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The letters of John of Salisbury are meagre in classical references when compared with his large works, the Polycraticus and the Metalogicus: in poetry, John, like most of his contemporaries, followed classical models. Helinandus is inconsistent in his use of classical quotations. At times they are multiplied within a short space, and at other times we traverse chapter upon chapter without a breath of classical air. The prose of Alanus ab Insulis, when compared with his poetry, creates the impression of separate authorship. The same may be said of Bernardus Morlanensis. Neckam has his oddities too: in an extremely long poem, De Laudibus Divinae Sapientiae, he duplicates many of the ideas found in his prose work, De Naturis Rerum; yet the impression of separate authorship is strong; his short poem, De Vita Monachorum, veers away from the dignified style toward the language of popular literature, such as the Carmina Burana and the elegiac comedies of William of Blois, Matthew of Vendôme, and their imitators.[1] Peter of Blois (William's brother), who lived at the court of Henry II with Giraldus, writes sermons that are quite different from his letters, inasmuch as the latter contain abundant classical quotations and allusions. William Fitzstephen opens his biography of Thomas à Becket with a famous description of London; this section is full of classical quotations, but in the rest of the biography there are scarcely any. Giraldus, finally, is also an outstanding example of this literary shifting. Some of his works, such as the Topographia Hibernica, are full of classical quotations; others, notably the Gemma

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1. They preserve Ovidian verse-style and the spirit of Plautine situations.

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Ecclesiastica, have very few. In one of his works, De Principis Instructions, Giraldus resembles William Fitzstephen: the first sixty pages are full of classical references but in the large part of the work the classical material is scarce. Giraldus' style changes radically from one work to the next in several instances but this topic is too vast for treatment here. Fortunately we have almost all his works. Their number, variety, and diverse length give an unusually complete picture of their author's literary background, tastes, and education.

It is unfair, of course, to dismiss as intellectually backward or narrow, those writers who devoted themselves to only one type of writing, or who, though they wrote in several fields, have survived in only one. Men like Petrus Comestor and Innocent III were shining lights. Had they devoted themselves to secular literature in a creative way, they and others like them would also have attained literary eminence.

Rhetorical Devices

Giraldus was at heart a rhetorician in the finest sense of that term -- a genuine word-artist. Throughout his writings there is the impression of ease and security in the use of the Latin tongue; the reader is always aware of a facile pen governed by an unusual instinct for balance, structure and rhythm. Outstanding among the rhetorical devices which Giraldus employs are these:

(a) Assonance

This tendency is most marked in his use of alliteration. Scarcely a writer will be found to equal him in the abundance of

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alliterative sounds, their complexity, or the good taste which he generally shows when handling this easily-abused technique. He claims to have come by this skill as part of his Welsh heritage:

> Prae cunctis tamen rhetoricis exornationibus, annominatione magis utuntur; eaque praecipue specie, quae primas dictionum literas vel syllabas convenientia jungit.
>
> Adeo igitur hoc verborum ornatu duae nationes, Angli scilicet et Kambri, in omni sermone exquisito utuntur, ut nihil ab his eleganter dictum, nullum egregium, nullum nisi rude et agreste censeatur eloquium, si non schematis hujus lima plene fuerit expolitum. [1]

(b) Doublets

This is a word I have applied to a device which, while occasionally met with in other Latin writers, reaches a unique stage of development in Giraldus. Basically it is nothing more than the repetition of a word, phrase, or short clause, as in these examples:

> mediocritas aurea suppetat et moderantia (ik 6.46)
>
> modicis ipsam atque modestis alere praevalet impensis (jm 3.371)
>
> et si modicitate sua ac mediocritate contentus fuerat (jm 3.371)
>
> mea mediocritate contentus atque modestia (pi 8.lix)
>
> vitiorum nutrix atque creatrix (ik 6.41)
>
> mansuetudinem induens et clementiam (eh 5.196)
>
> vir dapsilis et largus (eh 5.272)

The synonyms often begin with identical or kindred sounds. Frequently, too, the only noticeable difference between the allied words is subtle and intriguing. Occasionally, instead of synonyms Giraldus employs antonymous expressions with powerful effect:

---

1. Descriptio Kambriae 6.187-8.

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citra rigidum longeque trans remissum (eh 5.196)

In analysing the more complex doublets it is necessary to judge by the cumulative force of the passage rather than by a narrow application of the criteria set down in what has just been said. At times Giraldus makes a conscious effort to maintain similarity of meaning with variation in sound.

These doublets of Giraldus are sometimes delightful, sometimes boring, but whatever the effect on one's ear may be, it is plain that Giraldus is straining for rhetorical balance, which he achieves by bringing in fairly close proximity two expressions which are directly related or, at times, directly opposed. In the third example above, for example, a fine rhetorical period is obtained by separating the three ablatives: modicis ipsam atque modestis alere praevalet impensis. In fact, I believe that a specialist in Ciceronian clausulae would find a rich field of investigation in the works of Giraldus.

(c) Clusters of Quotations

The habit of driving home a point with a series of classical quotations rather than just one or two is by no means the special province of Giraldus Cambrensis, yet it is an area in which he excelled for several reasons: (1) His store of apt classical quotations was rich, varied and easy to maneuver; (2) he had the knack of choosing his quotations most judiciously; (3) his was an extraordinary talent for incorporating the words of the ancient author into his own prose sentence so smoothly and naturally that, generally, the quotation enhances the quality of Giraldus' expression rather than detracts from it, as

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is so likely to happen when a writer quotes someone else. Too much space would be required here to present any of the extensive clusters in full. In text they are easily recognized because of the references given in the right margin and in the commentary they are once more pointed out. Here, however, I should like to refer to certain outstanding instances of quotation-clusters, such as those found under Horatius Ars Poetica 437 and Horatius Epp. 1.10.30. One need not dwell upon the fact that the tendency to create such clusters has ever been present among writers, but was intensified by the medieval practice of committing to memory, in school, stock lists of classical quotations, often with the purpose of inculcating moral principles.

(d) Periodic Sentence Structure

The sentences of Giraldus tend to be very long and often extremely involved. He was too much an individualist to have ever become a slavish Ciceronian, but, in early life, at least, he must have made strenuous efforts to cultivate a style akin to that of the great Roman master. On the whole I should call Giraldus' manner of writing an imitative composite of Cicero, Jerome and Gregory the Great. It is a tribute to his genius that he did not copy slavishly any one of these great writers whom he admired and knew so well; it is, moreover, a proof of Giraldus' lucid intellect that, even in his longest sentences and most involved periods, he remains remarkably clear.

(e) Weaving of Poetic Excerpts into a Prose Text

There have been Latin writers, like Joannes Saresberiensis, who

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cited the ancient classics much more copiously than Giraldus, and there may have been writers too who quoted more skilfully in regard to the thought involved, but I have not encountered any twelfth-century Latin author whose actual presentation of the ancient wording can be compared with Giraldus' in respect to clever incorporation of the quoted words into the body of his text. Numerous instances will appear as one reads,[1] but a striking example seems suitable here:

> Tanto namque propensiore opus est opera, tantoque singula prius elimanda videntur quam eliminanda, quanto scripto commendata se multorum oculis subjicere non formidant, nec solum praesentibus sed futuris, argutorum simul subitura judicium et offensorum.

As will be made clear later on, this single sentence draws upon three separate parts of the Ars Poetica: elimanda recalls 291-4, se multorum oculis subjicere is based upon 181, and the words non formidant... argutorum...judicium are most certainly from 364. This remarkable rhetorician and stylist, with his capacious memory at the instant service of a facile pen, wove into a perfectly natural whole these three quotations which in their new form occupy only one third of the original

---

1. Expugnatio Hibernica 5.213 in a passage which Giraldus later repeated in the Speculum Ecclesiae 4.262.

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space and are likely to pass almost unobserved.[1]

(f) Concatenation

Closely related to the last-mentioned device is another technique which Giraldus employed and which I have termed concatenation: the habit of establishing a bond between certain allied words or phrases in such a way that through successive steps they become so closely knit as to from an organic unity, when considered together outside of their contexts. For one who knows Giraldus well, this is a most important criterion when doubt arises as to whether he was influenced in given cases by the words of an ancient source. An excellent example will be found under Vergilius, Aen. 1.25, to which the reader is referred.

---

1. Dimock, editor of part of Giraldus' works in the Rolls Series, does not analyse this weaving-technique in detail, but his comment is interesting: "His intimate acquaintance with older literature appears, perhaps more strongly than from actual quotations, in the way in which he often adapts, unconsciously almost it would seem, the thoughts and expressions of ancient writers. Such adaptations of this sort as I have happened to recognize, I think I have never noticed,... except, perhaps, in one or two instances which bear upon the text or its meaning. I believe I have felt that the few such instances that I could recognize and note, would have been a very small fraction of the number that ought to be equally recognized and noted: and that I had better not expose my now old and very rusty small knowledge of classical or other ancient writers, by giving an odd instance or two, where I ought perhaps to be giving as many hundreds. Any real old Latin scholar, who might condescend to peruse Giraldus's medieval Latin, would be constantly finding how readily and naturally the sayings of the early writers, more or less closely, evidently guided his pen." (6.lxvi)

Without being the sort of Latin scholar Dimock required, I am able to say that my own investigation, limited by necessity to the ancient pagan Latin poets in Giraldus, has on the whole borne out Dimock's contention, although I have not found any literal fulfilment of his "as many hundreds" phrase.

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(g) Poetic Word Order

Giraldus, as I have said elsewhere, shows a more poetic spirit in his prose than in his poetry. In addition to flights of fancy, vivid imagery and florid expression we find in his prose frequent instances of phrases which can be classified as partial hexameters and, particularly, numerous examples of word order commonly met with only in Latin verse. These will be noted in the proper places.

Prosody

Within the traditional and rather narrow sphere of the dactylic hexameter Giraldus shows a thorough knowledge of metric laws and is even more rigid in maintaining prosodic correctness than one might demand him to be. He is extremely faithful to the quantitative intentions of the author whom he quotes and often makes the introductory word (nam. et, etc.) fit strictly into the pattern of the poetic line.

Copyists

My total impression of Giraldus' methods leaves me with the conviction that his own literary knowledge and judgment were exceptionally good; and I am equally convinced that nearly all the mistakes we find in his writings were the work of copyists. In a part of his writings where he uses innumerable classical quotations, the sole surviving manuscript is, as we shall note later on, the product of a poorly-trained and careless workman.

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Speeches Invented for his Characters

Giraldus, probably in imitation of Livy, put into the mouth of certain persons a type of language which they could not possibly have used. The Rolls Series editors of his works realized this instinctively and I heartily endorse their view after a minute examination of all the speeches cited by Giraldus.

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Chapter III

Texts of Pagan Latin Poets, Giraldus Cambrensis, and his Contemporaries

Prefatory Note

For the sake of short and handy reference, certain types of information are given in abbreviated form. In addition to the explanations that appear at the beginning of the book under the heading Format and Symbols, the following items will prove useful.

(a) Symbols for the works of Giraldus

These will be found by reference to the table given on page 4.

(b) Absence of text for contemporaries of Giraldus

For contemporary excerpts whose wording is not actually given, one should presume that the text agrees entirely with that of the ancient author or that the variations are so slight as to be of no consequence in this study.

(c) Format of Manuscript citations

In many cases I have published for the first time the actual text of De Principis Instructione. Numerous questions arise in connection with the only extant manuscript and for that reason I have judged it best to approximate its appearance as closely as I could. However, all the abbreviations have been expanded for the convenience of the reader.

In presenting texts from Hilka-Schumann's edition of the Carmina Burana I have tried to maintain the spacing they adopted.

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(d) Underlining of words

Some inconsistency will be found in the underlining of words, but the general plan has been this: if the wording of the ancient author is evident enough, no underlining is used; if, however, his words occur in a context which tends to obscure them, they are underlined.

(e) Order of Authors and citations

An alphabetical arrangement has been followed. Thus, the texts of Horace precede those of Lucan, and, within the scope of a single author's works the Tristia of Ovid, for example, follow the Metamorphoses. This arrangement is based upon the Latin titles of the works.

(f) Abbreviations used

Rolls	Rolls Series
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
MGSS	Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores
Migne	Patrologia Latina
Holmberg	Moralium Dogma Philosophorum
Korfmacher	Othlonus, Libellus Prouerbiorum
Cohen	La Comédie Latine au XIIème siècle
Voigt	Romanische Forschung (vols. 3 and 6)
Manitius	Lateinische Literaturgeschichte des Mittelalters, vol. 3
Hilka-Schumann	Carmina Burana
Lehmann	Pseudo-antike Literatur des Mittelalters

Two further abbreviations are often used in reference to the Carmina Burana.

m-s	Die moralisch-satirischen Dichtungen (vol. 1, part 1)
am	Die Liebeslieder (vol. 1, part 2)

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ANTHOLOGIA LATINA 709.1-6 anth.lat.709.1

Germanici. De puero glacie perempto.

Thrax puer adstricto glacie cum luderet Hebro, 1
Frigore frenatas pondere rupit aquas, 2
Cumque imae partes fundo raperentur ab imo, 3
Abscidit a iugulo lubrica testa caput. 4
Quod mox inuentum mater dum conderet igni, 5
'Hoc peperi flammis, cetera' dixit 'aquis. 6
Me miseram! plus amnis habet solumque reliquit, 7
Quo nati mater nosceret interitum.' 8

Giraldus

pi 8.11

1

Idem de fi
lio regis Francie: Trax puer as
tricto glacie dum ludit in Hebro.
Frigore concretas: pondere rupit
aquas. Dumque yeme partes rapi
do traherentur ab ampne. praesecuit
tenerum lubrica testa capud. Or
ba quod inuentum mater dum conderet
vrna. Hoc peperi flammis: cetera
dixit aquis. Pulcre satis ac lit
terate liberalitatis indicio nunciatum
sibi tam nouí casus euentum.

ANTHOLOGIA LATINA 711.1-3

Gallieni

Ite agite, o iuuenes, et desudate medullis 1
Omnibus inter uos! non murmura uestra columbae, 2
Brachia non hederae, non uincant oscula conchae. 3
Ludite: sed uigiles nolite extinguere lychnos. 4
Omnia nocte uident, nil eras meminere lucernae. 5

---

1. Brit. Mus. Cotton Julius B.xiii, fol. 50, col. 2; text incomplete in Warner's printed edition.

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ANTHOLOGIA LATINA 711.1-3 (cont'd.) anth.lat.711

Giraldus

pi 8.11

Item adducti sunt Julio. pueri[1]
duo mas et femina: ad miracu
lum usque similimi. Quos cum
ambos inspexisset tandem imperi
ali donatos munificencia remisit
cum hiis versibus. Ite pares pariter.
paribus sudate medullis. Omnibus
inter uos non murmura uestra colum
be. Brachia non edere. non vin
cant oscula conche.

1. Brit. Mus. Cotton Julius B.xiii, fol. 50, col. 2; text incomplete in Warner's printed edition.

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CARMINA VERGILIANA 155 carm.v.155

Nocte pluit tota, redeunt et mane serena.
Commune imperium cum Ioue, Caesar, agis.

Giraldus

(1) sv 1.374

Nocte pluit tota redeunt spectacula mane:
Nubes et nebulas nescit amoena dies.

(2) eh 1.223

Bipartito namque dominio divisum in nobis imperium cum Jove Caesar habet.

CARMINA VERGILIANA 162

Dum dubitat natura, marem faceretne puellam,
Natus es, o pulcher, paene puella, puer.

Giraldus

(1) dk 6.188

Et illud ejusdem (Virgilii) ad Augustum:
Dum dubitet natura marem faceretve puellam,
Natus es, O pulcher, paene puella, puer.

(2) Richard Aldgate (fl.1187) Rolls 38.1.120

et cui illud poeticum competit:
Dum dubitat natura marem faceretve puellam,
Natus es, O pulcher, paene puella, puer.

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claud
eutr. 1.181

CLAUDIANUS EUTROPIUS 1.181-4

asperius nihil est humili cum surgit in altum:
cuncta ferit dum cuncta timet, desaeuit in omnes
ut se posse putent, nec belua taetrior ulla
quam serui rabies in libera terga furentis;

Giraldus

(1) eh 5.337

et quoniam
Asperius nihil est humili, cum surgit in altum;
Cuncta premit, dum cuncta timet; desaevit in omnes,
Ut se posse putent; nec bellua tetrior ulla est,
Quam servi rabies in libera colla furentis;

(2) sy 1.244

et in rabiem effraenam juris rigore desaeviens

(3) sy 1.374

Quae minimos minime censura coercet in urbe
Saevit in orbe fremens celsaque colla premens.
Cui male sublatus Romae non cederet hortus
Nititur ad nutum flectere regna suum.

(4) sy 1.374-7

Morum nobilitas ac morum gloria, cervix
Libera, coena sub his sobria, recta fides...
Urbs igitur cesset animos turbare feroces
Prona quibus quondam colla subacta dedit.
Illa laborat ad hoc ut Christi sponsa tyrannis
Serviat, et servi libera colla premant...
Mirum quae Romae modicos sententia papae
Non movet hic subito sceptra movere facit.

(5) sy 1.377

Servili rabie non belua tetrior ulla est,
Dum furibunda fremit libera colla premit.
Asperiusque nihil humili cum surgit ab imo,
Hoc solum cupiens ut queat esse nocens.
Actu cum nequeat lingua desaevit iniqua,
Lampadis os nequam torva venena vomens.
Mordet enim magnos ut sic queat ipse videri
Magnus, qui modicus et miser esse solet.

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Totus in hoc ardens ut praesit et ore vel actu,
  Qui fuit esuriens, pareat esse potens.
Qui non laedentes sic laedet laedere laesus.
  Quam foret hic praeceps instar habere potes!
Gurgulio vermis substans in gutture totus
  Belua nostra

(6) vg 4.389

Cancellarius enimvero, quoniam
  Asperius nihil est humili cum surgit in altum,
nec bellua tetrior ulla est, etc., audito ejusdem versus Angliam adventu per omnes orientales Angliae portus literas praemiserat in hunc tenorem:

(7) Alanus ab Insulis (fl.1150) Migne 210.587

Asperius nil est humili cum surgit in altum;
  Ringitur in celsa simia sede sedens.

(8) Petrus Cantor (fl.1170) Migne 205.61

De humilitate vero culpae provenientis ex servili timore, dicit poeta:
  Asperius nihil est humili cum surgit in altum:
  Cuncta ferit, dum cuncta timet, desaevit in omnes.

(9) Alexander Neckam (fl.1197) Rolls 34.379

Nonne caloris erit quod corpus surgit in altum?

(10) Florilegium Gottingense (c. 1200) Roman. Forsch. 3.288.71

Paupere ditato nil acrius esse putato,
  Crudeles inopes, cum ueniunt ad opes.

CLAUDIANUS EUTROPIUS 1.205-9

propriae solacia sorti
communes uult esse notas et uenditus ipse
uendere cuncta cupit. certantum saepe duorum
diversum suspendit onus; cum pondere iudex
uergit, et in geminas nutat provincia lances.

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claud.
eutr. 2.116

Giraldus

ge 2.310

Item Claudianus:

Propriae solatia sorti
Communes vult esse notas, et venditus ipse
Vendere cuncta cupit, certantum saepe duorum
Diversum suspendit onus, cum pondere judex
Vergit et ingenuas mutat provincia lances.

CLAUDIANUS EUTROPIUS 2.116-18

dum pereunt, meminere mali; si corda parumper
respirare sinas, nullo tot funera sensu
praetereunt: antiqua levis iactura cruoris!

Giraldus

dk 6.211

Unde et Claudianus de gentis ejusdem, vel similis, natura loqui videtur, dicens;

Dum pereunt, meminere mali; si corda parumper
Respirare sinas, nullo tot funera sensu
Praetereunt; tantique levis jactura cruoris.

CLAUDIANUS Hon. 3.96-8

o nimium dilecte deo, cui fundit ab antris
Aeolus armatas hiemes, cui militat aether
et coniurati veniunt ad classica venti.

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claud.
hon. 3.96

(1) Giraldus pi 8.91

poeta quidam in laudem ipsius hos inter caetera versiculos scripsit:

O nimium dilecte Dei, tibi militat aether
Et conjurati veniunt ad classica venti.

(2) Sicardus Cremonensis (fl. .1185) Migne 213.474

O nimium dilecte Dei ! tibi militat aether;
Et conjurati veniunt ad classica venti.

CLAUDIANUS Honorius 4.220

...uirtute decet, non sanguine niti.

(1) Giraldus vg 4.362

Sed quoniam virtute decet non sanguine niti, plus animi quam atavi nobilitate laetetur.

(2) li d.86

Item, 'plerosque Wallie magnates uel sanguine uel affinitate contingens', etc. Uerum dicit et si omnes fere maiores Wallie contra Walenses regi et regno egregie militando incastellatam tenent, ex parte patris, quod tamen ex cautela supprimit et subticet ille, quia causam nostram iuuare videtur, quam etiam de principibus Wallie ex sanguine materno non minus uere, sed magis quidem expresse scripsisset. Generositatem itaque nostram fatetur, nos eam non diffitemur. Si ipsa nobis nocere debet aliis suffragantibus, uos uideatis. Item, 'fiducia forsitan sanguine animatus cum deceat uirtute magis quam sanguine niti', etc. Istud mutuatus est a Claudiano dicente, uirtute decet non sanguine niti. Uerum est, quia cui non datum est utroque niti, melius est illa quam isto. Ipse mihi alterum concedit, ego ei neutrum.

(3) li d.83

Nuper tamen sicut certa relatione didici quidam Meneuensis ecclesie archidiaconus, Giraldus nomine, nacione Walensis, ple-

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claud.
hon. 4.220

rosque Wallie magnates uel sanguine uel affinitate contingens, fiducia forsan sanguinis animatus, cum deceat uirtute magis quam sanguine niti, a tribus tantum canonicis quos, ut dicitur, aliter quam decebat uel debebat ad consensum illexerat, in Meneuensem se eligi episcopum procurauit,

(4) Carmina Burana, m-s 2a Hilka-Schumann p. 36

Virtute, non sanguine
decet niti;

CLAUDIANUS Hon. 4.257-62

tu licet extremos late dominere per Indos,
te Medus, te mollis Arabs, te Seres adorent:
si metuis, si praua cupis, si duceris ira,
seruitii patiere iugum; tolerabis iniquas
interius leges. tunc omnia iure tenebis,
cum poteris rex esse tui.

(1) Giraldus sy 1.245

Ad hoc autem memento rex, quoniam a regendo rex vocaris, quia primo teipsum, deinde populum tibi subditum, regere debes. Juxta illud Claudiani: Tunc omnia jure tenebis, cum poteris rex esse tui.

(2) Giraldus pi 8.47

Claudianus:
Tu licet extremos late dominere per Indos,
Te Medus, te mollis Arabs, te Seres adorent:
Si metuis, si prava cupis, si duceris ira
Servitii patiere jugum; tolerabis iniquas
Interius leges. tunc omnia jure tenebis,
Cum poteris rex esse tui.

(3) Helinandus fl. 1200 Migne 212.737

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claud.
hon. 4.257

(4) Matthaeus Parisiensis fl. 1240 Rolls 57.5.276

unde Statius
Tunc omnia jure tenebis,
Si poteris rex esse tui.

CLAUDIANUS Hon. 4.269-275

"Hoc te praeterea crebro sermone monebo,
ut te totius medio telluris in ore
vivere cognoscas, cunctis tua gentibus esse
facta palam nec posse dari regalibus usquam
secretum vitiis; nam lux altissima fati
occultum nihil esse sinit, latebrasque per omnes
intrat et abstrusos explorat fama recessus.

Giraldus pi 8.14

Claudianus:
Hoc te praeterea crebro sermone monebo,[1]
ut sic te potius medio telluris in orbe
vivere cognoscas, cunctis tua gentibus esse
facta palam nec posse dari regalibus unquam
secretum vitiis; nam lux altissima fati
occultum nil esse sinit, latebrasque per omnes
intrat et abstrusos implorat fama recessus.

CLAUDIANUS Hon. 4.294-302

tu civem patremque geras, tu consule cunctis,
non tibi, nec tua te moveant, sed publica vota.
in commune iubes si quid censesque tenendum,
primus iussa subi: tunc observantior aequi
fit populus nec ferre negat, cum viderit ipsum
auctorem parere sibi. componitur orbis
regis ad exemplum nec sic inflectere sensus
humanos edicta valent quam vita regentis:
Mobile mutatur semper cum principe vulgus.

---

[1] Brit. Mus. Jul. xiii B, fol. 53; text omitted from Warner's printed edition.

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claud.
hon. 4.294

(1) dk 6.161

(2) Giraldus eh 5.366

Sicut autem ad comitis exemplum reges, sic ad regum exemplar Romanus imperator Frethericus,...crucem magnifice suscepit.

(3) sy 1.253 (Sermo in Synodo Menevensi)

efficacius aedificat exemplo quam verbo. Quoniam juxta illud Sapientis: Componitur orbis Regis ad exemplum. Sic et rectoris cujusque; (then Juv. 8.140-1)

(4) ve e.223

Preterea recolens et racionem nominis attendens, quoniam a regendo rex dicitur eo quod se primum, deinde populum sibi subditum, regere debeat, quia componitur orbis regis ad exemplum; (qualiter etenim ad regni amplitudinem regendam presumptuosus accedit qui non breuem corpusculi sui massam regere nouerit et racione moderari?)

(5) pi 8.54

Rex autem, qui a regendo dicitur, primo se ipsum, deinde subditum sibi populum, regere tenetur; ...Claudianus:

Nec sic inflectere sensus
Humanos edicta valent quam vita regentis.

(6) pi 8.114

Cum autem fidelem quemlibet religio commendet plurimum et exornet, principales ipsa viros praecipue decet, qui non solum verbis et factis, quorum ad instar componitur orbis, verum etiam longe efficacius et copiosius merentur exemplis...Sic et principe existente bono boni quoque subditi fiunt, et ad capitis similitudinem membra plerumque informari solent.

(7) pi 8.141

Cum itaque recta fide principis et religione nihil sub sole clarius elucescat, dum laudabili facto pariter et exemplo cunctos illuminat et illustrat, et ad similia jugiter opera bona ex alto provocat et invitat, quoniam

Non sic inflectere sensus
Humanos edicta valent, ut vita regentis,

et quia

Mobile mutatur semper cum principe vulgus,

id princeps super omnia bonus apparere debet et ad hoc quoque totis nisibus aspirare, ut se cunctis, tam subditis quam caeteris, vitae meritis et factis egregiis imitabilem reddat.

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claud.
(8) pi 8.144 (Claud. 294-5) hon. 4.294

(9) pi 8.166

et, quoniam componitur orbis regis ad exemplum, non solum facto quinimmo longe magis offendit exemplo.

(10) pi 8.241

Sic itaque per universos propemodum Europei fines, ad principum exemplum orbe composito

(11) Joannes Saresberiensis (fl.1155) Migne 199.520

Frequens enim est ut subditi superiorum vitia imitentur, quia magistratui populus studet esse conformis, et unusquisque libenter appetit, in quo alium cernit illustrem. Celebre est illud versificatoris egregii, sensum et verba magni Theodosi exprimentis:

In commune jubes si quid, censesve tenendum...[1]

(12) Petrus Bernardus Grandimontensis (fl.1160) Rolls 67.7.455

componitur orbis Regis ad exemplum

(13) Radulphus de Diceto (fl.1185) Rolls 68.2.115

Mobile mutatur semper cum principe vulgus.

(14) Helinandus (fl.1200) Migne 212.517

Quod est dicere: O Domine, imple tu prior humilitatis et patientiae praeceptum, quod mandasti: statim multos invenies, qui te sequantur. Sane hujus versiculi sententia nusquam melius exponitur, quam per illos versus poetae dicentes:

In commune jubes si quid, censesque tenendum,[1]

(15) Idem Migne 212.755

Sequitur: Nec reducet populum in AEgyptum, id est inferiores non corrumpat exemplo: quia

Componitur orbis
Regis ad exemplum, nec sic inflectere sensus
Humanos edicta valent, ut vita regentis.
Mobile mutatur semper cum principe vulgus.

---

[1] the remainder, through line 302, as in Claudian

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claud.
hon. 4.294

(16) Matthaeus Parisiensis (fl.1240) Rolls 44.1.201

illud poeticum: mobile versatur semper cum principe vulgus.

(17) Idem Rolls 44.2.63

(18) Elias de Coxida (fl.1203) Migne 209.995

in commune jubes...regentis...[1]

CLAUDIANUS Rufinus 1.21-3

iam non ad culmina rerum
iniustos creuisse queror; tolluntur in altum,
ut lapsu grauiore ruant.

(1) Giraldus vg 4.419

Et iterum:

Tolluntur in altum,
Ut lapsu graviore ruant.

(2) pi 8.153

Quoniam juxta varia fortunae ludibria quosdam diu deprimi videmus et humiliari, ut gratius postmodum et sublimius exaltentur, et e diverso alios subito et ex inopinato in altum tolli, ut lapsu graviore ruant;

(3) Nigellus Wireker (fl.1170) Manitius 3.812

(4) Gaufridus (fl.1200) Migne 205.870

de quibus et poeta Clau.:

Jam non ad culmina terrae
Injustos crevisse queror, tolluntur in altum
Ut lapsu graviore ruant.

[1] lines 296-301 as in Claudian

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claud.
ruf.1.21

Carmina Burana m-s 14.3 (Early 13th cent.)(Hilka-Schumann)

eligere
media tutius
quam petere
rote sublimius
et gravius
a summo ruere:
fit gravior
lapsus a prosperis
et durior
ab ipsis asperis.

CALUDIANUS Stilicho 2.103-09

Iustitia utilibus rectum praeponere suadet
communesque sequi leges iniustaque nunquam
largiri sociis. durum Patientia corpus
instruit, ut nulli cupiat cessisse labori;
Temperies, ut casta petas; Prudentia, ne quid
inconsultus agas; Constantia, futtile ne quid
infirmumque geras.

Giraldus pi 8.43

Patet ex his igitur et palam esse proponitur concatenatas ad invicem esse virtutes et cognatas. De quibus haec Claudianus:

Justitia utilibus rectum praeponere suadet,

CLAUDIANUS Stil. 2.122-3

lectos ex omnibus oris
euehis et meritum, non quae cunabula, quaeris,

Giraldus vh.7.98

Unde et ad ipsum illud poeticum laudis elegantis eloquium non ineleganter dirigi posse dignoscitur:

Lectos ex omnibus oris
Evehis; et mores, non quae cunabula quaeris.

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DISTICHA CATONIS 1.5 d.c.1.5

Si uitam inspicias hominum, si denique mores,
cum culpant alios: nemo sine crimine uiuit.

Giraldus

(1) rg 1.99

non me quidem a peccato, cum nemo sine crimine vivat,...immunem dixerim.

(2) pi 8.250

et quoniam nemo sine crimine vivit,

(3) Jocelinus (fl.1180) Rolls 96.1.221

(4) Richard Devizes (fl.1193) Rolls 82.3.436

Nemo in ea (urbe) sine crimine vivit;

DISTICHA CATONIS 1.26

Qui simulat uerbis nec corde est fidus amicus,
Tu quoque fac simules: sic ars deluditur arte.

Giraldus

(1) jm 3.307

anxius existens, ad artem istam arte deludendam

(2) jm 3.251

artem adversam arte eludere posset,

(3) jm 3.253

saltum observantis artem arte deludat.

(4) Richard Aldgate (fl.1187) Rolls 38.1.59

ars artem deluderet

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DISTICHA CATONIS 1.27 d.c.1.27

Noli homines blando nimium sermone probare:
Fistula dulce canit, uolucrem dum decipit auceps.

Giraldus

(1) sy 1.212

haec confestim et his similia mihi ethicorum dicta subeniant:
Fugite o pueri; latet anguis in herba. (V.Ecl.3.95)
Occursare capro, cornu ferit ille, caveto. (V.Ecl.9.25)
Ne te decipiant animi sub vulpe latentes. (H.A.P.437)
Pelliculam veterem retinens, ac voce politus. (Pers.5.116)
Astutam vapido portans sub pectore vulpem. (O.Am.1.8.104)
Fistula dulce canit, volucrem dum decipit auceps.
Impia sub dulci melle venena latent.

(2) sy 1.297

same as #1 (plus d.c.3.4)

(3) Thomas Cantuariensis (1166) Rolls 67.6.56

Reducite ad mentem, quoniam:
Fistula dulce canit, volucrem dum decipit auceps:
Ne vos decipiant animi sub vulpe latentes. (H.A.P.437)

(4) Alanus ab Insulis (fl.1170) Manitius 3.800

(5) Thomas Cisterciensis (fl.1180) Migne 206.212

Et ille gentilis:
Sermones blandos blesosque cavere memento. (d.c.3.4)
Idem:
Fistula dulce canit, volucrem dum decipit auceps.

(6) Eberhard of Bethune (fl.1185) Manitius 3.751

(7) Henricus Septimellensis (fl.1194) Migne 204.865

Fistula dulce canit, si non mihi, crede catoni,
Dum lyra dulcisono carmine prodit aves.
Nec nimis astutis, vulpescat lingua querelis,
Nam dubiam pariunt vulpida verba fidem.

(8) Alexander Neckam (fl.1197) Rolls 34.384

Simplicitas plures erronea decipit auceps,
Hanc volucrem blandus proditor arte capit.

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DISTICHA CATONIS 3.4 d.c.3.4

Sermones blandos blaesosque cauere memento:
Simplicitas ueri forma est, laus ficta loquentis.

Giraldus

(1) sy 1.297

Fistula dulce canit, volucrem dum decipit auceps.(1.27)
Sermones blandos blesos vitare memento.

(2) jm 3.188

Huic autem blando et blaeso moribus et aetate

(3) li d.106

ut qualiter uerbis eius blesis ac blandis fides adhiberi debeat,

(4) Godefridus of Winchester (fl.1080)

Sed dum blanditur, dum blaesa et dulcia verba
Supra oleum mollit...

(5) Thomas Cisterciensis (fl.1180)

Et ille gentilis:
Sermones blandos blesosque cavere memento.
Idem:
Fistula dulce canit, volucrem dum decipit auceps.(1.27)

(6) Florilegium of St. Omer (c.1200) 25

Blandus sermo datum superat quamuis bene gratum.

(7) Carmina Burana m-s 41.13 Hilka-Schumann p. 66

Qui sunt Syrtes vel Sirenes?
qui sermone blando lenes
attrahunt byzantium;

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DISTICHA CATONIS 3.6 d.c.3.6

Interpone tuis interdum gaudia curis,
Ut possis animo quemuis sufferre laborem.

Giraldus

(1) sy 1.236

Unde Cato:
Interpone tuis interdum gaudia curis.

DISTICHA CATONIS (MONOSTICHA) 3.2

Non laeta extollant animum, non tristia frangant.

Giraldus

(1) sy 1.379

Felix quod sors fert animo qui pertulit aequo,
Cui neque fracta malis mens nec adaucta bonis.

(2) sy 1.245

Praeterea nec adversis frangi, nec prosperis extolli,
vestram, Deo dante, non diffido constantiam.

(3) jm 3.228
quia nec frangi potuit adversis nec consternari,

(4) jm 3.317

quoniam adversis frangi non potuit,

(5) Serlo (fl.1096) Rolls 59.2.258

Frangeris adversis, et prosperitate superbis.

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DISTICHA CATONIS (MONOSTICHA) 4.24-5 d.c.m.4.24

Quod tibi uis fieri, hoc alii praestare memento.
Quod tibi non optes, alii ne feceris ulli.

Giraldus

(1) sp 4.134

Sed autem ad dictum abbatem divitiis simul et vitiis,...,abundantem, verbis authenticis apostrophemus: "...Item et jure naturali, hoc facias alii quod tibi vis fieri. Item quod tibi non fieri vis, hoc ne feceris ulli..."

(2) sp 4.299

Et illud quoque de jure naturali:
Hoc facias alii, quod tibi vis fieri.
Et quasi per contrarium:
Quod tibi non fieri vis, hoc ne feceris ulli.

(3) Petrus Abaelardus (fl.1120) Migne 178.1762

Quae tibi tu non vis fieri, ne feceris ulli;
Quae fieri tibi vis, haec quoque fac aliis.

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ELEGIA IN MAECENATEM 1.15-16 el.in m.1.15

omnia cum posses tanto tam carus amico
te sensit nemo posse nocere tamen.

Giraldus

(1) dk 6.162

et (versus) illi Maronis ad Mecenatem, principis mansuetudinem declarantes,

Omnia cum posses, tanto tam clarus amico,
Te sensit nemo posse nocere tamen.

(2) rg 1.101

illi egregio Maronis ad Maecenatem eulogio se conformans:

Omnia cum possis tanto tam clarus amico:
Te sensit nemo posse nocere tamen.

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HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 1-5 h.a.p.1

Humano capiti cervicem pictor equinam
iungere si uelit, et uarias inducere plumas
undique collatis membris, ut turpiter atrum
desinat in piscem mulier formosa superne,
spectatum admissi risum teneatis, amici?

Giraldus

(1) eh 5.209

Lupum introducit cum sacerdote loquentem, bovina humano corpori depingit extrema, mulierem barbatam, hircum amatorem, et leonem.

(2) eh 5.371

De voce autem illa, a barbaris incipiente, et in Latina verba descendente, quod mihi videtur edisseram.

(3) ik 6.28

ex quo et mirae velocitatis equus prodiit, anteriori parte equi naturam praeferens, posterius vero in cervum descendens.

(4) ik 6.141

canem, ex simia praegnantem, catulos tandem produxisse, parte anteriore tota simiam praeferentes, in canem vero versus posteriora descendentes.

(5) vr 7.78

quia turpis est omnis pars suo universo non congruens

(6) sp 4.261

Similis ergo pictori forte videbor egregiam imaginem protracturo, qui partibus ab imis primum incipiens, et se diligenter in illis exercens, ab inferioribus ad superiora, seriatim in singulis atque gradatim, ascendit.

(7) sp 4.300

sic et summus pontifex rebus ecclesiasticis cunctis undecunque collatis, ... tanquam suis et non alienis uti de jure potest.

(8) Joannes Saresberiensis (lines 1-5) Migne 199.429,437

(9) Alanus ab Insulis (lines 1-2) Migne 210.146

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HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 1-5 (cont'd.)

(10)	Berengarius	(lines 1-5)	Migne 178.1864
(11)	Henricus Septimellensis	(lines 1 ff.)	Manitius 3.939
(12)	Richard Aldgate		Rolls 38.1.87

Horatius, Ars Poetica 1-2, 14, 27, 33

Humano capiti ceruicem pictor equinam
iungere si uelit...

Inceptis grauibus plerumque et magna professis

...professus grandia turget;

...et mollis imitabitur aere capillos,

Giraldus

eh 5.301

Naturam enimvero imitari arte professus authoritatem pictor amittit, si diligentius apta dum protrahit, minus idonea verecunde praetermittit.

HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 11

scimus, et hanc ueniam petimusque damusque uicissim;

Giraldus

(1) th 5.29

Hanc igitur
Veniam petimusque damusque vicissim;

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HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 11 (cont'd.) h.a.p.11

(2) im 3.116

Sed quoniam historiae cursus, quae lege scribendi venia data veris insistere vereri non debet,

HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 31

in uitium ducit culpae fuga, si caret arte.

Giraldus

dk 6.209

Statim ut terga dederint, solum fugae praesidio, nullique penitus confidunt rebellioni. Quod tamen in martiis conflictibus reprehensibile poeta non ignoravit, dicens;

Ignavum scelus est tantum fuga;

et alibi,

In vitium culpae ducit fuga, si caret arte.

HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 34-5

infelix operis summa, quia ponere totum nesciet.

Giraldus

(1) vr 7.80

Sed quoniam
Infelix operis summa est, quae apponere finem
Nescit

(2) sp 4.116

directas veri et justitiae semitas mens avida transiliens, modum successibus finemque possessionibus ponere nescia;

(3) Alexander Neckam Rolls 34.328

(4) Petrus Belsensis Migne 207.290

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HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 38 h.a.p.38

Sumite materiam uestris, qui scribitis, aequam 38
uiribus et uersate diu, quid ferre recusent, 39
auid ualeant humeri. 40

Giraldus

(1) rg 1.58

Resus resolutus in verba jocosa et ludicra, deque Giraldo loquendi materiam sumens,

(2) rg 1.66

qui de pastorali officio materiam sumens,

(3) Gulielmus S. Michaelis de Clusa (fl.1050) Manitius 3.538-41

(4) Manegoldus (fl.1080) Manitius 3.27

(5) Phillipus de Harvengt (fl.1130) Migne 203.181

(6) Benedict of Petersborough (fl.1140) Rolls 67.2.173

(7) Petrus Cantor (fl.1170) Migne 205.167

(8) Galfridus de Vino Salvo (fl.1195) Manitius 3.751-6

(9) Reiner of Luettich (fl.1197) MGSS 20.561

HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 52-3, 58-9

et noua fictaque nuper habebunt uerba fidem si
Graeco fonte cadent parce detorta.

...licuit semperque licebit
signatum praesente nota producere nomen.

Giraldus

(1) sy 1.288

Metricis autem et lyricis vel de novo cudendis vel crebro legendis, absit ut hac aetate delectemur. Juvenilis enim nondum

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HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 52-3, 58-9 (cont'd.) h.a.p.52

exutae ad plenum levitatis indicia sunt haec, et decoctae maturitatis argumenta non ad perfectum indutae.

(2) sy 1.359

Ut Venusinus ait, licuit semperque licebit
Nomina praesenti fingere nota nota.

(3) jm 3.334

Ad haec etiam viri sancti et literatissimi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi Baldewini monitis obtemperans, cotidie nova cudere novisque laboribus invigilare jugiter et insudare non cessavit, posteris lectionem praesentibus livorem...praebens.

(4) ch 1.417

Periculosum tamen est hodie, sicut et olim, et calumniosis aemulorum undique depravationibus expositum, scribentis maximeque nova cudentis officium.

HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 78

grammatici certant et adhuc sub iudice lis est.

Giraldus

(1) rg 1.47

Quaestio, quam prae manibus habemus, vetus est, sed nondum inveterata; lis dudum ventilata, sed adhuc sub judice.

(2) Jocelinus (fl. 1180) Rolls 96.1.256

(3) Godefridus of Breteuil (fl. 1170) Manitius 3.777-9

HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 92

singula quaeque locum teneant sortita decentem.

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HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 92 (cont'd.) h.a.p.92

Giraldus

(1) eh 5.397 (dk 6.221)

Ut igitur
Singula quaeque locum teneant sortita decenter,

(2) ge 2.137

Item missam Epiphaniae vel alterius solemnitatis omni die, etiam die Paschae decantandam; cum singula quaeque locum teneant sortita decenter; ut tempore paschali missae et laudes ad illud tempus pertinentes decantentur, ita in aliis temporibus...

(3) Joannes Saresberiensis (fl. 1155) Migne 199.398

Tunc etenim totum reipublicae corpus roboris sui integritate vigebit, tunc optimae compositionis specie venustabitur, et elegantis pulchritudinis decorem induet, si
Singula quaeque locum teneant sortita decenter
si fuerit officiorum non confusio, sed distributio

(4) Gaufridus (fl. 1200) Migne 205.845

Est autem ordo, ut ipse doctor definit, parium et disparium rerum sua cuique loca tribuens dispositio. Est plane ordo, ut
Singula quaeque locum teneant sortita decenter.
Maxime autem ad clericorum regularium ordinem spectat, ut studeant nihil proprium habere, inviolati cordis et corporis integritatem sollicite servare, majorum praeceptis humiliter obedire.

HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 119

Aut famam sequere aut sibi conuenientia finge.

Giraldus

dk 6.187

Prae cunctis tamen rhetoricis exornationibus, annominatione magis utuntur; eaque praecipue specie, quae primas dictionum literas vel syllabas convenientia jungit.

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HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 138 h.a.p.138

quid dignum tanto feret hic promissor hiatu?

Giraldus

(1) sy 1.224

Galterius exmonachus; Sire, ne creez vus unques un sul de cel pais ne clerc ne lai. Ne ne suffrez vus unques danger del arcediakene Girold. Sujurnez en Engleterre tant cum vus plerra. Entre mei e Joceaume le Deen guvernerum 224
leuesche haltement e bien.
Quid feret hic tanto dignum promissor hiatu ?

(2) sp 4.293

"Des istis, des aliis, addas dona datis,
Et si satis dederis quaerunt ultra satis.
O vos bursae turgidae Roman veniatis;
Romae viget physica bursis constipatis."
Porro quid feret hic tanto dignum delator hiatu, si curia Romana corporalem delinquentibus poenam infligeret? Dignus iste non suspendio solum verum etiam incendio foret.

(3) Bernardus Claravallensis (fl. 1130) Migne 182-5

(4) Petrus Venerabilis (fl. 1132) Migne 189.323

HORATIUS, Ars. Poetica 139

Parturient montes, nascetur ridiculus mus.

Giraldus

sy 1.350

Parturiunt humeri procerae brachia formae.

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HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 141-2 h.a.p.141

dic mihi, Musa, uirum, captae post tempora Troiae[1]
qui mores hominum multorum uidit et urbes.

Giraldus

(1) jm 3.117

Verumtamen sicut in primis opusculi partibus et imis mores hominum ordinis utriusque, potiorisque potius et dignioris, plene et abunde perpendi poterunt;

(2) th 5.7

Aggrediar tamen utcumque novis quibusdam, et quae vel multis hactenus edita sunt, vel perpaucis enucleata, lectoris animum excitare; expressamque Hiberniae topographiam hoc opusculo quasi speculo quodam dilucido repraesentare, et cunctis in commune palam facere.

Terrarum enimvero remotissimarum tam qualitates quam situs saltem a longe speculari, et abditas ab antiquo proprietates evolvere...variarumque gentium originalem a puncto lineam ducere; hominumque mores nosse multorum;

(3) Joannes Saresberiensis (fl. 1155) Migne 199.392

Qui mores hominum multorum vidit et urbes

(4) Hugo Cantor (fl. 1170) Rolls 71.2.111

de quo vere dici potest: qui mores hominum vidit et urbes.

HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 151-2

atque ita mentitur, sic ueris falsa remiscet,
primo ne medium, medio ne discrepet imum.

Giraldus

(1) vr 7.42

Utinam ergo, talarem indutus tunicam, quae tam laudabiliter in-

---

1. Cf. Horatius Epp.1.2.19-20 qui domitor Troiae multorum providus urbes
et mores hominum inspexit,

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HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 151-2 (Cont'd.) h.a.p.151

choavit felici fine concludat, et in anteriora se constanter extendens et non respiciens, operam adhibeat, opemque divinam ad hoc exposcat, quatinus vitae commendabilis cursus
Primo ne medium, medio ne discrepat imum;

(2) rg 1.79

Sciens quippe, quod plerumque principium medio, medium quoque discrepat imo.

(3) ch 1.411

sermonem ad me dirigens et os sacrum in verba resolvens, ait: "Opus tuum, archidiacone, quod jam perlectum audivimus, quoniam uniformiter tam verborum flosculis quam sententiarum medullulis adeo convenienter et competenter cunctis ex partibus exornatur, quod nec primum medio, medium nec discrepet imo, dignum commendatione plurima judicamus, gratiamque stili talem tibi collatam a Domino, quam plus opibus cunctis terrenis et transitoriis proculdubio diligere debes et approbare, nullo vacare tempore sinas aut permittas; tibique in fide consulimus, et tanquam nostrae praelationis officio firmiter injungimus, quatinus litterati ingenii tui gloriam, gratiamque stili tam egregii desuper datam, in aliquo litterali studio, quod multis in posterum proficere queat, semper exerceas, et in caritatis opere tali vitalia complere tempora non desistas."

(4) sp 4.262

Difficilis inquisitae simul et exquisitae veritatis ordinata dispositio, et ab initiali puncto finalem ad usque, non discrepante materiâ, recta per medium funis extensio.

(5) Alanus ab Insulis (fl. 1150) Migne 210.146

Contra hunc daemonis insultum valet perseverantia, ut bono fine concludantur initia:
Ne primo medium, medio ne discrepet imum.

(6) Gulielmus Filius Stephani (fl. 1170) Migne 190.363

HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 161-3

imberbis iuuenis, tandem custode remoto,
gaudet equis canibusque et aprici gramine Campi,
cereus in uitium flecti, monitoribus asper,

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HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 161-3 (Cont'd.) h.a.p.161

Giraldus

(1) th 5.200

Hic vero fluxae ferventisque juventae tam laqueis illectus, quam stimulis irretitus;
Cereus in vitium flecti, monitoribus asper;
tempori se conformans, et naturae motibus non repugnans.

(2) th 5.185

Et inveniens in insula quindecim adolescentes imberbes, animosos, et ad hoc electos,

(3) rg 1.104

imberbis adhuc et immaturus et in nullo prorsus ad hoc idoneus

(4) li d.184

Mollis cera et ad formandum facilis eciam si artificis et plaste cesset manus

(5) jm 3.188

Huic autem blando et blaeso moribus et aetate juvenculo, adeoque prorsus imberbi, ut utrum mas an foemina nequiret nullatenus per exteriora perpendi,

(6) sp 4.101

monachum quoque juvenem et imberbem inter alios nobis unum ostendit,

(7) Gulielmus S. Michaelis de Clusa (fl. 1090) Manitius 3.538-41

(8) Garnerus (fl. 1190) Migne 205.693

(9) Gulielmus de Conchis (fl. 1120) Holmberg's p.44

(10) Helinandus (fl. 1200) Migne 212.755-6

HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 175-6

multa ferunt anni uenientes commoda secum,
multa recedentes adimunt.

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HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 175-6 (cont'd.) h.a.p.175

Giraldus

(1) ik 6.74

vir quidam partium illarum, cui nomen Kadorus, ad archipraesulem accedens, eum in haec verba convenit; "Domine, si mihi pristinae vires suppeterent, et juventutis elapsae robur adesset, laudabilem quem praedicas laborem nec ulla mihi elemosina redimere, nec ullius desidiae torpor adimere posset. Verum quoniam desiderabilem hanc gratiam aetas mihi debilior, deteriorque dies invidit; quippe sicut

Multa ferunt anni venientes commoda secum,

sic

Multa recedentes adimunt;

si beneficium, corporis vexatione, consequi plenum non sufficio, decimarum tamen omnium quae possideo largitione, consequi valeam vel semiplenum."

(2) ve e.227

Finito regine sermone post longa suspiria rex tandem in hec verba prorupit: "Angustias vndique graues tua nobis racio, regina, depingit, ex qua uideo quidem et euidenter intelligo quoniam hinc periculum nobis, inde turpitudo uersatur. Sed si uires suppeterent et pristine iuuentutis uigorem dies mihi deterior non inuidisset, parum huius pectoris constanciam et innatam animositatem hec aut hiis maiora mouerent. Uerum tamen quoniam, sicut multa ferunt anni uenientes commoda secum sic multa recedentes adimunt, tempori temperamenta donantes, modernisque moribus nos conformantes, nostram modis omnibus indemnitatem et securitatem procuremus."

HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 180-1

segnius irritant animos demissa per aurem
quam quae sunt oculis subiecta fidelibus

Giraldus

(1) th 5.75

Quae nam oculis subjecta fidelibus ipse conspexi, firmiter et indubitanter haec assero: quae vero tantum demissa per aures, quia segnius irritant, horum non assertor sed recitator existo.

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HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 180-1 (cont'd.) h.a.p.180

(2) th 5.83

ut...rudibus infidelium animis oculata fide certius imprimeretur

(3) eh 5.213

scripto commendata se multorum oculis subjicere non formidant,

(4) dk 6.201

Sed quoniam
Segnius irritant animos demissa per aures,
Quam quae sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus,
melius videndo quam audiendo modum attendes.

(5) ge 2.3-4

Duplex est doctrinae genus, aliud linguae labiorumque labore cathedraliter emissum auribus se applicat auditorum, aliud mentis manusque nimis certo studio videlicet stilique vicissim et calami officio, litterarum nexibus coagulatum, oculis se subjicit inspectorum...

Verumtamen quoniam, ut ait Jeronimus in prima Bibliothecae pagina, "nescio quid latentis energiae viva vox habet et in aures discipuli de auctoris ore transfusa fortius sonat:" Et iterum, introducens ibidem AEschinum de Demosthene sic loquentem: "O si audires beluam sua verba sonantem;" -- doctrina vocalis efficaciae majoris esse videtur, longeque magis quod labiis agitur quam quod litteris ad eruditionem operari."
Sed e diverso quia testante poeta:
Segnius irritant animos demissa per aures
Quam quae sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus:
et quoniam oculata fides firmior atque fidelior esse solet, cum fallaciae plerumque subjaceat sensus uterque, magis tamen auditus huic defectui videtur obnoxius. Ad istud autem poetae quod contra illud Jeronimi induci posse videtur, quamquam nostrae sententiae prima fronte congruat, responderi potest, quod alia hic ratio pactum reformat. Certius nimirum et expressius res quaelibet praesens et coram oculis posita visu notatur et discernitur, quam absens et incognita quantalibet possit descriptione praesentari; et hoc poeta sentire volebat. Ad illud autem quod de energia nobis obloqui videtur dicimus, quia re vera quod auribus doctrinaliter ingeritur, suo in transitu efficacius instruit, et vehementius, dum pulsat et intonat, suos imbuit auditores.

(6) ge 2.41

oculatae fidei certitudine quam vel ab aliis didici vel perpendere potui, firmior quidem atque fidelior effectus sum.

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HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 180-1 (cont'd.) h.a.p.180

(7) sp 4.135

oculata fide comperiens et conspiciens

(8) sp 4.262

Tanto namque propensiore opus est opera,..., quanto scripto commendata se multorum oculis sub(jiciunt)

(9) ch 1.409

Pretium namque laboris et praemium fore mihi noveritis, quotiens eruditis oculis, aut auribus se forte subjicere scripta nostra contigerit.

(10) ch 1.418

Same as #5

(11) Guibert of Nogent (fl. 1093) Migne 156.19-338

(12) Benedict of Petersborough Rolls 67.2.183

(13) Petrus Venerabilis (fl. 1132) Migne 189.812

(14) Richard Aldgate (fl. 1187) Rolls 38.1.3

tum per oculos, tum per aures, ad interiora multipliciter demissum

(15) Gulielmus Filius Stephani (fl. 1170) Migne 190.734

(16) Anonymous Rolls 67.7.338

(17) Anonymous Migne 190.734

(18) Gulielmus Tyrensis (fl. 1170) Migne 201.639

(19) Nigellus Wireker (fl. 1170) Manitius 3.812

(20) Helinandus (fl. 1200) Migne 212.516-17

(21) Heinrici Chronicon Lyvoniae (c. 1205) MGSS 23.252

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HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 191-2 h.a.p.191

nec deus intersit, nisi dignus uindice nodus
inciderit

Giraldus

(1) th 5.40

Sed quoniam vindice digmus nodus hic incidit; multos enim hac in parte graviter errasse, multis in locis tam legi, quam ipse conspexi; paulo diutius et diligentius in his immorari venia dignissimum reputavi.

HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 219

sortilegis non discrepuit sententia Delphis.

Giraldus

vr 7.96

Quod audiens episcopus, antiquum gentilitatis errorem necnon et sortilegae vanitatis crimen abhorrens,

HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 291, 294

..., si non offenderet unum
quemque poetarum limae labor et mora. uos, o
Pompilius sanguis, carmen reprehendite quod non
multa dies et multa litura coercuit atque
praesectum deciens non castigauit ad unguem.

Giraldus

(1) th 5.181

Et sicut egregie proveniunt quos naturae benignitas elimaverit, sic et enormiter prodeunt quos benigno favore destituerit.

(2) eh 5.213

Tanto namque propensiore opus est opera tantoque singula prius elimanda videntur quam eliminanda, quanto scripto commendata se

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HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 291, 294 (cont'd.) h.a.p.291

multorum oculis subjicere non formidant, nec solum praesentibus sed futuris, argutorum simul subitura judicum et offensorum.

(3) dk 6.163

Same as #2

(4) sp 4.262

Same as #2

(5) eh 5.367

pura et elimata per poenitentiam conscientia

(6) dk 6.188

Adeo igitur hoc verborum ornatu duae nationes, Angli scilicet et Kambri, in omni sermone exquisito utuntur (he is speaking of alliteration), ut nihil ab his eleganter dictum, nullum egregium, nullum nisi rude et agreste censeatur eloquium (page 188), si non schematis hujus lima pene fuerit expolitum.

(7) im 3.160

Proinde singula sapientum verba seria et sobria prius ad limam veniunt quam ad linguam, prius elimantur quam eliminantur.

(8) vd 3.377

Quoniam vero nec cursus istius plana est via, nec materialis ad unguem area lima veritatis videbatur exculpta, mihi quidem rerum ista expolitio valde fuisset importuna, nisi quoniam ipsis plurimum immo praeter modum, visa est opportuna.

(9) pi 8.39

Prudentia vero, quae caeterarum quasi lima virtutum esse videtur

(10) pi 8.40

ut bonum a malo, verum a falso, rectumque ab utili et honesto, lima discretionis discutere valeat;

(11) pi 8.103

O quanta discretionis lima, quanto maturitatis pondere, sacrum

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HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 291, 294 (cont'd.) h.a.p.291

tenetur os in verba resolvere,

(12) sp 4.36

et omnis omnino macula ad limam et lineam laudabilis emendationis abstergeretur.

(13) sp 4.262

(Same as #2)

(14) Migne 197.109

omnis faeculentiae rubiginem lima correctionis in ea studuit elimare

(15) Anonymous Rolls 67.4.266

nec quidquam de dictis limam timeat?

(16) Godefridus Wintonensis (fl. 1080) Rolls 59.2.144

Libertas peccandi emitur peccando, Verane,
Cum lima atque mora perniciosa colis.

(17) Bernardus Morlanensis (fl. 1140)

Quod ad aures publicas, sive ad multorum ora profertur, sapientis est correctione accurandum, absolvendum judicio...Quo fit ut in alterutrum partem omnis scriptor se conferat, et siquidem prudentium examine stylum suum corrigit, prudentis sibi titulum et nomen, etsi non quaerit, adquirit.
...mentior, inquam, si non et Flaccus in Arte Poetica idem quod ego sentit, quippe ibi praecipit ubi scriptum quod non multa dies et multa litura coercuit, atque perfectum decies non castigavit ad unguem, nonum prematur in annum. (Hor. A.P. 388)...Moris nimirum est erudito sua majorum judicio studia si diligentiori lima egent elimare, si ornatu expolire, si emendatione corrigere.

(18) Alanus ab Insulis (fl. 1150) Migne 210.486

in quo lector...lima correctionis emendans,circumcidat superfluum, compleat diminutum quatenus illimatum revertatur ad limam.

(19) idem Rolls 59.2.507

Hujus speciem Natura lima tantae expolitionis implanaverat, ut...

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HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 291, 294 (cont'd.) h.a.p.291

(20) Petrus Blesensis (fl. 1160) Migne 207,872

ut in simplicitate cordis hunc libellum familiarius, si velint, inspiciant, et si quid in eo inveniant scrupulosum, illud quaeso, lima diligentiore complanent.

(21) Johannes de Altavilla (fl. 1180) Rolls 59.1.247

Hoc etiam votum facili bonitate secunda,
Hoc nostris superadde bonis, ne transeat illud
Ad limam livoris opus, ne sentiat...

Nullus inhorrescit scopulus, nec laedit acuto
Exterretque mamus caro limatissima rusco

(22) Helinandus (fl. 1200) Migne 212.595

Cum sermonem hunc facere coactus sum, tam justae reprehensioni expositum quam praemeditatione legitima non exsculptum, occurrit illud poeticum:

"Pompilius sanguis, carmen reprehendite quod non 292
multa dies et multa litura coercuit atque 293
praesectum deciens non castigavit ad unguem." 294

Giraldus

ad unguem

Giraldus

(1)	5.41	(6)	3.377	(11)	1.422	(16)	4.190
(2)	5.124	(7)	2.28	(12)	3.102	(17)	4.239
(3)	6.45	(8)	2.322	(13)	8.148		
(4)	7.58	(9)	d.93	(14)	4.54		
(5)	7.132	(10)	1.403	(15)	4.184		

(18) Gulielmus Cantor (fl. 1160) Rolls 67.1.541

(19) Johannes de Altavilla (fl. 1180) Rolls 59.1.256

(20) Alexander Neckam (fl. 1197) Rolls 34.236

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HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 291, 294 (cont'd.) h.a.p.291

(21) Helinandus (fl. 1200) Migne 212.595

(22) Matthaeus Pariensis (fl. 1240) Rolls 84.3.lxix

HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 304-5

...ergo fungar uice cotis, acutum
reddere quae ferrum ualet, exsors ipsa secandi;

Giraldus

(1) pi 8.9

Satyricus clamat, Fungar vice cotis, etc.

(2) Joannes Saresberiensis (1166) Rolls 67.5.371

(3) idem Migne 195.1008

(4) Ernisius Abbas (1166) Rolls 67.5.457

(5) Gaufridus (fl. 1200) Migne 205.852

Expolita quoque et suo pondere librata dicitis verba, quae nec exacuta sunt cote dialecticae, nec rhetoricae artis oleo levigata, licet et hoc vitium sit, si oratio nimio verborum flore luxuriet.

(6) Anonymous Migne 190.587

(7) Carmina Burana, m-s 8.1 (early 13 cent.) (Hilka-Schumann, p.10)

licet eger cum egrotis
et ignotus cum ignotis
fungar tamen vice cotis
jus usurpans sacerdotis.

HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 333

Aut prodesse uolunt aut delectare poetae

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HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 333 (cont'd.) h.a.p.333

Giraldus

(1) 5.203

Lectio certa prodest, varia delectat. Si ergo legendo proficere quaeris, primo continentiam operis cum diligentia seriatim transcurras, quatinus et materiae tenor, et tractandi modus, et rerum cohaerentia cuncta patescant. Quoties vero. transcurso volumine, delectari volueris, circa titulos istos verseris.

(2) jm 3.117

Lectio certa prodest, varia delectat.

(3) sp 4.13

(same as #1)

(4) Joannes Saresberiensis (fl. 1155) Migne 199.405

(5) idem Migne 199.865

(6) Bernardus Morlanensis (fl. 1140) Rolls 59.2.5

HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 343

omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci

Giraldus

(1) th 5.202

omne tulit punctum, qui miscuit utile dulci.

(2) sy 1.271

In brevi quidem Deo duce vitaque comite, laborem nostrum autumnalem, quoniam:

Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci,

opus accommodum, De Sacramentali sc. libellum Instructions missurus.

(3) sy 1.379

Tempora felicem reddunt aeterna beatum,
Omne tulit punctum quisquis utrumque tulit.

(4) jm 3.249

Quoniam autem omne tulit punctum, qui miscuit utile dulci,

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HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 343 (cont'd.) h.e.p.343

(5) Reginaldus Cantuariensis (fl. 1080) Rolls 59.2.259

(6) Benzo von Alba (fl. 1090) Manitius 3.456

(7) Rupertus von Deutz (fl. 1110) Migne 169.825f

Omne fert punctum qui temporis inspicit usum.

(8) Petrus Venerabilis (fl. 1132) Migne 189.1569

HORA HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 348-50

nam neque chorda sonum reddit, quem volt manus et mens
poscentique gravem persaepe remittit acutum;
nec semper feriet quodcumque minabitur arcus.

Giraldus

(1) th 5.5

Mihi enimvero ea mens est, et in hanc partem tam vehemens;
Cum neque chorda sonum reddat, quem vult manus et mens;
Nec semper feriat quodcunque minabitur arcus;
si qualia volo non possum, qualia possum volo.

(2) sp 4.10-11

same as #1

(3) Alexander Neckam (fl. 1197) Rolls 34.84

Non enim
Semper feriet quodcunque minabitur arcus.

HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 355-6

...et citharoedus
ridetur, chorda qui semper oberrat eadem:

Giraldus

sp 4.14

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HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 355-6 (cont'd.) h.a.p.355

Sin autem humanae imperfectionis indicio, quandoque, guod absit, stylus oberret, longe periculosior esse non ignoratur.

HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 359

indignor quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus.

Giraldus

(1) sp 4.66

uterque tamen dormitasse nonnunquam est visus. Sic...et Augustinum.....quandoque dormitasse discredi non debet.

(2) Anonymous Rolls 28.4.1.215

(3) Gulielmus Tyrensis (fl. 1170) Migne 201.335

HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 364

iudicis argutum quae non formidat acumen

Giraldus

(1) th 5.8

Sed quoniam, misera humanae imperfectionis conditione,
Judicis argutum labor hic formidat acumen,
laudem tamen mereri poterit, etsi non opus, vel operantis affectus.

(2) eh 5.213

Tanto namque propensiore opus est opera, tantoque singula prius elimanda videntur quam eliminanda, quanto scripto commendata se multorum oculis subjicere non formidant, nec solum praesentibus sed futuris, argutorum simul subitura judicium et offensorum.

(3) sp 4.262

same as #2

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HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 365 h.a.p.365

haec placuit semel, haec deciens repetita placebit.

Giraldus

(1) sp 4.236

Ideoque remedia superius contra discursores tales, et domorum suarum destructores, in prima Distinctione non procul a principio data, quoniam decies repetita placebunt, saepius mente memoriaque tenaci recolantur;

(2) Gulielmus Blesensis (1168) Cohen 1.148.481

Si decies repetas, decies repetita placebunt;
Nil unquam potuit gratius esse michi.

(3) Gaufridus (fl. 1200) Migne 205.857

legi avide, libenter relego, et placet saepius repetitum.

(4) idem Migne 205.875

Legi eum (sc. vestri sermonis afflatum), et frequenter relego, et placet saepius repetitus.

HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 372-3

sed tamen in pretio est: mediocribus esse poetis
non homines, non di, non concessere columnae.

Giraldus

(1) th 5.4

Licet enim mediocribus esse poetis non liceat, quoniam
Non dii, non homines, non concessere columnae,
mediocris tamen competit eis, etsi non scientia, sufficientia.

(2) ge 2.319

Mediocribus enim esse judicibus, non dii, non homines, non concessere columnae, sicut nec poetis; nec divitibus quoque, quos vel scientiae vel opulentiae moles mediocriter bonos vel malos esse non sinit. Perfecti ergo sint, vel inter Socraticos notissima fossa cinedos.

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HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 385[1] h.a.p.385

Tu nihil inuita dices faciesue Minerua

HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 390

...nescit vox missa reverti.

Giraldus

(1) eh 5.213

Verba nimirum emissa, quia statim evolant et evanescunt, nec laudis eorum memoria nec vituperii diuturna.

(2) ge 2.3

Vox enim emittitur et verba pertranseunt, scriptum vero semel editum et approbatum tenaci longaevitate transmittitur ad posteros, et notariorum opera successiva renovatione perpetuatur.

(3) sp 4.262

same as #1

(4) ch 1.418

same as #2

(5) Berengarius Migne 178.1865

(6) Petrus Abaelardus (fl. 1120)

HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 409-10

...ego nec studium sine diuite uena,
nec rude quid prosit uideo ingenium:...

Giraldus

(1) th 5.192

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1. For a possible reference see Ovid. Met. 2.712

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HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 409-10 (cont'd.) h.a.p.409

Qualiter, istorum et consimilium exemplo, literatus princeps effectus, et in ethicis disciplinis decenter eruditus, inter universos mundi principes tanquam lucida gemma praefulseris, summisque philosophis tam ingenii dote, diviteque vena, quam instructionis et eruditionis ope in brevi coaequandus, si non ab institutis literarum tam intempestive raptus fueris ad curas terrarum.

(2) ik 6.137

Multis itaque mane ad Christi obsequium allectis, ad pauperculam sedis Lanelvensis ecclesiam parum inde distantem transivimus; ubi et missa ab archipraesule celebrata, iter incontinenti aggressi sumus; et per divitem venam fructuosumque argenti scrutinium, ubi penitima scrutando

Itum est in viscera terrae,

transeuntes, in cellula de Basingewore pernoctavimus.

(3) dk 6.176

A latere montis ejusdem, per castellum Rudhelan, et sic usque in mare Cloid dilabitur. De lacu Pemmelesemere Deverdoe, quam Angli Deiam vocant, originem ducens, et per Cestriam currens, longeque a latere dextro silvam de Coleshulle, Basingeworc, et divitem non procul inde argenti venam, vivum et absorbens mare influendo sabulum facit;

(4) dk 6.186

Item, ingenii gens subtilis et acuti. Cuicunque studio animum applicuerint, venae divitis dote praecellunt.

(5) Alexander Neckam (fl. 1197) Rolls 34.247

Scientia, multis sumptibus, crebris vigiliis, temporis diuturnitate, laboris seduli diligentia, vehementis animi applicatione comparatur. Cum vero divitis venae potentia, artis virtute, usus beneficio, versa fuerit in habitum et in thesauris memoriae recondita, nescio quo pacto, infaustam procreat occasionaliter subolem, scilicet arrogantiam.

HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 417

occupet extremum scabies...

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HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 437 h.a.p.437

numquam te fallent animi sub uolpe latentes.

Giraldus

(1) sy 1.212

Perpetravit haec denique lupus iste sub agno latitans,...et ...haec confestim et his similia mihi ethicorum dicta subveniant:
Fugite o pueri; latet anguis in herba.
Occursare capro, cornu ferit ille, caveto.
Ne te decipiant animi sub vulpe latentes.
Pelliculam veterem retinens, ac voce politus,
Astutam vapido portans sub pectore vulpem.
Fistula dulce canit, volucrem dum decipit auceps.
Impia sub dulci melle venena latent.

(2) sy 1.297

Same as #1 sy 1.212

(3) Gulielmus de Conchis (fl. 1120) Holmberg p. 29

(4) Joannes Saresberiensis (fl. 1155) Rolls 67.7.65

(5) Willelmus Carnatensis (fl.) Rolls 67.5.374

HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 476

non missura cutem, nisi plena cruoris, hirudo

Giraldus

(1) ik 6.6

Nempe si quaestum facis in curia, te tanto fortius allicit et annectit ambitio, non missura cutem, non curiam nisi plena.

(2) Migne 203.961

(3) Rolls 38.2.214

(4) Anonymous Migne 213.894

(5) Andreas Capellanus (fl. 1180) Manitius 3.285

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HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 476 (cont'd.) h.a.p.476

(6) Eupolemius (early 13 cent.) Manitius 2.222

Elicis egroti — dictu quoque turpe — cruorem —
Sicut hirudo tenax.

HORATIUS, Carmina 1.2.19-20

Iliae dum se nimium querenti 17
iactat ultorem, uagus et sinistra 18
labitur ripa, Ioue non probante, u 19
xorius amnis. 20

Giraldus

eh 5.34

Post uxoris obitum vir uxorius; et non unius tantum, sed plurimarum libidini datus.

HORATIUS, Carmina 1.3.8

et serves animae dimidium meae.

Giraldus

(1) sy 1.239
Dum haec igitur altiori mente propensius agito, et unum inter multos studiosius eligo, cujus spiritus mea regat pectora, cui dimidium animae meae justo concedam proportionis examine, tu mihi prae caeteris procul occurris, tanquam ultroneae voluntatis affectu maximam amicitiae meae vindices portionem.

(2) Nigellus Wireker (fl. 1170) Manitius 3.812

(3) Gaufridus (fl. 1200) Migne 205.841

HORATIUS, Carmina 1.4.1

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HORATIUS, Carmina 1.4.1 (cont'd.) h.c.1.4.1

Giraldus

pi 8.326-7

et tanquam flores verni, quos Zephyri Favoniique favor ad tempur eduxerant, Boreae subito Circiique flatibus emarcescunt.

HORATIUS, Carmina 1.4.13-14

Pallida Mors aequo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas
regumque turres.

Giraldus

(1) th 5.68

(2) vg 4.371

Quo facto, quoniam
Pallida mors aequo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas
Regumque turres;
rex denique morbo succumbens spiritum exhalavit.

(3) sp 4.73

Vigilandum itaque propensius et totis nisibus elaborandum, ne nos improvidos et imparatos pallida mors inveniat,

(4) Thomas Canruariensis (fl. 1169) Rolls 67.7.115

(5) Guilielmus Filius Stephani (fl. 1170) Migne 190.584

(6) Migne 203.113

(7) Alexander Neckam (fl. 1197) Rolls 34.383, 395

Excubat ante fores mors pallida, janua cedet
Pulsanti, turres, oppida templa quatit.

Sed cum prae foribus residet mors pallida, certis
Indiciis seriem nunciat illa rei.

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HORATIUS, Carmina 1.4.13-14 (cont'd.) h.c.1.4.13

(8) Heinricis Chronicon Lyvoniae (c. 1219) MGSS 23.489

HORATIUS, Carmina 1.24.19-20

durum; sed leuius fit patientia,
quicquid corrigere est nefas.

Giraldus

pi 8.18

Terentius. Nam leuius est paciencia: quicquid corrigere est nephas. [1]

HORATIUS, Carmina 2.2.9-12

latius regnes auidum domando
spiritum, quam si Libyam remotis
Gadibus iungas et uterque Poenus
seruiat uni.

Giraldus

pi 8.47

Horacius. Lacius regnes auidum. domando spiritum. quam si libiam remotis gadibus iungas et uterque penis seruiat tibi. [2]

HORATIUS, Carmina 2.6.13-14

ille terrarum mihi praeter omnes
angulus ridet

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1. Brit.Mus., Cotton Jul. xiii B, fol.54, col. 2. Text omitted from Warner's printed edition.
2. Brit.Mus., Cotton Jul. xiii B, fol.69b col. 2. Text omitted from Warner's printed edition.

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HORATIUS, Carmina 2.6.13-14 (cont'd.) h.c.2.6.13

Giraldus

(1) eh 5.361

O quanta tam regis quam regni gloria, quod praetermissis et praeteritis tam imperatoribus, quam terrarum regibus et principibus cunctis, tanquam in mundi medio non fuerit locus huic remedio, in hunc finalem orbis angulum, et quasi secretis quibusdam oceani secessibus orbem alterum, ad tentae subventionis auxilia requirenda pervenitur!

(2) dk 6.226

isti vero ut qui universo tamdiu regno soli praesidebant, in hoc saltem ejusdem angulo pessimo, silvis, montibus, et paludibus conserto delitescant,

(3) Gulielmus Blesensis (c. 1168) Cohen 1.141.305-6

plebis in egestu, quo uilior angulus urbis
Spurce quassa domus, tota ruina, sedet.

HORATIUS, Carmina 2.10.5-8

auream quisquis mediocritatem 5
diligit, tutus caret obsoleti 6
sordibus tecti, caret inuidenda 7
sobrius aula. 8

Giraldus

(1) th 5.70

Nos, cum aurea rerum mediocritate, quae et usui decenter suppetat, et naturae sufficiat, omnes orientales pompas sola aeris nostri clementia compensamus.

(2) th 5.196

mansuetudinem induens et clementiam, citra rigidum longeque trans remissum, ad aurem illud medium accedens, paulatim rigor ille resedit.

(3) eh 5.272 (begins p. 271)

Erat autem vir amplo corpore et integro, vultuque decenti, (p.272) et statura paulo mediocritatem excedente; vir dapsilis

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et largus, liberalis et jocundus, sed vino Venerique trans modestiam datus.

(4) eh 5.303

Staturae vir erat inter mediocres: quod nulli filiorum contingere potuit; primaevis ambobus paulo mediocritatem excendentibus, junioribus vero duobus infra subsistentibus.

(5) ik 6.41

Ibi vitiorum nutrix atque creatrix cum curis crescat et opulentia; hic virtutis alumna, mediocritas aurea, suppetat, et moderantia.

(6) ik 6.46

Praedictus igitur ordo canonicus, plus aliis mediocritate contentus atque modestia, etsi non plene, plurimum tamen ambitioni stringit habenas;

(7) ge 2.274

Sed quoniam perfectorum est illud, si possessionibus uti magis animo sederit, aurea mediocritate contenti sitis; quod si redditibus, his mediocribus non peramplis...

(8) ge 2.280

Haec sunt quae magnos majoribus inhiare, mediocres modum excedere, et mediocritate quamquam aurea contentos non esse, minores vero suam non aequanimiter modicitatem, licet felicem, licet liberam, tolerare compellunt.

(9) jm 3.371

Pauperis autem ecclesiae et in terra paupere praesul existens, modicus ipse modicamque familiam habens, modicis ipsam atque modestis alere praevalet impensis, et si modicitate sua ac mediocritate contentus fuerit, satis habebit dapis, et curae multo minus. Juxta moralem namque poetae doctrinam,

Metiri se quemque suo modulo decet, etc.

Nec ultra pallium competit pedem extendere. Qui etenim ad hoc elaborat, ut cum modicus existat magnus appareat, cum divite pauper; sumptuosis expensis et prodigalitate contendo t... necesse est absque dubio quatinus ad res illicitas atque rapin (am) manus extendat.

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HORATIUS, Carmina 2.10.5-8 (cont'd.) h.e.2.10.5

(10) pi 8.lix

...mea mediocritate contentus atque modestia, deportato penitus plus habendi desiderio, vigilandum duxi propensius et indulgendum parum quidem tempori, sed plurimum aeternitati.

(11) pi 8.47

Auream quisquis mediocritatem diligit: uiciis caret[1] absoleti. Sordibus recti caret inuidendi sobrius aula.

(12) sp 4.193

Quamquam enim forsan in se modestus modicitate quoque et mediocritate contentus extiterit, motusque cupidinis omnes tota mentis intentione refraenaverit,

(13) th 5.4

Philosophia tamen, tam mediocritatis amica quam modestiae,

(14) ik 6.41

in laudabili quam semper appetiit matre manente

(15) Gulielmus de Conchis (fl. 1120) Holmberg p. 55

In prediis edificiis et agri numerantur. Cauendum est autem, si ipse edifices, ne extra modum sumptus prodeas. Obseruanda autem in edificando mediocritas.

auream quisquis mediocritatem
diligit, tutus caret obsoleti
sordibus tecti, caret inuidenda
sobrius aula.

(16) Nicholas of Luettich (fl. 1130) Manitius 3.100

(17) Petrus Comestor (fl. 1160) Migne 198.1796

(18) Petrus Cantor (fl. 1170) Migne 205.70

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1. Brit. Mus., Cotton Jul. xiii B, fol.69b,col. 1. Text omitted from Warner's printed edition.

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HORATIUS, Carmina 2.10.13-18 — h.c.2.10.13

sperat infestis, metuit secundis 13
alteram sortem bene praeparatum 14
pectus. informes hiemes reducit 15
Iuppiter; idem 16
summouet. non, si male nunc, et olim 17
sic erit: quondam cithara tacentem 18
suscitat Musam neque semper arcum 19
tendit Apollo. 20

Giraldus

pi. 8.31

Unde oratius. sperat infestis metu[1]
it secundis alteram sortem bene praeparatum
pectus informes hyemes redu
cit Iupiter. Idem submouet. non si
male nunc. et olim sic erit.

Gulielmus Filius Stephani (fl. 1170) — Rolls 67.3.24

stridebat deformis hyems

HORATIUS, Carmina 2.16.27-8

...nihil est ab omni
parte beatum.

Giraldus

(1) pi. 8.250

et nihil omni parte beatum

(2) Jocelinus (fl. 1180) — Rolls 96.1.221

nichil omni parte beatum

(3) Ordericus Vitalis (fl. 1115) — Manitius 3.522-8

(4) Gerhohus (fl. 1120) — Migne 194.1498

Nihil omni parte beatum

(5) Gulielmus de Conchis (fl. 1120) — Holmberg p.60

1. Brit. Mus. Cotton Jul. xiii B, fol. 62, col.1. Text omitted from Warner's printed edition.

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HORATIUS, Carmina 2.16.27-8 (cont'd.) h.c.2.16.27

(6) Gulielmus Tyrensis (fl. 1170) Migne 201.335

HORATIUS, Carmina 2.18.23-6

quid quod usque proximos
reuellis agri terminos et ultra
limites clientium
salis auarus?

Giraldus

sp 4.130

Qui protinus fines antiquos metasque pristinas, inter domos duas a patribus olim positas et aperte signatas, transiliendo, terras et pascua domus alterius sibi occupare et appropriare neque tardavit, neque cessavit.

HORATIUS, Carmina 3.2.13

dulce et decorum est pro patria mori.

Giraldus

dk 6.180

Non mercimoniis, non navigiis, non mechanicis artibus, nec ulle prorsus nisi martio labore vexantur. Patriae tantum tutelae student, et libertatis; pro patria pugnant, pro libertate laborant: pro quibus non solum ferro dimicare, verum etiam vitam dare dulce videtur. Unde et in toro turpe, in bello mori decus reputant.

HORATIUS, Carmina 3.4.66-9

uis consili expers mole ruit sua:
uim temperatam di quoque prouehunt
in maius; idem odere uires
omne nefas animo mouentes.

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HORATIUS, Carmina 3.4.66-9 h.e.3.4.66

Giraldus

(1) pi 8.31

Unde oracius. Vis consilii expers mole ruit sua. vim temperatam: dii quoque prouehunt. Inma nes idem odere uires. Omne nephas animo mouentes. [1]

(2) pi 8.105

Nonne, ut ait poeta:
Expers consilii vis, mole ruit sua?

(3) Gulielmus de Conchis (fl.1120) Holmberg p. 32

Vis consilii expers mole ruit sua,
uim temperatam dii quoque prouehunt
in maius; idem odere uires
omne nefas animo mouentes.

HORATIUS, Carmina 3.16.17-18.42-4

crescentem sequitur cura pecuniam 17
maiorumque fames. iure perhorrui 18
late conspicuum tollere uerticem, 19
Maecenas, equitum decus. 20

importuna tamen pauperies abest, 37
nec si plura uelim tu dare deneges. 38
contracto melius parua cupidine 39
uectigalia porrigam, 40

quam si Mygdoniis regnum Alyattei 41
campis continuem. multa petentibus 42
desunt multa; bene est, cui deus obtulit 43
parca quod satis est manu. 44

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1. Brit. Mus., Cotton Jul. xiii B, fol.61b, col.2. Text omitted from Warner's printed edition.

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HORATIUS, Carmina 3.16.17-18.42-4 (cont'd.) h.e.3.16.17.42

Giraldus

(1) ik 6.42

Crescentem sequitur cura pecuniam
Majorumque fames.
Multa petentibus
Desunt multa. Bene est, cui Deus obtulit
Parca quod satis est manu.

(2) ge 2.275

Posset quidem vel redditibus modicis vel stipendiis, absque cupiditatis vitio, vitam producere. Ad manum enim est quod sat est, parvoque fames constat, magno fastidium.

(3) pi 8.lxv

Juxta illud poetae:
Crescentem sequitur cura pecuniam
Majorumque fames. Multa petentibus
Desunt multa. Bene est cui Deus obtulit
Parca, quod satis est, manu.

(4) sp 4.116

naturamque sequi, quae paucis contenta est, cuique ad manum est quod satis est,

(5) sp 4.119

same as #1

(6) Petrus Abaelardus (fl.1120) Migne 178.883

juxta quod scriptum est:
Crescentem sequitur cura pecuniam.
Et alibi:
Crescit amor nummi quantum ipsa pecunia crescit.(j.14.139)

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HORATIUS, Carmina 3.16.17-18.42-4 (cont'd.) h.e.3.16.17.42

(7) Gulielmus de Conchis (fl.1120) Holmberg p. 62

Quarta causa: quia amorem habendi nullus satiat questus, nam improbe
crescunt diuitie, tamen
curte nescio quid semper abest rei. (h.e.3.24.62-4)
Crescentem sequitur cura pecuniam
maiorumque fames. (h.e.3.16.17-18)
Quanto quisque sibi plura negauerit,
a diis plura feret. (h.e.3.16.21-22)
Multa petentibus
desunt multa. Bene est cui deus obtulit
parca, quod satis est, manu. (h.e.3.16.42-44)
Pauper enim non est cui rerum suppetit usus.
Si uentri bene, si lateri est pedibusque tuis, nil
diuitie poterunt regales addere maius. (h.epp.1.12.14-16)
Crescit amor nummi, quantum ipsa pecunia crescit,
et minus hanc optat qui non habet. (j.14.139-140)

HORATIUS, Carmina 3.24.35-6

quid leges sine moribus
vanae proficiunt?...

Giraldus

pi 8.32

sine moribus enim leges[1]
parum ualere docet Oracius. in libro
Carminum dicens. Quid leges sine
moribus uane proficiunt:

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1. Brit. Mus., Cotton Jul. xiii B, fol. 62b, col.2. Text omitted from Warner's printed edition.

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HORATIUS, Carmina 3.24.62-4 h.e.3.24.62

indignoque pecuniam 61
heredi properet. scilicet improbae 62
crescunt divitiae; tamen 63
curtae nescio quid semper abest rei. 64

Giraldus

(1) ik 6.42

Item et illud Horatii in Libro Carminum;
Scilicet improbae
Crescunt divitiae; tamen
Curtae nescio quid semper abest rei.

(2) sp 4.119

same as #1

HORATIUS, Carmina 4.8.28

dignum laude uirum Musa uetat mori.

Giraldus

pi 8.53

Horatius: Dignum laude virum musa vetat mori.

HORATIUS, Carmina 4.9.29-30

paulum sepultae distat inertiae
celata virtus.

Giraldus

(1) th 5.5

Unde et quoniam
Paulum sepultae distat inertiae
Celata virtus;
Degeneres animos timor arguit;
Dimidium facti, qui coepit, habet;

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HORATIUS, Carmina 4.9.29-30 (cont'd.) h.e.4.9.29

Audaces fortuna juvat;
scribere proposui; et lividorum malitia ridiculosus censeri, potius quam bonorum arbitrio meticulosus elegi.

(2) eh 5.249

Sed quoniam vix est ut virtus clausa celari, ut animositatis ardor extinqui, ut probitatis scintilla comprimi valeat et includi

(3) eh 5.274

Sed quoniam virtus claudi nescit, et ignis oppressus in flamma erumpit

(4) pi 8.52

Ad gloriam autem, quae laudis est apex et honoris, ob hoc humana spectat intentio, quod absque ea nostra virtus non multis innotescit. Horatius:
Paulum sepultae distat inertiae
Celata virtus.

HORATIUS, Carmina 4.12.27-8

misce stultitiam consiliis breuem;
dulce est desipere in loco.

Giraldus

(1) sp 4.133

Sic igiturque stultitiam simulare loco prudentia summa est; et quoniam, ut ait poeta, in libro Carminum:
Misce consiliis stultitiam brevem;
Dulce est desipere in loco:
ea quae juris remedio revocare non potuit, per simulatam insaniam, regis in hoc David vestigias sequens, sub dicto tenore pariter et talione, recuperavit;

(2) Carmina Burana (am 75.1) Holmberg, p. 48

Omittamus studia,
dulce est desipere
et carpamus dulcia
iuventutis tenere!

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HORATIUS, Carmina 4.12.27-8 (cont'd.) h.e.4.12.27

res est apta senectuti
seriis intendere,

HORATIUS, Epistulae 1.1.45

impiger extremos curris mercator ad Indos,
per mare pauperiem fugiens, per saxa, per ignis:

Giraldus

(1) ge 2.252

alius cupiditatis, ut qui praeter necessaria adquirit, et saepe cum periculo vitae. Unde
Impiger extremos currit mercator ad Indos,
Per mare pauperiem fugiens, per saxa, per imbres.

(2) Alexander Neckam (fl. 1197) Rolls 34.330

(3) Matthaeus Parisiensis (fl.1240) Rolls 57.4.120

HORATIUS, Epistulae 1.1.65-6

isne tibi melius suadet, qui "rem, facias, rem,
si possis, recte, si non, quocumque modo, rem."

Giraldus

(1) ik 6.81

et illud,
Et si non recte possis, quocunque modo rem;
quam enormiter in subditos, hoc nostro tempore, curia vindictam exercuerit, noster explicare stilus abhorruit.

(2) vg 4.377

nepotem suum..., etsi non recte, quocunque modo in archiepiscopum, ut ferebatur, promoveri stagebat

(3) li d.103

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HORATIUS, Epistulae 1.1.65-6 (cont'd.) h.e.1.1.65

dicens quia reversus a curia dominum suum ut manum mihi imponeret, modis omnibus, etsi non recte, quocunque modo, sollicitare non cessavi.

(4) li d.106

vincere volens, etsi non recte quocunque modo per fas omne nefasque.

(5) li d.113

Haec enim ejus opinio et haec sententia, Omnia faciamus ut nulla tamen facere videamur, et haec quoque, Dolus an virtus quis in hoste requirat? Et haec, Etsi non recte possit, quocunque modo rem.

(6) im 3.131

Dictum est autem per fas omne nefasque cessiones hujusmodi et successiones, ut fiant, procurari solere. Dicit enim poeta:
Etsi non recte possis, quocunque modo rem.

(7) im 3.143

quatinus etsi non recte, quocunque tamen modo vincere...posset.

(8) im 3.244

sed quaecumque a terra nostra, etsi non recte, quocunque modo rapiunt, in Angliam asportant

(9) sp 4.79

qualiterque ibidem, etsi non recte, quocumque modo rem, per strophas varias et deceptionem...promotionem obtinuit; satis est notum.

(10) sp 4.156

Unde poeta:
Et si non recte possis, quocunque modo rem.

(11) sp 4.227

Vicinos igitur omnes, quibus agros fertiles sibique propinquos iniquis animis et oculis invidere non cessant, tanquam hostes reputantes, poeticum illud, licet irrisorie prolatum, quasi sententialiter tamen et serie dictum: Dolus an virtus quis in hoste requirat, communiter approbant, et amplectuntur: necnon et illud quoque: Quod si non recte possis, quocumque modo rem.

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HORATIUS, Epistulae 1.1.65-6 (cont'd.) h.e.1.1.65

(12) Thomas Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis (fl. 1166) Rolls 67.5.298

(13) Petrus Cantor (fl. 1170) Migne 205.75

Item Ecclesiasticus, avaritiae vitium suggillans, ait cap. xiv: "Viro cupido et tenaci, sine ratione est substantia." Per fas enim et nefas acquiritur, et ita sine ratione.
Si poteris recte, si non, quocunque modo rem.

(14) Conventus Cantuariensis (fl. 1187) Rolls 38.2.116

HORATIUS, Epistulae 1.1.73-5

olim quod uolpes aegroto cauta leoni
respondit, referam: "quia me uestigia terrent,
omnia te aduersum spectantia, nulla retrorsum."

Giraldus

(1) pi 8.149

Ne, si pertinaciter et obstinate peccaverit, primo pravis se ipsum, deinde perniciosis alios exemplis, Supremi Judicis iram dupliciter, immo multipliciter, provocans, in praecipitium pariter et periculum mittat, ubi remedium nullum, ubi vestigia nulla retrorsum.

(2) Thomas Cantuariensis (fl. 1166) Migne 190.733

(3) Coexules Thomae Rolls 67.7.291

(4) Petrus Blesensis (fl. 1173) Migne 207.134

(5) Matthaeus Parisiensis (fl. 1240) Rolls 57.3.363

(6) idem Rolls 57.5.207

HORATIUS, Epistulae 1.2.40

dimidium facti qui coepit habet; sapere aude;

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HORATIUS, Epistulae 1.2.40 (cont'd.) h.e.1.2.40

Giraldus

(1) th 5.5

Unde et quoniam
Paulum sepultae distat inertiae
Celata virtus;
Degeneres animos timor arguit;
Dimidium facti, qui coepit, habet;
Audaces fortuna juvat;
scribere proposui; et lividorum malitia ridiculosus censeri, potius quam bonorum arbitrio meticulosus elegi.

(2) Othlonus (fl. 1050) Korfmacher p. 19

(3) Alanus ab Insulis (fl. 1170) Migne 210.590

(4) Petrus Blesensis (fl. 1160) Migne 207.

(5) Henricus Septimellensis (fl. 1194) Manitius 3.939

(6) Carmina Burana m-s 15.3 (early 13 cent.) Hilka-Schumann p. 33

Facti dimidium,
habet qui coeperit

HORATIUS, Epistulae 1.2.42-3

rusticus exspectat dum defluat amnis; at ille
labitur et labetur in omne uolubilis aeuum.

Giraldus

(1) eh 5.227

Fortunam igitur fugitivam sequens, et rotae volubilitati multum confidens,

(2) eh 5.399

et quoniam tempora transcurrunt, et ultra gradus omnes linea sanguinis in aevum extenditur,

(3) ge 2.191

Numquid enim sicut rusticus expectat dum defluat amnis, at ille labitur et labetur in omne volubilis aevum? Sic presbyter vel

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HORATIUS, Epistulae 1.2.42-3 (cont'd.) h.e.1.2.42

reprobus expectat dum defluat humor at ille labitur et solito cursu labetur in aevum.

(4) pi 8.163

coepit ei rota fortunae volubilis ocius ad ima devolvi, solitoque segnius ad alta levari;

(5) Nigellus Wireker (fl. 1170)

(6) Alanus ab Insulis (fl. 1168) Manitius 3.800, 812

HORATIUS, Epistulae 1.2.54-9

sincerum est nisi vas, quodcumque infundis acescit.
sperne uoluptates; nocet empta dolore uoluptas.
semper auarus eget; certum uoto pete finem.
inuidus alterius macrescit rebus opimis;
inuidia Siculi non inuenere tyranni
maius tormentum.

Giraldus

(1) ge 2.171

Vestra ergo praecipue et in primis vasa mundificetis qui ex officio Domini vasa fere debetis. Quia sincerum nisi vas quodcumque infundis acescit.

(2) ge 2.173

Et Demosthenes, cum peteret ab eo Lais Corinthia pro stupri pretio nimium quantum, respondit: "Non emo tanti poenitere." Et poeta:

Sperne voluptates. Nocet empta dolore voluptas.

Si haec gentilis philosophus, quid sacerdos Christianus?

(3) ik 6.54

Quod igitur a balista tormentum majus exspectes?

(4) pi 8.75

Juxta illud poetae:

Ad generum Cereris sine caede et sanguine pauci
Descendunt reges et sicca morte tyranni. (j.10.112)
Non invenere tyranni
Majur tormentum.

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HORATIUS, Epistulae 1.2.54-9 (cont'd.) h.e.1.2.54

(5) pi 8.303

Item et poeta:
Invidia Siculi non invenere tyranni
Majus tormentum.

(6) Gulielmus de Conchis (fl. 1120) Holmberg p. 41

Temperantia est dominium rationis in libidinem et alios motus importunos. Hec quidem uirtus totius uite ornatus omniumque perturbationum sedatio. Hanc uirtutem persuadet poeta dicens:
Sincerum (est) nisi uas, quodcumque infundis acescit.
Sperne uoluptates! Nocet empta dolore uoluptas.
Semper auarus eget; certum uoto pete finem!
Inuidus alterius rebus macrescit opimis.
Qui non moderabitur ire,
infectum uolet esse, dolor quod suaserit et mens.
Ira furor brevis est. Animum rege! Qui nisi paret,
imperat; hunc frenis, hunc tu compesce cathena.

(7) Radulus Ardens (fl. 1090) Migne 155.1562f

(8) Petrus Abaelardus (fl. 1119) Migne 178.693

(9) Alanus ab Insulis (fl. 1150) Migne 210.128

(10) Petrus Blesensis (fl. 1160) Migne 207.179

(11) idem Migne 207.221

(12) Garnerius (fl. 1190) Migne 205.751

(13) Alexander Neckam (fl. 1197) Rolls 34.343

(14) Helinandus (fl. 1200) Migne 212.555

(15) Carmina Burana (early 13 cent.) Hilka-Schumann p. 30

I. Invidus invidia comburitur intus et extra.
II. Invidus alterius rebus macrescit opimis.
Invidia Siculi non invenere tyranni
Maius tormentum. qui non moderabitur ire,
Infectum volet esse, dolor quod suaserit et mens.
III. Invidiosus ego, non invidus esse laboro.
IV. Justius invidia nichil est, que protinus ipsos
Corripit auctores excruciatque suos.
V. Invidiam nimio cultu vitare memento.

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HORATIUS, Epistulae 1.2.62-3 h.e.1.2.62

Giraldus

(1) th 5.191

Et vere rex victor, animum virtute regens, iramque modestia vincens;

(2) pi 8.56-7

Interest etiam et illud quod huic animus paret, illi imperat, et quod motus hujus et affectus ratio reprimit et refrenat, eferi illius et effrenis actus omnes impetus et ira ministrant. ...Quid ira vel iracundia? Ira est animi perturbatio, vindictam appetens; iracundia est frequens animi passio furori similis et modestiae contraria.

(3) Gulielmus de Conchis (fl. 1120) Holmberg p. 41

Ira furor breuis est. Animum rege! Qui nisi paret, imperat; hunc frenis, hunc tu compesce cathena.

(4) Alanus ab Insulis (fl. 1150) Migne 210.130

(5) Garnerius (fl. 1190) Migne 205.702

(6) idem 725

(7) Alexander Neckam (fl. 1197) Rolls 34.242

HORATIUS, Epistulae 1.2.69-70

quo semel est imbuta recens, seruabit odorem testa diu.

Giraldus

(1) li d.97

Usque in hodiernum quoque, quia quo semel est imbuta recens, seruabit etc, a secularibus curis et curiis abstinere non potuit.

(2) li d.115

Unde quoniam quod noua testa capit, inueterata sapit, et ubi

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HORATIUS, Epistulae 1.2.69-70 (cont'd.) h.e.1.2.69

intenderis ingenium ualet usque in hodiernum, sicut piscis sine aqua uiuere non potest, sic iste sine curia et seculari cura,

(3) Auctor Vitae S. Johannis Gualbert (c.1070) MGSS 30.2.1104

(4) Radulfus Ardens (fl. 1090) Migne 155.1562

(5) Benzo of Alba (fl. 1090) Manitius 3.456

(6) Petrus Abaelardus (fl. 1119) Migne 178.327

(7) idem 1614

(8) Gulielmus de Conchis (fl. 1120) Holmberg p. 45

(9) Gerhohus (fl. 1120) Migne 194.1490

(10) Wibald of Corvei (fl. 1140) Manitius 3.292

(11) Petrus Blesensis (fl. 1160) Migne 207.312

(12) Petrus Cantor (fl. 1170) Migne 205.355

(13) Reiner of Luettich (fl. 1197) Migne 204.191

(14) idem 196

(15) idem 199

(16) Florilegium Gottingense Voigt 311

Curuum se prebet, quod ad uncum crescere debet;
Quod noua testa capit, inueterata sapit.

(17) Matthaeus Parisiensis (fl. 1240) Rolls 44.2.258

(18) idem 301

HORATIUS, Epistulae 1.4.13

omnem crede diem tibi diluxisse supremum.

Giraldus

(1) ge 2.193

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HORATIUS, Epistulae 1.4.13 (cont'd.) h.e.1.4.13

Sicque dormi tanquam non amplius evigilaturus, sicque vigila tanquam non amplius dormiturus. Omnem crede diem tibi diluxisse supremam. Nescis quid pariat ventura dies.

(2) pi 8.148

mortem semper prae oculis habens omnemque diem quasi supremum reputans

(3) Benedict of Petersborough (fl. 1130) Rolls 67.2.106

(4) Gulielmus Filius Stephani (fl. 1170) Migne 190.697

(5) Thomas Cantuariensis (fl. 1140) Migne 190.584

(6) Thomae Amicus Quidam Migne 190.696

(7) Petrus Cantor (fl. 1170) Migne 205.357

HORATIUS, Epistulae 1.4.14

grata superueniet, quae non sperabitur hora.

Giraldus

(1) rg 1.54

et quia nemini fideli in Deo confidenti...de divina misericordia est diffidendum; et quia plerumque
Grata superveniet, quae non sperabitur, hora.

(2) pi 8.31

[1]

Vnde oracius.sperat in festis metu
it secundis alteram sortem bene praeparatum
pectus informes hyemes redu
cit Iupiter. Idem submouet. non si
male nunc: et olim sic erit. Grata
superueniet que non sperabitur hora.

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1. Brit. Mus. Cotton Jul. xiiiB, fol. p.62
Text omitted from Warner's printed edition.

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HORATIUS, Epistulae 1.4.14 (cont'd.) h.e.1.4.14

(3) ch 1.417

Non solum in his ad posterorum eruditionem zelo caritatis maximo diutius immorari, verum etiam mori, vitalemque spiritum, cum hora supervenerit, exhalare, desiderabile duxi.

(4) Gulielmus Filius Stephani (fl. 1170)	Migne 190.697
(5) Andreas Capellanus (fl. 1180)	Manitius 3.285
(6) Clericus quidam	Rolls 57.5.124
(7) Prior Conventui Cantuariensi (c. 1187)	Rolls 38.2.122
(8) idem (c.1188)	199
(9) Lambert of Ardre (fl. 1190)	Manitius 3.498-502
(10) Richard Devizes (fl. 1193)	Rolls 82.3.435
(11) Henricus Septimellensis (fl. 1194)	Manitius 3.939
(12) Conventus Cantuariensis (c. 1198)	Rolls 38.2.454

HORATIUS, Epistulae 1.7.98

metiri se quemque suo modulo ac pede uerum est.

Giraldus

(1) dk 6.161

ne natali ingratus solo viderer, pro ingenii modulo literis illustrare (sc. patriam)

(2) vg 4.415

et Anglorum regno regiisque ministris et terris adjacentibus pro posse ingratus, viriumque modulo molestus existens,

(3) ge 2.275

Si vellet itaque sacerdos clerico suo et clavigero contentus esse, modica est familia et juxta facultates competente, eaque sobria et mulierum consortiis impermixta, juxta illud: Metiri se quemque suo modulo ac pede verum est.

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HORATIUS, Epistulae 1.7.98 (cont'd.) h.e.1.7.98

(4) rg 1.21

Qui cum ex fratribus quatuor germanis pariter et uterinis natu minor existeret, tribus aliis nunc castra nunc oppida nunc palatia puerilibus, ut solet haec aetas, praeludiis in sabulo vel pulvere protrahentibus construentibus, modulo suo, solus hic simili praeludio semper ecclesias eligere et monasteria construere tota intentione satagebat.

(5) jm 3.121

Giraldum elegit; quem non solum literali eruditione et clericali conversatione prae multis coaetaneis et compatriotis suis fore conspicuum, verum etiam ampliore redituum ad sumptus, si opus ingrueret, sufferendum, juxta patriae modulum facultate, et ad labores etiam aggrediendum et sustinendum animositate, magis idoneum novit.

(6) li d.179

creatori suo gratus...qui generosum ipsum fecit et speciosum literis eruditum et morigeratum, et honeste sustentacionis pro patriae modulo sufficienter opulentum.

(7) li d.194

metropolis ecclesia...nouem habens suffraganeos et terras juxta patrie modulum latas et amplas.

(8) jm 3.370

fructus exinde pro terrae modulo,..., sufficienter eliciat.

(9) jm 3.371

Pauperis autem ecclesiae et in terra paupere praesul existens, modicus ipse modicamque familiam habens, modicis ipsam atque modestis alere praevalet impensis, et si modicitate sua ac mediocritate contentus fuerit, satis habebit dapis, et curae multo minus. Juxta moralem namque poetae doctrinam,

Metiri se quemque suo modulo decet, etc.

Nec ultra pallium competit pedem extendere. Qui etenim ad hoc elaborat, ut cum modicus existat magnus appareat, cum divite pauper; sumptuosis expensis et prodigalitate contendo t..... necesse est absque dubio quatinus ad res illicitas atque rapin (am) manus extendat.

(10) sp 4.152

Erat autem domus monialium pauperum in dextralis Walliae parte

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HORATIUS, Epistulae 1.7.98 (cont'd.) h.e.1.7.98

(11) sp 4.294

papa nimirum et pater patrum summique Patris Filii vices in terra gerens, et pro modulo vestigia sequens et saltem a longe semper adorans,

(12) Joannes de Altavilla (fl. 1180) Rolls 59.1.242

In Croesi ne sudet opes privatus Amyclas,
Contentum proprio faciunt me tuta facultas
Angustique lares, modico me posse potentem
Metior ad multum,

(13) Gaufridus (fl. 1200) Migne 205.845

Et quidem ante ordinem susceptum, juxta modulum vestrum ordinate vixistis, sed amodo multo ardentius, gratia Dei largiente

HORATIUS, Epistulae 1.10.24

Naturam expelles furca tamen usque recurret.

Giraldus

(1) sp 4.141

mores innatos mutare non praevalens, quoniam natura expellas furca, etc.;

(2) Alexander Neckam (fl. 1197) Rolls 34.213

(3) Helinandus (fl. 1200) Migne 212.488

HORATIUS, Epistulae 1.10.30-33

quem res plus nimio delectauere secundae,
mutatae quatient. si quid mirabere, pones
inuitus. fuge magna: licet sub paupere tecto
reges et regum uita praecurrere amicos.

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HORATIUS, Epistulae 1.10.30-33 (cont'd.) h.e.1.10.30

Giraldus

(1) rg 1.98

Et illud Flacci:
Fuge magna, licet sub paupere tecto
Reges et regum vita praecurrere amicos.

(2) li d.203

same as #1

(3) pi 8.lxvi

Et illud Horatii:

Fuge magna, licet sub paupere tecto
Reges et regum vita praecurrere amicos.

(4) pi 8.47

delectauere secunde. mutate quati[1]
ent. si quid mirabere: pones in
uitus. Fuge magna.licet sub
paupere tecto: Reges et regum vi
ta praecurrere amicos.

(5) sp 4.340

same as #1

HORATIUS, Epistulae 1.10.41

seruiet aeternum, quia paruo nesciet uti.

Giraldus

(1) ge 2.331

Sed verum est illud poetae:
Serviet aeternum qui parvo nesciet uti.

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1. Brit. Mus. Cotton, Jul. xiiiB, fol. 69b, col. 1. Text omitted from Warner's printed edition.

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HORATIUS, Epistulae 1.10.41 (cont'd.) h.e.1.10.41

(2) Alanus ab Insulis (fl. 1150) Migne 210.695

Dicitur continuatio vitae temporalis, unde Horatius:
Servïet aeternŏ qui parvo nesciet uti,
id est toto tempore vitae suae.

(3) Petrus Cantor (fl. 1170) Migne 205.67

HORATIUS, Epistulae 1.11.27

coelum, non animum, mutant, qui trans mare currunt.

Giraldus

(1) dk 6.193

Britones autem e diverso ex calida et adusta Dardaniae plaga, quanquam in fines hos temperatos advecti, quia
Coelum, non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt,
tam exterius fuscum illum cognatumque terrae colorem, quam etiam naturalem interius ex adusto humore calorem, unde securitas, originaliter trahunt.

(2) vr 7.15

Religionem igitur, humilitatem, mansuetudinem, et pietatem, ac praecipue caritatem, quasi praecipuam et primam, radicatas olim in se virtutes in sublimitate non deserens, sed magis exemplo docens, quia non mutant mores, ut dici solet, sed potius monstrant et revelant honores,

(3) Othlonus (fl. 1050) Libellus Proverbiorum C 85

(4) Benzo of Alba (fl. 1090) Manitius 3.456

(5) Rupert of Deutz (fl. 1110) MGSS 20.595ff

(6) Ordericus Vitalis (fl. 1115) Migne 188 Manitius 3.522-8

(7) Gulielmus de Conchis (fl. 1120) Holmberg p. 40

(8) Petrus Venerabilis (fl. 1132) Migne 189.267

(9) Gulielmus Cantuariensis (fl. 1170) Rolls 67.1.50

(10) Alexander Neckam (fl. 1197) Rolls 34.165

Saepe tamen "Coelum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt."

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HORATIUS, Epistulae 1.11.27 (cont'd.) h.e.1.11.27

...Quid loca permutas, qui mores non mutas?

(11) Carmina Burana m-s 15.1 and 5 (early 13 cent.)

Celum, non animum mutat stabilitas,
mutans in varia celum, non animum

HORATIUS, Epistulae 1.14.36

nec lusisse pudet, sed non incidere ludum.

Giraldus

(1) th 5.200

Sicut ergo viridis juventae propria, sic et sequentium aetatum jura sequetur. Unde et quoniam
Non lusisse pudet, sed non incidere ludum,
juvenilis excusabilis est levitas, cum laudabilis fuerit ipsa maturitas:
Tunc prima est inculpabilis aetas,
Cum ludis ponunt tempora metas.

(2) sy 1.288

Modus enim in his servandum atque modestiam sicut et in caeteris cunctis, poeta declarat, dicens:
Non ludisse pudet, sed non incidere ludum.
Lusimus ergo dum fuit aetas, ludis ponant tempora metas. Juvenilis enim excusabilis est levitas, cum laudabilis fuerit ipsa maturitas. Tunc prima est inculpabilis aetas, cum ludis ponunt tempora metas.

(3) Carmina Burana m-s 33.1 (early 13 cent.) Holmberg p. 54

non te ludisse pudeat,
sed ludum non incidere.

HORATIUS, Epistulae 1.16.39

falsus honor iuuat et mendax infamia terret 39
quem nisi mendosum et medicandum? 40

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HORATIUS, Epistulae 1.16.39 (cont'd.) h.e.1.16.39

Giraldus

(1) li d.118

nisi forte in hiis et in aliis de ipso confictis fama mendax existat.

(2) pi 8.53

Horatius: Falsus honor iuvat, mendax infamia terret.

HORATIUS, Epistulae 1.16.67-8

perdidit arma, locum uirtutis deseruit, qui
semper in augenda festinat et obruitur re.

Giraldus

pi 8.47

1
Ora.

cius. perdidit arma.locum virutis
deseruit. qui semper in augenda
festinat et obruitur re.

HORATIUS, Epistulae 1.17.9-10

nam neque diuitibus contingunt gaudia solis,
nec uixit male, qui natus moriensque fefellit.

Giraldus

pi 8.47

2

Nam neque diuitibus contingunt gaudia solis.
Nec uixit male qui natus moriensque fefellit.

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1. Brit. Mus. Cotton Jul. xiii B. fol.69, col. 2. Text omitted from Warner's printed edition.
2. Brit. Mus. Cotton Jul. xiii B. fol.69-69b. Text omitted from Warner's printed edition.

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HORATIUS, Epistulae 1.17.13-15 h.e.1.17.13

'si pranderet holus patienter, regibus uti
nollet Aristippus.' 'si sciret regibus uti,
fastidiret holus, qui me notat.'

Giraldus

(1) ge 2.276

Item ad hoc valet exemplus Diogenis, ut diximus, in dolio degentis, qui vacuus spei et timoris expers locupletem transegit paupertatem; ad quem Aristippus quidam aulicus, cum mundaret et lavaret olera sua, accedens, ait, "Tu, cum sapiens et philosophus sis, si regibus servire voluisses, olera tua non lavares." Cui respondens, ait: "Si paupertate mediocri scires uti, non oporteret te regibus mendicando adulatione mentiri." Unde Flaccus poeta:

Si pranderet olus patienter, regibus uti
Nollet Aristippus. Si sciret regibus uti,
Fastidiret olus, qui me notat;

Diogenes, scilicet. Idem etiam Diogenes, cum vidisset...

(2) Petrus Cantor (fl. 1170) Migne 205.78

HORATIUS, Epistulae 1.17.35

principibus placuisse uiris non ultima laus est.

Giraldus

(1) th 5.7

et quoniam tarda et infirma est terra quam gerimus, parte nostri meliore mundum universum, mundique causas vel mente percurrere, et omnia in promptu habere, studiosis animis non ultima laus est.

(2) eh 5.213

Igitur inter studia laude dignissima, hujus quoque studii laus non ultima.

(3) eh 5.402

Nam, ut ait poeta,

Principibus placuisse viris non ultima laus est.

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HORATIUS, Epistulae 1.17.35 (cont'd.) h.e.1.17.35

Quinimmo, diligi a principe et digne commendari, major est laus quam principari. Illud enim fortunae, istud virtutis est.

(4) vr 7.14

Erat quippe vir prudens et providus, et copiose literatus... et quoniam
Principibus placuisse viris non ultima laus est,
regis notitiam, quamplurimam familiaritatem atque favorem habens,

(5) rg 1.100

Praeterea quanquam principibus placuisse viris non ultima laus sit; satius tamen et longe satius esset potentis amici nunquam notitiam habuisse, quam ab ejusdem familiaritate semel habita facile et praeter merita decidisse.

(6) sy 1.269

et quoniam principibus placuisse viris non ultima laus est, ne quid ei temporalis deesse videretur felicitas, tantam principis et principalium in regno virorum, tam in clero quam populo, familiaritatem;

(7) pi 8.11

Principalibus itaque viris induatur humanitas in conclavi.

(8) Migne 196.1652

(9) Petrus Blesensis (fl. 1160) Migne 207.441

(10) Stephanus of Orleans (fl. 1176) Manitius 3.943

(11) Johannes de Altavilla (fl. 1180) Rolls 59.1.291

Impigra sit dandi mentis manus, infima laus est
Cuncta dari,...

(12) Richard Devizes (fl. 1193) Rolls 82.3.387

quatuor viri non minimae virtutis aut laudis ultimae

(13) idem 434

Principibus placuisse uiris non ultima laus est

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HORATIUS, Epistulae 1.18.9 h.e.1.18.9

uirtus est medium uitiorum et utrimque reductum.

Giraldus

(1) vg 4.379

Quibus in hunc modum concessis, et in scripta sigillis corroborata utrinque redactis, ad regem electus in castellum usque vocatus accessit.

(2) pi 8.39-40

Ut autem ad priora revertamur, habent virtutes vitia sibi tam conjuncta, quod, nisi prudentia regatur, facile quis in vitium a virtute labatur; latet enim virtus in medio, tanquam nucleus vel medulla, vitiorum undique cortice vallata (p.40) venenoso. De quo poeta: Est virtus medium vitiorum utrimque redactum;

(3) Isaac de Stella (fl. 1140) Migne 194.1871

Virtutes enim mediae sunt, sicut ait etiam gentilis: Virtus est medium vitiorum, utrinque reductum; quas nesciunt, qui prosperitatibus tument, et adversitatibus tabescunt.

(4) Petrus Cantor (fl. 1170) Migne 205.202

(5) Migne 195.1225

(6) Gaufridus (c. 1199) Rolls 38.2.482

Unde enim ait poeta, Virtus est medium vitiorum utrinque redactum?

HORATIUS, Epistulae 1.18.77

qualem commendes, etiam atque etiam aspice, ne mox 76
incutiant aliena tibi peccata pudorem. 77

Giraldus

rg 1.97

Porro cum causa non subsit nec culpa suppetat, forte ut fieri solet, Incutiunt antiqua novum peccata pudorem. Gravius enim vir bonus verbis laeditur quam verberibus.

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HORATIUS, Epistulae 1.18.84 h.e.1.18.84

nam tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet.

Giraldus

(1) eh 5.257

Rothericus Connactensis, suam agi rem prospiciens, paries ubi proximus ardet, muncios Dermitio in haec verba transmisit:

(2) sy 1.228 (ep. ad Petrum Menevensis ecclesiae episcopum)

Satyrici illius non immemor:
Nam tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet.

(3) Gulielmus de Conchis (fl. 1120) Holmberg p. 58

(4) Wibaldus Corveiensis (fl. 1140) Manitius 3.292

(5) Thomas Cantuariensis (fl. 1160) Rolls 67.5.237

(6) Nigellus Wireker (fl. 1170) Manitius 3.812

(7) Gulielmus Tyrensis (fl. 1170) Migne 201.584, 684

(8) Adamus Praemonstratensis (fl. 1170) Migne 198.584

(9) Conventus Cantuariensis (c. 1188) Rolls 38.2.157

(10) Garnerus (fl. 1190) Migne 205.576

(11) Matthaeus Parisiensis (fl. 1240) Rolls 57.3.489

HORATIUS, Epistulae 1.18.86-7

dulcis inexpertis cultura potentis amici:
expertus metuet.

Giraldus

(1) rg 1.100

Item Horatius:
Dulcis inexpertis cultura potentis amici;
Expertus metues.

(2) pi 8.lxvi

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HORATIUS, Epistulae 1.18.86-7 (cont'd.) h.e.1.18.86

Horatius. 1
Dulcis inexpertis cultura
potentis amici. Expertus metuet.

HORATIUS, Epistulae 1.18.107-10

'sit mihi, quod nunc est, etiam minus, ut mihi uiuam
quod superest aeui, siquid superesse uolunt di;
sit bona librorum et prouisae frugis in annum
copia, neu fluitem dubiae spe pendulus horae

Giraldus

(1) rg 1.98

Nimium temporis, unde mihi plus dolendum est, ambitioni hactenus et perditioni dedi. Proinde et hanc poetae Horatii sententiam Deo annuente de caetero sequar:
Sit mihi quod nunc est, etiam minus, ut mihi vivam
Quod superest aevi, si quid superesse volunt Dii.
Sit mihi librorum et provisae frugis in annum
Copia; ne dubiae fluitem spe pendulus horae.

(2) rg 1.100

Det itaque pius pater et misericors Deus, quatinus...procul a curiae curis...popularique strepitu cuncto, dulci quiete modicum id quod restat aevi ducere queam;

(3) li d.203

same as #1

(4) pi 8.lxvi

same as #1

(5) sp 4.340

same as #1

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1. Brit. Mus. Cotton Jul. xiii B, fol.p.91b,col.1. Text omitted from Warner's printed edition.

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HORATIUS, Epistulae 1.18.107-10 (cont'd.) h.e.1.18.107

(6) Joannes Saresberiensis (c. 1166) Migne 199.199

Si de me (quaesieris), paucis respondeo, quia, Domino propitio,
Est bona librorum et provisae frugis in annum
Copia.

(7) Carmina Burana am 101.23 (early 13 cent.) Hilka-Schumann p. 140

Usque modo flevi casus, incommoda levi;
Quod superest evi, corripe fine brevi!

HORATIUS, Epistulae 2.1.1-4

Cum tot sustineas et tanta negotia solus,
res Italas armis tuteris, moribus ornes,
legibus emendes, in publica commoda peccem,
si longo sermone morer tua tempora, Caesar.

Giraldus

(1) pi 8.9

proinde et tanta principis offici[1]
a poeta describens ait. Cum
tot sustineas et tanta negocia
solus. Res italis armis tue
aris moribus ornes. Legibus emen
des in publica comoda peccem.
Si longo sermone morer: tua
tempora cesar.

(2) pi 9.32

Idem etiam[2]
poeta declarat cesari dicens. Cum
tot sustineas. et tanta pericula.
solus res ytalas armis tuearis
moribus ornes.legibus emendes.
etc.

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1. Brit. Mus. Cotton Jul. xiii B, fol. 49b, col. 1. Text omitted from Warner's printed edition.
2. Brit. Mus. Cotton Jul. xiii B, fol. 62b, col. 2. Text incomplete from Warner's printed edition.

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HORATIUS, Epistulae 2.1.1-4 (cont'd.) h.e.2.1.1

(3) pi 8.54

Quod quidem poetam non latuit ad ce[1]
sarem hiis uerbis scribentem. Cum
tot sustineas et tanta negotia
solus. Res ytalas armis tuea
ris moribus ornes etc.

(4) Alexander Neckam (fl. 1197) Rolls 34.378

Rostrum duritie praestat, vertexque flagella
Cum tot sustineat, nonne fatetur idem.

HORATIUS, Epistulae 2.1.90-92

quodsi tam Graecis nouitas inuisa fuisset
quam nobis, quid nunc esset uetus? aut quid haberet,
quod legeret tereretque uiritim publicus usus?

Giraldus

(1) th 5.76

Si quid ergo novum hic et inauditum emerserit, non statim lividi vel contemnant, vel demordeant: sed nunc ignoscendo, nunc approbando, studia procedere sinant. Nam, ut ait poeta,
Si patribus nostris novitas invisa fuisset,
Ut nobis, quid nunc esset vetus, aut quid haberet
Quod legeret tereretque viritim publicus usus?

(2) ge 2.5

Item nisi auctores linguaeque Latinae moderatores tanta diligentia studiis scriptisque suis orbem universum illustrassent, professionis hodie litteratoriae tam celebri frequentia vulgi per ora quid volitaret, aut etiam quid haberet quod legeret tereretque viritim publicus usus?

(3) eh 5.212

same as #1

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1. Brit. Mus. Cotton Jul. xiii B, fol. 75, col. 2. Text omitted from Warner's printed edition.

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HORATIUS, Epistulae 2.1.262-3 h.e.2.1.262

discit enim citius meminitque libentius illud
quod quis deridet, quam quod probat et ueneratur.

Giraldus

(1) dk 6.164

Unde poeta:
Discit enim citius, meminitque libentius illud,
Quod quis deridet, quam quod probat et veneratur.

(2) ch 1.418

Item et poeta:
Discit enim citius, meminitque libentius illud,
Quod quis deridet, quam quod probat et veneratur.

(3) sp 4.262

Unde poeta:
Discit enim citius meminitque libentius illud,
Quod quis deridet quam quod probat et veneratur.

(4) Carmina Burana m-s 25 (early 13 cent.) Hilka-Schumann p. 45

Vivere sub meta lex precipit atque propheta.
Est velut unda maris vox, floria, laus popularis.
Omina sunt hominum tenui pendentia filo.
Qui differt penas, peccandi laxat habenas.
Nil fieri stulte credit, qui peccat inulte.
Discit enim citius meminitque libentius illud,
Quod quis deridet, quam quod probat et veneratur.

HORATIUS, Sermones 1.1.24-5

quamquam ridentem dicere uerum quid uetat?

Giraldus

ik 6.50

Dixerat autem unus eorum, cui nomen Seisillus filius Eudas, constabulario, die praecedente, quasi praemuniendo sub risu tamen et ludicro magis quam serio; "Hic," inquit, "hac nocte intrabimus;" ostendens muri ipsius angulum quemdam, ubi de-

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HORATIUS, Sermones 1.1.24-5 (cont'd.) h.s.1.1.24

missior esse videbatur. Sed quoniam
Ridendo dicere verum
Quis vetat?

HORATIUS, Sermones 1.1.106-7

est modus in rebus, sunt certi denique fines,
quos ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum.

Giraldus

(1) pi 8.40

1
et a
libi.est modus in rebus sunt certi de
nique fines.quos ultra citraque nequit con-
sistere rectum.

(2) sp 4.116

Nec mirum, quoniam denuo testante poeta,
Est modus in rebus, sunt certi denique fines
Quos ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum.

(3) Petrus Venerabilis (fl. 1132) Migne 189.1051

Nam, ut quidam ait, quod jam in proverbium versum est:
Est modus in rebus, sunt certi denique fines;

(4) Wolbero (fl. 1147) Migne 195.1033

(5) Carmina Burana m-s 20.I (early 13 cent.) Hilka-Schumann p. 39

Est modus in verbis, duo sunt contraria verba:
"Do das" et "Teneo" contendunt lite superba.

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1. Brit. Mus. Cotton Jul. xiii B, fol.66, col. 2. Text omitted from Warner's printed edition.

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HORATIUS, Sermones 1.3.68-9 h.s.1.3.68

nan uitiis nemo sine nascitur, optimus illest,
qui minimis urgetur,

Giraldus

(1) th 5.192

Et quoniam
Vitiis sine nemo nascitur, optimus ille est
Qui minimis urgetur,
quanto discrimine nitidissimae famae vestrae candorem maculae quaedam obfuscant;

(2) eh 5.301

Unde et quoniam,
Vitiis sine nemo nascitur; optimus ille est
Qui minimis urgetur,
nihil humanum a se alienum sapiens putet.

(3) dk 6.205

same as #2

(4) pi 8.250

Set quia sine viciis nemo[1]
nascitur: optimus ille est qui mini
mis vrgetur.

(5) Gulielmus de Conchis (fl. 1120) Holmberg p. 25

HORATIUS, Sermones 1.7.3

omnibus et lippis notum et tonsoribus esse

Giraldus

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1. Brit. Mus. Cotton Jul. xiii B, fol.149, col. 2. Text printed in emended form by Warner.

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HORATIUS, Sermones 1.7.3 (cont'd.) h.s.1.7.3

(2) Thomas Cantuariensis (c. 1169) Manitius 3.285

(3) Gulielmus Filius Stephani (fl. 1170) Migne 190.637

(4) Andreas Capellanus (fl. 1180) Manitius 3.285

(5) Amicus Priori Cantuariensi (c. 1188) Rolls 38.2.251

(6) Chronica S. Edmundi (c. 1215) Rolls 96.2.71

HORATIUS, Sermones 2.1.44-6, 85-6

nec quisquam noceat cupido mihi pacis! at ille, 44
qui me commorit (melius non tangere, clamo), 45
flebit et insignis tota cantabitur urbe. 46

si quis 84
opprobriis dignum latrauerit, integer ipse? 85
'soluentur risu tabulae, tu missus abibis.' 86

Giraldus

(1) li d.89

Et poeta,

Nec quisquam noceat cupido mihi pacis. At ille
Qui me commorit, melius non tangere clamo.
Flebit et insignis tota cantabitur urbe.
Et idem,
Opprobriis dignum latrauerit integer ipse,
Soluentur tabule risu, tu missus abibis.

(2) Joannes Saresberiensis (fl. 1155) Migne 199.263

sed et
Qui nos commorit, melius non tangere clamo,
Flebit, et insignis toto cantabitur orbe.

(3) Petrus Blesensis (fl. 1160) Migne 207.289

Plenus sum rimarum,
hac atque illac perfluo.
Qui me commorit, melius non tangere clamo,
Flebit et insignis tota cantabitur urbe.

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HORATIUS, Sermones 2.2.50 h.s.2.2.50

tutus erat rhombus tutoque ciconia nido, 49
donec uos auctor docuit praetorius. 50

Giraldus

(1) li d.109

in brevi quid fiet? Foliot igitur, autore pretore, terque quaterque et preterea quociens volueris, ut Anglicus seuriens, et quandocumque periurus. (sic, no predicate)

(2) li d.110

Praeterea de tribus persecutoribus nostris quartum quoque intestina discordia corrodentibus et clandestina inter se machinatione persequentibus, pretore tamen in omnibus autore, et apparitore quidem Foliot executore

(3) im 3.143

statim revocato mandato, et focariae ad focum, auctore non dico praetore sed pastore, et concubinae ad cubiculum sunt reversae.

HORATIUS, Sermones 2.3.319

absentis ranae pullis uituli pede pressis 314
unus ubi effugit, matri denarrat, ut ingens 315
belua cognatos eliserit: illa rogare, 316
quantane? num tantum, sufflans se, magna fuisset? 317
'maior dimidio.' 'num tanto?' cum magis atque 318
se magis inflaret, 'non, si te ruperis' inquit, 319
'par eris.' haec a te non multum abludit imago. 320

Giraldus

(1) ge 2.271

Non etiam si te ruperis Octaviano in thesauris aequaberis.

(2) Alanus ab Insulis (fl. 1168) Migne 210.590

Inflando se rana bovi par esse volebat,
Ulcisci pullos quos pede pressit aquis:
Ast bos juravit ranunculus ante creparet
Per medium quam par efficeretur ei.

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JUVENALIS 1.74 j.1.74

...probitas laudatur et alget.

Giraldus

(1) rg 1.60

Sed quoniam probitas laudatur et alget, licet exercitus Resi plurimos...a terra regis...avertisset, nihil tamen a Rege praeter laudes hujusmodi vanas et adulationes cum promissis magnis accepit.

(2) eh 5.406

Cui quoniam labor hic placuit utpote principi, quod nostris rarum est diebus, literarum eruditione conspicuo, ad ipsius postmodum instantiam, super expugnatione regni ejusdem hac ultima, per ipsum et suos facta, iterato quidem, immo et fere continuato labore, sed nec isto nec illo, quia probitas laudatur et alget, remunerato,

(3) Henricus Septimellensis (fl.1194) Manitius 3.939

JUVENALIS 1.85-6

quidquid agunt homines, uotum, timor, ira, uoluptas,
gaudia, discursus, nostri farrago libelli est.

Giraldus

(1) ge 2.326

Sed quicquid agant homines intentic judicat omnes.

(2) li d.183

Et quoniam quicquid agant homines intencio iudicat omnes.

(3) Matthaeus Parisiensis (fl.1240) Rolls 57.3.329

...cum quicquid agent homines intentio judicet omnes.

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JUVENALIS 2.10 j.2.10

castigas turpia, cum sis 9
inter Socraticos notissima fossa cinaedos. 10

Giraldus

(1) ge 2.319

Perfecti ergo sint, vel inter Socraticos notissima fossa cinedos.

(2) Petrus Blesensis (fl.1160) Migne 207.291

Implebo faciem ejus ignominia; nam in eo ad plenum materia ignominiosae confusionis exuberat:
Cum sit Socraticis notissima fossa cinoedis.

JUVENALIS, 2.63

dat ueniam coruis, uexat censura columbas.

Giraldus

(1) jm 3.315

Quod utique de minoribus ordinis utriusque viris illico factum fuit; majoribus, ut fieri solet, ac praepotentibus intactis penitus et illaesis. Nec mirum. Nam parcens corvis, vexat censura columbas.

(2) pi 8.38

Unde Juvenalis:
Et parcens corvis, vexat censura columbas.

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JUVENALIS 3.39-40 j.3.39

quales ex humili magna ad fastigia rerum
extollit quotiens uoluit Fortuna iocari.

Giraldus

(1) eh 5.352

O quales quantique marchiones Robertus hic Poerius et Aldelini filius, in terram transmissi viris indigentem!
Quales ex humili magna ad fastigia rerum
Extollit, quoties voluit fortuna jocari.

(2) Thomas Cisterciensis (fl.1180) Migne 206.151

JUVENALIS 3.78

grammaticus, rhetor, geometres, pictor, aliptes, 76
augur, schoenobates, medicus, magus, omnia nouit 77
Graeculus esuriens; in caelum miseris ibit. 78

Giraldus

(1) li d.95

Quid igitur Andree, qui tociens huc currit et recurrit prestat audaciam? Certe ambitio. Quoniam Anglicus esuriens sicut et Greculus in celum etc.

(2) li d.109

Foliot igitur, autore pretore, terque quaterque et preterea quociens uolueris, ut Anglicus esuriens, et quandocumque periurus.

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JUVENALIS 3.109-10 j.3.109

praeterea sanctum nihil aut tibi ab inguine tutum,
non matrona laris, non filia uirgo,

Giraldus

(1) sp 4.91-2

adeo ut illud Gentilis poetae, similem sugillanus ineptiam, visum fuit in hoc impletum:

Nihil ejus ab inguine tutum.
Non matrona potens, etc.

(2) Bernardus Morlanensis (fl.1140) Manitius 3.780-3

nil stat ab inguine nunc bene tutum.

JUVENALIS 5.2

Si te propositi nondum pudet atque eadem est mens, 1
ut bona summa putes aliena uiuere quadra. 2

Giraldus

(1) li d.94

Nichil est enim quod tantam pariat uiolentiam, sicut aliena uiuere quadra,

(2) sy 1.319

Nec mirum si dat in curia, vel si dare potest, qui semper de alieno vivere, alteriusque mensae pedes supponere consueverit,

(3) jm 3.146

qui de propriis vivere malint quam alienis

(4) jm 3.154

de suo nempe vivere volens, non alieno

(5) Petrus Blesensis (fl.1160) Migne 207.16

Improperatis nobis, quod semper quadra vivimus aliena.

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JUVENALIS 5.2 (cont'd.) j.5.2

(6) Richard Devisès (fl.1190) Rolls 82.3.412

nolebat vivere nisi de proprio

JUVENALIS 6.181

plus aloes quam mellis habet...

Giraldus

(1) th 5.200

in patrem semper ingratus existens, magnique fratris vestigia nimis in hoc expressa sequens; plus aloes quam mellis habens, in facie vero mollito super oleum effluens sermone.

(2) eh 5.338

Vir in facie liberalis et lenis; intus vero plus aloes quam mellis habens;

(3) Alanus ab Insulis (fl.1150) Migne 210.586

(4) Petrus Blesensis (fl.1160) Migne 207.180

(5) Reiner of Luettich (fl.1180) Migne 204.145

JUVENALIS 6.284-5

Nihil est audacius illis
deprensis; iram atque animos a crimine sumunt.

Giraldus

(1) ik 6.30

Item Juvenalis loquens de mulieribus inquit:

Nihil est audacius illis
Deprensis; iram atque animos a crimine sumunt.

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JUVENALIS 6.284-5 (cont'd.) j.6.284-5

(2) Codex Lansdownianus Rolls 67.4.160

Iram, inquit poeta, atque animos a crimine sumunt.

JUVENALIS 6.301

inguinis et capitis quae sint discrimina nescit

Giraldus

ge 2.257

Inguinis et capitis quae sit distantia nescit.

JUVENALIS 6.444

imponit finem sapiens et rebus honestis.

Giraldus

(1) sy 1.287

Quoniam ut ait poeta:
Imponit finem sapiens et rebus honestis.

(2) Petrus Cantor (fl.1170) Migne 205.113

(3) Idem 118

(4) idem 296

(5) idem 307

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quis locus ingenio, nisi cum se carmine solo
uexant et dominis Cirrhae Nysaeque feruntur
pectora uestra duas non admittentia curas?

nam si Vergilio puer et tolerabile desset
hospitium, caderent omnes a crinibus hydri,

Giraldus

(1) th 5.4

Haec summis auctoribus prima fuit et praecipua seribendi occasio. Altera vero, nec merito minus quam numero secunda, nobilium principum tam remuneratio quam exhortatio. Honores enim artes nutrire solent:

Nam si Virgilio puer, et tolerabile desit
Hospitium, caderent omnes a crinibus hydrae.

Item:

Quis locus ingenio, nisi cum se carmine solo
Vexant, et dominis Cirrae Nisaeque feruntur
Pectora nostra, duas non admittentia curas?

(2) Vita Brennonis Auctore Norberto (c.1068) MGSS 30.2.874

Per poetam canitur:

Pectora vestra duas non admittentia curas.

(3) Petrus Blesensis (fl.1160) Migne 207.251

Verbum poetae est

quis locus ingenio, nisi cum se carmine solo
vexant et dominis Cirrhae Nysaeque feruntur
pectora vestra duas non admittentia curas?

(4) Joannes de Altavilla (fl.1180) Rolls 59.1.292

Lilia Castalii veris marcentia fati
Sub Borea brumante gemit, Nisamque negantem
Subsidium Cyrrhae,

(5) Helinandus (fl.1200) Migne 212.634

Qui tamen et nimis ad loquendum promptuli sunt, et satis ad disputandum spinosuli, et acutuli ad discendum:

Sed si Virgilio puer, et tolerabile deesset
Hospitium, caderent omnes a crinibus.

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JUVENALIS 7.81 j.7.81

gloria quantalibet quid erit, si gloria tantum est?

Giraldus

(1) pi 8.53

In qua nichil fructus esse, si aliis bonis destituta sit, monstrat qui dicit Juvenalis:
Gloria quantalibet, quid erit nisi gloria tantum?

(2) Gulielmus de Conchis (fl.1120) Holmberg p. 67

In qua nil fructus esse, si aliis bonis destituta sit, monstrat qui dicit:
Gloria quantalibet quid erit, si gloria tantum est?

JUVENALIS 8.20

...nobilitas sola est atque unica uirtus.

Giraldus

(1) pi 8.51

Nobilitas autem principis vera est, quam sic poeta describit,
Nobilitas animi sola est atque unica virtus.

(2) Othlonus (fl.1050) Korfmacher p. 52

Nemo nobilis, nisi quem nobilitat uirtus.

(3) Gulielmus de Conchis (fl.1120) Holmberg p. 54

(4) Matthaeus Vendocinensis (fl.1150)

Virtus nobilitat hominem, uirtute relicta
Migrat in exilium nobilitatis honor.

(5) Gualterus Castellionensis (fl.1175)

Non eget exterius, qui moribus intus habundat;
Nobilitas sola est, animus que moribus ornat.

(6) Ricardus Venosensis (fl.1230) Dumeril p. 375

Ex animo potius nobilitatur homo.

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JUVENALIS 8.140-1 j.8.140-1

omne animi uitium tanto conspectius in se
crimen habet, quanto maior qui peccat habetur.

Giraldus

(1) sy 1.254

Quoniam juxta illud Sapientis:

componitur orbis
Regis ad exemplum, (Claud. Hon.4.299-300)

sic et rectoris cujusque; unde et per contrarium sensum satyrious clamat:

Omne animi vitium tanto conspectius in se
Crimen habet, quanto major qui peccat habetur.

Unde et per contrarium major in magnis virtus emicat;

(2) jm 3.161

Unde et poeta:

Omne animi vitium tanto conspectius in se
Crimen habet, quanto major qui peccat habetur.

(3) pi 8.14

1

Iuuenalis. O coridon coridon secre (j.9.102-3)
tum diuitis ullum esse putas: ta
ceant homines iumenta loquentur:
et alibi. Omne animi vicium tanto
conspectius in se crimen habet: quanto
maior qui peccat habetur.

(4) pi 8.114

Sic et principe existente bono boni quoque subditi fiunt, et ad capitis similitudinem membra plerumque informari solent. Unde poeta:

Omne animi vitium tanto conspectius in se
Crimen habet, quanto major qui peccat habetur.

Unde et per contrarium major in magnis virtus emicat:

(5) Godefridus Wintoniensis (fl.1080) Rolls 59.2.140

Omnis homo crimen tanto famosius in se
Quanto qui peccat major habetur, habet.

(6) Gulielmus de Conchis (fl.1120) Holmberg p. 54

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1. Brit. Mus. Cotton Julius B.xiii, fol. 53, col. 1; text omitted from Warner's printed edition.

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JUVENALIS 8.140-1 (cont'd) j.8.140-1

(7) Petrus Blesensis (fl.1160) Migne 207.54

(8) Gulielmus Tyrensis (fl.1170) Migne 201.337

(9) Petrus Bernardus Grandimontensis (fl.1171) Rolls 67.7.456

(10) Thomas Cisterciensis (fl.1180) Migne 206.152

(11) Helinandus (fl.1200) Migne 212.741

(12) Matthaeus Parisiensis (fl.1240) Rolls 44.1.130

(13) Idem 57.2.637

JUVENALIS 9.102-3

o Corydon, Corydon, Secretum diuitis ullum [1] 102
esse putas? serui ut taceant, iumenta loquentur 103
et cenis et postes et marmora. 104

Giraldus

(1) sy 1.331

Ecce quam malum est viro magno male agere et praecipue in manifesto, quia quod etiam se putant magni secretius agere palam erumpit; juxta illud:

O! Corydon, Corydon, secretum divitis ullum
Esse putas, taceant homines, jumenta loquentur.

(2) jm 3.162

Unde et poeta:...Et Alibi:

O Corydon, Corydon, secretum divitis ullum
Esse putas? taceant homines, jumenta loquentur.

In eminenti itaque specula constituti omnium oculos in se credant esse conversos.

---

1. Cf. Verg. Ecl. 2.69:
ah, Corydon, Corydon, quae te dementia cepit?

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JUVENALIS 9.102-3 (cont'd.) j.102-3

(3) pi 8.14

Iuuenalis. O coridon coridon secre
tum diuitis ullum esse putas: ta
ceant Homines iumenta loquentur:[2]

(4) Petrus Blesensis (fl.c.1160) Migne 207.177

Audi testimonium Aquinatis poetae:
O Corydon, Corydon, secretum divitis ullum
esse putas? servi ut taceant, jumenta loquentur.
Et canis, et postes, et marmora;...

---

2. Brit. Mus. Cotton Jul. B.xiii, fol. 53, col. 1; text omitted from Warner's printed edition.

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JUVENALIS, 10.56-8 j.10.56

quosdam praecipitat subiecta potentia magnae
inuidiae, mergit longa atque insignis honorum
pagina.

Giraldus

(1) pi 8.45

autem attendere et eciam racione[1] preuia
ac prouidentia quo ad poterit longe
prospicere. casuaque vitabiler per huma
nam industriam declinare: multum
principi et cuilibet eciam plurimum confert
sapienti. verum tanto principi magis
quanto periculis multis magne que
inuidia: capus subiacet principa
le.Iuuenalis. Quosdam precipitat sub
iecta potencia magne: Inuidie.
mergit longa atque insignis ho
norum pagina etc.

(2) Gulielmus de Conchis (fl. 1120) Holmberg p. 64

Juvenalis, 10.112-3

ad generum Cereris sine caede ac uulnere pauci
descendunt reges et sicca morte tyranni.

Giraldus

(1) pi 8.57

Unde poeta:
Ad generum Cereris sine caede et sanguine pauci
Descendunt reges et sicca morte tyranni.

(2) pi 8.75

Juxta illud poetae:
Ad generum Cereris sine caede et sanguine pauci
Descendunt reges et sicca morte tyranni.

(3) Gulielmus de Conchis (fl. 1120) Holmberg p. 65

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1. Brit. Mus. Cotton Jul. xiii B, Fol. 68, col. 1.

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JUVENALIS, 10.243-5 j.10.243

haec data poena diu uiuentibus, ut renouata
semper clade domus multis in luctibus inque
perpetuo maerore et nigra ueste senescant.

Giraldus

(1) pi 8.31

1

Iuuenalis. Haec data pena diu viuen
tibus ut renouata semper clade do
mus. multis inluctibus inque perpe
tuo merore. et nigra ueste senes
cant.

(2) Gulielmus de Conchis (fl. 1120) Holmberg p. 33

JUVENALIS, 10.328-9

mulier saeuissima tunc est
cum stimulos odio pudor admouet.

Giraldus

ik 6.30

Et alibi:

Mulier saevissima tunc est
Cum stimulos odio pudor admovet.

JUVENALIS, 11.44-5

non praematuri cineres nec funus acerbum
luxuriae, sed morte magis metuenda senectus.

(1) pi 8.31

1

Lucanus.
Non prematuri cineres.non funus

---

1. Brit. Mus. Cotton Jul. xiii B, pi 8.31: fol.62,col.2; pi 8.31: fol.62,col.2. Text omitted from Warner's printed edition.

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JUVENALIS, 11.44-5 (cont'd.) j.11.44

acerbum luxurie sed morte magis
metuenda senectus.

(2) pi 8.45

mortem tot ostensam indiciis cineresque praematuros et fumus acerbum non evasit;

(3) Gulielmus de Conchis (fl. 1120) Holmberg p. 34

JUVENALIS, 11.203

nostra bibat uernum contracta cuticula solem

Giraldus

sy 1.359

In Juvenali legis, contracta cuticula solem,

JUVENALIS, 12.34-6

imitatus castora, qui se
eunuchum ipse facit cupiens euadere damno
testiculi: adeo medicatum intelligit inguen.

Giraldus

In eois autem regionibus, cum canes narium sagacitate sequaces se nullatenus effugere posse prasentit, ut damno partis totum redimat, partem quam appeti naturali industria novit projiciendo in venatoris prospectu seipsam bestia castrat. Unde et a castrando Castor nomen accepit...Juvenalis;

Qui se
Eunuchum ipse facit, cupiens evadere damno
Testiculi

JUVENALIS, 13.191-2

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JUVENALIS, 13.191-2 (cont'd.) j.13.191

continuo sic collige, quod uindicta
nemo magis gaudet quam femina.

Giraldus

ik 6.30

Item Juvenalis loquens de mulieribus inquit; ...
Et alibi; vindicta quia
Nemo magis quam femina gaudet.

JUVENALIS, 14.207

"unde habeas quaerit nemo, sed oportet habere."

Giraldus

(1) im 3.131

Et alibi quoque quasi temporis sui deridens avaritiam et describens, ait:
Unde habeas quaerit nemo, sed oportet habere.

(2) sp 4.145

Proinde et poeta gentilis avaritiam sui temporis et ambitum irridens atque suggillans ait:
Unde habeas quaerit nemo, sed oportet habere.

(3) sp 4.156

...avaritias detestandas modis omnibus non evitant, quas tamen gentiles fide carentes suis diebus irridendo suggillarunt. Unde poeta:
Et si non recte possis, quocunque modo rem;
et alibi
Unde habeas quaerit nemo, sed oportet habere.

(4) Gulielmus de Conchis (fl. 1120) Holmberg p. 61

(5) Vitalis Blesensis, (c. 1175) Cohen 1.86.319-20

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luc.
1.29

LUCANUS 1.29

...desuntque manus poscentibus aruis

Giraldus th 5.152

Vacat agrorum virtus invita, dum et optimis agris desunt agricolae,
Desuntque manus poscentibus aruis.

LUCANUS 1.70-71 81-2

inuida fatorum series summisque negatum
stare diu nimioque graues sub pondere lapsus

in se magna ruunt: laetis hunc numina rebus
crescendi posuere modum.

(1) Giraldus th 5.142

Tandem vero in bello magno quod cum gigantibus gessit potitum victoria, quia mortalium prosperitas nescit esse perpetua, et quoniam

Faciles dare summa Deos, eademque tueri (Luc. 1.510-11)
Difficiles;

et quia

Summis hunc Numina rebus
Crescendi posuere modum;
In se magna ruunt; Summisque negatum
Stare diu, nimiumque graves sub pondere lapsus,

subitae pestilentiae, et ex aeris forte corruptione, de interemptorum gigantum cadaveribus exorta, eum cum omnibus fere suis abolevit eventus.

(2) Giraldus th 5.195

Qui, ut sperabatur, et mundi monarchiam in brevi reformasset, si non tam praepropere, tam praemature, tam inopinate, vernantem florem verno in tempore invida fatorum series rapuisset.

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luc.
1.70

(3) vg 4.419

Et quoniam legitur,
O faciles dare summa Deos, eademque tueri (Luc. 1.510-11)
Difficiles,
summisque negatum stare diu;

(4) Guilielmus de Conchi (fl.1120) Moralium Dogma Philosophorum

Holmberg p. 64

(5) Benedict of Petersborough (fl.1130) Rolls 49.2.217

(6) William of Malmesbury (fl.1135) Rolls 52.409

(7) Roger of Hoveden (fl.1220) Rolls 51.3.cxxvii

infida series fatorum

LUCANUS 1.92-3

nulla fides regni sociis, omnisque potestas
inpatiens consortis erit.

Giraldus

(1) th 5.146

Cum autem aliquamdiu prospere satis et feliciter conregnassent, quoniam
Nulla fides regni sociis, omnisque potestas
Impatiens consortis erit,
caeca malorum mater ambitio, fraterna paulatim disjungens foedera, omne pacis vinculum in brevi dissolvit.

(2) Rupertus of Deutz (fl.1110) MGSS 20.595f

(3) Petrus Abaelardus (fl.1120) Migne 178.266

(4) Guilielmus de Conchi (fl.1120) Holmberg p.28

(5) Benedict of Petersborough (fl.1130) Rolls 57.2.355

(6) Geoffrey of Monmouth (fl.1140) Rolls 57.1.75

(7) Nigellus Wireker (fl.1170) Manitius 3.812

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LUCANUS 1.92-3 cont'd.

(8) Conventus Cantuariensis (fl.1187) Rolls 38.2.32

(9) Matthaeus Parisiensis (fl.1240) Rolls 57.4.651

(10) idem Rolls 57.5.77

(11) idem Rolls 57.5.131

(12) idem Rolls 57.5.280

(13) idem Rolls 57.5.528

(14) idem Rolls 57.5.603

LUCANUS 1.94

...nec longe fatorum exempla petantur:

Giraldus

(1) pi 8.75

ut propius exempla petantur

(2) pi 8.124

Et ut longe propius exempla petamus,

(3) Benedict of Petersborough (fl.1130) 2.101

LUCANUS 1.98

temporis angusti mansit concordia discors

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LUCANUS 1.98 cont'd

Giraldus

(1) th 5.153

Mirum quod, in tanta tam praecipiti digitorum rapacitate, musica servatur proportio; et arte per omnia indemni, inter crispatos modulos, organaque multipliciter intricata, tam suavi velocitate, tam dispari paritate, tam discordi concordia, consona redditur et completur melodia.

(2) dk 6.186 same as #1

LUCANUS 1.135

...Stat magni nominis umbra;

Giraldus

jm 3.198

Abbate namque Sancti Dogmaelis quasi loco nihili finem expectante et tantum nominis umbram praeferente,

LUCANUS 1.144-5

sed nexcia uirtus
stare loco

Giraldus

(1) th 5.157

quia stare nesciunt res humanae

(2) jm 3.344

ubi stridor dentium miseriaque finis nescia

(3) sy 1.303 (Ep. ad Hubertum archiepiscopum Cantuariensem)

fama...cessare nescia, per lividorum ora jugiter volans

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LUCANUS 1.144-5

sed nescia uirtus
stare loco

(1) th 5.157

quia stare nesciunt res humanae

(2) Giraldus jm 3.344

ubi stridor dentium miseriaque finis nescia

(3) sy 1.303 (Ep. ad Hubertum archiepiscopum Cantuariensem)

fama...cessare nescia, per lividorum ora jugiter volans

(4) pi 8.57

Saevitia est sitibunda sanguinis atrocitas, parcere nescia,

(5) sp 4.197

et quia modum successibus ponere nescit aviditas,

(6) sp 4.218

satiari nescia cupiditas prava,

(7) sp 4.304

sors hominis varia firmoque gradu stare nescia

(8) William of Malmesbury (fl.1110) Rolls 90.1.220

(9) Richard Devizes (fl.1193) Rolls 82.3.447

(10) Alexander Neckam (fl.1197) Rolls 34.362

Perpetui motus eadem lex, nescia semper erroris,

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LUCANUS 1.396 luc.1.396

deseruere cauo tentoria fixa Lemanno

Giraldus

(1) ve e. 225

in loco campestri figi tentoria jussit.

(2) ve e.234

fixum ante noverant esse tentorium

(3) ve e.233

ibique noctis unius spatio tentoria sua fixa fuisse,

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LUCANUS 1.396 cont'd

(4) Carmina Burana am 101.9 (early 13th cent.) Hilka-Schumann p.139

figit tentoria Grecus

LUCANUS 1.449

plurima securi fudistis carmina, Bardi

Giraldus

(1) eh 5.402

Erat itaque Celidonii Silvestris solum hactenus fama percelebris; a Britannica tamen bardis, quos poetas vocant, verbotenus penes plurimos, scripto vero penes paucissimos, vaticiniorum ejusdem memoria retenta fuerunt.

(2) dk 6.167

Hoc etiam mihi notandum videtur, quod bardi Kambrenses, et cantores, seu recitatores, genealogiam habent praedictorum principum in libris eorum antiquis et authenticis, sed tamen Kambrice scriptam; eandemque memoriter tenent, a Rotherico magno

(3) dk 6.187

In cantilenis rhythmicis, et dictamine, tam subtiles inveniuntur, ut mirae et exquisitae inventionis lingua propria tam verborum quam sententiarum proferant exornationes. Unde et poetas, quos Bardos vocant, ad hoc deputatos in hac natione multos invenies; juxta illud,

Plurima concreti fuderunt carmina Bardi.

(4) li d.184

Lewelinus Uenedocie princeps, conuocatis terre sue magnatibus, curiam teneret magnam, processit in fene prandii coram omnibus uir quidam lingue dicacis cuiusmodi lingua Britannica sicut et Latina Bardi dicuntur. Unde Lucanus, Plurima concreti fuderunt carmina Bardi, et cum sibi tam uoce quam manu silencium indiceret, talem proposuit questionem.

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luc.
1.1449

LUCANUS 1.449 cont'd

(5) jm 3.209 same as #4

(6) sp 4.179

diraque carmina fundens

(7) sp 4.200

et more solito carmina dira susurrantes

LUCANUS 1.458-62

certe populi quos despicit Arctos
felices errore suo, quos ille timorum
maximus haut urguet leti metus. inde ruendi
in ferrum mens prona uiris animaeque capaces
mortis, et ignauum rediturae parcere uitae.

Giraldus

dk 6.180

In quo plerumque conflictu sola fiunt agilitate et animositate victores; illis quorum poeta sic meminit, sicut situ, sic et natura non dissimiles:

certe populi quos despicit Arctos
felices errore suo, quos ille timorum
maximus haut urguet leti metus. inde ruendi
in ferrum mens prona uiris animaeque capaces
mortis, et ignauum rediturae parcere uitae.

LUCANUS 1.510-11

o faciles dare summa deos eademque tueri
difficiles !

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LUCANUS 2.14-15

sit subitum, quodcumque paras; sit caeca futuri
mens hominum fati; liceat sperare timenti.

Giraldus

(1) jm 3.264

Archidiaconus autem, quia caeca futuri mens hominum fati, ignorans haec omnia usque post sententiam datam,

(2) Heloissa ad Petrum Abaelardum (fl.1120) Migne 178.194

sit subitum, quodcumque paras; sit caeca futuri
mens hominum fati; liceat sperare timenti.

(3) Petrus Abaelardus (fl.1120) Migne 178.1759

Nunc huc nunc illuc stulti mens caeca vagatur,
Provida mens stabilem figit ubique gradum.

(4) Ricardus Aldgate (fl.1187) Rolls 38.1.48

mens hominum venturi nescia

(5) Florilegium Gottingense (13 cent.) Voigt .250

Cursus fatorum nescit mens ulla uirorum;
Solius est proprium scire futura dei.

LUCANUS 2.101

nobilitas cum plebe perit,

Giraldus

dk 6.180

Unde et in toro turpe, in bello mori decus reputant. Ac si illud poetae aperte dixerint:

Procul hinc avertite pacem:
Nobilitas cum pace perit.

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luc.
2.131

LUCANUS 2.131-3

ille fuit uitae Mario modus, omnia passo
quae peior fortuna potest, atque omnibus uso
quae melior

Giraldus

eh 5.271

O virum toties, tam Hibernia quam Kambriae, utrasque rotae circumferentias aequanimiter expertum, et

Omnia passum,
Quae pejor fortuna pøtest, atque omnibus usum
Quae melior !

O vere Marium secundum, Stephaniden !

LUCANUS 2.380-5,388-91

hi mores, haec duri immota Catonis
secta fuit, seruare modum finemque tenere
naturamque sequi patriaque impendere uitam
nec sibi sed toti genitum se credere mundo.
huic epulae uicisse famem, magnique penates
summouisse hiemem tecto,

urbi pater est urbique maritus
iustitiae cultor, rigidi senator honesti,
in commune bonus; nullosque Catonis in actus
subrepsit partemque tulit sibi nata voluptas.

Giraldus

(1) th 5.157

Itaque si tempora discernas, et modum in singulis modulator simul et moderator observes,

(2) eh 5.297

Mauricio modus, in omnibus servare modum;

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LUCANUS 2.380 cont'd

(3) ge 2.276

Et illud poetae de Catone:
Huic epulae vicisse famem magnique penates
Submovisse hyemem tecto.

(4) rg 1.23

Tempore quoque succedente non sibi sed patriae natus et in commune bonus totis nisibus esse proponens,

(5) sy 1.288

Modum enim in his servandum atque modestiam sicut et in caeteris cunctis, poeta declarat, dicens:
Non ludisse pudet, sed non incidere ludum.

(6) jm 3.317

zelo ecclesiae suae et honoris patriae, quibus revera magis quam sibi se natum esse credebat, laborandum adhue et viriliter decertandum sub quocunque descrimine disponebat.

(7) pi 8.9

Cum autem in cunctis sit modus observandus atque modestia, in nullo magis actu humano opus est observantia quam sermone.

(8) pi 8.57

Modestia est temperantia, praecipites animi motus cohibens et modum observans.

(9) sp 4.116

Cum itaque dicti Gentilis illius, juxta poeticam assertiohem, secta fuerit, servare modum finemque tenere naturamque sequi, nonne dolor est maximus et lamentabile damnum, quod tanta ecclesiae columna nec modum hodie nec finem servat, neque naturae se conformat; modestia namque carens et moderantia, tam fines transcurrere quam metas quoque transponere non erubescit, naturamque sequi, quae paucis contenta est, cuique ad manum est quod satis est, detestabili nimis et damnabili cupiditatis amore, contemnit.

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LUCANUS 2.380 cont'd

(10) sp 4.189

Sed quoniam, ut dictum est saepe, semper in immensum crescit aviditas, nec facile est in prosperis modum servare,

(11) ve e.228

Sic itaque quoniam in commune bonus nec sibi sed toti se regno uiuere credens, communi omnium voto et comodo proprias omnino composuit tam utilitates quam voluntates,

(12) pi 8.47

Ideoque sequamur tam in edendo quam in aedes construendo Catonis temperantiam, de quo Lucanus:

Huic epulae, vicisse famem; magnique Penates,
Submovisse hyemem tecto.

(13) pi 8.144

Unde Lucanus de Catone:

Non sibi, sed toti genitum se credere mundo.
Urbi pater est, urbique maritus,
In commune bonus; nullosque Catonis in actus
Subrepsit partemve tulit sibi nata voluptas.

(14) sp 4.115

Quam igitur diu dicto Dei dono, providentiae gratia scilicet solum, ad hoc quod datum fuerat, ad amovendum inopiam nimiam et expellendam inediam, salubriter usi fuerant, juxta illud de Catone scriptum:

Huic epulae vicisse famem, magnique penates
Submovisse hiemem tecto;

(15) Hildebertus Cenomannensis (fl.1096) Migne 171.1041

Parcitas est mensuram refectionis non excedere, juxta id:

Huic epulae, vicisse tamen

(16) Gulielmus de Conchis (fl.1120) Holmberg p.56

Ideo sequamur in edificio temperantiam illius de quo legitur:

Huic epulae vicisse famem, magnique penates
submouisse hiemem tecto.

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LUCANUS 2.380 cont'd

luc.
2.380

(17) Joannes Saresberiensis (fl.1155) Migne 199.400

Si denuntiationis quaeris auctorem, illum agnosce, qui
Non sibi sed toti genitum se credidit orbi.

LUCANUS 2.439-40

Caesar in arma furens nullas nisi sanguine fuso
gaudet habere uias,

Giraldus

(1) th 5.196 (the excerpt begins on p. 195)

Fortunam siquidem urgens, et se in anteriora protendens, tempora sibi contemperans, et semper successibus instans, Caesarque secundus
Nil credens actum cum quid superesset agendum,
rebusque in bellicis furibundus in arma, nec ullas nisi sanguine fuso gaudens incedere vias:

(2) ge 2.188

quoniam ecclesiam suam quam sibi sanguine fuso comparavit, in terris etiam Christus honorari voluit et sublimari,

(3) pi 8.267

Imperator quippe Frethericus...ut erat strennus in armis et animosus, nullas nisi sanguine fuso gaudens incedere vias,

(4) Hildebertus Cenomannensis (fl.1096) Migne 171.144

Illa (sc. ratio) cum Deo et cum sapientibus divinam pepigit mansionem; haec (sc. crudelitas) ad infima et sanguine gaudentia demigravit.

(5) Henry of Huntington (fl.1140) Rolls 74.59

(6) Geoffrey of Monmouth (fl.1140) Rolls 67.3.12

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LUCANUS 2.439 cont'd

luc. 2.439

(7) Helinandus (fl.1200) Migne 212.662

(8) Matthaeus Parisiensis (fl.1240) Rolls 57.1.288

LUCANUS 2.512-13

'uiue, licet nolis, et nostro munere' dixit
'cerne diem.

Giraldus

(1) pi 8.23

Unde et Plinius: "Julius enim Caesar, cujus manus non minus "apta stilo quam gladio, cum nemo rempublicam ducalius admini- "strasset, in tanto imperio suo unum solum interfici praecepit, "Domitium scilicet, cui tamen antea vitam donaverat. De quo "Lucanus:

" ' Vive, licet nolis, et nostro munere ' dixit,
" ' Cerne diem.' "

(2) Roger Hoveden (fl.1200) Rolls 58.2.142

LUCANUS 2.572

territa quaesitis ostendit terga Britannis?

Giraldus

(1) dk 6.207

Sed quando Julius Caesar, qui tantus erat quantus et orbis, sub Cassibelliano duce

Territa quaesitis ostendit terga Britannis,

numquid nonfortes fuere?

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luc.
LUCANUS 2.572 cont'd 2.572

(2) Geoffrey of Monmouth (fl.1140) Rolls 67.3.12

LUCANUS 2.657-8

sed Caesar in omnia praeceps,
nil credens actum cum quid superesset agendum,
instant atrox...

Giraldus

(1) th 5.196

Fortunam siquidem urgens, et se in anteriora protendens, tempora sibi contemperans, et semper successibus instans, Caesarque secundus
Nil credens actum cum quid superesset agendum,

(2) dk 6.157

Quoniam igitur actum agere quasi nihil agentis opus existeret,

(3) vr 7.20

Quibus egregie peractis, vir magnanimus et Deo plenus,
Nil credens actum cum quid superesset agendum

(4) vg 4.366

vir magnanimus, fortunam urgens et semper successibus instans, nil credens actum cum quid superesset agendum,

(5) rg 1.45

His ita completis, Giraldus nil credens actum cum quid superesset agendum, nec retro respiciens sed semper in anteriora protendens atque gradum incunctanter ascendens,

(6) jm 3.182

His autem tunc ita patratis, archidiaconus nil credens actum cum quid superesset agendum, ad papam iterum veniens,

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LUCANUS, 3.689-90 Luc.3.689-90

mille modos inter leti mors una timori est
qua coepere mori.

Giraldus

(1) th 5.136

Sed
Inter mille modos mortis, mors illa timori est
Qua coepere mori,

(2) Joannes de Altavilla (fl.1180) Rolls 59.1.272

Mille modos cultus recipit tractabilis aevi
Mollities,

LUCANUS, 4.380-1

non auro murraque bibunt, sed gurgite puro
uita redit. satis est populis fluuiusque Ceresque.

Giraldus

(1) ge 2.276

Illudque poetae ad hoc facit:
Non auro myrrhaque bibunt, sed gurgite solo
Vita redit; satis est populo fluviusque Ceresque.

(2) Rupertus of Deutz (fl.1095 MGSS 20.595f

(3) Gulielmus de Conchi (fl.1120) Holmberg p. 50

(4) Alanus ab Insulis (fl.1150) Migne 210.220

(5) Joannes de Altavilla (fl.1180) Rolls 59.1.264

Nescit ut humanae redimat dispendia vitae
Quam modicum natura petat, producere vitam
Sola Ceres Nereusque potest, illudque beatum,
Vivere, quod foliis rudibusque innititur herbis.

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LUCANUS, 4.704

...uariam semper dant otia mentem.

Giraldus

(1) th 5.35

Quoniam igitur longe facilius est informare rudes, quam reformare preversos, alitum istorum exemplo providi parentes in prima aetate filios moribus instruunt et informant. Et quoniam variam semper dant otia mentem, curis acuunt et exsuscitant;

(2) Othlonus (fl.1050) — Korfmacher p. 90

(3) Gulielmus de Conchi (fl.1120) — Holmberg, p. 37

(4) Helinandus (fl.1200) — Migne 212.753

LUCANUS, 5.290

...facinus quos inquinat aequat.

Giraldus

(1) dk 6.213

In sumptibus autem exhibitionis et honore, volunt omnes omnibus, quoniam

Facinus quos inquinat aequat,

prova consuetudine parificari.

(2) Godescalc of Limburg (fl.1055) — Manitius s.999

(3) William of Malmesbury (fl.1135) — Rolls 52.432

LUCANUS, 5.487-8

ignaue, uenire
te Caesar, non ire iubet.

Giraldus

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LUCANUS, 5.487-8 (con't.)

Giraldus

pk 8.49

Unde poeta,
Ignave, venire
Te Caesar, non ire jubet.
Primus enim ad discrimina se praeferebat.

LUCANUS. 5.527-9

o uitae tuta facultas
pauperis angustique lares! o munera nondum
intellecta deum!

Giraldus

(1) th 5.70

O Dei donum in terris incomparabile! O inaestimabilem, et nondum intellectam mortalibus gratiam divinitus collatam!

(2) ik 6.42

Unde et Lucanus;
O vitae tuta facultas
Pauperis, angustique laris. O munera nondum
Intellecta deum.

(3) pi 8.47 [1]

Lucanus.
O.uite tuta facultas. pauperis
angustique laris. O munera nondum
intellecta deum.

(4) sp 4.119 (Same as #2)

(5) Gulielmus de Conchi (fl.1120) Holmberg, p. 56

(6) Petrus Comestor (fl.1150) Migne 198.1763

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1. Brit. Mus. Cotton Jul. B.xiii, fol. 69b, col. 1.

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LUCANUS, 5.527-9 (con't.)

(7) Petrus Blesensis (fl.1160) Migne 207.180

(8) Gulielmus Cantuariensis (fl.1170) Rolls 67.1.368

(9) Petrus Cantor (fl.1170) Migne 205.66

(10) Joannes de Altavilla (fl.1180) Rolls 59.2.242

Contentum proprio faciunt me tuta facultas
Angustique lares,

(11) idem

In Croesi ne sudet open privatua Amyclas,
Contentum proprio faciunt me tuta facultas
Angustique lares.

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LUCANUS, 7.67 Luc. 7.67

Addidit inualidae robur facundia causae.

Giraldus

(1) th 5.6

Quibus in admirabili genere causae acuenda praecipue sunt arma facundiae, ut exilitatem materiae gravior stilus attollat,

Et ferat invalidae robur facundia causae.

Quibus et ad hoc propensius enitendum, ut in quo non praevalent esse fecundi, fieri valeant vel facundi;

(2) li d.119 (Same as #1)

LUCANUS, 7.105-7

fortissimus ille est
qui, promptus metuenda pati, si comminus instent,
et differre potest.

Giraldus

eh 5.236

Fortissimus ille nimirum est,
Qui promptus metuenda pati, si cominus instent,
Et deferre potens.

LUCANUS, 7.809-11, 818-19

Nil agis hac ira: tabesne cadauera soluat
an rogus, haud refert; placido natura receptat
cuncta sinu, finemque sui sibi corpora debent.

libera fortunae mors est; capit omnia tellus
quae genuit; caelo tegitur qui non habet urnam.

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LUCANUS, 7.809-11, 818-19 (con't.)

Giraldus

(1) pi 8.31

1
Luc. Tabes ne
cadauera soluat. An rogus haut
refert placido natura receptat
Cuncta sinu finemque sui sibi cor
pora debent. Libera fortuna mors est
capit omnetellus. Quod genuit.ce
lo tegitur qui non habet vrnam.

LUCANUS, 8.490, 493-5

sidera terra 487
ut distant et flamma mari, sic utile recto. 488
sceptrorum uis tota perit, si pendere iusta 489
incipit, euertitque arces respectus honesti. 490
libertas scelerum est quae regna inuisa tuetur 491
sublatusque modus gladiis. facere omnia saeue 492
non impune licet, nisi cum facis. exeat aula 493
qui uolt esse pius. uirtus et summa potestas 494
non coeunt; semper metuet quem saeua pudebunt. 495

Giraldus

(1) th 5.8

Amor enim studii non illaudabilis; nec illaudabile videtur, inter importunas importabiles fere curiae curas, aliquis respectus honesti.

(2) ve e.227

In his itaque perplexitates nos hospitis huius aduentus induxit. Vnde necesse est ut uel tua per ipsum in breui destruccio, uel eius accidat per te matura perempcio. Et

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1. Brit. Mus. Cotton Jul. B.xiii, fol. 62, col. 2.

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LUCANUS, 8.490, 493-5 (con't.)

quoniam 'exeat aula qui uolet esse pius', 'uirtus et summa potestas non choeunt', 'semper metuet quem seua pudebunt', et hoc articulo tibi, rex, aut seuiendum certe est aut seruiendum et aliene seuicie succumbendum.'

(3) pi 8.22

Longe enim ab horum magnanimitate virorum illa quam poeta exprimit opinio, quasi honesto utile praeferens, his verbis, Dolus an virtus, quis in hoste requirat? Et alibi Exeat aula, Qui volet esse pius, virtus et summa potestas Non coeunt, semper metuit, quem saeva pudebunt. Quanquam subtiliori indagine et salubriori tamen nil utile prorsus praeter honestum.

(4) Godefridus Wintoniensis (fl.1080) Rolls 59.2.151

Nullus apud sordes mentis respectus honesti.

(5) Eupolemius (early 13th cent.) Manitius .384

Nil agit, esse pius si vult, qui degit in aula.

LUCANUS, 9.283

ignauum scelus est tantum fuga.'

Giraldus

(1) dk 6.209

Porro si suscepta viriliter passa fuerit primo repulsam, confusio facillime data. Statim ut terga dederint, solum fugae praesidio, nullique penitus confidunt rebellioni. Quod tamen in martiis conflictibus reprehensibile poeta non ignoravit, dicens;

Ignavum scelus est tantum fuga;

(2) pi 8.31 [1]

Vnde Lucanus. Ignauum scelus est tantum fuga.

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1. Brit. Mus. Cotton Jul. B.xiii, fol. 61b, col. 2.

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LUCANUS, 9.380-1

componite mentes
ad magnum uirtutis opus summosque labores.

Giraldus

(1) li d.227

adeo ut fortune tociens fractus iniuriis..., recurrens ad opmi fratris solacia prescripta et consilia, resistere magis et obdurare sub quocunque discrimine preelegerit, iuxta illud poete,

Componite mentes
Ad magnum uirtutis opus summosque labores,

(2) Gulielmus de Conchis (fl.1120) Holmberg p. 30

LUCANUS, 9.403-4

gaudet patientia duris;
laetius est, quotiens magno sibi constat, honestum.

Giraldus

(1) pi 8.17

1
Lucanus.
Gaudet paciencia duris lecius
est quociens magno sibi constat
honestum.

Contemporary authors who use this quotation are

(2) Gulielmus de Conchi (fl.1120) Holmberg p. 40

(3) Petrus Cellensis (fl.1150) Migne 202.636

(4) Petrus Cantor (fl.1170) Migne 205.399

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1. Brit. Mus. Cotton Jul. B.xiii, fol. 54, col. 2.

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LUCANUS, 9.723

ossaque dissoluens cum corpore tabificus seps;

Giraldus

(1) th 5.69

Infestat seps, serpens exiguus, modicitatem tamen malitia supplens. Non solum enim carnem, sed et ossa consumit. Cujus poeta sic meminit,

Ossaque dissoluens cum corpore tabificus seps.

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LUCRETIUS, 2.887 lucr.2.887

ex insensilibus ne credas sensile gigni

Giraldus

(1) th 5.155

Cuicunque studio animum applicueris ingenium auget; et insensibilium Officio, sensibili tamen effectu, sensus augmentat.

(2) ge 2.336

Sed quomodo tales existerent qui nec a magistris, ut decet, didicerunt, nec a majoribus et praelatis recte vivendi normam habuerunt. Ex insensibiline credas sensile nasci? (sic Brewer)

(3) im 3.261

Quod etiam ex ipso abbate, quem elegisse dicitur, sibi ipsi in philosophia simillimo clarescere potest. Nec mirum, quoniam, ut ait Plautus: Ex insensibili ne credas sensibile nasci. (sic Brewer)

(4) li d.171

Quos et ex ipso abbate, quem elegisse dicitur, sibi ipsi in philosophia simillimo, clarescere potest. Nec mirum, quoniam ut ait Plautus,
Ex insensibili ne credas sensile nasci. (recte Davies)

(5) sp 4.3

... quod nos quidem et coetanei nostri tempore sereniori pariter et feliciori; donec non solum in trivio, verum etiam in auctoribus et philosophis, necnon et metricis ad dictaminum studiis magistrati plenius essemus et consummati xx annorum, et ... labore contin/uo/ ... temptavimus ... scilicet etiam maturi quod ... /di/dicerunt, et inutiliter alios docentes, similesque magistris discipulos effic/ien/tes, tantum et tam e/nor/mem hodie defectum in literatura facere praesumpserint.
Nec mirum, quia juxta illud Plauti elogium:
Ex insensibili ne credas /sensibile/ nasci. (sic Brewer)

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MARTIALIS 10.34.1 m.10.34.1

Di tibi dent quidquid, Caesar Traiane, mereris

Giraldus

pi 8.83

Proinde quod contingit his nostris diebus occasionaliter hic apponere praeter rem non putavi. Beatus Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus Thomas agens in exilio, cum apud Pontiniacum moram faceret, lectioni pariter intendens et orationi, cum moris haberet, ut fatigatus a studio per singulos clericos suos singula loca studii causa tenentes deambularet; quaerendo a singulis quod elegans dictum invenisset, veniens ad Alexandrum Valensem, Bangoriensem Archidiaconum, qui in ejus obsequiis tunc fuerat, quaesivit in quo libro studeret, et cum ille Martialem Cocum tunc forte prae manibus et oculis haberet, dixit beatus Thomas, quoniam talem virum talis liber decebat. Erat enim ille vir jocularis et linguae dicacis. Qui statim respondit, quod liber ille dignus erat qui ab ipso transcriberetur; et sn non propter aliud, propter versus duos quos in adventu viri sancti, quasi prognostico quodam, tunc legebat praescriptos, scilicet qui fortunae martyris expresse conveniebant. Propter quod his auditis et librum a manibus ejus statim assumens, ipsum transcribi fecit. Hos quoque versus ibidem invenies:

Di mihi dent, et tu, quae tu, Trajane, mereris.
Di mihi dent, et tu, quae volo, si merui.

MARTIALIS 12.6.11 m.12.6.11

sed tu sub principe duro
temporibusque malis ausus es esse bonus.

Giraldus

(1) pi 8.82

Cautaeque vir pietatis erat et mansuetudinis, ut de eo legatur quod, cum in expeditionem properaret, paupercula mulier quaedam obvians ei rogavit, ut de praedilol quodam sibi sublato ei justitiam exhiberet. Qui cum id usque ad reditum suum differret, et illa e contra, "Quid si non redieris?", substitit ille statim nec

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a loco, donec satisfactum ei fuisset, recedere voluit. De hoc scripsit Martialis Cocus et ei, cujus scilicet in obsequiis fertur fuisse:

Laudari debes, quoniam sub principe duro
Temporibusque malis ausus es esse bonus.

Militabat enim tunc temporis Trajanus sub Domitiano.

(2) dk 6.162

Ille, inquam, ut brevi eloquio laudis ad cumulum multa concludam, cui versus illi Marcialis ad Trajanum sub Diocliciano militantem digne poterunt adaptari:

Laudari debes, quoniam sub principe duro,
Temporibusque malis, ausus es esse bonus;

PSEUDO-MARTIALIS

Giraldus

pi 8.54

Item et de eadem sententia Martialis:

Quae crescit ramis et non radicibus arbor,
Aemiliane, levi flamine mota ruit;
Qui celebris famae ramos per inania tendit
Non operum stipes corruit ex facili.

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OVIDIUS, Amores 1, Epigr. 1-2 o.a.1.epigr.1

Qui modo Nasonis fueramus quinque libelli,
tres sumus; hoc illi praetulit auctor opus.

Giraldus

sy 1.359

Qui modo Nasonis fueramus quinque libelli
Tres sumus, ecce sumus et fueramus ait.

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OVIDIUS, Am. 1.5.17-26 o.am.1.5.17-26

ut stetit ante oculos posito uelamine nostros,
in toto nusquam corpore menda fuit.
quos umeros, quales uidi tetigique lacertos!
forma papillarum quam fuit apta premi!
quam castigato planus sub pectore venter!
quantum et quale latus! quam iuuenale femur!
Singula quid referam? nil non laudabile uidi
et nudam pressi corpus ad usque meum.
Cetera quis nescit? lassi requieuimus ambo.
proueniant medii sic mihi saepe dies!

Giraldus

(1) sy 1.349-50

Aurea cesaries, frons libera, prodit in arcum
Forma supercilii, res sine voce loquens.
Lucida sidereas praetendunt lumina gemmas
Et gena purpureas dat rubicunda rosasa.
Naris naturae vultum supereminet arte,
Nec trahit hanc modicam, nec nimis in vitium.
Lilia puniceo vernant comitata rubore,
Cum niveo roseus certat in ore color.
Mollia labra rubent, os ornat eburneus ordo,
Oscula mel sapiunt, nectaris exit odor.
Dens ebur, os roseum, labra mollia, succus in illis
Dulce sapit, sapiunt oscula pressa favum.
Terminus inferior capitis producitur apte
Mentum, concludens omnia fine bono.
Colli forma teres et longa decenter et ampla (p.350)
Sustinet hoc tanquam fida columna caput.
Demissi pendent humeri, custodia cordis
Quadratur pectus; parva mamilla tumet.
Parturiunt humeri procerae brachia formae,
Producunt niveas brachia longa manus.
Plana superficies ventris succingitur, et nec
Contrahitur macie, nec sine lege tumet.
Substistunt renes, et se moderamine quodam
Amplificant, subeunt ilia pube tenus.
Plena pudore latent Veneris regione pudenda,
Munera naturae digna favore suae.
Invitat femorum caro lactea, lubrica, mollis,
Lumina, lac, glacies, mollitiesque manus.
Corporis egregii gemmae stant crura columnae,
Mobile fundamen pes brevis ima tenet.
Staturae modus hic, major mediocribus exstat
Et minor elatis inter utrumque placet.
Sic hanc excoluit, sic hanc natura beavit,

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OVIDIUS, Am. 1.5.17-26 (cont'd.) o.am.1.5.17-26

Ut pariter livor laudet et hostis amet,
Nam quae natura est naturae gratia parca
Istius in dotes prodiga pene fuit.

(2) Anonymus, Dissuasio Concubitus Rolls 59.2.158.iv

(3) Gulielmus Blesensis (fl.1155) Cohen 1.48.333-52

(4) Matthaeus Vendocinensis (fl. 1150) Cohen 1.168.7-42

(5) Gulielmus Blesensis (fl.1155) Cohen 1.137.173-192

(6) Anonymus, Pyramus et Thisbe (late 12 cent.?)

(7) Joannes ab Altavilla (fl.1180) Rolls 59.1.253-63

(8) Carmina Burana am (early 13 cent.)

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impia sub dulci melle uenena latent.

Giraldus

(1) eh 5.328

Vir invidus, delator, et duplex; vir subdolus, facetus, et fallax: cujus sub lingua mel et lac veneno confecta.

(2) eh 5.338

Sed quicquid honoris cuiquam impendit, semper in insidiis, semper in dolo, semper propinans sub melle venenum, semper latens anguis in herba. Vir in facie liberalis et lenis; intus vero,

Plus aloes quam mellis habens;

semper

Pelliculam veterem retinens; vir fronte polita,
Astutam vapido portans sub pectore vulpem;

semper

Impia sub dulci melle venena ferens.

(3) rg 1.96

Sed quoniam mundanis semper mala sunt vicina bonis, semper amaro dulce respersum, semper mella mixta venenis, semper tristia laetis inhaerent, et saltem extrema gaudia luctus occupat;

(4) sy 1.212

haec confestim et his similia mihi ethicorum dicta subveniant:

Fugite o pueri; latet anguis in herba.
Occursare capro, cornu ferit ille, caveto.
Ne te decipiant animi sub vulpe latentes.
Pelliculam veterem retinens, ac voce politus,
Astutam vapido portans sub pectore vulpem.
Fistula dulce canit, volucrem dum decipit auceps.
Impia sub dulci melle venena latent.

(5) sy 1.297

same as # 2

(6) sp 4.162

Adeo nempe mali semper vis magna succrescit in immensum et augescit, quod melli plurimo parum absinthii sive fellis injectum totam illico dulcedinis massam reddit amaram. Et e diverso, licet modico veneno multum mellis infundas, nunquam amarum mixtura

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OVIDIUS, Am. 1.8.104 (cont'd.) o.am.1.8.104

quacumque dulce reddetur, nec veneni malitia quocumque remedio mimetur.

(7) Alexander Neckam (fl.1197) Rolls 34.361

Immo vix vel ficta manet, discordia regnat,
Condiri nequeunt melle venena lita.

(8) Roger of Hovedene (fl.1200) Rolls 51.1.227

cites Ov. Am. 1.8.104-6

(9) Florilegium of St. Omer (c.1200)

112. In facie mellis sapor est tibi, sed retro fellis.

(10) Carmina Burana ms 42.1 (early 13 cent.) Hilka-Schumann p.76

Utar contra vitia carmine rebelli.
mel proponunt alii, fel supponunt melli,
pectus subest ferreum deaurate pelli
et leonis spolium induunt aselli.

(11) Eadem, am. 120.3 ibidem, p. 200

viros illustres decipis
cum melle venenoso.

OVIDIUS, Am. 1.9.1-2

Militat omnis amans, et habet sua castra Cupido;
Attice, crede mihi, militat omnis amans.

Giraldus

(1) th 5.200

Ratione siquidem aetatis, mollitiis hactenus magis addictus quam militiis, deliciis quam duritiis, Veneri quam virtuti; ...Illa plurimum exercitatus militia, qua militat omnis amans: per quam et bonae indolis adolescentes ad armatam plerumque militiam animari solent, et a Cupidinis castris ad Palladis arces et artes sublimari.

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OVIDIUS, Am. 1.9.1-2 (cont'd.) o.am.1.9.1-2

(2) pi 8.178

Ratione siquidem aetatis, mollitiis hactenus magis addictus quam militiis, deliciis quam duritiis, Veneri quam virtuti; ...Illa plurimum exercitatus militia, qua militat omnis amans: per quam et bonae indolis adolescentes ad armatam plerumque militiam animari solent, et a Cupidinis castris ad Palladis arces et artes sublimari.

(3) Alanus ab Insulis (fl.1168) Rolls 59.2.473

Sed quid plura dabo? Cupidinis ire sub hasta
Cogitur omnis amans, juraque solvit ei.
Militat in cunctis, ullum vix excipit hujus
Regula, cuncta ferit fulminis ira sui
In quem non poterit probitas, prudentia, formae
Gratia, fluctus opum, nobilitatis apex.

(4) Joannes ab Altavilla (fl.1180) Rolls 59.1.255

...Venerique ministrat
Arma suasque faces, limatque cupidinis arcum
Pectoris in vulnus.

(5) Alexander Neckam (fl.1197) Rolls 34.367.434-5

Forma decens oris expugnat castra pudoris,
Sic obit, ha! floris primula laesa thoris.

(6) Anonymus, Pyramis et Thisbe (late 12 cent.?) Lehmann, p.54.90-91,105

Sed quia disposita Veneri duo castra tenebant,
intrat in hoc et in hiis militat alma Venus;

Est etenim Veneris miles uterque rudis.

(7) Carmina Burana, am (early 13 cent.)[1]

#72, p. 41-2

1b Dudum militaveram (in castris Cupidinis)
nec poteram

---

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OVIDIUS, Am. 1.9.1-2 (cont'd.) | o.am.1.9.1-2

hoc frui stipendio;
nunc sentio
me beari
serenari
vultum Dioneum. (gaudia Venerea)

4b. Sed tandem ultra milito,
triumphum do proposito.
per amplexus
firmo nexus,
brachia
eius ligo
pressa figo
basia;
sic regia
Diones reseratur. (regio Venerea)

#84, p. 69-70

4. ut virginem
devirginem,
me toti totum insero;
ut cardinem
determinem, (aperiam)
duellum istud refero:
sic in castris milito.

#92, p. 94-103

17. A castris Cupidinis cor habet remotum,
qui somnum desiderat et cibum et potum
o puella nobilis, omnibus est notum,
quod est longe militis ab hoc voto votum.

#94, p. 122

2. Militemus Veneri,
nos qui sumus teneri!
Veneris tentoria
res est amatoria!

#162, p. 271-2

5. Ergo litteris
cetus hic imbutus
signa Veneris
militet secutus!

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OVIDIUS, Am. 1.9.1-2 (cont'd.) o.am.1.9.1-2

#165, p. 277

1. Amor telum est insignis Veneris.

#166, p. 279

1. Iam dudum Amoris militem
devotum me exhibui

#168, p. 283

2. Fervens illa mea
ignis est, sed suavitas
et bonitas
renitent ex ea.
provocant me talia
ad gaudia,
tristorque cum suspiriis
sub lite Venerea.

#182, p. 306

Refrain to each of the five stanzas:

Vos igitur, o socii,
nunc militetis Veneri!

OVIDIUS, Am. 1.10.48

parcite, formosae, pretium pro nocte pacisci; 47
non habet eventus sordida praeda bonos. 48

Giraldus

(1) ik 6.50

Sed quanquam turpi ex causa temporalis interdum sequi commoditas videatur, justi tamen judicis libramine, poena sceleris etsi differtur, vel in tempore vel post tempora non evitatur; juxta illud poetae,

Non habet eventus sordida praeda bonos.

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OVIDIUS, Am. 1.10.48 (cont'd.) o.am.1.10.48

(2) ik 6.112

Sed quoniam
Non habet eventus sordida praeda bonos,
Dominus, qui per prophetam suum clamat, "Mihi vindictam, et ...

(3) vg 4.364

Postmodum autem colligens secum deliberansque propensius, quia non habet eventus sordida praeda bonos; et quoniam populi favore potius, benedictione pariter et benevolentia, opus hic erat quam exactione;

(4) pi 8.211

ac si diceret,
Non habet eventus sordida praeda bonos;
de occisione quoque beati Thomae, quam quasi manu propria, lictores ad hoc mittendo, perpetravit;

(5) pi 8.253

quoniam,
Non habet eventus sordida praeda bonos,
per inopinatam paulo post interemptionem,...

(6) Thomas Cantuariensis (fl.1160) Migne 190.523

(7) Gulielmus Tyrensis (fl.1170) Migne 201.703

(8) Petrus Cantor (fl.1170) Migne 205.159

(9) Ricardus Divisiensis (fl.1190) Rolls 82.3.394

(10) Gesta Abbatum S. Albani (c.1200) Rolls 28.4.1.216

quia non solet sordida praeda eventus bonos terminare.

(11) Matthaeus Parisiensis (fl.1240) Rolls 57.2.581

proverbio quo dicitur (then the Ovid line)

(12) idem Rolls 57.3.189

(13) idem Rolls 57.5.470

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OVIDIUS, Am. 1.15.1,39-40 o.am.1.15.1,39-40

Quid mihi, Livor edax, ignavos obicis annos 1

pascitur in uiuis Livor; post fata quiescit, 39
cum suus ex merito quemque tuetur honos. 40

Giraldus

(1) eh 5.411

et humanam per opuscula nostra gratiam, si literarum decus quandoque resurgat et in statum redeat, saltem in posterum,
Cum suus ex merito quemque tuebitur honor,
assequamur.

(2) ik 6.5

Inter haec ergo, quae contulimus, hoc distare potest; quod aurum et arma vitam hanc fulcire videntur, post mortem nil valitura; verum e diverso scripta parum in vita propter invidiam prosunt, perpetuum a morte sortita valorem. Sicut igitur testamenti, sic et scripti auctoritas mortis atramento confirmatur; juxta illud poetae,
Pascitur in vivis livor, post fata quiescit;
Cum suus ex merito quemque tuetur honor;
et illud;
Denique si quis adhuc praetendit nubila livor
Occidet, et meriti post me referentur honores.

(3) li d.192

cur inquam, ei cum causa status stet adhuc integra, stet eciam ipse superstes, nisi quoniam mundus in maligno positus est et emulorum inuidia que pascitur in uiuis uiuosque depascitur nunquam nisi post fata quiescit laus quam meruit denegatur?

(4) jm 3.136

quoniam livor omnis et rancor post fata quiescunt,

(5) pi 8.229

subito casu et inopinato citra haeredis solatium in fata decessit.

(6) sp 4.107

Haimoni Serlo tanquam ultimum vale proponens,
finalem versus Ovidiani verbis finalibus clausulam adjecit:
Livor post fata quiescit;

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OVIDIUS, Am.1.15.1,39-40 (cont'd.) — o.am.1.15.1,39-40

(7) Vitalis Blesensis, Aululariа (c.1175) — Cohen 1.79.141

Mors miseros ditat, et fato fata quiescunt.

(8) Alanus ab Insulis (fl.1168) — Migne 210.893

(9) Petrus Cantor (fl.1170) — Migne 205.52

(10) Ricardus Aldgate (fl.1187) — Rolls 38.1.33

in fata concessit

(11) Ricardus Divisiensis (fl.1190) — Rolls 82.3.410

Si autem rex ante regressum in fata concederet,

(12) Alexander Neckam (fl.1197) — Rolls 34.382. 379-80

Gaudet praesentis se linquere taedia vitae,
Et laetus laeti fata quieta subit. — (sc.cygnus)

(13) Gulielmus Filius Stephani (fl.1170) — Rolls 67.3.21

facta ei persuasione quod vir ejus in fata concessisset,

(14) Abbates Cistercienses Innocentio III (1198) — Rolls 38.2.424

Non moveat, quaesumus, sanctitatem vestram livor istorum, nec post fata quiescens, quibus ignoscat Deus,

(15) Alexander Neckam (fl.1197) — Rolls 34.242

Esto, dummodo etiam certo certius sit, illum qui cedit in fata apud hostes servum in decessu exstitisse

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OVIDIUS, Am. 2.2.43-4 o.am.2.2.43-4

Quaerit aquas in aquis et poma fugacia captat
Tantalus -- hoc illi garrula lingua dedit.

Giraldus

(1) ik 6.42 (quotation as a whole is from Petronius 82)

Non bibit inter aquas, nec poma fugacia carpit
Tantalus infelix, quem sua vota premunt.
Divitis haec magni facies erit, omnia late
Qui tenet, et sicco concoquit ore famem.

(2) sp 4.119

same as #1.

OVIDIUS, Am. 3.4.17

nitimur in uetitum semper cupimusque negata;

Giraldus

(1) ge 2.250

quia nitimur in vetitum semper cupimusque negata,

(2) rg 1.25

Mirum autem, sicut Giraldus frequenter dicere consueverat et hunc versum recitare,
Nitimur in vetitum semper, cupimusque negata:
quod tam obstinata semper in illicitum nititur mens humana.

(3) jm 3.144

nisi quoniam niti in vetitum aviditas solet, et forte sua minime contenta, ardentius ad aliena semper anhelat.

(4) sp 4.99

sciens quippe, quia quod conceditur avide minus appetitur, quoniam
Nitimur in vetitum semper cupimusque negata;

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(5) sp 4.102

quod mutilati tales et eunucati, virilibus abscisis, operari tamen virilia quamquam incassum tantopere curant, contraque naturam inaniter eniti, -- nisi quoniam nitimur in vetitum semper cupimusque negata, -- gravi cum scandalo simul et peccato nisibus totis elaborant.

(6) sp 4.208

quantoque securius et occultius tanto quidem avidius carnes vorant; quia
Nitimur in vetitum semper cupimusque negata.

(7) Radulfus Ardens (fl.1090) Migne 155.1562f

(8) Gulielmus Malmesburiensis (fl.1110) Rolls 90.1.195

(9) Petrus Abaelardus (fl.1120) Migne 178.293

(10) idem 889

(11) idem 1173

(12) Joannes Saresberiensis (fl.1155) Migne 199.293

quia toties experti sumus fidem habendam esse proverbio
Nitimur in vetitum semper, cupimusque negatum.

(13) idem 403

(14) Alanus ab Insulis (fl.1170) See Man.3.800

(15) Andreas Capellanus (fl.1180) See Man.3.285

(16) Sicardus Cremonensis (fl.1185) Migne 213.173

(17) Rogerus de Hoveden (fl.1200)[1] Rolls 51.1.187

(18) Torigneius (fl. 1199) Rolls 82.4.125

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1. Quoting Henricus Huntendunensis (fl.1140)

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OVIDIUS, Am. 3.4.17 (cont'd.) o.am.3.4.17

(19) Carmina Burana ms 47a.1 (early 13 cent.) Hilka-Schumann, p. 94

omnes ultra debitum,
ut exempla docent,
nitimur in vetitum.

(20) Florilegium Gottingense #243 (early 13 cent.) Voigt .243

Nitimur in uetitum semper cupimusque negatum;
Quod licet, ingratus est; quod non licet, acrius urit.

OVIDIUS, Ars Amat. 1.184

Parcite natales timidi numerare deorum: 183
Caesaribus uirtus contigit ante diem. 184

Giraldus

(1) th 5.192

Quo tamen in utraque militia, in utroque videlicet tam Martis quam Minervae studio, teneris in annis gloriam adepto, indoli egregiae, stirpique Caesareae, virtus contigit ante diem:

(2) vg 4.363

Inter varios igitur, ad quos juvenilibus annis rapiebatur honores, archidiaconus Lincolniensis existens, quoniam Caesaribus virtus competit ante diem, cum ad huc quartum aetatis suae vix lustrum implesset, patris assensu unanimique fratrum concordia, vacante sede Lincolniensi, in ejusdem loci episcopatum est electus.

(3) pi 8.135

et jura coronae contra tot et tantos detentores tam viriliter etiam in tenera aetate, quoniam Caesaribus virtus contigit ante diem, revocavit;

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OVIDIUS, Ars Amat. 1.239-40 o.a.a.1.239-40

Tunc ueniunt risus, tum pauper cornua sumit,
Tum dolor et curae rugaque frontis abit.

Giraldus

(1) li d.94

Nec mirum si nos et gentes nostras mordaci dente laniat et lacerat, quia cardinales ipsos in hospiciis ipsorum, pransus quidem et Anglice potus, de pari contendens uerbis exasperare et exacerbare non formidat. Sed unde quaeso ei hec cornua? Certe ex archiepiscopi bursa.

(2) li d.99

Sed ecce iam iterum abutens pacientia uestra, resumit cornua. Retundenda sunt igitur ne nimis excrescant.

(3) li d.117

Sed quam longe facilius sperato est ueniam consecutus. Ideoque uestra benignitate iam insolenter abusus, ecce resumpsit cornua. Retundenda sunt ergo uel penitus euellenda, ne demo in dampna multorum nimis excrescant.

(4) rg 1.104

ex his omnibus spem (sc. episcopatus) concipiens, et licet imberbis adhuc et immaturus et in nullo prorsus ad hoc idoneus, jam cornua sumens vel in brevi sumenda nimis praesumptuose confidens, ...

(5) jm 3.254

et ex puteo gazae Cantuariensis inexhausto cornua sumunt.

(6) sl 1.406

Ut autem paulisper ad priora revertamur, et dicti delatoris nostri cornua plenius adhuc retundamus, dentesque caninos tanquam martulo ferreo sive malleo confringamus; si dicta quaelibet aut scripta mordacia, ... temeraria censura condemnet;

(7) Eloissa ad Petrum Abaelardum (c.1120) Ep. 6 Migne 178.214

(8) Petrus Cantor (fl.1170) Migne 205.331

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OVIDIUS, Ars Amat. 1.239-40 (cont'd.) o.a.a.1.239-40

(9) Gesta Abbatum S. Albani (c.1200) Rolls 28.4.1.217

et exinde sumens cornua in tyrannidem, contra conventum suum extumuisset

(10) Florilegium Gottingense (early 13 cent.) #144 Voigt .144

OVIDIUS, Ars Amat. 1.345

Quae dant quaeque negant, gaudent tamen esse rogatae:

Giraldus

(1) sp 4.44

Quam cum, ut mos est juvenum, super amoris illecebris conveniret; quoniam
Quae dant, quaeque negant, cupiunt tamen esse rogatae;
respondit illa se amatorem habere

(2) Helinandus (fl.1200) Migne 212.666

OVIDIUS, Ars Amat. 1.451-2

Sec, ne perdiderit, non cessat perdere lusor,
Et reuocat cupidas alea saepe manus.

Giraldus

(1) ik 6.6

Sin autem labor in damno est, adhuc tamen annum apponis, et iterum annum anno, et sic in infinitum, ne una cum censu tempora perdideris, jacturam temporis, quae irreparabilis est et omnium major, incurris. Curiam igitur et aleam quadam videas proprietate conformes. Quoniam, ut ait poeta,
Sic ne perdiderit, non cessat perdere lusor,
Dum revocat cupidas alea blanda manus.
Levi namque mutatione haud dissimiliter dicas;

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OVIDIUS, Ars Amat. 1.451-2 (cont'd.) o.a.a.1.451-2

Sic ne perdiderit, non cessat perdere lusus,
Dum revocat cupidas curia blanda manus.

(2) Petrus Blesensis (fl.1160) Migne 207.45

(3) idem 518

(4) Alexander Neckam (fl.1197) Rolls 34.324

OVIDIUS, Ars Amat. 1.655-6

Et Phalaris tauro uiolenti membra Perilli 653
Torruit: infelix inbuit auctor opus. 654
Iustus uterque fuit: neque enim lex aequior ulla est, 655
Quam necis artifices arte perire sua. 656

Giraldus

(1) vg 4.429

captus, verberatus graviter, et incarceratus, et ad turpiora quam nostram decet paginam exprimere provocatus. Nec enim lex justior ulla est, ut ait poeta, Quam necis artifices arte perire sua.

(2) li d.110

Quoniam omnis malicia maximam in primis sui ueneni partem bibit, et illud poete, Iustius inuidia nichil est, que protinus ipsum autorem rodit, etc. Iustum est igitur ut persecutores persecutionem patiantur. Nec enim lex equior ulla est, quam sic artifices arte perire sua.

(3) jm 3.271

Sicque digno Dei judicio factum est, ut qui fraudi intendunt et deceptioni, fraudati doleant et decepti. Nec enim lex justior ulla est, Quam sic artifices arte perire sua.

(4) Petrus Blesensis (fl.1160) Migne 207.248

(5) Nigellus Wireker (fl.1170) See Man. 3.812

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OVIDIUS, Ars Amat. 1.739 o.a.a.1.739

Conquerar, an moneam mixtum fas omne nefasque?

Giraldus

(1) ge 2.188

per fas omne nefasque:

(:per fas omne nefasque:

same as #1

(3) jm 3.129

same as #1

(4) jm 3.131

same as #1

(5) sp 4.183

same as #1

(6) sp 4.246

same as #1

(7) Petrus Cantor (fl.1170) Migne 205.75

OVIDIUS, Ars Amat. 2.13

Nec minor est uirtus, quam quaerere, parta tueri:

Giraldus

(1) sp 4.113

Illa nimirum congregat, et quoniam non minor est virtus quam quaerere parta tueri, congregata conservat, dieque de die indies augmentando multiplicat.

(2) Petrus Blesensis (fl.1160) Migne 207

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OVIDIUS, Ars Amat. 2.13 (cont'd.) o.a.a.2.13

(3) Conventus Cantuariensis Honorio Priori (1187) Rolls 38.2.69

(4) Henricus Septimellensis (fl.1194) Migne 204.853

Sed docet injustam causam partemque tueri

(5) Matthaeus Parisiensis (fl.1240) Rolls 57.5.130

OVIDIUS, Ars Amat. 2.24

Semibovemque uirum semiuirumque bouem

Giraldus

(1) th 5.108

Parum enim ante adventum Anglorum in insulam, ex coitu viri cum vacca, quo vitio praecipue gens ista laborat, in montanis de Glindalachan vitulum virilem bos edidit. Ut credere valeas semibovemque virum semivirumque bovem iterum fuisse progenitum.

(2) th 5.203

In secunda Distinctione, de lupo cum sacerdote loquente, de muliere barbata et in tergo cristate, de semibove viro, semiviroque bove

(3) Gulielmus Blesensis in Alda (c.1168) Cohen 1.151.559-60

Impetit et falsis inhonestat fama sororem
Pyrrhi criminibus semiuirumque uocat.

(4) Martinus Legionensis (fl.1188) Migne 209.295

OVIDIUS, Ars Amat. 2.113-14

Forma bonum fragile est, quantumque accedit ad annos
Fit minor, et spatio carpitur ipsa suo.

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OVIDIUS, Ars Amat. 2.113-14 (cont'd.) o.a.a.2.113-14

Giraldus

(1) ge 2.182

et illud Ovidii:
Forma bonum fragile est, quantumque accedit ad annos
Fit minor, et spatio carpitur ipsa suo.

OVIDIUS, Ars Amat. 2.277-8

Aurea sunt uere nunc saecula: plurimus auro
Uenit honos: auro conciliatur amor.

Giraldus

(1) ge 2.303

Sed, ut ait poeta:
Aurea nunc vere sunt saecula: plurimus auro
Venit honos; auro conciliatur amor.
Item:
Auro perficitur quicquid captatur iniquum.

(2) ge 2.309

Nunc impletum est illud poetae:
Aurea nunc vere sunt saecula: plurimus auro
Venit honos; auro conciliatur amor.
Et illud:
Auro perficitur quicquid captatur iniquum;
Nemoque praetenso munere vana rogat.

(3) li d.181

Erea sunt uere nunc secula cum cadat ere
Iudex iam uanus ere grauante manus.
Erea dona premunt leges, decretaque demunt,
Iusticiam remouent, perfidiamque fouent.

(4) Alexander Neckam (fl.1197) Rolls 34.369

Aureus aurea dat et laetus saecula laeta
Jupiter, ...

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OVIDIUS, Ars Amat. 2.313 o.a.a.2.313

Si latet ars, prodest: adfert deprensa pudorem,

Giraldus

(1) th 5.154

Tam subtiliter modulos intrant et exeunt; sicque, sub obtuso grossioris chordae sonitu, gracilium tinnitus licentius ludunt, latentius delectant, lasciviusque demulcent, ut pars artis maxime videatur artem velare, tanquam
Si lateat, prosit; ferat ars deprensa pudorem.

(2) dk 6.187

same as #1

(3) sy 1.322

Ecquem autem hominum illa vultuositatis ejusdem simulata simplicitas, et senilis illa cum personalitate canities, interioris ignarum habitus, inter initia non deciperet? Quia
Dum latet ars prodest, affert deprensa pudorem.

OVIDIUS, Ars Amat. 2.437-8

Luxuriant animi rebus plerumque secundis
Nec facile est aequa commoda mente pati.

Giraldus

(1) eh 5.251

Difficile quidem est, et tanto virtus antiquior, effrenes semper et luxuriantes incommodis animos inter prospera temperare.

(2) ik 6.41

Cui et illud Ovidii concordare videtur;
Luxuriant animi rebus plerumque secundis
Nec facile est aequa commoda mente pati.

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OVIDIUS, Ars Amat. 2.437-8 (cont'd.) o.a.a.2.437-8

(3) dk 6.216

Sed mihi quidem longe aliter visum est. Quoniam enimvero
Luxuriant animi rebus plerumque secundis,
Nec facile est aequa commoda mente pati;
et quia
Non habet unde suum paupertas pascat amorem;
Divitiis alitur luxuriosus amor;

(4) sy 1.320

Et Ovidius: ...
Luxuriant animi rebus plerumque secundis
Nec facile est aequa commoda mente pati.

(5) sy 1.351

Insita sed virtus animum sic temperat, ut nec
Sanguine nec rebus luxuriare queat.

(6) sy 1.377

Luxuriant animi quae non sperantur adepti,
Nec facile est aequa commoda mente pati.

(7) vg 4.424

Praeterea quoniam
Luxuriant animi rebus plerumque secundis
Nec facile est aequa commoda mente pati.

(8) sp 4.116

Sed quoniam, testante poeta,
Luxuriant animi rebus plerumque secundis
Nec facile est aequa commoda mente pati.

(9) sp 4.118

same as #2

(10) sp 4.217

Edacitas autem, quia luxuriant animi rebus plerumque secundis,
et quia prosperitas stultorum perdet eos,

(11) Petrus Blesensis (fl.1160) Migne 207.270

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OVIDIUS, Ars Amat. 2.437-8 (cont'd.) o.a.a.2.437-8

(12) Petrus Cantor (fl.1170) Migne 205.67

(13) idem 297

(14) Helinandus (fl.1200) Migne 212.753

OVIDIUS, Ars Amat. 2.647-8

Quod male fers, adsuesce, feres bene; multa uetustas
Lenit: at incipiens omnia sentit amor.

Giraldus

(1) pi 8.17

et illud Ouidii. Quod male fers assuesce feres mala cuncta uetustas lenit.[1]

(2) sl 1.402

Illud quoque poeticum ad mentem vestrum revocandum:
Quod male fers, assuesce, feres: mala cuncta vetustas
Lenit.

(3) Petrus Blesensis (fl.1160) Migne 207.33

Ethnicus dicit: Quod male fers, assuesce, feres.

OVIDIUS, Ars Amat. 2.683-4

Odi concubitus, qui non utrumque resoluunt;
Hoc est, cur pueri tangar amore minus.

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1. Text omitted by Warner from his printed edition. Br.Mus.Cotton Julius B.xiii,fol.54,col.2; Warner printed to feres inclusive.

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OVIDIUS, Ars Amat. 2.683-4 (cont'd.) o.a.a.2.683-4

Giraldus

(1) sp 4.87

Sed quid inhonestius, quid indecentius, quaeso, quam inter cucul - latos crebro discurrere calamistratos? ... Ait etiam in talium sugillationem gentilis poeta:

Sint procul a nobis juvenes, ut femina, compti,
Fine coli modico forma virilis amat.

Et alibi:

Odi concubitus qui non utrumque resolvunt,
Hinc est quod pueri, etc.

OVIDIUS, Ars Amat. 2.732

Cum mora non tuta est, totis incumbere remis 731
Utile, et admisso subdere calcar equo. 732

Giraldus

(1) vh 7.142

seque cum aliis, calcaribus equis admissis, militaribus ludis exercens

(2) sy 1.230

non tanquam pigrescenti stimulum, sed tanquam admisso calcar adjungo.

(3) jm 3.108

et quia

Non nocet admisso subdere calcar equo;

zelo sincerae caritatis ad monendum magis quam docendum accenso.

(4) Alanus Ab Insulis (fl.1168) Migne 212.989

Vacare, proprie. Notat intendere ...
Notat licere vel delectari, unde Ovidius

Non vacat admisso subdere calcar equo.

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OVIDIUS, Ars Amat. 2.732 (cont'd.) o.a.a.2.732

(5) Gulielmus Filius Stephani (fl.1170) Rolls 67.3

(6) idem 7

et spe victoriae equis admissis subdere calcaria,

(7) idem 35

e regione subditis equo calcaribus veniente armato,

(8) Ricardus Aldgate (fl.1187) Rolls 38.1.255

Ea die rex calcaribus subditis equo ferebatur admisso in Turcos

(9) Ricardus Divisiensis (fl. 1190) Rolls 82.3.414

Et ecce! vir sibi fidelis Henricus Biset, ... , admisso subdens creberrime calcar equo, venit obvius cancellario

OVIDIUS, Ars Amat. 3.287

Est, quae peruerso distorqueat ora cachinno:

Giraldus

(1) li d.125

Et statim ipse laruam simulando, inque cachinnum os et labia torquendo, more suo pro risu rictum fecit.

(2) sy 1.351

Cum locus est risus non detrahit ora cachinnus,
Ridet, ut in risu gratior esse queat.

OVIDIUS, Ars Amat. 3.511

Odimus inmodicos (experto credite) fastus:

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OVIDIUS, Ars Amat. 3.511 (cont'd.) o.a.a.3.511

Giraldus

(1) ik 6.85

Tertio vero, genitum ut redimat genitor, instrumenta gignendi vere praecidit. Et cum in dentibus se sentire dolorem proclamasset; Verum, inquit ille quia experto credendum; et jam injurias ultus ex parte, mortem mitius aggrediar; et tu de cetero nec alium gignes, nec isto gaudebis. Eoque dicto, exsiliens ab alto, se cum puero praecipitem dedit:

(2) Joannes Sarisberiensis (fl.1155) Rolls 67.6.275

et, ut experto credatur auctori

OVIDIUS, Epp. 2.7-8

tempora si numeres -- bene quae numeramus amantes
non uenit ante suam nostra querela diem.

Giraldus

(1) eh 5.246

Tempora si numeres bene quae numeramus egentes,
Non venit ante suum nostra querela diem.

(2) Joannes Sarisberiensis (1168) Migne 199.309

OVIDIUS, Epp. 2.85-6

exitus acta probat." careat successibus, opto,
quisquis ab eventu facta notanda putat!

Giraldus

(1) li d.181

Si palmam meruit bene pugnans, fallitur ergo
Quisquis ab euentu facta notanda putat.

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OVIDIUS, Epp 2.85-6 (cont'd.) o.e.2.85-6

(2) li d. 185-6

Item ut non solum racionibus sed eciam exemplis ad hec utamur, si Troianum excidium nudum aspicias et ex euentu solo facta compenses, Hectoreas laudes quas predicat orbis, quia tam strenue pro patre patriaque dimicauit, inuidus et insolens euacuabis, sed ut tali temperes a censura, audi poetam.

Careat successibus opto
Quisquis ab euentu facta notanda putet.

(3) jm 3.204

Sed qui nisus suos et vires omnes ad quod de jure tenetur apponit, quicunque fuerit secutus effectus, argui non debet aut reprehendi; juxta illud poetae:

Careat successibus opto,
Quisquis ab eventu facta notanda putat.

OVIDIUS, Epp. 2.102

ut tua sit solo tempore lapsa fides!

Giraldus

(1) eh 5.247

Moram itaque sanet executionis efficacia; et id operum efficiat exhibitio, ut solo videatur tempore lapsa fides.

OVIDIUS, Epp. 3.85

uince animos iramque tuam, qui cetera uincis!

Giraldus

(1) th 5.191

Et vere rex victor, animum virtute regens, iramque modestia vincens; illud quoque Heroidum memoriter recolens,

Vince animos, iramque tuam, qui cetera vincis;

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OVIDIUS, Epp. 3.85 (cont'd.) o.e.3.85

(2) eh 5.251

Efficiat igitur in nobis dignissima laude clementia, ut cetera qui vicimus animos vincamus et iram. Solet quippe praecipites animi motus modus et modestia mitigare.

(3) eh 5.300

sibi rex imperans, deque seipso triumphans,
Vincens animos, iramque suam, qui cetera vicit,
hostibus undique victis et triumphatis vitam reddidit et honorem.

(4) eh 5.357

non sime magno exercitus utriusque dolore, vir invicta virtute cetera vincens, tandem praematura victus morte succubuit.

(5) vg 4.362

Quinimmo proficiat potius, et meritis crescat, seseque virtutum studiis quotidie vincat, et hac solum victoria glorietur.

(6) sy 1.244

id efficias ut magni principis de caetero maturitatem induens, incomparabili strenuitate caetera qui vincis, pravam vel in verbo consuetudinem vincas,

(7) pi 8.19

Unde poeta: Vince animos iramque tuam, qui caetera vincis.

(8) pi 8.200

same as #1

(9) Joannes Abbas Baugezei (fl.1200) Migne 205.829

Consolator abi, quia luctu vincor et ira,
Iram qui didici vincere saepe lyra.

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OVIDIUS, Epp. 3.117-20 o.e.3.117-20

tutius est iacuisse toro, tenuisse puellam,
Threicium digitis increpuisse lyram,
quam manibus clipeos et acutae cuspidis hastam,
et galeam pressa sustinuisse coma.

Giraldus

(1) eh 5.353

Erant quippe milites, quibus jocundius
Jacuisse toro, tenuisse puellam,
Threiciam digitis increpuisse lyram,
Quam clipeos humeris, et acutae cuspidis hastam,
Et galeam pressa sustinuisse coma.

OVIDIUS, Epp. 4.75-6

sint procul a nobis iuuenes ut femina compti! --
fine coli modico forma uirilis amat.

Giraldus

(1) sp 4.87

Ait enim in talium sugillationem gentilis poeta:
Sint procul a nobis juvenes, ut femina, compti,
Fine coli modico forma virilis amat.
Et alibi:
Odi concubitus qui non utrumque resolvunt,
Hinc est quod pueri, etc.

(2) sp 4.333

Morum etenim assertores et linguae Latinae moderatores, tam Gentiles quam fideles, ad moderandum corporis cultum, persuasorie scribere solent, unde de nostris agriographis ait: Nec affectatae sordes, nec exquisitae deliciae, laudem pariunt. Sed si haec caeteris competunt, quanto magis et clericis. Item et ille, qui juxta moralis philosophi testimonium nunquam in bene dicendo destitit, ut etiam in cultu corporum mentibus humanis modum et modestiam imprimeret, poeta sic clamat:
Fine coli modico forma virilis amat.

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OVIDIUS, Epp. 4.75-6 (cont'd.) o.e.4.75-6

(3) Andreas Capellanus (fl.1180) See Man. 3.285

OVIDIUS, Epp. 4.89-92

quod caret alterna requie, durabile non est;
haec reparat uires fessaque membra nouat.
arcus -- et arma tuae tibi sunt imitanda Dianae --
si numquam cesses tendere, mollis erit.

Giraldus

(1) sy 1.236

Naso:
Quod caret alterna requie durabile non est.
Haec reparat vires fessaque membra levat.
Et idem:
Arcum ni cesses tendere, lentus erit.

(2) Radulfus Ardens (fl.1090) Migne 155.1562f

(3) Adamus Praemonstratensis (fl.1170) Migne 198,776

Ut enim ait quis:
Arcum ni cesses tendere, lentus erit.
Et idem ait:
Quod caret alterna requie, durabile non est;
haec reparat vires fessaque membra novat.
arcus -- et arma tuae tibi sunt imitanda Dianae --
si numquam cesses tendere, mollis erit.

OVIDIUS, Epp. 5.11

...absit reuerentia uero! --

Giraldus

(1) sy 1.292

et quoniam ab illa materia ex dicto quidem et dicendi modo, to-

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OVIDIUS, Epp. 5.11 (cont'd.) o.e.5.11

tius fons indignationis erupisse videtur, diffusioris paginae, quoniam dolor importune verbis ministrat, et sermonis aspersi magis et blandi minus quam absit reverentia veris, veniam peto.

(2) li d. 112

ut si aliqua forte emerserint asperiora, uestra sustineat et indulgeat excellentia, sciens quippe quam dolor importune uerba ministrat, et quam absit reuerentia ueris, et quam in sola miseria praeclara et excellens est misericordia.

OVIDIUS, Epp. 5.104

laesa pudicitia est; deperit illa semel.

Giraldus

(1) sy 1.215

Nam, ut ait poeta:
Laesa pudicitia est, deperit illa semel.
Et alibi:
Poena potest demi, culpa perennis erit.

(2) Joannes Sarisberiensis (fl.1155) Rolls 67.6.275

et, ut experto credatur auctori

OVIDIUS, Epp. 9.31

non honor est sed onus species laesura ferentis;

Giraldus

(1) sy 1. 383

Forsitan eveniet quod honorem pontificalem,
Qui tibi raptus erat, conferet hora brevis.
Sed quid honor prodest, cui cum sis nomen honoris,
Non honor est sed onus, re sine nomen habens.

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OVIDIUS, Epp. 9.31 (cont'd.) o.e.9.31

Non super hoc te cura premat, non excitet ira;
Quaerere non debet exoneratus onus.

(2) ge 2.199

Caveat autem tam diu expectare donec senio confectus, et jam deliciis effectus suis etiam necessariis oneri sit et taedio non honori.

(3) pi 8.6

sunt episcopi qui non omen dignitatis sed nomen, non onus sed honorem amplectuntur.

(4) sp 4.347

onus et honorem evadere voluit, sed Deo dispomente non praevaluit. Noverat enim non absque grandi et gravi periculo simul et onere honorem illum consistere; ideoque maluit privatus ... in statu securiore salvari.

OVIDIUS, Epp. 16.98

est uirtus placitis abstinuisse bonis.

Giraldus

(1) pi 8.38

Triumphus innocentiae est non peccare, ubi liceat. Unde Ovidius, Est virtus placitis abstinuisse bonis. In quocumque potes peccare desine.

OVIDIUS, Epp. 16.130

tarda solet magnis rebus inesse fides.

Giraldus

(1) th 5.143

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OVIDIUS, Epp. 16.130 (cont'd.) o.e.16.130

Sed quoniam
Plus gravitatis habent res, quae cum tempore crescunt;
et
Rara solet subitis rebus inesse fides,
sicut subito in tantam excreverant multitudinem, sic subitis et inopinatis rerum eventibus, et casu longe citiore quam ortu defecerunt.

OVIDIUS, Epp. 16.166

an nescis longas regibus esse manus?

Giraldus

(1) th 5.136

Pars vero residua, cum navigio fugae praesidium attentasset, naufragio submersa, eundem in extremis tam terrae quam maris Dominatorem invenit: cujus quidem a facie nec fugere quis potest nec effugere.
Quo fugis ergo mamum regis gens impia regum?
An nescis longas regibus esse manus?
Quia
Quo fugis ex illo, qui claudit cuncta pugillo?
Sed
Inter mille modos mortis, mors illa timenda est
Qua coepere mori.
Sic igitur summi verique Tonantis iram, quam pravitas in terris provocavit, Neptunus in undis vindicavit.

(2) ge 2.329

Ergo tales longa et multa manu peccant. An nescis longas regibus esse manus; reges loquar ecclesiae praelatos?

(3) Joannes Sarisberiensis (1168) Migne 199.297

Non longas, credas, solis regibus esse manus: sunt enim et pontificibus longiores.

(4) Petrus Blesensis (fl.1160) Migne 207.855

Quis nescit longas regibus esse manus?

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OVIDIUS, Epp. 16.166 (cont'd.) o.e.16.166

(5) Petrus Cantor (fl.1170) Migne 205.95

OVIDIUS, Epp. 17.66

uera loqui liceat! --

Giraldus

(1) th 5.199

Et, ut veris historia non fraudetur; quamvis tamen interdum noceat omnia vera loqui; periculosum quippe est, quantalibet occasione in illum scribere qui potest proscribere;

(2) Thidericus (prob. 12 cent.)

Pyrame, vera loquor! ....

OVIDIUS, Fasti 1.211, 212, 216

creuerunt et opes et opum furiosa cupido,
et cum possideant plurima, plura petunt.

quo plus sunt potae, plus sitiuntur aquae.

Giraldus

(1) ik 6.41-42

Cisterciensis autem ordo, spontaneo pristinae paupertatis et sanctitatis desiderio nuper a priore derivatus, in primis similiter digne laudari meruit et extolli: donec iterum caeca malorum mater obrepsit ambitio, nescia successibus modum ponere. Quoniam, ut ait Seneca, Facit quidem avidos nimia felicitas: nec tam temperatae cupiditates unquam, ut in eo quod contingit desinant. Gradus a magnis ad majora fit; et spes improbissimas amplectuntur insperata assecuti. Cui et illud Ovidii concordare videtur:

Luxuriant animi rebus plerumque secundis:
Nec facile est aequa commoda mente pati. (O.A.A.2.437-8)

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Et illud ejusdem;

Creverunt et opes, et opum furiosa cupido: (O.F.1.211-12)
Et cum possideant plurima, plura petunt.

Item et illud Horatii in Libro Carminum;

Scilicet improbae (H.C.3.24.62-4)
Crescunt divitiae: tamen
Curtae nescio quid semper abest rei.

Et in eodem;

Crescentem sequitur cura pecuniam (H.C.3.16.17-18)
Majorumque fames.
Multa petentibus (H.C.3.16-42-4)
Desunt multa. Bene est, cui Deus obtulit
Parca quod satis est manu.

Unde et Lucanus;

O vitae tuta facultas (L.5.527)
Pauperis, angustique laris. O munera nondum
Intellecta deum.

Petronius;

Non bibit inter aquas, nec poma fugacia carpit (Petr.82)
Tantalus infelix, quem sua vota premunt.
Divitis haec magni facies erit, omnia late
Qui tenet, et sicco concoquit ore famem.

(2) ge 2.281

Cupiditas enim ydropisi comparatur; nam quo plus potae, plus sitiuntur aquae.

(3) sy 1.236

Sapientiae rivulis insatiabiliter inhio; et quo plus potae, plus sitiuntur aquae.

(4) jm 3.371

Accedit et curis divitum anxiis, ut quaerant et quaesita regendo defendant, morbi duplicis incommodum vix curabile, cupiditatis pariter et rapacitatis; sicut evidenter poeta declarat, dicens:

Creverunt et opes et opum furiosa cupido,
Et cum possideant plurima plura petunt.

Item et alibi:

Dumque sitim sedare parant sitis altera crevit, (Met.3.415)
Et quo plus potae plus sitiuntur aquae.

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OVIDIUS, Fasti 1.211, 212, 216 (cont'd.) o.f.1.211,212,216

(5) sp 4.60

Sicut enim in rerum affluentia et superabundantia cupiditas excrescit, quoniam hydropisis vitio quo plus sunt potae, plus sitiuntur aquae, sic ex eadem superbia quoque nasci solet;

(6) sp 4.118

ut, tanquam hydropisis vitio,
Quo plus sunt potae, plus sitiantur aquae,

(7) sp 4.153

Porro quoniam ex adipe prodiit iniquitas, et vitio cupiditatis insatitato morboque tanquam hydropico,
Quo plus sunt potae plus sitiuntur aquae,

(8) sp 4.197

Qualiter adauctis opibus statim adaucta est furiosa cupido, morboque tanquam hydropico, quo plus sunt potae plus sitiuntur aquae, certis indiciis et manifestis exemplis declarare dignum duximus.

(9) sp 4.217

cupiditas scilicet, quae radix malorum omnium dici solet, et intemperantiae mater edacitas, cupiditas impudenter et inverecunde gravi cum scandalo jam excercetur in publico; quia juxta illud
Quo plus sunt potae, plus sitiuntur aquae,
Et cum possideant plurima, plura petunt.
Edacitas autem, quia luxuriant animi rebus plerumque secundis,

(10) Gulielmus de Conchis (fl.1120) Holmberg p. 62

(11) Henricus Huntendunensis (fl.1124) Rolls 59.2.164

Munere ditatus sitiens in munera tendit,
Dumque sitis crescit, caecus coelestia vendit.

(12) Petrus Blesensis (fl.1160) Migne 207.761

Cum enim ad pauperem cupiditas ingeniosa pedetentim introeat, vires sibi continuas ex divitiarum incremento multiplicat, quia quanto plura conquirit, tanto majora concupiscere avarus addiscit:
Crescit amor nummi quantum ipsa pecunia crescit. (J.14.139)
Sicut in morbo hydropici:
Quo plus sunt potae, plus sitiuntur aquae.

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OVIDIUS, Fasti 1.211,212,216 (cont'd.) o.f.1.211,212,216

(13) Alanus ab Insulis (fl.1168) Migne 210.123

(14) Petrus Cantor (fl.1170) Migne 205.73

Item cupiditas comparatur hydropisi, quia
Quo plus sunt potae, plus sitiuntur aquae.
Item et fabulae Narcissi comparatur, quia
Dumque sitim sedare cupit, sitis altera crevit (Met.3.415)

(15) Alexander Neckam (fl.1197) Rolls 34.195-6

Cap. CXVI. De serpente qui dicitur dipsas.
Dipsas torrida dicitur, quia vulneratus ab ipsa tanto fervoris accenditur aestu, ut nulla aquarum abundantia sitim ejus compescere queat.
Haec est ambitio, cujus sitis nulla divitiarum copia sedari potest, adeo ut dici possit,
Dumque sitim sedare cupit, sitis altera crescit. (Met.3.415)
Quo plus sunt potae plus sitiuntur aquae.

Quo plus sunt potae plus sitiuntur aquae.

OVIDIUS, Fasti 1.218

...pauper ubique iacet.

Giraldus

(1) jm 3.146

Item et eundem quandoque dicentem audivimus, quia cum in omni gente, professione et ordine trutannice vivere et more trutannico per mendicata suffragia vitam producere miserum esset et ignominiosum, in episcopis autem et episcopali dignitate praeditis miserrimum hoc erat et miseratione simul et admiratione dignissimum. Ad haec etiam audiens quidam Herefordensis episcopus quemdam Menevensem (page 146) episcopum per Herefordensem dioecesin in his nostris diebus hospitia tam trutannice scrutantem et tam inverecunde circuentem, lepidam satis in ipsum sugillationem in multorum audientia super his loquentium sic contorsit: "Nec mirum," inquit, "Scriptum est enim et poeticum emanans olim quasi proverbium, quod pauper ubique jacet."

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OVIDIUS, Fasti 1.218 (cont'd.) o.f.1.218

(2) Petrus Abaelardus (fl.1120) Migne 178.1177

In veri caeli camera
Pauper jacet pulcherrima;

(3) Richerus Metzensis (fl.1130) See Man.3.831-6

(4) Alanus ab Insulis (fl.1168) Migne 210.586

(5) Idem 588

quod nihil excepto paupere vile jacet

(6) Idem 821

(7) Gillebertus (fl.1180) See Man.3.910-14

pauper cur despicitur? cur ubique jacet?

(8) Ricardus Aldgate (fl.1187) Rolls 38.1.126

sed ubique pauper eget.

OVIDIUS, Fasti 2.138

quodcumque est alto sub Ioue, Caesar habet.

Giraldus

(1) eh 5.223

Bipartito namque dominio divisum in nobis imperium cum Jove Caesar habet. Habet id nostri Caesar, in quod solum potens est potestatem exercere.

(2) Gulielmus Filius Stephani (fl.1170) Rolls 67.3.9

Item ad laudem Augusti Caesaris et Romae dictum est;
Nocte pluit tota, redeunt spectacula mane;
Divisum imperium cum Jove Caesar habet.[1]

---

1. Cf. Hor. Carm. 1.12.49-52: gentis humanae pater atque custos,

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OVIDIUS, Fasti 3.161-2, 165-6

ille moras solis, quibus in sua signa rediret,
traditur exactis disposuisse notis.
is decies senos tercentum et quinque diebus
iunxit et e pleno tempora quinta die.
hic anni modus est: in lustrum accedere debet,
quae consummatur partibus, una dies.

Giraldus

(1)[1] pi 8.42

(Iulius Cesar) ingenii perspica
cis acumine incomparabiliter emicuit.
adeo ut annum bisextilem inuenerit.
et multa que retroacta penitus la
tuerant secula. ad anni romani
ordinacionem subtiliter adiecerit. de
quo et Ouidius in fastorum libris. Ille
moras solis quibus in sua signa
rediret. Dicitur exactis disposuis
se notis. hic animi modus est lus
trum accedere debet. Que consum
matur partibus vna dies.

OVIDIUS, Fasti 6.463

scilicet interdum miscentur tristia laetis

Giraldus

(1) vg 363

Revolutis itaque perpaucis annorum curriculis, fortuna varian-
te vices et semper laetis tristia miscente,

---

orte Saturno, tibi cura magni
Caesaris fatis data: tu secundo
Caesare regnes.

1. Text omitted from Warner's printed edition. Br.Mus. Cotton Julius B. xiii,fol.67,col.2)

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OVIDIUS, Fasti 6.463 (cont'd.) o.f.6.463

(2) vg 376

Sed quoniam nunquam sola veniunt scadala, et quoniam varias versat fortuna vices, et semper laetis tristia miscet, malis tanquam agmine facto mala cumulando;

OVIDIUS, Met. 1.84-6

pronaque cum spectent animalia cetera terram,
os homini sublime dedit caelumque uidere
iussit et erectos ad sidera tollere uultus:

Giraldus

(1) sy 1.348

Cernua deiciunt animalia caetera vultus
Et pronos oculos semper in ima tenent.
Os sublimat homo, vultumque ad sidera tollit,
Et propriam sedem regna superna videt.

(2) th 5.109

Praeterea animal erectum, risibile bipes, ab humana proprietate quis separabit? Nunquid enim natura
Os bruto sublime dedit, coelumque videre
Jussit?

(3) ge 2.210

Juxta illud Augustini: Vultus erectus homini datus est, quod animae naturaliter est inditum rationali, ut quae sursum sunt sapiat, non quae super terram. Unde poeta:
Os homini sublime dedit coelumque videre
Jussit et erectos ad sidera tollere vultus:

(4) Radulfus Ardens (fl.1090) Migne 155.1562f

(5) Bernardus Claravallensis (fl.1130) Migne 182-5

(6) Isaac de Stella (fl.1140) Migne 194.1801

(7) Petrus Comestor (fl.1150) Migne 198.100

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OVIDIUS, Met. 1.84-6 (cont'd.) o.m.1.84-6

(8) Petrus Cantor (fl.1170) Migne 205.49

(9) Adamus Praemonstratensis (fl.1170) Migne 198.100

(10) Thomas Cisterciensis (fl.1180) Migne 206.63

(11) Eberhard Bethunensis (fl.1185) See Man.3.751

(12) Martinus Legionensis (fl.1198) Migne 209.58

(13) Helinandus (fl.1200) Migne 212.724

OVIDIUS, Met. 1.138

...sed itum est in viscera terrae,

Giraldus

(1) ik 6.137

et per divitem venam fructuosumque argenti scrutinium, ubi penitima scrutando
Itum est in viscera terrae,
transeuntes, in cellula de Basingewerc pernoctavimus.

OVIDIUS, Met. 1.148

filius ante diem patrios inquirit in annos:

Giraldus

(1) eh 5.298

Sequenti vero Aprili Anglorum rex junior, Henricus scilicet Henrici regis filius, ... , cum duobus fratribus suis, ... ad Lodovicum Francorum regem, cujus filiam maritali copula junctam habuerat, in Franciam secessit; ut soceri fultus auxilio, proh dolor, ante diem patrios incurrat in annos;

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OVIDIUS, Met. 1.148 (cont'd.) o.m.1.148

(2) ve e.227

Flagellum itaque tibi, rex, fabricas et flagitium paras s si talem tibi successorem creas. Preterea nonne filius ante diem patrios incurrit in annos? Si filius hoc, quid ergo gener? et ille gener qui genus tuum odio persequi et gentem affligere sibique subicere uelle auito iure tenetur.

(3) Alexander Neckam (fl.1197) Rolls 34.247

OVIDIUS, Met. 2.447

heu! quam difficile est crimen non prodere uultu!

Giraldus

(1) Transgreditur et transit nec erubescit, facies enim exanguis, semper uniformis in omni uerbo idem uultus, in omni fortuna eadem frons. Mira uirtus et tamen poeta, O quam difficile est crimen non prodere uultu.

OVIDIUS, Met. 2.712

...festas in Palladis arces[1]

Giraldus

(1) th 5.200

Illa plurimum exercitatus militia, qua militat omnis amans: per quam et bonae indolis adolescentes ad armatam plerumque militiam animari solent, et a Cupidinis castris ad Palladis arces et artes sublimari.

---

1. Cf. Ovidius, Ars Amat. 1.692: tu titulos alia Palladis arte petas!

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OVIDIUS, Met. 2.712 (cont'd.) o.m.2.712

(2) eh 5.384

Igitur in bellici certaminis exercitio, divina forte vindicta, populo diutius utroque statuto, adeo neuter ex toto vel meruisse gratiam vel demeruisse videtur, ut nec ille ad plenum victor in Palladis hactenus arcem victoriosus ascenderit, nec iste victus omnino plenae servitutis jugo colla submiserit.

(3) pi 8.259

Hoc quidem et hic notabile censui, quod Palladis et Minervae studia, Musae videlicet et militiae castra, tanquam junctis dextris firmatisque foederibus, sese semper concomitari solent.

(4) Vitalis Blesensis (1175) Cohen 1 p.87.335

Qua maris unda furens angustat Palladis arces
Alter, ab adverso dirigat alter iter;

(5) Idem Cohen 1 p.88.369

Tu quoque, mi Clinia, qua muros urbis et arces
Palladis angustant equora, carpe uiam.

OVIDIUS, Met. 2.541

qui color albus erat, nunc est contrarius albo.

Giraldus

(1) ik 6.43

His igitur ex causis et similibus effectum est, ut verae religionis color optimus adeo in falsitatis fucum sit jam conversus, adeo nigri interius mores condidid velantur operimentis, adeo, inquam, interioris olim habitus
Qui color albus erat nunc est contrarius albo,

(2) sp 4.116

juxta praesumptionis vero perniciem longe ultra terminos manus extendit, mutatus est color optimus; adeo ut interioris habitus, qui color albus extiterat, jam sit effectus longe contrarius albo.

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OVIDIUS, Met. 2.541 (cont'd.) o.m.2.541

(3) sp 4.120

same as #1

(4) sp 4.218

ut quid etiam eorundem habitum, quaeso, quondam una cum moribus et vita mutatum, quatinus qui color albus erat fiat contrarius albo, nunc denuo non resumunt?

OVIDIUS, Met. 3.135-7

sed scilicet ultima semper
exspectanda dies hominis, dicique beatus
ante obitum nemo supremaque funera debet.

Giraldus

(1) sp 4.72

Sicut ergo de nemine nimia praesumptione confidendum, quia perversus est Judas, sic et de nullo dum vixerit nimia desperatione diffidendum, quia conversus est Saulus. Unde poeta gentilis:

Ultima semper
Expectanda dies,
hominis est,
Dicique beatus
Ante obitum nemo supremaque funera debet.

OVIDIUS, Met. 4.39

"utile opus manuum uario sermone leuemus

Giraldus

(1)

viamque vario sermone levantes

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OVIDIUS, Met. 4.428 o.m.4.428

ipse docet, quid agam (fas est et ab hoste doceri),

Giraldus

(1) ik 6.50

et quoniam
Fas est et ab hoste doceri;

(2) sy 1.227

Sin autem fortunae mobilitate et rerum vicissitudine inter hostes potius et adversarios deputer, Fas est et ab hoste doceri.

(3) jm 3.108

Nam si, juxta poetam, fas est et ab hoste doceri, multo fortius ab amico;

(4) Petrus Abaelardus (fl.1120) Migne 178.284

(5) Petrus Venerabilis Cluniacensis (fl.1132) Migne 189

(6) Petrus Comestor (fl.1150) Migne 198.1791

OVIDIUS, Met. 15.375

"Semina limus habet uirides generantia ranas,

Giraldus

(1) th 5.66

Arbitrari tamen nemo praesumat, quod unquam vermis iste hic natus fuisset; quia non hic, ut alibi,
Semina limus habet virides generantia ranas,
Quod si foret, frequentius et numerosius vel ante vel post inventae fuissent.

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OVIDIUS, Met. 15.875-9 o.m.15.875-9

parte tamen maliore mei super alta perennis
astra ferar, nomenque erit indelebile nostrum,
quaque patet domitis Romana potentia terris,
ore legar populi, perque omnia saecula fama,
siquid habent veri vatum praesagia, vivam.

Giraldus

(1) th 5.4

Consideranti mihi quam brevis et fluxa sit vita quam ducimus, eorum praeclara fuisse videtur intentio, quibus, nondum patefacta vitae via, operae pretium fuit et curae, egregium aliquod mundo memoriale relinquere, famamque sui perlongam facere, et momentaneam istam saltem memoria vivere posse post vitem. Unde et in egregiis legitur poetarum libris;

Denique, si quis adhuc praetendit nubila livor, (St.T.12.818)
Occidet; et meriti post me referentur honores.

Et alibi;

Quaque patet domitis Romana potentia terris,
Ore legar populi; perque omnia secula fama,
Si quid habent veri vatum praesagia, vivam.

Haec summis auctoribus prima fuit et praecipua scribendi occasio.

(2) ge 2.182

Provida tamen Dei dispensatione id actum esse noveritis, ut parte sui potissima et interiore thesauro, caeteris homo sub coelo sublimior, quam etiam partem gentilis poetae digniorem esse non dubitabant, juxta illud:

Parte tamen potiore mei super astra perennis
Deferar, nomenque erit indelebile nostrum,
Quaque patet domitis Romana potentia terris,
Ore legar populi, perque omnia saecula fama,
Siquid habent veri vatum praesagia, vivam.

(3) vg 4.362

utinam persuasum esse valeat, ut residuum vitae ab historia non discrepet exarata, populique per ora manusque jam celebrata.

(4) Petrus Blesensis (fl.1160) Migne 207

(5) Carmina Burana am 126.9 (13 cent.) Hilka-Schumann p. 209

Quid percurram singula?
ego sum in fabula
et in ore omnium.

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OVIDIUS, Pont. 1.1.64 o.p.1.1.64

poena potest demi, culpa perennis erit.

Giraldus

(1) li d.181

Troie defensor cum Troia corruit Hector,
Laus tamen Hectoris et fama perhennis erit.

(2) sy 1.215

Nam ut ait poeta:
Laesa pudicitia est, deperit illa semel. (O.Epp.5.104)
Et alibi:
Poena potest demi, culpa perennis erit.

(3) jm 3.352

Dupliciter itaque juvenem senex damnificavit, dum maculam ei tenaciter nimis haerentem et vix separabilem, quia
Poena potest demi, culpa perennis erit,
male susurrans infixit.

(4) sp 4.173

Quoniam, ut ait gentilis ille poeta nobilis, qui Seneca testante nunquam in benedicendo destitit:
Poena potest demi, culpa perennis erit.
Vitanda est igitur macula, totis nisibus et studiis eradenda penitus aut eluenda, quae semel impressa semper adhaeret, et tanquam accidens inseparabile pertinacia perpetua cum dierum saeculi diuturnitate contendit.

(5) Henricus Archidiaconus Huntendunensis (fl.1124) Rolls 59.2.171

Poenae causa perit, poena perennis erit.

OVIDIUS, Pont. 1.2.39-40

sic inconsumptum Tityi semperque renascens
non perit, ut possit saepe perire, iecur.

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OVIDIUS, Pont. 1.2.39-40 (cont'd.) o.p.1.2.39-40

Giraldus

(1) ge 2.180

Unde iterum herbae nascuntur ad pastum, sic et illi morte depasti reviviscunt, quia non deficiunt. Ovidius:

Sic inconsumptum Titii semperque renascens
Non perit, ut possit saepe perire, jecur:

(2) Petrus Blesensis (fl.1160) Migne 207.183

Video quosdam, quorum mentes avium delectatio totas occupando consumit. Nonne isti imaginem gerunt Titii, cujus jecur poetae referunt jugiter ab avibus devorari?

(3) Carmina Burana ms 42.17 (13 cent.) Hilka-Schumann p. 78

Bursa tamen Tityi iecur imitatur:
fugit res, ut redeat perit, ut nascatur
et hoc pacto loculum Roma depredatur,
ut cum totum dederit, totus impleatur.

OVIDIUS, Pont. 1.2.121-2

sed piger ad poenas princeps, ad praemia uelox
quique dolet, quotiens cogitur esse ferox.

Giraldus

(1) [1] pi 8.36

Vnde poeta. Est piger ad
penas princeps ad premia velox qui
que dolet quociens cogitur esse ferox.

---

1. Text omitted in Warner's printed edition. Br. Mus. Cotton Julius B. xiii, fol. 64b, vol.2; underling is that of the manuscript; Warner has printed through princeps.

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OVIDIUS, Pont. 1.2.121-2 (cont'd.) o.p.1.2.121-2

(2) Petrus Pictaviensis (fl.1160) Migne 211.969

Sit piger ad poenas princeps, ad praemia velox

(3) Petrus Blesensis (fl.1160) Migne 207.278

Tu piger ad poenam princeps, ad praemia velox
Quique doles, quoties cogeris esse ferox.

(4) Idem 538

(5) Helinandus (fl.1200) Migne 212.737

Sit piger ad poenam princeps, ad munera velox:
Et doleat quoties cogitur esse ferox.

OVIDIUS, Pont. 1.2.125

multa metu poenae, poena qui pauca coercet

Giraldus

(1) ge 2.108

Semper quippe citra merita puniens et ultra praemians, sed in paucos tantum et rarissimos interdum animadvertere dignum duxit, quatinus et potestas appareat, et formidabili exemplo multos emendet, dum scilicet paucorum poena tremor et terror existat, ad quos fama pervenerit universorum. Quoniam, ut poetae verbis ad haec utamur, cum fas sit, ut ait philosophus, undecumque proficere,

Si quotiens peccant homines sua fulmina mittat
Jupiter, exiguo tempore inermis erit.

Et illud ejusdem:

Cum feriant unam, non unum fulmina terrent.

Paucorum itaque poena multorumque metu fulgura coruscant, tonitrua terrent et tonant, fulmina cadunt.

(2) ge 2.164

sacrosque dies debita veneratione non servantes, ut poena paucorum metus fiat et correctio multorum, divinam interdum irae ultricis indignationem, etiam in terris non evadunt. Quea, sicut fulmina paucorum periculo cadunt et multorum metu,

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OVIDIUS, Pont.1.2.125 (cont'd.) o.p.1.2.125

juxta illud poetae:
Cum feriant unum non unum fulmina terrent; (O.P.3.2.9)
et illud:
Qui paucos poena, multos terrore coercet;
sic divinae animadversiones plures quidem terrent quam terunt, dum deliquentium et enormiter etiam excedentium benigna Dei miseratio conversionem magis appetit quam eversionem.

OVIDIUS, Pont. 1.3.17-18

non est in medico semper releuetur ut aeger:
interdum docta plus ualet arte malum.

Giraldus

(1) li d.186

Item ut non solum racionibus sed eciam exemplis ad hec utamur, si Troianum excidium nudum aspicias et ex euentu solo facta compenses, Hectoreas laudes quas predicat orbis, quia tam strenue pro patre patrique dimicauit, inuidus et insolens euacuabis, sed ut tali temperes a censura, audi poetam.
Carest auccessibus opto (O.Epp.2.85-6)
Quisquis ab euentu facta notanda putet.
Et idem,
Hectora quis nosset felix si Troia fuisset, (O.T.4.3.75-4)
Ardua per preceps gloria strauit iter.
Item ad idem,
Non est in medico semper releuetur ut eger,
Interdum docta plus ualet arte malum.
Unde et Aristoteles, Nec medicus semper sanabit nec orator semper persuadebit, sed si ex contingentibus nil omiserunt, satis utrumque propositam dicemus habere disciplinam. A simili quoque dicimus, quia si Meneuensis ecclesia semper felix, semper fecunda fuisset, nunquam iure suo, nunquam dignitate primata, quia fortes et fideles eiusdem filios matris honorem constanter amplexatos dignoscere posset?

(2) Bernardus Claravallensis (fl.1130) See Man. 2.123-7

(3) Joannes Sarisberiensis (1164) Rolls 67.5.101

(4) Carmina Burana am 176.1 (13 cent.) Hilka-Schumann p.294

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OVIDIUS, Pont. 1.3.17-18 (cont'd.) o.p.1.3.17-18

(5) Matthaeus Parisiensis (fl.1240) Rolls 44.1.360

OVIDIUS, Pont. 1.3.35-6

nescio qua natale solum dulcedine cunctos
ducit et inmemores non sinit esse sui.

Giraldus

(1) dk 6.161

ne natali ingratus solo viderer,

(2) vh 7.125

solum natale relinquens

(3) sy 1.235

Me vero desidiis et otio vacare jam forsitan in animo conjectas; quem dudum noveras, nunc Stoicam nunc Peripateticam sectam summopere coluisse, natalis soli dulcedinem (nativam dico non patriae innatam) ad Epicureas delicias transtulisse, praesaga mente confirmes.

(4) sp 4.149

et vitam..., procul etiam a domo sua quam demeruit expulsam natalique solo remotam, tanquam exulem et profugam, provisione quae falli non potuit, finire disposuit.

(5) Matthaeus Vendocinensis (1150) See Man. 3.740

(6) Petrus Blesensis (fl.1160) Migne 207.222

(7) Idem 455

(8) Helinandus (fl.1200) Migne 212.670

(9) Florilegium Gottingense #101 (early 13 cent.) Voigt .101

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OVIDIUS, Pont. 1.4.21 o.p.1.4.21

otia corpus alunt, animus quoque pascitur illis:

Giraldus

(1) sy 1.235

Haec igitur et his similia etsi non scripto, non nuntio, mente tenus opponit muta dilectio. Ager inaratus in sterilitatem durescit. Vinea non putata in labruscam silvescit; vestes jacentes tinea demolitur. Aquas non fluentes immobilitas corrumpit. Diutinum otium et pugilum lacertos emollit et cursorum nervos indurat. Item et illud Senecae: Mollit viros otium, ferrum situ rubiginem ducit.

Et illud Ovidii:

Et vitium capiunt ni moveantur aquae. (O.P.1.5.6)

Et illud Boetii: Animus quidem si remittitur amittitur.

Fateor siquidem vera esse quae objicis, si verae rationis intuitu advertantur. Otium namque continuum virtutibus nimirum novercatur, et diuturna quies vitiis alimenta ministrat. Otium vero alternatum ingenium acuit, vires roborat, et tam corporis quam animi dotes multipliciter augmentat. Unde Ovidius:

Otia corpus alunt, animus quoque pascitur illis.

Itaque otium continuare desidiae est, alternare, prudentiae. Quoniam ut ait Tullius: Sapientis est inter summa negotia otium invenire. Unde Cato:

Interpone tuis interdum gaudia curis. (C.Dist.3.6)

Naso:

Quod caret alterna requie durabile non est. (O.Epp.4.89-90)
Haec reparat vires fessaque membra levat.

Et idem:

Arcum ni cesses tendere, lentus erit. (O.Epp.4.92)

Seneca: Prodest animum relaxare. Excitatur enim otio vigor, et omnis tristitia quae continuatione pertinacis studii adducitur feriarum hilaritate discutitur. Mihi vero alternis vicibus sic otium labor exsuscitat, sic studium quies exhilarat, ut utriusque beneficio utrumque juvetur, et facile fastidium varietate vitetur.

(2) Joannes Sarisberiensis (fl.1155) Migne 198.84

(3) Helinandus (fl.1200) Migne 212.753

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OVIDIUS, Pont. 1.5.5-6 o.p.1.5.5-6

cernis ut ignauum corrumpant otia corpus,
ut capiant uitium, ni moueantur, aquae.

Giraldus

(1) ik 6.12

Quoniam ea, quae laudabili devotione gesta noscuntur, debitis non indigne praeconiis efferuntur; animus quoque quia si remittitur amittitur, et desidiae torpor vires enervat ingenii; ferrum nempe situ rubiginem ducit,
Et capiunt vitium, ni moveantur aquae;
ne stilum otiosum aerugo consumat, devotam Cantiariensis archiepiscopi Baldewini per Kambriae fines legationem literarum munimentis dignum duxi commendare.

(2) ge 2.263

Item poeta quaeritur:
Aegistus quare sit factus adulter? (O.Rem.161-2)
In promptu causa est, desidiosus erat.
Item:
Cernis ut ignavum corrumpant otia corpus,
Et capiunt vitium cum moveantur aquae.

(3) sy 1.235

Aquas non fluentes immobilitas corrumpit, Diutinum otium et pugilum lacertos emollit et cursorum nervos indurat. Item et illud Senecae: Mollit viros otium, ferrum situ rubiginem ducit.
Et illud Ovidii:
Et vitium capiunt ni moveantur aquae.
Et illud Boetii: Animus quidem si remittitur amittitur.

(4) Philippus de Harvengt (fl.1130) Migne 203.401

Cum autem, juxta quemdam ethnicum
Capiant vitium ni moveantur aquae,

(5) Joannes Sarisberiensis (fl.1155) Migne 199.405

Clamat ethicus:
Cernis ut ignavum corrumpant otia corpus,
Et capiant vitium, ni moveantur aquae?

Quos? inquis. Audi. Disces si eidem credideris.
Quaeritur Aegisthus quare sit factus adulter. (O.Rem.161-2)
Causa est in promptu: Desidiosus erat.

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OVIDIUS, Pont. 1.5.5-6 (cont'd.) o.p.1.5.5-6

(6) Petrus Blesensis (fl.1160) Migne 207.25

(7) Idem 633

OVIDIUS, Pont. 2.3.10

et cum fortuna statque caditque fides.

Giraldus

(1) eh 5.231

nonnulli, qui olim a Dermitio una cum fortuna discesserant, ad eundem statim eadem revertente confluxerunt. Nam, ut ait poeta, sic
Cum fortuna statque caditque fides.

OVIDIUS, Pont. 2.3.32

nec petere exemplum, sed dare digmus eras.

Giraldus

(1) pi 8.244

inclytus ille Pictavensium comes Ricardus, qui non petere exemplum sed dare digmus erat, sicut primus exstitierat in obligatione,

(2) Conventus Cantuariensis Amico (1187) Rolls 38.2.60

OVIDIUS, Pont. 3.2.9

cum feriant unum, non unum fulmina terrent,

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OVIDIUS, Pont. 3.2.9 (cont'd.) o.p.3.2.9

Giraldus

(1) th 5.72

Non hic tonitrua terrent, non fulmina feriunt.

(2) vh 7.122

quatinus unius punitio multorum sit munitio, quatinus unius fletus multorum sit metus, quatinus unius error multorum sit terror et horror, quia

Cum feriunt unum, non unum fulmina terrent,

per provinciam totam est publicatum.

(3) ge 2.108

Semper quippe citra merita puniens et ultra praemians, sed in paucos tantum et rarissimos interdum animadvertere dignum duxit, quatinus et potestas appareat, et formidabili exemplo multos emendet, dum scilicet paucorum poena tremor et terror existat, ad quos fama pervenerit universorum. Quoniam, ut poetae verbis ad haec utamur, cum fas sit, ut ait philosophus, undecumque proficere,

Si quotiens peccant homines sua fulmina mittat
Jupiter, exiguo tempore inermis erit.

Et illud ejusdem:

Cum feriant unum, non unum fulmina terrent.

Paucorum itaque poena multorumque metu fulgura coruscant, tonitrua terrent et tonant, fulmina cadunt.

(4) ge 2.164

sacrosque dies debita veneratione non servantes, ut poena paucorum metus fiat et correctio multorum, divinam interdum irae ultricis indignationem, etiam in terris non evadunt. Quia, sicut fulmina paucorum periculo cadunt et multorum metu, juxta illud poetae:

Cum feriant unum non unum fulmina terrent; (O.P.3.2.9)

et ullud:

Qui paucos poena, multos terrore coercet;

sic divinae animadversiones plures quidem terrent quam terunt, dum deliquentium et enormiter etiam excedentium benigna Dei miseratio conversionem magis appetit quam eversionem.

(5) pi 8.104

Patiens quoque princeps esse tenetur, ut nec sit animi vindicis nec irae praecipitis. Nam, ut ait poeta;

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OVIDIUS, Pont. 3.2.9 (cont'd.) o.p.3.2.9

Si, quotiens peccant homines, sua fulmina mittat
Jupiter, exiguo tempore inermis erit.

Est et principi proprium beneficum esse, et quod, offensus plurimum et ad iram provocatus, fabricata tam fulmina pauca mittit, multa remittit. Potius enim ut terreat quam ut terat, potius ut multos instruat quam unum destruat, graviorem exercere expedit interdum animadversionem.

Unde poeta:

Cum feriant unum, non unum fulmina terrent.

OVIDIUS, Pont. 3.4.79-80

ut desint uires, tamen est laudanda uoluntas:
hac ego contentos auguror esse deos.

Giraldus

(1) jm 3.204

Paucis autem sic archidiaconus ad haec respondit: "Omnibus his me penitus imparem nec in aliquo comparabilem esse fateor; quoniam, ut verbis poeticis utar:

Non me nominibus furiosus comparo tantis.

Nisi tamen dignitatis ecclesiae nostrae in hoc articulo jus pro posse prosequerer, ingratum me filium ejusdem, infidelem et illegitimum, certissimis indiciis comprobarem. Sed qui nisus suos et vires omnes ad quos de jure tenetur apponit, quicunque fuerit secutus effectus, argui non debet aut reprehendi; juxta illud poetae:

Careat successibus opto, (O.Epp.2.85-6)
Quisquis ab eventu facta notanda putat.

Et illud ejusdem:

Si desint vires, tamen est laudanda voluntas.
Hac quoque contentos auguror esse Deos.

Item et illud Senecae: 'In arduis aggressibus etsi non sequatur effectus, laudabilis tamen est ipse conatus.' Post bellum diutinum et duodenne discrimen, tandem fatis urgentibus aut sinistris eventibus, Trojae nobilis secuta ruina est; et tamen Hector, quoniam in ejus defensione dum stetit propugnator erat egregius, perpetuam nec immerito laudem obtinuit. Unde poeta:

Hectora quis nosset, felix si Troja fuisset? (O.T.4.3.75-4)
Ardua per praeceps gloria stravit iter.

Itaque qui cum debili dimicat hoste, si victus fuerit, confusio grandis; si victor extiterit, gloria brevis. Et e diverso qui

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OVIDIUS, Pont. 3.4.79-80 (cont'd.) o.p.3.4.79-80

bello forti in justa causa congreditur, dum bene pugnarit et ex contingentibus nil omiserit, fortuna belli et alea fati quocunque se verterit, debita non debet laude privari. Contra fortes igitur adversarios pro ecclesia nostra fortiter pro posse dimicando, etsi victoriam assequi non potero, tamen ignaviam effugere volo. Regiam vero coronam non impugnare sed potius augmentare, tertiam in regno metropolim reformando, magnis nisibus elaboro."

OVIDIUS, Pont. 3.5.18

gratius ex ipso fonte bibuntur aquae.

Giraldus

(1) li d.89

Sed hiis in fine litterarum, ubi manifeste subi contrarius inuenitur respondebimus, illud tamen Ouidii interserentes Dulcius ex ipso fonte bibuntur aque.

OVIDIUS, Rem. 45-6

Terra salutares herbas, eademque nocentes
Nutrit, et urticae proxima saepe rosa est;

Giraldus

(1) sp 4.122

Non ergo miretur quispiam si in monasteriis inter bonos inveniantur interdum mali, sed exultet magis Dominumque laudet, quod inter multos malos aliqui nonnunquam inveniuntur boni. Ait enim poeta:

Et bona sunt vicina malis. (O.Rem.323)

Paulo post, tanquam ad hoc exemplo confirmandum, subjecit:

Terra salutiferas herbas eademque nocentes
Nutrit, et urticae proxima saepe rosa.

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OVIDIUS, Rem. 45-6 (cont'd.) o.r.45-6

(2) Florilegium Gottingense (early 13 cent.) #137 Voigt .137

Terra salutares herbas eademque nocentes
Nutrit, et urticam proxima saepe rosa.

OVIDIUS, Rem. 91-2

Principiis obsta; sero medicina paratur,
Cum mala per longas conualuere moras.

Giraldus

(1) eh 5.240

Principiis enimvero semper obviandum, et morbis venientibus occurrendum. Sero namque medicina paratur Cum mala per longas invaluere moras.

(2) sp 4.138

Verumtamen quoniam satiora sunt remedia sera quam nulla,

(3) Bernardus Claravallensis (fl.1130) See Man. 3.123-7

(4) Gulielmus Cantuariensis (fl.1170) Rolls 67.1.402

(5) Thomas Cisterciensis (fl.1180) Migne 206.92

(6) Garnerus S. Victoris (fl.1190) Migne 205.312

(7) Vita S. Wilhelmi S. Thomae in Dania (1203) Migne 209.594

(8) Absalon Abbas (fl.1210) Migne 211.42

(9) Florilegium Gottingense (early 13 cent.) #147 Voigt .147

OVIDIUS, Rem. 119, 125-8

cum furor in cursu est, currenti cede furori; 119
adgrediar melius tum, cum sua uulnera tangi 125

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OVIDIUS, Rem. 119, 125-8 (cont'd.) o.r.119,125-8

iam sinet, et ueris uocibus aptus erit. 126
quis matrem, nisi mentis inops, in funere nati 127
flere uetet? non hoc illa monenda loco est. 128

Giraldus

(1) th 5.157

Sic enim composita est hominum natura, ut vel crescant semper vel decrescant, proficiant semper vel deficiant, quia stare nesciunt, res humanae; et cum ad summum pervenerint, longe quidem ocius quam ascenderant, properant ad descensum. Itaque si tempora discernas, et modum in singulis modulator simul et moderator observes, qui narrator fueras importunus fieri poteris opportunus.

Quis matrem nisi mentis inops in funere nati
Flere vetet? Non hoc illa monenda loco est.

Igitur,

Dum dolor in cursu est, currenti cede dolori:
Tempore cum residet, jam medicina valet.

Est itaque tanquam convertibilia musica naturae. Hujus enim opera, animum si intendis, incendis; si remittis, amittis. Unde et gens Hibernica et Hispanica, aliaeque nationes nonnullae, inter lugubres funerum planctus musicas efferunt lamentationes: quatinus vel dolorem instantem augeant et recentem, vel forte ut minuant jam remissum.

(2) vh 7.104

Et quanquam illud poeticum non ignoraverit,

Da spatium tenuemque moram; male cuncta ministrat
Impetus (St.T.10.704)

Et illud

Dum furor in cursu est, currenti cede furori;

(3) sl 1.402

Interim autem dum recens est anxietas frigent forte verba solantium; nec aures applicat consiliis etiam bonis surdus ex multis injuriis animus. Unde poeta:

Dum furor in cursu est; currenti cede furori. 119
Quis matrem nisi mentis inops in funere nati 127
Flere vetet? Non hoc illa monenda loco est. 128
Accedes melius tunc cum sua vulnera tangi 125
Jam sinet, et veris vocibus aptus eris. 126

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OVIDIUS, Rem. 119, 125-8 (cont'd.) o.r.119,125-8

(4) Benedictus Petriburghensis (fl.1130) Rolls 67.4.390

juxta illud ethici,
Dum furor in cursu est, currenti cede furori,

(5) Gulielmus Filius Stephani (fl.1170) Migne 190.270

(6) Anonymi Miles Gloriosus (1175) Cohen 1.201.142

Quis nisi mentis inops sic emat orbis opes?

(7) Anonymi Pamphilus (1200) Cohen 2.215.561

Quis nisi mentis inops sua semina mandet arene?
Cum mercede labor gracior esse solet.

(8) Florilegium Gottingense (early 13 cent.) #148 Voigt .148

Quis matrem nisi mentis inops in funere nati
Flere uetat? non hâc ipsa monenda loco.

(9) Matthaeus Parisiensis (fl.1240) Rolls 44.3.274

Dum furor (in cursu est currenti cede)[1] furori

OVIDIUS, Rem. 144

cedit amor rebus: res age, tutus eris.

Giraldus

(1) ge 2.264

Item poeta: Res age, tutus eris.

---

1. Portion of text in brackets is omitted in the edition.

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OVIDIUS, Rem. 161-2 o.r.161-2

Quaeritis, Aegisthus quare sit factus adulter?
In promptu causa est: desidiosus erat.

Giraldus

(1) ge 2.263

Item poeta
Quaeritur Aegistus quare sit factus adulter?
In promptu causa est, desidiosus erat.
Item:
Cernis ut ignavum corrumpant otia corpus, (O.P.1.5.5-6)
Et capiant vitium cum moveantur aquae.

(2) Joannes Sarisberiensis (fl.1155) Migne 199.405

(3) Petrus Blesensis (fl.1160) Migne 207.25

(4) Idem 855

(5) Alanus ab Insulis (fl.1168) Migne 210.126

(6) Idem 249

(7) Helinandus (fl.1200) Migne 212.753

(8) Henrici Chronicon Lyvoniae (1237) MGSS 23.531

OVIDIUS, Rem. 323-4

et mala sunt uicina bonis; errore sub illo
pro uitio uirtus crimina saepe tulit.

Giraldus

(1) th 5.196

Sed quoniam semper
Mala sunt vicina bonis: errore sub ipso
pro vitio virtus crimina saepe tulit.
pacis et justitiae zelo defervens, ... in male meritos juris rigore desaeviens, ... lividorum latratibus coepit in commune crudelitate notari.

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OVIDIUS, Rem. 323-4 (cont'd.) o.r.323-4

(2) eh 5.301

Semper enim mundanis in rebus, quia nulla sub coelo perfectus felicitas, et mala sunt vicina bonis, et vitia virtutibus distinguuntur.

(3) ge 2.258

respondeo quia non debet tale lucrum tali damno compensari. Quoniam et mala sunt vicina bonis.

(4) pi 8.40

Vnde Ouidius. Et bona sunt vicina
malis.errore sub ipso: pro vicio uirtus
crimina sepe tulit.[1]

(5) pi 8.247

Same as # 1

(6) sp 4.122

Non ergo miretur quispiam si in monasteriis inter bonos inveniantur interdum mali, ... Ait enim poeta:
Et bona sunt vicina malis.

(7) pi 8.40

Ob hanc itaque bonorum atque malorum affinitatem plerumque contingit, ut proclivis valde fiat ab his in illa prolapsus, vel etiam, nisi firmo virtus gradu nitatur, vitiositatis interdum naevo denigretur. Unde Ovidius: et mala sunt vicina bonis; errore sub illo pro vitio virtus crimina saepe tulit.

---

1. Text omitted from Warner's printed edition. Br.Mus.Cotton Julius xiii, fol.66, col. 2; Warner has printed to malis inclusive; the underlining is that of the manuscript.

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OVIDIUS, Rem. 323-4 (cont'd.) o.r.323-4

(8) sp 4.122

quod inter multos malos aliqui nonunquam inveniuntur boni. Ait enim poeta: et mala sunt vicina bonis; errore sub illo
pro vitio virtus crimina saepe tulit.

(9) Helinandus (fl.1200) Migne 212.618

OVIDIUS, Rem. 369-70

summa petit liuor; perflant altissima uenti:
summa petunt dextra fulmina missa Iovis.

Giraldus

(1) sy 1.342

Summa petit levitas aliis adjuncta duobus,
Altior et levior aere flamma volat.

(2) ik 6.95

Nonnullos etiam movere solet, quod fulmina frequenter ecclesias nostras et templa cadendo dejiciunt; ... Quibus nihil aliud ad praesens nisi illud Ovidii respondere dignum duxi;
Summa petit livor, perflant altissima venti,
Summa petunt dextra fulmina missa Jovis.

(3) sp 4.301

ex multa malitia pariter et invidia tumor hic pravus atque perversus indubitata **varitate** procedit; juxta poeticum illud:
Summa petit livor; perflant altissima venit,
et caetera.

(4) Petrus Abaelardus (fl.1120) Migne 178.120

(5) Philippus de Harvengt (fl.1130) Migne 203.154

(6) Petrus Blesensis (fl.1160) Migne 207.249

(7) Jocelinus Rolls 96.1.239

(8) Idem 305

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OVIDIUS, Rem. 369-70 (cont'd.) o.r.369-70

(9) Lambertus Ardensis (fl.1190) See Man.3.498-502

(10) Alexander Neckam (fl.1197) Rolls 34.339

(11) Idem 359

OVIDIUS, Rem. 461

quid moror exemplis, quorum me turba fatigat?

Giraldus

(1) ge 2.64-5

"Sed quid multis moramur;

(2) sy 1.205

Caeterum, quid moror exemplis quorum me turba fatigat?

(3) Henricus Huntendunensis (fl.1124) Rolls 59.2.167

(4) Vitalis Blesensis Aulularia (1175) Cohen 1.93.501

(5) Alexander Neckam (fl.1197) Rolls 34.371

(6) Codex Dresdensis A 167a, Fuscus vs. Diaceophilus (12-13 cent.) line 24

(7) Carmina Burana am 100.5b (early 13 cent.) Hilka-Schumann p. 136

(8) Eupolemii Messias (early 13 cent.) 1.110 and 2.197 Manitius

OVIDIUS, Rem. 579

quisquis amas, loca sola nocent, loca sola caueto!

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OVIDIUS, Rem. 579 (cont'd.) o.r.579

Giraldus

(1) rg 1.83

Cumque moestus ibi plurimum et anxius esset, demum cogitans et recolens illud amantis remedium; Loca sola nocent, loca sola caveto: statim ad aulam se conferendo, nunc militum nunc servientium se turbis inseruit; ut aliud et aliud audiendo aliud interdum cogitare et doloris instantis vehementiam vel sic mitigare valeret.

(2) Anonymi Pamphilus (1200) Cohen 2.202.225-6

Nam loca sola nocent, infamia nascitur inde;
Tucius ergo loquar, plebe uidente, tibi.

OVIDIUS, Rem. 690

ut flerent, oculos erudiere suos

Giraldus

(1) li d.104

Sed sicut mulieres, iuxta poetam, ut flerent oculos erudiere suos, sic de talibus leui mutatione dici potest, ut starent uultus erudiere suos.

OVIDIUS, Rem. 746, 749

diuitiis alitur luxuriosus amor. 746
Non habet, unde suum paupertas pascat amorem: 749

Giraldus

(1) dk 6.216

Sed mihi quidem longe aliter visum est. Quoniam enimvero
Luxuriant animi rebus plerumque secundis, (O.A.A.2.437-8)
Nec facile est aequa commoda mente pati;

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OVIDIUS, Rem. 746, 749 (cont'd.) o.r.746,749

et quia
Non habet unde suum paupertas pascat amorem;
Divitiis alitur luxuriosus amor;
ut paupertati potius in hoc exilio, quo extorres fere facti sunt a regno, attribuenda sit vitii illius, quo in divitiis carere nescierant, illa carentia, quam virtuti.

(2) vg 4.422

Et quoniam,
Non habet unde suum paupertas pascat amorem;
Divitiis alitur luxuriosus amor;
inter varias delicias, ne nihil illi quod collibuisset deesse valeret, tanto luxu rerum atque libidine coepit involvi, ut ...

(3) sp 4.216

creverunt opes in ordine, nec non et opum subsequenter furiosa pariter et luxuriosa cupido

(4) Petrus Abaelardus (fl.1120) Migne 178.1763.187-8

Ut pecudes quo vult trahit impetuosa voluptas,
Sic homines agitat luxuriosus amor.

(5) Thomas Cisterciensis (fl.1180) Migne 206.158

Divitiae turpi fregerunt saecula luxu.
Divitiis alitur luxuriosus amor.

(6) Andreas Capellanus (fl.1180) See Man. 3.285

OVIDIUS, Rem. 808

lenis alit flammas, grandior aura necat.

Giraldus

(1) pi 8.23

Unde, sicut ait Seneca de clementia, "Remissius imperanti melius plerumque paretur." Ovidius: Lenis alit flammas; grandior aura necat.

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si, quotiens peccant homines, sua fulmina mittat
Iuppiter, exiguo tempore inermis erit;

Giraldus

(1) ge 2.108

Semper quippe citra merita puniens et ultra praemians, sed in paucos tantum et rarissimos interdum animadvertere dignum duxit, quatinus et potestas appareat, et formidabili exemplo multos emendet, dum scilicet paucorum poena tremor et terror existat, ad quos fama pervenerit universorum. Quoniam, ut poetae verbis ad haec utamur, cum fas sit, ut ait philosophus, undecumque proficere,

Si quotiens peccant homines sua fulmina mittat
Jupiter, exiguo tempore inermis erit.

Et illud ejusdem:

Cum feriant unum, non unum fulmina terrent.

(2) sv 1.244

Unde nec plectendi sunt miseri quotiens maerentur, nec quantum. Nam ut ait poeta:

si, quotiens peccant homines, sua fulmina mittat
Juppiter, exiguo tempore inermis erit;

(3) pi 8.34

Tunc demum gladius est judicis exserendus, quando vel atrocitate delicti vel prava delinquentis consuetudine provocatur. Quoniam, ut ait Ovidius:

si, quotiens peccant homines, sua fulmina mittat
Iuppiter, exiguo tempore inermis erit;

(4) pi 8.104

Patiens quoque princeps esse tenetur, ut nec sit animi vindicis nec irae praecipitis. Nam, ut ait poeta;

Si, quotiens peccant homines, sua fulmina mittat
Jupiter, exiguo tempore inermis erit.

Est et principi proprium beneficum esse, et quod, offensus plurimum et ad iram provocatus, fabricata tam fulmina pauca mittit, multa remittit. Potius enim ut terreat quam ut terat, potius ut multos instruat quam unum destruat, graviorem exercere expedit interdum animadversionem.
Unde poeta:

Cum feriant unum, non unum fulmina terrent.

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OVIDIUS, Tristia 2.33-4 (cont'd.) o.t.2.33-4

(5) Philippus de Harvengt (fl.1130) Migne 203.1044

Non enim degeneri timore parcit cuilibet delinquenti, ne aliquando scilicet desint jacula ferienti, et cum arma defuerant quibus peccantium possit contumaciam expugnare, securius praesumant contumaces inermi et invalido repugnare. Quod nimirum de diis gentium poetae garruli fabulantur, quos ideo cessare a feriendo nonnunquam perversos mores hominum arbitrantur, ne si velut sagittis emissis eorum semel pharetra vacuatur, ad feriendum ultra nulla eis copia praebeatur.

Si quotiens, ait quidam, peccant homines, sua fulmina mittat Jupiter, exiguo tempore inermis erit.

Non vult Deus Jupiter, quoties peccant homines, fulminare, sed eorum plerumque vitia, vindictam differens, tolerare, ne si ad fulminandum singula rapiatur amore vindicandi, prius desint fulmina quam homines vitae merito fulminandi.

OVIDIUS, Tristia 3.4.3-4

usibus edocto si quicquam credis amico,
uiue tibi et longe nomina magna fuge.

Giraldus

(1) rg 1.98

et illud ejusdem collit usibus edocto si quicquam credis amico, vive tibi et longe nomina magna fuge.

(2) li d.203

same as #1

(3) pi 8.lxvi

audiat et Ovidii consilium:

usibus edocto si quicquam credis amico,
vive tibi et longe nomina magna fuge.

(4) pi 8.47[1]

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OVIDIUS, Tristia 3.4.3-4 (cont'd.) c.o.t.3.4.3-4

(5) same as # 1

OVIDIUS, Tristia 3.4.25-6

crede mihi, bene qui latuit bene uixit, et intra
fortunam debet quisque manere suam.

Giraldus

(1) rg 1.98

et illud Ovidii:

Crede mihi; bene qui latuit, bene vixit;
Fortunam debet quisque manere suam.

(2) li d.203

same as # 1

(3) pi 8.lxvi

audiat et Ovidii consilium:
crede mihi, bene qui latuit bene vixit, et intra
fortunam debet quisque manere suam.

(4) pi 8.47 1

et alibi poeta.
Crede mihi bene qui latuit bene
vixit. Et infra fortunam debet
quisque manere suam.

(5) same as # 1

(6) Petrus Blesensis (fl. 1160) Migne 207.72

(7) Petrus Cantor (fl. 1170) Migne 205.166

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1. Brit. Mus. Cotton Julius B.xiii, fol. p. 69; text omitted from Warner's printed edition.

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OVIDIUS, Tristia 3.4.25-6 (cont'd.) o.t.3.4.25-6

(8) Thomas Cisterciensis (fl.1180) Migne 206.270

(9) Alexander Neckam (fl.1197) Rolls 34.52

OVIDIUS, Tristia 3.5.31-36

quo quisque est maior, magis est placabilis irae,
et faciles motus mens generosa capit.
corpora magnanimo satis est prostrasse leoni,
pugna suum finem, cum iacet hostis, habet:
at lupus et turpes instant morientibus ursi
et quaecumque minor nobilitate fera.

Giraldus

pi 8.23 1

Quo
quisque est maior magis est placa
bilis ire. Et faciles motus: mens
generosa capit. Magnanimo sa
tis hostem prostrasse leoni. Pugna
suum finem cum iacet hostis habet. Ac
lupus et turpes instant morien
tibus Vrsi. et quaecumque minor nobi
litate fera est.

---

1. Brit. Mus. Cotton Julius B.xiii, fol. p. 57; text omitted from Warner's printed edition.

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OVIDIUS, Tristia 4.3.74-5 o.t.4.3.74-5

ardua per praeceps gloria uadit iter. 74
Hectora quis nosset, si felix Troia fuisset? 75

Giraldus

(1) eh 5.365

Verumtamen ad majoris meriti palmam divina forte dispositione rex reservatur: ... Et quoniam

Hectora quis nosset, felix si Troja fuisset?
Ardua per praeceps gloria stravit iter.

quanto gravior et instantior urget adversitas, quanto nebulosae tenebrositatis et turbationis densior incumbit obscuritas, tanto luce clariore strenuitatis gloria praefulgebit.

(2) jm 3.205

(3) li d.186

(4) pi 8.244

cum tamen, si felix, si fortunatus fuisset

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PERSIUS, 1.28 pers.1.28

at pulchrum est digito monstrari et dicier 'hic est'

Giraldus

(1) im 3.208

Quoniam itaque pulchrum est monstrari digito et dicier, hic est, ad eos qui laborem ipsius plangere solebant, et...quasi compatiendo dolere, sic archidiaconus respondere consueverat:

(2) li d.204

same as #1

PERSIUS, 3.30

ad populum phaleras! ego te intus et in cute noui.

Giraldus

(1) li d.95

Quin domino suo quem intus et in cute nouimus et propter quem hec omnia nobis opponit, longe obiciamus turpiora et uere,

(2) im 3.119

item et quoniam cleri Menevensis capitulique, de quorum hic actibus agitur, mores et modus intus et in cute nosse dinoscitur

(3) im 3.254

quos utinam sic nosset intus et in cute vestra prudentia, sicut et a nobis cogniti sunt.

(4) sp 4.147

Nec mirum quia secreta capituli novit omnia, et eorum infirma quidem intus et in cute non ignoravit.

(5) sp 4.221

quia si totum ordinem et monachos ordinis Cisterciensis intus et in cute plene novisset,

(6) Gulielmus Filius Stephani (fl. 1170) Rolls 67.3.26

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PERSIUS, 3.30 (cont'd.) pers. 3.30

regem intus et in cute novi.

(7) Galfridus de Vino Salvo (fl. 1195) Manitius 3.751-6

(8) Carmina Burana m-s (early 13 cent.) Hilka-Schumann p. 36

19.4 Dare non ut convenit
non est a virtute,
bonum est secundum quid,
sed non absolute;
digne dare poteris
et mereri tute
famam muneris,
si me prius noveris
intus et in cute.

PERSIUS, 5.52-3

Mille hominum species et rerum discolor usus;[1]
uelle suum cuique est, nec uoto uiuitur uno.

Giraldus

(1) ik 6.3

Sicut variis rerum motibus et mutationibus tempora moventur, sic diversis morum curriculis temporalium hominum animi trahuntur. Satyricus clamat;

Mille hominum species, et rerum discolor usus:
Velle suum cuique est, nec voto vivitur uno.

(2) ik 6.4

Sed inter tot hominum species, ubi divini poetae; ubi nobiles morum assertores; ubi linguae latinae moderatores?

(3) ik 6.6

Inter tot igitur hominum species, quoniam, Trahit sua quemque voluptas, et quoniam Variis vexantur pectora votis, me quidem scribendi studium eligere posteritatis cura coegit.

---

1. Ov. Rem. 525-6 Nam quoniam uariant animi, uariabimus artes;
Mille mali species, mille salutis erunt.

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PERSIUS, 5.52-3 (cont'd.) pers.5.52

(4) Florilegium Gottingense (13th cent.) Voigt 291.96

Quot morbi partes, tot sunt medicaminis artes:
Mille mali species, mille salutis opes

PERSIUS, 5.116-17

pelliculam ueterem retines et fronte politus
astutam uapido seruas in pectore uolpem,

Giraldus

(1) eh 5.338

Pelliculam veterem retinens; vir fronte polita,
Astutam vapido portans sub pectore bulpem;

(2) sy 1.212 (Epistola Abbati Cisterciensi)

Pelliculam veterem retinens, ac voce politus.
Astutam vapido portans sub pectore bulpem.

(3) sy 1.297

(4) sp 4.159

(5) Recardus Aldgate (fl. 1187) Rolls 38.1.170

Verum palliata superficie tenus simulatoria dilectione, semel concepta in animo regis Franciae perseveravit immortalis aemulatio, et regis Ricardi gesta praeclara zelans,
Astutam vapido servabat pectore vulpem.

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non bibet inter aquas poma aut pendentia carpit
Tantalus infelix, quem sua uota premunt.
diuitis haec magni facies erit, omnia cernens
qui timet et sicco concoquit ore famem...

Giraldus

(1) ik 6.42

Petronius: 1
Non bibit inter aquas, nec poma fugacia carpit
Tantalus infelix, quem sua vota premunt.
Divitis haec magni facies erit, omnia late
Qui tenet, et sicco concoquit ore famem.

(2) sp 4.119

same as # 1

---

1. Cf. Ovidius, Amores 2.2.43-4:
Quaerit aquas in aquis, et poma fugacia captat
Tantalus.

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PLAUTUS, Asinaria 495 pl.a.495

lupus est homo homini, non homo,

Giraldus

th 5.69

Insidiantur venena; insidiantur et venenosa animalia; insidiatur omnium rerum nocivarum res nocentissima, homini homo.

PLAUTUS, Persa, 625

Nomen atque omen quantiuis iam est preti.

Giraldus

(1) sy 1.356-7

Ad quandam puellam litteratam nomen habentem Laetitiae sed non omen, sub amatoris sui specie.

Quicquid amor jussit non est contemnere tutum,
Me tibi quae scribo scribere jussit amor.
Laetitiam sine laetitia dolet esse Dovinus
Laetitiaeque dolor causa doloris ei.
Languet amans quotiens audit languere quod optat,
Si fugiunt quod amat gaudia languet amans.
Parcius ergo dole, pariter tibi parce tuoque,
Et tibi si non vis parcere parce tuo.
Cum tibi Laetitiae sit nomen laetior esto,
Laetitiaeque simul nomen et omen habe.
Re sine nomen habent, et rem sine nomine multi,
Fac per se neutrum, sed sit utrumque tuum.
Si tamen alterutrum tibi quaeris abesse duorum,
Utilius quam rem nomen abesse puto.
Tristitiam vultus spondet tibi gaudia nomen,
Quae vultus prohibet gaudia nomen habet.
Quam bene Laetitia posset res laeta vocari
Tam male vox tristi convenit ista rei.
Quod commune fuit proprium sit nomen amanti;
Res utinam votis appropriata foret.
Si te verus amor vero conjungit amanti
Percipies animo gaudia vera tuo.
Pectore verus amor quo regnat vix habet illo
Vel dolor hospitium vel gravis ira locum.
Si cupias igitur cum re tibi nomen adesse
Elige quem cupias quem tuus urat amor.
Sum tibi verus amans, verum si quaeris amantem,

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Si quaeris quis amet, sum tibi verus amans.
Ecce recedit amans sed non ab amore recedit
Pectoris in thalamo fortius ille furit.

(2) th 5.174

sunt episcopi, qui non omen sed nomen, non onus sed honorem amplectuntur.

(3) eh 5.247

vir quidem plus nominis hactenus habens quam ominis, plus genii quam ingenii, plus successionis quam possessionis.

(4) eh 5.279

Nec alicujus fere in insula vel nominis erat vel ominis, qui regiae majestati vel sui praesentiam, vel debitam domino reverentiam non exhiberet.

(5) eh 5.335

Hoc etenim gentis hujus omen, et haec conditio. Semper in armata militia cari, semper primi; semper, rebus in martiis, ausu nobili famosissimi.

(6) eh 5.380

ob praematurum aurae favorem, venerabili Menevensi ecclesia, omine sinistro, praetermissa.

(7) ik 6.47

etsi non omen quoad gazas grande, tragicasque mundi pompas adeptus, juxta usualia tamen vocabula nomen dignitatis obtinui;

(8) dk 6.216

et juxta Merlini sui vaticinia, exterorum tam natione pereunte quam muncupatione, antiquo in insula tam nomine quam omine Britones exultabunt.

(9) vg 4.408

Qui tamen, quanquam tanti nominis et ominis extiterit, adeo modestum et minus arrogantem se in omnibus exhibuit, ut...

(10) ge 2.349

De talibus autem, quorum nimis est hodie magna caterva, erant

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quidam qui, ut adepto prius magisterii nomine, etsi non omine, saltem illum superficialem liberius facere possent,

(11) li d.86

Bene nouit olim nomen meum, licet et nomen et omen extinguere nunc pro posse nitatur.

(12) li d.99

Ceterum si ea que anno preterito uobis proposita sunt,... sufficere possent, omine bono sufficiant, cum omnia que contra nos scripta habere uidentur, per regiam proculdubio uiolentiam sint extorta.

(13) sy 1.203

Apud curiam igitur Anglorum reginae, et matris domini regis, transacto jam triennio, omine infausto, monachum illum inveni.

(14) sy 1.303

Quinimmo etiam ori sacro, ad meum plenius et penitus extinguendum nomen et omen, verba detractionis, immo quod absit damnationis, inseruit.

(15) jm 3.113

et tunc non nomine solum sed et omine, non vocaliter tantum sed essentialiter et quasi substantialiter, primatiae sedes Cantuaria foret.

(16) jm 3.198

Abbate namque Sancti Dogmaelis quasi loco nihili finem expectante et tantum nominis umbram praeferente, abbas Albae Domus, albior exterius quam interius, habitu quam actu, nomine quam omine, capitulo Sancti Davidis malitiae suae virus infundens,

(17) pi 8.6

same as #2

(18) pi 8.8

Urbs Romulea primo per reges, deinde per consules, demum regi statuit per dictatores. Imperiale nimirum tam nomen quam omen sola sibi usurpavit ambitio.

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(19) pi 8.75

Bizantii tyrannos, de caetero nomen et non omen imperii praetendentes, crebroque se invicem exoculantes,

(20) pi 8.138

in senectute sua tertiam istam omine felici duxit uxorem.

(21) pi 8.156

Statim igitur Henrico secundo in regni solium sublimato, inter ipsa primordia felicis ominis auspicio,

(22) pi 8.160

indebite subtraxit sibique de facto conjugali vinculo copulavit, ex qua et prolem praedictam processu temporis omine infausto suscepit;

(23) pi 8.221

filium, quem...mittere debuerat in Sarracenos,..., infausto misit omine et in Christianos.

(24) pi 8.311

Unde et omine infausto,

(25) sp 4.162

Item qualiter nimis propinque jam translatus, et ad vicinitatem omine sinistro transplantatus, quia mus in pera, serpens in gremio, ignis in sinu, male suo remunerant hospites,

(26) sp 4.233

Cum enim domus suae cellerarius omine sinistro fuisset restitutus, pecuniam foeneratam...clam adquietare curavit,

(27) sp 4.282

Urbs etenim illa, quae nova Roma vocata est, et a Constantino constructa et ejus a nomine nuncupata, quantum ad temporalia commoda meliori dicitur omine condita, totam enim veteris Romae nobilitatem et gazas infinitas ad construendam novam Romam secum imperator Constantinus adduxit.

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PLAUTUS, Persa, 625 (cont'd.) pl.pers.625

(28) sp 4.285

omine infausto, Romanum imperium, quoniam regnum quodlibet in se separatum desolationi semper obnoxium,

(29) sp 4.303

infecto negotio tam utili quidem et tam honesto, omine sinistro quidem et infausto, in ipsis viridis juventae diebus et annis immaturis mortis intempestivae morsu crudeli, rebus, proh dolor! humanis exemptus est.

(30) Gulielmus Blesensis (fl. 1170) Cohen 1.136

Nec deerat talis nominis omen ei.

(31) Vitalis Blesensis (fl. 1175) Cohen 1.76

Sum miser atque meo mea nomino nomine fata,
Asperitasque noui nominis omen habet.
Res sequitur nomen; an nomen ab omine duxi,
Vel causam nomen ominis esse rear?

(32) Florilegium of S. Omer (c. 1200) Voigt 568.182

Omina sunt hominis quedam preconia finis.

(33) Matthaeus Parisiensis (fl. 1240) Rolls 57.2.452

PSEUDO-PUBLILIUS, Syrus 130.3 Friedrich p. 95

Sibi imperare quemque imperium est maximum.[1]

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1. Pseudo-Publilius Syrus, Sent. 132

Vis habere honorem? Dabo tibi magnum imperium: impera tibi.

Pseudo-Publilius Syrus, Sent. Fals. 167

Imperium habere vis magnum? Impera tibi.

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PSEUDO-PUBLILIUS, Syrus 130.3 (cont'd.) ps-publ.syr.130.3

Giraldus

(1) eh 5.300

inter tot rerum aliarum victorias, fortuna ubique spirante favorem, egregiae virtutis et inauditae pietatis exemplo, sibi rex imperans, deque seipso triumphans,
Vincens animos, iramque suam, qui cetera vicit, (Ov.Ep.3.85)
hostibus undique victis et triumphatis vitam reddidit et honorem.

(2) sy 1.245

Princeps ergo donec de se ipso triumphet obscure de hostibus de hostibus triumphabit. Nihil est enim unde non triumphet, animi triumphator. Vis itaque magnum imperium, do tibi, impera tibi.

(3) Othlonus (fl. 1050) Korfmacher p. 32

H 18. Honorem et imperium, si vis habere, dabo tibi magnum; impera tibi.

(4) Gulielmus Filius Stephani (fl. 1170) Rolls 67.3.40

Thomas curabat constanter, splendide, graviter, honeste agere omnia; ad sapientiae cuncta referre arbitrium; sibi imperare;

PSEUDO-PUBLILIUS, Syrus 250 Friedrich p. 51

Iniuriarum remedium est oblivio.

Giraldus

sy 1.270

Semper enim remedium oblivio doloris est, quia quod ratione non possumus, temporis prolixitate sepelimus, et omnis diuturnitate senescit afflictio.

PSEUDO-PUBLILIUS, Syrus 257 Friedrichs p. 51

Iudex damnatur cum nocens absoluitur.

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PSEUDO-PUBLILIUS, Syrus 257 (cont'd.) ps-publ.syr.257

Giraldus

(1) pi 8.35

Nam quid interest utrum ex homine se convertat quis in belluam, an sub hominis figura immanitatem belluae gerat? Non ergo talibus est parcendum; nam judex damnatur, cum nocens absolvitur.

(2) Gulielmus de Conchis (fl. 1120) Holmberg p. 13

STATIUS, Thebais 1.188

quas gerit ore minas, quanto premit omnia fastu!

Giraldus

(1) th 5.61

Praeterea, qui solo cetera necat aspectu, mors mustela basilisco. Sic qui tanto premit omnia fastu leonem, minima minctu confundit hyaena.

(2) vg 4.397

Quibus ipse imprimis cum tanto fastu et comminatione respondit,

(3) vg 4.422

Singulis autem qualiter statim abusus est officiis, quantoque fastu omnia coepit opprimere, qui diligentius prosequi vellet, nulla narranti dies, nulla scribenti pagina sufficere posset.

(4) Petrus Blesensis (fl. 1160) Migne 207.68

(5) Petrus Cantor (fl. 1170) Migne 205.49

STATIUS, Thebais 8.124-6

ut leo Massyli cum lux stetit obuia ferri,
tunc iras, tunc arma citat; si decidit hostis,
ire supra satis est uitamque relinquere uicto.

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STATIUS, Thebais 8.124-6 (cont'd.) st.t.8.124

Giraldus

pi 8.23

Et Statius. Vt leo[1]
massili cum lux stetit obuia ferri.
tunc ungues tunc arma citat.
si decidat hostis: ire super satis
est vitamque relinquere victo.

STATIUS, Thebais 8.398-9

iam clipeus clipeis, umbone repellitur umbo,
ense minax ensis, pede pes et cuspide cuspis:

Giraldus

(1) eh 5.341

lanceae lanceis, securibus enses confligentes, ad tartara multos utrinque transmittunt. Dum igitur acerrimo martis conflictu,
Jam clipeo clipeus, umbone repellitur umbo,
Ense minax ensis, pede pes, et cuspide cuspis,

(2) Ricardus Aldgate (fl. 1187) Rolls 38.1.21

vim vi repellere

(3) Alexander Neckam (fl. 1197) Rolls 34.391

Pectora collidunt, superaddunt ictibus ictus,
Crescit amor belli, concrepat ala, ruunt.

(4) Codex Dresd. A 167a (12-13 cent.)

37. Brachia sustollunt, et scutis scuta repellunt,
38. Vulnera vulneribus mercantur, et artubus artus.

---

1. Brit. Mus. Cotton Jul. xiii B, fol.57,col.1-2. Text omitted from Warner's printed edition.

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STATIUS, Thebais 10.704-5 st.t.10.704

da spatium tenuemque moram, male cuncta ministrat
impetus;

Giraldus

(1) vh 7.104

versus regem Ricardum, in transmarinis tunc agentem, iter incunctanter arripuit, et mare Gallicum absque mare transfretavit. Et quanquam illud poeticum non ignoraverit,
Da spatium tenuemque moram; male cuncta ministrat
Impetus;
et illud
Dum furor in cursu est, currenti cede furori; (Ov.Re.119)

(2) pi 8.56

Interest etiam et illud quod huic animus paret, illi imperat, et quod motus hujus et affectus ratio reprimit et refrenat, efferi illius et effrenis actus omnes impetus et ira ministrant.

(3) Gulielmus Tyrensis (fl. 1170) Migne 201.473

(4) idem 585

(5) idem 847

STATIUS, Thebais 12.816-17

uiue, precor; nec tu diuinam Aeneida tempta,
sed longe sequere et uestigia semper adora.

Giraldus

(1) dk 6.158

quam solam (sc. theologiam) facultates aliae tanquam pedisse-quae reginam longe sequuntur, et vestigia semper adorant.

(2) ge 2.325

Ubi enim hodie Laurentio similis? Ubi Vincentio? Utinam vel unus in hoc ordine, non dico qui hos temptet, sed qui saltem a longe sequatur et vestigia semper adoret, nostris diebus in veniatur.

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STATIUS, Thebais 12.816-17 (cont'd.) st.t.12.816

(3) sp 4.294

papa nimirum et pater patrum summique Patris Filii vices in terra gerens, et pro modulo vestigia sequens et saltem a longe semper adorans,

(4) Petrus Blesensis (fl. 1160) Migne 207.560

Ego autem in ea veneratione et reverentia quam Statius in fine Thebaidos exhibet Virgilio, magistro Acardo defero, dicens animae meae:

Non tu divinam exaequare AEneida tenta,
Sed longe sequere, et vestigia semper adora.

(5) Radulphus de Diceto (fl. 1195) Rolls 68.1.18

Sicque si modernos aliquis invidiae stimulis agitatus notare praesumpserit, tu tamen antiquitati reverentiam habe, cujus sunt adoranda vestigia;

(6) Stephanus Orleanensis (fl.1150) Man. 3.942

STATIUS, Thebais 12.818-19

mox, tibi si quis adhuc praetendit nubila liuor,
occidet, et meriti post me referentur honores.

Giraldus

(1) th 5.3

et momentaneam istam saltem memoria vivere posse post vitam. Unde et in egregiis legitur poetarum libris;

Denique, si quis adhuc praetendit nubila livor,
Occidet; et meriti post me referentur honores.

(2) ik 6.5

Sicut igitur testamenti, sic et scripti auctoritas mortis atramento confirmatur; juxta illud poetae,

Pascitur in vivis livor, post fata quiescit;
Cum suus ex merito quemque tuetur honor; (Ov.Am.1.15.39)

et illud;

Denique si quis adhuc praetendit nubila livor
Occidet, et meriti post me referentur honores.

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TERENTIUS, Andria 1.1.34 t.a.1.1.34

hoc apprime in uita esse utile, ut ne quid nimis.

Giraldus

(1) eh 5.303

Sed quoniam
hoc adprime in vita utile, ut ne quid nimis.

(2) jm 3.371

Item nec Croesi copiam captans, nec Codri seu Corydonis inopiam optans, juxta veridicam comici sententiam:
Hoc apprime in vita utile reputet, ut ne quid nimis.

(3) sp 4.116

juxtaque comici sententiam, hoc apprime in vita utile censendum, ut ne quid nimis,

TERENTIUS, Andria 1.1.41 t.a.1.1.41

obsequium amicos, ueritas odium parit.

Giraldus

(1) eh 5.301

et illud comicum:
Obsequium amicos, veritas odium parit.

(2) sy 1.293

same as # 1

(3) jm 3.331

Unde quia juxta veridicam comici sententiam,
Obsequium amicos, veritas odium parit.

(4) pi 8.214

same as # 1

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TERENTIUS, Andria 1.1.41 (cont'd.) t.a.1.1.41

(5) Othlonus (fl. 1050) Korfmacher p. 56

Obsequium amicos, veritas odium parit.

(6) Petrus Blesensis (fl.1160) Migne 207.891

juxta comicum illud:
Obsequium amicos, veritas odium parit.

(7) Joannes Saresberiensis (1166) Rolls 67.6.102

TERENTIUS, Andria 5.4.17

si mihi perget, quae uolt dicere
ea quae non uolt audiet.

Giraldus

(1) sy 1.228

Si vero discordiae seminatores, dicentes quod volebant, audire meruerunt quod nolebant; juxta comicum illud:
Si pergis dicere quod vis, audies quod non vis.

(2) li d.89

Tradit comicus noster quia, qui pergit dicere quod vult, audiet quod non vult.

TERENTIUS, Eunuchus 2.2.34

uiden' otium et cibu' quid facit alienu' ?

Giraldus

(1) sy 1.319

juxta comicum illud:
En! otium et cibus quod facit alienus.

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TERENTIUS, Eunuchus 2.2.34 (cont'd.) t.eun.2.2.34

(2) li d.94

Nichil est enim quod tantam pariat uiolentiam, sicut aliena (j.5.2) iuuere quadra, testante comico nostro de talibus, loquente et dicente,

En quid facit ocium et cibus alienus.

TERENTIUS, Eunuchus 4.5.6

...sine Cerere et Libero friget Venus.

Giraldus

(1) th 5.71

Regnant igitur in oriente Bacchus et Ceres, eorumque pedissequa et semper his sine frigens Venus.

(2) th 5.173

Unde et hoc pro miraculo duci potest, quod ubi vina dominantur Venus non regnat.

(3) ge 2.261

Ignibus enim si ligna, si stipulam, si materiam subtrahas, flamma deficiet et conquiescet; unde et illud comicum,

Sine Cerere et Baccho friget Venus.

(4) rg 1.67

same as # 3

(5) sp 4.88

Sicut enim sine Cerere et Baccho friget Venus, sic ex Cereris Bacchique superabundantia,..., in venis et medullis Veneris ardor et amor vehementer exuberat,

(6) Isaac de Stella (fl.1140) Migne 194.1710

gula et luxuria, nam

Sine Cerere et Baccho friget Venus.

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TERENTIUS, Eunuchus 4.6.32 t.eun.4.6.32

huic ipsist opu' patrono, quem defensorem paro

Giraldus

(1) ge 2.172

Alioquin gregi commisso dici poterit:
Opus est ei patrono quem defensorem paras.

(2) pi 8.105

Alioquin nationi subditae comicum illud improperari posset:
Patrono is indiget, quem defensorem paras.

(3) Ivo Carthusiensis (fl.1080) Manitius 3.96-9

TERENTIUS, Eunuchus 4.7.19

omnia prius experiri quam armis sapientem decet.

Giraldus

(1) eh 5.243

et quoniam, juxta Comici sententiam, omnia sapienti viro prius quam arma sunt tentanda;

(2) eh 5.303

juxta comicum illud, omnia prius quam arma pertentans.

(3) jm 3.228

scientes juxta comici sententiam omnia prius attemptanda quam arma.

(4) pi 8.256

Sciens enim quod viro sapienti, juxta comicum illud, omnia prius quam arma sunt tentanda.

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TERENTIUS, Eunuchus 5.4.14-17 t.eun.5.4.14

quom cenant ligurriunt
harum uidere inluuiem sordes inopiam,
quam inhonestae solae sint dome atque auidae cibi,
quo pacto ex iure hesterno panem atrum uorent.

Giraldus

(1) ge 2.277

Item Jeronymus scribens cuidam diviti matronae...: "Absit ut ista quaeram; cui enim sat est vile olusculum et panis cribrarius, talia non quaeritat;..."

(2) ge 2.279

Illas enim, juxta comici sententiam, quae palam ligurriunt et vix summis labris degustant, si videris qualiter clam panem atrum vorant cum jure hesterno, etc.

(3) sp 4.36

quod ibi pane cribrario et atro olerum aut leguminum jure hesterno rugientem ventrem pascere malunt,

(4) sp 4.218

Proinde illud Jeronymi ex libro ejusdem Epistolari sumptum...: "Natus in paupere tecto tugurioque rusticano, qui vix milio et cribrario pane rugientem ventrem saturare potui,

TERENTIUS, Heaut. 1.1.25 t.h.1.1.25

...humani nil a me alienum puto.

Giraldus

(1) th 5.29

Hanc igitur veniam petimusque damusque vicissim; (h.a.p.11)
nihil unquam humanum a nobis alienum esse putantes.

(2) eh 5.301

nihil humanum a se alienum sapiens putet. Semper enim mundanis in rebus, ..., et vitia virtutibus distinguuntur.

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TERENTIUS, Heaut. 1.1.25 (cont'd.) t.h.1.1.25

(3) Joannes Saresberiensis (fl.1167) Rolls 67.6.355

praesertim si caritas urgeat, ut nihil humanum a se reputet alienum.

TERENTIUS, Heaut. 4.6.1-2

nullast tam facili' res quin difficilis siet,
quam inuitu' facias.

Girldus

(1) pi 8.17

Terentius: ... et alibi, Neque ulla res tam facilis, quin difficilis sit, quam invitus facis.

(2) Othlonus (fl.1050) Korfmacher p. 50

Nihil est tam facile quod non fiat difficile, si invitus facias.

(3) Gulielmus de Conchis (fl.1120) Holmberg p. 41

Vnde poeta: Quod sors fert feramus equo animo. (t.ph.1.2.88) Inscitia est enim aduersus stimulum ut calces, quia asperum medicum intemperans facit. Neque ulla res tam facilis, quin difficilis sit, quam inuitus facias.

TERENTIUS, Phormis 1.2.88

quod sors fert feramus aequo animo

Giraldus

(1) pi 8.17

Terentius: Quod sors fert, feramus aequo animo; inscitia est enim adversus stimulum ut calces; et alibi, Neque ulla res tam facilis, quin difficilis sit, quam invitus facis. (t.h.1.1.25)

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TERENTIUS, Phormio 1.2.88 (cont'd.) t.ph.1.2.88

(2) Gulielmus de Conchis (fl.1120) Holmberg p. 41

Vnde poeta: Quod sors fert feramus equo animo. Inscitia est enim aduersus stimulum ut calces, quia asperum medicum intemperans facit. Neque ulla res tam facilis, quin difficilis sit, quam inuitus facias. (t.h.1.1.25)

TERENTIUS, Phormio 2.4.14

quot homines, tot sententiae: suo' quoique mos

Giraldus

(1) ik 6.3

Et illud comicum:
Quot capita, tot sententiae: suus cuique mos est.

(2) dk 6.189

quot videas capita, tot audias carmina

(3) De Unitate Ecclesiae Conservanda (1086) Manitius 3.40

(4) Jocelinus (fl.1180) Rolls 96.1.218

De eligendo abbate, si rex nobis liberam concederet electionem, diversi diversis modis loquebantur, quidam publice, quidam occulte; et quot homines tot sententiae.

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TURPILIUS, Ex Incertis Fabulis 1 turp.incert.1

Sola res est quae praesentes homines absentes facit.

Giraldus

(1) sv 1.236

An illud Turpilii Comici legisse dissimulas? Sola res est, inquit, vicissitudo litterarum quae absentes praesentes facit.

(2) Galfridus (fl. 1200) Migne 205.834

Turpilius comicus tractans de vicissitudine litterarum, Sola, inquit, res est quae homines praesentes facit. Nec falsam dedit quam in se noverat sententiam.

(3) idem Migne 205.856

Turpilius comicus tractans de vicissitudine litterarum: Sola, inquit, res est, quae homines absentes praesentes faciat.

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VERGILIUS, Aeneid 1.2 v.aen.1.2

Italiam fato profugus Lauiniaque uenit 2
litora ----- 3

Giraldus

(1) dk 6.157

Trojano excidio, Thebis, et Athenis, Lavinisque litoribus, impar et inculta quid addere posset opera nostra?

(2) dk 6.193

Tres etenim populi, Romani Enea duce, Franci Antenore, Britones Bruto, post Trojanum excidium,
Reliquiae Danaum atque immitis Achillis, (V.Aen.1.30)
ab Asia in Europam varias ad partes profugerunt.

(3)

(4) li d.96

qui similiter uagus et profugus, puta nullius ciuitatis episcopus,

(5) li d.119

uagum eundem ac profugum, et nullius ciuitatis episcopum

(6) sp 4.192

dictum regem.....afflictum undique.....et profugum, [1]

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 1.25-7

necdum etiam causae irarum saeuique dolores
exciderant animo; manet alta mente repostum
iudicium Paridis spretaeque iniuria formae,

---

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VERGILIUS, Aeneid 1.25-7 (cont'd.) v.aen.1.25-7

Giraldus

(1) th 5.191

et illud nobile Gaii Caesaris elogium alta mente revolvens,

(2) eh 5.226

dissimulatas diu injurias, altaque mente repostas, vindicem ad animum revocantes

(3) ik 6.148

mundique pompas alta mente despiciens,

(4) vr 7.12

qui mundi delicias omnes et divitias, ... , alta mente contemnunt

(5) vr 7.71

same as #3

(6) vg 4.376

pristinas forsan alta mente repostas recolens atque revolvens confusiones,

(7) ge 2.270

Auditis ergo salubribus contra carnales concupiscentias in clero remediis, et fideliter animo repositis, ad insatiabiles sacerdotum ambitiones eradicandas stilum vertamus.

(8) ge 2.304

munera sibi oblata, etiam libera et licita, omnino respuens, et manus inde prorsus excutiens, alta mente calcabat;

(9) rg 1.87

quas tamen oblationes omnes, nil tale ambiendo, secura quidem et alta mente calcavit.

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VERGILIUS, Aeneid 1.25-7 (cont'd.) v.aen.1.25-7

(10) sy 1.239

Dum haec igitur altiori mente propensius agito, et unum inter multos studiosius eligo, cujus spiritus mea regat pectora, cui dimidium animae meae justo concedam proportionis examine, tu mihi prae caeteris procul occurris, tanquam ultroneae voluntatis affectu maximam amicitiae vindices portionem.

(11) jm 3.225

omnes fortunae adversae sprevit insultus, et rotae versatilis volubilitatem alta mente calcavit,

(12) jm 3.236

Archidiaconus autem machinationes adversas omnes atque malitias alta mente contemneas et post terga relinquens,

(13) jm 3.288

Veruntamen archidiaconus fortunae injurias omnes alta mente contemnens, et ex contingentibus nihil omittens,

(14) pi 8.231

comes enim Philippus, injuriae non immemor alta mente repositae, qualiter rex Franciae ...

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 1.30

Troas, reliquias Danaum atque immitis Achilli,

Giraldus

(1) dk 6.180

Quorum etenim hi reliquiae olim
Eneadae in ferrum pro libertate ruebant.

(2) dk 6.178

Brutus etenim ab Enea, mediantibus avo Ascanio et patre Silvio, descendens, et Trojanorum reliquias, qui in Grecia detenti fuerant, in occiduam hanc insulam ducens,

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VERGILIUS, Aeneid 1.30 (cont'd) v.aen.1.30

(3) dk 6.193

Tres etenim populi, Romani Enea duce, Franci Antenore, Britones Bruto, post Trojanum excidium,
Reliquiae Danaum atque immitis Achillis,
ab Asia in Europam varias ad partes profugerunt.

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 1.82

... ac uenti, uelut agmine facto,

Giraldus

(1) vg 4.376

et quoniam varias versat fortuna vices, et semper laetis tristia miscet, malis tanquam agmine facto mala cumulando;

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 1.94

talia uoce refert: O terque quaterque beati,

Giraldus

(1) sy 1.363 (Walter Map as quoted by Giraldus)

Hos dum specto places, illos dum specto places bis,
Specto hos atque illos terque quaterque places.

(2) vh 7.136

Quatinus tertia Lincolniensis ecclesiae lampas perlucida, eandem ecclesiam, triplici fortiter patrono suffultam, et sic jam terque quaterque beatam, multiplici virtutum lumine reddat illustrem.

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VERGILIUS, Aeneid 1. 94 (cont'd.) v.aen.1.94

(3) vg 4.428

haud dissimiliter et ipse, talium non immerito talionem suscipiens, ter et quater in brevi est interceptus.

(4) ap 4.52

ejus turpitudo terque quaterque turpiter deprehensa fuit.

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 1.109

saxa uocant Itali, mediis quae in fluctibus, Aras,

Giraldus

(1) th 5.59

qualiter et quanto artificio mediis in fluctibus munimenta connectant,

(2) th 5.63

Toxicum quoque, similiter allatum, mediis in fluctibus innata malitia benignior aura privavit.

(3) ik 6.115

quanto artificio ex attracta materia mediis in fluctibus munimenta connectant;

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 1.137

maturate fugam regique haec dicite uestro:

Giraldus

(1) ge 2.105

Ad ultimum vero ad beatae Virginis imaginem, ligno insculptam auroque et argento decenter ornatam, accesserunt, eaque gemmis

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VERGILIUS, Aeneid 1.137 (cont'd.) v.aen.1.137

et auro spoliata, cum puerum in matris gremio sedentem fugam maturando integrum avellere et asportare parassent,

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 1.159-63

est in secessu longo locus: insula portum
efficit obiectu laterum, quibus omnis ab alto
frangitur inque sinus scindit sese unda reductos.
hinc atque hinc uastae rupes geminique minantur
in caelum scopuli

Giraldus

(1) pi 8.279

Erat locus in sinu Armeniae, quem hinc montes ardui, hinc Selefii flumen praeterfluens coarctabat,

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 1. 169

... hic fessas non uincula nauis 168
ulla tenent, unco non alligat ancora morsu. 169

Giraldus

(1) th 5.170

tandem sub insula quadam modica se receperunt: ubi et ancorarum morsu, funiumque triplicium, immo multiplicium tenacitate se vix retinuerunt.

(2) eh 5.232

Navis autem una, ... , anchorarum morsu in portu retenta jacebat.

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o passi grauiora, dabit deus his quoque finem.
durate, et uosmet rebus seruate secundis."

Giraldus

(1) li d.227-8

Magnum itaque solacium ex uerbis istis uiri boni laici prorsus et illiterati, ex dilectione pariter et discretione magna prouenientibus, in aduersitatibus suis crebris, quas graues et grandes hoc in agone sustinuit, se Giraldus absque dubio suscepisse testari solet, adeo ut fortune tociens fractus iniuriis et sinistris euentibus, animo quasi consternatus et in desperacionem, ita ut desistere uellet, fere ex toto datus, recurrens ad optimi fratris solacia prescripta et consilia, resistere magis et obdurare sub quocunque discrimine preelegerit, iuxta illud poete,

Componite mentes
Ad magnum uirtutis opus summosque labores,

Et illud,

Tu ne cede malis, sed contra audacior esto etc. (V.Aen.6.95)

Et illud Terencii,

Fortis et constantis animi est, non perturbari in rebus aduersis, nec tumultuante de gradu deici, sed presente consilio pertinaciter uti, nec a racione discedere.

Item et illud Uirgilii,

Durate et uosmet rebus seruate secundis,
O passi grauiora, dabit Deus hiis quoque finem.

(2) jm 3.317

quoniam adversis frangi non potuit, animum ad difficilia praeparans et obdurans, iter suum in Angliam et per Angliam in hunc modum ordinavit.

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VERGILIUS, Aeneid 1.208-9 v.aen.1.208-9

talia uoce refert, curisque ingentibus aeger
spem uoltu simulat, premit altum corde dolorem.

Giraldus

(1) eh 5.267

Talia voce refert; curisque ingentibus aeger,
Spem simulat vultu, premit alto corde dolorem.

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 1.212

pars in frusta secant ueribusque trementia figunt,

Giraldus

(1) pi 8.323

Quem cum intuitus fuisset, de carnibus ejusdem statim comedere non mediocriter esurivit, Ferrum igitur exserens, quo cingi consueverat, ad pedes accessit. Cumque secare frusta et separare jam pararet tam atrociter ipsum, vir ille respondit

(2) sp 4.46

contigit balenam nimiae quantitatis et valde monstruosae magnitudinis applicuisse, ad quam spectandum, ut moris est, et admirandum, perque frusta secandum et asportandum, cum undique populus catervatim occurrisset,

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 1.218

spemque metumque inter dubii,

Giraldus

(1) ik 6.91

Et ecce mustela, materna solicitudine inter spem et metum anxia,

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VERGILIUS, Aeneid 1.218 (cont'd.) v.aen.1.218

(2) ge 2.359

nostri terrenis semper inhiantes, inter spem et metum anxii, dum et timent et ambiunt, terrarum ex toto principibus obsequuntur.

(3) Ricardus Divisiensis (fl.1190) Rolls 82.3.414

Cancellarius, timens sibi de comite et suspectos habens judices, duos dies distulit ad locum venire; tertio (quia, ut cuique conscia mens est, ita concipit inter pectora pro facto spemque metumque suo,) inter spem et metum medius ad colloquium ire perrexit.

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 1.223-6

et iam finis erat, cum Iuppiter aethere summo
despiciens mare ueliuolum terrasque iacentis
litoraque et latos populos, sic uertice caeli
constitit et Libyae defixit lumina regnis.

Giraldus

(1) th 5.50

Mirum de avibus istis, quod et oculis plerumque conspexi, quia in aeris summitate supra marinos fluctus, ut oculorum aciem liberius in ima defigant, alarum remigio quietos se continent et sustentant.

(2) th 5.123

Sin autem ad perspicacius intuendum oculorum aciem invitaveris, et longe penitius ad artis arcana transpenetraveris,

(3) eh 5.369

et statim, separatis ab invicem nubibus, tanquam inferiore hoc coelo ibidem ex parte ceserato, oculorum acie per fenestram illam ad empireum usque transpenetrante,

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VERGILIUS, Aeneid 1.223-6 (cont'd.) v.aen.1.223-6

(4) ge 2.107

Speculator autem ille supremus acutissime cuncta cernens atque discernens, qui nullum omnino malum nedum facinus tam horrendum transire permittit impunitum,

(5) jm 3.103

timendus tamen quamplurimum est Judex ille supremus, qui speculator astat desuper acutissime cuncta prospiciens; cujus ante oculos universa quasi penetrant et perlustrant.

(6) pi 8.309

Vir sanctus in puerum intendens, oculorum aciem in terram inde flexo lumine tuno forte figentem, spiritu quasi prophetico respondit,

(7) sp 4.14

ad quae perfacile, signante nota, lectoris acies dirigatur.

(8) sp 4.149

Verum Judex ille justissimus qui cuncta cernit et discernit acute,

(9) sp 4.298

Timeant ergo majores suos qui se tantopere a suis minoribus timeri cupiunt. Et si non alium vel illum timeant supremum Judicem, qui cuncta cernit acute, et discernit,

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 1.278

his ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono;

Giraldus

(1) th 5.200

Unde et quoniam
Non lusisse pudet, sed non incidere ludum, (H.Epp.1.14.36)
juvenilis excusabilis est levitas, cum laudabilis fuerit ipsa

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VERGILIUS, Aeneid 1.278 (cont'd.) v.aen.1.278

maturitas:

Tunc prima est inculpabilis aetas,
Cum ludis ponunt tempora metas.

(2) sy 1.288

Modum enim in his servandum atque modestiam sicut et in caeteris cunctis, poeta declarat, dicens:

Non lusisse pudet, sed non incidere ludum.
Lusimus ergo dum fuit aetas, ludis ponunt tempora metas.
Juvenilis enim excusabilis est levitas, cum laudabilis fuerit ipsa maturitas. Tunc prima est inculpabilis aetas, cum ludis ponunt tempora metas.

(3) sp 4.116

tam fines transcurrere quam metas transponere non erubescit,

(4) sp 4.207

Item quoniam successibus modum aut metas ponere nescit aviditas,

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 1.301

uolat ille per aera magnum 300
remigio alarum ac Libyae citus adstitit oris. 301

Giraldus

(1) th 5.50

alarum remigio quietos se continent et sustentant.

(2) th 5.53

non tibiarum nisu, sed alarum remigio se transferentes

(3) th 5.59

Notandum vero quod castores caudas habent latas, et non longas; in modum palmae humanae spiasas; quibus tanquam pro remigio natando funguntur.

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VERGILIUS, Aeneid 1.301 (cont'd.) v.aen.1.301

(4) Alexander Neckam (fl.1197) Rolls 34.165

remigio alarum velocl utenti nisus (ardeae) obvius venit.

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 1.312

...ipse uno graditur comitatus Achate,

Giraldus

(1) jm 3.311

Accedens ergo Meneviam archidiaconus, tanquam solo de partibus illis comitatus Achate, tantum in ecclesia vicarios invenit

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 1.387-8

"Quisquis es, haud, credo, inuisus caelestibus auras
uitalis carpis, Tyriam qui adueneris urbem.

Giraldus

(1) ge 2.203

Poenitemini et satisfacite pro peccato tempore seminandi dum vitales carpitis auras.

(2) pi 8.lxv

Utrum ergo praestantius, oro, paucis his quibus auram carpimus annis ex paupere coena parvoque tugurio perennem sibi exsculpare laudis honorem, an

(3) sp 4.103

Porro crudele nimis est et valde periculosum experimentum tale; plures enim ex hoc pereunt, quam ad vitales auras evadunt.

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VERGILIUS, Aeneid 1.490-91

ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis
Penthesilea furens mediisque in milibus ardet,

Giraldus

(1) sy 1.235

Inter Amazones et Parthos vitam Atticam duco;

(2) dk 6.79

uxor ejus Guendoloena, tanquam Amazonum regina et Pentesilea secunda, in partes illas exercitum ducens,

(3) Ad haec et de Amazonum virtute et animositate non hic omittendum.

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 1.497 v.aen.1.497

incessit magna iuuenum stipante caterua.

Giraldus

(1) eh 5.335

Videns itaque Guillelmus, et invidens, Reimundum tam pulchra juventute stipatum;

(2) ik 6.119

obviavit nobis Kenewricus filius Resi, juventute septus expeditissima.

(3) valida Britonum cohorte stipatus

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VERGILIUS, Aeneid 1.520 v.aen.1.520

postquam introgressi et coram data copia fandi,

Giraldus

(1) vh 7.146

priori, cum quo fandi copiam statim habuit, causam adventus sui, ... , intimavit.

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 1.641

fortia facta patrum, series longissima rerum

Giraldus

(1) sy 1.341 (De mundi creatione et contentis ejusdem)

Quid mundus, quis vultus yles, quae causa creantis,
Quae series rebus, quis sit in orbe status,

(2) sy 1.349 (Descriptio cujusdam puellae)

Fatali serie nunc res ducuntur ad esse

(3) jm 3.103

Sicut enim felix est illa civitas et fortunata, quae pacis tempore et tranquillitatis serie bellum cogitat;

(4) jm 3.115

denique quasi sub epilogo summam rei seriemque concludens,

(5) jm 3.135

Ut autem ad rei seriem revertamur,

(6) vd 3.377

Lectionis igitur antiquae et propemodum jam antiquatae, sicut nec verba, sic neque rerum hic series, nec continentia requiratur.

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VERGILIUS, Aeneid 1.657-8 v.aen.1.657-8

at Cytherea nouas artes, noua pectore uersat
consilia,

Giraldus

(1) jm 3.225

Archidiaconus autem novis super casibus novis utens consiliis

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 1.690

...et gressu gaudens incedit Iuli,

Giraldus

(1) th 5.196

rebusque in bellicis furibundus in arma, nec ullas nisi sanguine fuso gaudens incedere vias:

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 2.4

Troianus ut opes et lamentabile regnum 4
eruerint Danai, 5

Giraldus

(1) sp 4.116

nonne dolor est maximus et lamentabile damnum, quod

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 2.6-8

quis talia fando
Myrmodonum Dolopumve aut duri miles Ulixi
temperet a lacrimis?

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VERGILIUS, Aeneid 2.6-8 (cont'd) v.aen.2.6-8

Giraldus

(1) li d.117

Sensimus et nos et adhuc sentimus, contra prohibitionem domini pape et protectionem cum canonicis et clericis nostris rebus et redditibus spoliati, tanquam hostes publici per regni compita declamati, nec in insula securi, nec extra fugere aut transfretare permissi, de loco ad locum graui instante, et acrius urgente persecutionem deiecti et afflicti, deinde uero capti in Flandria et ab ipsa ecclesia ad quam fugeramus extracti et ad redemptionem choartati.

Quis talia fando
Mirmidonum Dolopumue aut diri miles Ulixi
Temperet a lacrimis?

Non mihi si lingue centum sint, oraque centum (V.G.2.43-4)
Ferrea uox, uobis cuncta referre queam.

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 2.20

...uterumque armato milite complent.

Giraldus

(1) li d.103

Item et illud Iohannis, Omne quod... Et in Exodo, Ingressus... Et poeta, Armato milite plenum.

(2) Alanus de Insulis (fl. 1178) Rolls 59.2.459

Quae polum stellis variis inauras,
Aetheris nostri solium serenans;
Siderum gemmis, varioque coelum
Milite complens.

(3) Ricardus Divisiensis (fl. 1193) Rolls 82.3.425

(navem onerariam) victualibus et armato milite plenam

(4) Helinandus (fl. 1200) Migne 212.620

Unde quidam:

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VERGILIUS, Aeneid 2.20 (cont'd.) v.aen.2.20

Dum non laeta fuit, defensa est Ilion armis,
Militibus gravidum laeta recepit equum.

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 2.41

Laocoon ardens summa decurrit ab arce

Giraldus

(1) jm 3.387

Quidam autem ex loci vicinia vir praepotens, cui nomen Boia, viso tali signo summa qua residebat ab arce, zelo invidiae statim accensus,

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 2.49

quidquid id est, timeo Danaos et dona ferentis.'

Giraldus

(1) rg 1.44

solus Giraldus tanquam timens Danaos et dona ferentes nihil accipere volebat;

(2) Ivo of Chartres (fl. 1080) Migne 162.11-

(3) Odo of Deuil (fl. 1147) Berry p. 26

(4) Gulielmus Tyrensis (fl. 1170) Migne 201.491

(5) Thomas Cant. ad Alexandrum Papam III (1170) Rolls 67.7.293

Sed proverbium est, Timeri Danaos et dona ferentes. Utique muntii regis Anglorum quodammodo Danai sunt, etsi non consortio generis, arte tamen et imitatione Sinonis.

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VERGILIUS, Aeneid 2.49 (cont'd.) v.aen.2.49

(6) Eberhardus Bethunensis (fl.1185) see Man. 3.751

(7) Matthaeus Parisiensis (fl.1240) Rolls 57.3.259

(8) idem 385

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 2.181

arma deosque parant comites, pelagoque remenso
improuisi aderunt.

Giraldus

(1) eh 5.310

dum Reimundus, ... , remenso pelago in Kambriam recessisset,

(2) jm 3.291

Transmensis itaque primo Lumbardia et postmodum Alpibus,

(3) pi 8.156

Hiberniam quippe transmeato pelagi profundo classe petiit

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 2.390

...dolus an uirtus, quis in hoste requirat?

Giraldus

(1) th 5.166

Est igitur longe fortius timenda eorum ars, quam Mars; eorum pax, quam fax; eorum mel, quam fel; malitia quam militia; proditio quam expeditio; amicitia defucata, quam inimicitia despicata. Haec enim horum sententia;
Dolus an virtus; quis in hoste requirat?

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VERGILIUS, Aeneid 2.390 (cont'd) v.aen.2.390

(2) ik 6.18

In his autem de Kantrefmaur finibus, kemmoto videlicet de Kaoc, illud ad animum revocans,

Dolus an virtus, quis in hoste requirat?

et illud,

Et si non recte possis, quocumque modo rem; (H.Epp.1.1.66)

(3) pi 8.22

Longe enim ab horum magnanimitate virorum illa quam poeta exprimit opinio, quasi honesto utile praeferens, his verbis, Dolus an virtus, quis in hoste requirat?

(4) sp 4.227

Vicinos igitur omnes, quibus agros fertiles sibique propinquos iniquis animis et oculis invidere non cessant, tanquam hostes reputantes, poeticum illud, licet irrisorie prolatum, quasi sententialiter tamen et serio dictum:

Dolus an virtus quis in hoste requirat,

communiter approbant, et amplectuntur;

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 2.646

...facilis iactura sepulchri.

Giraldus

(1) pi 8.31

Insepultus eris. Securitas, Virgilius. facilis iactura sepulcri.[1]

(2) Gulielmus de Conchis (fl.1120) Holmberg, p. 34

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1. Brit.Mus., Cotton, Julius B.xiii,fol.62,col.2. Text omitted from Warner's edition.

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VERGILIUS, Aeneid 2.646 (cont'd) v.aen.2.646

(3) Petrus Blesensis (fl.1160) Migne 207.292

Frater, poetae testimonio, Levis est jactura sepulcri.

(4) Petrus Cantor (fl.1170) Migne 205.327

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 3.57

...quid non mortalia pectora cogis, 56
auri sacra fames! 57

Giraldus

(1) eh 5.242

non stipendiorum ambitio, non auri caeca fames, sed terrarum et urbium nobis et nostris perpetua largitio nos advexit.

(2) Alanus ab Insulis (fl.1168) Rolls 59.2.491

Postquam sacra fames auri mortalia pungit
Pectora

ad quid...auri sacra fames? Migne 210.939

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 3.71

deducunt socii nauis et litora complent.

Giraldus

(1) th 5.78

longeque trans usuales metas abundantius littora complent.

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VERGILIUS, Aeneid 3.183 v.aen.3.183

sola mihi talis casus Cassandra canebat.

Giraldus

(1) dk 6.188

In Latino quoque haud dissimiliter eloquio, eandem exornationem frequens est invenire. In hunc modum Virgilius;
Tales casus Cassandra canebat.

(2) dk 6.196

Nocte quoque qua urbs prodita fuit, proditionem ipsam et modum prodendi manifeste praecinuit. Unde Virgilius;
Tales casus Cassandra canebat.

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 3.490

sic oculos, sic ille manus, sic ora ferebat;

Giraldus

(1) sp 4.163

Veri namque patris et presbyteri filius expressam imaginem per omnia perferens, quia sic oculos, sic ille manus, sic ora gerebat, majorem admirationem et facti detestationem cunctis induxit.

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 4.13

degeneres animos timor arguit.

Giraldus

(1) th 5.5

Unde et quoniam...
Degeneres animos timor arguit;

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VERGILIUS, Aeneid 4.13 (cont'd.) v.aen.4.13

(2) Joannes Saresberiensis (fl.1155) Migne 199.684

Indulge ei modicum, audebit ampliora, procedet paulatim reminiscens, quod audentes fortuna juvat et timor animos convincit esse degeneres. (V.Aen.10.284;4.13)

(3) Johannes de Altavilla (fl.1180) Rolls 59.1.297

Degeneres animos timidosque invadere votis,

(4) Alexander Neckam (fl.1197) Rolls 34.213

Degenerantes animi, licet ad tempus morum vemustate decorari videntur, ad consuetudinem tamen, ... , in brevi revertuntur.

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 4.130

it portis iubare exorto delecta iuuentus;

Giraldus

(1) th 5.183-4

cum electa juventute

(2) eh 5.232

electae juventutis pars

(3) eh 5.268

electa juventus ad arma prosiliens

(4) eh 5.312

et sagitariis pedestribus de electa Kambriae juventute

(5) rg 1.75

juventutis electae pars potissima

(6) sy 1.291

Walliae totius electa juventus

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VERGILIUS, Aeneid 4.180,184 v.aen.4.180,184

Extemplo Libyae magnas it Fama per urbes, 173
illam Terra parens, ... 178
progenuit, pedibus celerem et pernicibus alis, 180
nocte uolat caeli medio terraeque per umbram, 184

Giraldus

(1) eh 5.271

fama pernicibus alis...comitis adventum divulgante

(2) eh 5.365

necdum certo fama volante tam miserabilis casus nuntio

(3) dk 6.209

tam clamore quam pernici pariter ac praecipiti cursu

(4) rg 1.40

nisi tamen quoniam revera fama volat

(5) rg 1.42

fama facti istius ad regem in Anglia convolavit

(6) vr 7.55

fama tamen pernicibus alis

(7) jm 3.308

vidit avem...pernicibus alis volantem

(8) pi 8.305

(9) sp 4.10

(tanquam pernicibus alis...volare nitentem

tanquam pernicibus alis...volare nitentem

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VERGILIUS, Aeneid 4.180.184 (cont'd.) v.aen. 4.180.184

(10) sp 4.90

rumore volante pernicibus alis

(11) sp 4.140

frater quidam ad..damnationis domicilium, ...pernicibus alis et perniciosis convolavit

(12) sp 4.151

pernicibus alis mendax fama diffundit

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 4.555

carpebat somnos rebus iam rite paratis.[1]

Giraldus

(1) vd" 3.435

et eum sub quo securos posset carpere somnos in episcopatum consecravit

(2) li d.88

Monacum autem suum aut medicum, ...sub quo scilicet securos posset carpere sompnos, ualde idoneum reputaret.

(3) li. d.96

uirum...literatissimum sibique in philosophia simillimum, sub quo scilicet securos posset carpere sompnos,

(4) jm 3.160

Securos itaque, quamdiu vixerit iste, carpite somnos.

(5) Heinrici Chronicon Lyvoniae (fl.1203) MGSS 23.466

dulces carpebat somnos

---

1. Cf. Vergilius, Georgics, 3.435.

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VERGILIUS, Aeneid 4.569-70 v.aen.4.569-70

heia age, rumpe moras! uarium et mutabile semper
femina."

Giraldus

(1) eh 5.226

rapta nimirum fuit, quia et rapi voluit, et quoniam Varium et mutabile semper femina, ut praedoni praeda fieret ipsa procuravit.

(2) ge 2.227

Mulier autem his auditis, a mulieri natura non degenerans, licet hactenus invicta, quia varium et mutabile semper foemina, fracta statim laudibus istis pravae cupidini victa succubuit,

(3) vg 4.386

ut vel eo vanitatis indicio mentes hominum, quoniam varium et mutabile quicquid cernimus, ad vera perpetuaque bona efficacius provocet et invitet.

(4) Gulielmus Blesensis (c.1168) Cohen 1.150.543-4

Turpius insanit, qui feminee leuitatis
Motum posse putat sub grauitate regi.

(5) Richardus Aldgate (fl.1187) Rolls 38.1.121

(6) Helinandus (fl.1200) Migne 212.648

idem

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 5.230

... uitamque uelint pro laude pacisci.

Giraldus

(1) dk 6.181

gentes, ... , tantae audaciae et audacitatis, ut nudi cum armatis congredi non vereantur; adeo ut sanguinem pro patria fundere

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VERGILIUS, Aeneid 5.230 (cont'd.) v.aen.5.230

promptissimae,
Vitamque velint pro laude pacisci.

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 6.95-6

tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito,
quam tua te Fortuna sinet.

Giraldus

(1) li d.227

Et illud, Tu ne cede malis, sed contra audacior esto etc.

(2) jm 3.225

Sed potius vultu erecto et corde securo spem praeferens, omnes fortunae adversae sprevit insultus, et rotae versatilis volubilitatem calcavit, memor sapientis illius:
Tu ne cede malis, sed contra audacius esto,
Dum tua te fortuna regit.

(3) Joannes Sarisberiensis (1166) Rolls 67.5.434

Licet enim et rei familiaris angustia, et refrigescens caritas amicorum, me et fratrem meum, qui mihi ex necessitate coexsulat, acrius videatur urgere, Deo tamen miserante,
Nondum cedo malis, sed contra audentior ibo,
Quam mea me fortuna sinat.

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 6.853

parcere subiectis et debellare superbos."

Giraldus

(1) eh 5.391

illud nobilis animi proprium nec noverant, nec innatum habuerant,
Parcere subjectis et debellare superbos;

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VERGILIUS, Aeneid 6.853 (cont'd.) v.aen.6.853

sed potius, e contra,
Hostibus illaesis, semper spoliare subactos.

(2) Ivo of Chartres (fl.1080)	Migne 162.11-288
(3) Gulielmus Malmesburiensis (fl.1110)	Rolls 52.154
(4) idem	Rolls 90.1.266
(5) Thomas Cantuariensis (1169)	Rolls 67.7.68
(6) Joannes Sarisberiensis (1169)	Rolls 67.7.12
(7) Thomas Cantuariensis	Migne 190.507
(8) Gulielmus Filius Stephani (fl.1170)	Rolls 67.3.22
(9) Wibal of Corvei (fl.1180)	Man. 3.292
(10) Sicardus Cremonensis (fl. 1185)	Migne 213.80
(11) Lambert of Ardre (fl.1190)	Man. 3.498-502
	Migne 196.1638
	Migne 196.1654
(12) Geraldus Camburcensis (fl.1200)	Migne 205.923
(13) Florilegium S. Omer (1200)	Voigt 563.103

103 Hostibus infestus, subiectis esto modestus.

(14) Heinrici Chronicon Lyvoniae	MGSS 23.530

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VERGILIUS, Aeneid 6.853 (cont'd.) v.aen.6.853

tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento 850
parcere subiectis et debellare superbos! 853

Giraldus

(1) pi 8.19

Leonis enim nobilitatem princeps nobilis imitari debet. Unde poeta:

Parcere prostratis scit nobilis ira leonis;
Tu quoque fac simile, quisquis dominaris in orbe.

(2) Pseudo-Ovidius De Mirabilibus Mundi Lehmann, p.7

parcere prostratis scit nobilis ira leonis:
Tu quoque fac simile quisquis dominaris in orbe.

(3) Ordericus Vitalis (fl.1115)

non discrepat sagax poeta in libello de mirabilibus mundi:
Parcere prostratis scit nobilis ira leonis:
Tu quoque fac simile quisquis dominaris in orbe.

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 7.116

"heus! etiam mensas consumimus," inquit Iulus.

Giraldus

(1) dk 6.184

Pani quoque tenui et lato, quotidiano labore decocto... interdum pulmentaria supponunt. Talibus olim usus mensis puer ille nobilis, de cujus et hi se genere jactant, et cujus adhuc ex parte mores observant; testante poeta,

Heu mensas consumpsimus, inquit Iulus.

---

1. Cf. Ovidius T.3.5.33-4:

corpora magnanimo satis est prostrasse leoni,
pugna suum finem, cum iacet hostis, habet;

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VERGILIUS, Aeneid 8.224 v.aen.8.224

speluncamque petit; pedibus timor addidit alas.

Giraldus

(1) ik 6.72

Per sabulum quippe absorbens, contra ducis monita, nos viae terror insolitae festinare coegit, et
Timor addidit alas;
cum per hujuscemodi pericula, sicut ibi didicimus, sit potior incessus moderata maturatione temperatior.

(2) MGSS 30.2.906

(3) Ricardus Aldgate (fl.1187) Rolls 38.1.102

(4) idem 272

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 8.420-1 (perhaps 416-421)

Insula Sicanium iuxta latus Aeoliamque 416
erigitur Liparen, fumantibus ardua saxis, 417
quam subter specus et Cyclopum exesa caminis 418
antra Aetnaea tonant, validique incudibus ictus 419
auditi referunt gemitus, striduntque cauernis 420
stricturae Chalybum et fornacibus ignis anhelat, 421

Giraldus

(1) ik 6.66

Est autem hic notabile, quod in ipso insulae introitu, in rupe marina apparet rima permodica, ad quam si aurem apponas, audies operae strepitum quasi fabrilis; nunc follium flatus, nunc martellorum ictus, nunc cotis et ferri sonora fricamina,
Stridentesque cavernis
Stricturas Chalybum, et anhelum fornacibus ignem.

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VERGILIUS, Aeneid 8.648 v.aen.8.648

Aeneadae in ferrum pro libertate ruebant.

Giraldus

(1) dk 6.180

Nec mirum, si non degenerant. Quorum etenim hi reliquiae olim, Eneadae in ferrum pro libertate ruebant.

(2) li d.94

Gens autem nostra Britannica, que adulterio uocabulo nunc Walensica dicitur, a Troiano sanguine sicut et Romani prosapiam ducens, libertatem suam tam contra Normannos quam et Saxones continua rebellione defendens, iugum seruitutis a ceruicibus suis, memor illius Eneadae in ferrum pro libertate ruebant, usque in hodiernum uiribus et armis propulsauit.

(3) li d.188

quia uidelicet, contra gentem inimicam pro patria pugnant, pro libertate laborant.

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 9.446

Fortunati ambo! si quid mea carmina possunt,

Giraldus

(1) eh 5.336

Viri igitur viribus insignes, et vitae, strenuitatis amore, contemptores, solita virtutis incedere via ne cessetis; Felices facti, si quid mea carmina possunt.

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 10.284

audentis Fortuna iuuat."

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VERGILIUS, Aeneid 10.284 (cont'd.) v.aen.10.284

Giraldus

(1) th 5.5

Unde et quoniam
Paulum sepultae distat inertiae (H.C.4.9.29)
Celata virtus; 30
Degeneres animos timor arguit; (V.Aen.4.13)
Dimidium facti, qui coepit, habet; (H.Epp.1.2.40)
Audaces fortuna juvat; (V.Aen.10.284)
scribere proposui; et lividorum malitia ridiculosus censeri,

(2) eh 5.267

Moram itaque rumpentes et ignaviam, quoniam 'Audentes fortuna juvat,' dum nobis jamjam deficientia vires adhuc alimenta ministrant,...

(3) pi 8.48

Cum autem audaces fortuna juvet et provehat, quem magis animositas et audacia quam magnos et fortunatos decet?

(4) pi 8.249

et tam modicis viribus (quoniam "audentes Fortuna juvat") tot Turcorum millia, collatis signis et erectis,

(5) Joannes Saresberiensis (fl.1155) Migne 199.684

Indulge ei modicum, audebit ampliora, procedet paulatim, reminiscens, quod
Audentes fortuna juvat,

(6) Alanus ab Insulis (fl.1168) Migne 210.590

Incipiat quicunque cupit bonus et pius esse;
Dimidium facti qui bene coepit habet.
Quomodo fiet opus, nisi primitus incipiatur?
Omnia principium constat habere suum.
Audaces fortuna juvat, nil grande cor audax
Terret: nil animi quidquid abhorret habet.

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VERGILIUS, Aeneid 10.284 (cont'd.) v.aen.10.284

(7) Eupolemius, Messias (13 cent.) 2.196 Manitius 2.196

Adiuvat audaces fortuna, gravatur inertes.

(8) Carmina Burana, am 70.3 (13 cent.) Hilka-Schumann,p.36

Nil ergo restat satius,
quam cecam mentis flammam denudare diffusius.
audaces fortuna iuvat penitus.
his ergo sit introitus:

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 10.467-8

"stat sua cuique dies, breue et irreparabile tempus
omnibus est uitae;

Giraldus

(1) ik 6.6

ne una cum censu tempora perdideris, jacturam temporis, quae irreparabilis est et omnium major, incurris.

(2) dk 6.219

De Kambrensibus autem, quoniam nec alienigenas nec stipendiarios habent, quicunque ceciderint, dammum eis inpraesentiarum irreparabile fiet.

(3) jm 3.352

quod si patruo sicut deceret adhaesisset copiose quidem adeptus fuisset, funditus ei damno irreparabili senex seductor ademit.

(4) pi 8.45

mortem
tot ostensam indiciis.cineresque
praematurós et funus acerbum: non
euasit.tamquam iuxta praemissam quorum
dam opinionem erroneam quam et poe
ta sic exprimit.Stat sua cuique di
es breue et ineuitabile tempus

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VERGILIUS, Aeneid 10.467-8 (cont'd.) v.aen.10.467-8

omnibus est cui casus nequeant huius
modi declinari[1]

(5) pi 8.156

Sed tantus, proh dolor, et tam magnificus honor ab Anglicana corona per successorem proximum vili commercio irreparabili damno vendundatus evanuit,

(6) Alexander Neckam (fl.1197) Rolls 34.298

Sed fugit interea, fugit irreparabile tempus,
Singuli dum capti circumvectamur amore.

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 12.435-6 v.aen.12.435-6

"disce puer, uirtutem ex me uerumque laborem,
fortunam ex aliis.

Giraldus

(1) li d.217

Proinde et nepoti suo quem sibi in archidiaconum substitui procurauerat dicere frequenter et illud Enee ad filium scilicet Ascanium inducere consueuerat.

Disce, puer, uirtutem ex me uerumque laborem,
Fortunam ex aliis.

(2) jm 3.326

Pluries igitur ad nepotem hunc suum, quem quasi creavit et amplis redditibus beneficiavit, versibus his Virgilianis, quibus AEneas ad filium loquens introducitur, apostrophare solebat:

Disce puer virtutem ex me verumque laborem,
Fortunam ex aliis.

---

1. Brit. Mus. Jul.xiii.B., folio p. 69, col.1; underlining mine. Text revised in Warner's printed edition.

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VERGILIUS, Eclogues 1.21-23 v.ecl.1.21-23

quo saepe solemus 20
pastores ouium teneros depellere fetus. 21
sic canibus catulos similes, sic matribus haedos 22
noram, sic paruis componere magna solebam. 23

Giraldus

(1) th 5.39

Aves istae in ipsos solaris corporis radios irreverberato lumine aciem defigunt oculorum; teneroque fetus, ut fertur, ad idem erudiunt vel invitos.

(2) th 5.60

Item fetus haec teneros, laesione quacunque mortificatos, crocei cujusdam floris beneficio, refocillare solet et vitae restituere.

(3) th 5.138

Ut, sicut laudabili antiquorum industria nostri temporis aucta sunt studia, sic, longe licet inferiore lyra calamoque fragili, dispari nimis et valde dissimili, ut magnis componere parva solebant, nostra quoque diligentia posterorum studiis aliquid adjiciatur:

(4) ik 6.91

cum bestida hujusmodi fetus teneros, ob solis et aurae temperiem, extra dumos in planitiem eduxisset, quod milvus insidians unum ex catulis asportavit:

(5) li d.94

Desinat ergo Andreas liberis seruos, magnis miseros, generosis et strenuis uiles et abiectos comparare. Alioquin illud ei Uirgilianum obici poterit,

Sic canibus catulos similes, sic matribus hedos
Noras, sic magnis componere parua solebas.

(6) jm 3.332

Porro versus hos Virgilianos nobis ad haec forsan lividus lector opponet:

Sic canibus catulos similes, sic matribus haedos
Noras, sic magnis componere parva solebas.

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VERGILIUS, Eclogues 2.65 v.ecl.2.65

...trahit sua quemque uoluptas.

Giraldus

(1) eh 5.212

Sequuntur enim principes improbi, curiam cupidi, codices et pixides ambitiosi. Sed quoniam
Trahit sua quemque voluptas,
me literarum a pueritia traxit amor, et tanquam deliciarum omnium caput literatae studium delectat eloquentiae.

(2) ik 6.4

inter quos et Logices alumnos admiramur, qui cum aliquantulum provecti fuerint, tanta studii sui voluptate trahuntur, ut in illis Dialecticae gyris atque maeandris plerosque videamus, tanquam ad Sireneos scopulos, consenescere.
Sed inter tot hominum species, ubi divini poetae;...?

(3) ik 6.6

Inter tot igitur hominum species, quoniam
Trahit sua quemque voluptas,

(4) dk 6.163

same as # 1

(5) Othlonus, (fl.1050) Libellus Proverbiorum S 78 (Korfmacher p.79)

Sensus noster ad ejus trahitur appetitum, cujus capitur voluptate.

(6) Rupertus von Deutz (fl.1110) Migne 169.825 f

(7) Philippus de Harvengt (fl.1130) Migne 203.855

(8) Aelredus Rivallensis (fl.1150) Migne 195.209-790

(9) Petrus Blesensis (fl.1160) Migne 207.723

(10) Galfridus S. Barbarae (fl.1200) Migne 205.873

Me namque vis amoris trahit post vos, ...

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VERGILIUS, Eclogues 3.93 v.ecl.3.93

frigidus, o pueri, fugite hinc, latet anguis in herba.

Giraldus

(1) eh 5.338

Sed quicquid honoris cuiquam impendit, semper in insidiis, semper in dolo, semper propinans sub melle venenum, semper latens anguis in herba. Vir in facie liberalis et lenis; intus vero
Plus aloes quam mellis habens; (J.6.181)
semper
Pelliculam veterem retinens; vir fronte polita, (Pers.5.116)
Astutam vapido portans sub pectore vulpem;
semper
Impia sub dulci melle venena ferens. (O.Am.1.8.104)

(2) sy 1.212

quotiens jam viros intueor cum horrore spiritus et carnis non modico, tanquam excitato pariter et experrecto, haec confestim et his similia mihi ethicorum dicta subveniant:
Fugite o pueri: latet anguis in herba. (V.Ecl.3.93)
Occursare capro, cornu ferit ille, caveto. (V.Ecl.9.25)
Ne te decipiant animi sub vulpe latentes. (Pers.5.116)
Pelliculam veterem retinens, ac voce politus, (Pers.5.117)
Astutam vapido portans sub pectore valpem.
Fistula dulce canit, volucrem dum decipit auceps. (Cato D.1.27)
Impia sub dulci melle venena latent. (O.Am.1.8.104)

(3) sy. 1.297

same as # 2

(4) sp. 4.159

same as # 2

(5) Henrici Chronicon Lyvoniae MGSS 23.252

(6) Joannes Saresberiensis (fl.1155) Migne 199.660

(7) Eupolemius, Messias (fl.13cent.) 1.141 Manitius 1.141

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VERGILIUS, Eclogues 7.26 v.ecl.7.26

Arcades, inuidia rumpantur ut ilia Codro:

Giraldus

(1) li d.98

litteras tam domino papae quam iudicibus nostris, quascunque promotioni nostre necessarias fore putabant, non solum proprias uerum etiam tam regis et archiepiscopi quam iusticiarii quoque et publice potestatis officialium, archiepiscopo procurante comminatorias, quibus contra nos uel agere uel scribere coacti sunt, sub sigillo suo, rumpantur ut ilia Codro, transmiserunt.

(2) sy 1.306

Rapiant igitur, rodant et ilia rumpant, aemuli mei. Ego via virtutum et doctrinae qua coepi, Deo duce, viaque* comite, incedere non desistam.

(3) oh 1.419

Habeat igitur in studiis librisque nostris, multis absque dubio lucubrationibus ad posterorum utilitatem elaboratis, quatinus aemulis nostris ilia rumpantur, et praesens tempus quod laceret, et posteritas quod laudet.

(4) Petrus Blesensis (fl.1160) Migne 207.50

Quantacumque tibi mortis necessitas, aut discrimen exhaeredationis incumbat, non intrabis ad regem; imo quod saepius accidit, ut gravius anxieris, et, ut ita loquar, rumpantur ut ilia Codro, tuus introducetur adversarius, te excluso.

VERGILIUS, Eclogues 8.26

Mopso Nysa datur: quid non speremus amantes?

Giraldus

(1) li d.91

Caeterum si ipse tam magnus et plus quam dignissimus tam ardua sperare potuit et tam magna, quare non ego modicus minima? Uirgilius in Bucolicis, Mopso Nisa datur, quid non speremus

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VERGILIUS, Eclogues 8.26 (cont'd.) v.ecl.8.26

amantes? Ac si diceret, illi uilissimo pastori puella tam nobilis adheret, quis ergo desperet?

VERGILIUS, Eclogues 8.63

Haec Damon: uos, quae responderit Alphesiboeus,
dicite Pierides; non omnia possumus omnes

Giraldus

(1) th 5.90

Sed quoniam humanis ingeniis modus est positus, et longe citra perfectum est omne quod humanus est, rerum hujusmodi rationes vos
Dicite, Pierides; non omnia possumus omnes.

(2) vh 7.135

Ad ea vero tractanda quae postea contigerunt, et quotidie fere adhuc contingunt, per viri sancti merita, Christi magnalia, novo alterius studio, novoque beneficio, quia Non omnia possumus omnes, locum damus.

(3) pi 8.329

et quas ob causas, ... spes ad effectum provenire non potuit studiosis, inquam animis ista describendo laudem praemiumque merendi, quoniam non omnia possumus omnes, locum praebere dignum duximus. EXPLICIT LIBER DE PRINCIPIS INSTRUCTIONE AMEN

VERGILIUS, Eclogues 9.11-14

Audieras, et fama fuit; sed carmina tantum
nostra ualent, Lycida, tela inter Martia, quantum
Chaonias dicunt aquila veniente columbas.

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VERGILIUS, Eclogues 9.11-14 (cont'd.) v.ecl.9.11-14

Giraldus

(1) ik 6.5

Ceterum, ut ad priora revertamur, quae mundo plus contulerint, quaeso, an arma Mariana, an carmina Maroniana? Sed olim Marii gladios rubigo consumpsit; qui vero scripsit Eneida, perpetua Maronis extat gloria. Et tamen, quanquam literatis sub principibus literae tunc in honore fuissent, ab ipso scriptum invenies;

Tantum
Carmina nostra valent, arma inter martia, quantum
Caonias dicunt aquila veniente columbas.

VERGILIUS, Eclogues 9.25

occursare capro(cornu ferit ille) caueto."

Giraldus

(1) sy 1.212

Part of a cluster of texts cited just above under Verg.Ecl.3.93

(2) sy 1.297

same as # 1

(3) sp 4.159

same as # 1

(4) jm 3.357

O quam duro commercio pontificalis haec in terris tam desiderata pompositas, tam male quaesita, pejusque ministrata, et baculi illius mitraeque minacitas! quoniam cornu ferit ille caveto.

(5) Joannes Saresberiensis (fl.1155) Migne 199.412

(6) Alanus ab Insulis (fl.1168) Migne 210.585

Bella movet citius cui desunt cornua taurus,

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VERGILIUS, Eclogues 9.25 (cont'd) v.ecl.9.25

Quam qui cornuta fronte ferire potest.

(7) Eupolemius, Messias (13 cent.), 2.148-150 Manitius 2.148

Acriter, hic cauda metuendus, cornibus ille;
Hic ferit, ille petit nec cessant donec abire
Alterutrum sua deficiens fiducia cogit.

VERGILIUS, Eclogues 9.28

Mantua uae miserae nimium uicina Cremonae,

Giraldus

(1) sp 4.130

Nec solum domum illa pauperem, terrarum suarum occupationibus, verum etiam vexationibus multis litibusque crebris, et sumptibus magnis apporiare, quinimo funditus ipsam adnihilare, totis nisibus anhelabat; propter quod et illud poeticum hic adaptari non incompetenter aut incongrue potest:
Mantua ve miserae nimium vicina Cremonae.

(2) sp 4.168

Sed quoniam ex adipe prodiit iniquitas et insatiabilis est semper detestanda cupiditas, licet a dicta paupere domo per terrarum intervalla remota, nimis tamen ei propinqua, quia
Mantua ve miserae nimium vicina Cremonae,

(3) sp 4.206

statim dictos monachos ad occupandum fines ipsorum, tanquam allectorium efficax ad extorquendum a canonicis quae voluerint, superinducere minis terribilibus consueverunt. Propter quod et poeticum illud in casu simillimo supra adaptatum, et hic similiter apponi non incongrue potest:
Mantua ve miserae nimium vicina Cremonae.

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VERGILIUS, Eclogues 9.30 v.ecl.9.30

Sic tua Cyrneas fugiant examina taxos,

Giraldus

(1) th 5.28

In majori tamen, ut arbitror, copia scaturirent, si non venenosas et amaras, quibus silvescit insula, fugerent examina taxos.

VERGILIUS, Eclogues 9.51

Omnia fert aetas, animum quoque;

Giraldus

(1) ge 2.205

Nec etiam adulteriores illos, quibus tam corporis quam animi vires enervantur, annos attingere virilis animi quispiam appetere deberet, Quoniam, ut ait poeta,
Omnia fert aetas animum quoque.
In hanc enim animi dotem, scilicet memoriam, senectus, ut ait Seneca, primum incurrit.

(2) sy 1.323

Sed quando compos erat magis et corporis et mentis, quam nunc sit, retroactis diebus et verbis et factis plus mihi longe aliisque personis et canonicis suis deferre consueverat. Unde compatiendum potius et miserendum esse videtur senili fatuitati et sensuum defectui; quoniam ut ait poeta,
Omnia fert aetas, animum quoque;
et Seneca in Causis, de memoria loquens, Hoc est, inquit, in quam senectus primum incurrit.

(3) pi 8.146

Quisquis igitur ultra quinquagesimum annum sibi vitam promittit, se ipsum male decipiendo plerumque seducit; nec etiam ad ulteriores illos, quibus tam corporis quam animae vires enervantur, annos attingere virilis animi quispiam appetere debet; quoniam, ut ait poeta:
Omnia fert aetas, animum quoque, gaudia vitae.
In hanc enim animi dotem, scilicet memoriam, senectus, ut ait Seneca, primum incurrit.

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VERGILIUS, Georgics 1.30 v.georg.1.30

...tibi serviat ultima Thule

Giraldus

(1) th 5.98

Mirum de Tyle, quae inter occidentales ultima fertur insulas, quod apud orientales tam nomine quam natura sit famosissima; cum occidentalibus sit prorsus incognita. Virgilius Augusto,
Tibi serviat ultima Tyle.
Solinus, inter multas quae circa Britanniam sunt insulas, Tylen ultimam esse commemorat. In qua aestivo solstitio dicit noctem nullam; brumali vero perinde diem nullum.
Ultra Tylen vero pigrum et concretum mare tam Solinus quam Ysidorus esse commemorat. Tylen quoque ultimam oceani insulam Ysidorus inter septentrionem et occidentalem plagam ultra Britanniam sitam esse describit; a sole nomen habentem, quia in ea aestivum solstitium sol faciat, et nullus ultra eam dies sit.

(2) Henricus Huntendunensis (fl. 1124) Rolls 74.6

(3) Aelredus Rivallensis (fl.1160) Migne 195.803

VERGILIUS, Georgics 1.145-6

.... labor omnia uincit
improbus et duris urgens in rebus egestas.

Giraldus

(1) ik 6.57

Nam sicut antiquos in humanae vitae commodis inveniendi viam ipsa necessitas urgens edocuit, sic junioribus industria sedula plurimum contulit, et ingenii perspicacioris acumen multa modernis aperuit. Quoniam, ut ait poeta, duas inventionum istarum causas assignans,
Labor omnia vincit
Improbus, et duris urgens in rebus egestas.

(2) Othlonus, Libellus Proverbiorum (fl.1080) Korfmacher p.41

L 22. Labor omnia vincit Improbus.

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VERGILIUS, Georgics 1.145-6 (cont'd.) v.georg.1.145-6

(3) Joannes Saresberiensis (fl.1155) Migne 199.934

(4) Gulielmus Cantuariensis (fl.1170) Rolls 67.1.331

Tandem vincit improbitas (labor improbus omnia vincit); non improbitas sed fides et longanimitas instanter petentis.

(5) Nigellus Wireker (fl.1170) Man.3.812

(6) Joannes ab Altavilla (fl.1180) Rolls 59.1.265

nam, si labor improbus adsit,
Materiam superabit opus

(7) Carmina Burana (13 cent.) Hilka-Schumann p.131

am 99.4

O Amor improbe, sic vincis omnia,
sic tuis viribus redduntur mollia,
et morti proxima sunt tua gaudia.

(8) Eadem 115 Hilka-Schumann p.188

Amor improbus omnia superat.
subveni![1]

VERGILIUS, Georgics 1.199-200

sic omnia fatis
in peius ruere ac retro sublapsa referri,

---

1. This is the refrain to each of the four verses of this poem. Here, as in other cases, Hilka-Schumann fail to note the source, Vergil.

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VERGILIUS, Georgics 1.199-200 (cont'd.) v.georg.1.199-200

Giraldus

(1) ik 6.4

Adeo literarum honor, in summis olim gradibus constitutus, quia

Sic omnia fato
In pejus ruere, et retro sublapsa referri.

jam proclivis in ruinam, ad ima devolvi videtur, ut earum addicti studiis non solum hodie non imitabiles, non venerabiles, verum etiam odibiles reperiantur.

(2) ge 2.325

Sed sicut ait poeta:

Sic omnia fato
In poenis ruere et retro sublapsa referri.

Ubi enim hodie Laurentio similis? Ubi Vincentio? Utinam vel unus in hoc ordine, non dico qui hos temptet, sed qui saltem a longe sequatur et vestigia semper adoret, nostris diebus inveniatur.

(3) ge 2.356

Sed audi poetam rerum detrimenta etiam suo in tempore detestantem:

Sic omnia fato
In pejus ruere et retro sublapsa referri.

(4) sp 4.42

Sic igitur quoniam multorum hodie refrixit caritas, et fere cunctorum, et juxta poeticum illud:

Sic omnia fato
In pejus ruere et retro sublapsa referri:

(5) sp 4.286

sicut nobilitate pariter et potestate sic puritate mentis et caritate ex toto fere degeneres effecti, ... , destructores rerum ecclesiasticarum effecti sunt et directores, quoniam, ut ait poeta:

Sic omnia fato
In pejus ruere et retro sublapsa referri.

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VERGILIUS, Georgics 1.447 v.georg.1.447

Tithoni croceum linquens Aurora cubile,

Giraldus

(1) ik 6.52

nocte quadam, cum adhuc tenuiter tenebras exuere coepisset
Titoni croceum linquens Aurora cubile,
summo superveniente diluculo, tam Guintae quam vicinarum gentium juventute, ...

VERGILIUS, Georgics 1.497

grandiaque effossis mirabitur ossa sepulcris.

Giraldus

(1) pi 8.128

Sciendum etiam quod ossa reperta corporis Arthuri tam grandia fuerunt, ut et illud poetae completum in his videri posset:
Grandiaque effossis mirabitur ossa sepulchris.

VERGILIUS, Georgics 2.43-4

non ego cuncta meis amplecti uersibus opto, 42
non mihi si linguae centum sint oraque centum, 43
ferrea uox.[1] 44

---

1. Cf. Vergilius, Aeneid 6.625-7

non mihi si linguae centum sint oraque centum
ferrea uox, scelerum comprendere formas
omnia poenarum percurrere nomina possim.

Cf. Claud. Panegyricus Dictus Probino et Olybrio Consulibus, 55-57

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VERGILIUS, Georgics 2.43-4 (cont'd.) v.georg.2.43-4

Giraldus

(1) eh 5.326

Quid alii generositatis ejusdem quamplurimi, quibus insignia singulorum gesta perennem poterant laudis memoriam promereri?
Non mihi si linguae centum sint, oraque centum,
Ferrea vox, digne promere cuncta queam.

(2) vh 7.135

Ad ea vero tractanda quae postea contigerunt, et quotidie fere adhuc contingunt, per viri sancti merita, Christi magnalia, novo alterius studio, novoque beneficio, quia Non omnia possumus omnes, locum damus. Quoniam,
Non mihi si linguae centum sint, oraque centum
Ferrea vox, digne promere cuncta queam.

(3) li d.117

deinde uero capti in Flandria et ab ipsa ecclesia ad quam fugeramus extracti et ad redeptionem choartati.
Quis talia fando
Mirmidonum Dolopumue aut diri miles Ulixi
Temperet a lacrimis?
Non mihi si lingue centum sint, oraque centum
Ferrea uox, uobis cuncta referre queam.

(4) sp 4.243

O fraus, O facinus infandum, O detestanda perpetuoque damnanda. Non mihi si centum linguae sint oraque centum, ferrea vox, quid latrones publici, ... crudelius hospitibus suis aut superuenientibus innocuis excogitare possunt, explicare valerem.

(5) Dunstan Abbey Annals Rolls 63.367

ut lingua centenis distentis boatibus...nullatenus sufficias

Non mihi centenis pateant si vocibus ora
multifidusque ruat centum per pectora Phoebus,
acta Probi narrare queam,

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VERGILIUS, Georgics 2.43-4 (cont'd.) v.georg.2.43-4

(6) Reinerus Leodiensis (fl.1180) Migne 204.147

illo mihi dicto utendum est poetico:
Non mihi si centum linguae sint oraque centum
Digna rei tantae valeam praeconia ferre.

VERGILIUS, Georgics 2.201

et quantum longis carpent armenta diebus,
exigua tantum gelidus ros nocte reponet.

Giraldus

(1) th 5.122

De quibus pro miraculo ducitur, quod licet provinciae totius animalia solo tenus herbam corroserint, mane facto non minor herbositas apparebit; tanquam de pascuis illis dictum fuerit:
Et quantum longis carpunt armenta diebus,
Exigua tantum gelidus ros nocte reponit.

(2) ik 6.135

Tantae siquidem et tam immensae quantiatis esse perhibentur, ut antiquo proverbio dici soleat; sicut Moniam insulam hominibus in annona, sic Ereri in pascuis, coactis in unum armentis omnibus, toti posse Walliae sufficere. Unde et his pascuis illud Virgilianum adaptari potest;
Et quantum longis carpunt armenta diebus,
Exigua tantum gelidus ros nocte reponit.

VERGILIUS, Georgics 2.401

...redit agricolis labor actus in orbem,

Giraldus

(1) dk 6.179

Non enim nobiles hic solum, sed totus populus ad arma para-

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VERGILIUS, Georgics 2.401 (cont'd.) v.georg.2.401

tus: bellica tuba sonante, non segnius ab aratro ruricola, quam aulicus ab aula prorumpit ad arma. Non etenim hic, ut alibi,

Redit agricolis labor actus in orbem.

Solum quippe Martio et Aprili, solum semel aperiunt ad avenas: nec bis in aestate, tertioque in hieme, ad tritici trituram terras vertendo laborant.

VERGILIUS, Georgics 2.478

defectus solis uarios lunaeque labores;

Giraldus

(1) vg 4.357

Porro quotiens mundani cursus ordinem intuero, solis lunaeque labores continuos, mensis et anni terminos, oceani metas, fluxus ejusdem atque refluxus indesinentes, aestus et brumae, lucis et umbrae tempora invariabili varietate distincta; qualiter id solum, cujus haec omnia constat causa patrata, in incertum agi, sorte et non arte regi, credere quis praesumet?[1]

---

1. Cf. Vergilius, Georgics 2.478-82

defectus solis uarios lunaeque labores
unde tremor terris, qua ui maria alta tumescant
obicibus ruptis rursusque in se ipsa residant,
quid tantum Oceano properent se tinguere soles
hiberni, uel quae tardis mora noctibus obstet.

Cf. Vergilius, Aeneid 1.742-6

hic canit errantem lunam solisque labores
unde hominum genus et pecudes, unde imber et ignes
Arcturum pluuiasque Hyadas geminosque Triones;
quid tantum Oceano properent se tinguere soles
hiberni, uel quae tardis mora noctibus obstet.

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VERGILIUS, Georgics 2.490 v.georg.2.490

Felix, qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas

Giraldus

(1) th 5.90

Est in Sicilia fons mirae naturae. Ad quem rubro indutus vestimento si quis accesserit, statim ad ejusdem staturae modum in altum prosiliens, fontis ebullit scaturigo.
Quae, ad alios prorusus immota colores, ad hujus etiam abscessum solitae mensurae se conformans, pristinos iterum redit in canales.
Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas,
Et fontem lustrare boni.

(2) sp 4.103

Dicunt autem physici, et hi praecipue quorum cura est rerum cognoscere causas,

(3) Othlonus, Libellus Proverbiorum (fl.1050) Korfmacher, p.27

F 61 Felix qui poterit requiem captare perennem.

(4) Albertus Stad., Troilus (fl. Man.3.812C

4.583 Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum

(5) Joannes Saresberiensis (fl.1155)

(6) Idem

(7) Helinandus (fl.1200) Migne 212.724

Discite, o miseri, et causas cognoscite rerum[1]

(8) Thomas Cisterciensis (fl.1180) Migne 206.491

Felix qui potuit tranquillam ducere vitam,
Et laeto stabilis claudere fine diem.

---

1. This last is taken from a passage in which Persius echos Vergil (3.66).

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VERGILIUS, Georgics 3.53 v.georg.3.53

et crurum tenus a mento palearia pendent

Giraldus

(1) sp 4.290

Ut autem Romanis utcunque cupidinis et rapacitatis notam intorqueant, subtiliter ad hoc et oblique nonnulli moventur. Grammaticae namque doctrina docet quod ablativo Latini utuntur quo Graeci carent. Unde Virgilius in Georgicis:

Et crurum tenus a mento palearia pendent;

Graecismum in hoc sequens, quia more Graecorum qui genitivum pro ablativo ponunt, crurum tenus pro crure tenus posuit.

(2) Alexander Neckam (fl.1197) Rolls 34.391

A mento pendent palearia tincta rubore

VERGILIUS, Georgics 3.66-8

optima quaeque dies miseris mortalibus aeui
prima fugit; subeunt morbi tristisque senectus
et labor, et durae rapit inclementia mortis.

Giraldus

(1) ge 2.201

Quod igitur restat nisi solum morti vicina, senectus, ipsa cotidie mortem multis accelerans morbis et angustiis. Unde poeta:

Optima quaeque dies miseris mortalibus aevi
Prima fugit, subeunt morbi tristisque senectus
Et dolor, et dirae subit inclementia mortis.

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VERGILIUS, Georgics 3.435

ne mihi tum mollis sub diuo carpere somnos[1]

Giraldus

(1) li d.88

Monacum autem suum aut medicum, simplicem, fatuum et illiteratum, quem nobis tanto conatu tamque continuo necdum cessante intrudere nititur, sub quo scilicet securos posset carpere sompnos, ualde idoneum reputaret.

(2) li d. 96

uirum nisi uerbo fallor aut fallam literatissimum sibique in philosophia simillimum, sub quo scilicet securos posset carpere sompnos, ... superintrudi fecit.

(3) pi 8.292

a stratu quo recubans somnum carpere jam coeperat experrectus

VERGILIUS, Georgics 4.83

ingentis animos angusto in pectore uersant

Giraldus

(1) th 5.71

Et quoniam
Omnis in arctois sanguis quicunque pruinis (Luc.8.363-4)
Nascitur, indomitus bellis, et martis amator,
gens haec ingentes animos ingenti corpore versant.

---

1. Cf. Vergilius, Culex 160: securo presses somno mandauerat artus, and Statius Thebais 5.119: sanguine securos iuuenum perfundere somnos.

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Chapter IV

Commentary on the Texts

Prefatory Note

For the sake of brevity and convenient reference a system of numbering has been used in the section on texts (Chapter III) and in this section (Chapter IV) the excerpts from Giraldus and his contemporaries are referred to by these numbers. In most cases, therefore, the commentary must be read with the preceding chapter open to the proper place at the same time.

When the number is merely a useful adjunct it is put in parentheses; otherwise it is shown by the number sign (#).

The huge quantity of material has made cross reference all but impossible. At a later date I plan to issue an index which will be sufficiently detailed to replace a system of cross references.

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ANTHOLOGIA LATINA 709 anth.lat.709

Giraldus' dum for cum is the reading of D, P, reliqui. The same is true for his concretas instead of frenatas; rapido traherentur ab amne for fundo raperentur ab imo. Giraldus, together with M, D, G, has orba quod inventum for quod mox inventum and with D, P, reliqui he has urna for igni.

ANTHOLOGIA LATIN 711

Giraldus' version of line 1 sounds typically medieval. Note the word-play on forms of par. There may have been something of the sort in the manuscript tradition. Baehrens' note to p. 176 reads:

> v. 1 - 3 Trebellius Polio vita Gallieni c. 11 exhibet, sed v. 1 o pueri, pariter sudate habet.

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CARMINA VERGILIANA 155

Since the first excerpt shows Giraldus incorporating these words into his own verses, it is not surprising that he does not long adhere to the original. However, the entire first line was copied by him from his version, which followed manuscripts V, Y. Petropolitanus, and others for the substitution spectacula mane.

Giraldus' second excerpt proves that he also knew the original second line of the distich. Once more, the manuscript tradition he used was responsible for his variation, divisum for commune.

CARMINA VERGILIANA 162

Giraldus' variations from the original text, dubitet for dubitat and enclitic -ve for enclitic -ne, may have been due to various causes: faulty memory on his part, the mistakes of a copyist, or the manuscript tradition from which he learned the distich at school. In view of the form in Richard Aldgate (2) I am inclined to decide as follows: -ve for -ne was the form learned at school, whereas dubitet for dubitat was probably a copyist's error in the manuscript of Giraldus' Descriptio Kambriae.

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CLAUDIANUS, Eut. 1.181-4 claud.eutr.1.181-4

Giraldus' treatment is characteristic. He probably learned the lines by heart as a schoolboy, since the passage was evidently a popular one. This is apparent in the contemporary evidence and especially in the popularly-worded paraphrase (10) with its leonine rhyme. In the Expugnatio Hibernica (1) Giraldus was admittedly writing for an audience whom he sought to impress with his erudition and rhetorical skill, so it is natural for him to quote the lines in full and with fair exactness. Either faulty recollection on his part or variants in the manuscript tradition may account for the verbal changes: premit for ferit, colla for terga,[1] and ulla est for ulla. In the last case the addition of est achieves a desirable emphasis. There is also reason to consider premit an intentional substitution by Giraldus. Petrus Cantor, under whom he studied and whose Verbum Abbreviatum he employed so extensively, has ferit (7). Further, a close examination will show that Giraldus had in mind a creature of low origin, who, in the time of his power, treads upon the necks of those over whom he exercises control.[2]

Claudianus, Eutr. 1.205-9

The chapter in which Giraldus uses this passage is practically an unbroken series of quotations. Moreover, he cites these lines of Claudian at no other point in his works. These two facts argue for

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1. colla is the reading of A MGSS, Auctores Antiquissimi 10.80.

2. Giraldus loves the belua metaphor: eh 5.239; vg 4.403, 423, 430; rg 1.103, 207, 208; pi 8.36; sp 4.46. 91,92,93,149,161,163,164, 165 (twice), 423.

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carefulness on his part in reproducing the text. Consequently we are not surprised to find a distinct variation in the manuscript tradition: in geminas mutat and ingenuas mutat.[1]

Claudianus, Eutr. 2.116-18

Giraldus' substitution of tantique for antiqua, seems to me salva pace eruditorum to make much better sense.

Claudianus, Hon. 3.96-8

At this point in the De Principis Instructione Giraldus has discontinued a long citation from Hugo Floriacensis and is talking about the Emperor Theodosius. Oddly enough, in a passage otherwise rich with proper names Giraldus refers to Claudian as poeta quidam. He substitutes Dei for deo, tibi for cui, and omits the equivalent of a full hexameter. Since Sicardus Cremonensis does the very same thing, it is obvious that the couplet was obtained from a school manual. Giraldus' erroneously applies tibi to Theodosius thus widening the rift between this set of lines and the original verses of Claudian. Giraldus'

---

1. E and ω have ingenuas mutat. MGSS, Auctores Antiquissimi 10.81.

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confusion about tibi arose perhaps from another well know quotation[1] in which Theodosius is the speaker.

Claudianus, Hon. 4.220

The manner in which Giraldus incorporates Claudian's words into his own prose sentence (1) is a fair indication that he had learned the line at an early age. Furthermore, its appearance in Hubert's letter (3) and in the Carmina Burana (4) attests its popularity among clerics of the late twelfth century.[2]

Amusing circumstances attach to the pair of longer excerpts. In the Libellus Invectionum (3) Giraldus presents in its entirety the communication of Archbishop Hubert Walter to Pope Innocent III aimed at a disallowance of Giraldus' claims to the see of St. David's. Generally, his invectives against this prelate yield in brilliance and power only to his excoriations of the bishop of Ely, William Longchamp, as found in the Vita Galfridi. In the present instance (2) Giraldus makes

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1. Birt, in MGSS, Auctores Antiquissimi 10.144, claims that Claudian's line 97, cui militat aether, reflects Propertius 4.6.39, tibi militat arcus. If so, it is a coincidence that the medieval version approximates Propertius more closely, by one word, than does Claudian.
   Birt likewise calls attention to the fact that various medieval authors use these lines of Claudian: Cerippus, Iokus, Paulinus Petricensis, Venantius Fortunatus, Sedulius, Paulus Diaconus, and Scotus. It would be interesting to know whether these men also use the telescoped version which we find in Giraldus and Sicardus.
   For a possible derivation of the text through Augustine as cited by Orosius, with whom Giraldus was thoroughly familiar, see the comment of Zangemeister in CSEL 5.699.

2. Hilka-Schumann, otherwise so efficient in ferreting out classical quotations in the Carmina Burana, failed to note the source as Claudian.

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another of his many references to Hubert's intellectual backwardness by gently pointing out the source of the archbishop's classical quotation: Istud, says Giraldus, mutuatus est a Claudiano, and then gives the exact wording in the correct order. I wonder whether, in changing Hubert's forsan to forsitan, he wished to point out in a subtle way how the archbishop's style might be further improved?

Claudianus, Hon. 4.257-62

The Helinandus excerpt is from his book De Bono Regimine Principis (3). Matthaeus Parisiensis' false assignation of these lines to Statius (4) indicates the wide popularity this saying enjoyed in the late twelfth century. Moreover he does not quote heavily from the classics.

Claudianus, Hon. 4.294

In the comment upon Claud. Hon. 4.257-62 attention was paid to a letter of Giraldus to Richard I which is really a miniature of the De Principis Instructione and shows similarities to Helinandus' short (and later) treatise De Bono Regimine Principis. It seems to me that two of the Giraldus excerpts above #4, and #5, show clearly how in his mind these passages from Claudian (Hon. 4.257-62 and 294-302) were intimately connected. The obvious linking phrase is rex a regendo dicitur, because it appears in #1, #4, and #5.

The popularity among twelfth-century writers of the Claudianus passage in commune jubes si quid... mutatur semper cum principe vulgus

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is plainly indicated by the words of John of Salisbury, *celebre est illud* and of Helinandus, *nusquam melius exponitur*. Although the Giraldus passages cited above belong to about the same period, I believe the lines from Claudian were memorized early in his schooling, because of the casual way he uses the phrase *ad regum exemplar* (note the variation from *ad regis exemplum*) in his early work, the *Expugnatio Hibernica* #2. This impression of great familiarity is strengthened when we glance at his other citations of the passage or his allusions to it. It is my observation that Giraldus uses in this way only those excerpts which he acquired in his early grammatical and rhetorical studies.

Helinandus in his *De Bono Regimine Principis* (Migne 212.757) prefixes to Claudian *Hon.* 4.257-68 a pair of lines which are actually 276-7. Now it so happens that these lines, beginning *Sis pius in primis*, follow directly a further quotation used by Giraldus once in pi 8.14: Claudian *Hon.* 4.269-275. Summing up, then, many of the above considerations, I believe that the twelfth-century schoolbooks presented for memorization a portion of Claudian's *De Quarto Consulatu Honorii* and especially lines 257-302, which were possibly clustered under a single logical heading with a moral application. That, after all, was a common practice in those days. Neckam, in the *De Naturis Rerum* carries the habit to an amusing extreme by producing a moralized encyclopedia.

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CLAUDIANUS, Ruf. 1. 21-3 claud.ruf.1.21

Widespread knowledge of this quotation is indicated by its appearance in Gaufridus (note terrae for rerum) and particularly by the paraphrase in the Carmina Burana.

The substitution of mores for meritum points to quotation from memory.

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DISTICHA CATONIS 1.5 d.c.1.5

The extreme popularity of the phrase nemo sine crimine vivit is attested not so much by the number of contemporary citations listed here, for they are few, but by the convenient brevity of the phrase.

DISTICHA CATONIS 1.26

It is possible that Giraldus picked up the phrase artem arte deludere from Richard Aldgate, whose work, in its first portion at least, he knew so well. But even such an intermediary step does not preclude the Disticha Catonis as their source. Students of liturgical hymnody might consider the possibility that this phrase was likewise borrowed from the Disticha Catonis by the author of Pange Lingua Gloriosi Lauream Certaminis. In the Missale Romanum (Feria Sexta in Parasceve) the line reads

Ars ut artem falleret.

DISTICHA CATONIS, Monosticha 3.2

Giraldus' dependence on this line is not beyond dispute. The idea, taken as a whole, is extremely common in Latin literature and merely a variation of the Rota Fortunae motif which Giraldus loved. I have found almost the identical wording in an author whom Giraldus often imitated:

Gregorius I MGH.EPP.1.207

Dum igitur omnia in hoc mundo mutabilitatis ordo corrumpat, nec elevari prosperis nec frangi debemus adversis.

DISTICHA CATONIS, Monosticha 4.24-5

These lines were very popular. Witness the liberties taken with the wording by Giraldus and Abaelardus and, in the latter, the addition of leonine rhyme. In fact, their mere appearance in Abaelardus is proof.

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The variants introduced by Giraldus' text are accounted for in the apparatus criticus of the Teubner edition of Poetae Latini Minores, Vol. 1, p. 126. Giraldus' text is the reading of B P H R when he substitutes clarus for carus. For uelle he has posse with O ("ex u.praecedente").

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HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 1-5 h.a.p.1-5

There can be very little doubt that twelfth-century schoolboys learned a good deal of the Ars Poetica by heart, and certain pointed passages must have been quoted by educated men an infinite number of times. A tendency, which is part of the psychology of learning, probably existed in those days as it does today: learn the beginning and the end perfectly and get as much of the remainder as you can. Giraldus was so consistently thorough in his recollection of classical quotations learned at school, that I do not hesitate to posit here a direct echo of the opening lines of the Ars Poetica. In five of the excerpts (1,2,3,4,6) Giraldus presents the same picture as Horace, but substitutes for superne and desinat the synonymous expressions, anterior, posterior, ascendens, descendens. There is a curious antinomy in #6. Giraldus compares his literary labors to the work of a painter, who, in contrast to Horace's idiotic craftsman, starts from the bottom, masters the less difficult areas and mounts gradually to a crowning success.

HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 11

In #2 venia data is not necessarily from Horace but the adjacent lege scribendi points it strongly in the direction of Ars Poetica 11.

In #1 Giraldus follows the Horace quotation with Ter. Heaut. 1.1.25

HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 31

It is evident that no connection exists between Horace's thought and that of Giraldus. The latter recasts the line by merely reversing the order of ducit and culpae, thus creating a new phrase, vitium

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culpae, which, though weak, produces the required meaning: unskilful flight is reprehensible.

HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 34-5

Giraldus may also have been influenced (2) by Lucan 1.144-5 in his use of the phrase nescia ponere (2):

> .....sed nescia uirtus
> stare loco,...

The date of #1 is about 1213, although[1] the Vita Remigii, as a whole, was issued by Giraldus about 1198.

HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 38

Giraldus' words (1,2) are no more than an allusion to the lines of Horace, as contrasted with the fuller citation by his contemporaries (3 to 7). His use likewise differs from #5, 6, and 7, each of which has the lines as an apologetic prefatory note to a particular literary work.

HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 52-3, 58-9

I have grouped these lines together because their thought forms a logical unity on the theme of novelty in literary expression.

In the Horatian manuscript tradition the reading procudere for producere is found in ζ. This reading was adopted by Bentley. The

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1. See vr 7.80, note 2 for confirmation of the dating.

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verbal connection between Ars Poetica 59 and the Giraldus excerpts (1,3,4) becomes much stronger if Giraldus' text read procudere, as it probably did.[1]

A similarity of thought exists between two of the Giraldus excerpts (3,4) in which he defends himself against the envious in terms familiar to him whenever he is inveighing against lividi nostri, as he most frequently styles them.

#2 is from an interesting poem written in elegiac distichs. In it he gently corrects the mistakes of an imperfect metricist who had addressed a poem to Giraldus. I believe these verses are the product of Giraldus' maturer years.

HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 92

In the Horatian manuscript tradition V, B. and K have decentem; decenter is found in a, C, M, and II. The latter reading is the one which most twelfth-century writers must have used. Obviously the line was learned in school in isolated form. This would be indicated especially by its appearance, alone, in John of Salisbury (3) who is usually diffuse in his classical quotations.

The way in which John of Salisbury incorporates the quotation into

---

1. The opinion of Rodney P. Robinson, carries more weight than my own. Shortly before his death he annotated my MS. as follows: "It seems to me hardly doubtful that Giraldus read procudere in his Horace (A.P. 59), and the MS. evidence for producere must be strong indeed to make any modern editor prefer it. For my own part, I should be tempted to follow Bentley in adopting procudere even without MS. authority."

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HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 92 (cont'd.) h.a.p.92

the flow of his thought and words is characteristic (3). Gaufridus St. Barbarae, on the other hand, is very stilted in his use of classical quotations. Giraldus' technique depends upon the subject-matter; when treating purely ecclesiastical matters (2) he uses the rather dry method of Gaufridus and not the warmer and more humanistic approach of John of Salisbury; when he wishes to entertain the reader he becomes very rhetorical. In his manner of incorporating classical texts, Giraldus is actually more clever than anyone I know.

Giraldus is fond of using the word sors, or its immediate relatives, sortior, sortilegus, and even sortialiter. Since Ars Poetica 92, memorized early in life, may h ve given Giraldus his taste for sortior, I should like to record some of the occurrences:

eh 5.305 eventus non sortita secundos

vg 4.305 sicut apostoli missi, qui et a missione nomen sortiti

vg 4.408 quem finem sortiri debeat ille viderit,

sp 4.155 vitam...tam austeram...religionis amore sortiti

It should be noted that the first example form a decapitated hexameter. We find temperiem sortitur in

Matthaeus Parisiensis (fl. 1240) Rolls 84.3.lxx

It appears to me that few twelfth-century Latin authors use sortior in its literal meaning, "acquire by a stroke of luck." The chief users are writers, whose vocabulary, like that of Giraldus, is fairly poetic.

HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 119

My reasons for connecting the Giraldus excerpt with Ars Poetica

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119 are two: (a) convenientia finge and convenientia jungit sound almost identical and form the last three feet of an hexameter; (b) In both authors stress is being laid upon the idea of agreement. Horace advises the aspiring writer to produce creations which are consistent, that is to say, whose component elements agree with one another; Giraldus describes the language of the Welsh and their love of alliteration, that is, the agreement of words through similar sounds. Convenientia has this meaning of agreement in Giraldus even though it is a feminine singular noun rather than a neuter plural substantival participle.

HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 138

Translated from the Old French the words of ex-monk Walter are: "My lord, do not at any time put your trust in a single person of this country, be he clerk or lay. Do not at any time expose yourself to attack from Archdeacon Gerald. Remain in England as long as you please. Dean Jocelyn and I shall govern the bishopric between us in grand style and well."

Since Bernard of Clairvaux uses few classical quotations in his works the appearance of this one (3) shows that it was probably among those learned at school.

Giraldus, in recasting the line, merely interchanges dignum with feret hic, without disturbing the prosody and especially without sacrificing Horace's dramatic spacing in tanto...promissor hiatu. This is another instance of Giraldus' fine literary and rhetorical perception.

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In both instances (1,2) Giraldus speaks of the subversive ideas of a worldly cleric and then appends the Horace line as a withering comment. His substitution of delator for promissor (2) is not only intended but extremely forceful. This is in an attack on a parasite by the name of Golias. Giraldus can hardly disagree when the loose-tongued cleric strikes out against the rapacity of the Roman court, but he objects to the method employed by the satirist. Who was this Golias? Giraldus identifies him in a paragraph that has interested the investigators of Goliardic verse: (sp 4.291-2)

> Item parasitus quidem, Golias nomine, nostris diebus gulositate pariter et lecacitate famosissimus, qui Gulias[1] melius quia gulae et crapulae per omnia deditus dici potuit, literatus tamen affatim sed nec bene morigeratus nec bonis disciplinis informatus, in papam et curiam Romanam carmina famosa pluries et plurima, tam metrica quam ridicula, non minus impudenter quam imprudenter evomuit. De quibus invectionem ridiculum temere nimis et indiscrete compositam casualiter incideas clausulas aliquot inde, ad detestandum quidem et condemnandum, non approbandum aut imitandum, has scilicet hic apposui:
>
> Roma mundi caput est sed nil capit mundum;
> Quod pendet a capite totum est immundum.
> Trahit enim vitium primum in secundum,
> Et de fundo redolet quod est juxta fundum.
> Roma capit singulos et res singulorum.
> Romanorum curia non est nisi forum.

Giraldus continues to cite Golias for 24 more lines, but the amount presented here gives the reader enough material on which to base an estimate of the rest. The sentence of Giraldus which introduces Golias (De quibus invectionem) is poorly constructed; incideas is not clear.

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1. Gulias is obviously what Giraldus originally wrote although in the Rolls Series Brewer printed Golias. Brewer, as he himself points out, left many copyist's errors stand if they were evident enough to the reader or else beyond Brewer's power to correct.

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HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 138 (cont'd.) h.a.p.138

The modern view of Golias' identity is summed up by James H. Hanford: "The net result of all discussion thus far has been a disputed etymology and the verdict that Golias, in spite of the veracious Gerald, must be accounted a mediaeval myth."[1]

HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 139

This line is probably an echo of Horace. It occurs in a long poem entitled Descriptio Cujusdam Puellae, no doubt a school exercise as such pieces usually were.

HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 141-2

Giraldus had presumably memorized these lines of Horace at an early age and very possibly the set of lines from Epp. 1.2 as well and it is reasonable to suppose Giraldus, when introducing the Topographia Hibernica to his listeners at Oxford, wished them to recognize this phrase, like so many others, as a quotation from the classics. The question remains, however, whether he was influenced by some Latin school text on the wanderings of Odysseus. Giraldus has nosse, which is closer to Homer's ΕΙΔΩ than the vidit or inspexit of Horace which we find in #3 and 4. Homer, after all, has two verbs where Horace uses only one. Examination of the Ilias Latina, a work of late antiquity popular in Giraldus' day, reveals no direct borrowings. Any expressions common to Giraldus and to the Ilias Latina can always be found in the common au-

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1. "Progenitors of Golias" in Speculum I (1926), pp. 38-58. For views on the veracity of Giraldus see the Appendix, p.

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HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 141-2 (cont'd.) h.a.p.141

thors, especially in Vergil. Was there also an Odysseia Latina accessible to Giraldus? Does he borrow from some medieval Excidium Trojae which I have not seen? These are interesting questions for further investigation.

HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 151-2

The erroneous use of the indicative discrepat (1) is evidently the mistake of a copyist. However, the unusual word-order finalem ad usque (4) I should consider a poetic embellishment due to Giraldus himself.

#2 contains a most clever device. Giraldus substitutes principium for primo to compensate for the omission of ne, reverses the relationship of primum-medium and medium-imum, changes discrepet to the indicative, and inserts a quoque -- all without in the least disturbing the hexameter. When we witness such a performance over and over again in Giraldus' works, we cannot deny that he was a competent and ingenious versifier.

From what I have seen it seems obvious that line 152 of the Ars Poetica taken by itself was memorized in the schools of the twelfth century and with this moral application, "end well whatever you begin and above all the important business of living." This is especially brought out in Giraldus (1) and Alanus (5).

HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 161-3

The phrase cereus et proclivis is found in

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HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 161-3 (cont'd.) h.a.p.161

Matthaeus Parisiensis (fl. 1240) Rolls 84,3.lxxiii

Juvenal's description of a good teacher contains lines which are a faithful, though originally-worded echo of Horace:

> exigite ut mores teneres ceu pollice ducat,
> ut si quis cera uoltum facit; 7.237-8

HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 180-1

#5 is the opening of Giraldus' preface to the Gemma Ecclesiastica, I have reproduced so much of it for two reasons: (a) Giraldus here displays in excellent fashion his unusual ability to weave classical quotations into his writing; (b) he works out a commentary on a classical quotation. Nearly always the purpose of Giraldus in citing the classics is to strengthen an argument. Very rarely does he show any special interest in what may have been the original intention of the author whom he quotes. Here, however, he forsakes the pocket-manual style and gives us something like a critical, even humanistic approach to the classics.

The phrase oculata fides occurs elsewhere in Giraldus a number of times, but I have not noted all the instances. It is certainly rare in most contemporary writers. Even if oculata fides came down the ages independently of Ars Poetica 219, it is nevertheless linked with the Horatian text in the mind of Giraldus as may be clearly seen from the proximity of the two in #5.

HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 219

Giraldus uses sortilegae as "superstitious" rather than "prophetic."

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HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 291, 294 h.a.p.291

In the lines just quoted are two expressions which were extremely popular in the twelfth century: lima (as applied to literary polishing) and ad unguem (in the sense of "to perfection"). To prove beyond question that they derived from Horace would be impossible, but, because of his universal popularity in the schools, Horace is a better source than any other. The instances of ad unguem in Giraldus and other writers of his age are so numerous that a bare enumeration must suffice. I am not sure that I have noted all the examples in Giraldus.

In respect to lima and limare we immediately notice certain similarities among the writers quoted. With lima Giraldus uses expolitum (6) and expolitio (8); Bernardus Morlanensis has ornatu expolire just after lima (17); Alanus, like Giraldus, uses nearly identical wording when treating the same ideas in widely separated works (18,19).

Bernardus Morlanensis (17) shows some of the traits which are closely bound up with the style of Giraldus, play on words, alliteration, use of doublets (two synonymous expressions where only one is required), and at times all of these in combination: aurem auream... aures...ora in close succession; temere et praecipitanter, titulum et nomen; imprudentes, immo impudentes (a combination of which Giraldus is fond). Petrus Blesensis (20) and Bernardus Morlanensis (17) both use the phrase lima diligentior.

In connection with the excerpts from Giraldus, especially #7 and #13, attention should be called to his literary resourcefulness. In using the word lima, Giraldus subjects it to clever variations:

(a) The simple use of lima in its literal sense, a file for polish-

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ing hard substances, especially metal (vr 7.104);

(b) The common metaphorical sense, a means of polishing ones style;

(c) Four less common metaphorical applications:

schematis hujus lima	(6)	discretionis lima	(11)
lima veritatis	(8)	lima virtutum	(9)

(d) Simple word-play, ad limam et lineam (12);

(e) Complex word-play:

prius elimanda videntur quam eliminanda (2)
prius ad limam veniunt, quam ad linguam, prius elimantur quam eliminantur (7)

This technique is characteristic of Giraldus throughout his works, long passages of which are often dotted with rhetorical clusters of varied and subtle hue. Excerpts like the above give the uninitiated a taste of what one may momently expect in this unique writer of good, sometimes remarkably excellent, medieval Latin.

Since ancient times the ordinary meaning of elimino has been "to eject, oust, get rid of." Giraldus, however, in #2, #3, and #13, employs it in the meaning of "to send forth, externalize, produce, utter." In this he parallels the unusual classical instance (Hor. Epp. 1.5.25):

ne fidos inter amicos
sit qui dicta foras eliminet

Charpentier, in the DuCange lexicon, reads eliminata veritate as an error for elimata veritate in a document of Giraldus' day. Perhaps there is no mistake after all and eliminata here, as in Giraldus and Horace, has the meaning of "uttered, expressed."[1]

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1. In DuCange Glossarium Mediae et Infinae Latinitatis (1844, Vol. 3, p. 29 we read: (cont'd. next page)

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HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 304-5 h.a.p.304

Vice fungitur (without cotis) is found in Lucan 3.260.

HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 343

The leonine hexameter quoted by Rupert of Deutz (6) shows how popular the Horatian line had become. It would be interesting to know the source of his quotation, since he refers to the writer as comicus.

HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 359

There are references in the older literature to the theme "Even Homer nods": Plutarch, Cicero 24; Quintilian, 10.1.24; Jerome Epp. 84.8

In the first two excerpts (1,2) quandoque is taken in its ordinary sense of "sometimes, occasionally" rather than "whenever," as in the text of Horace; this may be ascribed to the omission of indignor.

HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 364

When reciting this passage to his learned audience at Oxford, Giraldus may have felt a sensation of justifiable pride over this

---

ELIMINARE, pro Elimare, ut opinor, Intento animo expendere. Charta ann. 1200. in Chartul. S. Joan. Laudun. ch. 143:
Hii inspecta et eliminata veritate, jam dictam causam...diligenter et attentius investigantes,...
Even if the reading should be elimata, I believe intento animo expendere is a poor rendering. Since the notion of filing must be retained I would suggest accuratissime enucleata or something similar.

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clever reworking of a well-known Horatian line. None knew how to do it better than he.

Brewer, in a footnote (th 5.3) states that the Introitus in Recitationem Expugnationis Hibernicae, unlike that of the Topographia, was never publicly recited. This gratuitous statement may be countered by the fact that the Descriptio Kambriae was recited before Archbishop Baldwin and his retinue. A public need not be a crowd. It is my impression that Giraldus hoped for an opportunity to recite the Expugnatio Hibernica as well.

In a number of places Giraldus uses argutus in a sense entirely conformable to the present Horatian excerpt. Here are two instances:

dk 6.186

> Item, ingenii gens subtilis et acuit. Cuicunque studio animum applicuerint, venae divitis (Hor. A.P. 409) dote praecellunt. Totaque communiter haec natio, prae gentibus aliis occiduo climate degentibus, arguta nimis est et astuta.

pi 8.40

> Hi nempe qui fallere parati sunt et fraudare suaque propensius ad haec applicant ingenia, quibus tamen si non abuterentur, naturae dote praecellerent, prudentium honore pariter et vocabulo prorsus indigni, nunc arguti dicuntur, nunc astuti, interdum vocantur et versuti, eo quod circa mala et illicita eorum versantur ingenia.

As elsewhere in Giraldus, the use of a doublet, arguta...et astuta, shows that he considers the words synonymous or nearly so. The second excerpt is a worthy effort in scientific lexicography.

Apart from his dependence on Horace, Giraldus probably favored the word argutus because of its poetic coloring. The T.L.L. (2.556) puts it succinctly:

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HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 364 (cont'd.) h.a.p.364

adamatum poetis, maxime bucolicis, alienum ab historicis.

In Vergil the adjective is chiefly applied to sounds and means "clear" in the sense of acoustically convincing, rather than, as in the Ars Poetica, highly effective, alert, keen.

HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 365

Gaufridus S. Barbarae has departed further from the original text than Giraldus, yet his very manner of using the Horatian words points to great familiarity and therefore to a place in the school tradition.

In Horace's line repetita means "sought again, revisited." He is talking about a painting viewed by competent critics. In the medieval writers the meaning is "repeated."

HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 372

Mediocris and mediocriter are common in ancient and medieval Latin, but Giraldus is fond of these words to an unusual degree. In fact, a certain group of words, related through the idea of "the mean, the average, the moderate," occupy an extremely prominent place on Giraldus' literary canvas:

mediocris, mediocriter, mediocritas

modus, modulus

modicus, modicitas

modestia, modestus, moderatus, moderantia

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HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 372 h.a.p.372

Giraldus' employment of mediocritas sometimes derives directly from Horace's phrase auream mediocritatem (Carm. 2.10.5).

Instances of mediocris may prove helpful for further investigation:

5.198, 272, 297, 324, 396; e.230; 2.207, 276; 3.212, 352, 403; 4.375.

Instances of mediocriter:

5.90, 97, 155, 172, 266, 323, 393, 396; 6.71; 7.34, 39, 101; e.223; 2.206, 216, 219; d.186; 1.19, 29; 3.180, 212, 332, 335, 337; 8.59; 4.102, 121, 189, 214, 286.

The following pages may also be consulted: 5.141, 155; 6.219; 2.230, 280, 319, 351; 1.87, 240, 244, 271, 350, 351; 8.lix, lxiii, lxv, 42, 66, 132, 147, 289, 323.

One passage deserves to be quoted in full because of the force of its word-play:

eh 5.297

> Erat autem Mauricius vir venerabilis et verecundus; bultu colorato, decentique; mediocri quadam modicitate, tam mediocribus minor quam modicis major; vir tan animo quam corpore modificato, nec illo elato nec hoc dilatato; innata vir bonitate bonus, et tamen longe cura propensiori bonus fieri quam videri malens. Mauricio modus, in omnibus servare modum...vir sobrius, modestus, et castus;

It is surprising that Giraldus failed to include a citation of Ars Poetica 372 when, in his Prooemium to the Speculum Ecclesiae (sp 4.10) he repeated nearly two pages of the Introitus in Topographiam Hibernicam.

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HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 390 h.a.p.390

The occurrence in Peter Abaelard, who is so sparing in his use of the classics, points to memorization in school. There is a possible connection with Hor. Epp. 1.18.71:

et semel emissum uolat irreuocabile uerbum.

HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 409-10

Giraldus, in #1 and #4, uses the phrase divite vena just as Horace does, to designate intellectual ability. In #1 he flatters Henry II, against whom when dead he launched such bitter invectives. In #4 Giraldus refers to the people of Wales and their natural ability. In #2 and #3 divitem venam is applied in a physical sense to a layer of metal in the earth.

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HORATIUS, Ars Poetica 437 h.a.p.437

The excerpt from Giraldus is found in a letter he addressed to a Cistercian Abbot in complaint against William Wibert, a Cistercian monk. He here combines well-known school gems from Vergil (Ecl. 3.93), Horace (A.P.437), Persius (5.116-17), Ovid (Amores 1.8.108) and the Disticha Catonis (1.27). It is worthy of note that John of Salisbury, in his Polycraticus (Migne 199.497) when quoting the Catonian line (Fistula...auceps) paraphrases the Ovidian verse without quoting it: Et venena propinantur melle circumlita, quo citius noceant. One should likewise note the concurrence of the medieval authors quoted (except Guillaume de Conches) in substituting decipiant for fallant. As to the cluster of quotations found at this point in Giraldus 1,2 the five or six quotations probably formed a logical unit and were thus memorized at school. Giraldus (2) adds a seventh one which was also well known; it was from the Disticha Catonis 3.4:

Sermones blandos blesos vitare memento.

HORATIUS, Carmina 1.2.19

The word uxorius is unusual enough at any period of the Latin language. I have perhaps missed instances in the twelfth-century authors I examined, but to date this use by Giraldus has no companion in my files. However, even if the word is employed as rarely as I suppose, neither that fact nor the present occurrence in Giraldus is positive proof that Horace influenced Giraldus in the use of the word. On the other hand a similar word, uxoratus, is used a number of times by Giraldus and was apparently well known to canonists. I conclude as

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much from the title of a work dated by Manitius 1111 A.D. (Manitius 3.52): De Vitanda Missa Uxoratorum Sacerdotum. To explain Giraldus' attitude toward priests furnished-with-wives (for they were not allowed to marry) would be like pointing to the sun on a clear day. His life-long campaign against the practice of clerical concubinage matches in earnestness and vehemence, I think, any other effort by Giraldus save the supreme cause -- his election to the see of St. David's. However, for specific use of the term uxoratus these passages should be consulted: ge 2.186, 195, 248. In regard to uxorius it is necessary for a complete picture to mention that these passages, easily accessible to Giraldus, contain the word: Vergil, AEneid 4.266; Cicero, De Officiis, 3.15. It is also found in Ovid and in Statius.

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HORATIUS, Carmina 1.3.8 h.c.1.3.8

The letter of Giraldus which contains the above passage is not quite three pages long, but it is composed entirely of quotations and philosophic reflections on friendship. Galfrid's quotation is in farewell to a friend.

HORATIUS, Carmina 1.24.19

This is the only occurrence of the quotation in Giraldus. The substitution of est for fit is not important, but we cannot overlook the false assignation to Terence. I do not think we need to blame the fourteenth-century scribe, though his work, as Warner points out,[1] is of a very low grade. The error may as likely have been that of Giraldus. If so, I imagine that the irregularity of the Horatian meter threw him off the track. He thoroughly understood the hexameter and pentameter, but apparently was beyond his depth in any other metric scheme. I am inclined to believe that Giraldus considered Terence a prose writer on account of his meter.

HORATIUS, Carmina 2.8.9-12

Here is another page in Giraldus where quotations from everywhere fairly tumble over each other.

---

1. pi 8.ix:"...The scribe must have been at once a bad Latin scholar and a shockingly careless copyist...grammatical and other blunders of every kind abound, and care was not even taken to ensure that the rubrics agreed with the table of chapters prefixed to each book...there are a few passages too corrupt to be safely meddled with, and they have therefore been printed just as they stand in the MS."

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HORATIUS, Carmina 2.8.9-12 (cont'd.) h.c.2.8.9

In the manuscript the copyist mistakenly wrote penis for Penus. Giraldus' imperfect knowledge of prosody outside the realm of hexameters and pentameters would explain why he could write tibi for uni. Another explanation is also possible: he may have memorized these lines in school isolated from their context. This always necessitated changing certain words, especially personal pronouns, or inserting such pronouns where they did not originally appear, in order to make sense and narrow the application down to the student himself. It is even possible that some Horatian manuscripts carried tibi as the result of a gloss on uni.

HORATIUS, Carmina 2.6.13-14

In the instances recorded, the provenance of angulus orbis and angulus urbis from the words of Horace cannot be pressed. Moreover the expression occurs in an author to whom Giraldus was devoted:

Gregorius I MGH EPP. 2.30

dum gens Anglorum in mundi angulo posita

The third excerpt contains a phrase found likewise in Giraldus sy 1.370: tota ruina.

HORATIUS, Carmina 2.10.5-8

Only certain of the excerpts (1,2,5,8,11) show an undeniable link with Horace, but I believe the rest should be presented too because the idea of moderation and the golden mean loomed so large in the thinking of the writer. Like many extremists Giraldus liked to talk about

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HORATIUS, Carmina 2.10.5-8 (cont'd.) h.e.2.10.5

moderation.

A glance at the text of Giraldus (11) and that of Guillaume de Conches (15) reveals how the fourteenth-century copyist butchered the former. Because of the differences in wording and because of the different contexts which each author uses, I am inclined to believe that in this particular passage Giraldus did not copy from Guillaume de Conches, as he often does, but was merely reproducing from memory a strophe of Horace learned at school.

HORATIUS, Carmina 2.10.13-18

The manuscript text exhibits a curiosity: the underlining of Iupiter as though he were another classical author like Horace.

HORATIUS, Carmina 2.16.27-8

In favor of Giraldus' having borrowed here from Guillaume de Conches is the fact that Guillaume follows this excerpt (5) with a number of classical quotations well-known to Giraldus. However, the other point of view seems stronger to me; Guillaume uses the whole strophe of Horace, whereas Giraldus and the others (1,2,3,4,6) have only the handy phrase nihil omni parte beatum, with slight variants. This definitely points to memorization in school.

HORATIUS, Carmina 3.2.13

In addition to the Horace allusion, Giraldus has an interesting adaptation of Verg. Aen. 8.648: Aeneidae in ferrum pro libertate ruebant; dk 6.180: pro patria pugnant, pro libertate ruebant.

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HORATIUS, Carmina 3.4.66-9 h.c.3.4.66

These lines do not appear in other writers I have examined and even in Giraldus they are met only in De Principis Instructione. This would indicate that the lines were not too well known and that Giraldus has them directly from Guillaume de Conches (3). It should be noted that Giraldus' variant from Horace and Guillaume makes perfect sense; immanes for in majus, although this too may have been the work of his poorly equipped fourteenth-century copyist.

HORATIUS, Carmina 3.16.17

In #1, 3, and 5 Giraldus links lines 17-18 with 42-3-4, showing that he was in the habit of using this combination as thought it were the original strophe of Horace in that form.

In a number of contemporary authors I have noted the appearance of another combination: Hor. Carm. 3.16.17 followed by Juv. 14.139:

> Crescentem sequitur cura pecuniam.
> Crescit amor nummi quantum ipsa pecunia crescit.

Abaelard (6) affords the best evidence that these lines in juxtaposition were probably a school text. In his works classical quotations are very rare.

Another work, which Giraldus knew well, the Moralium Dogma Philosophorum (7) combines Hor. Carm. 3.16.17-18 with 42-4; however, it also quotes these lines in proximity to Juv. 14.139. Nevertheless in #7 there is a different order from that of Giraldus and the quotation of each classical author is fuller than Abaelard's (6). A reasonable explanation would be that both Guillaume de Conches and Abaelard, as

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contemporaries, were using well-known quotations and that Giraldus, in his turn, drew his excerpt either from Guillaume or from the school tradition. This hypothesis is strengthened by the appearance of Hor. Carm. 3.24.62.4 in both Guillaume de Conches (7) and Giraldus (1,5).

HORATIUS, Carmina 3.24.62-4

Much of what was said immediately above under Hor. Carm. 3.16.17-18, 42-4, about the possible connection with Guillaume de Conches applies to the present quotation as well. Guillaume omits scilicet and Giraldus inserts Et in eodem, but otherwise the wording and sequence are the same in both authors.

HORATIUS, Carmina 4.9.29

In the four passages above it is easy to see the near-identity of #2 and #3. If there were any doubt, further examination of the following expressions would be convincing. However, the connection with the Horace quotation which is positive in #1 and #4 is not so apparent for the other two excerpts (2,3). In supporting my opinion that there is a real connection I once more have recourse to the concatenation system; aside from the idea involved - that true strength of character cannot and must not be concealed - a concept which is common to all four passages, it seems to me that virtus (clausa) celari is to be linked with celata virtus and then virtus claudi (nescit) to virtus clausa (celari):

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HORATIUS, Carmina 4.9.29 (con't.) h.c.4.9.29

(Horace, Giraldus) celata virtus (Giraldus) virtus clausa celari

(Giraldus) virtus claudi

HORATIUS, Carmina 4.12.27-8

Here, as in a number of other cases, Hilka-Schumann fail to note the source as Horace. In the case of the Giraldus excerpt above we must not be misled into concluding that the first phrase I have underlined is also directly from Horace. It undoubtedly derives from the Roman satirist but through the Disticha Catonis a work seemingly begun in ancient times but reaching its full development in the early medieval period. In Duff's Loeb edition of the Minor Latin Poets (p. 606) we read under 2.18:

> Insipiens esto, cum tempus postulat aut res:
> Stultitiam simulare loco, prodentia summa est.

Observe that the two members of this couplet, as is usual with the Disticha Catonis, are really equivalents (insipiens for stultitiam, esto for simulare, cum tempus postulat aut res for loco) with the characteristic moralizing flourish to end with: prudentia summa est. Observe, too, the difference in application. Both the Disticha Catonis and the Carmina Burana adaptations adhere to Horace's thought: relaxation from serious thought and work. It is typical of Giraldus that he ignores this, and crosses over abruptly to a transferred meaning which in some ways has little connection with the idea of the original. He is telling the story of a monk who secures his just rights through pretense and violence. It is interesting to note that Giraldus has reversed the order of adjacent words (stultitiam, consiliis). In line

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HORATIUS, Carmina 4.12.27-8 (con't.) h.c.4.12.27-8

with my theory that he was not very proficient in lyric meters the question arises: did he make the change consciously and with the knowledge that the meter was not deranged thereby? No one can say, of course, but I might venture the suggestion that the word order had been fixed for him by previous memorization at school; otherwise I do not see why Giraldus, who is so fond of the interlocked word order, even in his prose, should have favored the amateurish juxtaposition of stultitiam and brevem.

HORATIUS, Epistulae 1.1.45

Even in a poor manuscript imbres is quite far from ignes so I presume that Giraldus preferred imbres or had learned it that way. Both Neckam (2) and Matthew Paris (3) have the lines as in Horace except that they agree with Giraldus in putting currit for curris.

HORATIUS, Epistulae 1.1.65

In all the passages above Giraldus refers to this quotation as to a stock excerpt, which, like many other such, he presents in its entirety when occasion demands. The fact that this was a stock quotation is emphasized by the proximity of similar quotations and by the great liberty taken with the original wording of Horace. Only extreme familiarity can explain, for example, Giraldus' indifference to the omission of the verb facias. Besides, if he had been using the quotation for its own sake, the Welshman's keen dramatic sense would probably have persuaded him to make use of the powerful repetition in line 65 of rem. Then too, the introduction by etsi and quod

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si points to the isolation of line 66 in the mind of the borrower. Further, note how the words are usually made part of a prose text. Finally, we may suppose that his memory is hazy on the exact origin of the quotation, because in #7 he links it with another:

> Et alibi quoque quasi temporis sui deridens avaritiam et describens, ait: Unde habeas quaerit nemo, sed oportet habere.

It happens, however, that the line Unde Habeas...habere is taken from Juvenal, 14.207. Giraldus does the same thing in #10, but the linking is extremely short: et alibi. It is likewise interesting to note the similarity between two of the above passages in Giraldus on the one hand (7,10) and the excerpt from a slightly older man (13), his teacher at Paris in fact, upon whom he leaned so heavily in some of his works, notably the Gemma Ecclesiastica. Giraldus (7) spends five lines in a play on the word ratio immediately before the words Dictum est autem; note the two occurences of ratione in the passage from Petrus Cantor. Where the latter has per fas enim et nefas Giraldus says similarly per fas omne nefasque after modo (4). Petrus Cantor uses suggillans and Giraldus, in the sentence just before Unde Poeta (10) writes suggillarunt. The quotation Dolus...requirat lends to two of the Giraldus passages (5,11) a parallel character to which I shall allude again under Verg. Aen. 2.390 #8 is from a letter sent by the princes of Wales to Pope Innocent III pleading for the recognition of Giraldus as the rightfully elected bishop of St. David's. However, I do not hesitate to ascribe to the archdeacon himself the authorship of this epistle, since it reflects his vocabulary and

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style at every turn. Rarely does Giraldus use classical quotations for any but an argumentative purpose and still more rarely does he permit himself any comment on the original intention of the author. Under Horace's Ars Poetica 180-1 he indulges in such a digression. In the present instance, one of the excerpts about (11) shows this same unusual occurence, for he says: poeticum illud, licet irrisorie prolatum, quasi sententialiter tamen et serio dictum.

HORATIUS, Epistulae 1.2.54

In #3 tormentum means destructive power, death-dealing effectiveness. In pi 8.75 the quotation Ad generum...morte tyranni, actually Juvenal 10.112-13, is treated as part of a single quotation from Horace. In fact, from the appearance of the manuscript it is not impossible that the ignorant scribe took the words ad generum Cereris with Juxta illud poetae rather than as part of the quotation. Note especially that Giraldus uses Hor. Epp. 1.2.54-9 as three separate quotations.

It is surprising that Giraldus nowhere quotes line 57 (invidus alterius macrescit rebus opimis) which was so popular in his day. He certainly knew the surrounding lines of this passage, as shown above, and he is definitely a product of his age in the emphasis his writings place upon ideas of competition, rivalry and professional jealousy. So universal and oft-recurring a theme might very well be the subject of a distinct dissertation, even if limited to the use of invidia, invidus, aemulus, and livor, lividus in Giraldus and

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a few of his contemporaries. I think it should be mentioned here, however, on account of the important role invidia played in Giraldus' thinking at all times. The two important applications in his case are (a) the preferment of others to the See of St. David's and (b) those individuals, whoever they were, who would rob him of his well-deserved literary fame. Without a thorough analysis of all the places in his writings where this motif appears I hesitate to cite any of them. However, the following list will offer the investigator a running start: 5.335, 367; 1.233, 246, 250; 8.lviii, 48, 49, 51, 282, 328; 4.372, 387, 430. These examples point to one of the chief characteristics of Giraldus' writing: the emergence of certain ideas or expressions at intervals and in a sort of cluster. A table of the appearances of invidia and livor which I have noted in Giraldus will make this point fairly clear.

5	6	7	2	1	3	8 lviii	4
5,6	7	3,8	3		(d 8)	6	9
76		70	107	80		33	64
194				233,246 250	255	48,49,51	85
209,211 213				303	273	245	151
335				342,350,	332	282	220
367				362,367, 377,385,	352	328	240
				405,411, 417,423			261
							301
							372,387
							430

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The order is fairly chronological. There are some references to invidia or livor in nearly all the main introductions to his works, although the De Rebus a Se Gestis is a baffling exception. There are also many references in the Symbolum Electorum because it contains his most intimate productions such as letters about his career and writings. There are scarcely any references to invidia in those works which are strictly ecclesiastical in character and written in a constructive rather than a polemic vein (Gemma Ecclesiastica and Vitae Sanctorum.) Petrus Blesensis and Helinandus have given us paragraphs on the nature and effects of envy which are outstanding from both a psychological and a literary point of view. They aptly sum up the thinking of the period on the subject of invidia:

Petrus Blesensis

De Amicitia Christiana, Prologus Migne 207.871

> Securius quidem mihi est opusculum praesens in sinu meo quasi sub modio claudere, quam exponere palpebris aemulorum, ut fasciculum quem inter ubera mea secretius tenere delectat, transferre in theatrum et derisum. Scio siquidem, quod si libellus hic quandoque evaserit in publicum, statim grunniet aemulus, et labio virulento submurmurans compilationi ascribet, quod sententias veterum jam senio caligantes, vel ambuigui intellectus intricatione perplexas studeo reducere ad videntiam, et quae situ et neglectu vetustatis obsoleverant, ferventiore studio digerantur in materiam virtutis, et in tractatum uberioris gratiae coalescant.

From which we may conclude that even in the twelfth century there were those restless spirits who clamored: Quovis pretio, novitas!

Helinandus Frigidi Montis Monachus

Sermo IX, in Ramis Palmarum II Migne 212.556

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> Quid est invidia? Fera pessima et pestilentissima; pestis feralissima, et ferocissima. Omne bonum alterius, quod audit odit, quod videt invidet, quod aspicit despicit, quod tangit exstinguit, quod inficit interficit, quod corripit corrumpit. Quid est invidia? Robur malitiae, virtus nequitiae, vitiorum satio, virtutum rubigo, lues saecularium, tabes claustralium, vita diaboli, mors Christiani, juxta illud: Invidia diaboli mors intravit in orbem terrarum. Quid est invidia? Fortissimum et inexpugnabile iniquitatis praesidium omni artificio nocendi compositum, omni telo malignitatis armatum, dente minatur ut aper, lingua ut coluber, cornu ut taurus, fronte ut aries, pede ut equus, cauda ut scorpius, visu vocem tollit ut lupus, vitam ut regulus, juxta illud: Lupi Maerin videre priora. Et iterum: Nescio quis teneros oculus mihi fascinat agnos.

A magnificent example of this preoccupation with invidia is a letter of Petrus Blesensis (Migne 207.247-9) too long to quote here but full of the stock quotations on the subject found in other writers of that day. One of these quotations is, of course, the one we have under consideration. (Hor. Epp. 1.2.57: invidus alterius macrescit rebus opimis.) Its absence from the works of Giraldus is surprising. We find it in the much-used Libellus Proverbiorum of Othlonus (fl.1050) under the letter I, number 75, of Korfmacher's edition; also in the early thirteenth century poem of the so-called Eupolemius, Messias, (1.98) but in a beautiful paraphrase:

Invidia, alterius quid semper honore liquescis?

Alexander Neckam (fl.1197) has references to invidia from time to time (such as Rolls 34.337, twice and 339) and in one place his use of tabe reminds one of his Helinandus' tabes claustralium: Sic et invidiae venenum membra invidi decoquit, et animan miseram tabe non solum inficit sed corrumpit (Rolls 34.198). Note the verbal agree-

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ment between Helinandus and Neckam in inficit and corrumpit. Ketell, too, in Rolls 71.1.261, uses the phrase invidia tabescentes.

14 is from a piece which is less a single poem than a galaxy of poetic dicta on the subject of invidia. The first, third and fifth sections are medieval jingles (two of them with leonine rhyme) in the style of the popular collections which we know through the florilegia. The fifth, moreover, echoes a number of the Catonis Disticha which end in an infinitive and memento. The second and longest brings us back to our starting point, Horace Epp.1.2.54-9.

Giraldus' learned and clever contemporary, Alexander Neckam, in his encyclopedia De Naturis Rerum has an enjoyable chapter entitled De invidis (Rolls 34.336.343). In it he has gone to much more trouble than either Petrus Blesensis or Helinandus to blast the envious of every country and every century with the full force of his rhetoric. Feeling, perhaps, unequal to the task, he enlists the assistance of Ovid from the Metamorphoses (2.760-801) and of Statius from the Thebaid (2.12-22) and sprinkles his last two pages with phrases from Ovid, Vergil, Horace and Lucan, much in the best manner of Giraldus himself. I cannot, therefore, think of a more fitting close to these pages on the twelfth-century attitude toward invidia than by ending as Neckam does: (Rolls 34.343)

Sed tempus est ut invidiam ventis et aurae committamus.

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Hor. Epp. 1.2.62-3

This Horace text was very popular in the twelfth century. Commonly the last word appears as catemis, the reading of manuscripts E, Goth. Under Horace Epp. 1.2 .54-9 reference was made to Carmina Burana m-s 13 which cites lines 60-61. These form a logical unit with the two lines discussed here.

Hor. Epp. 1.2.69

It is evident from the casual manner in which Giraldus handles this quotation that it was extremely well known in his day. In fact he also cited a paraphrase which was probably a part of the school memory-gem tradidion. Comparing this passage with the one just above, you will notice a great similarity even to the coincidence of word-play. A contemporary collection of moralizing verses gives us the one which Giraldus quotes (16). The extreme popularity enjoyed by the original Horatian line (69) is manifest from the list of contemporary authors who make use of it.

Hor. Epp. 1.4.13

The first quotation fo Matthew Paris (17) is actually the medieval line found in the Florilegium Gottingense (16). #12 is a passage which Giraldus lifted bodily for his Gemma Ecclesiastica (1). The Migne text of Petrus Cantor gives the Horace text as it should be, supremum, while

1 Eva Sanford has pointed out such borrowings of Giraldus Cambrensis from Petrus Cantor. "Giraldus Cambrensis' Debt to Petrus Cantor" vol. 3. (1944), pp. 16-32, Mediaevelia et Humanistica.

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Hor. Epp. 1.4.13 (cont'd.)

Giraldus has supremam. Perhaps the change of vowel was due to Giraldus' copyist but the Welshman himself may have been accustomed to supremam. He might have been influenced by the frequent appearance of dies (singlar) with feminine adjectives. The feminine was the rule in the medieval period if the ablative was used in a date: die quarta julii (but ante diem decimum Calenda s Augusti.) H e is also justified by classical usage if we regard the word supremam as characterizing a day rather than specifying an occa sion. Aside from any variations and aside from Giraldus' dependence on Petrus Cantor, this text must have long been popular as an encouragement to good living because of the uncertainty of death. Even if the idea and words stem from a popular proverb-tradition antecedent to Horace, he nevertheless crystallized it in his famous line. Medieval evidence of its descent is found in two well-known colledtions:

Columbanus (fl. 615) Monosticha Migne 80.287

Quisque dies vitae est velut ultimus ecce putandus.

Othlonus (fl.1050) Korfmacher, p.55

Omnis dies velut ultimus tractandus est.

Korfmacher in his note on this page, cites a similar line from another part of Othlonus (Migne 146.133). We have also the following from colledtions of later antiquity:

Pseudo-Publilius Syrus, Sententiae 27

Omnis itaque dies velut ultimus ordinandus est.

Publilius Syrus. Sententiae Falsae 272

Omnis dies velut ultimus putandus est.

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Hor. Epp. 1.4.13 (cont'd.)

Incertus De Morte. 10

Omnis dies velut ultimus indicandus est.

Seneca, Epp. 12.8

Itaque sic ordinandus est dies omnis, tamquam cogat agmen.

Korfmacher likewise refers the reader to Sutphen's collection of Latin Proverbs, p.124-5 under dies 14.

Hor. Epp. 1.7.98

There is a possible connection between this Horace quotation and Giraldus' other uses of the word supervenire 1.60, 4.105, 239, 243, 246, 259, 411.

Hor. Epp. 1.7.98

Such extensive excerpts have been presented here because the reader may find in them interesting sidelights on the history and character of Giraldus; most of all however because they deal with his universal theme moderation.

The ever-popular fables of Avianus show, in one of the introductions, a positive citation of Horace's text:

Avianus Fabula V. De Asino Pelle Leonis Induto

Metiri se quemque decet propriisque iuuari laudibus,
alterius nec bona ferre sibi,

Reference has already been made to Giraldus' use of the words Mediocris and mediocritas in the discussion of Hor. A.P. 372-3 and Carm. 2.10.5-6. Giraldus in his autobiography (4) applies the phrase modulo suo to the games of children mimicking the pursuits' of adult life. Even if the phrase was meant by him in the sense of "as in their way", "in their childish fashion", the transition to his ordinary use of modulus (moderate ability, modest power is very easy and natural.

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Hor. Epp.1.10.24

Both agree with Giraldus in the use of ex pellas rather than expelles. This was the reading of the early editions. The misspelling natura for naturam may be a typographical error or Brewer's retention of an obvious copyist's mistake. It is inconceivable that Giraldus should have made such a blunder except as a slip of the pen.[1] Complete familarity is depicted in his manner of quoting.

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[1] Brewer's comment on p.xi is to the point: "It is to be regretted that he (Giraldus) was not equally anxious to correct the errors of his scribe; for though the handwriting is skillful enough, it is clear, from the numerous blunders and mis-readings in every page of the manuscript, that the scribe was not an adept at his task. These errors I have, in most instances, tacitly corrected; some have defied my ability to rectify; a few I have preserved at the foot of the page for the judgment and ingenuity of my readers."

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Much more than the present Horace quotation could be presented as the most striking example of how Giraldus' memory functioned in the matter of quotations. When he knew them well he apparently thought of them in clusters pertaining to a single theme, and in quoting them was inclined to reproduce the whole cluster. As a result his quotations sometimes tumble out onto the page in a garrulous way, nearly like the remarks of a gossipy old woman who enriches her talk with proofs and examples. In this he is entirely different from that shining light of English scholarship, John of Salisbury, and quite removed from his slightly older fellow-courtier, Petrus Blesensis.

Among the Giraldus excerpts listed above, three have their chronological sequence indisputably fixed by internal evidence, which is much more than can be said for many parts of his writings. Of the three, #1 is the earliest; it is addressed to Archbishop Hubert of Canterbury at a time previous to Giraldus' break with him; #2 is next, coming during the hearing of Giraldus' case before Innocent III or not long thereafter; #3 quotes both the others and is therefore the latest.

Horatius, Epistulae 1.10.41

Since this quotation had obviously become proverbial it was necessary that the particularizing quia should be replaced by the general qui. Matthew Paris so uses the line in Rolls 57.4.497 . A much more fascinating angle, however, is afforded by Alanus (2).

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This excerpt is also useful as an illustration of the crystal-clear concepts arrived at by twelfth-century logicians through their subtleties and economy of words!

In reference to the popularity of this quotation (Hor. Epp. 1.10.41), Vollmer states that it is used by Augustine and by many after him. He cites the Quaestiones in Heptateuchum 1.31 (CSEL 28.3.19). Likewise Giraldus' teacher, and sometime treasure-chest, Petrus Cantor, has not only this line of Horace but the seven preceding verses as well (3).

Horatius Epistulae 1.11.27

The phrase non mutant mores, was undoubtedly part of a leonine hexameter which ended in honores, as is clear from the remainder of Giraldus' sentence. That the saying, moreover, was proverbial in the Middle Ages would appear from its appearance in slightly altered form in the book next most widely read after the Bible, the De Imitatione Christi (or De Contemptu Mundi) which is a Latin translation and new edition of a Dutch work by Gerhard Groote.

Horatius Epistulae 1.14.36

Guilielmus de Conchis has the line as part of a cluster. Some of the other quotations on the same page are found in Giraldus, some not.

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Horatius Epistulae 1.14.36

It will be noticed at once that Giraldus, in exhorting his fellow-archdeacon to abandon secular studies for the sacred sciences of theology and scripture, repeats verbatim the words he used to his Oxford audience some time before. It is obvious that ludisse is a copyist's error since the next line has the correct spelling lusimus. Two of the popular collections contain a line which seems to stem from Horace. In the Florilegium of S. Omer (c.1200) and the Proverbia Rustici numbers 63 and 48 respectively read as follows:

Dum pulcher iocus est, nos hunc dimittere fas est.

The Florilegium Gottingense, though a later work (c.1350) shows another adaption (#46):

Dum ludus bonus est, ludum dimittere fas est;
Ni dimittatur, aliquando forte gravatur.

Horatius Epistulae 1.16.39

#4 is in a passage used by Giraldus. His fastidiousness about the rules of prosody leads me to presume that the omission of et before mendax is due to the carelessness of his fourteenth-century copyist.

Horatius Epistulae 1.16.67-8

It is interesting to note that the next quotation, which begins folio 69b (Crede mihi...) is also the one cited in the footnotes of the Kellerholder edition (volume 2, p. 228) as resembling the Horace text. The Crede mihi lines are from Ovid (Tr.3.4.25).

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Horatius Epistulae 1.17.35

Very early acquaintance with the Horace text is indicated by Giraldus' use of this quotation in his first published work: he retains only the words non ultima laus est, a sign of complete assimilation. This same degree of familiarity is evident in the excerpts from John of Auville and Richard Devizes (11, 12).

Horatius Epistulae 1.18.9

The theme in medio stat virtus is common to all the systems of philosophy or religion which have at some time given satisfaction to the mind and heart of man. To trace expressions of this thought through ancient Greek and Latin literature would be a long and interesting pursuit but not to our present purpose. We are considering Horace's version, and in looking at the medieval excerpts presented above it is noteworthy that they have all departed from his wording in one respect: the omission of et before utrimque. Evidently the line was committed to memory in school under the form: virtus est medium vitiorum, utrimque reductum. The variant redactum, not listed in the critical apparatus of the Keller-Holder edition, might appear to be a copyist's error in the De Principis Instructione (2) until we notice that it occurs likewise in the letter of Prior Geoffrey to the monks at Canterbury (5). It is with this similarity in mind that I venture to list the phrase utrinque redactis (1) as an echo of the Horatian text.

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Horatius Epistulae 1.18.77

Giraldus' line is a hexameter which frankly absorbs most of the Horatian original. Since he is showing off in this letter to Archbishop Hubert, it may be that the line is one of his own.

Horatius Epistulae 1.18.84

Giraldus' clever incorporation (1) and the occurrence in so many contemporaries indicates the popularity of Horace's text. Thomas à Becket (5) curiously combines Verg. Aen. 2.311-12 (...iam proximus ardet Ucalegon...) with Hor. Epp. 1.18.84 in this fashion:

Luccalegon trepidat, paries cum proximus ardet.

Horatius Epistulae 1.18.86-7

Giraldus' change of metuet to metues (1) is perfectly natural since he uses this form in an early letter to Archbishop Hubert of Canterbury. The message is loaded with classical and other quotations and was doubtless intended as a tour-de-force. I have recorded the manuscript version of #2 rather than that of Warner's printed edition, to empnasize the unusually careful work of the scribe. Dulcis and expertus, standing as they do at the head of Horace's lines, are assigned capital initials and there is clearly a space after the periods. This is in strong contrast to the century-younger manuscript, Brit. Mus. Cotton Julius B. xiii, which is the only extant copy of De Principis Instructione, and a shabby one at that. The present excerpt is found in Trinity College R.7.11, which contains excerpts from Giraldus' works published independently

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Horatius Epistulae 1.18.86-7 cont'd

of the works themselves. The hand is regular and extremely legible and the text shows a very careful and well-informed scribe. Is it perhaps the work of Giraldus himself?

Horatius Epistulae 1.18.107

The Carmina Burana include a borrowing from Horace which Hilka-Schumann again failed to note.

The above text (Hor. Epp.1.18.107-10) is one which Giraldus uses in a cluster of classical quotations at four distinct points and in nearly identical form (1,3,4,5). Under Hor. Epp. 1.10.32-3 this cluster is cited in full. The spelling dii for di, like hii for hi, is common in medieval manuscripts. However, the variant which Giraldus consistently employs (ne for neu) is accounted for in the critical apparatus of Keller-Holder (volume 2, p. 242, note to line 110) as follows:

> m cum B pr. p pr. Regin. pph. Porph. Pseudacr.
> neu cett. flor. Nostr.

m: codex Monacensis 375; B: codex Bernensis 21 (pr.: prior);

u: codex Montepessulanus; Pph: Porphyrionis (codicis Vaticani) lemma;

Porph.: Porphyrionis (codicis Vaticani) interpretatio;

Pseudacr.: Pseudacronis antiquissimi (codicis Parisini 7900 A) interpretatio.

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I cannot believe that Giraldus, in his original manuscript, wrote what is found in the printed edition of Speculum Ecclesiae (5): ut mihi juvem for ut mihi vivam. His knowledge of quantities would not have permitted it. No doubt it is a copyist's error. There is little difference between the manuscript form of iuuem and uiuam, especially if, as so often happens, the strokes are spaced evenly without regard to individual letters. The transposition of fluitem and dubiae has no effect on the meter.

It will be noted at once that John of Salisbury (5) retains the Horatian bona where Giraldus uses mihi, although John makes one more adaptation than Giraldus. Nothing could have been easier, granted that Giraldus was quoting from memory, than to repeat the sit mihi of line 109 in imitation of line 107.

So far we have spoken only of those excerpts which represent the cluster first appearing in #1. No one would disagree that two pages later (2) he makes a clear allusion to the Horatian lines again. The remaining exerpts (3 to 7) show only a possible connection with the Horace passage. In any case the twin themes, fuge magna and vive tibi (Ov. T.3.4.4) were certainly favorites with Giraldus expecially when he lay at the bottom of Fortune's wheel.

Horatius Epistulae 2.1.1.

Despite the prominent place occupied by these lines of Horace as the dedicatory opening of the second book of his Epistles, I have found only Giraldus and one contemporary using them. Since Giraldus' fourteenth-

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Horatius Epistulae 2.1.1. cont'd

century copyist has the correct Italas in two of the three passages (2,3), it is clear that Italis (1) was his error and not Giraldus. On the other hand, the variant tuearis for tuteris is the reading of Codex Parisinus 10310.

Horatius Epistulae 2.1.90-92

In reference to #3 it should be remarked that Brewer in his footnote presents a passage which occurs only in the later editions of the Expugnatio Hibernica and repeats several paragraphs, including the present Horace excerpt, from the Topographia. In regard to the alterations of the original text, a just appraisal might be the following: for Giraldus' purpose the word Graecis was out of place - he was speaking of himself and his contemporaries when he wrote nostris; therefore he substituted patribus, which for metric reasons must be in the arsis of a foot. So the superfluous quod was dropped and si moved up to constitute the first thesis. The length of patribus and the necessary insertion of nostris required that tam be eliminated and, of course, quam went along: ut took its place. In addition to this skilful reworking of the Horace text, Giraldus further shows his rhetorical ability by adding a prose sentence (Desinant...novum.) which is a clever paraphrase of the Horace quotation, yet employs only one of the original words. The manner in which Giraldus adapts the words of Horace to his present purpose indicates his great familiarity with them. This is borne out by the casual incorporation of one line in the Gemma Ecclesiastica (2) where he seldom uses classical quotations.

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Whether Giraldus' use of novitas elsewhere can be reasonably connected with the passages under discussion remains to be seen. For convenient reference I list them briefly:

Giraldus	th 5.138	rerumque novitates enodavimus
	th 5.153	(gens)...juxta modernas novitates, incultissima;
	vh 7.97	quatinus modernae novitatis artificio magis exquisito
	ve e.227	ad hec populus nouitatem cupiens
	ve e.229	cujus novitatis miracula

Horatius Epistulae 2.1.262-3

This quotation occurs at widely separated points in Giraldus' career (about 1194 and 1220). #1 occurs in the heart of a long repetition from the Expugnatio Hibernica, and is the only new element in the entire passage.

Hilka-Schumann, in their critical notes immediately after this text (p.45), point out that the third line is Ov. Pont. 4.3.35. If the ensemble is supposed to be a poem it is surely a hodge-podge. They seem rather separate verses in the manner of the popular early thirteenth-century florilegia. However, what concerns us directly here is the critical note of Hilka-Schumann to lines 6 and 7. They state that these lines of Horace occur in three unpublished medieval manuscripts and in the Speculum Ecclesiae of Giraldus Cambrensis. It is significant that they cite these four instances, thereby implying that others have not been found.

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HORATIUS, Sermones

Horatius Sermones 1.1.24-5

The departures from Horace are slight, ridendo for ridentem and quis for quid.

Horatius Sermones 1.1.106

The popularity of the above text in 1150 A.D. is attested by its appearance in a curious document by an abbot of Cluny. This piece, although fairly short, is a combination of a President's Report, autobiographical notice, Constitutions and By Laws, and Last Will and Testament.

Even if we ignore the Gallican pensate for versate, Peter does not score very high for accuracy of memory. He attributes the two Horace quotations to separate authors.

The germane phrase modum excedere is likewise found in

Odo of Deuil (fl.1150)	Berry p.64
Helinandus (fl.1200)	Migne 212.738

Under Hor. A.P. 372-3 and Carm. 2.10.5-6 much has been said about Giraldus' fondness for expressions which deal with moderation, for it is natural to talk a great deal about things one would like to have. In the places referred to I have listed many occurrences of mediocris and allied words. There will be another reference to this theme under Lucan 2.383-4 where modum servare is touched upon. In the appendix I have listed a good number of passages in which the Welshman uses the words modus and modestia, both in the sense of moderation or restraint. Adequate comment is not feasible and a brief comment of doubtful value. To impress upon the

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Horatius Sermones 1.1.106 cont'd

reader Giraldus' fondness for word-play in connection with these expressions, a phrase is given in each case. The order is, as far as possible, chronological.

Horatius Sermones 1.3.68

In his emendation of this passage it is not clear whether Warner was influenced by zeal for the text of Horace or ignorance of the other citations of this text by Giraldus. He printed vitiis nemo sine, as in Horace, rather than vitiis sine nemo as elsewhere in Giraldus. The interchange taken in itself is not important and probably indicates quotation from memory. We find the quotation in an author whom Giraldus knew extremely well (Hieronymus, Epp. 79.133) as well as in two popular collections (Floril. Paris. 8818a and Floril. Nostrad. 188).

Horatius Sermones 2.1.44

It seems to me that Davies, in printing the above text of Giraldus, ought to have brought the punctuation closer to that of the original. The marks inserted by Warner are modern ones and the manner of using them too, so why stop at half-measure. Actually, the placing of a period after clamo in Giraldus' version by Davies makes it appear that Giraldus or his scribe did not know what the Horatian lines meant. The manner of citation in contemporary authors would show they were well known:

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Horatius Sermones 2.1.44 cont'd

John of Salisbury (2) quotes 45-6 and changes me and urbe to nos and orbe; therefore also tota to toto

Petrus Blesensis (3) uses 45-6 and then simply 46 alone. In #4 he changes the verbs to the second person singular

Horatius Sermones 2.2.50

We cannot say whether Giraldus knew that Horace's praetorius was ironical, referring as it did to Rufus, a defeated candidate for the office of prætor. Giraldus' application, however, is just as scathing, because he has in mind ecclesiastical leaders who, not only despite their elevated position (praetorius) but even by means of it, have been the perpetrators (auctor) of mischief and scandal.

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JUVENALIS 1.74

The above passages from Giraldus (1,2) written when he was about 58 and 63 respectively, sum up his bitter disappointment over a lifetime of strenuous literary labor, insufficiently remunerated. It is surprising that Giraldus, who harps on this theme so often, especially in connection with principes illiterati, does not avail himself more frequently of Juvenal's brief and crushing phrase: probitas laudatur et alget.

JUVENALIS 1.85-6

Although only half of the line in Giraldus (1,2) and Matthew Paris (3) is from Juvenal, it is obvious that the complete hexameter was one of the moralizing type memorized in the schools. In #3 the syntax requires a change to the subjunctive judicet.

JUVENALIS 2.10

#2 sounds in a number of places very much like Giraldus and is full of the talk about invidia which we find so often in both him and Petrus Blesinsis.

Warner, in his printed edition, has Juvenal instead of Juvenalis which is called for by the manuscript abbreviation (Brit. Mus. Cotton Jul.B. xiii, fol. 65b, col.1). Giraldus' substitution, Nam (or et)parcens for dat veniam indicates complete familiarity with the text and citation from memory.

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JUVENALIS 3.39 j.3.76

For the sake of further comparison I suggest the following passages in Giraldus, where censura occurs, but whether under the influence of the above quotation I cannot say with certainty:

ge 2.155: censura civium ironica tamen quam seria magis;

li d.186: temperes a censura, audi poetam;

sp 4.108: Physici communi censura judicarent;

sp 4.429: commune omnium censura;

sp 4.324: districti Judicis censura requiret.

JUVENALIS 3.76

Giraldus' adaptation (1) and the casual way in which he lets fall merely the key words (2) of this quotation, show how well known it must have been in his day.

When immersed in the subject of clerical and especially of monastic unchastity, Giraldus uses his narrative and descriptive powers to the full, and frequently produces accounts that are positively lurid.

In regard to the variations from Juvenal, Housman's insertion of tibi is a sufficient reminder of the textual difficulties met with at this point in the work of the Roman satirist. To my mind, Giraldus' version clears up the difficulty quickly and avoids much confusion, such as that produced by Housman' sudden introduction of the second person pronoun tibi. In his reading, the syntax would be: Praeterea nihil est sanctum tibi aut tutum ab inguine tuo, since sanctum can scareely be construed with ab inguine according to grammar or logical meaning; this interrelation, however, produces an awkward moment for

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JUVENALIS 3.76 Cont'd. j.3.76

the reader, because of the position of tibi after aut. Most of all, we should keep in mind that Juvenal is not accusing the person in question (Housman's tibi) of holding nothing sacred, but of not letting the sacred character of certain persons restrain him from lust. With this in mind consider the version given by Giraldus:

(praeterea sanctum) nihil ejus ab inguine tutum.

We must, of course, assume the words in parentheses, since his citation is a sketchy one and presumes on the acquaintance his readers will have with the Juvenal lines. Now the syntax is clear and easy: praeterea nihil sanctum est tutum ab inguine ejus. Where Giraldus' excerpt falls down is in the substitution of potens for the laris of Juvenal. I have not mentioned the corrupt manuscript readings, which, as Housman observes, are useless in so many cases.

JUVENALIS 6.181

The context of #5 is a sufficient commentary on the popularity of the quotation: de proprio (or de alieno) vivere. Note that his words apply to the entire third satire. They also give me further reason for linking with these words of Juvenal an equivalent expression found a number of times in Giraldus and once in Richard Devizes. The second of these passages occurs in one of those quotation clusters, of which Giraldus was so enamoured. Besides Juvenalis 6.181 there is also Persius 5.116-17 and Ovid Amores 1.8.104, as well as Psalm 44.2. This last was also cited at the end of the first excerpt above, which, incidentally, further resembles the second by the use of intus with the Juvenal quotation and a consistent employment of the present participle.

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JUVENALIS 6.284

This application is a general one in contrast to Giraldus' specific reference to the original subject of Juvenal's barb: woman.

JUVENALIS 6.301

In Juvenal the reference is to drunkenness (*Venus ebria* is the subject of *nescit*); Giraldus takes as subject of *nescit ebrietas* from the preceding sentences, thus demonstrating his knowledge of Juvenal's context. How much of the context he knew, of course, is another question.

JUVENALIS 7.63

In Housman's critical apparatus the variant *desit* for *desset* (*deesset*) which Giraldus employs is noted for the group of manuscripts which Housman refers to as ψ. Out of the multitude, as he puts it, he chose seven. The several hundred from which he chose (centuries 9 to 16) are infected one and all with a plague of interpolation from which the 9th century P (Pithoeanus) and its fellows are exempt. It should be noted that all seven[1] are at least a century earlier than Giraldus' writings.

---

1. They are: A Monacensis 408 (11th cent.), F Parisiensis 8071 (10th cent.), G Parisiensis 7900a (10th cent.), L Leidensis 82 (11th cent.), O Canonicianus class. Lat. 41 (11th cent.), T o.iv. 10 Trinity College (10th cent.) U Urbinas 661 (11th cent.), For this information see Housman's edition *ad locum*

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JUVENALIS 7.63 cont'd

Giraldus must have been hazy about mythological monsters because he substitutes hydrae for hydri. That the hydrae capita idea was familiar to him and fixed in his memory, appears from its occurrence in eh 5.408, ik 6.110, ge 2.191 (and perhaps elsewhere).

JUVENALIS 7.81

Giraldus (1) borrowed from Guillaume de Conches (2). For the exact arrangement of the words in the only surviving manuscript of the De Principis Instructione the reader is referred to what has been said under Hor. Carm. 4.8.28. In copying verbatim from Guillaume de Conches why did Giraldus not retain Juvenal's wording instead of substituting nisi gloria tantum? If he did not have the Moralium Dogma Philosophorum in front of him at the time and was therefore reproducing some of its passages from memory, the explanation is clear. On the other hand, did Giraldus possibly have an inferior text of the earlier work, one to which Holmberg nowhere refers?

JUVENALIS 8.20

Warner, in the printed edition, has appended a footnote to page 51 calling attention to the first word of the line (atria) in Juvenal, which has nothing whatever to do with the present quotation. The line itself is found in the work (3) from which Giraldus borrowed so heavily.

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JUVENALIS 8.20 cont'd

Korfmacher seems to have overlooked Juvenal as a possible source of Othonus' quotation. In a footnote he gives these: "Werner, Latein. Sprichw., N78, Nobilis est ille, quem nobilitat sua virtus." Confer Othl. Lib. prou. S 46, "Summa apud Deum est nobilitas clarum esse uirtutibus." The popularity of the theme (nobilitas) is attested by Paul Lehman in his Psuedo-antike Literatur des Mittelalters, p. 95, where he alludes to a half-dozen nobilitas-verses in imitation of Ovid.

JUVENALIS 8.140

Giraldus' similarity of application is obvious. However, in the first excerpt he comments briefly on the intention of the ancient author. This he seldom does. The Juvenal lines were extremely popular in Giraldus' day.

In the case of Matthew Paris it should be observed that the first of the two references (12) is to a passage which he has from his predecessor as chronicler of St. Alban's, Roger Wendover (fl.1220), and the second (13) is part of a speech by certain barons. As in Giraldus it is likely that the classical quotation was added to the speech by Matthew Paris.

Of greatest interest to us here, however, is the occurrence of these lines in Guillaume de Conches (6) upon whom Giraldus leans so heavily in the De Principis Instructione. In #4 Giraldus follows this quotation with a sentence which resembles part of Guillaume's excerpt (6).

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JUVENALIS 9.102-3

The manuscript reading is presented under Juv. 8.140. There is no introductory comment or paraphrase such as in sy 1.331; but merely the word Juvenalis, underlined, which may be an insertion by the fourteenth-century scribe, as has been pointed out under Hor. Carm. 4.9.29. In both jm 3.161 and pi 8.14 Giraldus combines two Juvenal texts, 8.140-1 and 9.102-3 (but in reverse order). Apart from the tremendous literary and psychological power of this section of Juvenal's ninth satire, it is possible that people of the medieval period were particularly attracted by the jingle of the opening words O Corydon, Corydon, which they had previously met in Vergil's second Eclogue (2.69):

ah, Corydon, Corydon, quae te dementia cepit?

When we contrast the passage from Petrus Blesensis (4) with the brief paraphrase and quotation of lines 102-3 found in Giraldus' letter to the Chapter of St. David's (1), the approach of these two men to the ancient classics is brought out in strong relief; Giraldus, for all his rhetorical powers and inclination, nearly always turns the ancient poets to practical use; he quotes only as much as is essential to his point, usually an argumentative one, and his occasional comment or paraphrase, is prosaic and rather dry. Petrus Blesensis, who not only lived at Henry II's court with Giraldus, but probably received the same kind of early education, follows closely in the footsteps of England's foremost literary figure of the twelfth century, the humanist John of Salisbury.

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JUVENALIS 9.102 cont'd

Manitius goes so far as to say, in his sketch of Petrus Blesensis, that no contemporary author equalled him in this respect.[1] Warner was justified in expanding the abbreviations and in standardizing the spelling, but he cannot be defended for putting down Juvenal for the abbreviated Iuuenalis. Also his magna (after potentia) should have been magnae.

JUVENALIS 10.112-3

In regard to the variant of Giraldus, sanguine for vulnere, Housman's apparatus indicates the following: uulnere P _, sanguine G U Seruius. For the interpretation of these symbols see under Juv. 7.63, footnote 1.

JUVENALIS 10.243-5

At this point Warner omits from the Rolls edition well over two columns of the manuscript text, which, with some changes, additions and omissions reproduces bodily a roughly equivalent amount of Guillaume de Conches (Holmberg p. 32). Constituting most of the omitted portion are twelve excerpts from ancient authors. In each case the name of the author has been inserted and underlined in the Giraldus text (possibly the work of the fourteenth-century copyist, as has been suggested under Juv. 8.140-1 and Hor. Carm. 4.8.28). No authors are named in the original work.

---

1 Manitius 3.

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JUVENALIS 11.44-5

The above excerpt is near the end of the long passage borrowed from Guillaume de Conches (3), and described under Juv. 10.243-5. A glance shows that the text is a faithful reproduction of the ancient satirist but in the manuscript, where I have set down Lucanus there is an abbreviation which Warner mistook for Lucretius.

JUVENALIS 12.34-6

In his footnote 2 to page 117 Dimock says: "...Of Cicero's oration, Pro Scauro, only fragments remain. This, with the quotation from Juvenal, is in Isidore's Etymologiae, xii. 2, 21, whence, no doubt, it was cited by Giraldus." The reference he makes to Isidore is as follows:

> Castores a castrando dicti sunt. Nam testiculi eorum apti sunt medicaminibus, propter quos cum praesenserint venatorem, ipsi se castrant et morsibus vires suas amputant. De quibus Cicero in Scauriana: Redimunt se ea parte corporis, propter quod maxime expetuntur. Iuvenalis:
>
> Qui se eunuchum ipse facit, cupiens evadere damno testiculi.

JUVENALIS 13.191-2

Dimock's note 4 to this page reads as follows: "D.rd.; et in eodem; Collige quod vindicta nemo magis gaudet quam femina, R.B. Hc., Camden."

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JUVENALIS 13.191-2

The manuscripts cited by Dimock are described in pages x-xviii of his preface to volume 6. After reading there what he has to say about them, one is astonished to find that he relegates the better reading to a footnote. It is obvious that the Juvenal quotation as found in R., B., and Hc. is exact with the original of the ancient satirist, whereas the version Dimock prints in the body of his text lacks the word collige and substitutes quia for quod. And what are the merits of these various manuscripts, according to Dimock's own description? He states that R and B are early excellent copies of the first edition of Giraldus' Itinerarium Kambriae; that Hc, although of the sixteenth century, is a good copy of the second edition; finally that D and Rd, although good manuscripts (one of the early thirteenth, the other of the sixteenth century), are copies of the third edition. Nevertheless, despite their failure to square with the Juvenal text, Dimock chose to print his version from these.

JUVENALIS 14.207

Under Hor. Epp.1.1.65-6 have already been pointed out certain similarities between the above passages from Giraldus (especially the first) and a portion of the Verbum Abbreviatum of Petrus Cantor in which the Paris teacher of Giraldus deals likewise with avaritia (Migne 205.75). He has the Horace line but not the one from Juvenal. Gulielmus de Conchis (4) writing on the same topic, has the Juvenal line but not the Horace quotation.

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FOREWORD

Every student of Giraldus' knows the immense popularity, among educated persons which Lucan's Bellum Ciuile enjoyed. Since that poet was much studied in school and quoted a great deal by every kind of writer, it is not surprising that Giraldus shows considerable familiarity with his verses. In addition, however, there must have existed between Giraldus and the Roman poet, a certain spiritual kinship. From babyhood Giraldus Cambrensis was inclined to literary and ecclesiastical pursuits,[1] yet he had a fiery, bellicose temperament. He must have delighted in any account of war especially if written in excellent classical Latin poetry. Moreover, Lucan may be considered, among Roman poets, the great apostle of a lost cause. No one was ever more the apostle of a lost cause than Giraldus, who devoted to the supposed rights of his native diocese the best efforts of his keen mind and brilliant pen and the finest years of his life. It was most natural that Giraldus, fond of using quotations to clinch an argument, should frequently use a writer so easy to quote, one of whom Quintilian said (Inst. Or. 10.1.90):

> Lucanus ardens et concitatus et sententiis clarissimus, et, ut dicam quod sentio, magis oratoribus quam poetis imitandus.

Fiery, sententious, a great poet with an oratorical flair! How could Lucan fail to charm Giraldus?

---

1. rg 1.21

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The quotation is purely an ornament, and a redundant one at that, probably thrown in to make an impression on his listeners at the Oxford reading of the Topographia.

LUCANUS 1.70-71, 81-2

We find a writer of the next generation using the phrase with a twist. Further uses of series in Giraldus are discussed under Verg. Aen. 1.641. #1 and #2 seem to have no connection with the remainder of lines 70-71, which have been presented merely because they form an integral part of Lucan's original wording. In Giraldus the very manner in which these Lucan verses are used indicates clearly that they were fixed deep in his memory in quotable form. For another use of 81-2 see Luc. 1.92-3. As is so often the case with Giraldus, these lines from Lucan occur in a passage that is a string of quotations. We are struck at once by a less usual introductory word used by both writers, (3,4) legitur. Of the four quotations (3,4,5,6) that follow, all are familiar to Giraldus and in Gulielmus de Conchis at this point we find the O faciles dare, as in Giraldus, linked with the Invida fatorum series and In se magna ruunt. One difference has already been noted; Giraldus interlards his own comment between the words of the poet while in Gulielmus there is no interruption. Another difference lies in this, that Gulielmus has the Lucan verses in their right order but Giraldus has them disarranged. Possibly Giraldus learned them in school in the form found in #1. The phrase Invida fatorum series may have been memorized as an independent aphorism.

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LUCANUS 1.92-3 luc.1.92

Lucan's phrase omnis (que) potestas impatiens consortis erit has its application in many ways of life, especially in the dealings of superiors and inferiors, so that one is not surprised to find it used a great deal. In scanning this list, one should keep in mind that Matthew Paris, in his voluminous writings, uses comparatively few classical quotations.

LUCANUS 1.98

It is impossible to say with absolute assurance that Giraldus had this phrase from Lucan. However I am inclined to make the connection by the following circumstances: (a) In a nearby passage (th 5.146-7) Giraldus clearly cites Lucan 1.92-3 and makes a rather obvious allusion to Lucan 1.79-82; (b) he precedes discordi concordia with dispari paritate, thus producing another of his favorite rhetorical devices, the doublet. There is another doublet in the final phrase, consona redditur et completur melodia. It is a somewhat intricate one, however, because the alliteration does not take place between the synonymous verbs redditur and completur but between completur and consona. Furthermore, consona is necessary to make redditur roughly synonymous with completur. We find that Giraldus still adheres to his alliterative principle, whereby the alliteration should occur between the synonymous expressions rather than between individual words. Consona redditur is really a grammatical entity, rather than two separate words.

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LUCANUS 1.144-5 luc.1.144

The possibility that Giraldus was influenced likewise by another classical source is mentioned under Ov. Pont. 2.3.32:

nec petere exemplum sed dare dignus eras

Even if the expression exemplum petere was a formula much used by lecturers, that fact would not preclude the influence of Lucan and Ovid. The contemporary citations are more clearly traceable to Lucan than the excerpts from Giraldus. Nevertheless in his case (1-7) an argument can be advanced in favor of the connection. The last excerpt (7) closely corresponds to Lucan's wording if we admit firmo gradu as a loose equivalent for loco. The four previous phrases are characterized by a construction identical with Lucan's forms of nescius with the infinitive. The first example is associated with the others by concomitance.

The other argument I might offer will sound flimsy to one who does not know Giraldus thoroughly; such incorporation of phrases from the classical poets is the rule with Giraldus rather than the exception.

LUCANUS 1.449

Of the above excerpts from Giraldus, the first has, of course, no further connection with Lucan's line than the bare notion of Bardi; the same is true of #2 . It is just possible that in #1 Lucan's plurima influenced the plurimos of Giraldus. In the last two excerpts (6,7) the connection is more plausible. The phrase carmina fundens is highly poetic and occurs once more in Lucan not many lines down (1.564); on the other hand, it is also found in Vergil and Statius.

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LUCANUS 1.468 (cont'd.) luc.1.468

I have noted the last phrase carmina dira susurrantes as having a possible relation to Lucan's line through the intermediary of carmina dira fundens. This sort of speculation is interesting, but in the passages in which Giraldus clearly cites the exact words of Lucan there remains a real problem - why did he substitute concreti for securi. It was only natural that he, or someone before him in the school tradition, should change fudistis to the third person. After all in a quotation the second person often makes little sense. The replacement of securi by concreti, however, remains a mystery to me.

LUCANUS 2.14-15

It may be observed in passing that Abelard's phrase provida mens (3) is found a good number of times in Giraldus. In addition to the one given above there are other passages in his writings which may have a direct connection with these lines of Lucan; however, they may also be an echo of Vergil (Aen. 10.501-2).

LUCANUS 2.101

It is evident that Giraldus considered the two part-verses as a single quotation. The source of the procul...pacem or the adapter are unknown. Here then we have once more the old problem of authorship in the case of the Moralium Dogma Philosophorum, which Holmberg attributes to Gulielmus de Conchis and the Migne editor to Hildebert of Le Mans under the title Moralis Philosophia. Under Horace Carm. 4.9.29-30 I have

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tried to state the problem as it affects the text of Giraldus and have presented a substantial portion of two texts (Gulielmus de Conchis and Giraldus) for purposes of comparison. Nowhere does Giraldus state or hint that he considers Hildebert the author of the Moralium Dogma Philosophorum (or, if you wish, Moralis Philosophia), although the famous bishop-poet is referred to and quoted by name in other parts of Giraldus' works. The Welshman does not make any acknowledgment, either, of his indebtedness so we do not know what title was born by the manuscript which he used.

LUCANUS 2.380-85, 388-91

In considering the Giraldus excerpts listed above, the reader may find useful the following comments to draw his attention to special features in this welter of citations. My remarks will of necessity be detached. The words or phrases commented upon are usually those which I have underlined.

It seems to me in #2 that modus is Giraldus' substitute for Lucan's mores (line 380), although it is only a rough equivalent. Such replacement either through inexact recollection or by conscious literary artistry is extremely common in Giraldus; in fact, I might say, it is a habit with him. The phrase servare modum (2,5,7,8,10) need not come from Lucan's line; but there are no other likely sources in the ancient poets Giraldus knew (with the possible exception of Vergil Aen. 10.502 which reads, starting with 501: nescia mens hominum fati sortisque futurae/ et servare modum rebus sublata secundis!: this passage will

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be once more referred to in the treatment of the Vergil excerpts) and, although he might have acquired the phrase servare modum from a prose author or from the school parlance of his period, it seems to me that the cumulative weight of the passages I have cited points strongly to a direct borrowing from Lucan.

There is a clever example of word-play in #7 Giraldus employs the word observantia in its frequent sense of "caution, circumspectness" yet, by placing it directly after modus observandum he causes observantia to carry the atmosphere of "self-restraint" thus approximating the other meaning of observantia, "adherence to what is prescribed, observance".

Everyone will recognize in the phrase naturamque sequi (9) the Stoic motto as found in Cicero and Seneca. In the same Giraldus excerpt I seem to find in lamentabile damnum a direct echo of Vergil's lamentabile regnum (Aen. 2.4).

Giraldus in this same excerpt (9) introduces a paraphrase of naturam sequi: neque naturae se conformat which is the second part of a repetition of Lucan's line in the negative. Lucan's in commune bonus is rather obvious in Giraldus' communi omnium voto et commodo (ve e.228).

In Giraldus temperantiam is a rare substitute for modestiam (12); in fact, he is here borrowing the words of another author.

John of Salisbury's adaptation shows a tendency which is unusual in him; the twelfth-century fondness for leonine hexameters: Non sibi sed toti genitum se credidit orbi. This line would look perfectly at home in any of the popular florilegia. Not only the leonine rhyme, toti...orbi, but also the substitution of credidit for credere points

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to an isolation of this verse from the Lucan context, such as was the lot of well-worn quotations.

One more word about page 116 of the Speculum Ecclesiae. To begin with it links nicely with page 115 where Lucan 2.384-5 are cited by Giraldus. The passage I have presented in full is outstanding as an example of Giraldus' uncanny talent for weaving classical references into his text. I have dwelt upon this before under Hor. Ars. Poetica 290. I have demonstrated just above that within eight lines he quotes Lucan twice (the same passage, once in the original and again in a negative form), Vergil once, Horace twice (perhaps even three times), without mentioning their names or giving his reader the impression that all these quotations are being crowded into the sentence. Yet there they are. Finally these eight lines are full of rhetorical devices which are too obvious to need a mention here.

LUCANUS 2.512-13

Warner, by his insertion of quotation marks and by his arrangement of them, makes it appear that Giraldus considered the Pliny quotation to include the lines from Lucan.

LUCANUS 2.657-8

In reference to a double appearance of this line in Othlonus (it is also found in his De Doctrina Spirituali, Migne 146.291, Korfmacher fails to mention that the verse is in Lucan but he makes a reference to Warner, Latein. Sprichw. N 125, which reads:

Non credas actum, cum quid superest ad agendum.

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LUCANUS 2.657-8 (cont'd.) luc.2.657

We do not need such sources to be convinced that the saying was proverbial, after looking through the excerpts from Giraldus above. I do not pretend that the word successibus, which Giraldus so often links with instans is in the Lucan context. Actually I have not so far discovered the phrase successibus instans, despite its hexameter ring, in any Latin poet; yet the appearance of this phrase in such close connection with the Lucan text (th 5.196, vg 4.366) leads me to believe that for Giraldus the word successibus summed up the lines of Lucan which follow directly upon the word instat:

> instat atrox et adhuc, quamuis possederit omnem
> Italiam, extremo sedeat quod litore Magnus,
> communem tamen esse dolet.

One should note Giraldus' unswerving adherence to the original wording of Lucan through so many years of his life, along with the popularized forms quoted above from the proverbs of Othlonus, and the general stream of Latin apothegms contained in Warner's collection. I should rather say, "to what he considered the wording of Lucan," because, in common with or perhaps in imitation of the Moralium Dogma Philosophorum (Holmberg, p. 32) Giraldus has nil credens actum for nil actum credens. This is the reading of U, perhaps a popular turn since it gives the leonine rhyme in -um.

LUCANUS 3.449

It is quite possible that Giraldus in quoting from memory made the erroneous assignation, Ovidius for Lucanus, as it appears in the text above. It is equally possible, however, that the blundering copyist inserted the name of Ovid where Giraldus had no name at all. This

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explanation is referred to at some length above under Horace Carm. 4.9.29 and more briefly under Carm. 1.24.19, Epp. 1.10.24; Juv. 9.102, Juv. 11.44.

LUCANUS 5.487-8

Here we have crowded into a few lines a quotation from Suetonius, one from Lucan and one from Livy (whom Giraldus names two lines farther on). Though short, this passage is another striking example of Giraldus' ability to weave a garland of classical excerpts in such a perfectly natural way that, if the introductory formulas, such as unde poeta, were omitted, the uninitiated reader could hardly tell that most of the wording consisted of quotations (cf. Luc. 2.381).

LUCANUS 5.527-9

In Giraldus the two identical passages (2,4) are found in a page that is a cluster of classical quotations: Ovid Ars Am. 2.437; Ov. Fasti 1.211; Horace. Carm. 3.24.62; Carm. 3.16.17-18, 42-3; Lucan 5.527; Petronius 82.

Of special interest are the variations introduced into the words of Lucan by some of the twelfth-century authors listed above. Giraldus has laris for lares in all the excerpts, a shift in ending which does not change the sense. Petrus Comestor, who rarely uses classical quotations, does not change any words but cuts the excerpt down to a brief phrase, o munera nondum intellecta deum in one of his sermons. William of Canterbury cites the passage entirely but makes this inter-

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LUCANUS 5.527-9 (cont'd.) luc.5.527

esting substitution: O munera summa, Intellecta parum! Petrus Cantor provides variety at a different point; instead of Lucan's O vitae tuta facultas Pauperis angustique lares he has O vitae tuta facultas Exigui parvique lares. Nearly all these authors name Lucan. This fact, coupled with the liberties taken in rendering the text, indicates the great popularity which this passage enjoyed.

LUCANUS 7.67

Lapse of memory may have led Giraldus to put et ferat for addidit, but, since he needed a subjunctive the substitution may have been intentional.

LUCANUS 7.105-7

Dimock should have printed the text so as to show that the words fortissimus ille est belong to the quotation. He also failed to note the substitution of deferre for differre.

LUCANUS 7.809-11, 818-19

Warner's reading of Luc. as Lucretius rather than Lucanus is unfounded. Note the form of omne and habet. Omne, of course, is the copyist's error for omnia and the same is possibly true for the fortuna instead of fortunae. The quod for quae might be either the fault of the copyist or of Giraldus; it is even possible that Giraldus learned the line with quod for quae.

Petrus Cantor, although he has a different context and does not

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quote nearly so much of the Lucan text as Gulielmus de Conchis for the simple reason that he lifted the whole passage on Timor and Securitas from the Moralium Dogma Philosophorum.

LUCANUS 8.363-6

Manitius (3.40) cites an eleventh century work De Unitate Ecclesiae Conservanda (1086) which has these lines of Lucan: As to the single word arctous, the Thesaurus Linguae Latinae (1.472) states: non legitur ante Sen. trag...vocabulum fere poetarum est. Giraldus uses it freely in the Topographia (5.23, 56,59,71,72,99) and also in ik 6.118. In order to present clearly certain textual difficulties met with in Giraldus' citations I present here not only his text but also the notes of Dimock as they appear in the Rolls edition.

The following is a brief statement of the manuscripts' value as found described in Dimock's preface:

W 12-13 centuries;	full of blunders
B 13 cent. early;	very valuable
Ba 13 century;	correct
L 13 cent. early;	valuable
C 13 cent. early;	valuable
A 12-13 centuries:	very valuable
R 12-13 centuries;	accurate
F 13-14 centuries;	derived from R
Cl 14 century;	careful

No one would quarrel with Giraldus for changing Lucan's populus to the

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more colorful sanguis especially since sanguis is exactly what he is talking about. In the case of the variant readings mortis and martis the problem is more complicated, due to the fact that, in a certain sense at least, the manuscript tradition of Giraldus' Topographia Hibernica and Expugnatio is divided on the point. As will be noted from the table the evidence for Giraldus' use of mortis (following the accepted text of Lucan) rests on the authority of manuscripts B, Ba, L, and C, which Dimock evaluates as reliable according to the descriptive words I have quoted above; on the other hand martis (a variant likewise in the Lucan tradition) rests upon another set of reliable manuscripts: A, R, Cl and C. At first it seems curious that one and the same manuscript (C) gives mortis in the Expugnatio but martis in the Topographia. Dimock would answer that there are discrepancies not only between different manuscripts of about the same period but even disagreements within a single manuscript. It should be noted that none of the above is known to be in the hand of Giraldus but that nearly all of them were produced before or shortly after his death (c. 1220). However, in the absence of certain knowledge, the expression of opinion can do no harm. Perhaps to Giraldus the choice between mortis and martis presented no problem; he may have been indifferent about it and, in speech or writing, used mortis on one occasion and martis on another, especially since he was such a clever adapter of poetic quotations. In the context of the two passages under consideration (5.71 and 5.350-51) he is playing vigorously with the ideas of peace and war, bodily and spiritual powers, and a shift from Lucan's original mortis to martis

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would be completely in line with Giraldus' thought and his rhetorical flow. Moreover, we should do scant justice to his memory if we laid at his door the base charge of literary consistency.

Bersmann in his text of Lucan adopts martis rather than mortis, in Lucan 8.364. This does not necessarily have any bearing on the forms used by Giraldus. Again, Dimock says (p.351, note 1): "Lucan has mundique instead (of coelique); and in the next line labitur instead of vergitur, and mores instead of animos." Hosius, in the Teubner text, cites vergitur as Heinsius' reading and labitur as the reading of manuscripts V and G. The present text (Housman) shows ibitur; it likewise has gentes for the animos of Giraldus. Where did Dimock read mores?

LUCANUS 8.490, 493-5

There is an instance of respectus honesti cited from Claudian: Helinandus (fl. 1200) quotes Hon. 4.257-68 (esp. 268) Migne 212.757. The Moralium Dogma Philosophorum shows the effect of Giraldus' reading in that work, where we find Lucan 8.484-495 quoted with only the equivalent of one hexameter omitted in a context which deals with the conflict between Honestum and Utile (Holmberg p. 68). This context agrees completely with that of Giraldus as may be easily seen by going back to the excerpt (3). At the same time Giraldus' text differs from Lucan's

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both times in the word volet for volt. Now volet is the form found in the accepted text of the Moralium Dogma Philosophorum (Holmberg, p. 68, lists vult only for b). It may be that the excerpt in Gulielmus de Conchis (Luc. 8.484-95) was a stock-quotation learned at school, especially since the words (492-3) facere omnia saeve/ non impune licet, nisi cum facis, which might be considered bad moral theology ("might is right") have been omitted and the hole patched up with hac.

The speech made by Offa's queen (e.227) is, of course, of Giraldus' own manufacture. She may have said something like it, and again she may not, but we can scarcely credit her with the intimate knowledge of the Lucan lines and the ability to incorporate which Giraldus himself displayed. Like Livy (and they have had company throughout the years) he was a ghost-writer for his historical characters at times but always, of course, after the event. The striking feature of the queen's speech, when she thus urges her royal husband, Offa, to get rid of his young and saintly neighbor, King Ethelbert, is not Giraldus' or Lucan's rhetoric but rather the Welshman's anticipation, by three hundred years, of the Macbeth story. Someone in the field of English literature might find it worthwhile to work out this parallel by a comparison of the Vita Ethelberti and the Shakespearian tragedy.

LUCANUS 9.283

In the first excerpt it is clear that Giraldus was straining for rhetorical effect. There is no connection between what Giraldus is talking about and the meaning of Horace; similarly, although Lucan's

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thought agrees with the Welshman's here, there is surely no reason for dragging in the quotation. Giraldus again uses an introductory formula with the most general possible application: et alibi does not mean "and elsewhere in Lucan" as we should expect but rather "and elsewhere in some poet."[1]

LUCANUS 9.380-1

This excerpt from Lucan is followed by two from Vergil and another which Giraldus attributes to Terence. These form one of those clusters of classical quotations which we find so often in the Welshman's writings particularly in less concealed form. It is also found in the Moralium Dogma Philosophorum (2).

LUCANUS 9.723

For a better understanding of these two excerpts a word about Neckam's manner of writing will not be out of place. His life span fits within that of Giraldus, who was born ten years earlier and died about six years later than Neckam. Thomas Wright, in his preface to volume 34 of the Rolls series, has given us an admirable biography of the eminent English schoolmaster and writer. His two principal works are the prose and poetic versions of an encyclopedia composed for his pupils and monastic confreres: De Naturis Rerum, De Laudibus Divinae Sapientiae (Rolls 34.1-354 and 357-503; the latter over 3000 elegiac

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1. cf. Luc. 2.381.

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distichs). His treatment of physical phenomena is not so objective as Giraldus' (though "objective" here is a relative term) because he speaks of what he has met with in reading rather than what he has actually seen. He is neither as detailed and voluminous as Isidore of Seville nor as dry. Everything he puts down has a certain freshness, even when he falls into a hackneyed routine. His citations of classical authors are not worked into the text with the rhetorical cleverness and brilliance which Giraldus displays but he is not far behind the Welshman in this respect, and often outdoes him in the casual manner he uses when letting a classical plum fall into the reader's lap. He, like Giraldus and so many others, had the school-quotations at his finger-tips. Someone may object: "Isn't that a rather obvious statement to make about a schoolmaster?" In itself, yes: but I base these remarks upon what one reads in Neckam, not upon what may be inferred from his personal history. Like other medieval authors, he does not always refer openly to the texts in the treasury of his mind. Since fleeting references are the all-important factor here, I believe it would be profitable for some well-equipped classical scholar to comb his long poetic production, De Laudibus Divinae Sapientiae (Rolls 34.357-503) as well as the shorter De Vita Monachorum (Rolls 59.2.175-200, less than 500 elegiac distichs) for citations from or allusions to ancient authors. His prose style resembles Giraldus' in many ways but is straightforward and rarely cluttered up, like the Welshman's, with rhetorical or dialectic trinkets. They seem to share a common love for rhythmic structure and fine cadences and what astonishes me,

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at least, is the inclination in Giraldus toward metrical prose, he who wrote only a small sheaf of poems, contrasted with the relative freedom of Neckam's prose from this defect, though he wrote thousands of lines. Both men, I think, were true poets at heart though only amateur versifiers. In the treatment of animal lore Neckham, unlike Giraldus, follows the queer moraliz ing pattern of which the extreme is found in the Physiologus Latinus so popular throughout the whole period of the Middle Ages (after the 8 cent.).

Returning to our original topic, Lucan 9.723 (ossaque dissolvens cum corpore tabificus seps), permit me to set down here an excerpt which is to be traced back to the Corduban poet through an earlier medieval writer: In the published works of Hugh of St. Victor (fl. 1136)[1] there is a bestiary of which the first two books are assigned to (probably) Hugh Foliot (fl. 1140) while the latter two remain anonymous. The anonymous writer's borrowing from Isidore (evidently used by Giraldus as well in the Topographis Hibernica, p. 69) leads us back to Lucan. The Etymologiae (12.4.29.31) has the quotation as in Hugh (Migne 177.102) but without the errors (volantes should be volucres; tabeficus is a misspelling). All of which brings us back to Alexander Neckam and an egregious blunder of Thomas Wright, who edited volume 34 of the Rolls series. In that volume on page 493 (lines 301-2) we read the following as cited above:

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1. Manitius, for some unexplainable reason, differs widely in his dating.

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Effluit in saniem corpus quod vulnerat asper;
Seps jaculi velox impetus esse solet.

The distich makes no sense until we read Lucan 9.720 and 723. Then we realize that the punctuation is wrong. Our problem is solved:

Effluit in saniem corpus quod vulnerat asper
Seps; jaculi velox impetus esse solet.

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It seems to me that all the above texts, save the first excerpt, which contains only a possible allusion to the words of Lucretius and may be equally an echo of the Mass collects, should be made to conform with the correct reading given by Davies (4). From the ensemble it is plain that Giraldus has two positive variations from the original line; *insensibili* for *insensilibus* and *nasci* for *gigni*. In both sense and meter these are exact equivalents. However, Brewer's edition in each of the three cases #2, #3, #5, introduces a third departure from Lucretius which spoils the metrical arrangement of the line. He prints *sensibile* twice for the correct *sensile* and in the single case where he retains *sensile* the prosody is ruined by having *ne* act as an enclitic to *insensibili* rather than a conjunction to *credas*. Although in all these instances we have to deal with inferior manuscripts[1] there are three points in favor of Davies' reading:

(a) Brewer could not have had any cogent reason for making *ne* an enclitic in #2; his insertion of the question mark means nothing.

(b) When supplying the illegible word in #5 Brewer chose to put down the incorrect *sensibile* rather than the correct *sensile*, even though he had printed *sensile* in #2. (c) The passage #3, which Brewer prints with *sensibile*, is repeated word-for-word by Giraldus in #4, where Davies prints *sensile*. In view, therefore, of Giraldus' lifelong attempt at exact quotation and his meticulousness about prosody, I am

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1. See the respective introductions by Brewer, Rolls 21.3 xxxviii-ix and Davies, *Y Cymmrodor*, 30 (1920), p. 3.

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convinced that in all the excerpts given above (except, of course, #1) a uniform reading is demanded:

Ex insensibili ne credas sensile nasci.

The false assignation to Plautus is a mystery. Giraldus knew nothing of Plautus' works directly and at no place mentions Lucretius; thus we find him quoting exactly an author, whom he never names, under the name of an author whom he has never read.[1]

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1. Under Juvenal 11.44 I have disposed of Warner's false assumption that Giraldus mentions Lucretius.

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MARTIALIS 10.34.1 m.10.34.1

The distich quoted by Giraldus is loosely built on the genuine line of Martial. Although grammatically correct it is almost intolerable from a stylistic viewpoint. It has all the earmarks of the very shabbiest classical imitations turned out in the medieval period. I believe that someone should make a close study of the anecdote which Giraldus here relates. In my own mind various half-formed conclusions emerge as I read it. A little clearer than some others is this one: Giraldus claims that he is quoting from a book of Martials verses, which he did not possess, it is true, but had heard quoted. Now, the distich he cites is not in Martial at all. I should judge, then, that the book was one of the pseudo-Martial volumes popular at the time, such as Lehmann refers to in the opening pages of his Pseudo-antiken Literatur des Mittelalters.

MARTIALIS 12.6.11

Like the distich discussed above, the present one has all the characteristics of medieval aphoristic verse. The exact words of Martial appear in the second half of the hexameter and in the entire pentameter, but the hexameter is given a convenient first half, Laudari debes, quoniam, with a definitely medieval ring.

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OVIDIUS, Amores 1.5.17 O.A.1.5.17

In apparent imitation of Ovid's Sed plura quid loquor? we read Quid percurram singula? (Hilka-Schumann, p. 209), while in the moral-satirical volume (id. p.78) we find quid irem per singula? The same phrase occurs in Giraldus:

th. 5.198

Sed quid per singula curro?

vr 7.42

Sed quid per singula curro?

In both cases Giraldus thus concludes the description of someone's character. Granted the change from the physical to the moral sphere, nothing could resemble more closely the form and function of Ovid's Singula quid referam? (Am. 1.5.23).

The setting of Giraldus'verses within their proper frame has been my primary motive for all these citations and comments. They might also form good introduction to the whole section on Ovid because they bring out the spirit in which the twelfth century used that poet. Raby[1] puts it well:

> In the twelfth century a new literary genus, the Comoedia, comedy of versified tale, came into prominence. Long before this time any exact notion of the ancient drama had been practically lost. It has been pointed out that Isidore of Seville, although he copied from his sources some fairly accurate remarks about the drama, went on to confuse the issue for succeeding generations by dividing the comici into two classes, the old and the new, including among the former

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1. Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages, vol. 2, pp.54-5, 68-9

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Plautus, Accius, and Terence, and among the latter the satirists Horace, Persium, and Juvenal. A comedy came to be regarded simply as a narrative, in elegiac verse, which was written in a plain familiar style and had a happy ending. Here the influence of Ovid, who was accounted a comic writer, was doubltess strong, and Ovid's versified tales were models of narrative in the schools. The Ovidian couplet was regarded as the proper measure for these stories, but the plots were taken from various sources. The tales were chosen purely for entertainment, and they must, if possible, revolve round an amourous intrigue of which a husband was often the victim. Some element of obscenity was needed as well, and all suggestion of tragedy must be absent. Similar constituents appear in the prose tales of Walter Map, and something of the same apparatus had been used for centuries in moral anecdotes and lives of the saints. The technique goes back to Hellenistic-Oriental sources, and after a further lapse of time it was employed again to amuse a cultured society. After the Latin comoedia came the vernacular fabliau, which is substantially its true successor. It is difficult to believe that these comedies were intended to be acted as plays or mimes.

All these comedies have in common the impress of the schools. They are the work of learned clerks, who employed the usual rhetorical devices and knew Ovid by heart. But, beyond all this, they show at their best considerable skill in the depicting of character, in the play of dialogue, and in the construction of plot. It is not to be wondered at that they were very widely read and had a considerable influence on the vernacular literature. There is ample evidence that, in spite of their licentiousness, they were read and commented on in the schools. This is proved by extracts in the florilegia and the Young Ladies Ovid. Hugh of Trimborg in his Registrum multorum auctorum (1280) says:

> Sequitur Ovidius dictus Puellarum,
> quem in scolis omnibus non credo fore rarum.

They were read doubtlessly as models of elegance and taste, and they are for us one more witness to the secular spirit of the cathedral schools. For they did not issue from Paris, but from the humanistic centres, where the classics were studied with more detachment than elsewhere. The names of the known authors, Vitalis of Blois, William of Blois, Matthew of Vendome are alone a guarantee of this. These stories are, in one sense, the last fruit of twelfth-century humanism on its literary side; but remarkable as they are in themselves, their significance can be estimated only in relationto the vernacular stories which were to follow them.

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#4, like the passage from Giraldus (1) is restrained and dignified. It has greater poetic beauty than Giraldus' poem and approaches in that respect the Architrenius of Joannes de Altavilla (7).

With the middle lines of the Giraldus passage (1) compare

Matthaeus Vendocinensis (c.1165) Cohen 2.169.29-32

Ne legem tumor excedat racione tumoris
Precastigati parua mamilla sedet.
excessu statura carens mediumque reseruans
Nec nimis ascendit nec sine lege iacet.

This is another caricature along the lines of the two mentioned above (2,3). In the amorous scene farther on the obscenity takes a turn which might have made not only Ovid, but also Martial or Petronius raise an eyebrow. Yet the Benedictine monk who wrote this comedy found it easy to justify himself. He says in the prologue (Cohem 1.131.25-6):

Inueniet lasciua nimis sibi uerba pudicus
Lector; materie, non mea culpa fuit.

This Gulielmus Blesensis was the brother of Petrus Blesensis, fellow-courtier of Giraldus at Henry II's court.

#6 is printed by Lehmann in Pseudo-antike Literatur des Mittelalters, p. 53, verses 56-73. They echo Ovid's Singula quid referam by Sed quid plura loquor.

In common with #1, #4 and #7 it is chaste, restrained and enobled with poetic beauty.

#7 is found in Architrenius, a poem of about 5000 lines in which, as Raby says, "The young man who is the 'Arch-Mourner' weeps for his useless and purposeless youth, as it is about this that he will question

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Lady Nature. In his search for Nature with a view to laying his case before her, he reaches the palace of Venus, where he sees a beautiful damsel, attendant on the queen. The beauty of this girl is described in lavish and minute detail;" "Raby might have added: with extreme poetic beauty and a great delicacy entirely free from prudishness.[1] The description is certainly the most elaborate of all these Ovidian imitations. It occupies eleven pages and over 300 lines. The Venusberg scene in Wagner's Tannhaeuser may have had its origin here, although the sequel is entirely different in the two productions. The passages in the Carmina Burana are too numerous and scattered to be reproduced here.

In Hilka-Schumann's edition of the love songs we find various examples of the descriptio puellae à la Naso:

p. 31 (#67) ten stanzas (1a-5b)
p. 67 (#83) five stanzas (3-7)
p. 178 (#108) one stanza (2b) out of six
p. 193 (#117) two stanzas (8,9) out of eleven
p. 306 (#182) one short stanza (3) out of five

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1. A History of Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages, vol. 2,p.100.

His appraisal of the satirical poem is quite different from mine. I see good reasons for his censure but I feel that in trying to say much in a small space he falls into sweeping statements here: "It is a long poem, composed in an obscure style, and badly constructed." Anyone who reads this evaluation without firsthand knowledge of the poem itself is likely to conclude that it is not even good Latin poetry whereas, despite obscurities, unevenness and some cheap-rhetorical passages, the poem, ranks high above most twelfth-century products. On the point of clarity it seems to me that a (mythical) reader who had never seen Lucan, Juvenal or Persius, nor John de Hauteville's Architrenius, would not find it easy to decide which author is the hardest to understand.

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O. Am. 1.5.17 cont'd

In justice to John of Salisbury, the greatest of medieval humanists, it should be observed that Raby's footnote 1 concludes: "...G. Cohen, La 'comédie' latine en France au XIIe siecle,...i.ix, points out that John of Salisbury, at any rate, had a fairly clear idea of ancient comedy (Policraticus, ed. Webb, i. 46)."

O. Am. 1.8.104

Not all the excerpts from Giraldus cited are indisputably connected with the Ovidian lines but we must consider all the possibilities when we are trying to decide the provenance of literary expressions. Such full citation is made in his case because we find him at his wonted occupation - piling up quotations on a particular theme, most of them this time from classical authors; for example in the case of his letter to Archbishop Hubert: Verg. Ecl. 3.93 and 9.25; Hor. Ars Poetica 437; Pers. Sat. 5.116-17; Ov. am. 1.8.108 immediately preceded by Disticha Catonis 1.27 (Fistula....).

In the case of Giraldus' #2 the substitution ferens for latent was rendered necessary by the construction of his sentence.

O. Am. 1.9.1.

The campaign of Love issuing from the camp of Venus and Cupid, is a prolific theme in the twelfth century. #3,4,5 and 6 are typical and need no comment.

In the remaining excerpts (7-15) we see the popular treatment, which usually involves a certain amount of obscenity.

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OVIDIUS, Amores 1.10.48 o.a.1.10.48

Returning to the line Non habet eventus sordida praeda bonos we are at once struck by its utter segregation (in the writers listed) from the previous line: parcite, formosae, pretium pro nocte petisci. This is what we should expect from Giraldus' repeated use of line 48 without a mention of Ovidius or poeta. Matthew Paris calls it a proverb.

OVIDIUS, Amores 1.15.39

It should be noted that in the Giraldus excerpt (2) the distich from Ovid is followed by two lines from Statius (Thebais 12.818-19) which reminds us that in the same poet and in the same poem there are lines which may have influenced this substitution of fata for mors: (Stat. Th. 1.34-5)

> ...et geminis sceptrum exitiale tyrannis
> nec furiis post fata modum flammasque rebelles.

On the whole, however, I think the doubt is in favor of the more popular Ovid. In any case, twelfth-century poets are fond of using fata for mors. For example, in the popular elegiac comedies

Gulielmus Blesensis, Alda (c.1168), Cohen 1.146-8

> Viuam seruabis tua te post fata tibique 441
> Ipsa tui magna parte superstes eris. 442
>
> Obsequiis debebo tuis, quod mortua uiuam 475
> Quodque mihi mea post fata superstes ero. 476

Here the dependence upon Ovid is incontestable because each of these distichs is merely a slightly altered repetition of Amores 1.15.41-2, the lines which immediately follow the quotation we are discussing:

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ergo etiam cum me supremus adederit ignis
uiuam, parsque mei multa superstes erit.

Again, in the Pyramus-and-Thisbe poems of Matthew of Vendôme and Diederich, death is often referred to as fata especially with the possessive adjectives mea, sua, tua.[1]

When considering Giraldus' use of the phrase in fata decessit, we are again struck by his apparent dependence on the author of the Itinerarium Regis Ricardi. So far as I know, Giraldus does not employ this expression previous to the Third Distinction of the De Principis Instructione, where he first uses the Itinerarium Regis Ricardi. The predominant phrase in Giraldus is rebus exemptus est humanis. The subject of invidia and livor is treated more fully under Hor. Epp. 1.2.54-9. Livor edax (Ov. Am. 1.15.1) is a phrase of which not only Giraldus but numerous Medieval writers, chiefly poets, were fond. Likewise in comparing the excerpts we cannot miss the insistence laid by him upon the idea of future glory through literary fame, an ever-present motif for Giraldus. We are reminded of Horace's famous Exegi monumentum aere perennius ode (Hor. Carm. 3.30) with its

non omnis moriar multaque pars mei
uitabit Libitinam: usque ego postera
crescam laude recens

yet we find Giraldus more familiar with this fifteenth love-elegy of Ovid, whose closing lines he perhaps echoes not only in his thought but likewise in the word superstes of one excerpt:

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1. Lehmann, Pseudo-antike Literatur des Mittelalters, pp. 31-46.

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ergo etiam cum me supremus adederit ignis,
uiuam, parsque mei multa superstes erit.

In #1 tuebitur is required by the context. I know of no citation of verse by Giraldus where there is a violation of meter not evidently intentional or explainable as a copyist's error.

OVIDIUS, Amores 3.4.17

We do not need the statement of John of Salisbury to prove that this line of Ovid was used as a proverb. All the citations listed would point to the fact as well as the wording of Giraldus' introduction in #2. The strongest evidence is afforded by Peter Abaelard who uses the line three times though he is extremely sparing of classical quotations. Notice that the version of John of Salisbury has a leonine rhyme (-um...um) and agrees with the popularized form of Florilegium Gottingense. In #3 the spelling forte may be an error for sorte.

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OVIDIUS Ars Amat. 1.184 o.a.a.1.184

The substitution of competit for contigit (2) is quite natural. Giraldus is emphasizing the worthiness of the candidate; in the other two instances (1) he speaks merely of natural endowment.

OVIDIUS Ars.Amat. 1.239

In order not to lose sight of another possible provenance we should keep in mind the lines addressed by Horace to the wine-jar Carm. 3.21.17-18:

> tu spem reducis mentibus anxiis
> uiresque et addis cornua pauperi

These lines of Ovid were very well known in the twelfth and early thirteenth century. This is indicated by their appearance in the letter of Eloise to Abaelard (7) and in Petrus Cantor (8). Specially significant is the fact that four lines of this Ovidian passage (237-40) are in the Florilegium Gottingense (10).

Emphasizing Giraldus' attachment to the phrase cornua resumit is his use of this expression in the documents laid before the Roman court (1,2,3) and the repetition of certain formulae with each repetition of cornua resumit. Finally, notice how in the last excerpt (from the letter to Stephen Langton about 1219) he repeats the expressions of the Libellus Invectionum (d.94) but in reverse order: mordaci dente...cornua (li.d.94); cornua dentesque caninos... dicta... mordacia (sl 1.406). This repetition and rhetorical involution was perhaps not intentional but it certainly underlines the hold which these expressions had on Giraldus' mind.

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OVIDIUS Ars. Amat. 1.239 (con't.) o.a.a.1.239

The chapter on gambling of which this quotation forms a part is byfar one of the best examples of Neckam's psychological accuracy and word-painting.

OVIDIUS Ars Amat. 1.655-6

The sense of Giraldus' contexts (1,2,3) and the fact that in the Vita Galfridi (1) written about five years before the Libellus Invectionum, he quotes Ovid exactly, lead me to believe that his substitution of sic for necis was intentional. On the other hand the Migne text (4) records an erroneous nulla for ulla. Incidentally in this same letter of Petrus Blesensis (4) there are the stock quotations on invidia in a cluster: Hor. Epp. 1.2.54-9, Ov. A.A. 1.655-6, and the Justius invidia nihil est as in Giraldus above (2).

OVIDIUS Ars Amat. 1.739

The expressions fas, nefas, fas est, nefas est, fas et nefas and other combinations of these two words run through the whole course of the Latin language and it would be presumptuous to point out one place in an author and suggest that a medieval writer derived his use of fas est from this particular line. Yet Giraldus is inordinately fond of fas and nefas in all possible combinations and it has been my experience that when he is unusually devoted to an expression there is nearly always some poetic quotation involved. The Ovidian line ends in a formula that I have found in no author except Giraldus. In one place the words fas omne nefasque are approximated closely by Giraldus' teacher at Paris (7). This is as

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OVIDIUS Ars Amat. 1.739 (con't.) o.a.a.1.739

close as any contemporary comes to reproducing Ovid's fas omne nefasque. Giraldus does so often, perhaps oftener than my records show and per always precedes - per fas omne nefasque.

OVIDIUS Ars Amat. 2.24

Ovid's line in reference to the Minotaur is also found earlier in

Isidorus Hispaliensis. Etymologiae 11.3.38

> Porro Minotaurum sumpsisse ex tauro et homine, qualem bestiam, dicunt fabulose in Labyrintho inclusam fuisse. De qua Ovidius:
> Semibovemque virum, semivirumque bovem.

Giraldus leaves no doubt that he has Ovid's story in mind when he says iterum fuisse progenitum. In his letter to the Bishop of Hereford he is meticulous in keeping the exact wording of Ovid's line save for the necessary change of inflection.

OVIDIUS Ars Amat. 2.277

Giraldus quotes himself on various occasions with the words ut dicit quidam sapiens, or something of the sort. Nevertheless I do not think he was so dishonest as to ascribe his own verses to someone by the name of ignoti autoris. It is equally certain that he never thought of himself as an auctor ignotus. Another argument in favor of separate authorship for the verses lies in Giraldus' careful avoidance of the leonine rhyme. As practiced by most of its twelfth-century devotees this device sounds cheap enough in the hexameter, but when it appears in both members of

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OVIDIUS Ars Amat. 2.277 (con't) o.a.a.2.277

the elegiac couplet one's patience is tested to the breaking point. Exceptional authors, of course, forged the leonine rhyme into an instrument of great poetic beauty. Yet Giraldus was chary of it. In #1 he is careful to keep honos to avoid the rhyme with amor. In reference to this Ovidian excerpt the parody above, Aerea sunt vere nunc saecula is no more clever than the adaptation by Alexander Neckam (4).

OVIDIUS Ars Amat. 2.313

In my mind there is no doubt that Giraldus here substitutes consciously in both cases. Dum is certainly more forceful than si in his context and as for the subjunctives in the first excerpt we cannot but be struck with admiration for the simple means the Welshman uses to bring round Ovid's line into the tanquam conditional clause with perhaps the attraction of the previous ut likewise felt.

OVIDIUS Ars Amat. 2.437

Considering the frequency of this quotation in Giraldus, the variety of introductions and his extreme fidelity to Ovid's wording, we are compelled to allow this distich a prominent place in the forefront of his favored quotations. Something has already been said about the context of several passages listed above: (6) under Claudian Eutr. 1.181-4 and (7) under Lucan 2.381. The Oratio Reimundi is, of course the work of Giraldus.[1]

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1. cf. Hor. A.P. 151, Epp. 1.1.65-6; Lucan 8.490.

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OVIDIUS Ars Amat. 2.437 (cont.) o.a.a.2.437

Helinandus (14) has one of the lines quoted by Giraldus (3) but, in place of a following pentameter he has a hexameter:

> Non habet unde suum paupertas pascat amorem:
> Non habet unde tuum pascas, furibunde, furorem.

Whoever the author is, Giraldus probably gives the original distich form and Helinand a rhymed parody.

OVIDIUS Ars Amat. 2.647-8

We should not overlook a curious agreement between the citations by Henry II's fellow-courtiers, Giraldus (1,2) and the older Petrus Blesensis (3). Both have a complete pause at feres, although Petrus Blesensis goes no further, while in Giarldus' version, since the hexameter is completed, the bene must be dropped in favor of a logical substitute, mala. Perhaps he was influenced here by the well-known phrase of Statius male cuncta ministrat impetus (Th. 10.704-5.)

OVIDIUS Ars Amat. 2.683-4

Giraldus quotes these lines in a fulmination against the vice of homosexuality especially where it appeared among the clergy and in monastic communities. In another portion of the Speculum Ecclesiae (4.316) he scathingly remarks: quanto magis punientur, accedentes ad corpus Christi concubinarum vel meretricum, seu detestabiles quoque masculorum, concubitores! Shortly before (Sy. 4.313) he recalls the continence imposed upon the priests of Israel by the Mosaic law, during the time of their special service in the Temple. In various parts of his writings Giraldus puts his Christian fellows to shame by

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OVIDIUS Ars Amat. 2.683-4 (con't.) o.a.a.2.683-4

reminding them of the three days' continence God demanded of all the Jews, before the promulgation of the Ten Commandments on Mount Sinai. If Giraldus had known Juvenal better he might have cited these lines of the satirist (6.535-6):

> ille petit veniam, quotiens non abstinet uxor
> concubitu sacris observandisque diebus.

OVIDIUS Ars Amat. 2.732

One excerpt from Willaim Fitzstephen (7) does not necessarily go back to Ovid. Various contemporary writers, including Giraldus use the expression equo admisso especially in military descriptions.

Where Alanus ab Insulis (4) in his glossary of the theological terms picked up his version of the line from Ovid, I do not know; but its occurrence, taken with that of Giraldus (3) distinctly indicates a twelfth-century school version in which the original beginning Utile et is replaced by a few words to round out the line, thus, giving it independent sense and forming a proverbial expression.

OVIDIUS Ars Amat. 3.287

In addition to verbal agreements Giraldus' borrowing from Ovid is supported by two facts: (a) although os torquere is found in other Roman poets, none but Ovid links these words with cachinnus; (b) the words rictus and risus, used in the same sentence by Giraldus, occur in Ovid's poem just a few lines previously (283, 285).

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OVIDIUS Epistulae 2.7-8 o.e.2.7-8

Giraldus

eh 5.246

Tempora si numeres bene quae numeramus egentes,
Non venit ante suum nostra querela diem.

This quotation, with its slight alterations of Ovid's text (egentes for amantes and suum for suam) heads a letter sent by Dermot, an Irish chieftain, to Earl Richard (Ricardus Comes Strigulensis). The wording of this letter is the work of Giraldus himself, not of course in the original composition (for he was on the opposite side) but in the reporting of it. The letter is of late 1169 but the Expugnatio Hibernica was first published in 1188. This is a unique quotation in Giraldus and it should be compared with the occurrence of thess same lines in #2.

OVIDIUS Epistulae 3.85

This quotation from Ovid (uince animos iramque tuam, qui cetera uincis) is closely related to ancient and medieval adages on the subject of self-conquest.

OVIDIUS Epistulae 3.117

Giraldus heightens the irony of Ovid's original by substituting jocundius for tutius. The shift from manibus clipeos to clipeos humeris does not affect the meter.

OVIDIUS Epistulae 4.75

In the second excerpt Giraldus uses only one line of Ovid's distich in speaking about the clergy's exterior appearance and

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explaining what propriety requires of them. In #1 he condemns Sodomy. We are once more struck by the looseness with which the lines of Ovid, Odi concubitus... (A.A. 2.683-4) are applied. The pagan poet's motive for abstaining from paederasty is a purely sensual and selfish one, non utrumque resoluunt, and has no place in Christian morality; yet Giraldus appears to use it as an argument in favor of chastity. Actually there is no contradiction. These twelfth-century people on the whole looked upon the classics as something noble and beautiful and as vehicles of thought to be used as well as possible. This is evident from Giraldus' own paragraph above (2) in which he refers to Ovid as one of the morum assertores and backs up his statement by citing Seneca's eulogy of Naso.

OVIDIUS Epistulae 4.89

#1 is the only lengthy commentary on a classical author found in Giraldus' works. In a well-fashioned paragraph he weaves in his favorite cluster of terms: modus, modestia, modicus, moderatores.[1]

OVIDIUS Epistulae 5.11

Adam, the Praemonstratensian, is sparing with his classical quotations. There is verbal agreement with Giraldus (both have lentus for mollis of Ovid) and similarity of arrangement (compare Naso

---

1. cf. Hor. Serm. 1.1.106-7 and further references given there; also Luc. 1.82, 2.381-2. For the twelfth century attitude toward the morality of ancient literature the reader is referred to Ovid, Amores 1.5.17, Seneca's praise of Ovid occurs again under Ov. Ponts 1.164.

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OVIDUS, Epistulae 5.11 (con't.) o.e.5.11

with ut ait quis; Et idem with Et idem ait). These features indicate a passage learned in school under a set form. Compare # and # with these lines from the Rectius ode of Horace (Carm.2.10.18-20):

> ...quondam cithara tacentem
> suscitat Musam neque semper arcus
> tendit Apollo.

We are certain that Giraldus knew lines 5-18 inclusive, and it is reasonable to suppose that the remaining eight lines of the ode were also familiar to him.

OVIDUS, Epistulae 5.11

This is in Giraldus' letter to Archbishop Hubert, in which he tries to make an impression through lavish quotations. But he is so preoccupied with a phrase he had committed to memory, absit reverentia veris[1] that he forgot about the syntax requirements of aspersi magis et blandi minus and simply threw in the next phrase without considering whether it fitted or not. Due to inadvertence or precipitateness, Giraldus' prose sometimes becomes involved to the point where no defense of his syntax can be made. In his application of a poetic excerpt, however, he is consistently correct from the grammarian's point of view. The present example, I believe, is the sole exception to which I can point in his works.

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1. perhaps in connection with the preceding dolor importune verba ministrat.

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OVIDUS, Epistulae 9.31 o.e.9.31

The third-last line of #1 certainly reproduces the words of Ovid, something which Giraldus does not do. In this same line of Master Simon we find a cliché of twelfth-century versifiers: re sine nomen habens. This use of the Ovidian line wrenches the words from their original syntactic foundation, because Ovid's onus is not a nominative but an accusative, the direct object of ferentis. Obviously the first five words had become isolated, as so often happened, and were memorized in this handy form for their own sake: non honor est sed onus. A few more examples will strengthen the case:

Petrus Bernardus Grandimontensis (c.1172) Migne 204.1169

> nisi innumeris obruendo beneficiis Grandimontensem aliquando suum populum nostrum potius oneraret quam ornaret (ornaret for honoraret is an easy and smooth substitution).

Ricardus Divisiensis (fl.1193) Rolls. 82.3.453

> regio munere plus honoratus quam oneratus,

Gaufridus S. Barbarae (fl.1200) Migne 205.830

> Ego vero ex quo litteras vestras accepi, ex quo huic vos honori, imo oneri deputatum cognovi,

Carmina Burana am 104A (early 13th cent.) Hilka-Schumann p.173

This last is, I believe the shortest of the Carmina Burana; it consists solely of Ovid's distich (Epp. 9.31-2). In their critical notes on the same page the editors append further interesting comparisons in medieval literature.

Richard Devizes' short work[2] shows at times word-play, especially alliteration, that measures up to Giraldus' most sensational combinations yet on the whole Devizes is inconsistent about it and, therefore,

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OVIDUS, Epistulae 9.31 (con't.) o.e.9.31

becomes boring rather than entertaining when he plays on words.

OVIDUS, Epistulae 16.98

Since Giraldus everywhere shows himself a perfectly orthodox theologian and, in the field of morality, a rigorist, I am sure his liceat above is a loose synonym for potes, which appears later in the same few lines.

OVIDUS, Epistulae 16.166

In the first excerpt I do not know whose hexameter Giraldus has prefixed to Ovid's pentameter. It may be that the line Quo fugis ergo... is Giraldus' own. In the second excerpt he shows complete familiarity with the line of Ovid. Most interesting is an adaptation of this same line by an earlier writer, but with the self-same application as in Giraldus' Gemma Ecclesiastica (2).

OVIDIUS, Epistulae 17.66

The source of Giraldus' words cannot be established with absolute certainty. The poetic provenance of the phrase vera loqui can hardly be questioned. In standard prose loquor was not used with a direct object and for a medieval author veritatem would be normal rather than vera in such a case as this. We might be tempted to say that Giraldus was merely using a common poetic phrase, vera loqui but he seems to be citing, rather, a proverbial hexameter:

Interdum noceat omnia vera loqui.

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OVIDIUS, Fasti 1.211 O.F.2.211

The first passage from Giraldus has been cited at length because it brings out with unmistakable clearness a humanistic tendency which Giraldus shared with many other writers of his age. In the same breath they will talk about false pagan gods and the one true God in which they, as devout Christians, believed. They even equate the pagan deities with God the Father, with Jesus Christ, or with the Saints as Giraldus does here. We do something of the sort when we use such phrases as "by Jove," "ye Gods", but these medieval authors, even the most meticulous and most devout, intertwined expressions from pagan and Christian religion in a way that shows how well-founded is the phrase, "The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century."

OVIDIUS, Fasti 1.211

#1 shows a remarkable cluster of quotations on a single theme, already referred to under Ov. Ars Amat. 2.437.

OVIDIUS, Fasti 1.211

All of the above writers use the same wording for the line last quoted (Fasti 1.216, quo plus sunt potae plus sitiuntur aquae), which is that of manuscript A cited by Vollmer in the critical apparatus of the Teubner text (1932). Likewise they agree in using petunt in line 212, the reading of manuscript A^3 (A has petent; U -- in rasura -- and B have uolunt.) In the first two Giraldus excerpts about (nam and et are underlined because they would complete the hexameter).

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There are two striking resemblances among some of the quotations just presented. The first is a combination of Ov. Met. 3.415 (which refers to Narcissus) with Fasti 1.216 (which refers to fortune-hunters) found both in Giraldus (4) and Neckam (15). Giraldus' application agrees with the thought of Ovid's original lines, but the citation in Neckam is made to point up a description of the fever-producing serpent called dipsas. This sort of shifting is a constant practice of the English schoolmaster and encyclopedist.

The theme of his brief chapter on the dipsas leads to a second observation. In a number of the Giraldus passages we find an expressed connection with the dropsy (hydropsis, hydropisis, morbus hydropicus, vitium hydropicum); the same is true in Petrus Blesensis (12) and Petrus Cantor (14). Obviously there is a common source for the application of these lines (especially Fasti 1.416 quo plus sunt potae plus sitiuntur aquae,) to the disease of dropsy. We find nothing of the sort in Isidore under hydropsis or dipsas. This saying, designated by Walter Map as a proverbial one, is evident in various productions of the twelfth century.

In the first excerpt there is a poetic reversal of Ovid's original intention, because the writer here describes how the Creator, through the lavish gifts of Nature, enriches even the poor man.

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OVIDIUS, Metamorphoses 1.84 o.m.1.84

There are not many departures from Ovid's original lines: dicitur for traditur; in omitted from before lustrum, probably through the carelessness of the copyist. I do not understand why the middle couplet (is decies senos...) was left out since it forms an antecedent to the words hic modus est anni. The first excerpt is an early poetic attempt of Giraldus; note the careful, school-boyish rearrangement of the original words. This feature foreshadows Giraldus' easy mastery of prosody. The substitution of bruto for homini (2) is intentional.

OVIDIUS, Metamorphoses 1.138

This is another case of vain display. Giraldus' prose sentence, well balanced and well-sounding, is not helped by the few words from Ovid.

OVIDIUS, Metamorphoses 1.148

Giraldus in improving Osbert of Clare's life of St. Ethelebert makes Offa's queen a prominent figure in the early history of English oratory. Unfortunately the speech is really Giraldus' own work. He is not alone in altering the text of Ovid from inquirit to some other word (3) by Sed et Filius ante diem patrios insurgit in annos.

OVIDIUS, Metamorphoses 2.541

Giraldus' departures from the text of Ovid are intentional. In the second and fourth excerpts I have underlined longe and fiat because they are potential replacements of nunc est and thus keep the

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OVIDIUS, Metamorphoses 2.541 (cont'd.) o.m.2.541

hexameter feeling, as far as possible, intact.

OVIDIUS, Metamorphoses 2.712

Cohen, following the evident reference to a building, takes the phrase to mean the temple of Pallas, as is the case in the original of Ovid. Giraldus, in the three excerpts above, makes it plain, that for him the Palladis arces symbolizes the pursuit of war. In #2 he reverses the parallel terms, yet the other two passages (1,3) show that he intends to associate Palladis with militiae and Minervae with Musae. He thus splits the goddess personality as he does that of Dionysus in pi 8.93.

OVIDIUS, Metamorphoses 3.135.7

In the above excerpt I have taken pains to reproduce the spacing of Brewer's printed edition. Although I have not seen the manuscript of the Speculum Ecclesiae it is highly improbable that anything in it justifies such an arrangement as the above. Warner, in his Index to Volumes 1, 2, 3, 4, and 8 of Giraldus' works lists this quotation under Horace! Among the Monosticha Catonis (a supplement to the Disticha) there is a line which later got into the collection of Columbanus, a double assurance of longevity in the Middle Ages:

Monosticha Catonis 4.22

Ante diem mortis nullus laudabilis exstat. Migne 80.289.83

Columbanus (fl. 615)

Ante diem mortis nullus laudabilis exstat.

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OVIDIUS, Metamorphoses 4.428 o.m.4.428

No context is given for the first excerpt from Giraldus because there is question of a narrative here, which would have to be given in full; suffice it to say that his application of the poet's meaning is a literal one fortius for magis (3) is clear enough but not common.

OVIDIUS, Metamorphoses 15.375

Giraldus' vermis iste applies to the frog found at Waterford. This was an oddity, as he goes on to explain, and therefore possibly of prophetic import. His following paragraph continues to echo the line of Ovid:

> Sed forte liquidi et limosi seminis particulam, aethereo calore in nubes attractam, et vi ventorum huc impulsam; vel etiam vermiculum ipsum jam formatum, nubeculae descendentis concavitate sursam elevatum, et huc casu advectum, terra inhospita et inimica suscepit. Vel potius rana portu propinquo forte fortuitu nave devecta, et, in terram projecta, quia vermis venenosa non est, aliquamdiu subsistere et vivere praevaluit.

Note the reference to his place of writing and recitation in the phrase huc casu advectum, as contrasted with terra inimica. The whole excerpt is typical of Giraldus. It is full of poetic words and expressions, highly rhythmical, and well balanced. It contains some of his pet expressions (praesumere, terra inimica, praevaluit) and a number of rhetorical devices, such as doublets (terra inhospita et inimica, subsistere et vivere), - also alliterations.

OVIDIUS, Metamorphoses 15.875

We may presume that Giraldus' etc. in the second excerpt (ge 2.102)

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OVIDIUS, Metamorphoses 15.875 (cont'd.) o.m.15.875

indicates not only his knowledge of the following lines but probably also his association of all these lines together (875-9) as a single unit. I have presented so much of the paragraphs which open the Introitus in Recitationem Topographiae Hibernicae because they offer as clear an expression of Giraldus' bid for literary fame as will be found anywhere in his works. Further reference will be made to this constant preoccupation under Verg. Aen. 4.180. In the last passage (3) it seems to me that Giraldus intends per ora manusque as a reference to fame acquired by oral report (ora) and through reading (manus). It should be observed that in the second excerpt he applies Ovid's words not to literary prominence but to the immortality and high destiny of the human soul. It is quite clear that Giraldus knew nothing of Tacitus; he was probably not even aware that Tacitus had existed. Yet the language of the Introitus (1) has some of the flavor of the opening of the Agricola. Among medieval historians we occasionally find expressions which remind us of Tacitus' clarorum uirorum facta posteris tradere.

OVIDIUS, Pontica 1.1.64

> Vitanda est igitur macula, totis nisibus et studiis eradenda penitus aut eluenda, quae semel impressa semper adhaeret, et tanquam accidens inseparabile partinacia perpetua cum dierum saeculi diuturnitate contendit.

In the first excerpt above the similarity with Ovid's line is immediately evident. Although the poem in which these lines occur is full of rhymes and has an ambiguous title (Versus adventus ejusdem in Giraldi laudem tanquam ad ipsum apostrofando) it seems to me to be his

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OVIDIUS, Pontica 1.1.64 (cont'd.) o.p.1.1.64

product, because it contains many of his favorite phrases and ideas; alea, Hector, Troja, laus perennis, pervertat, sors inopina vices are actually found in one of his undoubted poems; also Ov. Epp. 2.86 and Pont. 1.1.64

OVIDIUS, Pontica 1.2.39-40

The theme is a frequent one in ancient and medieval literature. Observe how in the three excerpts above there are three distinct applications: Giraldus refers to the eternal pains of the damned in Hell, Petrus Blesensis to the hawking-fever with which some of his contemporaries were possessed, the Carmina Burana to the greed of the Roman court.

OVIDIUS, Pontica 1.2.125

Here there is a wide variation between Giraldus and Ovid. Apparently Giraldus did not recall the exact wording of the original, which is tricky, so he substituted a line which sounds almost the same and has the identical meaning. To me Brewer's note 2, page 164, is inscrutable: "A passage is quoted from Tacitus to the same effect, from which Giraldus seems to have modified the line of Ovid." I suppose his "is quoted," means simply "there is." As for Giraldus having derived anything from Tacitus, it is hard to see how a scholar such as Brewer was, widely read in the literature of the period, could have been under such an illusion. (cf. under Ov. Met. 15.875)

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OVIDIUS, Pontica 1.3.17-18 o.p.1.3.17

The cumulative force of these reflections and quotations can alone give an adequate idea of the extent to which Giraldus had committed his talents as well as his present fortune, and hope of future advancement, to the hopeless cause of winning metropolitan standing for his native see, St. David's.

OVIDIUS, Pontica 1.3.35

Perhaps the occurrence of this phenomenon in the De Principis Instructione is the work of the copyist and not of Giraldus himself, but in any case here it is:

Gir. pi 8.93

> sed et publicas festivitates populi per plateas agebant et orgia Dionysii et Bacchi celebrabant et cum sacris currebant.

Warner, in editing De Principis Instructione, has used larger type to show that the words et Bacchi are not in the passage Giraldus borrowed from Hugo Floriacensis. In connection with the word-play in # 1 (ad Palladis arces et artes) compare another passage from Ovid already dealt with under Ov. Amores 1.9.1 (A.A.1.692):

> tu titulos alia Palladis arte petas!

OVIDIUS, Pontica 1.4.21

This is a splendid passage. With polishing it might well fit into the works of Cicero, at that part of the Pro Archia, for example, where the great Roman scholar and statesman so brilliantly yet succinctly set forth the advantages and uses of liberal studies, for

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OVIDIUS, Pontica 1.4.21 (cont'd.) o.p.1.4.21

the proper pursuit of which in all cases there must be a reasonable amount of leisure.

OVIDIUS, Pontica 1.5.5

A brief glance reveals that of these excerpts the first and the last (1,7) are essentially the same; the latter, however, is part of a brilliant synthesis of comments and citations on the proper use of leisure. The complete passage is presented under Ov. Pont. 1.4.21. The erroneous arrangement of words in #2 will be explained under Ov. Rem. 161. I confess my inability to explain the cum moveantur of this excerpt. Giraldus is consistently correct in his use of cum. The subjunctive, moveantur, would then call for the meaning, "since the waters are moved," which to me makes no sense at all. Even if we admit an error in syntax, and understand "when they are moved", the passage means exactly the opposite of what Ovid (and Giraldus, too, in his other citations,) intended. (The substitution of capiunt for capiant is of no consequence.) Perhaps Giraldus had a slight lapse of memory. Perhaps he had memorized the verse in this form, because the syntactical breaking away from the ut construction is not only admissible but something which enlivens the line. Giraldus worked in dramatic effects wherever he could.

OVIDIUS, Pontica 2.3.10

In this excerpt I have underlined sic because it provides a first syllable to complete the hexameter. For this I find my justification

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OVIDIUS, Pontica 2.3.10 (cont'd.) o.p.2.3.10

in Giraldus' strong rhythmic sense wherever the hexameter was involved.

OVIDIUS, Pontica 3.2.9

In the last excerpt (5) at the place of the suspension marks (...) there is a section which refers to God as the Lord of all things and contains this passage:

> et quod, offensus plurimum et ad iram provocatus, fabricata tam fulmina pauca mittit, multa remittit. Potius enim (etc.)

The underlining makes sufficiently clear Giraldus' use of Ovid's line, his unity of thought and pertinacity of expression, and above all his uncanny gift for weaving around a classical text a paraphrase, which, in the most varied and subtle ways, reflects the thought and wording of the ancient poet, like so many precious stones set around a source of light. Two resemblances not due to the ancient source and therefore not indicated typographically are nevertheless worthy of remark: the recurrence of animadvertere in various forms in 2.108, 2.164 and 8.104; the play on terrent-terunt in 2.164 and 8.104. The only departure from Ovid's text is feriunt for feriant (once: 7.122). If not a copyist's error the form is certainly admissible, although it changes the meaning of cum from "although" to "when."

OVIDIUS, Pontica 3.4.79

The substitution by Giraldus of the plain-sounding si for Ovid's elegant ut at the head of this quotation may be due to a slip of the memory or to the fact that he learned it that way in school. The same

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substitution, quoque for ego, is also found in #1. The first line of Ovid is probably alluded to by Galfridus S. Barbarae (fl. 1200) who uses the phrase laudanda voluntas in sacerdote (Migne 205.864). If one takes the trouble to compare the long excerpt given here with one nearly as long under Ov. Pont. 1.3.17-18 (1) the practical identity of the two passages becomes evident. As I see it, the present excerpt is the copy of a speech made by Giraldus at Worcester in 1202[1] and later set down by him in substance when writing the latter part of the Libellus Invectionum. This condensation and refurbishing of his original speech is what we have in #1. It is Giraldus' supreme expression of faith in his hopeless cause, and creates an indelible picture of the kind of person he held himself to be: the martyred, the "bloody but unbowed" champion, the second Hector, whose name would be forever on the tongues of men, not because he had won his fight but because under the crushing weight of overwhelming odds, he had gone down gloriously. The odds are against him and he knows it. The prior of Canterbury reminds him in the oiliest terms that, should he conquer the Archbishop's

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1. For the chronology here I follow Brewer, who gives a brief account of how Giraldus was hounded in England previous to the hearings there. He also sketches vividly the scene at the Worcester meeting, to which this speech of Giraldus belongs (Rolls Series I. lxxvii). Davies, gives the impression that the Worcester meeting took place in 1200. (Y. Cymmrodor, 30 (1920) pp. 61-2. Since he goes into so much detail about the pleading of Giraldus' cause in Rome and in England and since he edited the passage (pp. 185-6) which is so obviously a report of Giraldus' speech at Worcester, I am surprised at his omission of the dramatic events which immediately preceded that convocation, and at his failure to give any details of the meeting itself. This last omission, however, is understandable, since the absence of the official judges turned the Worcester hearing into a farce.

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OVIDIUS, Pontica 3.4.79 (cont'd.) o.p.3.4.79

opposition, there would remain that of the Monastery of the Holy Trinity, then the Canterbury suffragans, and finally the King of England (John) himself.

OVIDIUS, Pontica 3.5.18

Giraldus' substitution of dulcius for gratius may spring from faulty recollection of the original. It happens that in Ovid's previous line the word dulcis is found.

OVIDIUS, Remedia Amoris 45-6

Giraldus' replacement of Ovid's salutares by salutiferas is sufficient proof that he had no text of the ancient poet before him when he wrote this page, but the false reference clinches the case. In relation to verse 323 the location of verse 45 is rather multo ante than paulo post. Our interest in this citation is heightened by its appearance in a collection which had its inception during the lifetime of Giraldus (2). Here salutares is retained but the second line has changed notably.

Terra salutares herbas eademque nocentes
Nutrit, et urticam proxima saepe rosa.

As a hypothesis I should suggest that in Giraldus' younger days the distich was learned with the est omitted from its place after rosa. A step like this is almost inevitable when a couplet is learned in isolation because of the smoother sound of the vowel final and also because of the tendency of the Western speech mechanism to close an expression in thesis. Witness, for example, the Anglo-Saxon fondness for iambic

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OVIDIUS, Remedia Amoris 45-6 (cont'd.) o.r.a.45

meters, the Gallic appui sur la dernière syllabe, the Teutonic partiality for monosyllabic prepositions (usually forming separable prefixes to verbs) to end a phrase or a sentence with, the Latin tendency to drop a weak vowel in the ultima if the penult carries the accent (Italian amor for amore and a host of other such; Spanish infinitives like parlar from an original Latin parlare, leccion from lectione-m as well as formations similar to Italian amor and cuor). Confusion later arose in which the urticae was changed to urticam because of the pull of nutrit. This shift of ending would not bother the poorly educated and the better-informed could easily explain the last three words as an ablative absolute: proxima saepe rosa.

OVIDIUS, Remedia Amoris 91-2

Giraldus is fond of the word invalescere in its various forms. Until a more detailed study can be made I simply list the occurrences: 6.90, 190; 4.423; 2.230, 304, 355; d.115; 3.120, 130, 383; 8.259, 296; 491, 223; 1.427. In one contemporary passage (4) the distinction between invaluit and convaluit is drawn very sharply within the short space of six lines; the pain grew stronger (invaluit) and then, through the power of God, the sick man got well (convaluit).

OVIDIUS, Remedia Amoris 119

Since I have found no one who cites Rem. 125-6 with 127-8, it is impossible for me to tell whether Giraldus' order (127-8-5-6) is a slip on his part or the arrangement of lines learned in the schools of

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his period. The substitution of dum for cum was universal if these examples are a safe guide. The usage of Matthew Paris seems always to reflect what was most common or best known in his day and the previous age, chiefly because he cites the classics so rarely and likewise because where various sources agree he usually has forms which correspond to the common denominator among them. Note in the Florilegium Gottingense how syntax has been simplified (vetat for vetet) and the final est dropped in line with the tendency discussed under Rem. 91. This happens too in some of the Giraldus manuscripts (C, Bb, Ba).

OVIDIUS, Remedia Amoris 144

The anonymous authors of the twelfth-century elegiac comedies Miles Gloriosus and Pamphilus were well-educated men. Consequently they retain the subjunctive which the Florilegium Gottingense, a more popular piece, rejects: sic emat orbis opes and sua semina mandet arenae. From the leonine rhyme in one of Giraldus' quoted lines (1)

Tempore cum residet, jam medicina valet,

one would naturally conclude that it is a medieval product. However, until the exact source is found, I suggest a comparison with an Ovidian line close to the others:

Rem. 131-2

Temporis ars medicini fere est: data tempore prosunt,
Et data non apto tempore uina nocent.

In the adaptation, ( ) dolor...dolori for furor...furori, there is nothing particularly clever, but the whole passage presented above is, like so many in Giraldus, full of subtle scents which recall the

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OVIDIUS, Remedia Amoris 144 (cont'd.) o.r.a.144

classics: stare nesciunt (Lucan 1.144-5, modum observes (Lucan 2.380-2), Horace Serm. 1.1.106-7, animum remittis (see under Ovid Pontica 1.4.21).

OVIDIUS, Remedia Amoris 161

The form I have just presented, Quaeritur Aegisthus..., is found in all the contemporaries of Giraldus cited (2-8). This has already been referred to under Ov. Pont. 1.5.5-6 and, as stated there, John of Salisbury is the only one who changes the order of the words to Causa est in promptu. Therefore the typography of Brewer's edition[1] in Rolls 2.253

> Item poeta quaeritur:
> AEgisthus (and the rest as above)

cannot be justified on any grounds. Even if the manuscript had a punctuation mark after quaeritur he should have ignored it, because such marks cannot be relied upon.

OVIDIUS, Remedia Amoris 323

John of Salisbury, Petrus Blesensis, and Giraldus Cambrensis associate this quotation from Ovid (Rem. 161-2) with Pont. 15.5-6

> Cernis ut ignavum corrumpant otia corpus,
> Et capiant vitium, ni moveantur aquae?

Helinandus, however, with Ov. Pont. 1.4.21

> Otia corpus alunt, animus quoque pascitur illis

and with Lucan 4.704

> variam semper dant otia mentem.

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1. He offers no explanatory note save his general warning elsewhere about the obvious errors he has permitted to remain.

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OVIDIUS, Remedia Amoris 323-4 o.r.a.323

In the Carmina Burana m-s 20.III (13 cent.) and Hilka-Schumann, p. 29 the exact text of Ovid is given. Giraldus, however, substitutes ipso for illo and in two instances reverses the order of mala and bonis into bona and malis. Since he obviously knew the correct arrangement it appears to me that the shift was intentional, the reason to be found in what immediately precedes:

OVIDIUS, Remedia Amoris 369

Of these excerpts from Giraldus' writings the first is found in a poem which he wrote early in life; the verbal resemblance with Ovid is clear. In the other two passages (2,3) we have the exact words of the ancient poet but with a slightly different application; in #2 Giraldus does a bit of deliciously clever bragging, when he assumes God's choice of Welsh churches (notice the double designation, ecclesias et templa) as the fitting, because lofty, targets of His thunderbolts. In #3 Giraldus is using the quotation as any writer of his day would have used it, that is, in reference to his competitors, rivals and detrators. There is a rather extensive treatment given to the kindred subject invidia under Horace Epp. 1.2.54-9. We must content ourselves here with a bare enumeration of places in Giraldus where livor and lividus occur, keeping as much as possible to a chronological order: 5.5, 6, 76, 194, 196, 209 (especially full), 211, 213, 335 (also outstanding), 6.7, 2.3, 2.107, 1.80, 1.417, 3.255, 273, 332, 334, 352, 8.6, 33, 4.64, 151, 240, 261, 229. This list is not exhaustive.

Contemporary writers who obviously refer to the Ovidian distich

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have additional uses of livor and lividus and sometimes very many of them. To us of the quote-and-copyright era the literary cutthroatism and petty retaliations of the twelfth-century are hard to comprehend. Giraldus' use of livor, lividus, invidus, aemulus, invidia, as well as the employment of these words by his contemporaries, is surely worthy of study. He lived in an age when invective and abuse were considered indispensable to any worthwhile discussion. He had on his hands the long-drawn-out struggle over the metropolitan claims of St. David's and over his own right to the bishopric against other ambitious churchmen, lax clerics and (for him) provoking monks. Is it then surprising that his hot temper found an outlet in diatribe, or that such a handy word as livor and its cognotes should have been so dear to him?

OVIDIUS, Remedia Amoris 461

It is not possible to tell whether the language of the first excerpt is Giraldus' own or that of the source from which he drew the legend. However, where quotation from the classics is concerned, the doubt is always resolved in favor of Giraldus' authorship. Since Ovid has the phrase Quid moror at least eight times in his works, and since the twelfth-century writers were particularly devoted to the poet, I venture to record here some further examples of the expression (3-8).

OVIDIUS, Remedia Amoris 579

In Giraldus' citation, as in Ovid's original text, the word sola has the meaning "solitary, deserted, secret." This same meaning is

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retained in a contemporary application of the Ovidian line (2). Giraldus, in his citation, mentions the title of Ovid's poem (after a fashion). This he seldom does elsewhere.

OVIDIUS, Remedia Amoris 749

Thomas the Cistercian (5), like Giraldus, links the pentameter (Divitiis...) with a hexameter to which it does not belong in Ovid's original poem. This pentameter, moreover, is interesting because it has been rejected by a number of editors.[1]

OVIDIUS, Remedia Amoris 808

The author of # uses this quotation similarly, and even paraphrases it, but with much less subtlety and rhetorical force than Giraldus, who in paraphrase and delicate allusion is at his best.

OVIDIUS, Tristia 3.4.3

A passage like this is most effective as a commentary on Giraldus' superior skill in handling quotations and allusions, his excellent ryhthmic sense, his constant desire to please the reader's ear and not tire his patience. In going over this excerpt from Philip of Harvengt (5) the reader will remark his boring verbosity and the sameness of his periods and cadences. When Giraldus wishes to introduce the actual words of an ancient author or some echo of the original text he does not, like Philip, pound it out on the anvil for more than

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1. cf. Teubner text ad locum.

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OVIDIUS, Tristia 3.4.3 (cont'd.) o.t.3.4.3

a dozen lines, till the poor reader in desperation cries "Hold, enough!"

OVIDIUS, Tristia 3.4.3-4

This distich has been treated under Hor. Epp. 1.10.30

OVIDIUS, Tristia 3.4.25

However, we might here call attention to certain features of the excerpt from De Principis Instructione, (4) one of Warner's numerous omissions. Giraldus follows Ovid in all the other passages but in this one he substitutes experto for edocto, omits tibi after vive and ends with etc. Taking the last point first, it is possible that the etc. is Giraldus' own because, although he nowhere shows specific knowledge of the following line in Ovid (Tristia 3.4.5) it is congener with the preceding ones and may have easily been in Giraldus' memory:

uiue tibi, quantumque potes praelustria uita:

Petrus Cantor has all three verses (7). The omission of tibi is probably a blunder of the fourteenth-century copyist. The word is necessary to the sense and meter. All other instances of faulty metrics in Giraldus' quotations are found in this same manuscript: Hor. Epp. 1.16.39, Ov. Am. 1.15.39, Fasti, 3.161. The substitution of experto for edocto is of no significance.

OVIDIUS, Tristia 3.4.25-6

This distich, like the previous one, has been listed in its full contexts under Hor. Epp. 1.10.30. However, a question of text must be

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OVIDIUS, Tristia 3.4.25-6 (cont'd.) o.t.3.4.25

brought up here. It is noticed at once on comparison of the Giraldus passages how in the De Rebus a se Gestis (1) Brewer has printed an incomplete hexameter:

Crede mihi, bene qui latuit bene vixit.

In all the other examples from Giraldus the line ends, as it should, with et infra, a substitution for Ovid's et intra. An interchange of intra with infra is not necessarily a copyist's erroneous reading of F instead of t nor the dictate of a caprice on the author's part. In the Roman Missal to this day there stands the expression infra Octavam for "within the Octave." Although another explanation is possible I prefer to see here the medieval interchange of the two prepositions. Moreover in the very case we are discussing usage is divided (6,8,9 intra; 7 infra)[1].

OVIDIUS, Tristia 4.3.74-5

This early passage in Giraldus sounds the praises of Henry II, whom he was later to revile bitterly. The other two spots in which Giraldus uses these Ovidian verses have to do with his own glorification as the martyr-champion fighting against impossible odds for the metropolitan rights of St. David's and his own election to its bishopric. Memorization of the lines in school may easily explain their incorrect sequence.

Gir. im 3.205

li d.186

The chronology of these two passages and their interconnection have

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1.

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been discussed under Ovid's Pontica 3.4.79, where the full and very interesting contexts are reproduced. There is only one verbal departure from the original text: Giraldus' stravit iter for Ovid's uadit iter. Because of its strong resemblance to a hexameter, and the seeming echo of Ovid's lines I have included another excerpt (4). It will be observed that only the position of -men (tamen) and -tus (fortunatus) prevent the words from forming a perfect hexameter.

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PERSIUS 3.30 pers. 3.30

Giraldus' repeated and almost glib use of Persius' words with no attention paid to the original text or its source creates immediately the impression that the phrase was proverbial in his time.

One should note that in the earlier writer, William Fitzstephen, the quantitative character of Persius' words remains unaltered, there is no insertion or substitution, and only the unnecessary ego is dropped; for te, which because of elision amounts to a ghost-word at best, the disciple of Becket writes regem. On the other hand, since he is recording a speech of his master at the time Thomas was Chancellor of England, this argument may be considered inconclusive. In any case it is fairly clear that Giraldus pays no more heed to the verse structure when he cites the words, and in the Carmina Burana tradition the accentual pronunciation is crystallized.

The proximity of these passages makes it sufficiently clear that in the latter two cases Giraldus' tot hominum species is a direct echo of the words of Persius. The text of Persius, however, seems to be in its turn an echo of Ovid (Rem. 525-6):

> Nam quoniam uariant animi, uariabimus artes;
> Mille mali species, mille salutis opes.

Whether unconsciously or not the medieval imitator (4) introduces a slight variation in the text and, as we might have predicted, the leonine rhymes.

The last two passages listed are merely repetitions of #2. The contexts have not been given here because they are found in great fullness under Vergil Ecl. 3.93, Ovil Am. 1.8.104, and Juvenal 6.181.

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PERSIUS pers. 3.30

In regard to the variations which Giraldus introduces retinens for retines is, of course, demanded by his sentence structure; the same is true for portans as a participial form rather than portas. The substitution of portans for seruas and sub pectore for in pectore should no doubt be ascribed to lapse of memory on Giraldus' part. By combining his various citations we are able to put together the original fronte politus, so that the substitutions, vir for et, voce for fronte, and polita for politus appear to me quite intentional. The prose sentence in #5 contains a rather obvious paraphrase of line 116.

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PETRONIUS 82 petr.82

All that can be presently said in reference to this quotation will be found in Speculum 2 (1927), pp. 203-205. Evan T. Sage there makes it clear that Giraldus could hardly have been using a text of Petronius. The possibilities suggested by Sage are those which anyone thoroughly acquainted with Giraldus would choose: transmission through Fulgentius or the use of a florilegium. Despite the brevity of his treatment, Sage enters into much worthwhile detail under these two heads.

My own study of Giraldus offers a third and, to me, even likelier theory. I should think that Giraldus had committed these lines of Petronius to memory in school, where they probably were learned with other memory gems under such a heading as Avaritia or Cupiditas. Several facts lend great weight to this opinion. In the two places where he quotes Petronius' lines (and # 2 is a repetition of # 1), Giraldus has them in a large cluster of quotations aimed at the evils of avarice: Ovid, Ars. Amat. 2.437-8, Fasti 1.211-12, Horace, Carm. 3.24.62-4, Carm. 3.16.17-18, Carm. 3.16.42-4, Lucan 5.527-9. There is also another proof in the fact that Giraldus confuses these lines of Petronius with a line about Tantalus found in Ovid (Am. 2.2.43):

Quaerit aquas in aquis, et poma fugacia captat.

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PLAUTUS

Giraldus had no direct knowledge of Plautus. The borrowings discussed below, if they actually go back to the Roman comic poet, were made unconsciously. He knew nothing of Plautine verse and, if by chance he was ever confronted with a sample during his lifetime, I can imagine him commenting in the words of a ninth-century poet: an sit prosaicum, nescio, an metricum.[1] Twelfth-century schoolmen did not read the plays of Plautus; instead, some of the important poets of that era, especially the two brothers from Blois, Vitalis and Guillaume, as well as Matthew of Vendôme, wrote comedies (in elegiac distichs) which bore some resemblance to Plautus so far as titles, characters and licentious elements are concerned. These were very popular and ushered in the era of fabliaux in French literature. Apart from frequent indecent lines and episodes, the themes are commonly those of conjugal intrigue and I doubt that Giraldus, who seems to have been a scrupulously chaste man, maintained any early interest he may have had in Plautus elegiacus. As a matter of fact he uses Plautus' name but twice and both times in speaking of the same quotation. Our hopes of a find begin to dim when we notice the swing of the line. Alas! it is an hexameter, and, what is worse, the quotation is from Lucretius, a poet whom Giraldus never cites otherwise and never names.[2]

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1. quoted by Raby, Secular Latin Poetry Vol. 2, p. 303. The reference is to Terence, whose meter is less difficult than that of Plautus.

2. Warner assumes that Giraldus uses the name of Lucretius but under Juvenal Vol. 11 p. 44 I have proved the contrary. For the line which Giraldus falsely ascribes to Plautus see under Lucretius above.

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PLAUTUS, Asinaria 495 plaut.as.495

I presume that his use of some of Plautus' words in a context very like the original, stems from familiarity with a proverb existing even today: Homo homini lupus.

Plautus, Persa 625

Whether Giraldus' use of omen, alone or in counterbalance to nomen, has its eventual source in Plautus cannot be definitively stated now; I am only certain that the borrowing, if it was such, could not have been a direct one, so far as Giraldus is concerned. Did any of the other twelfth-century authors, who use the omen-nomen device so frequently, have the line of Plautus in mind? We cannot say. A glance through the Latin literature of that period reveals an intense fondness for employing omen. At times the plural omina and the plural omnia are confused in manuscripts and in the oral tradition. Commenting upon #182 (Omina sunt hominis quaedam provincia finis), in the St. Omer Florilegium (c.1200), the editor states that omina is here to be taken in its Medieval Latin meaning of casus, misfortunes.[1] Because of the possible connection between Giraldus' use of omen (and omen-nomen) and the text of Plautus, I shall vary the usual order of presentation by giving first several earlier excerpts upon which he may have drawn, as well as one from a writer who lived not long after him; then will follow as complete a list as I have of the occurrences in Giraldus, from which later investigation may profit.

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1. Ernst Voigt in Romanische Forschungen, 6 (1891), p. 568

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These excerpts (1-29) from Giraldus may be summarized as follows:

omen (nature)	omen (substance)	omen (wealth)	omen (reality)	omen (sign)
5.335	5.174	5.279	1.356-7	5.380 (sinistro)
	5.247	6.47	2.439	d.99 (bono)
		6.216	3.113	1.203 (infausto)
		4.408	3.198	8.138 (felici)
		d.86	8.8	8.156 (felicis)
		1.303	8.75	8.160 (infausto)
				8.221 (infausto)
				8.311 (sinistro)
				4.162 (sinistro)
				4.233 (sinistro)
				4.282 (meliorâ)
				4.285 (infausto)
				4.303 (sinistro)

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PSEUDO-PUBLILIUS SYRUS Sententiae 132 Ps.Publ.Syr.Sent.132

The edition Korfmacher used is that of E. Woelfflin (Teubner), 1869. The edition I cite is that of O. Friedrich, 1880. Hence slight variations.

Under another heading Korfmacher gives further related material:

Othlonus, Libellus Proverbiorum (fl. 1050) Korfmacher p. 10

B 36. Bellator fortis qui se poterit superare.

And in the footnote:

Publ. Syr. Sent. 64

Bis vincit qui se vincit in victoria.

Seneca Epp. 113, 30

Imperate sibi maximum imperium est.

In the same footnote Korfmacher refers the reader to another proverb:

Othlonus, Libellus Proverbiorum

F 54. Fortior est qui cupiditates quam qui hostes subicit.

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STATIUS, Thebais 1.188 stat.th.1.188

Although in #2 there are only two words to link Giraldus' sentence with the Statius quotation, I believe the proximity of the next passage, where he evidently does borrow, makes the connection plausible.

Statius, Thebais 8.398-8

Observe how Giraldus foreshadows his citation of Statius with a close paraphrase (lanceae...). He has, moreover, only one slight change from the original text: clipeo clipeus for clipeus clipeis. Probably due to a lapse of memory it also happens to be more logical than Statius' version. Contemporary authors who show similar passages are probably depending less (if at all) on Statius than on the general poetic tradition of battle-scenes since Homer.

Statius, Thebais 10.704-5

One of the above excerpts (1) presents a textual problem. In a footnote Dimock states it as follows:

> mare absque mare) What does this mean? Perhaps a smooth sea, without any heavy sea. If it means "without a male companion," it is not true. It sounds like a quotation from some earlier writer.

To pronounce upon the use of mare rather than mari by Giraldus would be difficult, even if we may trust the manuscripts; one would have to command a list of all the occurrences of this ablative. Dimock asserts that mare from mas is contrary to the facts; I should add that under the circumstances it would be a fantastic way of saying sine socio. In favor of the interpretation "without a heavy

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sea" is Giraldus' almost uncontrollable love of word-play. Usually the lectio facilior is looked upon with suspicion as a handy substitute for more detailed knowledge, and for this reason, perhaps, the rather obvious absque mora was rejected without the honor of a mention by Dimock. Yet it has in its favor these features: (a) absque mora is the most natural expression to use at this juncture; (b) absque mora is a common phrase in all periods of the language; (c) because of one or more careless copyist the interchange of mora and mare would not be difficult; (d) the entire context (1) emphasizes Hugo's haste and his eagerness to reach the King; (e) with absque mora, the words of Statius which immediately follow - Da spatium tenuemque moram form a perfect antithesis in thought and rhythm and the force of the intervening quanquam is greatly increased. This suggestion, then, will at least lend greater sense to the passage until a better explanation appears.

Statius, Thebais 12.818-19

Statius' mox tibi is too specific to bear a general application, so the shift to denique is obviously intentional, but it may not have been the work of Giraldus. Judging from the tone of the two classical excerpts in #2 and in view of the strong resemblances between them, I am inclined to believe that they were learned topically from an anthology. For other appearances of livor see under Horace Epp.1.2.54 and Ovid Am. 1.15.39, Rem. 369.

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TERENTIUS, Andria 1.1.34 T.a.1.1.34

In the twelfth century the methodical study of classical authors (accessus ad auctores)[1] crystallized the age-old practice of designating the ancient pagan Latin writers according to certain categories: satiricus, comicus, ethicus, etc. Much of the confusion in spelling between ethicus and ethnicus, in Giraldus for example, arises from this custom. It was inevitable that the routine should result in set habits which sometimes led one astray. Because an author was generally known for a particular type of literary product it often happened that all his works were thought to be of that one type, so that even with the lyric works of Horace in front of him a twelfth-century writer might still refer to the poet as satiricus, or, again, because much of Ovid's writing has a sententious and moralizing quality, the medieval scholar would refer to him as ethicus while actually thumbing Ovid's most amorous, perhaps most licentious, passages. In the present instance, therefore, the designation of Terence by Giraldus as comicus (2,3) implies no great familiarity with the works of the ancient comic poet. In fact, it becomes increasingly evident that all Giraldus' knowledge of Terence must have proceeded entirely from proverbial collections and school anthologies. If he ever read one of the comedies through, he carefully conceals the fact.

In #2 reference is made to the stock types of rich and poor.

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1. cf. E. A. Quain, "The Medieval Accessus ad Auctores," Traditio, 3 (1945), pp. 215-264.

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TERENTIUS, Andria 5.4.17 t.a.5.4.17

From #1 it is clear that Giraldus believes that he is quoting the exact words of Terence, else why should he repeat what he has said a moment before? #2 gives the same impression although not so strongly. Undoubtedly Giraldus had learned this line from an anthology, in which, for purposes of generalization, the form of the original was slightly altered and little or no attention was paid to the metrical scheme.

TERENTIUS, Eunuchus 2.2 .34

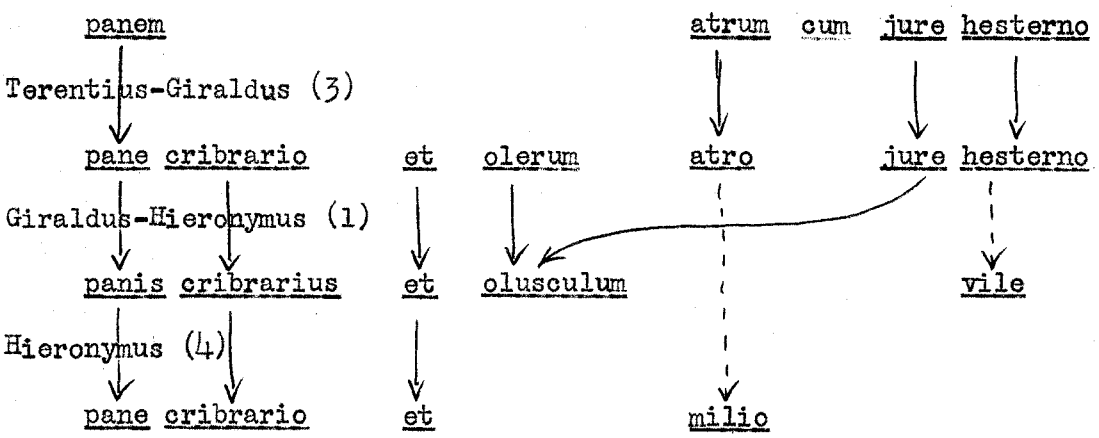
The substitution of en for uiden' again points to an anthology. However, the quod for quid (1) is definitely inferior, so that I suspect a manuscript error not to be ascribed to Giraldus.

TERENTIUS, Eunuchus 4.5.6

Bacchus for Liber (in all the excerpts except #2) points to the adaptation characteristic of a medieval anthology. That Giraldus has the habitual medieval wording exactly, appears from the identical citation in #6.

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The principle by which I link these four excerpts with the text of Terence is that of concatenation. The steps, graphically, are these:



This reasoning and association of phrases does not prove that Jerome had Terence's words in mind when he wrote the two passages (1,4) quoted by Giraldus. It does, however, strongly suggest that Giraldus thought of Jerome's words (1,4) as linked with the Terence quotation.

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TERENTIUS, Heaut. Tim. 1.1.25 t.h.t.1.1.25

There is a marked difference between the citations by Giraldus (1,2) and John of Salisbury (3). In Terence the words are those of Chremes who, on being criticized as a busybody by Menedemus, replies that he takes an interest in, and tries to profit by, the conduct of his fellow-men. Such, too, is the tone of #3. Giraldus, though (1,2). used the dictum as an apology for errors and weaknesses which may have crept into his writings through human frailty. This is quite another point of view, and it strengthens my hypothesis, that Giraldus used all his Terentian excerpts altogether independently of their context, having learned them from an anthology.

TERENTIUS, Heaut. Tim. 4.6.1-2

The appearance of the excerpt in the Libellus Proverbiorum of Othlonus and the Moralium Dogma Philosophorum of Gulielmus de Conchis (2,3) is sufficient proof of its great popularity in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Giraldus' context, not given in #1, shows that he was borrowing directly from Gulielmus. The passages are identical.

TERENTIUS, Phormio 1.2.88

This gives the Giraldus context referred to just above with the identical passage in Gulielmus de Conchis. Giraldus likewise quotes a passage resembling the Terentian one: (Ov. Ars Amat. 2.647)

Quod male fers, adsuesce, feres bene.

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TURPILIUS, Ex Incertis Fabulis 1 turp.incert.1

The adage from Turpilius on social intercourse was obtained by Giraldus from Jerome, and, no doubt, by Galfridus also, who is much less original than Giraldus in his use of the ancient classic poets. Clearly, it was one of the many sayings learned at school.

In Ribbeck's notes, p.111, we read:

> Ex Incertis Fabulis. I Hieronymus epist. 42 (I p.94a ed. Amst.) 'Turpilius comicus tractans de uicissitudine literarum sola, inquit, res est quae homines absentes praesentes facit. Nec falsam dedit quamquam in re non uera sententiam. Quid enim est, ut ita dicam, tam praesens inter absentes quam per epistolas et alloqui et audire quos diligas? Cf. Philemonis ex Apolide uersus: (then Greek)

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VERGILIUS, Aeneid 1.2 v.aen.1.2

The first two excerpts (1,2), which clearly derive their content and wording from Vergil's lines, cannot be dogmatically set down as quotations, while three others (4,5,6) are no more than possible allusions. Even #3, though an unmistakable referance to the Aeneid, might be connected with other passages besides these opening lines of the poem. The influence of these lines is nevertheless beyond question here, because all twelfth-century schoolboys studied them intensively and it is likely that all knew the opening of the Aeneid by heart.

The train of references evoked by #2 is too long and involved to receive adequate treatment here. Suffice it to say that in English schools and among English writers of the period, the legend of that nation's founding by Brut, Trojan hero and friend of Aeneas, was a commonplace.

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 1.25-7

Among these many excerpts certain ones show an unmistakable relation to Vergil's text: 2, 6, 7, 14. For the rest we may establish a bond, a concatenation, between various phrases through common elements: in the Vita Galfridi (vg 4.376) Giraldus links with the obviously Vergilian alta mente repostas a combination of his own, recolens atque revolvens.[1] This is a doublet, one of his favorite rhetorical devices. Giraldus' tenacious memory and his habit of repetition justify us in establishing a connection between the evident borrowings from Vergil (2,6,14) and all the other passages which have alta mente but not

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1. supra p. 40.

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repostas or recolens. Examination of these in turn reveals that practically all of them are bound up with calcare or contemnere, possibly a subtle echo of Vergil's line 27. Furthermore, whereas Vergil's alta mente here means "in the depths of her soul," Giraldus, when coupling the same phrase with contemnere or its equivalent, wishes to convey the notion of "a lofty intention," "a noble attitude." Romance scholars are agreed that such Latin phrases as alta mente explain the formation of adverbs in French, Spanish, and Italian. It is then possible that Giraldus, influenced by some twelfth-century French usage, uses the phrase alta mente calcare (or contemnere) in the sense of "to trample on disdainfully."[1]

Giraldus' use of recolens and non immemor (6,14) is really a substitute for Vergil's necdum...exciderant animo; moreover the phrase non immemor clearly echoes Vergil's line 23 (veterisque memor Saturnia belli) as well as line 4 (saeuae memorem Iunonis ob iram).

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 1.30

In the first two excerpts (1,2) there is no reference to the Danai, yet Giraldus seems to have the Vergilian passage in mind when, in #3, he applies the word reliquiae to the Trojans.

There is a chronological inconsistency in Giraldus' two accounts of the relationship between Aeneas and Brut.

---

1. To me there seems to be a trace of French influence in Giraldus' emotional repetition of sed...sed...sed at the beginning of successive clauses, e.g. eh 5.241, 250; sy 1.271, 380. Likewise in Gaufridus, Migne 205.843.

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VERGILIUS, Aeneid 1.82 v.aen.1.82

Vergil's phrase, uelut agmine facto, is an ablative absolute which loses its "absolute" quality by the introduction of the connecting word uelut. Giraldus takes the same syntactical liberty in his tanquam.

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 1.94

The phrase terque quaterque, with or without beatus, is found in Latin poets since Vergil's day, but, so far as I know, prose writers of the twelfth century are not in the habit of using the phrase. Therefore, the citation from Walter Map (1) represents the normal occurrence and the instances in Giraldus himself (2,3,4) the less usual practice.

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 1.109

In the first and last excerpts (1,3) Giraldus speaks of the beaver. However, a beaver's dam cannot be classified with bodies of water which merit the name fluctibus. This hyperbole, then, gives another reason, besides the verbal resemblance, for assuming that Giraldus here borrowed from Vergil.

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 1.199, 207

The clever manipulation of Vergil's line 207 for comic purposes is one of the highlights in the synthetic oration which Richard Devizes (3) puts in the mouth of William Longchamp. In #1 so much of the context is presented because this is a major theme in Giraldus' life, a theme which colored all his thinking.

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VERGILIUS, Aeneid 1.208-9 v.aen.1.208

To one who knows the tastes and habits of Giraldus his rearrangement of Vergil's words in line 209 comes rather as a surprise, since, by changing the order, he loses two rhetorical effects: (a) the symmetrical structure, a b c c b a of the original:

a b c c b a
spem uoltu simulat, premit altum corde dolorem,

(b) the interlocked word order of which Giraldus is usually so fond, altum corde dolorem (for which he substitutes alto corde dolorem). The manuscript tradition may account for these changes.

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 1.212

In the only extant manuscript of De Principis Instructione (Brit. Mus. Cotton Julius B.xiii), the poorly instructed copyist substituted Cumque secare frustra separare for Cumque secare frusta et separare (fol. 171b, col.1).

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 1.218

Part of the excerpt from Richard Devizes (3) can be refashioned into an incomplete elegiac distich having the ring of twelfth-century proverbial collections:

et, cuique ut conscia mens est,
concipit pro facto spemque metumque suo.

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 1.223-6

The picture of God, Supreme Maker, Ruler, and Judge of the Universe, looking down from heaven on the doings of men is familiar

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VERGILIUS, Aeneid 1.223-6 (cont'd.) v.aen.1.223

enough in the Old Testament; nevertheless it seems to me that Giraldus' preoccupation with this picture and his predilection for such phrases as oculorum aciem defigere and flexo lumine shows the influence of the splendid scene sketched by Vergil in lines 223-226. The strongest resemblance is with #5 and in determining the connection with Vergil's words I believe the astat of Giraldus is very significant. In this same excerpt he uses prospiciens, which in itself is reminiscent of other well-known Vergilian lines not far removed from those under discussion: (Aen. 1.154-6; 180-1)

> sic cunctus pelagi cecidit fragor, aequora postquam
> prospiciens genitor caeloque inuectus aperto
> flectit equos curruque uolans dat lora secundo.
>
> Aeneas scopulum interea conscendit et omnem
> prospectum late pelago petit.

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 1.278

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 1.312

Part of the second excerpt (2) is a half-hexameter: quibus auram carpimus annis.

The use of aura, in imitation, I suppose, of the majority of ancient Latin poets, is so frequent in Giraldus' prose as to seem a conceit. Here, however, the direct dependence upon Vergil is unmistakable. The quotation is likewise found in

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VERGILIUS, Aeneid 1.312 (cont'd.) v.aen.1.312

Isidorus Hispaliensis (fl.600)[1] Etymologiae 1.37.15

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 1.490-91

I believe that a fair argument can be offered in favor of Vergilian influence here, although allusions to the Amazons are commonplace in Greek and Latin poetry. I should say, however, that in the schools this passage from Vergil was locus classicus for imparting or emphasizing information about Penthesilea and her female warriors. In #2, without citing Vergil's lines, Giraldus approximates them very closely even in his use of words. The third excerpt introduces a passage for which Giraldus is indebted to Justin's epitome of Trogus Pompeius; nevertheless, I believe that the nouns virtute and animositate may also be regarded as an echo of Vergil's furens and ardet. In this there is nothing inconsistent with Giraldus' usual practice.

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 1.497

Giraldus, in making this borrowing from Vergil, shows a great deal of subtlety; he substitutes for magna three other adjectives and in the third excerpt he likewise substitutes cohorte for caterva. This shows very early and thorough assimiliation on his part of the Vergilian passage.

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1. Not every parallel between Isidorus and Giraldus has been noted but only those instances where the connection is quite plausible; similarly with the standard grammarians, Donatus, Priscianus, and Martianus Capella.

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VERGILIUS, Aeneid 1.641 v.aen.1.641

In #6 the order of Giraldus' words is poetic or at least highly rhetorical: sicut nec verba, sic neque rerum hic series.

In #3 his use of serie as a synonym for tempore is of interest. In this excerpt (3) the connection with Vergil's original is possible, but nevertheless open to question.

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 1.690

The dependence on Vergil seems to me plausible enough, but the bulk of the sentence is from Lucan (2.439-40):

> Caesar in arma furens nullas nisi sanquine fuso
> gaudet habere uias.

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 2.20

Evidently a text memorized in the schools. This is indicated not only by the excerpts from Giraldus' contemporaries but also by the appearance of the Vergilian original in

Isidorus Hispaliensis (fl. 600) Etymologiae 1.36.6

The Alanus excerpt (2) is from a work, Liber de Planctu Naturae, which, apart from its literary value, is a curiosity, inasmuch as it unites several unusual features. It is a mixture of prose and verse, thus resembling Petronius' Satyricon and Boethius' Consolationes Philosophiae. The prose is poetic, long-winded and obscure, bearing a strong resemblance to the narrative portions of Martianus Capella's De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii. Some of the verse, as seen in this excerpt (2), uses the Sapphic strophe, one of Horace's favorite meters but one not often used in the Middle Ages.

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VERGILIUS, Aeneid 2.20 (cont'd.) v.aen.2.20

In Richard Devizes (3) the wording is identical with that of Giraldus, but Helinandus (4) has an elegiac distich which paraphrases the Vergilian context and sounds as though it might have been taken from some metrical epitome of the Trojan War. The medieval character of Helinandus' excerpt is established by the leonine rhyme in the pentameter.

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 2.41

I have not yet identified the partial hexameter;

summa qua residebat ab arce.

and, until someone does so, the connection with Aeneid 2.41 may stand.

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 2.49

Thomas Cantuariensis, writing to Pope Alexander III, calls attention (5) to the proverbial character of timeo Danaos et dona ferentes, in addition to drawing parallels between Vergil's characters and the King's messengers.

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 2.181

In #1 Giraldus' remenso pelago, a most unusual phrase in prose, undoubtedly has Vergil's line for its source. The other instances (2,3) are more open to question.

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 2.390

The line of Vergil, and that of Horace which appears with it in

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VERGILIUS, Aeneid 2.390 (cont'd.) v.aen.2.390

#2, were probably memory gems learned at school.

In the Vergilian context the Trojan Coroebus has just slain Androgeos and a band of Greeks. Coroebus urges his companions to put on the armor of the dead and uses the words Dolus an uirtus quis in hoste requirat? to justify the trick. Therefore the comment of Giraldus in #3, quasi honesto utile praeferens, is easily understood but not so his words in #4: poeticum illud, licet irrisorie prolatum. Perhaps his irrisorie is intended to convey the tone of voice used by Coroebus in dispelling the scruples of his companions.

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 3.183

In the first example Giraldus cites Vergil's line to illustrate a case of alliteration (paromoeon) after the manner of Donatus and Priscianus. It is also found in

Isidorus Hispaliensis (fl. 600) Etymologiae 1.36.14

In the second example Giraldus' use of the Vergilian words is a literary rather than a grammatical one.

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 4.13

This belongs to a cluster of short quotations.[1]

Giraldus is fond of degener and especially of degenerare, eg., 5.37, 351; 6.30, 180; 8.50, 138 (twice). Examples of degenerare in his fellow-courtier, Petrus Blesensis: Migne 207.215, 919,952.

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1. For the entire cluster see supra p. H.C.4.9.29

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VERGILIUS, Aeneid 4.130 v.aen.4.130

Other instances of iuventus employed as a generic term for young men, especially when assembled in military strength, are found in Giraldus: 5.101 (male tuta regni iuventus), 5.335 (tam pulchra iuventute stipante), 6.119 (iuventute septus expeditissima), 6.208 (armata iuventus), 6.209 (Britannica iuventus), 8.172 (multaque Gallicae militiae iuventutem circumducens). At least one of these phrases, armata iuventus, is found in Hugo Floriacensis, from whom Giraldus borrowed heavily for his De Principis Instructione (pi 8.94). It should be pointed out, however, that Giraldus' use of the above phrases is particularly frequent during the early period of his literary career. To me it seems most reasonable to find in Giraldus' fondness for iuventus (as the equivalent of adolescentes)[1] the influence of Vergil. In the same connection we should remember his equal fondness for the words iuventa and iuvenilis, particularly in the phrases viridis iuventa, iuvenilibus annis. Instances are too numerous to be listed here.

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 4.180, 184

Giraldus' references to fama are almost without number and they certainly reflect his preoccupation with literary immortality. They are akin to and often linked with ideas about fortuna.[2] In the case of fama, many instances show the meaning "report," "hearsay," without special reference to Giraldus' own reputation or that of anyone else.

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1. He actually uses adolescentes electi in eh 5.242.
2. There is plenty of material in Giraldus for a good-sized monograph on either fama or fortuna.

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On the other hand, the notion of personal glory is often suggested by the context or by the use of specific terms such as posteri and posteritas, which have the connotation of future glory, at least for Giraldus. The list presents a select group of examples, which seem to me clearly related to Vergil's famous passage (Aen. 4.180 ff.).

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 4.555

#4 is the last sentence in a short speech which Giraldus puts[1] into the mouth of Richard Fitztancred.

If the word posset is disregarded, Giraldus, in all instances, has securos carpere somnos or the metrical equivalent securos carpite somnos. This causes me to suspect the presence in his memory of a hexameter whose source or complete form I have not identified. The argument seems to grow stronger when one considers the contemporary citation (5); this no longer preserves the meter but its user, like Giraldus, places the verb carpebat between the adjective and the noun; moreover, dulces is very acceptable as a synonym for securos in this connection.

It is also noteworthy that in all the Giraldus passages there is a common idea expressed: with such-and-such a person in a particular position of trust it will be possible for those dependent upon him to sleep peacefully.

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 4.569-70

The excerpts from Giraldus' contemporaries (4,5,6,7) show that

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1. See supra p. 46.

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centuries before Verdi's Rigoletto popularized La donna è mobile, Latin literature, both serious and comic, used the Vergilian quotation on woman's fickleness. Not long after Vergil we find the echo in

Calpurnius Siculus, Ecloga 3.10 Duff p. 236

mobilior uentis o femina! sic tua Phyllis:

In #2 the Rolls Series has, erroneously, mulieri for muliebri.

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 6.95-6

The context of #1 is a cluster of quotations.[1] The etc. shows that Giraldus had also the next line in mind (1).

Despite the variations introduced, it is obvious from #1 that the audacius of #2 is a copyist's error.

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 6.853

Giraldus' parody-line (1) is typical of his disposition and of his poetic gifts. It is at the same time similar and opposite to #13.

The Vergilian original was extremely popular.

We may here note Giraldus' use of a pseudo-ancient couplet well known in his day. The work from which the lines are derived bears the title De Mirabilibus Mundi and is ascribed by its twelfth-century author to Ovid. Such practices were then common enough and involved no stigma on the well-meaning forger, as Paul Lehmann points out.[2] In the present case the couplet, although supposedly the work of Ovid,

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1. See supra p. 41.
2. Pseudo-antike Literatur des Mittelalters, p. 7.

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seems to be rather an imitation of Vergil's Aeneid 6.853. The reader may judge for himself. To me, at any rate, it seems clear that the author of De Mirabilibus Mundi conceived this couplet first of all as a direct echo of Ovid's Tristia 3.5.33:

corpora magnanimo satis est prostrasse leoni,

but the attraction of Vergil's much better known couplet (achieved by combining Aen. 6.851 and 853) was very strong.

tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento,
parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.

However, the principal idea of Ovid is contained in the latter of these Vergilian lines. Therefore the innovator fuses the Ovidian line (T. 3. 5.33) with Aen. 6.853:

parcere prostratis scit nobilis ira leonis;

then he adds an admonitory line in the spirit of Aen. 6.850:

tu quoque fac simile, quisquis dominaris in orbe.

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 7.116

The omission of Vergil's etiam shortens the line but does not cause any further irregularities in prosody. This is in accord with Giraldus' habit of exact versification, even when the original form of a verse is altered.[1]

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 8.420-1

Giraldus' reason for changing the order of words in line 421 is

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1. Cf. under Ovid, Amores 1.15.39; Fasti, 3.161; Tristia, 3.4.3; Horace, Epp.1.16.39; Vergil, Aeneid, 2.20.

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obvious. The accusative ignem would lose a syllable in eliding with anhelat, or rather with anhelum, which has been put in its place on account of the parallel construction with stridentes. I do not understand how Giraldus could justify the shortening of the penult in anhelum and the lengthening of the et just before it. Instances like these of systole and diastole are found in both classical and medieval poetry, yet Giraldus normally avoids these devices, especially in such an extreme form as the one under discussion.

The previous lines of Vergil's passage show a complete agreement in thought with Giraldus' paragraph as shown by the corresponding expressions in the two writers: insula - insulae; saxis - rupe; specus - rima; gemitus - strepitum.

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 8.648

In Giraldus the oft-recurring theme, Troiano a sanguine, derives from the well-known legend of a Trojan hero, Brut, who fled with Aeneas and settled in the British Isles, where he founded the British race. Therefore in Giraldus (2) a Troiano sanguine is equivalent to Aeneadae (1).

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 9.446

The substitution, felices facti for fortunati ambo, is required by the application of this phrase to a large group of men. These lines and those that follow are steeped in rhetoric. Note the poetic use of the genitive in felices facti.

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VERGILIUS, Aeneid 10.284 v.aen.10.284

#1 has a cluster of quotations from the classics.[1] Giraldus has audentes twice (2,4) and audaces twice (1,3). Obviously he regarded these words as synonymous.

In connection with #8 it should be noted that Hilka-Schumann have again failed to record the classical source of a quotation.

The citation from Alanus (6) shows several curious qualities: (a) the opening line may be an echo of Lucan 8.493-4, Exeat aula/ qui uolt esse pius, which is also used by Giraldus; (b) Alanus and Giraldus have the same two texts in close proximity: Hor. Epp. 1.2.40 and Verg. Aen. 10.284 (1); Alanus, like Giraldus, cites the Horatian line with a slight alteration; (c) all the contemporary authors quoted agree on the form audaces, which Giraldus also uses twice (1,3), rather than Vergil's audentes. Whatever the best twelfth-century manuscripts exhibited when citing Verg. Aen. 10.284, we may reasonably suppose that the school tradition had popularized audaces fortuna iuvat.

VERGILIUS, Aeneid 10.467-8

The context of #5 shows that Giraldus' substitution of inevitabile for irreparabile was a conscious one. To preserve the hexameter, however, one must omit et after breve. Giraldus' prosody is uniformly good, even painstaking, so that this hypermetric et may have been restored by the poorly-informed fourteenth-century copyist. #4 also contains the major portion of Juvenal 11.44. Note the concatenation:

inevitabile tempus > irreparabile tempus > irreparabile damnum.

---

1. See supra p. 41.

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VERGILIUS, Eclogae 2.65 v.e.2.65

The second excerpt justifies its connection with Vergil's original through the phrase studii voluntate, which is the equivalent of literarum amor in #1; this latter expression, in turn, is a paraphrase of Vergil's voluptas. The presence of sui in #2 strengthens the resemblance. Another close bond is set up, this time between #2 and #3, by the proximity of inter tot hominum species, which Giraldus uses to echo his citation of Persius 5.52 on the first page of the Itinerarium Kambriae:

Mille hominum species, et rerum discolor usus.

If we consider the wording of Persius 5.53:

Velle suum cuique est, nec voto vivitur uno,

we notice that this line is in itself a paraphrase of Vergil's words:

...trahit sua quemque voluptas,

so firmly does Giraldus bind up his quotations with his thought.

Gaufridus S. Barbarae may have been influenced also (10) by the third verse of Solomon's Canticum Canticorum:

Trahe me; post te curremus in odorem unguentorum tuorum.

VERGILIUS, Eclogae 3.93

A glance at the cluster of classical quotations which Giraldus uses here (1,2,3,4) permits us to infer that either he had a florilegium before him as he wrote or he was citing from memory lines which had been learned in this combination at school.

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VERGILIUS, Eclogae 7.26 v.e.7.26

Giraldus faithfully mirrors the sentiment of Vergil's original line even when (1,2) he departs slightly from its actual wording. The same is true of Petrus Blesensis, who here (4) inveighs against the deceitfulness and inconsistency of life at court.

The phrase must have been strongly fixed in their memories from boyhood,[1] since, in three of the four instances, the unnatural word order generated by the poetic line is maintained.

VERGILIUS, Eclogae 8.26

One of the rare instances in which Giraldus, in addition to citing the words of an ancient poet, comments upon or paraphrases the passage.

VERGILIUS, Eclogae 8.63

All three passages show that for Giraldus the substance of the quotation is in the words Non omnia possumus omnes. Nevertheless his use of vos in #1 proves that he knew the context from which the rest of the words are drawn.

---

1. Although not intimately bound up with the present quotation, other references to Codrus in Latin literature of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries show that he was a popular figure, the type of a poor, often hopeless, working-man: Joannes de Altavilla (Rolls 59.2.265, 277), Helinandus (Migne 212.745), Carmina Burana m-s (1.6,19.5 in Hilka-Schumann pp. 1, 38), Henricus Septimellensis (Migne 204.847). These agree in spirit with Hor. Carm. 3.19.1-4 and Juvenal 3.203-11.

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VERGILIUS, Eclogae 9.11-14 v.e.9.11

As always, Giraldus is clever at omitting an unessential element from the classical quotation and knitting the remainder together in a way that does no violence to the metrical character of the passage used. Typical of his rhetorical flights is the play on the syllable Mar in the present excerpt.

He employs the word olim in the sense of "long ago," a post-classical usage. Perhaps he derived this meaning of olim from a perusal of Lucan 5.769:

...non olim casu pendemus ab uno,

where the meaning is obviously that of iampridem.

VERGILIUS, Eclogae 9.25

One cannot say with absolute certainty whether the contemporaries of Giraldus (5,6,7) were chiefly influenced by the Vergilian line or by that of Horace (Carm. 1.4.34):

faenum habet in cornu: longe fuge!

A third possible source would be the Fabulae of Avianus, so popular in Giraldus' day that Alexander Neckam issued his own versions of them. However, I have not found in Avianus any reference quite so direct as the Vergil and Horace lines cited above.

VERGILIUS, Eclogae 9.30

Brewer should have omitted the erroneous non before venenosas, since it gives a meaning opposite to what Giraldus intended.

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VERGILIUS, Eclogae 9.51 v.e.9.51

Even in so repetitious an author as Giraldus one is struck by the similarity of these three passages taken from three entirely different works, and especially by his linking of the Seneca quotation with the words of Vergil. Furthermore, in #3 Giraldus completes the hexameter with gaudia vitae, words which are not in the ancient text and give a moralizing tone to the entire line. It is natural to conclude the influence of an anthology here, although I have not yet found supporting evidence in contemporary writers or florilegia.

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VERGILIUS, Georgica 1.145-6 v.g.1.145

Aside from the obvious paraphrase with which Giraldus (1) introduces the well-known words of Vergil, the sentence beginning Quoniam... is a kind of commentary and specific application of the classical text. This we find rarely in Giraldus.

The words of Vergil, labor omnia vincit (improbus), have been extremely popular throughout the centuries from his day to our own. That they had lost nothing of this popularity in the twelfth century is evident from the way Giraldus' contemporaries use the phrase.

VERGILIUS, Georgica 1.199

Giraldus has fato consistently for Vergil's fatis. In #2 he uses poenis for peius because he is talking about the punishment of offences. In #5 Brewer printed the erroneous directores for direptores.

All these Giraldus citations have an unusual quality: although they occur in various parts of his works and always under the same form, the words of Vergil are applied each time to a very different situation. Usually Giraldus tendsto use the same texts for similar situations.

VERGILIUS, Georgica 1.447

Giraldus' citation takes the form of an elegiac couplet with the consistent ending queam. He is fairly consistent, too, in the other non-Vergilian words. There may be a connection between Claudian's queam and that of Giraldus through some traditional school-text or

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anthological rendering, as would be suggested by the pentameter form. Giraldus' digne (1,2) resembles Reinerus' digna (6).

VERGILIUS, Georgica 2.201

Giraldus' only variation is a change of tense from the future to the present. This is to be expected in a couplet which had become part of the proverbial or anthological tradition.

VERGILIUS, Georgica 2.478

An examination of the kindred passages in Vergil, which are found in the footnote, reveals that Giraldus borrowed not only a few words but the whole spirit of these twin Vergilian excerpts.

VERGILIUS, Georgica 2.490

In #2 the omission of praecipue produces a complete hexameter:

hi quorum cura est rerum cognoscere causas.

The lines from which Giraldus probably borrowed et fontem lustrare boni are cited by

Thomas Cisterciensis (fl. 1180) Migne 206.794

Tertia est sponsa de Canticis, quae in osculo sponsi et amplexibus delectatur. Aqua sapientiae volebat se potari quando dicebat:

Da fontem lustrare boni, da luce reporta,
In te conspicuos animi defigere visus.
Atque tuo splendore mica, tu namque serenum:
Tu requies aeterna piis, te cernere finis.

My excerpts show only some of the many apothegmatic lines which began Felix qui (or Felix qui potuit) in obvious imitation of Vergil

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VERGILIUS, Georgica 3.66-8 v.g.3.66

Giraldus' variations are slight: dolor for labor, dirae for durae, subit for rapit.

VERGILIUS, Georgica 3.435

In the Giraldus excerpts I have underscored securos because it can be interpreted as a direct substitute for Vergil's mollis. Whether the word securos is also the echo of an ancient line or not may be argued. One should note the following passages, both accessible to Giraldus:

Vergilius, Culex 160

securo pressos somno mandauerat artus

Statius, Thebais 5.119

sanguine securos iuuenum perfundere somnos.

VERGILIUS, Georgica 4.83

While Vergil's line refers to tiny creatures, the bees, Giraldus speaksof the huge-bodied Northern warrior-nations. He is compelled to alter the text for this reason and does so cleverly.

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Chapter V

Conclusions

An investigation of all of Giraldus' writings leaves one with the undeniable impression that he was a classical scholar indeed. Not only his contemporaries, but also men of subsequent periods, have admitted that Giraldus occupied a high place among the leading Latin writers of the twelfth century. To what extent research will establish the importance of his work from the viewpoint of the survival of the classics and in respect to the history of medieval education, I must let those decide whose competence insures a broader view of the entire field of medieval literature. Despite the mass of material and the many intriguing questions which arise for one who knows Giraldus well, I have limited myself to answer, if possible, a few fairly definite questions.

(1) Among the pagan Latin poets what authors did Giraldus use?

(2) What excerpts did he cite from these authors?

(3) Did he derive these excerpts from the reading of entire texts or from anthologies?

(4) Why and how did he use the excerpts?

(5) Is he like his contemporaries in this regard?

(6) How original was he in using the pagan Latin poets?

(7) Do the facts about Giraldus cast any light on twelfth century education and the survival of the classics?

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(1-2) The pagan Latin poets used by Giraldus are those which were commonly known and quoted in the twelfth century. In the vast majority of cases, the excerpts he cites can be found in one or more contemporary authors.[1]

Horace citations in Giraldus number 184 lines.[2] The works favored are the Ars Poetica and the Epistulae.

Ovid citations number 140 lines. All the major works of Ovid are well represented but the Metamorphoses (if we take into consideration their great length) are cited less heavily than the rest.

Virgil citations number 102 lines. Giraldus favors the first book of the Aeneid and each successive book is quoted less heavily than the preceding. In consideration of their length, the Georgics are cited less heavily than the Eclogues.

Lucan citations number 72 lines. Books 1 and 2 are represented by more lines than the remainder of the Bellum Ciuile, but nearly all the books are drawn from.

Claudian citations number 50 lines and are confined to a few well-known works: The first and second books against Eutropius, the third and fourth Panegyrics of Honorius, and something from the Attack on Rufinus and the Panegyric of Stilicho.

Juvenal citations number 46 lines and are fairly well scattered throughout all the books.

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1. The word "contemporary" in this dissertation applies to the period from 1050 to 1250 A.D. Giraldus' approximate dates are 1147 to 1220.

2. No attempt is made here to tell how often Giraldus uses any given line. This can be easily determined by a glance at the text.

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Terence citations number 14 lines. Giraldus favors the Eunuchus.

Statius citations number 11 lines. They are all from the Thebais and the distribution is significant, pointing clearly to early memorization in school.

The Anthologia Latina is represented by 9 lines.

The Disticha Catonis are represented by 8 lines.

Martial citations number 8 lines, but not all of them are genuine.

Persius citations number 8 lines from three different books.

Pseudo-Publilius Syrus is represented by 5 lines.

Petronius citations number 4 consecutive lines. Here, however, there is some crossing with an excerpt from Ovid.

The Carmina Vergiliana are represented by four lines from two different poems.

Plautus, is alluded to by Giraldus for 2 excerpts. A single line which Giraldus believed he was citing from Plautus is actually from Lucretius.

The first Elegy to Maecenas is represented by two lines.

Turpilius is represented by a single incomplete line, which Giraldus had from Jerome.

(3) It is impossible to state with certainty to what extent Giraldus had read the entire text of any given Latin author. To base a statement on the excerpts which he used would not be justifiable. It is safe to say, however, that Giraldus had probably read the entire works of Horace, Ovid, Virgil, Lucan, the Disticha Catonis, the sayings of Publilius Syrus and possibly the whole of Juvenal and Persius.

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At no time does he mention Lucretius and cites him only by accident. He had undoubtedly never seen the text of one of Plautus' comedies and had probably not read those of Terence. I should not give him credit for having read Petronius. If he read the whole of Statius or even the whole of the Thebais, he gives no indication of the fact. It is obvious that he had not read Martial.

(4) His principal purpose in the use of the pagan Latin poets seems to have been twofold:

(a) To embellish his own writings, of which he was inordinately vain.

(b) To clinch an argument, for he spent most of his life in argumentation.

It should be borne in mind, however, that the practice of quoting the classics was part of the normal literary pattern of his epoch. It was done by educated people of the twelfth century, in speech and in writing, much more than we should think of doing today. Giraldus' character, temperament, talents and whole personality favored a good deal of quotation from the classics. He was extremely energetic and practical, very methodical and efficient. Therefore a method of handy quotation strongly appealed to him. He was very long-winded and fond of repetition so that innumerable inserts and reiterations of favorite lines or phrases came to him naturally. He was a poet at heart and, in practice, a very capable versifier, so that the form and content of the pagan Latin poets held for him an undoubted appeal.

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The excerpts as he uses them nearly always occur in short, handy form. They are often in clusters, many of which seem to show the influence of the memorization exercises of school days. Giraldus often incorporates the ancient poets' words, or a direct echo of them, in his own prose sentences. In this practice, his subtle skill and ingenuity excels that of any other Latin author I have ever read.

(5) In many ways, Giraldus occupies a middle position among his contemporaries in respect to the way in which he uses the pagan Latin poets. On the one extreme is the humanist, John of Salisbury. His knowledge of the classics was definitely superior to that of Giraldus. His quotations are longer, abundant in fact, and show a reading background which Giraldus, with all his literary ambition, never bothered to attain. On the other end of the scale we find the great majority of Latin writers whose knowledge of the pagan Latin poets does not appear to have been very extensive, very profound or very dear to them. Such a man was Giraldus' teacher at Paris, Petrus Cantor. A few contemporary poets such as Joannes de Altavila and Alexander Neckam approached Giraldus both in their knowledge of the classics and in the ability to incorporate classical excerpts in their own verses. John of Salisbury was definitely a humanist, but the other authors mentioned, including Giraldus and Petrus Blesensis can only be said to have had humanistic tendencies. However, in ease and skill at adaptation, Giraldus outdistanced every one of these men.

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(6) Giraldus' originality in the use of the pagan Latin poets is limited to his manner of presenting excerpts from their works. He shows no knowledge of unusual manuscripts, no acquaintance with any little known author, and no extraordinary familiarity with the entire text of even the well known authors. Nevertheless, I am convinced that a thorough study of Giraldus' manner of using classical excerpts would be a valuable contribution to the field of classical and medieval studies.

(7) The facts I have brought together emphasize from a slightly new angle the superior classical traditions of the English schools in the twelfth century. There is no question of Wales, which in Giraldus' day was a backward and barbarous country. He himself, albeit somewhat boastfully, states that in boyhood he had learned all that could be learned in his native locality. The flowering of his genius was made possible chiefly through the excellent classical education he received at St. Peter's Abbey, Gloucester. Even his subsequent work at Paris does not seem to have played a decisive role in the developement of his literary talent. I should even venture the opinion that his maturer years, although devoted to a good deal of reading in the classics, added little to his store of familiar quotations.

What is most important in this whole picture, I believe, is unfortunately hidden in that part of my dissertation which will be least read, the text of the pagan Latin poets, Giraldus and his contemporaries. This abundant material, if properly used for further research, will help to determine more precisely what went on in twelfth-century schools and in what spirit liberal studies were pursued both in England and on the continent.

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APPENDIX

Giraldus Cambrensis and the Moralium Dogma Philosophorum

Too much work remains to be done in both Gulielmus de Conchis and Giraldus for a solution of the problems which their interrelation creates. Nevertheless I have felt obliged to state the essence of the difficulties here and have deemed it useful to present a portion of text in which the two authors are parallel and therefore either dependent, one upon the other, or mutually dependent upon a common source.

The true authorship of the Moralium Dogma Philosophorum has not been satisfactorily established. Holmberg favored Gulielmus de Conchis and with that decision in mind edited the critical text under that author's name. At the time, however, he was not able to avail himself of all existing manuscripts. This is clear from later scholars who have taken up the problem. To me it is also suggested by at least one variation between the Migne text (under Hildebertus) of Moralis Philosophia and the apparatus as given by Holmberg. Giraldus' text seems to agree with the Migne.

The second thorny matter is our uncertainty of Giraldus' exact contribution to the only extant manuscript of De Principis Instructione. This is the work in which Giraldus cites the Moralium Dogma Philosophorum in quantity and under the impression that Hildebertus was its author. Giraldus called it Moralis Philosophia. The unique manuscript (Brit. Mus. Cotton Julius B.xiii) is the work of a poorly-instructed fourteenth-century scribe. My impression is that he is responsible for the insertion in many places of the names of classical authors whom Giraldus quotes.

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Giraldus

th 5.55 modum et modestiam mihus observat

eh 5.251 Solet...praecipites animi motus modus et modestia mitigara.

eh 5.328 non immodica mediocritatis modum excedente

dk 6.212 modum et modestiam minus observant

vr 7.48 exactionibus praeter modum onerantibus

li d.114 communem patriae modum excedente

li d.115 nec modum habet nec finem

rg 1.57 mores ejus modum et modestiam ac fidelitatem...approbabat

jm 3.136 exacuere praeter modum et instigare

jm 3.314 dolens et praeter modum anxius existens

jm 3.377 plurimum, immo praeter modum,

pi 8.28 sed tamen habendus est modus in dando

sp 4.25 modum et modestiam tenet

sp 4.115 modum excedere

sp 4.117 modum excessit

sp 4.138 ut novam forestam...praeter modum et modestiam amplificaret

sp 4.142 praeter modum et modestiam omnem

sp 4.143 praeter modum inaccessibili

sp 4.163 quoniam semper...crescit aviditas, nescia successibus modum ponere

sp 4.197 et quia modum successibus ponere nescit aviditas[1]

sp 4.216 possessionibus praeter modum augendis

sp 4.246 possessionibus perquirendis modum et metam non apponunt

---

1. cf. Lucanus 1.82

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sp 4.269 saeviente praeter modum persecutorum rabie

In the above list (which is not exhaustive) modus was the featured word; in the following series, again chronological, modestia is stressed.

th 5.71 Ibi...copia; hic modesta et honesta sufficientia.

th 5.153 a modestis et morigeratis populis segregati

eh 5.272 vir...vino Venerique trans modestiam datus.

eh 5.302 Erat enim cibo potuque modestus ac sobrius

eh 5.302 Venationi namque trans modestiam deditus

eh 5.350 ducum ipsorum modestia juvenlies impetus...cohibente;

eh 5.354 propriique honoris...trans modestiam ambitionus.

ik 6.145 tres viri...principalis...modestia regiminis emicuere;

ik 6.212 modum et modestiam minus observant

vr 7.63 Nullum enim misericordia magis et modestia quam principem decet.

vh 7.92 Quanta vero maturitate pariter et modestia

ge 2.254 miserille zelotypiae vitio trans modestiam datus

ge 2.275 parvo namque modestia constat, magno luxuria

ge 2.277 si...tantae modestiae fuerant

ge 2.277 modestiam in omnibus mundique contemptum docere deberent

li d.90 quoniam subita...felicitas trans modestiam avidos facit,

rg 1.51 verbis humanis cum modestia loqui

rg 1.52 parsimoniam et abstinentiam atque modestiam tantis laudibus effert

rh 1.79 Potuit...archiepiscopi tam modestia laudari quam prudentia

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jm 3.108 audiat et consilium modestiae simul et saluti accommodum

jm 3.154 Vir erat hic modestus, vir sua sorte contentus

jm 3.155 modestiam per omnia servans et parsimoniam

jm 3.291 et novis (poenis) trans modestiam constitutis

jm 3.319 minis intonare coepit, sed tamen, quia vir modestus erat, moderatis

pi 8.lvii schola...modestia est pariter et diligentia commendabilis

pi 8.20 et ultionis inculpatae modestia servata

pi 8.47 In aedificio quoque modestiam observandam

pi 8.51 ob patientiam laboris modestiamque

pi 8.57 Modestia est temperantia, praecipites animi motus cohibens et modum observans

pi 8.57 Iracundia est frequens animi passio...modestiae contraria

pi 8.59 vino, cui trans modestiam datus fuerat

pi 8.63 cum magna modestia rei publicae praefuit

pi 8.63 coepit mutari Caesari laudatissima prius modestia

pi 8.90 vir...modestus et admodum litteratus

pi 8.142 modestiae majoris esse censuimus

pi 8.320 actibus cunctis modum et modestiam sequi...cupientes

sp 4.40 O quam satius quamque modestius et quam honestius foret

sp 4.41 (repetition of rg 1.51 above)

sp 4.41 (repetition of rg 1.52 above)

sp 4.55 cupiditate nimia modestiae prorsus seu verecundiae nescia

sp 4.60 dictum S. Dionysii coenobium trans modestiam tumens

sp 4.106 Parcius autem atque modestius abbas, salva pace sua, dixisset

---

1. From Hugo Floriacensis, p. 43, 45 and 110 respectively.

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sp 4.116 modestia namque carens et moderantia

sp 4.116 intraque modestiae metas debitosque fines ac terminos

sp 4.163 titillans trans modestiam desiderium

sp 4.193 modestus modicitate quoque et mediocritate contentus

sp 4.203 trans modestiam omnem et sobrietatis metam

sp 4.209 cum potibus...trans briam omnem et modestiam sumptis

sp 4.239 cummodestia respondit

sp 4.244 tanquam caeteris juxta arbitrium suum modestiorem

sp 4.251 modum et modestiam per omnia servant

sp 4.315 amor et modestia mulcent et mitigant universa

sp 4.333 ut...mentibus humanis modum et modestiam imprimeret

a few uses of modestia in contemporary writers are these:

Petrus Blesensis (fl.1160) Migne 205.876

extra modestiae limites evagari

Henricus Septimellensis (fl.1194) Migne 204.866

Praevalet in cunctis discreta modestia rebus,

Qua sine virtutum grande peribit opus.

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