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CORNELIUS AURELIUS: THE UPCYCLING HUMANIST  
-A STUDY OF THE *LIBELLUS DE PATIENTIA*-

BY

SAMANTHA JAMES

A THESIS PAPER SUBMITTED TO  
THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES  
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FOR THE DEGREE OF  
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WATERLOO, ONTARIO

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## ABSTRACT

Cornelius Aurelius' *Libellus de Patientia* (MS Leiden, UB, Vulcanius 66 f.45r-f.57v. [1524]), in terms of the author's reception of the *Manipulus florum*, reveals much about the development of Northern Humanism, in the context of late medieval scholasticism and the Reformation.

By thoroughly examining *Libellus de Patientia*, this paper will discuss Aurelius' use of numerous quotations derived from the *Manipulus florum* as evidence of how this text should be situated in terms of intellectual continuity vs. change during this turbulent period with regards to the intellectual context of medieval scholasticism and renaissance humanism.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This project would not have been possible were it not for Dr. Karin Tilmans, who graciously made the *Libellus de Patientia* available as an Open Source.

I must thank my supervisor, Dr. Chris Nighman, for bringing the *Libellus* to my attention and patiently guiding me through the Thesis process. My appreciation of your continuing encouragement and support cannot be expressed. Thank you.

The members of my Committee must also be thanked. Dr. Robin Waugh (WLU), Dr. Greta Kroeker (UW), Dr. Susannah Humble Ferreira (UG), and Dr. Adam Crerar (WLU): your reviews and input are greatly valued. Any errors that remain in this work are mine and mine alone.

Samantha James  
September 2013

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TIMELINE<sup>1</sup>

- 1522** March: Cornelius Hoen is under investigation  
April: Holy Roman Emperor Charles V sends an Inquisition to Holland to root out Lutheransim
- 1523** January: Hoen forcibly arrested and removed from Holland  
March 3rd: Hoen returned to The Hague on Margaret of Austria's orders, Charles is informed a few days later  
August: Hoen and Frederick Canirivus arrested/detained on suspicion of Lutheranism  
September: Pope Hadrian VI dies; Cornelius Aurelius' letter to Hadrian not well received by his successor, Aurelius scrambles to appear orthodox  
October 29th: Hoen released on bail, awaiting trial; restricted to The Hague
- 1524** January 14th: Aurelius sends the first letter to Hoen asking to keep his works in safe keeping at The Hague  
January 19th: Aurelius and Hoen meet at The Hague, presumably so Aurelius can deliver his works to Hoen  
February 8th: Aurelius released from confinement at St Maartendonk, sends *Libellus de Patientia* to Hoen with letter #2  
June 17th: Hoen stands trial, conclusion unknown
- 1525** Hoen dies during the winter of 1524/5, confirmed dead in April by a posthumous dedication from a fellow scholar

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<sup>1</sup> There is some uncertainty concerning the interactions of Hoen and Aurelius, see Note 2 on page 2.

## INTRODUCTION

Cornelius Geraerts (c.1460AD-1531AD), more commonly called Cornelius Aurelius or Cornelius Goudanus,<sup>1</sup> was directly influenced by contemporary politics in the Low Countries, the *Devotio Moderna* movement, and the humanist-scholastic debate at the universities in the early sixteenth century. These influences are evident in his short work titled *Libellus de Patientia* (1524) in which he counsels Cornelius Hoen, a lawyer at The Hague, to exercise patience and to accept his suffering with Christ-like grace. Aurelius' works were not published until Bonaventura Vulcanius found the collection in the Library of the Court of Holland decades after Aurelius' death.<sup>2</sup> There has been very little scholarly work done on Cornelius Aurelius outside of the Netherlands, and much of the information published prior to 1950 is in Dutch. Karin Tilmans is the current authority on Aurelius; her doctoral thesis *Historiography and Humanism in Holland in the Age of Erasmus: Aurelius and the Divisiiekroniek of 1517*<sup>3</sup> provides much of the biographical information available in English; her book also provides some detail about Aurelius' relationship with Hoen and a brief overview of Aurelius' *Libellus*. Tilmans has also published several articles concerning the other works of Aurelius, mainly his *Divisiiekroniek*, and his work on the Batavian myth. But while the secular public works of Aurelius have been thoroughly examined, his personal and private *Libellus* remains largely unstudied. Personal correspondence such as the *Libellus* reveals a more intimate understanding of the period in which it was written, and is a particularly useful study for intellectual history.

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<sup>1</sup> James D. Tracy, *Holland Under Habsburg Rule, 1506-1566* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 70.

<sup>2</sup> Bart Jan Spruyt, *Cornelius Henrici Hoen (Honijs) and His Epistle on the Eucharist (1525): Medieval Heresy, Erasmian Humanism, and Reform in the Early Sixteenth Century Low Countries* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 52. There is some confusion between Karin Tilmans (*Historiography and Humanism in Holland in the Age of Erasmus: Aurelius and the Divisiiekroniek of 1517* (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf Publishers, 1992), 70) and Spruyt concerning the timeline.

<sup>3</sup> Karin Tilmans, *Historiography and Humanism in Holland in the Age of Erasmus: Aurelius and the Divisiiekroniek of 1517* (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf Publishers, 1992).

This paper would not have been written if Tilmans had not kindly provided a diplomatic edition of the *Libellus* as an Open Source on her website.<sup>4</sup> However, with the assistance of Dr. Nighman, I have compiled a new edition, appended to this paper, which represents a significant improvement over her version. Following up on Dr. Nighman's discovery that the *Libellus* contains a particular quotation from Thomas of Ireland's *Manipulus florum* (Tribulatio an), I have found additional evidence that confirms that Aurelius probably did use it as a source for several passages in the *Libellus*. Aurelius employed the *Manipulus florum* in his effort to create a new contribution to the patience literature genre, a genre central to the *Devotio Moderna* movement, for the purpose of providing his friend with a moral and orthodox guide for living during the difficult times of the Reformation. I also have discovered that large sections of the *Libellus* constitute a paraphrase or epitome of significant portions of Cyprian's *De bono patientiae*. This evidence for Aurelius' use of these sources raises the issue of historical continuity and change, which I address in terms of medieval scholasticism and Renaissance humanism.

I argue that Aurelius' *Libellus* bridges the perceived gap between these traditional labels by showing characteristics from both sides. Aurelius combined Christian humanism and medieval scholasticism to create his *Libellus de Patientia*, a private document that applied to modern life and hopefully bring both Hoen, and indeed Aurelius himself, comfort in their time of need. I will also examine the genre of patience literature and discuss how the *Libellus* makes use of the key texts from the genre, specifically Cyprian's *De bono patientiae*, to support Aurelius' purpose. But first the *Libellus* needs to be put into context within Aurelius' life and the circumstances the produced the *Libellus*, as well as within the larger context in terms of the

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<sup>4</sup> Tilmans, "Cornelius Aurelius, *Libellus de Patientia* (1524, MS Leiden UL, Vulc. 66, ff. 45-57v), *Karin Tilmans Webpublications*, last accessed August 22, 2013, <http://karintilmans.nl/webpublications/>.



political, religious, and intellectual atmosphere of the Netherlands at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

#### LIFE OF CORNELIUS AURELIUS AND THE *LIBELLUS DE PATIENTIA*

Born in the city of Gouda in 1460 from apparently humble origins, from 1472/3 to 1477 Cornelius Aurelius studied the *trivium*, the Bible, works by the Church Fathers, and late medieval devotional texts such as the *De imitatione Christi* by Thomas a Kempis at the Deventer Latin school.<sup>5</sup> The Deventer Latin school had a "religious atmosphere...dominated by the *Devotio Moderna* movement"<sup>6</sup> which deeply influenced Cornelius' worldview and consequently his writing. While studying at Deventer Cornelius began keeping a *rapiarium* of his favourite quotations, typical for the education style of the *Devotio Moderna* or New Devotion.<sup>7</sup> From 1477 to 1485 Cornelius studied the Arts at the Universities of Cologne, Louvain, and Paris; completing his baccalaureate in Arts in 1483/4 and his Master of Arts in September of 1485.<sup>8</sup> As will be further discussed, the universities of Paris and Cologne determinedly resisted the advancement of humanism, Louvain less so. It was in Paris that Cornelius acquired the name Aurelius, and will be referred to hereafter as Aurelius to avoid confusion with his friend Cornelius Hoen.<sup>9</sup> Upon his return to the Low Countries in 1485, Aurelius joined the Augustinian order of Canons Regular at St Maartensdonk but soon transferred to St. Hieronymusdal monastery in Lopsen near Leiden.<sup>10</sup> This monastery was a member of the Dutch Sion Congregation, closely connected to the universities Aurelius had attended, which fostered humanist learning and

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<sup>5</sup> Tilmans, *Historiography and Humanism*, 11-15.

<sup>6</sup> Tilmans, *Historiography and Humanism*, 15.

<sup>7</sup> Tilmans, *Historiography and Humanism*, 34.

<sup>8</sup> Tilmans, *Historiography and Humanism*, 15.

<sup>9</sup> Tilmans, *Historiography and Humanism*, 12.

<sup>10</sup> Koen Goudriaan, "The Gouda Circle of Humanists," in *Education and Learning in the Netherlands, 1400-1600: Essays in Honour of Hilde De Ridder-Symoens*, ed. by Koen Goudriaan et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 158.

included Erasmus as one of its members.<sup>11</sup> It was as a canon that Aurelius became involved in the humanist pastime of writing epistles, having previously discovered poetry while studying in Cologne.<sup>12</sup> It was his letter writing that put him in jeopardy and the poetry that saved him.

Sometime in 1522 Aurelius penned a letter to Pope Hadrian VI, a fellow Netherlander also connected to the *Devotio Moderna* and humanism, outlining the various problems within the Church and possible solutions.<sup>13</sup> Aurelius likely anticipated a positive response from the Pontiff considering their shared backgrounds, interests, and friends. On September 14, 1523 Hadrian died unexpectedly, and Aurelius' letter was not well received by Hadrian's successor, Clement VII; Aurelius quickly found himself under suspicion of Lutheranism.<sup>14</sup> In an attempt to avoid suspicion of Lutheran sympathies, Aurelius had falsely added *b.t.* (baccalaureus theologiae) to his credentials despite never having written his theology exams.<sup>15</sup> To prove his orthodoxy Aurelius provided the large collection of pious poetry he had composed to his superior at St. Hieronymusdal; it was enough to lighten his punishment to complete isolation and exile at St. Maartensdonk, a smaller chapter of the Windesheim Congregation and Aurelius' home monastery.<sup>16</sup> However, his continuing friendship with Cornelius Hoen served to further implicate Aurelius.

Cornelius Hoen, a Hague lawyer from an affluent family and a Sacramentarian,<sup>17</sup> was an alumnus of the University of Louvain and a member of the Delft-Hague circle.<sup>18</sup> During the

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<sup>11</sup> Tilmans, *Historiography and Humanism*, 20.

<sup>12</sup> Tilmans, *Historiography and Humanism*, 16-7.

<sup>13</sup> *Apocalipsis et visio mirabilis super mirabilis statu matris ecclesiae et de summa spe eius reparande ex inopinata promotione Hadriani Traiectensis et Hispaniarum archiepiscopi (1522)*: Tilmans, *Historiography and Humanism*, 62-3.

<sup>14</sup> Tilmans, *Historiography and Humanism*, 69.

<sup>15</sup> Tilmans, *Historiography and Humanism*, 16.

<sup>16</sup> Tilmans, *Historiography and Humanism*, 29, 69.

<sup>17</sup> Sacramentarianism is believed to have begun with Andreas Karlstadt, former colleague of Luther, who argued that the Eucharist was devoid of any spiritual weight and therefore communion was not a sacrament because it was

1520s all members of the Delft-Hague Circle were arrested, often repeatedly, for suspicion of Lutheranism, and some of them were executed.<sup>19</sup> Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor and Duke of Burgundy, sent the Inquisition to root out Lutheranism from the Low Countries in April 1522.<sup>20</sup> Under investigation for heresy since March 1522, Hoen was summoned to appear in Brussels for an Inquisitional trial but Hoen refused to appear.<sup>21</sup> Hollanders were subject only to the courts of Holland, and as a lawyer to the Court of Holland, Hoen argued against the legality of his summons to Brussels.<sup>22</sup> After much legal finagling Hoen was forcibly arrested in January 1523, by order of Margaret of Austria, Regent of the Netherlands, and he was returned to The Hague for detention on 3 March 1523.<sup>23</sup> Margaret informed her nephew Charles of these events some days later.<sup>24</sup> Hoen was arrested again in August 1523 along with his fellow Delft-Hague colleague, Frederik Canirivus.<sup>25</sup> Hoen was released on bail on October 29, 1523 on the condition that he remain in The Hague to await trial.<sup>26</sup> It was during Hoen's parole and Aurelius' confinement that the two exchanged several surviving letters.

Although Aurelius was sentenced to isolated exile, he was still able to smuggle manuscripts and letters both into and out of St Maartensdonk.<sup>27</sup> During his confinement Aurelius sent three letters to Hoen, the first dated roughly January 14, 1524.<sup>28</sup> In the first letter Aurelius

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devoid of Christ's presence (Euan Cameron, *The European Reformation, Second Edition*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012: 191, 349).

<sup>18</sup> Spruyt, *Cornelius Henrici Hoen*, 47.

<sup>19</sup> Spruyt, *Cornelius Henrici Hoen*, 59-73.

<sup>20</sup> Spruyt, *Cornelius Henrici Hoen*, 75-6.

<sup>21</sup> Spruyt, *Cornelius Henrici Hoen*, 75-7.

<sup>22</sup> Spruyt, *Cornelius Henrici Hoen*, 77.

<sup>23</sup> Spruyt, *Cornelius Henrici Hoen*, 78-9.

<sup>24</sup> Spruyt, *Cornelius Henrici Hoen*, 79.

<sup>25</sup> Spruyt, *Cornelius Henrici Hoen*, 71, 75.

<sup>26</sup> Spruyt, *Cornelius Henrici Hoen*, 82.

<sup>27</sup> Tilmans, *Historiography and Humanism*, 69.

<sup>28</sup> Spruyt, *Cornelius Henrici Hoen*, 52.

asked Hoen to print the works Aurelius included with his letter.<sup>29</sup> In February 1524, sometime after February 8th when Aurelius was once again free to move about, he sent his second letter to Hoen in which he praises Hoen's patience and wisdom in the face of adversity, which Aurelius argues was what made Hoen famous, not his skill as a lawyer.<sup>30</sup> Aurelius also counsels Hoen "to stop openly campaigning against Church dogma" because it is "rash and inappropriate for a serious and loyal counsellor" to argue "something improperly understood or researched."<sup>31</sup> Clearly, Aurelius did not feel that Hoen had enough training in theology to question dogma and the validity of the sacraments. Aurelius attached the *Libellus de Patientia* to this second letter to console the elderly Hoen during his adversity, and once again strongly advising Hoen to cease his attack against the Catholic Church.<sup>32</sup>

The *Libellus* is part of a long literary tradition counseling patience and consolation during times of suffering, a genre referred to as patience literature. Many of the genre's oldest examples come from Late Antiquity during the early Christian martyr movement in the Roman Empire; the most notable were written by some of the most prominent of the early Church Fathers, including Tertullian, Ambrose, Cyprian, and Jerome.<sup>33</sup> As will be shown, Aurelius relied heavily on Cyprian's tract on patience to construct his own treatise.

The *Libellus* is an interesting document because of its construction and content: written in 1524, it falls into humanist territory and indeed Aurelius was a Christian humanist, he focused on the moral philosophy of Christ, yet in addition to Cyprian this paper will demonstrate that the *Libellus* drew heavily from Thomas of Ireland's *Manipulus florum*, a medieval *florilegium*.

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<sup>29</sup> Spruyt, *Cornelius Henrici Hoen*, 52. There is some confusion between Tilmans and Spruyt concerning the timeline.

<sup>30</sup> Tilmans, *Historiography and Humanism*, 70. Spruyt, *Cornelius Henrici Hoen*, 53.

<sup>31</sup> Tilmans, *Historiography and Humanism*, 70.

<sup>32</sup> Tilmans, *Historiography and Humanism*, 70. Spruyt, *Cornelius Henrici Hoen*, 53.

<sup>33</sup> Robin Waugh, *The Genre of Medieval Patience Literature: Development, duplication, and gender* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012), 7-8, 24. Ronald K. Rittgers, *The Reformation of Suffering: Pastoral Theology and Lay Piety in Late Medieval and Early Modern Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 38.

Aurelius may have employed the *Manipulus florum* as many as seventeen times, using various entries under a range of topics, referencing both classical and patristic sources and also some medieval authors. Many humanists intensely despised medieval scholastic scholarship, yet this medieval 'handful of flowers' was readily used by Aurelius. Hilde De Ridder-Symoens argues that some individual professors would conduct humanist research and produce humanist writings but teach the institutionally required scholasticism.<sup>34</sup> Aurelius had shown himself to be an outward conformist with his attempts to counter the suspicion of Lutheranism. His *Libellus* combines both humanist and scholastic learning and methods. His use of the *Manipulus florum* in this work, and the continued use of the collection by scholars throughout the early modern period, argues for a positive humanist reception of this medieval reference tool.

#### PUTTING THE *LIBELLUS DE PATIENTIA* IN CONTEXT

The political situation in the Low Countries at the start of the sixteenth century was tense. As Duke of Burgundy (including the Netherlands), King of Castile, King of Aragon, and the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles Habsburg was unable to devote sufficient attention to the Low Countries. His solution was to appoint his aunt, Margaret of Austria, as regent in the Netherlands from 1517 to 1530.<sup>35</sup> Her attitude towards governing was "strongly dynastic, and authoritarian" which caused a power struggle with the Dutch nobility and upper merchant classes.<sup>36</sup> Karin Tilmans argues that the Dutch, particularly the historians and elite, needed an independent Dutch history to provide them with a unique and ancient identity to counter their previous loss of independence to the Burgundians in 1433 and again with the recent rise of the Habsburgs under

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<sup>34</sup> Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, "The Changing Face of Centres of Learning, 1400-1700," in *Schooling and Society: The Ordering and Reordering of Knowledge in the Western Middle Ages*, ed. Alasdair A. MacDonald and Michael W. Twomey (Leuven: Peeters, 2004), 128.

<sup>35</sup> Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 35.

<sup>36</sup> Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 35.

Charles.<sup>37</sup> Tilmans describes the development of the Batavian origins of the Dutch, through political humanism, as the "beginning of a Dutch patriotic consciousness and the feeling of a group which could be connected to the Dutch land itself."<sup>38</sup> As can be imagined, the Batavian myth, uniting all Dutchmen, was not always welcomed. The propagators of humanism in the Low Countries were largely foreign scholars, mostly from Italy, while Dutch scholars tended to work abroad. Jozef IJsewijn attributes this movement of intellectuals partly to opportunities outside the Low Countries, but IJsewijn also suggests this movement was "a search for spiritual liberty or even a flight from death or imprisonment."<sup>39</sup> The desire for spiritual liberation took the form of the *Devotio Moderna* movement in the late medieval period.

The *Devotio Moderna* movement, also called "The New Devotion," was a late medieval reform movement that focused on the inner spiritual life of the Christian rather than the external institutions of the Church and government.<sup>40</sup> The movement is believed to have been started by Geert Grote in Deventer in the late fourteenth century and lasted until the beginning of the sixteenth century.<sup>41</sup> Grote's New Devotion was later expanded upon by Thomas a Kempis.<sup>42</sup> Grote took his new philosophy abroad to Diepenveen, Windesheim and Zwolle in the Low Countries, and eventually the New Devotion went to Germany via Munster and Cologne.<sup>43</sup> The key characteristic of the New Devotion was the "stress on the inner development of the individual," arguing that faith alone was enough, though its members avidly embraced

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<sup>37</sup> Tilmans, "Aeneas, Bato and Civilis," 123.

<sup>38</sup> Tilmans, "Aeneas, Bato and Civilis," 124.

<sup>39</sup> Jozef IJsewijn, "Humanism in the Low Countries," in *Renaissance Humanism: Foundations, Forms, and Legacy, Vol. 2: Humanism Beyond Italy*, ed. Albert Rabil Jr. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988), 159-60.

<sup>40</sup> John Van Engen, "Introduction," in *Devotio Moderna, Basic Writings*, trans. John Van Engen (New York: Paulist Press, 1988), 9-10.

<sup>41</sup> Van Engen, "Introduction," 9-11.

<sup>42</sup> Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 42.

<sup>43</sup> Van Engen, "Introduction," 12.

contemporary theology, and especially monastic asceticism for its inward focus.<sup>44</sup> The emphasis on vernacular editions of key Catholic works,<sup>45</sup> as well as communal practices, caused the New Devotion to be investigated for heresy by the Dominicans, though the New Devotion was later cleared of suspicions and formally accepted at the Council of Constance in 1417.<sup>46</sup> Once formally sanctioned, many of the communities became Third-Order Franciscans or Augustinians.<sup>47</sup> The Windesheim Congregation of Canons Regular was the official centre of the Brethren of the Common Life, and had the largest collection of daughter houses in the Netherlands, numbering fifty by 1424 including the chapters at Deventer and Zwolle.<sup>48</sup> The Brethren of the Common Life was a similar movement created from the teachings of Groote, though it was soon incorporated into the *Devotio Moderna* movement.<sup>49</sup> The Brethren were described as ascetic who lived communally without formal Orders, at least initially, and were very active proponents of humanism, including the school in Deventer.<sup>50</sup>

The New Devotion emphasized education, devoting its resources to the building of schools and libraries with the help of the merchant-elites.<sup>51</sup> The Brethren schools were centres for the "training of youth in a good religious way of life" as well as "a keen intellectual life, a sound physical and moral life, and a democratic social life."<sup>52</sup> With its practical humanist goals, the Brethren employed humanistic tools to accomplish their practical and applicable purposes. The Brethren created classes based on the skill and knowledge levels of its students and was the

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<sup>44</sup> Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 41-2.

<sup>45</sup> William Blockmans and Walter Prevenier, *The Promised Lands: The Low Countries Under Burgundian Rule, 1369-1530*, trans. Elizabeth Fackelman, ed. Edward Peters (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 227.

<sup>46</sup> Van Engen, "Introduction," 13-6.

<sup>47</sup> Van Engen, "Introduction," 19.

<sup>48</sup> Van Engen, "Introduction," 19-21.

<sup>49</sup> De Lamar Jensen, *Renaissance Europe: Age of Recovery and Reconciliation, Second Edition* (Lexington: D.C. Heath and Company, 1992), 236.

<sup>50</sup> Jensen, *Renaissance Europe*, 236.

<sup>51</sup> Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 41.

<sup>52</sup> De Ridder-Symoens, "The Changing Face," 126.

first school system to do so, a system later adopted by both the Protestants and the Jesuits.<sup>53</sup> Eventually dormitories were built by the Brethren at the colleges and universities to provide a sense of community within those institutions, and the first fully integrated house was at Louvain.<sup>54</sup> The Brethren's emphasis on a moral life as well as a democratic one speaks to the nature of the merchant-elites in the cities of the Low Countries. Humanism and practical skills made the desired connection through the Christian Humanism of the Brethren schools and provided practical life skills and acceptable attitudes for training city officials and merchants. The spiritual goals proved applicable to the everyday life of both the clergy and the laity.

Devotion to Christ in all activities and meditation on Scripture, particularly the role of virtues, to rid oneself of "all evil instincts and impulses" was the main goal of the New Devotion. All members, called the New Devout, were expected to read Scripture and to keep a notebook (*rapiarium*) recording key passages, very much like the medieval monastic tradition of *florilegia*.<sup>55</sup> These notebooks were likely meant to be a source of meditation and inspiration. The New Devotion also employed patristic works, including those of John Cassian and Gregory the Great who wrote about the divine rewards of the virtuous life.<sup>56</sup> The focus on virtues stemmed largely from the pastoral focus of the late medieval Church at the parish level; members of the New Devotion came from the parishes, and the movement largely retained the spirit of its grassroots origin.<sup>57</sup> In their literature, the New Devout desired to make the Desert Fathers live again and set out to copy and "recover great works of the past" which included Scripture, the Fathers (especially Cassian), and eminent writers of the twelfth-century revival.<sup>58</sup> Karin Tilmans

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<sup>53</sup> De Ridder-Symoens, "The Changing Face," 127.

<sup>54</sup> Van Engen, "Introduction," 24.

<sup>55</sup> Van Engen, "Introduction," 25-6.

<sup>56</sup> Van Engen, "Introduction," 31.

<sup>57</sup> Van Engen, "Introduction," 31.

<sup>58</sup> Van Engen, "Introduction," 40.



refers to the philosophy and purpose of the New Devotion when she writes, "it was every Christian humanist's duty to expound Christ's philosophy; but to live by Christ's philosophy was the duty of all, high and low."<sup>59</sup> Intellectually, humanism and Christian Humanism were a relatively recent development in Northern Europe, replacing medieval Scholasticism.

Scholasticism was the style of Western European intellectual method used in the universities during the Middle Ages. Education and intellectual method during the later Middle Ages were unified by common language (Latin), common administration and governance via the Roman Church (referred to simply as the Church hereafter), and a universal undergraduate curriculum of study consisting of the *trivium* and the *quadrivium*.<sup>60</sup> The goals of scholasticism have been described by Charles Nauert and R.W. Southern as the attempt to "return to Mankind the knowledge lost by the Fall." Medieval scholars attempted to find answers to these questions through systematic investigation and interpretation of Church-approved ancient texts and *sententiae*.<sup>61</sup> The ultimate source for knowledge, as far as some scholastics were concerned, was God and to understand Him they studied authoritative texts more often than study through experience or observation. Academically, scholasticism was largely used to conduct, and win, academic disputations using dialectic,<sup>62</sup> the chief subject of the *trivium*, often on obscure and abstract passages of authoritative texts. This line of inquiry was challenged by humanism, a new

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<sup>59</sup> Tilmans, *Historiography and Humanism in Holland*, 71.

<sup>60</sup> The trivium consisted of grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic or logic. The trivium can be generally equated to the modern undergraduate study. The quadrivium included the study of arithmetic, geometry, music theory, and astronomy. The quadrivium was the second half of the university curriculum and was studied by graduate students before moving on to doctoral studies in theology, law (canon and civil), or medicine.

<sup>61</sup> Charles G. Nauert, "The Clash of Humanists and Scholastics: an Approach to Pre-Reformation Controversies," in *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 4 (April 1973), 1-18; reprinted with original pagination in *Humanism and Renaissance Civilization* (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2012), 11-2. R.W. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe, Vol 1: Foundations* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), 4-5.

<sup>62</sup> Nauert, "Humanist Infiltration into the Academic World and Some Studies of Northern Universities," in *Renaissance Quarterly* 43 (1990), 799-812, 818-824; reprinted with original pagination in *Humanism and Renaissance Civilization* (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2012), 807-8.

academic method that returned to the sources (*ad fontes*) and employed classical modules during the Renaissance and continued to develop into the early modern period.

The goals of humanism focused on the nature of Man and on human behaviours; the purpose of such knowledge was to live rightly and morally.<sup>63</sup> Humanists believed they could restore the world to an idealized Antiquity through Classical literature.<sup>64</sup> Some historians disagree that humanism had a distinct philosophy: Erika Rummel and Kotker Hammerstein argue that there was no coherent system or unified philosophy because humanism varied from place to place, especially between northern and southern Europe, arguing instead that humanism supported a code of conduct rather than a distinct philosophy.<sup>65</sup> More specifically, Rummel argues that there is a difference between Humanism, a strict adherence to a set model, and humanism, a direction of study and thinking.<sup>66</sup> Humanism developed a clear philosophy when it was transformed into what is called Christian Humanism, where the goal was the creation of "a spiritual renewal and institutional reform of Christian society" through the study of original texts to alleviate the suffering inherent in the human condition.<sup>67</sup> This renewal required a humanist education and the recovery and study of the texts from early Christianity and those Church-approved pagan authors.

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<sup>63</sup> Nauert, "The Humanist Challenge to Medieval German Culture," in *Daphnis: Zeitschrift für Mittlere Deutsche Literatur* 15 (1986), 277-306; reprinted with original pagination in *Humanism and Renaissance Civilization* (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2012), 300.

<sup>64</sup> Nauert, "Rethinking Christian Humanism," in *Interpretation of Renaissance Humanism*, ed. Angelo Mazzocco (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 155-80; reprinted with original pagination in *Humanism and Renaissance Civilization* (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2012), 2.

<sup>65</sup> Erika Rummel, *The Humanist-Scholastic Debate: in the Renaissance and Reformation* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995), 195. Notker Hammerstein, "Relations with Authority: Humanism - Reformation - Counter-Reformation," in *A History of the University in Europe - Volume II: Universities in Early Modern Europe (1500-1800)*, ed. Walter Rüeg (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 115.

<sup>66</sup> Rummel, *The Humanist-Scholastic Debate*, 14.

<sup>67</sup> Nauert, "Re-thinking Christian Humanism," 1.

The main method of inquiry for the humanists was a return to *ad fontes*,<sup>68</sup> many of which had been corrupted in transmission by copyists during the Middle Ages. Humanists called for an equal treatment of the *trivium* subjects at the universities, advocating that equal emphasis should be placed on grammar and therefore less focus on dialectic. Grammar, and its daughter philology, were the main tools of the humanists who applied them mercilessly to the treasured texts of the scholastics, earning them the reviled term 'grammarians' from their opponents.<sup>69</sup> Humanist revisions often left scholastic texts stripped bare of all medieval commentary, the major production of medieval, and therefore scholastic, intellectual development. The value of humanistic inquiry, the basis for modern education models, is still debated,<sup>70</sup> though generally accepted as having value especially concerning textual analysis.

It was this textual criticism that led to the scholastic-humanist debate, a debate that existed in the late medieval and early modern periods and continues still in present historiography. Scholastics argued that humanists had only studied grammar and rhetoric, and so were not qualified to debate or revise the established theological commentary of the Church.<sup>71</sup> This perceived lack of understanding and education of the humanists led scholastics to equate humanism with heresy,<sup>72</sup> especially after Luther's rise to prominence. Conflict between scholastics and humanists as pamphlets and entire essays were written by both sides denouncing the methods of the other, as exemplified by Thomas More writing to Martin van Dorp.<sup>73</sup> This led

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<sup>68</sup> Nauert, "The Clash," 17.

<sup>69</sup> Nauert, "Humanism as Method: Roots of Conflict with the Scholastics," in *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 29 (1999), 427-38; reprinted with original pagination in *Humanism and Renaissance Civilization* (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2012), 433-4.

<sup>70</sup> Nauert blames R.R. Bolgar, Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine for the bad reputation of humanist reforms, arguing that Grafton and Jardine believe that "humanist 'study' was superficial and lacked any real comprehension of classical texts" and that its real purpose was "to help impose the shackles of early-modern absolutism on the oppressed population" ("Humanist Infiltration," 811-2).

<sup>71</sup> Nauert, "Humanism as Method," 433.

<sup>72</sup> Nauert, "Humanism as Method," 437.

<sup>73</sup> Nauert, "Humanism as Method," 434-5.

Rummel to conclude that the polemics, slogans and phrases used were readily identifiable, meaning that people were well aware of the debate at the time.<sup>74</sup> The intensity of this conflict between academics was highly localised, and those universities like Paris and Cologne renowned for their theology departments tended to aggressively resist the new learning of the humanists.<sup>75</sup> De Ridder-Symoens argues that every university should be viewed independently because the infiltration of humanism was variable.<sup>76</sup> The reception of humanism also varied between northern and southern Europe.

Humanism in the Low Countries, and in Holland in particular, had completed the reform of universities by the latter half of the sixteenth century.<sup>77</sup> There were twenty-nine European universities in 1400, and by 1625, the number had risen to forty-six, three of which were in what is now the Netherlands and Belgium.<sup>78</sup> The university in Louvain is an interesting example. As the daughter university of Cologne, which was a staunch "upholder of *via antiqua*" and "probably was the most unreceptive of all universities to humanism,"<sup>79</sup> Louvain found an elegant solution to the scholastic-humanist issue. Housed at the University of Louvain, the Collegium Trilingue was a college established in 1517 by Dutch humanist Hieronymus Buslidius who was inspired by Erasmus; the Collegium taught humanist courses which were otherwise unavailable at Louvain.<sup>80</sup> The Collegium curriculum focused on the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, as well as Biblical philology, though these studies did not count towards a degree from Louvain.<sup>81</sup> While

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<sup>74</sup> Rummel, *Humanist-Scholastic*, 73.

<sup>75</sup> Rummel, *Humanist-Scholastic*, 63-72.

<sup>76</sup> De Ridder-Symoens, "The Changing Face of Centres of Learning, 1400-1700," 128.

<sup>77</sup> Nauert, "Humanist Infiltration," 811.

<sup>78</sup> Paul Grendler, "The Universities of the Renaissance," *Renaissance Quarterly* 57 (2004), 2.

<sup>79</sup> Nauert, "Humanist Challenge," 289.

<sup>80</sup> Alastair Duke, *Dissident Identities in the Early Modern Low Countries*, ed. Judith Pallman and Andrew Spicer (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2009), 77.

<sup>81</sup> Nauert, "Humanist Challenge," 293.

the courses taken at the Collegium were uncredited, the emphasis on transferable skills made humanism the preferred vocational preparation for the urban elite and governments.

Prominent humanist scholars like Lambertus Danaeus and Erasmus<sup>82</sup> called for elite male youths to study the humanist curriculum because it would provide useful everyday skills needed for public life. Rhetorical skills were transferable and became "a desirable accomplishment for the urbane member of a civilized community."<sup>83</sup> The urban elite through their liberal arts educations functioned as the supporting level of a government.<sup>84</sup> Paul Grendler argues that universities were created and supported in the early modern period by rulers and governments because they "believed that scholarly expertise and analysis were needed to resolve difficulties, to create solutions, and to attain desired goals."<sup>85</sup> The city fathers and merchants of the Low Countries, like those in Italy and elsewhere, "believed strongly in the utility of lay learning for the development of the city" and so invested in humanist scholars and schools.<sup>86</sup> The number of Latin schools in the Low Countries doubled or even tripled during the sixteenth century, taking on much of the university preparation students required, which freed the university arts department to develop into philosophical faculties of the Arts.<sup>87</sup>

Aurelius lived and wrote during this period of turbulent change in politics, religion and education, all of which deeply influenced his own development and worldview. The *Libellus de Patientia* reflects the Humanist desire for an ideal world in which all of these factors exist in harmony. For Aurelius, this harmony could be achieved through spiritual renewal and strength

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<sup>82</sup> Tilmans, "From *institutio* to *educatio*: The Origin of Political education in the Habsburg Netherlands," in *The Education of a Christian Society: Humanism and the Reformation in Britain and the Netherlands*, ed. N. Scott Amos et. al. (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 1999).

<sup>83</sup> Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities: Education and the Liberal Arts in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986), 123.

<sup>84</sup> Southern, *Scholastic-Humanism*, 4-5.

<sup>85</sup> Grendler, "The Universities of the Renaissance," 2-3.

<sup>86</sup> De Ridder-Symoens, "The Changing Face," 117-8.

<sup>87</sup> De Ridder-Symoens, "The Changing Face," 127-8.

by imitating the patience and suffering of Christ. To successfully experience the patience and suffering of Christ requires clear examples to follow, examples that Aurelius finds in the Bible and select patristic and classical works, and also some uncited medieval works. By combining carefully selected excerpts into one essay Aurelius created a new contribution to the genre of patience literature that reflected his intellectual and spiritual education, but also retained certain elements of the medieval tradition.

CHAPTER 1: COMMONPLACES AND THE *MANIPULUS FLORUM*

The basic system of Western academic writing has changed very little since ancient Greek writers used the words of others to support their own claims. Admittedly the method of acknowledging the work of another has changed and developed into a rigorous code, but it was not always considered plagiarism to lift a passage from a revered author and place it squarely in one's own work with little to no reference to the source of the passage. Attitudes towards quotation and citation prior to the Early Modern period were quite different from what they are today. In the Middle Ages, and into the Renaissance, it was acceptable to utilize famous works without acknowledgement because it was largely accepted that the readers of this new work would be familiar with the reference and not need a citation. When Cornelius Aurelius wrote his *Libellus de Patientia* he rarely cited his quotations, whether direct or paraphrased, but through textual analysis and the use of new digital tools his sources can be determined.

Prior to the invention of the printing press, and even afterwards to some extent, books were rare and expensive. Book-making was a labour intensive process from the preparation of materials (vellum and inks, for example), to the hand-copying of texts without the benefit of electric lights. Large collections of books were generally restricted to libraries of a few wealthy individuals so inclined, libraries at the universities, and libraries of the Church, especially the monasteries. This system of knowledge repository was largely inaccessible to those low ranking churchmen in remote areas, and to those itinerant scholars between university postings. The solution to this problem was simple and had begun in ancient Greece: a single book of collected quotations from various authors on a variety of subjects – in other words, a reference book.

Generally referred to as commonplace-books, these quotation collections developed over time from small, simple collections to vast cross-referenced, indexed, and rubricated works.

Aurelius apparently made use of one such collection, the *Manipulus florum*, and it is therefore worthwhile to study the history of the genre of commonplaces, beginning with the technical aspects of the collections, why they were created and how they were used, and the three main types (commonplace, proverb, and *florilegium*) used during the late medieval period when Aurelius was writing.

"Commonplace" as a description of such collections, was coined in the mid-sixteenth century from the Latin, *loci communes*, or "a general theme." The 'place' in 'commonplace' refers to the headings under which the quotations were sorted, so it is a 'common headings' book.<sup>1</sup> This breakdown of subject headers makes for easy referencing when searching for quotations dealing with specific topics like 'Patience' or 'Tribulation'. The headers can of course be arranged under larger headings or themes. The main recurring themes in quotation collections tended to be ethics, beauty and wisdom, inspiration and meditation.<sup>2</sup> Themes proved useful for browsing for readers when they were uncertain what they were looking for, or when looking for related subjects before cross-referencing systems were developed. Commonplaces were not new in the Middle Ages; they had already existed among the ancient Greeks, though the number of commonplaces grew over time: Rudolph Agricola identified twenty-four *loci* and Cicero only knew seventeen while the ancient Greeks knew of a few more.<sup>3</sup> The Latin derives from the Greek *topoi dialektokoi* which provided both sides of an issue. Logic found the required *loci* and rhetoric pieced them together into a new argument.<sup>4</sup> The excerpts included in the commonplace-books were edited to be universal and accessible, and to do that emphasized clear and concise

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<sup>1</sup> Anne Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), viii.

<sup>2</sup> Ruth Finnegan, *Why do we quote? The Culture and history of quotation* (Open Book Publishers, 2011), 150.

<sup>3</sup> IJsewijn, "Humanism in the Low Countries," 177.

<sup>4</sup> IJsewijn, "Humanism in the Low Countries," 176-177.



language free from any confusing metaphysical jargon.<sup>5</sup> The accessibility and clear language were used in the commonplace-books because they were used for composing written works as much as speeches, and used to blame or praise the subject at hand, making commonplaces extremely versatile.<sup>6</sup> Aristotle's view on commonplaces made the later scholastic-humanist conflict worse because he argued that commonplaces aided both dialectic and rhetoric, though in different ways. For Aristotle, places were dialectical in that these *topoi* are universal, and also rhetorical due to the rather specific headings.<sup>7</sup> The value of the commonplaces moved away from the philosophic towards the practical when Quintillian (c. 95 AD) argued that memorization of the commonplace-book would provide style, vocabulary, structure, expressions and quotations to the student.<sup>8</sup> The Humanists later agreed with Quintillian, who was also interested in moralizing the quotation collections, quietly ignoring Aristotle's philosophic views on logical disputation when argued with scholasticism.<sup>9</sup> In addition to being a collection of "Latin excerpts from authors held to be authoritative or stylistically exemplary," by the medieval period commonplaces were also "developing into personal notebooks for reflection and collection."<sup>10</sup> Meditation on exemplary moral excerpts came to define the purpose of medieval commonplaces.

The organizational systems for commonplace-books were not in any way regulated, but Barry Taylor has identified three basic types of organization in quotation collections: *epitome*, alphabetical, and philosophic.<sup>11</sup> An *epitome*, from the earlier Greek examples, "preserves excerpts from individual authors in the order in which they appear in the original."<sup>12</sup> The *epitome*

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<sup>5</sup> IJsewijn, "Humanism in the Low Countries," 177.

<sup>6</sup> Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books*, 3.

<sup>7</sup> Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books*, 3, 5.

<sup>8</sup> Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books*, 11.

<sup>9</sup> Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books*, 11.

<sup>10</sup> Finnegan, *Why do we quote?*, 122.

<sup>11</sup> Barry Taylor, "Medieval Proverb Collections: The West European Tradition," *Journal of Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 55 (1992), 26.

<sup>12</sup> Taylor, "Medieval Proverb Collections," 26.

is not particularly user-friendly unless you know exactly where a quotation came from, or if you are interested in sampling more of the same author, which subject headings make difficult without other informational tools. Alphabetical arrangement using the first word of the quotation as the keyword or commonplace was also employed in early collections.<sup>13</sup> This method is not very user-friendly and is actually less useful for a reference book than an *epitome*, unless the reader again is very familiar with the quotations. The philosophic *florilegia*, the last style of collection, is the one that endures. The "sayings of the philosophers by subject" is most similar "to the original Greek form of the genre" and was further developed by classical and medieval compilers and authors.<sup>14</sup> By the medieval period a *florilegium* is an accessible reference work containing mostly Christian authorities, "as well as a selection from approved pre-Christian Classical authors like Cicero or Seneca."<sup>15</sup>

Cicero, building on Aristotle's collection of quotations, introduced quotations as the places rather than Aristotle's abstract concepts, and called the authors of the useful quotations *auctoritates*.<sup>16</sup> From Cicero important authors gained the title 'authority' on a given subject. While using quotations as places was not a particularly efficient organizational method, in his *De Inventione* places become themes, the beginnings of subject places, and his subjects become moralized compared to Aristotle's.<sup>17</sup> As an orator, Cicero favoured rhetoric while Aristotle was the proponent of dialectic; in the Classical world there was already a divide that would later distinguish Aristotelian scholasticism and Ciceronian humanism. Medieval scholasticism brought Cicero's morals into the framework of Aristotelian scholasticism; one result was the medieval *florilegium*.

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<sup>13</sup> Taylor, "Medieval Proverb Collections," 26.

<sup>14</sup> Taylor, "Medieval Proverb Collections," 27.

<sup>15</sup> Finnegan, *Why do we quote?*, 132.

<sup>16</sup> Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books*, 6.

<sup>17</sup> Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books*, 7.

It was during the Central Middle Ages that commonplace-books began to appear in large numbers, again likely because of the lack of access to libraries and a growing demand for texts. In the commonplace-books of the Middle Ages "extracts from ancient texts are cut loose from their cultural roots and implanted into a lexicon which, while still Latin, is essentially a different linguistic universe."<sup>18</sup> The quotations are stripped of their context and often placed under categories or subjects that they were not originally related to. The excerpts included in the *Florilegium angelicum*, to be discussed below, were altered by the collectors who removed them from their context so they could be used universally.<sup>19</sup> An important endeavour of medieval scholars was to find relevance to Christianity in works by classical pagan authors, and this process was made easier by removing the context around a particular quotation. In the late 13<sup>th</sup> century John of Wales was one of the first compilers to include the names of his sources.<sup>20</sup> The devices used to make references were by no means uniform, and some manuscripts didn't use any devices in the text but cited a source in the margin.<sup>21</sup> This reference could be just the name of the authority cited or a place to draw attention to a particular passage, though by the twelfth century the information given began to regularly include the author and title of the specific work the quotation was originally from in the form of a rudimentary footnote accompanied by the first form of quotation marks.<sup>22</sup> It was during "the long twelfth century" that information technology like quotation marks and footnotes became popular.

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<sup>18</sup> Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books*, 21.

<sup>19</sup> A.A. Goddu and R.H. Rouse, "Gerald of Wales and the *Florilegium Angelicum*," *Speculum* 52 (July 1977): 491-492.

<sup>20</sup> Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books*, 18-19.

<sup>21</sup> Finnegan, *Why do we quote?*, 89-90. This technique of marking references in the margin next to the quotation was used by Aurelius in his *Libellus* and also by Bonaventura Vulcanius, the man who edited and collected Aurelius' works (See Appendix B notes).

<sup>22</sup> Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, "*Statim invenire*: Schools, Preachers, and New Attitudes to the Page," in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1982), 207.

The twelfth and thirteenth centuries saw the advancement of information retrieval technology unlike ever before. Richard and Mary Rouse, in their essay "*Statim invenire: Schools, Preachers, and New Attitudes to the Page*," argue that information technology developed in response to the changing intellectual needs during what has been called "the long twelfth century."<sup>23</sup> There were early attempts to develop information technology in the eleventh century though the retrieval systems failed during their creator's lifetime. Papias, Deusdedit, and Gilbert of Poitiers all developed their own technological innovations including alphabetical order for a dictionary, an alphabetical subject index to a canonical collection, and even a marginal symbol system to identify different themes within the Book of Psalms.<sup>24</sup> The Rouses argue that all three of these innovations initially failed because their creators were ahead of their time, and that these technologies were not yet required to manage the wealth of knowledge.<sup>25</sup> As the number of books grew and knowledge expanded, memory was no longer sufficiently reliable to retrieve the required information, forcing the development of informational devices.

Initially older finding devices, such as the table of contents, were simply reintroduced as standard.<sup>26</sup> By 1220 page layouts were largely standardized and included "running headlines, chapter titles in red, alternating red and blue initials and gradation in the size of initials, paragraph marks, cross-references, and citation of authors quoted,"<sup>27</sup> though these were not always included. Many of these devices were implemented in the creation of distinct collections.<sup>28</sup> Some of these collections from the late twelfth century and into the thirteenth "were arranged in alphabetical order to facilitate searching" and became the model for all

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<sup>23</sup> Rouse and Rouse, "*Statim invenire*," 202.

<sup>24</sup> Rouse and Rouse, "*Statim invenire*," 203-5.

<sup>25</sup> Rouse and Rouse, "*Statim invenire*," 205.

<sup>26</sup> Rouse and Rouse, "*Statim invenire*," 206.

<sup>27</sup> Rouse and Rouse, "*Statim invenire*," 207.

<sup>28</sup> Distinction collections were comprised of biblical *distinctio* which according to the Rouses distinguish "the various figurative meanings of a word in the Bible, supplying for each meaning a text of Scripture in which the word is used with that meaning." (Rouse and Rouse, 213). Rouse and Rouse, "*Statim invenire*," 210.

alphabetical and searchable tools since.<sup>29</sup> During the thirteenth and into the fourteenth century alphabetical indexes were applied to works of the Fathers and Aristotle, as well as collections of *exempla* and *florilegia* which were alphabetized by topic.<sup>30</sup> The Rouses argue that the medieval mind preferred rational over alphabetical order, stating that alphabetization never became standard as late as the thirteenth century on the basis that alphabetical organization was reserved for lists of things with no rational distinctions (the example given is lapidaries), and so many scholars resisted this hugely useful innovation.<sup>31</sup> The gradual implementation of alphabetical instead of rational ordering, where rational ordering could have been applied, signals that compilers recognized that users possessed individual minds capable of independent rational ordering. With the recognition of independent mental processes, medieval scholars understood people as individuals; the idea of the self has typically been regarded as a distinctive characteristic of the Renaissance, but it was clearly a medieval development that carried through and was transformed during the Renaissance. Many of the Renaissance developments in scholarship used medieval information technologies as the foundation, particularly alphabetization among others. Yet the shift to alphabetical order did not necessarily mean the extermination of rational ordering.

Peter of Capua compiled his collection of distinctions (1220-1225) and combined the apparently opposing order systems.<sup>32</sup> Peter ordered his distinctions alphabetically by the first word in the sentence – placing all the excerpts that started with 'A' together, for example; but within each letter Peter ordered the *sententiae* rationally.<sup>33</sup> Peter also employed a complex cross-

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<sup>29</sup> Rouse and Rouse, "*Statim invenire*," 210-211.

<sup>30</sup> Rouse and Rouse, "*Statim invenire*," 211.

<sup>31</sup> Rouse and Rouse, "*Statim invenire*," 211.

<sup>32</sup> Rouse and Rouse, "*Statim invenire*," 219.

<sup>33</sup> Rouse and Rouse, "*Statim invenire*," 219.

referencing system.<sup>34</sup> Peter's system of alphabetization was not particularly user-friendly unless the user remembered how the excerpt started, at which point the reference tool would not be needed. Until alphabetization was used for topics it was generally passed over in favour of rational ordering, until the fourteenth century. Around 1300 Hieremias de Montagnone published his *Compendium moralium notabilium*, in which he listed his quotations chronologically under each heading rather than by author; he also alphabetized the topics (or at least that is how they are organized in the only printed edition, published in 1505).<sup>35</sup> According to Ann Moss, in the *Compendium moralium notabilium* "for the first time the *florilegium* becomes a vehicle for historical criticism. And with a sense of literary history comes a sense of the authority invested in authorship."<sup>36</sup> This historical criticism was only made possible because he chose to arrange his quotations chronologically, something that had never been done before, making Montagnone a 'proto-humanist'. With the entries arranged like this, it is easy to map out how certain topics were transmitted and transformed over time. While this chronological arrangement is a wonderful resource for intellectual historians, it was not the primary interest of the commonplace users of the Middle Ages. The major developments arrived with Thomas of Ireland's *Manipulus florum* around 1306.

In his *Manipulus florum*, Thomas usually, though not always, provided full citations (author and title) so the reader can locate the original texts (sometimes including the chapter or book reference numbers, or sermon or epistle number for precise location) for himself should he wish,<sup>37</sup> similar to the work John of Wales had done thirty years prior.<sup>38</sup> This slow return to

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<sup>34</sup> Rouse and Rouse, "*Statim invenire*," 220.

<sup>35</sup> Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books*, 36-37.

<sup>36</sup> Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books*, 36.

<sup>37</sup> Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books*, 41.

<sup>38</sup> Jenny Swanson, *John of Wales: A Study of the Works and Ideas of a Thirteenth-Century Friar* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 16-17.

valuing the originals allowed the "concept of historical change in time" to really develop and from that, philology and textual analysis.<sup>39</sup> Thomas was not the first medieval scholar to recognise that a reference tool was not a replacement for a full library or even for the originals. As the glosses and distinction collections developed, scholars were aware of their shortcomings, but admitted that the collections had their uses as textbooks and as reference tools.<sup>40</sup> Medieval scholars emphasized reading the full works to put the excerpts into context;<sup>41</sup> Thomas was no exception. In his "Preface" Thomas quoted Seneca to describe the *Manipulus florum* merely as a starting place for great reading, arguing that this florilegium was intended to help readers navigate the great sea of literary works and that Thomas' quotations were to provide the first sparks of interest and direct readers to the full texts for complete satisfaction.<sup>42</sup> Consulting the original source for the quotations would also clear up any misreading, allowing the user to better understand the quotation and to better employ it in his own work. Returning to the source, or *ad fontes*, is also a characteristic often associated with the Renaissance and Humanism, yet it had its roots in medieval scholarship and the development of resource books. The emphasis on returning *ad fontes* is likely why the *Manipulus florum* continued to be valued and produced well into the early modern period with two incunables and many later printed editions. Aurelius' interest in the *Manipulus florum* was likely two-fold: Thomas urged a 'proto-humanist' return *ad fontes*, and Thomas favoured the wisdom of Seneca as did Aurelius.

As the wealth of information grew in the later Middle Ages, ways of ordering it to make it as accessible as possible were required, and these tools ran the risk of lessening the learning of students and cheapening the degrees awarded if only the collections were ever read. Targeted

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<sup>39</sup> Goddu and Rouse, "Gerald of Wales," 520-521.

<sup>40</sup> Rouse and Rouse, "*Statim invenire*," 222.

<sup>41</sup> Rouse and Rouse, "*Statim invenire*," 223.

<sup>42</sup> "Thomas de Hibernia's Preface to the *Manipulus florum*," (C. Nighman, trans.), The Electronic *Manipulus florum* Project, last accessed July 26, 2013, <http://web.wlu.ca/history/cnighman/Preface.pdf>.

research was now becoming possible through these reference books, though they were meant only to be the first step in finding the relevant information, using alphabetization, and cross-referencing to make the information easier to find.

Thomas also included "an elaborate cross-referencing system" in his *Manipulus florum* to aid in information retrieval through which "the reader is constantly engaged in a process of lateral thinking."<sup>43</sup> The benefit of cross-references over themes is that the cross-references not only include similar subjects but also contrasting ones which otherwise would have been arranged under a different theme altogether. How the information is arranged and the information technologies developed to aid retrieval of that information is fundamentally linked to how the information was used and why quotations were collected at all.

Ruth Finnegan in her book *Why do we quote? The culture and history of quotation* (2011) provides four reasons why people collect quotations: 1) quoting is the habit of many millennia and a universal human habit; 2) a collection could take place of a whole library, as already mentioned; 3) commonplace-books are ways of "organising and perpetuating knowledge," "defining and ordering not just knowledge but current hierarchies and presuppositions about reality"; and where *florilegia* are concerned, they easily summarized official church doctrine and made it easy to disseminate; 4) lastly, they are used for education, correction, and creation.<sup>44</sup> Nothing is more difficult than trying to write from a blank page; there has to be inspiration, something to cling to in the middle of an ocean of blank pages. Anne Moss argues that the purpose of collecting quotations was to preserve "a vanishing ideology" and was a mode "of structuring a universe."<sup>45</sup> How those same quotations were employed by both sides of a discussion is summed up by Finnegan when she writes: "We harvest others' words from the

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<sup>43</sup> Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books*, 41.

<sup>44</sup> Finnegan, *Why do we quote?*, 149-150.

<sup>45</sup> Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books*, 15.



past to be controlled and activated in the present."<sup>46</sup> By selecting disembodied phrases to either support or condemn a cause, the past is manipulated in a very specific way. Moss argues that by "the sixteenth century, in northern Europe at least, the inherent assumption was that quotations were structural elements of discourse intended to argue, prove, and persuade."<sup>47</sup> This assumption continues today, though it has been transformed into a sort of academic code of conduct especially in essay writing, though context is now acknowledged as key information and not to be excluded or warped. In the Middle Ages, however, there were no such rules.

A.A. Goddu and R.H. Rouse argue that medieval people "could use ancient objects and words only to express medieval concepts and they could portray ancient concepts only in medieval terms."<sup>48</sup> Therefore, medieval thought was based on extracts which, as discussed, are denuded of their original contexts and rendered universal and occasionally ambiguous. Goddu and Rouse do have a point; there is a certain disconnect between a historical artifact, be it an object or a concept, and the person who intends to use or interpret it. Medieval Christians could only understand Seneca's spirituality in Christian terms, and the precepts of Stoicism were thus understood as being akin to Christian concepts of suffering. The usefulness of an excerpt devoid of its context is that the writer can relate to it in familiar ways, rather than some archaic saying that has no relevance in the modern world.

Commonplaces can therefore be a useful teaching tool by allowing students to relate to foreign concepts through their own personal experiences. Moss explains that

the commonplace-book was part of the initial intellectual experience of every schoolboy...every Latin-literate individual started to compose a commonplace-book as soon as he could read and write reasonably accurately. It was formative

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<sup>46</sup> Finnegan, *Why do we quote?*, 152.

<sup>47</sup> Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books*, 44.

<sup>48</sup> Goddu and Rouse, "Gerald of Wales," 519.

and it was programmatic. It shaped the way he thought and determined the way he handled language.<sup>49</sup>

This method of language training is still used today with the translation of increasingly difficult sentences followed by sentence composition once the basic understanding of grammar has been learned. As previously mentioned, the Latin school in Deventer encouraged its students to keep a notebook of excerpts (*rapiarum*) from the New Testament and may have inspired some of the community members of the Brethren of the Common Life to copy down excerpts from other books.<sup>50</sup> If, for example, a student enjoyed the rather complex and oratorical style of Cicero over straightforward Caesar, more excerpts from Cicero would be gathered into that students' private commonplace book and the students' own writing would tend to emulate a Ciceronian style rather than that of Caesar. The styles of Latin composition that students were exposed to in school came to define their own writing styles; the wider the exposure, the more varied a notebook collection. The textbooks to which the students had access would necessarily inform them as to which style was preferred and for what type of writing.

In the later Middle Ages, university graduates, particularly humanist trained students increasingly had careers in the bureaucracies of the Church and secular governments, or served in wealthy households. One application of their humanist training was the art of letter writing, *ars dictamini*, a key skill in diplomatic relations. The *Libellus* was originally attached to a letter and frequently addresses Hoen directly, asking Hoen to endure his tribulations with Christ-like patience. Letter writing was, and in some circles still is, an art form and as such there were textbooks to instruct students in the proper formatting and linguistic style. Gasparino Barzizza's *Epistolae ad exercitationem accommodatae* (c. 1450) was an influential textbook for letter-

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<sup>49</sup> Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books*, viii.

<sup>50</sup> Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books*, 107.

writing in northern Europe into the early sixteenth century.<sup>51</sup> Letters, like essays, employed quotations to support the author's arguments, to help persuade the recipient to the desired response. While the quotations collected were essentially universal, the phrasing or tense did not always fit into the desired passage and needed to be altered. The *Rationes dictandi* (1119-1124) explains how and where to place quotations in a letter, and how to change "the tense to fit the context."<sup>52</sup> Goddu and Rouse argue that the *Florilegium angelicum* was intended for letter-writing, which may partly explain why it was a very popular collection.<sup>53</sup> The authoritative quotations employed in letters and essays gained their authority from the original source, not necessarily from the compiler or his collection. How the quotations were transmitted and in what source they were received does indicate the values of the intellectual context in which the collection was compiled and employed. Goddu and Rouse argue that when "editing the works of a medieval author it is useful to identify not only the ultimate source of a quotation but also the intermediate source, for it is that which in part defined the authors' literary horizon."<sup>54</sup> The type of collection will indicate how the original sources were interpreted, and whether and how they were 'adapted'.

The collections in the broadest definition were books of proverbs. Finnegan remarks that "Proverbs and other well-worn sayings came to be marked too, as well as extracts from the ancient classical sources, and in Renaissance texts sententious sayings like commonplaces, aphorisms, and proverbs were also indicated by marginal marks."<sup>55</sup> Unlike commonplaces, many proverbs do not have a definitive origin from which to draw authority; rather, anonymous proverbs rely on the validity of their inherent universal wisdom and morality. This suggests that

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<sup>51</sup> Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books*, 56.

<sup>52</sup> Goddu and Rouse, "Gerald of Wales," 490.

<sup>53</sup> Goddu and Rouse, "Gerald of Wales," 491.

<sup>54</sup> Goddu and Rouse, "Gerald of Wales," 489.

<sup>55</sup> Finnegan, *Why do we quote?*, 98.

writers employing these proverbs sought to improve the lives of readers by elevating the most common of activities or objects to those filled with meaning, morality, and authority.

An early medieval proverb collection, the *Proverbia Senecae*, emerged in the ninth century and was drawn from the A-M entries of Publilius Syrus' *Sententiae*, originally created during the Roman Republic of the first century BC. The *Proverbia* also included sayings from Seneca, pseudo-Seneca, *De moribus* entries, and *De remediis fortuitorum* excerpts.<sup>56</sup> Proverb collections began to take on more and more characteristics of commonplace-books throughout the medieval period. The *Moralium dogma philosophorum*, composed in the twelfth century by an unknown compiler, focuses on the virtues and vices, though most importantly it is organized by subject.<sup>57</sup> Virtues and vices resurfaced as the focal point in the *florilegia*, which Taylor classifies as a subgroup of proverb collections or the gnostic tradition.<sup>58</sup> The dichotomy of virtue and vice, or the three pairs identified by Taylor, is the closest connection to the commonplace-books in addition to the organization by subject found in the *Moralium*.

John of Wales' *Summa collectionum*, also called the *Communiloquium* (c.1265-1270), is "a moral encyclopedia, with sections devoted to the correct conduct of all sorts and conditions of men in their various social estates" and is "essentially a collection of excerpts from carefully identified sources."<sup>59</sup> Focused on morality, the *Communiloquium* provided authoritative examples to users, primarily preachers, both novice and veteran, and the audiences of preachers,<sup>60</sup> by which to guide their lives regardless of their station or moral issues. The universality of the moral examples allowed them to be applied to members of all three medieval estates because everyone, in theory, shared in Christ's salvation. The examples given, usually

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<sup>56</sup> Taylor, "Medieval Proverb Collections," 26.

<sup>57</sup> Taylor, "Medieval Proverb Collections," 27.

<sup>58</sup> Taylor, "Medieval Proverb Collections," 26.

<sup>59</sup> Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books*, 29.

<sup>60</sup> Swanson, *John of Wales*, 2-3.

delivered through sermons, allowed recipients to emulate Christ and in so doing attain salvation. The focus of the commonplace-book again gradually shifted, this time from ethics to moral theology in the form of the *florilegium*.

Moss argues that *florilegia* are part of the commonplace-book genre.<sup>61</sup> This stands to reason because *florilegia* are often topically arranged and include excerpts and exemplary anecdotes from both Christian and pagan authors. The purpose of *florilegia* was similar to that of other commonplace-books: the entries were "enshrined for conservation and re-use."<sup>62</sup> John of Wales quotes the *Communioloquium* section in his *Compendiloquium* (also created sometime in the 1270s); the *Compendiloquium* is a *florilegium* as it gathers flowers (*flores*) that teach by example.<sup>63</sup> Both the *florilegium* and the *flores*, as the quotations are called, derive their titles from a Biblical reference to Ruth (2:3) who collected leftover grains which the compilers felt they also did as they selected quotations from the original sources, as explained in Thomas of Ireland's "Preface" to the *Manipulus florum*.<sup>64</sup> The very name of the genre reflects the deep Christian devotion of the compilers and users of the *florilegia*.

*Florilegia* are also called *flores philosophorum* or *flores auctorum*, and they could be private or public collections.<sup>65</sup> Two examples of public collections are the *Florilegium gallicum* and *Florilegium angelicum* which were widely read by scholars between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries.<sup>66</sup> The topical arrangement varies between these two *florilegia* and the arrangement of excerpts within topics is generally based on linguistic difficulty, beginning with the easiest; for this reason they were considered to be beginners' textbooks.<sup>67</sup> The brevity of these collections

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<sup>61</sup> Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books*, 24.

<sup>62</sup> Finneghan, *Why do we quote?*, 146.

<sup>63</sup> Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books*, 29-30. Swanson, *John of Wales*, 13.

<sup>64</sup> Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books*, 27. "Thomas de Hibernia's Preface to the *Manipulus florum*."

<sup>65</sup> Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books*, 24-25.

<sup>66</sup> Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books*, 25.

<sup>67</sup> Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books*, 26.

also restricts their use to new students of Latin; these would be insufficient to create extensive written works or sermons. Taylor places the *Florilegium gallicum* and *Florilegium angelicum*, as well as the second part of the *Florilegium morale Oxoniense*, in the *epitome*-type of proverb collections, meaning that their entries appear in the order that they did in their original source.<sup>68</sup> For this reason, these early *florilegia* were difficult to navigate because the entries were arranged in accordance with their appearance in the source, instead of strictly topically, with the possible exception being the *Florilegium morale Oxoniense* which includes excerpts concerning moral conduct. Because this awkward organizational format was combined with a very small selection of *flores*, it is no surprise that the *Florilegium gallicum* and *Florilegium angelicum* would be overshadowed by a *florilegium* that is much more extensive and more user-friendly.

Thomas of Ireland's *Manipulus florum* ("Handful of flowers") was compiled in Paris and completed by 1306. The Rouses discovered that he used the *Florilegium paradysi*, which was a combination of *Florilegium gallicum* and *Florilegium angelicum* but with fewer of the Classical entries, as a major source for his new user-friendly *florilegium*.<sup>69</sup> Thomas borrowed from another Cistercian *florilegia* in addition to the *Flores paradysi*, the *Liber exceptionum ex libris viginti trium auctorum*, both of which "were large collections of patristic and ancient authorities...with roots in yet earlier collections," as already mentioned.<sup>70</sup> The *Manipulus florum*, however, was significantly different from its predecessors. The *Manipulus florum* contains 6000 quotations organized under 266 topics and includes an extensive bibliography listing 366 works.<sup>71</sup> Thomas employed topic headings or commonplaces which were "commonly used in sermons and

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<sup>68</sup> Taylor, "Medieval Proverb Collections," 26.

<sup>69</sup> Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books*, 39-40.

<sup>70</sup> Finnegan, *Why do we quote?*, 146.

<sup>71</sup> Finnegan, *Why do we quote?*, 133.

lectures"<sup>72</sup> almost always using nouns, usually religious or moral in nature,<sup>73</sup> and arranged them in "strict alphabetical ordering."<sup>74</sup> The alphabetical arrangement of popular topics allowed users to quickly retrieve the desired *flores*, and with roughly 6000 excerpts to choose from, the *Manipulus florum* instantly became the reference book of choice. Thomas also created and implemented a cross-referencing system between commonplaces, and provided source citations for nearly all of the quotations.<sup>75</sup> The level of organization found in the *Manipulus florum* is astounding and reaches from the commonplaces down to the ordering of the quotations themselves. Thomas of Ireland employed Thomas Aquinas' hierarchy for sources when arranging the *flores* within each commonplace.<sup>76</sup> The place of honour went to the Christian fathers who were listed first, followed by the venerable medieval writers, and then the Church-approved pre-Christian authors.<sup>77</sup> This arrangement values Christian patristic authors over their classical predecessors, but it also allows for some historical context and development, though this was probably not Thomas' purpose.

In contrast to the Rouses theory that the *Manipulus florum* was intended as a preachers' tool, Chris L. Nighman argues that the purpose of collecting and categorizing such a vast array of excerpts from a variety of sources into a single *florilegium* is that Thomas intended it to be "a topically-ordered collection of authoritative commonplaces that individuals could peruse in order to improve themselves."<sup>78</sup> Like John of Wales before him,<sup>79</sup> Thomas argued in his "Preface" for the need to consult the original sources of the quotations he listed so that the reader could gain a

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<sup>72</sup> Finnegan, *Why do we quote?*, 133.

<sup>73</sup> Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books*, 40.

<sup>74</sup> Finnegan, *Why do we quote?*, 133.

<sup>75</sup> Finnegan, *Why do we quote?*, 133.

<sup>76</sup> Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books*, 41.

<sup>77</sup> Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books*, 41.

<sup>78</sup> Chris L. Nighman, "Commonplaces on Preaching Among Commonplaces for Preaching? The Topic *Predicatio* in Thomas of Ireland's *Manipulus florum*," *Medieval Sermon Studies* Vol 49 (2005), 41.

<sup>79</sup> Swanson, *John of Wales*, 16.

full understanding that the *Manipulus florum* was not a library replacement.<sup>80</sup> Petrarch too felt that the *Manipulus florum* was in no way a fitting replacement for a library full of complete texts, though he admitted it was useful.<sup>81</sup> Despite this complaint, the *Manipulus florum* was widely copied during the late Middle Ages and into the era of printing, with fifty incunables produced after 1483.<sup>82</sup> Moss argues that "there is evidence that *florilegia* arranged by topics and drawing from a large number of medieval writers were a much more saleable commodity in contemporary northern Europe."<sup>83</sup> The *Manipulus florum* was also used in large part for the creation of later reference works, including the *Pharetra doctorum et philosophorum*, *Lumen animae*, and the *Polyanthea*; all three of these books were published in Germany and the Low Countries prior to 1510.<sup>84</sup> Yet it will be shown that Aurelius probably used the *Manipulus florum* as his commonplace-book of choice and not one of these derivative compilations.

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<sup>80</sup> "Thomas de Hibernia's Preface to the *Manipulus florum*."

<sup>81</sup> Goddu and Rouse, "Gerald of Wales," 520.

<sup>82</sup> Finnegan, *Why do we quote?*, 135.

<sup>83</sup> Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books*, 37.

<sup>84</sup> Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books*, 47-49.



CHAPTER 2: THE *LIBELLUS* AND AURELIUS' RECEPTION OF THE *MANIPULUS FLORUM*

The *Libellus de Patientia* was completed by Aurelius early in 1524 and attached to a letter sent to his friend Cornelius Hoen at The Hague.<sup>1</sup> Aurelius constructed his *Libellus* during his own confinement, a punishment for being suspected of Lutheran sympathies by his superiors, a punishment that was intended to isolate Aurelius and prevent him from contacting the world beyond his monastic cell.<sup>2</sup> Karin Tilmans has argued that this isolation was not entirely successful as Aurelius was able to send and receive letters and on occasion a book or two.<sup>3</sup> Aurelius' *Libellus*, true to both medieval and Renaissance style, contains quotations from a variety of authorities. The present count of quotations employed by Aurelius in his 18 page treatise on patience sits at roughly 213, though there are likely more yet to be discovered. Of those 213 quotations, 17 can be found in Thomas of Ireland's *Manipulus florum*. It will be argued here that Aurelius probably did use the *Manipulus florum* as a source, and that he did not use a derivative of the *Manipulus florum* like the *Polyanthea*. I will also demonstrate that he most likely used one of the two incunable editions, not a manuscript copy, of the *Manipulus florum*.

Evidence supporting Aurelius' reception of the *Manipulus florum* can be found in two *flores* that exhibit a complex transmission, and in Aurelius' clustering arrangement of *flores* from the *lemma* Tribulatio. The two *flores* that Aurelius employs in his *Libellus* that have a heavy *Manipulus florum* footprint are Tribulatio an and Tribulatio ak. Both Tribulatio *flores* appear within a cluster of Tribulatio quotations in chapter eight of the *Libellus*, which is discussed below. Tribulatio an, which appears in the *Libellus* before Tribulatio ak and has a more complex transmission and reception.

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<sup>1</sup> There is some confusion concerning the timeline of contact between Aurelius and Hoen in the beginning of 1524, an avenue that should be investigated but lies beyond the scope of this project.

<sup>2</sup> Tilmans, *Historiography in Holland*, 69.

<sup>3</sup> Tilmans, *Historiography in Holland*, 69-70.

Tribulatio an is attributed to a letter by Peter of Ravenna in the *Manipulus florum* but is actually compiled from two different sources. Aurelius' reception of the *Manipulus florum* can be seen in his *Libellus*, the double underlined words are Aurelius' insertions and other variants:

et ut vexatio det nobis intellectum. Trituratur enim granum ut reponatur in horreo, quadratur lapis, ut sine sonitu mallei in edificio templi collocetur, movetur vehemens turbo quum helias rapitur in celum. Et quid multis? Maximum est remedium interioris hominis, si in huius area mundi variis tribulationum flagellis trituretur exterior patienter (ll.338-342).

Tribulatio an in the *Manipulus florum* reads:

Nam hec omnia fortasse operatur Dominus ut det uobis uexatio intellectum. Trituratur granum ut reponatur in horreo; quadratur lapis ut sine sonitu mallei in edificio templi collocetur. Mouetur turbo ut Elyas rapiatur in celum. Maximum est remedium interioris hominis, si in hac area mundi uariis passionum flagellis trituretur exterior. -Petrus Rauennas in quadam epistola.

Tribulatio an has been shown by Nighman to be a compilation of two different quotations, neither of which were Peter of Ravenna:

Nam haec omnia fortasse operatur Dominus, ut det vobis vexatio intellectum. Trituratur granum, ut reponatur in horreo; quadratur lapis, ut sine sonitu mallei in templi aedificio collocetur: movetur turbo, ut Elias rapiatur in coelum (Petrus Blesensis, *Epistolae* 44)...maximum esse remedium interioris hominis, si in hac area mundi uariis passionum flagellis trituretur exterior (Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epistularum libri nouem* 7, 6, 5).<sup>4</sup>

Aurelius does not cite either Peter of Blois or Sidonius, or even Peter of Ravenna, but generally aligns with the *Manipulus florum* form in his *Libellus*. Aside from Aurelius' insertions, which do not connect the quotation to the original sources outside of *Manipulus florum* transmission, the quotation strongly suggests Aurelius' reception of the *Manipulus florum* in that he combines the same two excerpts in the same way, and other textual similarities noted in the apparatus to the edition also support this conclusion. It is very unlikely that Aurelius would have combined these two authors in exactly the same way without having used the *Manipulus florum*; the two authors

<sup>4</sup> "Tribulatio an cum fontibus primis," The Electronic *Manipulus florum* Project, <<http://web.wlu.ca/history/cnighman/MFfontes/TribulatioAN.pdf>>.

are too far removed from one another and their writings too vast to coincidentally select the exact same excerpts as Thomas of Ireland and combine them in the same way. Unless Aurelius derived it from an intermediate source that has not been identified, he almost certainly used the *Manipulus florum* as his source for the quotation *Tribulatio an*. Additional evidence for this determination is based on the proximity of the quotation to the other passages which align with other *Tribulatio flores*. Further evidence of Aurelius' reception of the *Manipulus florum* can be found in *Tribulatio ak*.

The *Manipulus florum* transmission of *Tribulatio ak*, and therefore Aurelius' likely reception of it, is very muddled. This quotation is attributed to John Chrysostom's *Homiliae Super Mattheum* by both Thomas of Ireland and Aurelius, who attributes the quotation to Chrysostom within the text and in the margin specifies that the quotation is from the *Homiliae Super Mattheum*. As before and in all subsequent presentations of this kind, Aurelius' insertions and other variants are indicated by double underscoring:

Si enim minaces sunt nautis pelagi fluctus, si tempestates grandinum atque hiemes agricolis, si vulnera cedisque militibus (teste Crisostomo). Si gravissimi ictus plageque pugilibus leves videntur et tolerabiles, propter spem pereuntium commodorum, quanto magis nos, quibus celum preparatur in premio, nihil de presentis seculi asperitatibus sentire debemus quom maxime labores nostros mitiget in beatum venire finem. Non aspiciamus quam via est aspera, sed quo ducit, sed aliam quia lata est sed ubi desinit (ll.360-365).

*Tribulatio ak* in the *Manipulus florum* reads as follows:

Si quis uiam laboriosam estimat, sue desidie est accusatio. Si enim minaces nautis pelagi fluctus, si tempestates atque yemes agricolis, si uulnera cedisque militibus, si gravissimi ictus plageque pugilibus leues uidentur, et tollerabiles sunt propter spem temporalium ac pereuncium commodorum, multo magis cum celum preparatur in premio; nichil ex presentibus asperitatibus debet sentiri. Maxime labores mitigat in benignum finem uenire ne aspicias quod uia est aspera, sed quo ducit, nec aliam quia lata est sed ubi desinit. -Crisostomus super Mattheum.

If Aurelius did employ *Tribulatio ak*, he made a number of adaptations to the passage, inserting a number of words and changing the voice of the verbs, as was taught in the textbooks of the *ars dictamini*, but retaining their tense and mood. The transmission of the quotation, however, is not entirely straightforward. *Tribulatio ak* is taken largely from Chrysostom's *Homiliae Super Mattheum*, but Thomas of Ireland interpolated a passage that has only been found in Hugh of St. Cher's *Postilla super euangelia*, where it is followed by a paraphrase of the rest of *Tribulatio ak*:

Si qui viam laboriosam aestimant, suae desidiae est accusatio. Si enim tempestas pelagi nautis, vulnera militibus, frigora et glacies agricultoribus leuia et portabilia sunt propter spem praemii temporalis, multo magis cum caelum placet nullum debet sentire periculum (Chrysostomus via Hugo de Sancto Charo, *Postilla super euangelia*, Matthew 7). Quod si nautis minaces illi pelagi fluctus: si tempestates, atque hyemes agricolis: si uulnera, caedesque militibus: si grauissimi illi ictus, plagaque pugilibus leues uidentur, atque tollerabiles propter spem temporalium, ac parentum commodorum: multo magis cum coelum proponatur in praemio, et ineffabilia illa bona, atque perpetua nihil ex praesentibus his aduersitatibus sentietur (Iohannes Chrysostomus, *In Mattheum homiliae interpretatione Aniani*, 24). Maxime labores mitigat in benignum finem venire. Ne aspicias inquit quod aspera est via, sed quo ducit nec aliam quae lata est, sed vbi desinit (Hugo de Sancto Charo, *Postilla super euangelia*, Matthew 7).<sup>5</sup>

Thomas seamlessly blended Hugo's commentary with the words of Chrysostom to create a single quotation. Aurelius' version is very similar to the text of *Tribulatio ak* in the *Manipulus florum*; again this is very unlikely to be a coincidence but is rather evidence that Aurelius probably used the *Manipulus florum* as his source. Aurelius' notation in the margin, "Super Mattheum," in combination with his citation of Chrysostom also points to his use of the *Manipulus florum* as the source of the quotation rather than the original due to the heavy editorial hand of Thomas. Evidence for Aurelius' reception of the *Manipulus florum* extends beyond these two *flores* and into his possible use of other *Tribulatio* quotations and also some *flores* from the related commonplace *Perseuerancia*.

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<sup>5</sup> "Tribulatio ak cum fontibus primis," The Electronic *Manipulus florum* Project, <<http://web.wlu.ca/history/cnighman/MFfontes/TribulatioAK.pdf>>.

With the exception of Tribulatio z, which may have been the source for a quotation from Gregory the Great in chapter seven, Aurelius' other possible uses of Tribulatio *flores* from the *Manipulus florum* are found in a cluster in chapter eight along with Tribulatio ak and Tribulatio an. It is probably no coincidence that passages that align with Tribulatio am, an, ao, and ar appear in Aurelius' text in exactly that order.<sup>6</sup> Aurelius begins this sequence on tribulation as follows:

Et ideo forsitan hic nos temporaliter Dominus punit, ut eterne mortis ardorem pena redimat temporalis. (ll.337-338).

This line, which is not attributed to an author or otherwise indicated as a quotation by Aurelius, corresponds fairly closely to Tribulatio am:

Ideo forsitan temporaliter te punit ut eterne mortis ardores pena redimat temporalis. -Petrus Rauennas in quadam epistola.

Thomas did not heavily alter this excerpt; the only significant change he made was misattributing the quotation to Peter of Ravenna rather than the real source: Peter of Blois' *Epistola* 12.<sup>7</sup> If Aurelius did in fact derive this quotation from the *Manipulus florum*, he inserted a few words of his own, but otherwise the quotation is generally left intact, which could cast doubt upon the theory that Aurelius gleaned this quotation from the *Manipulus florum* rather than the original source. But the fact that the line which corresponds to Tribulatio am is immediately followed in the *Libellus* by the passage that aligns with Tribulatio an, which as explained above comprises quotations from two different authors spliced together by Thomas of Ireland, adds weight to the argument that the *Manipulus florum* was probably also Aurelius' intermediate source for Tribulatio am.

<sup>6</sup> Appendix C: *Libellus de Patientia*, ll.337-342.

<sup>7</sup> "Tribulatio am cum fonte primo," The Electronic *Manipulus florum* Project, <<http://web.wlu.ca/history/cnighman/MFfontes/TribulatioAM.pdf>>.

Immediately following the passage which aligns with Tribulatio an in Aurelius' *Libellus* is another unattributed line which corresponds to Tribulatio ao in the *Manipulus florum*:

Nam omnis aut cordis aut corporis afflictio citra meritum est et salutis fructum, sine patientie condimento (ll.342-343).

Tribulatio ao is also attributed to Peter of Ravenna in the *Manipulus florum*:

Omnis cordis aut corporis afflictio citra meritum et fructum salutis est sine paciencie condimento. -Petrus Rauennas *Epistola*.

And once again, the actual source is a letter by Peter of Blois:

Utinam quae patior, sustineam patienter; omnes enim cordis aut corporis afflictio citra meritum et fructum salutis est sine patientiae condimento. -Petrus Blesensis, *Epistolae*, 31.<sup>8</sup>

Although there are some variants between the versions in the *Manipulus florum* and the *Libellus*, there is also one case where they agree with one another but differ from the original source, as explained in the apparatus to the edition. That textual evidence on its own would be inconclusive, but considering that the line which corresponds to Tribulatio ao follows immediately after passages that align with Tribulatio am and Tribulatio an, it is reasonable to suggest that all three were derived by Aurelius from a copy of the *Manipulus florum*, though it is still possible that he extracted them from an unknown source that was itself derived from Thomas of Ireland's florilegium.

Just as Aurelius does not reference any authors or indicate the presence of quoted material in the passages that corresponds to Tribulatio am, an and ao, neither does he do so with a line that aligns with Tribulatio ar which immediately follows those passages in the *Libellus*:

Parva et modica nimis sunt omnia que hic toleramus, si recordemur quid ille biberit ad patibulum qui nos invitat ad celum (ll.343-345).

In the *Manipulus florum* Tribulatio ar is attributed to Cassiodorus:

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<sup>8</sup> "Tribulatio ao cum fonte primo," The Electronic *Manipulus florum* Project, <<http://web.wlu.ca/history/cnighman/MFfontes/TribulatioAO.pdf>>

Parua tolleramus, si recordamur quid biberit ad patibulum qui nos inuitat ad celum. -Cassiodorus super Psalmos.

This is still incorrect. The quotation found under Tribulatio ar is actually from another letter from Sidonius' *Epistularum libri nouem*:

Quantumlibet nobis anxietatum pateras uitae praesentis propinet afflictio, parua toleramus, si recordamur, quid biberit ad patibulum qui inuitat ad caelum. - Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epistularum libri nouem*, 9, 4, 3.<sup>9</sup>

Whether Aurelius obtained this quotation from the original source or from the *Manipulus florum*, he inserted his own phrase into it, as well as the pronoun "ille"; however, there are variants that Thomas of Ireland and Aurelius share that are not found in the original text, as explained in the apparatus to the edition. Moreover, when Tribulatio ar is considered with Tribulatio an, it is not likely that Aurelius was familiar with or had a copy of Sidonius' *Epistularum libri nouem* because of the way in which Sidonius' words appear in the *Libellus* in the same format as the *Manipulus florum*.

Unlike Aurelius' probable use of the Tribulatio quotations, the quotations from Perseuerancia that align with passages in the *Libellus* are not found in the same order that they appear in the *Manipulus florum*. Another difference is that three of the four are acknowledged as quotations and attributed to an author. The passages that align with these Perseuerancia *flores* are all found in chapter five of the *Libellus*, where three of them are found in a cluster similar to the Tribulatio cluster in chapter eight. The first quotation in that cluster is the unattributed line that corresponds to Perseuerancia b:

Perseuerantia nempe est unica summi regis filia, finis virtutum earumque consummatio, totius boni repositorium et virtus sine qua nemo videbit Deum (ll.119-201).

Perseuerancia b appears in the *Manipulus florum* as follows:

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<sup>9</sup> "Tribulatio ar cum fonte primo," The Electronic *Manipulus florum* Project, <<http://web.wlu.ca/history/cnighman/MFfontes/TribulatioAR.pdf>>.

Perseuerancia est unica filia summi regis, finis uirtutum earumque consummatio, totiusque boni repositorium, et uirtus sine qua nemo uidebit Deum. -Bernardus in quadam epistola.

The *Manipulus florum* entry is very close to the original quotation:

Perseuerantia singularis est filia summi Regis, virtutum finis earumque consummatio, totius boni repositorium, virtus *sine qua nemo videbit Deum* (Heb. 12:14) -Bernardus Claraeuallensis, *Sermones de diuersis* 41, 10.<sup>10</sup>

In this case there are a number of variants that the *Libellus* shares with the *Manipulus florum* but that are different from the original source, as well as an apparent one-word interpolation that appears only in the *Libellus* version, and also a variant that is only in the *Manipulus florum* version, where the *Libellus* agrees with the original source. This evidence suggesting that Aurelius may have used Perseuerancia b as his source is strengthened by the fact that it is immediately followed by two other likely borrowings from that florilegium. Another important point is that of the four Perseuerancia *flores* that Aurelius may have used, Perseuerancia b is the only one that is misattributed in the *Manipulus florum*; it may be no coincidence, therefore, that it is the only passage of the four that Aurelius does not indicate as a quotation or attribute to a specific author. His lack of attribution may suggest that Aurelius was familiar enough with the works of Bernard to suspect that this attribution was incorrect; if so, Aurelius must have decided to include it anyway, but without an attribution, because it was such an appropriate quotation.

In the *Libellus*, the line corresponding to Perseuerancia b is followed by two Biblical references and then two sentences that aligns with the *Manipulus florum* entry Perseuerancia f. This quotation was penned by Seneca, which Aurelius acknowledges though he does not indicate the exact source:

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<sup>10</sup> "Perseuerancia b cum fonte primo," The Electronic *Manipulus florum* Project, <<http://web.wlu.ca/history/cnighman/MFfontes/PerseueranciaB.pdf>>.



"Turpe est," ait Seneca, "cedere oneri, luctari cum officio, quod semel recepisti. Non est vir fortis neque strenuus aut constans qui laborem fugit, nisi crescat illi animus ipsa eciam rerum difficultate" (ll.203-205).

The *Manipulus florum* entry for Perseuerancia f does cite the particular work by Seneca:

Turpe est cedere oneri, luctare cum officio quod semel recepisti. Non est uir fortis ac strenuus qui laborem fugit, nisi crescat illi animus ipsa rerum difficultate. - Seneca epistola LI.

The original Senecan quotation is slightly different:

Expectas forsitan ut tibi haec dicant: 'turpe est cedere oneri; luctare cum officio quod semel recepisti. Non est uir fortis ac strenuus qui laborem fugit, nisi crescit illi animus ipsa rerum difficultate.' -Lucius Annaeus Seneca, *Ad Lucilium epistulae morales* 22, 7.<sup>11</sup>

As in the previous examples, there are variants in the *Libellus* version that suggest Aurelius may have used the *Manipulus florum* as his source, and others which suggest otherwise, as explained in the apparatus to the edition, but again this evidence is strengthened by its appearance in a cluster of two other possible Perseuerancia borrowings, as well as the evidence for Tribulatio borrowings in chapter eight.

Immediately following the Seneca quotation Aurelius offers the following quotation attributed to "Bernardus in quadam epistola":

"Absque perseverantia," inquit, "nec qui pugnat victoriam nec victor palmam consequitur. Ipsa nutrix est ad meritum, mediatrix ad premium, soror patientie, constantie filia, amica pacis, amiciciarum nodus, unanimatis vinculum, propugnaculum sanctitatis. Tolle perseverantiam nec obsequium mercedem, nec beneficium gratiam, nec fortitudo laudem obtinebit" (ll.206-210).

This passage aligns fairly closely with Perseuerancia c in the *Manipulus florum*:

Absque perseuerancia nec qui pugnat uictoriam, nec palmam uictor consequitur. Nutrix est ad meritum, mediatrix ad premium, soror paciencie, constancie filia, amica pacis, amiciciarum nodus, unanimatis uinculum, sanctitatis propugnaculum. Tolle perserueranciam nec obsequium mercedem habet, nec beneficium gratiam, nec laudem fortitudo. -Bernardus epistola CXXIX.

<sup>11</sup> "Perseuerancia f cum fonte primo," The Electronic *Manipulus florum* Project, <<http://web.wlu.ca/history/cnighman/MFfontes/PerseueranciaF.pdf>>.

The quotation provided by Thomas in the *Manipulus florum*, and used nearly verbatim by Aurelius, has distinct differences from the original letter:

Prorsus absque perseverantia nec qui pugnat victoriam, nec palmam victor consequitur. Vigor virium, virtutum consummatio est; nutrix ad meritum, mediatrix ad praemium. Soror est patientiae, constantiae filia, amica pacis, amicitiarum nodus, unanimitatis vinculum, propugnaculum sanctitatis. Tolle perseverantiam, nec obsequium mercedem habet, nec beneficium gratiam, nec laudem fortitudo. -Bernardus Claraeuallensis, *Epistolae* 129, 2.

The most important correspondence between the passages in the *Libellus* and the *Manipulus florum* is that both omit half of the second sentence in the original: "Vigor virium, virtutum consummatio est." There are also several other shared textual variants between Aurelius and Thomas of Ireland's *Manipulus florum* strongly support the argument that Aurelius possessed and used a copy, especially when considered in light of the preceding evidence from chapters five and eight of the *Libellus*.

There are several other possible instances of *Manipulus florum* reception that are noted in the apparatus to the edition, but it is the two clusters discussed above from chapters five and eight which are the best evidence for Aurelius' use of this florilegium. However, it is still possible that Aurelius used another intermediate source that was derived from the *Manipulus florum*, rather than Thomas of Ireland's florilegium itself. However, one such possible intermediary can be ruled out with some confidence: The *Polyanthea*, which was compiled by Dominicus Nanus Mirabellus and first published in 1503.

#### THE *LIBELLUS* AND THE *POLYANTHEA*

There were four printed editions of the *Polyanthea* available by 1524. I was unable to find a copy of the 1503 or the 1507 editions; however, the complete editions from 1512 and 1517

are available online through Googlebooks. These editions of the *Polyanthea*, which was highly derivative of the *Manipulus florum*,<sup>12</sup> contain few variants between them, at least under the commonplaces Patientia, Perseuerancia, Tribulatio, Victoria, and Aduersitas. Of the seventeen potential *Manipulus florum* quotations I have found in the *Libellus*, only five appear under the same commonplaces in the *Polyanthea* editions from 1512 and 1517.<sup>13</sup> It is therefore safe to conclude that Aurelius probably did not employ an edition of the *Polyanthea* in the creation of his *Libellus* based on the variants found in Paciencia ak, the omission of the quotation Perseuerancia b, and the complete absence of all of the Tribulatio flores in these two editions of the *Polyanthea*.

#### AURELIUS AND THE INCUNABLE EDITIONS OF THE *MANIPULUS FLORUM*

There is good evidence suggesting that one of the two fifteenth-century incunables was the most likely avenue of Aurelius' reception of the *Manipulus florum* and not a manuscript copy. There were two printed editions of the *Manipulus florum* available when Aurelius wrote his *Libellus*, the Piacenza 1483 edition and the Venice 1493/5 edition. Nighman has collated both editions and made notations when entries show variations from the early manuscript tradition as part of his critical edition of this florilegium, provided online on The Electronic *Manipulus florum* Project website.<sup>14</sup> All seventeen flores that were possibly used by Aurelius have been examined for any variations found in common with the version found in the *Libellus*; three of them contain textual variants found in both incunables and not in any of the manuscripts collated for the *Manipulus florum* edition. It is interesting to note that all three flores containing

<sup>12</sup> Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers, florilegia and sermons*, p.206..

<sup>13</sup> Paciencia f (1512) fol. CLXXVIII v, (1517) fol. CLXI r; Paciencia ak, attributed to Isidore (1512) fol. CLXXIX r, (1517) fol. CLXI v; Perseuerancia a (1512) fol. CLXXXVII r, (1517) fol. CLXVIII v; Perseuerancia c (1512) fol. CLXXXVII v, (1517) fol. CLXVIII v; Perseuerancia f (1512) fol. CLXXXVII v, (1517) fol. CLXVIII r.

<sup>14</sup> The Electronic *Manipulus florum* Project, "Varia" on any given quotation.

variations are from *Tribulatio*, strengthening the case for Aurelius' positive and active reception of the *Manipulus florum*.

The first quotation used in the *Libellus* that possesses a textual variation that can be linked to the *Manipulus florum* incunable editions is *Tribulatio z*. In the *Manipulus florum* *Tribulatio z* is correctly attributed to Gregory the Great:

Aduersitas que bonis uotis aut uiris obicitur, probatio uirtutis est non iudicium reprobationis.<sup>15</sup>

The *Manipulus florum* entry is very close to the original source which reads as follows:

Aduersitas enim quae bonis uotis obicitur probatio uirtutis est, non iudicium reprobationis.

However, both the incunables from Piacenza and Venice<sup>16</sup> and the *Libellus* (ll.292-293) have *indicium* (indicator) instead of *iudicium* (judgment). Of course it is possible that, if Aurelius indeed did use the *Manipulus florum* as a source, he may have used a manuscript copy that agrees with the two incunables in terms of this particular variant, but that scenario seems less likely considering that there are two other instances where Aurelius' version of a quotation agrees with the incunables rather than the early manuscripts collated for the *Manipulus florum* edition. On its own this variation in *Tribulatio z* is not enough to securely indicate Aurelius' reception of either the Piacenza or Venice printing, but when it is considered with *Tribulatio an* and *ar* the case becomes more convincing.

As explained previously, *Tribulatio an* as found in Aurelius' *Libellus* was spliced together with *Tribulatio am* to form a single sentence at the start of the *Tribulatio* cluster in chapter eight. Like *Tribulatio z* before it, there is a small variation found in both the *Libellus* and in the

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<sup>15</sup> "Tribulatio z," The Electronic *Manipulus florum* Project, <<http://web.wlu.ca/history/cnighman/MFfontes/TribulatioZ.pdf>>.

<sup>16</sup> "Tribulatio z cum variis," The Electronic *Manipulus florum* Project, <<http://web.wlu.ca/history/cnighman/MFuaria/TribulatioZ.pdf>>.

incunables, but not found in the early manuscript tradition of the *Manipulus florum* or in the original source. The quotation *Tribulatio an* appears in the *Manipulus florum* as follows:

Nam hec omnia fortasse operatur Dominus ut det uobis uexatio intellectum.<sup>17</sup>

The quotation is identical to the original source:

Nam haec omnia fortasse operatur Dominus, ut det vobis vexatio intellectum.<sup>18</sup>

But in Aurelius' *Libellus* (1.338) and both of the incunable editions of the *Manipulus florum*<sup>19</sup> 'uobis' (to/for you) is supplanted by 'nobis' (to/for us).

The final example which points to Aurelius' use of one of the incunable editions of the *Manipulus florum*, rather than a manuscript copy, is *Tribulatio ar*:

Parua tolleramus, si recordamur quid biberit ad patibulum qui nos inuitat ad celum.

The original source reads as follows:

Quantumlibet nobis anxietatum pateras uitae praesentis propinet afflictio, parua toleramus, si recordamur, quid biberit ad patibulum qui inuitat ad caelum.<sup>20</sup>

But in both of the incunable editions of the *Manipulus florum*<sup>21</sup> and in Aurelius' *Libellus* (1.344) 'recordamur' (let us recall) is supplanted by 'recordemur' (we recall). This is a change in the verb's mood, from the subjunctive to the indicative. While mood and tense changes like this occur elsewhere in Aurelius' *Libellus*, in accordance with the contemporary practices as previously discussed, this particular alteration matches the variation exhibited by the *Manipulus florum* incunables.

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<sup>17</sup> "Tribulatio an cum fontibus primis," The Electronic *Manipulus florum* Project, <<http://web.wlu.ca/history/cnighman/MFfontes/TribulatioAN.pdf>>.

<sup>18</sup> "Tribulatio an cum fontibus primis."

<sup>19</sup> "Tribulatio an cum variis." The Electronic *Manipulus florum* Project, <<http://web.wlu.ca/history/cnighman/MFuaria/TribulatioAN.pdf>>.

<sup>20</sup> "Tribulatio ar cum fonte primo," The Electronic *Manipulus florum* Project, <<http://web.wlu.ca/history/cnighman/MFfontes/TribulatioAR.pdf>>.

<sup>21</sup> "Tribulatio ar cum variis," The Electronic *Manipulus florum* Project, <<http://web.wlu.ca/history/cnighman/MFuaria/TribulatioAR.pdf>>.

There is enough evidence to strongly suggest that Aurelius' reception of the *Manipulus florum* was through one of the incunables, either Piacenza or Venice, based on the common variations in Tribulatio z, an and ar. While it is possible that Aurelius used a manuscript with the same variants and from the same tradition that the Piacenza and Venice editions, the fact that there are three separate instances is very suggestive. In addition to the textual evidence, it should also be noted that, if he had a choice, Aurelius would have surely a printed edition over a manuscript copy of the same text for the simple reason that the printed edition would have been far easier to read and use. It is however not possible at this time to narrow it down to only one of the incunables because the variations found in the *Libellus* are common to both editions. To determine which incunable was used by Aurelius would require a thorough textual analysis of his other works, a task far outside the boundaries of this study.

## CONCLUSIONS

Seventeen of the roughly 213 references and quotations contained in Aurelius' *Libellus de Patientia* can be found in the medieval florilegium known as the *Manipulus florum*. The evidence in the cases of Tribulatio an and ak, in particular, strongly suggest Aurelius' reception of the *Manipulus florum* because of the complex transmission of the quotations. Tribulatio an and ak are both spliced together from two different sources by Thomas of Ireland and passed off as a single quotation in the *Manipulus florum*. Aurelius includes these quotations as they appear in the *florilegium*; to have edited and spliced two very different authors together in the exact same way as Thomas of Ireland would have been a very unlikely coincidence. Further evidence of a heavy *Manipulus florum* footprint in the *Libellus* is Aurelius' arrangement of the *flores*. The Tribulatio *flores* are all located in chapter eight of the *Libellus*, and four of them are clustered

together. Tribulatio am, an, ao, and ar are all in sequence in the *Libellus*, suggesting that Aurelius did mine them all from the *Manipulus florum* based on the same ordering by Thomas of Ireland. Further evidence of Aurelius' reception of the *Manipulus florum* is found in the cluster of Tribulatio am, an and ao quotations which are all incorrectly attributed to Peter of Ravenna by Thomas, suggesting that Aurelius may have combined clustered them together (and in the case of Tribulatio am and an, combined into one sentence) these *flores* together because he believed they were from the same author, though he neglects to cite the author. Nor is Tribulatio the only *lemma* that Aurelius seems to have clustered in this manner. All of the Perseuerancia *flores* that were apparently employed by Aurelius appear in chapter five of the *Libellus*, and three of them are clustered together, which suggests that Aurelius mined them all from one source at one time, and that the source he employed was the *Manipulus florum*.

It has also been demonstrated that Aurelius' reception of these *flores* was almost certainly directly from the *Manipulus florum* and not from the derivative intermediate entitled *Polyanthea*. Aurelius could not have used the *Polyanthea* as his intermediate source because only five of the *flores* he presumably used are found in the *Polyanthea*. All of the Tribulatio *flores*, which fit so well together in Aurelius' *Libellus*, are absent in the two editions of the *Polyanthea* that were examined.

It has been demonstrated that Aurelius probably used one of the available incunables of the *Manipulus florum* based on common textual variations. Tribulatio z, an, and ak as rendered in Aurelius' *Libellus* share variations found only in the incunables from Piacenza and Venice. These changes are unlikely to have been transcription errors on Aurelius' part. The source of Aurelius' *Manipulus florum* reception was therefore very likely either the 1483 Piacenza edition or the

1493/5 Venice edition; further research on Aurelius' other writings may be able to determine which of these editions he used.



## CHAPTER 3: THE ART OF SUFFERING PATIENTLY

In his likely reception of the medieval florilegium the *Manipulus florum* Aurelius demonstrated his willingness to employ scholastic tools. With his extensive use of Cyprian's *De Bono Patientiae* (256AD), Aurelius exhibited knowledge of the genre of patience literature and his education in that he returned to one of the foundational works on Christian patience. In Tilmans open-source edition of the *Libellus* she identified only four Cyprian excerpts, those for which Aurelius explicitly named Cyprian as the source. In my research I have discovered an additional 83 passages taken from Cyprian, many of which were heavily edited and paraphrased by Aurelius, which are included in the critical edition of the text found in Appendix C: *Libellus de Patientia*. Based on this new information, I will argue that Aurelius actively employed the *De Bono Patientiae* as his model for the *Libellus*. As a member of the Brethren of the Common Life and an avid practitioner of the *Devotio Moderna*, Aurelius was keenly aware of the patience literature genre to which his *Libellus de Patientia* would belong, particularly with the *De Bono Patientiae* as its foundation.

The *Libellus* also conforms to the genre of patience literature in its ideas about the divine nature of patience, the relationship between patience and suffering, patience as the highest virtue, and the heavenly rewards for suffering patiently with plenty of Biblical examples to support it, especially Christ's Passion. Before discussing Aurelius' extensive use of Cyprian's *De Bono Patientiae* the *Libellus* must first be placed within the patience literature tradition by examining the origin of the genre, ideas on the nature and purpose of patience and suffering, and the role it played in the spirituality of the Brethren of the Common Life.

## THE ORIGIN OF PATIENCE LITERATURE

The Western concept of patience appears first in Greco-Judaic sources as *hypomoné* meaning "to lie beneath something," which Robin Waugh, in his book *The Genre of Medieval Patience Literature: Development, duplication, and gender* (2012), argues has a particularly feminized tone.<sup>1</sup> The meaning of patience develops from one of the secondary meanings of *hypomoné*, 'submission'. This Greco-Judaic concept of submission is not the only influence on the later Christian understanding of patience. Christianity developed in the Roman world and as such adopted and adapted many characteristics ranging from bureaucratic titles and clothing to entire philosophical precepts. Ralph Hanna argues that Christian patience vocabulary draws directly from the Stoic *apatheia* of "indifference to externals and to one's own passions."<sup>2</sup> The pagan Stoicism of Seneca and Cicero (though Ronald Rittgers calls Cicero an "eclectic Stoic" at best<sup>3</sup>) was cautiously adapted to conform to Christianity by the early Church Fathers through to the scholars of the Middle Ages, as will be further discussed. According to Waugh, the definition of patience literature is to "praise, explicitly or implicitly, the 'ability to endure', to keep on being the same person despite oppressive suffering."<sup>4</sup> This definition is broad enough to encompass all philosophical precepts about how one is able to endure, though Christian patience literature gradually developed a particular method to endure, mainly the submission to God's will.

The genre of patience literature developed among marginal groups within the Roman Empire as they were forced to define themselves, and was especially popular with the early

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<sup>1</sup> Robin Waugh, *The Genre of Medieval Patience Literature: Development, duplication, and gender* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012), 16-17.

<sup>2</sup> Ralph Hanna III, "Some Commonplaces of Late Medieval Patience Discussions: An Introduction," in *The Triumph of Patience, Medieval and Renaissance Studies* (Orlando: University Presses of Florida, 1978), 77.

<sup>3</sup> Ronald K. Rittgers, *The Reformation of Suffering: Pastoral Theology and Lay Piety in Late Medieval and Early Modern Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 39.

<sup>4</sup> Waugh, *The Genre of Medieval Patience Literature*, 7-8.

Christian *passios* of the martyrs and ascetics.<sup>5</sup> Rittgers argues that the main "message of the vast majority of ancient pagan consolation literature" is to "simply submit to fate", and he concludes that the Christians took this message to heart.<sup>6</sup> Waugh maintains that there are two distinct parts in patience literature works: the Dialogue portion which is most of the document, and the Suffering portion which is often brief but always contains the *hypomoné* aspect.<sup>7</sup> Over time the genre developed increasing literary complexity including artificiality, abstraction, and self-consciousness, as well as an increased emphasis on the suffering over other aspects.<sup>8</sup> The relationship between patience and suffering was considered symbiotic by the early Church fathers.

As the genre became established, originality and innovation were "generally frowned upon in such literature," according to Rittgers.<sup>9</sup> This rejection limited the author's message and necessarily required him to mine the already existing patience works for quotations, themes and to some extent anecdotes. Of course originality and innovation appear in the genre, though they are rare. Hanna argues that medieval "authors tended to define, not a *habitus*, but situations in which patience may be exercised and the external forms of the patient man's behaviour. This form of definition, in which discussion is amplified through a series of illustrated anecdotes or static icons, accounts in part for the expansive and rather disorganized form of most patience discussions."<sup>10</sup>

For medieval thinkers patience did not reside in a particular place or merely an internal thought experiment, but rather that it was omnipresent and could be applied to any situation. The

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<sup>5</sup> Waugh, *The Genre of Medieval Patience Literature*, 7-9.

<sup>6</sup> Rittgers, *The Reformation of Suffering*, 41, 43.

<sup>7</sup> Waugh, *The Genre of Medieval Patience Literature*, 25.

<sup>8</sup> Waugh, *The Genre of Medieval Patience Literature*, 26.

<sup>9</sup> Rittgers, *The Reformation of Suffering*, 54.

<sup>10</sup> Hanna, "Some Commonplaces of Late Medieval Patience Discussions: An Introduction," 71.

shift in the location of patience from a particular place out into the world and making it contingent on the behaviours of individual humans, medieval authors foreshadowed the humanist focus on Man and this world. The evolution of patience literature as a genre preceded the Renaissance proper, illustrating that humanist tendencies existed during the 'long twelfth century' and were in fact practiced by late medieval thinkers. The patience genre is called 'Trostschriften' in Germany, and is an example of this blending of medieval and Renaissance philosophy and style. The term translates to 'consolation literature' which was defined by Rittgers as the intention "to provide solace and guidance to those who suffered in body or soul."<sup>11</sup> By the *quattrocento* the Italian humanists, beginning with Petrarch, extended the patience genre to include sadness concerning mundane goals, or distress caused by other humans, a focus on 'this world' typical of Renaissance humanism.<sup>12</sup> Then Christian humanists built on pre-humanist ideas about patience by including human actions as sources for the situations in which patience could be exercised through human behaviour. However, the nature and purpose of patience proved more complicated than the methods to exercise it.

#### CONCEPTIONS OF PATIENCE AND SUFFERING

Waugh summarizes the issue concerning the nature of patience when he states: "As many scholars of intellectual history have discovered, the virtue of patience is nearly impossible to identify as a force unto itself because it has no immediate presence of its own."<sup>13</sup> Medieval writers even debated whether or not patience was actually a virtue in its own right and the discussion continues among modern scholars. However, writers in late antiquity had a different

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<sup>11</sup> Rittgers, *The Reformation of Suffering*, 10.

<sup>12</sup> Rittgers, *The Reformation of Suffering*, 61.

<sup>13</sup> Waugh, *The Genre of Medieval Patience Literature*, 4.

view. Tertullian wrote that patience was honoured "with the name of the highest praise."<sup>14</sup> Cyprian and Lactantius agree with Tertullian and add that patience has a divine origin and is closely connected to hope, faith, courage, charity, and perseverance.<sup>15</sup> Prudentius agrees and claims in his poem *Psychomachia* that all other virtues depend on patience to succeed.<sup>16</sup> To make matters even more complicated, Augustine defines patience as a human virtue, and companion to wisdom and good conscience.<sup>17</sup> However, by the thirteenth century the nature of patience was reduced to handmaid of the more important virtues by Thomas Aquinas in his *Summa Theologica*, where he argues that patience is not the greatest virtue nor is it in the top four. It exists as a species of charity and fortitude.<sup>18</sup> Aquinas also argues that patience is not a part of temperance because patience is emotional and spiritual while temperance relates to physical sorrows. Aquinas' understanding of the nature of patience is generally outweighed by the early Church Fathers' understanding of patience among modern historians.

Hanna argues that patience and fortitude are a paired set and exist only when there is difficulty or hardship.<sup>19</sup> Schiffhorst argues that patience is inseparable "from hope, constancy, and temperance, its supernatural meaning as heroic, redemptive suffering, and its implied meanings of calm expectation and self-assured maturity, patience is seen as the ideally balanced

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<sup>14</sup> Tertullian, "Of Patience," in *Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. 3: Latin Christianity: It's Founder, Tertullian*, ed. Philip Schaff and Alan Menzies, trans. Rev. S. Thelwall (Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Classics Ethereal Library, 1885), 1578.

<sup>15</sup> Cyprian, "Treatise IX: On the Advantage of Patience," in *Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. 5: Fathers of the Third Century: Hippolytus, Cyprian, Caius, Novatian, Appendix*, ed. Philip Schaff (Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Classics Ethereal Library, 1885), 1112, 1117-1119. Lactantius, "Of the Justice and Patience of the Christians," in *Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. 7*, ed. Philip Schaff (Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Classics Ethereal Library, 1885), 354.

<sup>16</sup> Prudentius, "Psychomachia," in *Prudentius*, ed. T.E. Page et al., trans. H.J. Thomson (London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1949), 291.

<sup>17</sup> Augustine, "On Patience," in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers Series 1, Volume 3: On the Holy Trinity; Doctrinal Treatises; Moral Treatises*, ed. Philip Schaff, trans. Rev. H. Browne (Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Classics Ethereal Library, 1886), 1144, 1146.

<sup>18</sup> Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica* (Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Classics Ethereal Library), 3993, 3995.

<sup>19</sup> Hanna, "Some Commonplaces of Late Medieval Patience Discussions: An Introduction," 68.

emotional and spiritual strength."<sup>20</sup> The present understanding of Christian patience literature is a blend of the multifaceted nature described by the early Church fathers and the separation of mind and body where patience is the strength of mind over the weaknesses of the body.

The source of all virtues, including patience, was always in consensus among Christian writers: Man is ruled by Providence (God's will) and not fickle Fortune.<sup>21</sup> Hence Christians gain a sense of security and a larger purpose – the idea that everything happens for a reason and not simply by accident. Waugh explains that "a definition of patience as God-originating and miraculous relies on faith as opposed to reason."<sup>22</sup> Rittgers argues that "for Stoics, the task of the human *logos* was to live in accordance with the divine *logos*, or God."<sup>23</sup> If Aquinas' definition of the nature of patience is considered, then every time a human exercises patience as strength of mind or spirit over the weaknesses of the body in response to external provocation, patience is reason and logic as well as a virtue of faith. Waugh argues that patience relies on the Stoic repression of human instinct "rather than a (perhaps cathartic) expression of them."<sup>24</sup> The purpose of patience, as described by the Church fathers, was to become a better person who was ultimately more Christ-like by removing petty human instincts, or at least being in control of them. Rittgers concludes that the increasing "emphasis on patience promoted a kind of Christian Stoicism that appears to have been widespread in late medieval Germany,"<sup>25</sup> presumably as a part of the Holy Roman Empire this would apply to the Low Countries as well.

Schiffhorst posits that "patience has a sacrificial power to transform evil" and "is often apparent in the Old Testament, even when the word itself does not appear in the text," while in

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<sup>20</sup> Gerald J. Schiffhorst, "Preface," in *The Triumph of Patience, Medieval and Renaissance Studies* (Orlando: University Presses of Florida, 1978), x.

<sup>21</sup> Gerald J. Schiffhorst, "Some Prolegomena for the Study of Patience, 1480-1680," in *The Triumph of Patience, Medieval and Renaissance Studies* (Orlando: University Presses of Florida, 1978), 7.

<sup>22</sup> Waugh, *The Genre of Medieval Patience Literature*, 6.

<sup>23</sup> Rittgers, *The Reformation of Suffering*, 39.

<sup>24</sup> Waugh, *The Genre of Medieval Patience Literature*, 4.

<sup>25</sup> Rittgers, *The Reformation of Suffering*, 62.

the New Testament patience is often attached to the Second Coming and is "a lively, active, energetic power of faith."<sup>26</sup> The difference in how patience is applied between the Old and the New Testament reflects the origins of Christian patience literature. The Old Testament embodies the Greco-Judaic *hypomoné* which has a passive attitude towards the cause of suffering; the New Testament however reflects the Christianized Stoicism by actively engaging with the source of conflict. The Christian Bible then is a delicate combination of passive and active patience where the mood depends on the situation encountered; it is also an example of continuity and change housed in a single document, much like the historical continuity found in Aurelius' *Libellus de Patientia*. Ideas about patience continued to develop into the Renaissance where connections with the classical past were actively sought and moulded onto existing medieval structures. Schiffhorst argues that the "key idea which enjoyed prominence in the Renaissance is the importance of patience as an essential virtue in the scheme of Christian salvation."<sup>27</sup>

He goes on to write that patience "came to mean something other than Stoic fortitude or passive endurance; it was seen as an active virtue and a positive response to God's will in time of suffering."<sup>28</sup> Salvation became an increasingly active effort and as such the patience of the individual also had to move from passive acceptance to an active embrace. As already discussed, patience is a virtue that relies on conflict in order to be exercised. Conflict caused suffering which in turn prompted patience as the active response to suffering. Suffering and patience were understood to be the active path to salvation due in large part to the similarities with the Passion of Christ, a central theme in much of the patience literature. The *Devotio Moderna*, with its emphasis on the *imitatio Christi*, was especially attuned to seeing patience in this active mode.

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<sup>26</sup> Schiffhorst, "Some Prolegomena for the Study of Patience, 1480-1680," 3-4.

<sup>27</sup> Schiffhorst, "Some Prolegomena for the Study of Patience, 1480-1680," 1-2.

<sup>28</sup> Schiffhorst, "Some Prolegomena for the Study of Patience, 1480-1680," 1-2.

Waugh argues that suffering "is the only essential element of an example of patience literature."<sup>29</sup> As a simple cause and effect equation without the cause of suffering there is no patience. Within the genre Waugh argues that suffering results from the protagonist's "break with authority."<sup>30</sup> Whether the authority is God, the government, or the family patriarch, the results are similar. The sequence of events, break-suffering-patience, mirrors the sin-sorrow for the sin-penance method of the Church where the suffering is the sorrow for the sin in that it is an acknowledgement of wrong-doing followed by the cure or correction of patience. The generally accepted cause of suffering should be God's will; if not, it is sinful rather than virtuous suffering while suffering for a "good cause" elevates the patient man from good to perfect.<sup>31</sup> The nature of the suffering, virtuous or sinful, cannot be determined by the patient man alone but rather by those who are educated in the will of God, the clergy. Rittgers argues that "the Christian clergy ... sought to render suffering meaningful to themselves and their contemporaries. ... They endeavoured to teach others how to suffer properly, and they sought to reprove their contemporaries when they failed to do so."<sup>32</sup> With its close connection to sin, suffering and the patience that accompanies it must be closely monitored so that it does not lead to a cycle of sinful activity. As already discussed, suffering for the wrong reasons, reasons which it should be noted were regulated by the clergy, was sinful rather than virtuous and so guidelines on how to suffer and gain patience were needed.

Rittgers argues that the purposes of suffering, besides punishment of sins, can be found in the Bible where it is meant to "test devotion to God," to "prove character and refine faith," to provide the "opportunity for identification with Christ," as a "display of God's healing power,"

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<sup>29</sup> Waugh, *The Genre of Medieval Patience Literature*, 25.

<sup>30</sup> Waugh, *The Genre of Medieval Patience Literature*, 25.

<sup>31</sup> Hanna, "Some Commonplaces," 70-71.

<sup>32</sup> Rittgers, *The Reformation of Suffering*, 3.



and to "defy all explanation and provoke God's covenant people to voice a just lament against the Almighty."<sup>33</sup> All of the purposes outlined by Rittgers have a common outcome - to bring the patient man closer to God and so achieve salvation. If the source of virtuous suffering is God, then logically He is also the source of patience. The nature of suffering and its relation to patience were much debated by early Christian and medieval scholars. Cyprian (d. 258AD) believed that Christian patience was Christ-like and that patience had "its origin and greatness...in God."<sup>34</sup> As previously discussed, this idea that patience, and the required suffering, was considered Christ-like because of the similarities with the Passion. Boethius (d. 524AD) argued in his work *The Consolation of Philosophy* that suffering was all God's will and that the sufferer should submit to and be rewarded by God.<sup>35</sup> In the eighth century *The Consolation of Philosophy* was made Christocentric by Alcuin (d. 804AD), making the work instantly popular.<sup>36</sup> In Alcuin's edition Philosophy becomes Wisdom/Theology and the pagan notions were given an Augustinian interpretation according to Rittgers.<sup>37</sup> Alcuin's edition of Boethius' *Consolation* was very popular and was used as a textbook in both Latin schools and universities, as well as being translated into several vernacular languages.<sup>38</sup>

Rittgers concludes that the corpus of patience literature "urge patience on suffering Christians as the most important response to adversity and tribulation. Indeed, one of the central purposes of suffering is to produce patience." Rittgers goes on to argue that "With patience, tribulation becomes a divine gift that opens vast treasures of blessings and grace; without patience, adversity is simply punishment."<sup>39</sup> This supports what Waugh identifies as one of

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<sup>33</sup> Rittgers, *The Reformation of Suffering*, 9.

<sup>34</sup> Schiffhorst, "Some Prolegomena for the Study of Patience, 1480-1680," 2-3.

<sup>35</sup> Rittgers, *The Reformation of Suffering*, 48.

<sup>36</sup> Rittgers, *The Reformation of Suffering*, 48.

<sup>37</sup> Rittgers, *The Reformation of Suffering*, 48.

<sup>38</sup> Rittgers, *The Reformation of Suffering*, 48.

<sup>39</sup> Rittgers, *The Reformation of Suffering*, 61-62.

Tertullian's main arguments: "true Christians should not exercise patience in order to seek glory for their names."<sup>40</sup> The outcome then was not supposed to be fame but the divine reward of salvation. Other possible outcomes of suffering patiently included the enlightenment of one's persecutors through divine intervention, or failing that, ones "death as liberation from the evils of this life."<sup>41</sup> Viewing death as a release from the suffering life brings is a delicate moral issue for the clergy, especially considering that suicide is a cardinal sin. There are however ways around sin. Waugh identifies one main theme in Tertullian's tract on patience that addresses the end of suffering with "martyrdom as the ultimate manifestation of patience and endurance."<sup>42</sup> Waugh argues that martyrdom is not essential for patience literature, but for *passios* it is inevitable.<sup>43</sup> As a martyr the patient man suffers not only according to God's will as a test of faith but he emulates the Passion of Christ. The ability to accept one's impending death patiently and properly was a topic marginally within the patience literature genre that continued to develop during the Renaissance.

One of the earliest genres on 'how to die well' was the *Ars moriendi*. Rittgers argues that the two main themes found in the *Ars moriendi* are "the importance of bearing suffering patiently" and "the connection between suffering and purgation from sin."<sup>44</sup> This idea of absolution through suffering was hugely influential and is present in Johannes von Paltz's *Supplement to the Heavenly Mine* (1504) where he argues that a life full of sin is purified/purged/absolved "simply by accepting one's death with patience."<sup>45</sup> As explained below, Aurelius makes subtle references to this vein of patience literature in chapter nine and ten of his

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<sup>40</sup> Waugh, *The Genre of Medieval Patience Literature*, 76.

<sup>41</sup> Rittgers, *The Reformation of Suffering*, 42.

<sup>42</sup> Waugh, *The Genre of Medieval Patience Literature*, 77-78.

<sup>43</sup> Waugh, *The Genre of Medieval Patience Literature*, 26.

<sup>44</sup> Rittgers, *The Reformation of Suffering*, 24.

<sup>45</sup> Rittgers, *The Reformation of Suffering*, 62.

*Libellus* where he discusses the divine rewards for suffering patiently in language associated with saints, particularly their uncorrupted flesh and the fragrance from their opened graves.<sup>46</sup> However, this is not the only connection that Aurelius has to the patience literature genre; much of his understanding of patience and suffering was derived from his connection with the Brethren of the Common Life.

#### PATIENCE AND THE BROTHERS OF THE COMMON LIFE

Both medieval authors and early modern authors perceived connection between patience, the poor, and humility, because patience was considered the opposite of pride and prosperity.<sup>47</sup> For these reasons patience was considered by some medieval writers "to be a chief virtue for the poor."<sup>48</sup> With the emphasis on the poor, patience literature could be used for pastoral works, especially sermons. Much of the popular patience literature was created by the patristic authors and as such was generally well circulated among the educated. Rittgers argues that many fifteenth-century parish libraries, using Germany as a generalization for much of Western Europe, were well stocked with new and popular materials as well as the typical patristic and rhetorical works.<sup>49</sup> In addition, pastoral care was informally taught at some of the residential colleges operated by the Brethren of the Common Life.<sup>50</sup> The emphasis the Brethren placed on pastoral care when combined with Aurelius' formal university training and monastic lifestyle is likely what informed his writing of the *Libellus de Patientia* as a piece of patience literature, and to some extent as a pastoral sermon for Hoen. Moreover, the inward focus of the Brethren required the cultivation of virtues.

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<sup>46</sup> Aurelius, *Libellus de patientiae*, 24.

<sup>47</sup> Hanna, "Some Commonplaces of Late Medieval Patience Discussions: An Introduction," 69.

<sup>48</sup> Schiffhorst, "Some Prolegomena for the Study of Patience, 1480-1680," 4.

<sup>49</sup> Rittgers, *The Reformation of Suffering*, 36.

<sup>50</sup> Rittgers, *The Reformation of Suffering*, 35.

The founders of the *Devotio Moderna* were very interested in spiritual virtues and their role in personal holiness. They sought "to have all evil instincts and impulses so purged or subdued within them that a brother or sister could commune with God and his fellow man in perfect harmony."<sup>51</sup> Patience was not one of the main four virtues cultivated by the *Devotio Moderna*, but it was closely tied to obedience according to John van Engen.<sup>52</sup> A member's inclination to be obedient to God and his superiors, including "submission to the divine will," depended on humbly accepting sufferings in imitation and devotion to Christ.<sup>53</sup> However, one of the most popular tracts among the Brethren and the New Devout was a letter titled *On Patience and the Imitation of Christ* by Geert Grote, the founding father of the *Devotio Moderna* movement. John van Engen describes the letter as "one of ... Grote's best known and most frequently copied" tracts that clearly outlines Grote's stance on spirituality, described as "the humble bearing of suffering, trials, and temptation as a necessary part of becoming Christ-like."<sup>54</sup> Grote argues that God uses evil to teach the Devout about the virtues, and ideally instill those virtues in devout Christians through the example of Christ.<sup>55</sup> In his letter Grote argues that "trials, moreover, increase virtue and merit, just as they add to the amount of reward, though reward comes through merit."<sup>56</sup> Grote supports his argument with Biblical references and concludes that "we ought therefore freely and patiently, so long as we live, to accept all labours and pains as salutary penance."<sup>57</sup> This letter on patience embodies many of the conclusions about patience, as does the later and more popular *Devotio Moderna* tract *The Imitation of Christ* by Thomas à Kempis (d. 1471AD).

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<sup>51</sup> John van Engen, "Introduction," in *Devotio Moderna, Basic writings* (New York: Paulist Press, 1988), 30.

<sup>52</sup> Van Engen, "Introduction," 32.

<sup>53</sup> Van Engen, "Introduction," 32.

<sup>54</sup> Van Engen, "Introduction," 41.

<sup>55</sup> Van Engen, "Introduction," 41.

<sup>56</sup> Geert Grote, "Chapter 4: Letter [62] - On Patience and the Imitation of Christ," in *Devotio Moderna*, 86.

<sup>57</sup> Grote, "On Patience," 89.

*The Imitation of Christ* was more than patience literature; it was essentially a handbook to living according to the *Devotio Moderna*. There are several relevant chapters in which à Kempis teaches that suffering is meant to turn the minds of men toward God for solace,<sup>58</sup> that suffering on Earth ensures that one does not have to suffer the fires of purgatory,<sup>59</sup> and that the better one deals with suffering, the greater the heavenly crown.<sup>60</sup> À Kempis also teaches that without suffering and hardship there would be no patience, and that exercising patience is Christ-like.<sup>61</sup> None of these precepts are original to à Kempis; all of them had been featured in patience literature before in much the same manner.

Patience literature is a genre that consoles and encourages the soul when it is faced with both physical and emotional/spiritual suffering. The authority of the genre stems from the Bible and the patristic sources, both of which were built upon during the Middle Ages to create a steady growth of consolation literature. The nature of patience is divine, and its purpose is to improve the soul of the person who suffers willingly with the goal of divine reward. The virtue of patience is closely tied to perseverance, suffering, and the hope for heavenly rewards, topics that Aurelius discusses in his *Libellus*, at times drawing on the commonplaces Patientia, Perseuerancia, Tribulatio, and Victoria of the *Manipulus florum*. As a member of the *Devotio Moderna* and the Brethren of the Common Life, Aurelius would have been familiar with the patience genre, a genre to which he actively sought to contribute.

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<sup>58</sup> Thomas a Kempis, "The Value of Adversity," in *The Imitation of Christ* (Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Classics Ethereal Library), 17.

<sup>59</sup> Kempis, "Acquiring Patience in the Fight Against Concupiscence," in *The Imitation of Christ* (Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Classics Ethereal Library), 79.

<sup>60</sup> Kempis, "True Patience in Suffering," in *The Imitation of Christ* (Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Classics Ethereal Library), 87.

<sup>61</sup> Kempis, "Temporal Sufferings Should Be Borne Patiently, After the Example of Christ," in *The Imitation of Christ* (Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Classics Ethereal Library), 86.

THE *LIBELLUS* AS PATIENCE LITERATURE

In some of the early divisions of Christian patience literature, according to Waugh, the identification of belief served to support the previous break with authority.<sup>62</sup> While Waugh's argument concerns early Christianity, it also supports the later reforms of the Church, especially during the development of separate confessions. Rittgers argues that "suffering was viewed as the most important litmus test of confessional loyalty, for it was in suffering, as nowhere else, that people's deepest religious convictions were revealed."<sup>63</sup> This litmus test is evident in the cases of Hoen and Aurelius; Aurelius professed Catholic orthodoxy and provided his poetry as proof, while Hoen appears to have been stubbornly loyal to his Sacramentarian beliefs. This confessional aspect of patience is very relevant to Aurelius' *Libellus* as it concerns Hoen, whose confessional loyalty was the reason for his incarceration and ultimately the dedication of Aurelius' *Libellus de Patientia*.

The *Libellus de Patientia* has many of the hallmarks of the patience literature genre, including ideas about the divine nature of patience, its relationship with suffering, and its role as the highest virtue upon which all others depend. In the *Libellus* Aurelius also argues that he and Hoen will receive heavenly rewards if they suffer patiently, and he employs numerous examples of patient suffering from the Bible with particular emphasis on Christ's Passion for support. The *Libellus* also draws heavily from Cyprian's *De Bono Patientiae*, a work that some scholars view as the foundational work of the genre. In fact, the *Libellus de Patientia* was written with the characteristics of patience literature in mind and a copy of Cyprian's tract on hand.

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<sup>62</sup> Waugh, *The Genre of Medieval Patience Literature*, 26.

<sup>63</sup> Rittgers, *The Reformation of Suffering*, 5.

According to Tilmans, Aurelius' tract lacks an introduction because it was originally attached to a letter in which Aurelius offered Hoen consolation.<sup>64</sup> Tilmans notes that in the letter prefacing the *Libellus*, Aurelius "advised Hoen to stop openly campaigning against Church dogma" because Hoen was not sufficiently trained in such matters.<sup>65</sup> Aurelius later sent another "message of encouragement and a *vita* of their joint namesake" to Hoen.<sup>66</sup> In this message Aurelius "again elaborated on the theme of patience and wisdom."<sup>67</sup> Tilmans argues that these letters and the *Libellus* "combine to make an eloquent case for what was referred to in the *Devotio Moderna* movement as *philosophi Christi*—here supported by classical erudition."<sup>68</sup> The *philosophi Christi* encouraged believers to live according to Christ's teachings and examples as found in the Bible. Aurelius devotes entire chapters of the *Libellus* to Biblical examples of the *philosophi Christi*. When examined independently from the prefacing letter and the correspondence that followed, Aurelius' 'little book' immediately begins with the nature of patience.

The first sentence of the *Libellus*, and even the title of the first chapter, provides Aurelius' definition of the nature of patience which he borrowed from Cyprian.<sup>69</sup> Aurelius believed that patience shares its nature with God and was given to humans with the purpose of elevating the soul.<sup>70</sup> This emphasis on the divine origin of patience is typical of patience literature and can be traced back to the Bible. Aurelius quotes Romans 5:3-5 for the relationship between patience and suffering: "tribulation works patience, and patience trial, and trial hope, and hope does not

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<sup>64</sup> Tilmans, *Historiography and Humanism*, 70.

<sup>65</sup> Tilmans, *Historiography and Humanism*, 70.

<sup>66</sup> Tilmans, *Historiography and Humanism*, 71.

<sup>67</sup> Tilmans, *Historiography and Humanism*, 71.

<sup>68</sup> Tilmans, *Historiography and Humanism*, 71.

<sup>69</sup> "Appendix C: *Libellus de Patientia*," ll.1-5.

<sup>70</sup> "Appendix C: *Libellus de Patientia*," ll.1-5.

confuse.”<sup>71</sup> This cycle from tribulation to the hope of salvation is evident in many other patience literature works. Aurelius approached patience as an active virtue rather than a passive one; God provided the tribulation to test both Aurelius and Hoen and to improve their patience with the ultimate goal of persevering and attaining salvation. It was up to Aurelius and Hoen to actively exercise their patience in the face of all their sufferings.

In accordance with the genre, Aurelius agrees that the virtue of patience was closely connected to several other virtues (including perseverance and hope), yet Aurelius, referencing Lactantius, argues that patience is the highest virtue upon which all others rely.<sup>72</sup> According to Aurelius, patience not only supports all other virtues, but also forms the foundation of Christianity.<sup>73</sup> This may seem an extreme claim, but when the rewards for patience are considered, Aurelius' argument fits within the patience literature genre. One of the fundamental tenets of Christianity is the salvation of true believers on the final day of Judgement. The main goal of cultivating patience is the hope for heavenly rewards from God that will ensure salvation. Aurelius connects patient suffering to heavenly rewards and crowns several times in his *Libellus*.<sup>74</sup> The crown Aurelius believed that Hoen and he would gain from God was similar to the crown of thorns that Christ received for his patient suffering.<sup>75</sup> Aurelius provides numerous examples of Biblical patience, though he emphasized the role of Christ's suffering,<sup>76</sup> as would be expected of his spiritual background both as an Augustinian canon and as a member of the Brethren.

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<sup>71</sup> "Appendix C: *Libellus de Patientia*," ll.51-3; Romans 5:3-5.

<sup>72</sup> "Appendix C: *Libellus de Patientia*," ll.308-311.

<sup>73</sup> "Appendix C: *Libellus de Patientia*," ll.244-249.

<sup>74</sup> "Appendix C: *Libellus de Patientia*," ll.97-98, 150, 152, 182-184, 294, 307, 431, 447, 464, 475.

<sup>75</sup> "Appendix C: *Libellus de Patientia*," ll.97-98.

<sup>76</sup> "Appendix C: *Libellus de Patientia*," ll.120-159.



The *Libellus* also highlights the most important elements of patience literature with a clear statement about the divine nature of patience, references to the relationship between patience and tribulation or suffering, and concludes that the purpose of patiently suffering is to gain salvation through God. Aurelius' book embodies the genre with dozens of references to key points, and his active association with the genre is evident in the title he gave his book: The Treatise of Patience. Where the *Libellus* is perhaps distinct from contemporary patience tracts is that it does not draw equally from the corpus of early Christian patience literature, but rather Aurelius mines passages from Cyprians' tract almost exclusively.

Like Aurelius' tract on patience, Cyprian's was also attached to a letter. Cyprian sent his *De Bono Patientiae* with a letter to his colleague, Bishop Jubaianus of Mauretania, in 256.<sup>77</sup> Cyprian posited that patience is divinely given to humans and, when properly performed, the righteous will gain heavenly rewards.<sup>78</sup> Cyprian also argued that martyrs' crowns or "the crown of sorrows and sufferings cannot be received unless patience in sorrow and suffering precede it."<sup>79</sup> It is clear that Cyprian felt that patience and suffering were intimately connected and could not be separated – nor would one want to risk the possibility of losing the martyr's crown.<sup>80</sup> For Cyprian, suffering emotionally was not quite enough; the endurance of physical pain serves to bolster patience and through it heavenly rewards and righteousness.<sup>81</sup> Impatience is equated with the influence of the devil and sinfulness which should be avoided at all costs, Cyprian instead counselled patience in imitation of God who is the source of patience.<sup>82</sup> The arrest and imprisonment of both Aurelius and Hoen, in addition to the emotional and confessional

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<sup>77</sup> Cyprian, "Treatise IX: On the Advantage of Patience." In *Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. 5: Fathers of the Third Century: Hippolytus, Cyprian, Caius, Novatian, Appendix* (Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Classics Ethereal Library, 1885), ed. Philip Schaff, 1111.

<sup>78</sup> Cyprian, "On the Advantage of Patience," 1111.

<sup>79</sup> Cyprian, "On the Advantage of Patience," 1116.

<sup>80</sup> Cyprian, "On the Advantage of Patience," 1120.

<sup>81</sup> Cyprian, "On the Advantage of Patience," 1120.

<sup>82</sup> Cyprian, "On the Advantage of Patience," 1120-1.

sufferings, fulfil the requirements for heavenly rewards according to Cyprian's scheme. This is perhaps why Aurelius felt Cyprian was the best source to use as a model for his own tract.

Aurelius' *Libellus* contains at least 213 references; the source of the most numerous quotations was Cyprian's *De Bono Patientiae* with a total of 87 references (roughly 40% of the total number of quotations in the *Libellus*), closely linking the *Libellus* with the patience literature genre. The Cyprian references are so extensive that it appears more foundational than previously discussed by Tilmans; Aurelius used Cyprian's work as a model to such an extent that he quoted passages from Cyprian's work largely in the order they appeared. Aurelius also inserted new material to replace the chapters that Aurelius omitted due to a disagreement with the Church Fathers' ideas, mostly concerning the wisdom of the pre-Christian philosophers. The *Libellus* may be a Humanist quasi-epitome of Cyprian's *De Bono Patientiae* in that Aurelius included the majority of the excerpts in their original order, selecting only what he deemed to be the best quotations and inserting other authors to fill the gaps.

Cyprian is the first source that Aurelius references in his *Libellus*,<sup>83</sup> an indication perhaps of how much Aurelius valued the patristic writer or possible to acknowledge Cyprian as his model. The Cyprian excerpts Aurelius employed are generally applied in the same order as they appear in *De Bono Patientiae* with a few exceptions. The first half of the *Libellus* contains excerpts from *De Bono Patientiae* in the original order; it is in the latter portion of the *Libellus* that Aurelius abandons his chronologic method.

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<sup>83</sup> "Appendix C: *Libellus de Patientia*," ll.1-5.

<i>Libellus</i> Chapter	<i>De Bono Patientiae</i> Chapters	<i>Manipulus florum</i> excerpts
1	3, 4	
2	5	
3	6, 7, 8	
4	10, 12	
5	13	Perseuerancia a, b, f, c
6	14, 15, 16, 20, 21, 20	
7	20	Paciencia bf; Tribulatio z; Paciencia f; Victoria c; Paciencia ak, ap
8		Tribulatio am, an, ao, ar, ak, as
9	11, 12	
10	20, 24	

Table 1 - Distribution of *De Bono Patientiae* and *Manipulus florum* in the *Libellus de Patientia*

Not only does Aurelius use Cyprian's own words from *De Bono Patientiae*, Aurelius also employs the same Biblical passages as Cyprian's first and second chapters alongside Cyprians' words.<sup>84</sup> In chapter five of the *Libellus*, Aurelius only used chapter thirteen from Cyprian's work, including several of the Biblical references, though Aurelius added several excerpts from Hebrews to the chapter.<sup>85</sup> Aurelius ignored Cyprian's ninth chapter, which was essentially Biblical passages with little original text, instead Aurelius skipped ahead to chapter ten of the *De Bono Patientiae* at the beginning of his own fourth chapter. In chapter five of the *Libellus* Aurelius restricts his use of Cyprian to the first third of his chapter.<sup>86</sup> This is unusual because in Aurelius' earlier chapters the Cyprian quotations are found throughout the section, it can be explained when the quotations from the *Manipulus florum* are considered.

Chapter five of the *Libellus* is divided in half concerning the majority of its quotations concerning the theme of perseverance: the first half is Cyprian's view on perseverance; the last half of the chapter is dominated by *flores* from the *Perseuerancia lemma*. In his chapter

<sup>84</sup> "Appendix C: *Libellus de Patientia*," ll.26-29. Cyprian, "The Good of Patience," in *The Fathers of the Church, Volume 36: Saint Cyprian Treatises*, ed. Roy J. Deferrari, trans. Sister George Edward Conway, S.S.J (New York: Fathers of the Church, 1958), 264-266.

<sup>85</sup> "Appendix C: *Libellus de Patientia*," ll.170-171, 179-181. Cyprian, "The Good of Patience," 275-276.

<sup>86</sup> "Appendix C: *Libellus de Patientia*," ll.165-184.

discussing the virtue of perseverance in doing good works, Aurelius supports Cyprian's argument with excerpts drawn from the *Manipulus florum*. The Cyprian references are largely presented by Aurelius in the original order, the *flores* from the *Manipulus florum* however are rearranged. The authors cited from the *florilegium* are among the more prominent authors of patience literature: Gregory the Great and Seneca. The third author of Aurelius' selected Perseuerancia *flores* is Bernard of Clairvaux, a well respected and prolific medieval writer. As previously discussed, the *flores* of Perseuerancia used in the *Libellus* comprise half of the *flores* listed under that *lemma* and are in order with the exception of Perseuerancia c which appears at the end of the cluster. Aurelius' arrangement of the *flores* becomes apparent when read together. Perseuerancia f from Seneca must come between the *flores* of Bernard (Perseuerancia b and c) because the Seneca excerpt explains how a man is expected to persevere through difficult tasks independently while Perseuerancia c discusses the social support perseverance creates.

In the first half of chapter six in the *Libellus*, Aurelius inserts quotations from chapters fourteen, fifteen, and sixteen of the *De Bono Patientiae*.<sup>87</sup> Towards the end of chapter six, however, Aurelius jumped ahead and brought in a quotation from chapters twenty and twenty-one.<sup>88</sup> The reason for this leap from chapter sixteen to twenty is thematic; in sixteen, twenty, and twenty-one Cyprian discussed the characteristics of a patient Christian using examples from the New Testament, mainly Christ. As a member of the Brethren and educated in the *Devotio Moderna* it is natural that Aurelius would highlight those passages and place them together. Aurelius omits chapter seventeen through nineteen entirely; in those chapters Cyprian discussed Old Testament examples that tested the physical temptations of men, which does not apply to either Hoen's or Aurelius' situation.

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<sup>87</sup> "Appendix C: *Libellus de Patientia*," ll.214-244. Cyprian, "The Good of Patience," 277-279.

<sup>88</sup> "Appendix C: *Libellus de Patientia*," ll.246-257. Cyprian, "The Good of Patience," 282-283.

Aurelius employed another quotation from Cyprian's chapter twenty in the seventh chapter of the *Libellus* to describe the benefits of patience other than as a means to salvation.<sup>89</sup> This is the only Cyprian reference in chapter seven of the *Libellus* and it is quite short compared to the excerpts in other chapters. Again Aurelius shores up his discussion of the benefits of patience with *flores* from the *Manipulus florum*, all of which appear to have been chosen with care. The first three *flores*, Paciencia bf, Tribulatio z, and Paciencia f, argue that adversity and punishment are given to the innocent, those who God wishes to elevate and so He challenges them. The last three *flores*, Victoria c, Paciencia ak, and Paciencia ap, discuss an individual's ability to imitate Christ in overcoming wrathful human nature and graciously accepting adversity without holding any negative feeling towards the agent of God's test. The authors of the *flores* Aurelius selected reflect the patience literature genre by including Seneca and Gregory the Great, as well as the favoured patristic writers Isidore of Seville and Cassiodorus. Chapter seven of the *Libellus* also contains references to the major classical philosophers Aristotle, Socrates, and Plato. When chapter seven and eight of the *Libellus* are considered together, the classical selections become clear.

Chapter eight of Aurelius' *Libellus* is devoid of any Cyprian references, instead Aurelius discusses examples of patience as found in nature. Aurelius' discussion about patience in nature is supported by classical references, particularly Pliny the Elder's *Natural Historia* which Aurelius had studied extensively while residing at St. Victor's according to Tilmans.<sup>90</sup> Cyprian does not discuss examples of patience in nature nor does he value the works of the classical philosophers; in fact Cyprian dedicated his second chapter to the denunciation of the 'false wisdom' of the pagan authors. As a humanist Aurelius disagreed with the wisdom of Cyprian,

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<sup>89</sup> "Appendix C: *Libellus de Patientia*," ll.266-270. Cyprian, "The Good of Patience," 282-283.

<sup>90</sup> Tilmans, *Historiography and Humanism*, 33.

replacing Cyprian's second chapter with the classical examples found in chapters seven and eight of the *Libellus*. This effort to include classical references, despite how Cyprian felt about it, supports the argument that Aurelius created the *Libellus* as a Humanist, and therefore classicized, quasi-*epitome* of Cyprian's *De bono patientiae*. It is also in chapter eight of the *Libellus* that the majority of the *Tribulatio flores* are found as previously discussed. The cluster of *Tribulatio* am, an, ao, and ar all reference the everyday world; agriculture, architecture, and construction in particular. These *flores* fit thematically with the earlier discussion of patience in nature. While the authors of these *flores* are not classical philosophers the excerpts lend Christian authorial support to Aurelius' argument in favour of natural philosophy within a Christian framework.

Chapter nine of the *Libellus* perhaps best reflects Aurelius' intellectual and cultural atmosphere in which he combines Cyprian, classical mythology and current events to better illustrate that while the situation Hoen and Aurelius found themselves in was unfortunate, it could be worse. Aurelius mentions contemporary events such as the Siege of Rhodes and the fate of Artois; it would be worse, being forced to face the destruction of war than the incarceration he and Hoen had to endure. The selections from Cyprian describe the inevitable suffering and pain that is life, something that is all too familiar.

Aurelius employed Cyprian's conclusion as his own – the conclusion of chapter ten in the *Libellus* skips to the end of Cyprian's tract and pulls a quotation directly from chapter twenty-four.<sup>91</sup> By selecting Cyprian's conclusion to represent his own, Aurelius is acknowledging his work as an edition to the patience literature genre and more importantly to Hoen, Aurelius imploring Hoen to count himself among the saved (meaning Catholic<sup>92</sup>) rather than the impious when Judgement Day arrives. Taking his conclusion from a well respected patristic author,

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<sup>91</sup> "Appendix C: *Libellus de Patientia*," ll.472-475. Cyprian, "The Good of Patience," 282.

<sup>92</sup> "Appendix C: *Libellus de Patientia*," ll.279-280.

without reference, may imply that Aurelius had intended his *Libellus* to be a private sermon for Hoen.

Such extensive use of one source strongly suggests that Aurelius had a copy of Cyprian's *De Bono Patientiae* at hand for reference, especially considering the arrangement of sections within Aurelius' chapters. However, because the quotations are not exactly phrased the same way in the *Libellus* as in the *De Bono Patientiae*, it is possible that Aurelius' copy varied significantly from the modern edition, which may suggest that Aurelius had previously copied out most of the *De Bono Patientiae* – and noted the Biblical references Cyprian had employed – into his *rapiarum* for later use. Or, more likely, Aurelius edited the *De Bono Patientiae* as he wrote his *Libellus* in an attempt to create a Humanist *epitome* of Cyprian's work, although Aurelius does rearrange some of the chapters which rendered the *Libellus* a quasi-*epitome*. What is certain is that Aurelius intentionally created his *Libellus* in the image of Cyprian's *De Bono Patientiae*, and that he actively sought to create a work of patience equal to that of Cyprian and other patristic writers.

In conclusion, Aurelius included all of the essential pieces of information to make his *Libellus* a work of patience literature and one modelled after a famous and very influential piece, the *De Bono Patientiae* by Cyprian. While the excerpts taken from Cyprian do not appear word for word in Aurelius' text in most cases, the *Libellus* was not meant to be a copy of Cyprian but something new, an *epitome* in which the most valued excerpts that examined the human agency in gaining salvation were included and expanded upon. The *Libellus* was built with Cyprian's *De Bono Patientiae* as the model, but Aurelius made alterations and insertions, including several quotations from Seneca (and Pseudo-Seneca)<sup>93</sup> and other famous pre-Christian philosophers,

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<sup>93</sup> "Appendix C: *Libellus de Patientia*," ll.203-205, 274-276, 328-330, 371-372.

especially Aristotle, Plato, and Socrates.<sup>94</sup> Inclusions such as these would never have made it into Cyprian's work; in his *De Bono Patientiae* Cyprian blasts the ancient philosophers and condemns their wisdom as false.<sup>95</sup> Instead, Aurelius attempted to blend the classic patristic texts with the classical pagan texts, as scholars in the Middle Ages had done and scholars in the Renaissance and early modern period continued to do (albeit with more accurate translations of original texts). Aurelius as a humanist scholar and a member of the Brethren of the Common Life was keenly aware of patience literature and the purpose of patience and suffering, and the role it played in the salvation of righteous souls. The *Libellus* was as much a piece of patience literature and a work of consolation as it was about the triumph of the human spirit and its ability to endure the worst hardships.

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<sup>94</sup> "Appendix C: *Libellus de Patientia*," ll.189-190, 311-312.

<sup>95</sup> Cyprian, "On the Advantage of Patience," 1111.



## CONCLUSION

Cornelius Aurelius and his *Libellus de Patientia* combined old and new scholarship to create something different. Aurelius lived in the Netherlands at a time when political and religious loyalties were being tested and stretched, and the intellectual arena was deeply divided between scholasticism and humanism. Yet Aurelius managed to navigate his way through by taking the middle path; Aurelius and the *Libellus* both share characteristics with the scholastics and humanists as well as with the Middle Ages and Renaissance. Aurelius was educated at the strongly scholastic universities of Cologne and Paris, but while there he embraced aspects of humanist learning, including the art of letter writing and Latin poetry. Trained in both scholastic and humanist methods, Aurelius used medieval tools like the *Manipulus florum* and the patristic text *De bono patientiae* in combination with classical pagan authors like Seneca and Pliny the Elder, whose works were highly influential during the Renaissance, to create his contribution to the ancient genre of patience literature with a decidedly humanist tone. The use of Thomas of Ireland's *Manipulus florum* in the *Libellus* illustrates Aurelius' scholastic education and his willingness to adopt and adapt medieval sources. Aurelius' positive and actively targeted reception of this commonplace-book is an example of intellectual continuity between the medieval and early modern periods. His use of the *Manipulus florum* also shows that not all humanist scholars in the Renaissance and early modern period dismissed medieval learning out of hand, but that many humanist scholars recognised the merit of scholastic scholarship.

Aurelius' tendency to combine old with new applies not only to academic method but to his selection and use of sources. Cyprian's *De bono patientiae* is considered one of the foundational works of Christian patience literature and was the source for roughly 38% of all references in the *Libellus*; Aurelius mined passages from the *De bono patientiae* even more

heavily than the *Manipulus florum*. This classic patristic text was used as the model for Aurelius' *Libellus*, and Aurelius omitted the sections of Cyprian's work that he did not agree with as a humanist, particularly the section where Cyprian denounced the wisdom and patience of the pagan philosophers. Aurelius' use of both the *Manipulus florum* and the *De bono patientiae* testify to his scholastic education and experience, but the inclusion of several Seneca quotations as well as references to the great Greek philosophers Aristotle, Plato, and Socrates, in addition to an entire paragraph referring to Pliny's *Natural Histories*, illustrates Aurelius' humanist love of classical literature. Patristic and pagan quotations were artfully grafted together to create a new contribution to the patience literature genre.

The *Libellus de Patientia* indicates in the title that Aurelius desired to contribute to the vast medieval corpus of patience literature, a genre that was rapidly regaining popularity as consolation literature largely in response to the Reformations. Aurelius' patience work contained all of the necessary elements of the genre: the divine nature of patience, the relation of patience to suffering, and the ultimate purpose of both was the salvation of the soul through active perseverance. The emphasis on the active participation of Hoen and himself to achieve their salvation through patiently suffering their tribulations reaches beyond the traditions of patience literature and is more reflective of Aurelius' humanist leaning. Aurelius focuses on the role of human agency in the salvation of human souls, though he agrees that God is the source of both the method of salvation and the source of salvation itself, and this emphasis is one of the characteristics of Christian humanism. This sense of human agency is also characteristic of the Brethren of the Common Life who advocated for the individual to focus internally on the virtues in an attempt to rid themselves of impurity and sin, thus making each member a better person and more likely to merit salvation. Here too is continuity between medieval and Renaissance: the

Brethren was formed during the later Middle Ages but they shared a moral philosophy with sixteenth-century Christian humanism; while there were small alterations made, the medieval philosophy carried forward into the next era.

The early modern period was just as chaotic as the medieval period before it, and the solution to the problem was the same in the sixteenth century as it was in the thirteenth: spiritual renewal and strength to nurture harmony. Political and ecclesiastical reformers in both centuries desired to return to a perceived 'Golden Age', a mythical time when the universe was in harmony and peace reigned. Aurelius was no exception to this desire; he couched this desire for change in a work of patience literature, though the *Libellus* was outwardly a work of consolation for tribulations, it was more of a celebration of the strength of the human spirit. In chapters nine and ten in particular Aurelius praises the strength of the soul to endure all of the hardships that are sent by God to test it, and he congratulates Hoen and himself on their proven ability to overcome their tribulations with patience and quiet strength of will. God may set the test and provide the reward, but it is up to the individual soul to find the will power to patiently endure.

APPENDIX A: *MANIPULUS FLORUM* REFERENCES

The following excerpts are listed in the order that they appear in the *Libellus de Patientia*. The first paragraph is from the *Libellus*, the second is the entry in the *Manipulus florum* which Aurelius drew from. The third paragraph is how the *flores* appears in the original source or sources; the differences between the *flores* and the original are underlined.

In the excerpt from the *Libellus* only the words that are different from the *Manipulus florum* entry are marked. The single underlined words match to the original source; double underlined words are Aurelius' own additions. The few bold letters in Aurelius' quotations match variants of the *Manipulus florum* and the matching manuscripts or imprints are noted at the end of each section.

The variant manuscripts are B (Paris 15986), C (Paris 15985), and M (Paris 1032). The variant imprints also given are P (Piacenza, 1483) and V<sup>1</sup> (Venice, 1493/5). There are three later imprints (Venice 1550, Lyon 1553 and 1567) with their own variations though they are not considered here because they were not created yet when Aurelius wrote his *Libellus*.

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1.

Noli, ait Augustinus, a te patris tui flagellum repellere, si non vis repelli ab hereditate. Noli attendere quam penam habeas in flagello: sed quem locum teneas in testamento. (ll.58-60)

**Paciencia d:** Fili, si ploras, sub patre plora, noli cum indignacione, noli cum typo superbie. Quod pateris unde plangis medicina est, non pena; castigacio, non dampnacio. Noli repellere flagellum, si non uis repelli ab hereditate; noli attendere quam penam habeas in flagello, sed quem locum in testamento. -Augustinus super Psalmum LXXXXIX.

Fili, si ploras, sub patre plora; noli cum indignatione, noli cum typho superbiae. Quod pateris, unde plangis, medicina est, non poena; castigatio est, non damnatio. Noli repellere flagellum, si non uis repelli ab hereditate; noli adtendere quam paenam habeas in flagello, sed quem locum in testamento. - Augustinus Hipponensis, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, 102, 20.

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2.

Incassum quippe bonum agitur si ante uite terminum teste Gregorio deseratur. Et frustra uelociter currit qui priusquam ad metas ueniat deficit. (Il.184-186)

**Perseuerancia a:** In cassum bonum agitur, si ante uite terminum deseratur, quia frustra uelociter currit qui priusquam ad metas uenerit, deficit. -Gregorius libro I. moralium.

Incassum quippe bonum agitur si ante terminum uitae deseratur, quia et frustra uelociter currit qui prius quam ad metas ueniat deficit. - Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia in Iob*, 1, 37.

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3.

Perseuerantia nempe est unica summi regis filia, finis virtutum earumque consummatio, totius boni repositorium et virtus sine qua nemo videbit Deum ... (Il.119-201)

**Perseuerancia b:** Perseuerancia est unica filia summi regis, finis uirtutum earumque consummatio, totiusque boni repositorium, et uirtus sine qua nemo uidebit Deum. -Bernardus in quadam epistola.

Perseuerantia singularis est filia summi Regis, virtutum finis earumque consummatio, totius boni repositorium, uirtus *sine qua nemo uidebit Deum* (Heb. 12:14)... -Bernardus Claraeuallensis, *Sermones de diuersis* 41, 10.

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4.

"Turpe est," ait Seneca, "cedere oneri, luctari cum officio, quod semel recepisti. Non est uir fortis neque strenuus aut constans qui laborem fugit, nisi crescat illi animus ipsa eciam rerum difficultate." (ll.203-205)

**Perseuerancia f:** Turpe est cedere oneri, luctare\* cum officio quod semel recepisti. Non est uir fortis ac strenuus qui laborem fugit, nisi crescat illi animus ipsa rerum difficultate. - Seneca epistola LI.

Expectas forsitan ut tibi haec dicant: 'turpe est cedere oneri; luctare cum officio quod semel recepisti. Non est uir fortis ac strenuus qui laborem fugit, nisi crescit illi animus ipsa rerum difficultate.' -Lucius Annaeus Seneca, *Ad Lucilium epistulae morales* 22, 7.

\*Luctare is altered to luctari in V<sup>2</sup> L<sup>1</sup> L<sup>2</sup> and *Polyanthea* (1512)

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5.

"Absque perseverantia, inqui, nec qui pugnat victoriam nec victor palmam consequitur." Ipsa nutrix est ad meritum, mediatrix ad premium, soror patientie, constantie filia, amica pacis, amiciciarum nodus, unanimitatis vinculum, propugnaculum sanctitatis. Tolle perseverantiam nec obsequium mercedem, nec beneficium gratiam, nec fortitudo laudem obtinebit. (Il.206-210)

**Perseuerancia c:** Absque perseuerancia nec qui pugnat uictoriam, nec palmam uictor consequitur. Nutrix est ad meritum, mediatrix ad premium, soror paciencie, constancie filia, amica pacis, amiciciarum nodus, unanimitatis uinculum, sanctitatis propugnaculum. Tolle perseueranciam nec obsequium mercedem habet, nec beneficium gratiam, nec laudem fortitudo.  
-Bernardus epistola CXXIX.

Prorsus absque perseverantia nec qui pugnat victoriam, nec palmam victor consequitur. Vigor virium, virtutum consummatio est; nutrix ad meritum, mediatrix ad praemium. Soror est patientiae, constantiae filia, amica pacis, amicitiarum nodus, unanimitatis vinculum, propugnaculum sanctitatis. Tolle perseverantiam, nec obsequium mercedem habet, nec beneficium gratiam, nec laudem fortitudo. -Bernardus Claraeuallensis, *Epistolae* 129, 2.

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6.

"Putasne mi Paule, me non contristari aut luctuosum non esse, quod de tua innocentia supplicium sumatur? Sed feramus equo animo, et utamur foro, quod sors concesserit, donec invicta felicitas finem malis imponat." (Il.274-276)

**Paciencia bf:** Putas ne me luctuosum non esse quod de tua innocencia supplicium sumatur? Sed feramus equo animo et utamur foro quod sors concessit, donec inuicta felicitas finem malis imponat. -Seneca in epistola ad Paulum.

Putasne me haut contristari et non luctuosum esse quod de innocentia vestra subinde supplicium sumatur? Dehinc quod tam duros tamque obnoxios vos reatui omnis populus iudicet, putans a vobis effici quicquid in urbe contrarium fit? Sed feramus aequo animo et utamur foro quod sors concessit, donec inuicta felicitas finem malis imponat. -Pseudo-Seneca, *Epistolae ad Paulum apostolum et Pauli ad Senecam* 11.

\*Aurelius changes "concessit" to "concesserit" which isn't found in the original or MF.

\*Listed as Paciencia be in P V<sup>1</sup>

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7.

Adversitas enim que bonis viris obiicitur, probatio virtutis est, non iudicium reprobationis, ... (ll.292-293)

**Tribulatio z:** Adversitas que bonis uotis aut uiris obiicitur, probatio uirtutis est non iudicium reprobationis. Quis enim nesciat quam prosperum fuit, quod beatus Paulus apostolus predicaturus ad Ytaliam ueniebat, et tamen ueniens naufragium pertulit, sed tamen nauis cordis in maris fluctibus integra stetit? -Gregorius ibidem (libro XXVI. moralium) et ponitur VII. questione I.: Adversitas.



Aduersitas enim quae bonis uotis obicitur probatio uirtutis est, non iudicium reprobationis. Quis enim nesciat quam prosperum fuit, quod beatus Paulus apostolus praedicaturus ad Italiam ueniebat? Et tamen ueniens naufragium pertulit. Sed nauis cordis in marinis fluctibus integra stetit? -Gregorius Magnus, *Registrum epistularum*, 9, 229.

\*Aurelius adds "enim" back in, previously omitted in MF.

\*"Indicium" replaces "iudicium" in P V<sup>1</sup>

\*listed as Tribulatio ab in P V<sup>1</sup>

8.

Abel enim esse renuit quem Cayn malicia non exercet. (Il.299-300)

**Paciencia f:** Abel quippe renuit esse, quem Caym malicia non exercet. -Gregorius libro XX. moralium super illud: Frater fui draconum.

Abel quippe renuit esse, quem Caym malicia non exercet. -Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia in Iob*, 20, 39.

9.

Victoria enim sine aduersario brevis est laus. Bis vincit qui se ipsum vincit. (Il.312-313)

**Victoria c:** Victoria sine aduersario brevis est laus. Bis uincit qui se uincit in uictoria; bis interimitur qui suis armis perit. -Seneca in prouerbiis.

Victoria sine adversario brevis est laus. -Pseudo-Caecilius Balbus, *De nugis philosophorum*, 1, 30.

Bis vincit qui se vincit in victoria. -Publilius Syrus, *Sententiae*, 64.

Bis interimitur, qui suis armis perit. -Publilius Syrus, *Sententiae*, 66.

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10.

Magna etenim virtus est, si non ledas a quo lesus es. Magna gloria est, si ei cui nocere potuisti, parcas. Nobile vindicte genus est ignoscere victo. (Il.314-316)

**Paciencia ak:** Magna uirtus est si non ledas a quo lesus es; magna gloria est si cui nocere potuisti parcas. Nobile uindicte genus est ignoscere uicto. -Hugo libro III de anima

Magna virtus est, si non laedas a quo laesus es: magna gloria est, si cui nocere potuisti, parcas. *Nobile vindictae genus est ignoscere victo.* - Isidorus Hispalensis, *Synonyma de lamentatione animae peccatricis*, 2, 33.

\*Paciencia ak is listed as ai in P V<sup>1</sup>

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11.

Nihil quoque fortius esse potest nihilque magis egregium teste Cassiodoro, quam audire noxia et non respondere contraria. (Il.316-317)

**Paciencia ap:** Nichil potest esse fortius, nichil egregius quam audire noxia et non respondere contraria. -Cassiodorus super illud Psalmorum: Ego autem tanquam surdus non audiebam.

Nihil potest esse fortius, nihil egregius, quam audire noxia et non respondere contraria. -Aurelius Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum*, 37, 14.

\*In margin, by Aurelius: Supra in primo: Ego tanquam sordus non audiebam. Ps 37:14.

\*"Fortius esse potest" replaces "potest esse fortius" in M

\*Listed as Paciencia ao in P V<sup>1</sup>

12.

Et ideo forsitan hic nos temporaliter dominus punit, ut eterne mortis ardorem pena redimat temporalis, ... (ll.337-338)

**Tribulatio am:** Ideo forsitan temporaliter te punit ut eterne mortis ardores pena redimat temporalis. -Petrus Rauennas in quadam epistola.

Ideo forsitan temporaliter te punit, ut aeternae mortis ardores poena redimat temporalis. -Petrus Blesensis, *Epistolae* 12.

\*Listed as Tribulatio an in P V<sup>1</sup>

13.

et ut vexatio det **nobis** intellectum. Trituratur enim granum ut reponatur in horreo, quadratur lapis, ut sine sonitu mallei in edificio templi collocetur, movetur vehemens turbo quum helias rapitur in celum. Et quid multis? Maximum est remedium interioris hominis, si in huius area mundi variis tribulationum flagellis trituretur exterior patienter. (Il.338-342)

**Tribulatio an:** Nam hec omnia fortasse operatur Dominus ut det uobis uexatio intellectum. Trituratur granum ut reponatur in horreo; quadratur lapis ut sine sonitu mallei in edificio templi collocetur. Mouetur turbo ut Elyas rapiatur in celum. Maximum est remedium interioris hominis, si in hac area mundi uariis passionum flagellis trituretur exterior. -Petrus Rauennas in quadam epistola.

Nam haec omnia fortasse operatur Dominus, ut det vobis vexatio intellectum. Trituratur granum, ut reponatur in horreo; quadratur lapis, ut sine sonitu mallei in templi aedificio collocetur: movetur turbo, ut Elias rapiatur in coelum. - Petrus Blesensis, *Epistolae* 44.

...maximum esse remedium interioris hominis, si in hac area mundi uariis passionum flagellis trituretur exterior. -Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epistularum libri nouem* 7, 6, 5.

\*Listed as Tribulatio ao in P V<sup>1</sup>

\*"nobis" replaces "vobis" in M P V<sup>1</sup>

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14.

Nam omnis aut cordis aut corporis afflictio, citra meritum est est salutis fructum, sine patientie condimento. (Il.342-343)

**Tribulatio ao:** Omnis cordis aut corporis afflictio citra meritum et fructum salutis est sine paciencie condimento. -Petrus Rauennas *Epistola*.

Utinam quae patior, sustineam patienter; omnes enim cordis aut corporis afflictio citra meritum et fructum salutis est sine patientiae condimento. -Petrus Blesensis, *Epistolae*, 31.

\*The "est" between salutis and sine is omitted in B C

\*Listed as Tribulatio ap in P V<sup>1</sup>

15.

Parva et modica nimis sunt omnia que hic toleramus, si recordemur, quid ille biberit ad patibulum qui nos invitat ad celum. (Il.343-345)

**Tribulatio ar:** Parua tolleramus, si recordamur quid biberit ad patibulum qui nos inuitat ad celum. -Cassiodorus super Psalmos.

Quantumlibet nobis anxietatum pateras uitae praesentis propinet afflictio, parua toleramus, si recordamur, quid biberit ad patibulum qui inuitat ad caelum. -Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epistularum libri nouem*, 9, 4, 3.

\* "recordemur" replaces "recordamur" in M P V<sup>1</sup>

\*Listed as Tribulatio as in P V<sup>1</sup>

16.

Si enim minaces sunt nautis pelagi fluctus, si tempestates grandinum atque hiemes agricolis, si vulnera cedisque militibus (teste Crisostomo). Si gravissimi ictus plageque pugilibus leves videntur et tolerabiles, propter spem pereuntium commodorum, quanto magis nos, quibus celum preparatur in premio, nihil de presentis seculi asperitatibus sentire debemus quom maxime labores nostros mitiget in beatum venire finem. Non aspiciamus quam via est aspera, sed quo ducit, sed aliam quia lata est sed ubi desinit. (Il.360-365)

**Tribulatio ak:** Si quis uiam laboriosam estimat, sue desidie est accusatio. Si enim minaces nautis pelagi fluctus, si tempestates atque yemes agricolis, si uulnera cedisque militibus, si gravissimi ictus plageque pugilibus leues uidentur, et tollerabiles sunt propter spem temporalium ac pereuncium commodorum, multo magis cum celum preparatur in premio; nichil ex presentibus asperitatibus debet sentiri. Maxime labores mitigat in benignum finem uenire ne aspicias quod uia est aspera, sed quo ducit, nec aliam quia lata est sed ubi de sinit. -Crisostomus super Mattheum.

Si qui uiam laboriosam aestimant, suae desidiae est accusatio. Si enim tempesta pelagi nautis, vulnera militibus, frigora et glacies agricultoribus leuia et portabilia sunt propter spem praemii temporalis, multo magis cum caelum placet nullum debet sentire periculum. -Chrysostomus via Hugo de Sancto Charo, *Postilla super euangelia*, Matt. 7 (Lyons, 1645, Opera omnia, tome 6, fol.28r).

Quod si nautis minaces illi pelagi fluctus: si tempestates, atque hyemes agricolis: si uulnera, caedesque militibus: si grauissimi illi ictus, plagaeque pugilibus leues uidentur, atque tollerabiles

propter spem temporalium, ac parentum commodorum: multo magis cum coelum proponatur in praemio, et ineffabilia illa bona, atque perpetua nihil ex praesentibus his aduersitatibus sentietur.

-Iohannes Chrysostomus, *In Mattheum homiliae interpretatione Aniani*, 24 (1503 Venice ed., fol.67r-v, ll.52-54, 1)

Maxime labores mitigat in benignum finem venire. Ne aspicias inquit quod aspera est via, sed quod ducit nec aliam quae lata est, sed vbi desinit. -Hugo de Sancto Charo, *Postilla super euangelia*, Matt. 7 (Lyons, 1645, Opera omnia, tome 6, fol.28r).

\*Listed as Tribulatio al in P V<sup>1</sup>

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17.

Virtutem non dedit, ergo nec eam sibi retrahit. Itaque vir sapiens pariter et patiens, hic nihil perdit in unius possessione virtutis mens eius tota figitur, ex qua depelli numquam potest. (ll.369-372)

**Tribulatio as:** Nichil eripit fortuna nisi quod dedit; uirtutem non dedit, ideo non detrahit. Itaque sapiens nichil perdit; in unius possessione uirtutis est ex qua depelli nunquam potest. Seneca in quadam epistola.

..nichil eripit fortuna nisi quod dedit; uirtutem autem non dat, ideo nec detrahit...Itaque nihil perdet quod perire sensurus sit; unius enim in possessione uirtutis est, ex qua depelli numquam potest, ceteris precario utitur: quis autem iactura mouetur alieni? -Lucius Annaeus Seneca, *De constantia sapientis*, 4, 4-5.

\*Aurelius adds in "nec" as found in the original but not in MF. Aurelius changes "detrahit" to "retrahit".

\*Listed as Tribulatio at in P V<sup>1</sup>

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APPENDIX B: CYPRIAN'S *DE BONO PATIENTIAE* REFERENCES

The following excerpts are listed in the order that they appear in the *Libellus de Patientia*. The first paragraph is from the *Libellus*, the second is the *De bono patientiae* (Cyprian, "De bono patientiae," in *S. Thasci Caecili Cypriani Opera Omnia: Vol. III, Pars I*, ed. William Hartel, 397-415, Vindobonae: Apud C. Geroldi Filium Bibliopolam Academiae, 1965.).

In the excerpt from the *Libellus* only the words that are different from the *De bono patientiae* are underlined. Aurelius frequently reorders the words in a sentence however those are not marked here. In some Latin words 't' and 'c' are interchangeable, as are 'm' and 'n', these are also unmarked.

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1.

Est itaque virtus patientie nobis (incredibile dictu) cum ipso deo communis. Inde enim (teste Cypriano martyre) patientia incipit inde claritas eius et dignitas enitescit. (II.4-5)

est enim nobis cum Deo uirtus ista communis. inde patientia incipit, inde claritas eius et dignitas caput sumit. -Cyprianus, *De bono patientiae*, 3 (p.398, II.23-25).

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2.

Si dominus ipse nobis et deus et pater est, sectemur oportet patientiam dei pariter et patris nostri quoniam et famulos decet esse omni iure suo domino obsequentes et filios nihilominus a patre suo non degeneres. (II.9-12)

si dominus nobis et pater Deus est, sectemur patientiam domini pariter et patris, quia et seruos esse oportet obsequentes et filios non decet esse degeneres. -Cyprianus, 3 (pp.398-9, ll.27-2).

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3.

Ecce plurima ab hominibus instituta deorum figmenta delubra sacra sacrilega in sue maiestatis contumeliam et contemptum patientissime sustinens "super bonos ac malos solem suum oriri facit"<sup>289</sup> omnique terras hymbribus eque fecundat. (ll.12-15)

Qualis uero in Deo et quanta patientia, quod in contumeliam suae maiestatis et honoris instituta ab hominibus profana templa et terrena figmenta et sacra sacrilega patientissime sustinens, super bonos et malos aequaliter facit diem nasci et lumen solis oboriri, et cum imbribus terras rigat, ... -Cyprianus, 4 (p.399, ll.4-7).

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4.

Nemo omnium ab eius beneficiis excluditur, quo minus iustis similiter et iniustis indiscretas segetum vindemias largiatur. (ll.15-16)

...nemo a beneficiis eius excluditur quominus iustis similiter et iniustis indiscretas pluuias largiatur. -Cyprianus, 4 (p.399, ll.7-9).

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5.

Nonne illius nutui et inseparabili equalitate nocentibus et innoxiiis, relligiosis et impiis gratias agentibus et ingratis tempora ipsa domino iubente obsequuntur elementa famulantur? (ll.16-18)

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<sup>289</sup> Matthew 5:45.

uidemus inseparabili aequalitate patientiae nocentibus et innoxiiis, religiosis et impiis, gratias agentibus et ingratis Dei nutu tempora obsequi, elementa famulari, -Cyprianus, 4 (p.399, ll.9-11).

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6.

Ecce inserviunt equo omnibus officio spirantes venti, fontes videmus dulciter fluere, copias grandescere messium, fructus mitescere vinearum, pomis denique arbusta pleri, nemora frondescere, ridere campos, prata vicere. (ll.18-21)

...spirare uentos, fontes fluere, grandescere copias messium, fructus mitescere uinearum, exuberare pomis arbusta, nemora frondescere, prata florere. -Cyprianus, 4 (p.399, ll.11-13).

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7.

Et quamquam assiduis atque quotidianis exacerbatur offensis, indignationem tamen suam temperat et presitutum semel retributionis diem patienter expectat. (ll.21-23)

et cum crebris immo continuis exacerbetur offensis Deus, indignationem suam temperat et praestitutum semel retributionis diem patienter expectat, ... -Cyprianus, 4 (p.399, ll.14-16).

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8.

Differt tamen profecto eam, ea demum ratione et causa, “ut, si fieri posset, iam diu protracta malicia, homo in melius commutetur, et usque ad canos in scelerum contagione volutatus, vel

sero convertatur ad Dominum qui per prophetam dicit: ‘Nolo mortem peccatoris sed ut magis convertatur et vivat.’ Atque iterum per Johelem: ‘Revertimini ad Dominum Deum vestrum quoniam misericors et pius et patiens est et multe miserationis et prestabilis super malicia et qui leviter flectat sententiam adversus impium irrogatam.’” (Il.24-30)

...differens, ut si fieri potest multum malitia protracta aliquando mutetur et homo in errorum et scelerum contagio uolutatus uel sero ad Deum conuertatur ipso monente et dicente: nolo mortem morientis, quantum ut reuertatur et uiuat. [et iterum: reuertimini ad me, dicit Dominus.] et iterum: reuertimini ad Dominum Deum uestrum, quoniam misericors et pius est et patiens et multae miserationis et qui sententiam flectat aduersus malitias inrogatas. -Cyprianus, 4 (p.399, Il.18-26).

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9.

Ecce, amicorum syncerissime Corneli virque consultissime, quoniam ipsa patientia dei res est, teste Cypriano, et summe peculiaris, et is qui patiens mitisque inuenitur dei patris imitator existit. (Il.36-38)

Adque ut plenius intellegere possimus, fratres dilectissimi, quia patientia Dei res est et quisque lenis patiens et mitis est Dei patris imitator est, ... -Cyprianus, 5 (p.400, Il.11-12).

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10.

Non habuit deus in omni sapientia sua quo discipulos ad perfectum magis erudiret quam ut ad patientiam hortaretur, (Il.38-39)

...cum in euangelio suo Dominus praecepta in salutem daret et diuina monita depromens ad perfectum discipulos erudiret, ... -Cyprianus, 5 (p.400, ll.13-14).

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11.

Ecce magister ille qui non fallitur neque fallit, affirmat nos tum fieri perfectos dei filios, et in virtutibus docuit nos consummari, quum patientia Dei patris manet in nobis, et quum divine similitudo patientie manifestatur et relucet in artibus nostris. (ll.46-49)

sic perfectos dixit fieri Dei filios, sic consummari ostendit et docuit caelesti natiuitate reparatos, si patientia Dei patris maneat in nobis, si similitudo diuina quam peccato Adam perdiderat manifestetur et luceat in actibus nostris. -Cyprianus, 5 (p.400-1, ll.26-1).

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12.

O virorum candidissime Hoeni, que ea (putas) est gloria similem prorsus deo fieri? Qualem et quantam eam existimas felicitatem nos illud habere in virtutibus, quod diuinis eciam laudibus possit equari. (ll.49-51)

quae gloria est similem Deo fieri, qualis et quanta felicitas habere in uirtutibus quod diuinis laudibus possit aequari. -Cyprianus, 5 (p.401, ll.3-4).

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13.

Numquid non Dominus suam nos patientiam solo docuit verbo et eam insuper nobis facto non ostendit? (ll.79-80)

Nec hoc, fratres dilectissimi, Iesus Christus Dominus et Deus noster tantum uerbis docuit, sed impleuit et factis. -Cyprianus, 6 (p.401, ll.5-6).

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14.

Inter omnia quippe suarum virtutum mirabilia, quibus diuine maiestatis sue expressit indicia, mirabilem semper ipse conservavit patientiam.

...inter cetera mirabilia uirtutum quibus indicia diuinae maiestatis expressit paternam quoque patientiam tolerantiae tenore seruauit. -Cyprianus, 6 (p.401, ll.7-9).

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15.

Nam de illa celesti sublimitate, ut a primordiis repetam, ad hec terrena descendens, non aspernatur Dei filius nostram induere carnem, neque octavo die penaliter circumcidi. (ll.83-85)

...quod primum de [illa] sublimitate caelesti ad terran descendens non aspernatur Dei filius carnem hominis induere... -Cyprianus, 6 (p.401, ll.11-12).

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16.

Baptisatur a seruo, omnium facile dominus. (ll.85-86)

Dominus baptizatur a seruo et ... -Cyprianus, 6 (p.401, l.15).

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17.

Quadraginta diebus totidemque noctibus ieiunans, cum hoste tentante congregitur. (Il.86-87)

diebus quadraginta ieiunat per quem ceteri saginantur: esurit et famem sensit ut qui in fame sermonis et gratiae fuerant caelesti pane saturarentur. cum diabolo temptante congregitur. - Cyprianus, 6 (p.401, ll.17-20).

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18.

Jude pedes humi procumbens abluit, quem ad extremum usque mirabili patientia, ad melioris vite frugem exprecarat, quem domesticum hostem cognovit sed non detexit eiusque osculum minime recusavit. (Il.87-89)

... Iudam potuit usque ad extremum longa patientia sustinere, cibum cum inimico capere, hostem domesticum scire nec palam ostendere, traditoris osculum non recusare. -Cyprianus, 6 (pp.401-2, ll.25-27, 1).

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19.

O quanta insuper equanimitate, quantaque patientia incredulos et Israhelitas studuit suadendo ad fidem flectere ingratos obsequio fovere, contradicentibus respondere leniter, omnibus morem gerere, superbos et rebelles sustinere clementer, persequentibus se humiliter cedere. Que omnia maxime sunt argumenta patientie. Preterea prophetarum interfectores et adversus patrem suum semper effrenes usque ad ipsam passionis horam, tanquam gallina pullos suos colligere conabatur. (Il.89-94)

in Iudaeis uero tolerandis aequanimitas quanta et quanta patientia incredulos ad finem suadendo flectere, obsequio ingratos fouere, contradicentibus respondere leniter, superbos sustinere clementer, humiliter persequentibus cedere, prophetarum interfectores et aduersus Deum semper rebelles usque ad crucis et passionis horam uelle colligere. -Cyprianus, 6 (p.402, ll.2-7).

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20.

Priusquam ad necis crudelitatem et sanguinis effusionem uentum est, que, obsecro, mi Corneli, opprobria Iudeorum et blasphemantium, ab eo patienter non audita, que, rogo, contumelie, que insultantium sputa patientissime ab eo non excepta? (ll.95-97)

Sub ipsa autem passione et cruce, priusquam ad crudelitatem necis et effusionem sanguinis ueniretur, quae conuiciorum probra patienter audita, quae contumeliarum tolerata ludibria, ut insultantium sputamina ... -Cyprianus, 7 (p.402, ll.8-11).

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21.

Flagella ipse patitur, quo vindice angelus sathane quotidie flagellatur. Coronatur idem ipse pungentibus spinis qui martires suos floribus coronat eternis. Palmis in faciem ceditur qui inmarcessibiles vincentibus palmas tribuit. Terreno spoliatur amictu, qui immortalitatis pallio ceteros vestit. Aceto potatur qui aquam in vinum transformavit, et qui poculum salutis omnibus propinare non destitit.



...et cuius nomine a seruis eius nunc diabolus cum angelis suis flagellatur flagella ipse pateretur, coronaretur spinis qui martyras floribus coronat aeternis, palmis in faciem uerberaretur qui palmas ueras uincens tribuit, spoliaretur ueste terrena qui indumento immortalitatis ceteros uestit, cibaretur felle qui cibum caelestem dedit, aceto potaretur qui salubri poculo propinauit.

-Cyprianus, 7 (p.402, ll.12-18).

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22.

Felle insuper ab illis cybatur quibus mellis et manne fuit largitor et qui est angelorum delicatissimus cybus. (ll.102-103)

... cibaretur felle qui cibum caelestem dedit ... - Cyprianus, 7 (p.402, ll.16-17).

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23.

Falsis testibus veritas ipsa opprimitur, iudicatur iniuste omnium iudex futurus. (ll.103-104)

... et testimoniis falsis ueritas premitur, iudicatur iudicaturus et Dei sermo ad crucem tacens ducitur. -Cyprianus, 7 (p.402, ll.19-20).

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24.

Ad crucem domini sidera confunduntur, elementa turbantur, terra contremiscit, sol ipse (ne Iudeorum facinus cogatur aspicere) radios mundo subtrahit. (ll.106-108)

et cum ad crucem Domini confundantur sidera, elementa turbentur, contremescat terra, nox diem cludat, sol ne Iudaeorum facinus aspicere cogatur et radios et oculos suos subtrahat, ...

-Cyprianus, 7 (p.402, ll.21-24).

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25.

Subitanea noctis caligo diem claudit et tamen dominus Jhesus inter hec tot mira non loquitur, non commovetur, nec maiestatem suam saltem sub ipso mortis articulo profitetur, sed ad finem usque iugiter ac perseveranter tolerat omnia, vel ea demum ratione et providentia ut in ipso ad nostram instructionem, plena et perfecta consummaretur patientia. (ll.108-112)

ille non loquitur, nec mouetur, nec maiestatem suam sub ipsa saltim passione profitetur: usque ad finem perseueranter ac iugiter tolerantur omnia ut consummetur in Christo plena et perfecta patientia. -Cyprianus, 7 (p.402, ll.24-27).

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26.

Pro crucifixoribus suis orat, benignus et patiens nemini veniam negat. Adversariis et sui nominis inimicis si penitentiam agant delicti non solum ad criminis indulgentiam verum etiam ad celestis regni premium admittit ac promouet dicens: (ll.112-115)

... et patientia salutari ad conseruandum benignus ecclesiam suam nemini cludit. illos aduersarios, illos blasphemos; illos nominis sui semper inimicos, si paenitentiam delicti agant, si admissum facinus agnoscant, non solum ad indulgentiam criminis sed et ad praemium regni caelestis admittit. -Cyprianus, 8 (p.403, ll.2-6).

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27.

Quid hoc verbo patientius, quid benignius proferri potest? Vivificantur christi sanguine eciam qui eius sanguinem effuderunt. O qualis et quanta est Christi patientia, que nisi tanta perfecto ac talis extitisset, Paulum quoque apostolum modo ecclesia non haberet. (Il. 115-118)

Quid potest patientius, quid benignius dici? uiuificatur Christi sanguine etiam qui fudit sanguinem Christi. talis est Christi ac tanta patientia: quae nisi talis et tanta existeret, Paulum quoque apostolum ecclesia non haberet. -Cyprianus, 8 (p.403, Il.6-10).

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28.

Intueamur itaque patriarchas veteres et prophetas iustosque omnes, qui figuram christi in imagine portaverunt, nihil omnium accuratius custodisse in suarum laude virtutum, quam id maxime atque adeo unum quod patientiam forti ac stabili equalitate tenere. Nonne Abel martirium originem et iusti hominis primus inicians passionem aduersus Cayn fratremsuum non repugnat nec reluctatur sed ut humilis ac mansuetus patienter occiditur? (Il.124-131)

Inuenimus denique et patriarchas et prophetas et iustos omnes, qui figuram Christi imagine praeunte portabant nihil magis custodisse in laude uirtutum suarum quam quod patientiam forti et stabili aequanimitate tenuerunt. sic Abel originem martyrii et passionem iusti initians primus et dedicans aduersus fratrem parricidam non resistit nec reluctatur, sed humilis et mitis patienter occiditur. -Cyprianus, 10 (pp.403-4, Il.23-27, 1-2).

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29.

Nonne Abraham credulus Deo fideique iaciens primus fundamentum tentatus in filio non cunctatur non trepidat sed e vestigio preceptis domini tota devotione ac patientia obsecundat? Nonne et filius eius Ysaac, quom a patre immolandus offerretur, adeo patiens invenitur ut dixerit patri: (ll.131-134)

sic Abraham Deo credens et radicem ac fundamentum fidei primus instituens temptatus in filio non dubitat neque cunctatur, sed praeceptis Dei tota patientia deuotionis obsequitur. et Isaac ad hostiae dominicae similitudinem praefiguratus quando a patre immolandus offertur, patiens inuenitur. -Cyprianus, 10 (p.404, ll.5-6).

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30.

Nonne is (quem primum ordine posui), fugatus a fratre e domo paterna patienter excessit et maiore postea eum patientia adorans premissis muneribus ad concordiam studuit revocare? Nonne Joseph, venundatus a suis et in Egiptum relegatus, non modo eis patienter ignoscit, sed et gratuita (dum fames grassaretur) frumenta venientibus ad se clementer impartit? (ll.134-140)

et Iacob fugatus a fratre de terra sua patienter excedit et maiore patientia postmodum supplex adhuc magis impium et persecutorem muneribus pacificis ad concordiam redigit. Ioseph uenundatus a fratribus et relegatus non tantum patienter ignoscit, sed et gratuita uenientibus frumenta largiter et clementer impartit. -Cyprianus, 10 (p.404, ll.7-11).

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31.

Nonne Moises a perfido Israhel populo frequenter contemptus et iamiam pene saxorum grandine obrutus patiens ac lenis Dominum Deum pro eisdem deprecatur dicens: (Il.140-142)

Moyses ab ingrato et a perfido populo contemnitur frequenter et paene lapidatur, et tamen lenis et patiens pro eisdem Dominum deprecatur. -Cyprianus, 10 (p.404, Il.12-14).

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32.

Quid postremo de David rege ex quo secundum carnem natus est Christus referam? Is itaque, si pie revolvimus, quam magna et mira ac ferme Christiana fuert imbutus patientia tum facile intelliges quom recordaberis illum habuisse in manu Saul regem inimicum suum et se interficere molientem eumque occidere sine strepitu potuisse et tamen traditum sibi servare ad vitam maluisse. (Il.143-147)

in David uero, ex quo secundum carnem Christi natiuitas oritur, quam magna et mira et christiana patientia habuisse in manu saepe ut Saul regem persequentem se et interficere concupiscentem posset occidere et tamen subditum sibi et traditum maluisse servare, ...

-Cyprianus, 10 (p.404, Il.14-18).

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33.

Sed neque secundum legem Moisi, quod utique tum fas fuit hosti suo rependisse vicem, imo occisum denique ab Allophilis in monte Gelboe eius in enecatorem adhuc insuper vindicasse. (Il.147-149).

... nec rependisse inimico uicem, sed occisum adhuc insuper et uindicasse. -Cyprianus, 10 (p.404, ll.18-19).

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34.

Quid de martyribus dicemus, quid de gloriosis confessoribus, quid de sacris denique virginibus, qui omnes ad celestis regni coronas, patientie laude ac triumpho pervenerunt. Neque enim accipi unquam potest dolorum ac passionum corona, nisi precedat in dolore patientia. (ll.149-152)

tot denique prophetae interfecti, tot martyres gloriosis mortibus honorati, qui omnes ad caelestes coronas patientiae laude uenerunt. neque enim potest accipi dolorum et passionum corona, nisi praecedat in dolore et passione patientia. -Cyprianus, 10 (p.404, ll.20-23).

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35.

... qui praeter assiduas tentationum pugnas, in persecutionum certamine pinguia reliquere patrimonia, ... (ll.153-154)

... quibus praeter uarias et assiduas temptationum pugnas in persecutionum quoque certamine patrimonia relinquenda sunt, ... -Cyprianus, 12 (p.405, ll.24-25).

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36.

... qui carceres hilariter subierunt, qui cathenarum pondere pressi et animas pariter cum rebus “impendentes, gladios, bestias, ignes, catastas, et omnia denique tormentorum genera, nobili virtute patientie fortiter pertulere,” ... (ll.155-157)

... subeundus carcer, portandae catenae, animae impendendae, gladius, bestiae, ignes, cruces, omnia denique tormentorum ac poenarum genera fide et uirtute patientiae perferenda Domini ipso instruente et dicente: ... -Cyprianus, 12 (p.405, ll.26-28).

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37.

... et “perseverandum et tolerandum est, ut ad spem veritatis atque libertatis iam admissi,” tandem per incolatus nostri agones ad ipsam possimus letanter pervenire veritatem ac libertatem? (ll.166-168)

tolerandum est et perseuerandum, fratres dilectissimi, ut ad spem ueritatis et libertatis admissi ad ueritatem et libertatem ipsam peruenire possimus, ... -Cyprianus, 13 (p.406, ll.12-14).

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38.

Nam hoc ipsum (ut ingenue fatear) quod Christiani sumus fidei quidem et spei res est. Verum enimvero neque spes ipsa neque fides ad fructum suo voti poterunt pervenire sine patientia. (ll.168-170)

... quia hoc ipsum quod Christiani sumus fidei et spei res est. ut autem peruenire spes et fides ad fructum possint sui patientia opus est. Cyprianus, 13 (p.406, ll.14-16).

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39.

Proculdubio et expectatio et patientia est nobis quam maxime necessaria, ut saltem illud quod in baptisate esse cepimus, perseveranter impleamus, et ut etiam illud quod credimus et speramus, Domino prestante capiamus. (Il.172-174)

expectatio et patientia necessaria est, ut id quod esse coepimus impleamus et quod speramus et credimus Deo repraesentante capiamus. -Cyprianus, 13 (p.406, ll.21-23).

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40.

Nihil homini Christiano unquam perniciosius quam in operatione bona per impatientiam deficere, et iniquis tentationum suggestibus aut avocatum aut devictum in medio laudis itinere subito prorsus deficere. (Il.176-179)

admonet ne quis inpatiens in operatione deficiat, ne quis temptationibus aut auocatus aut uictus in medio laudis et gloriae itinere desistat ... -Cyprianus, 13 (p.407, ll.7-9).

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41.

Que nimirum exhortatio nos utique excitat patienter et fortiter in bono perseverare: ut, qui ad coronam et ad laudem iam proximam fere nitimur durante usque in finem patientia victoriosius a domino coronemur. (Il.182-184)

quae uox adhortatur patienter et fortiter perseuerare, ut qui ad coronam laude iam proxima nititur durante patientia coronetur. -Cyprianus, 13 (p.407, ll.13-15).

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42.

Patientia non solum in nobis bona custodit sed eciam a nobis adversa repellit. (l.214)

Patientia autem, fratres dilectissimi, non tantum bona custodit, sed et repellit aduersa.

-Cyprianus, 14 (p.407, ll.16-17).

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43.

Ipsa enim in nobis non solum bona custodit, verum eciam a nobis adversa repellit. Ipsa quoque contra corporis atque carnis opera, quibus anima ipsa sepe numero expugnatur et capitur virtutum suarum propugnaculo quotidie reluctatur. De pluribus perpauca inspiciamus, ut ex paucis intelligantur et cetera. (ll.219-222)

Patientia autem, fratres dilectissimi, non tantum bona custodit, sed et repellit aduersa. Spiritui sancto fauens et caelestibus ac diuinis cohaerens contra facta carnis et corporis quibus anima expugnatur et capitur uirtutum suarum propugnaculo reluctatur. inspiciamus denique pauca de multis, ut de paucis intelligantur et cetera. -Cyprianus, 14 (p.407, ll.16-21).

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44.

At vero "sit firma fortisque in animo patientia, nec adulterio quidem corpus tuum, deo sanctificatum, templumque spiritus sancti factum, pollues, nec tuam iusticie semel dicatam innocentiam, mendacii aut fraudis aut maledicti contagione inficies, nec post digne gustatam christi eucharistiam," (ll.224-227)

sit fortis et stabilis in corde patientia, nec adulterio sanctificatum corpus et Dei templum polluitur, nec iustitiae dicata innocentia contagio fraudis inficitur nec post gestatam eucharistiam manus gladio et cruore maculatur. -Cyprianus, 14 (p.407, ll.22-24).

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45.

“Charitas siquidem fundamentum pacis est, et fraternitatis vinculum firmitasque unitatis, et que spem atque fidem longe superat, que omnia opera,” ... que numquam excidit sed perpetua nobiscum in celestibus perseverat. (ll.229-232)

Charitas fraternitatis uinculum est, fundamentum pacis, tenacitas ac firmitas unitatis, quae et spe et fide maior est, quae et opera et martyria praecedat, quae nobiscum semper aeterna in regnis caelestibus permanebit. -Cyprianus, 15 (pp.407-408, ll.26-1).

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46.

Verum si ei “patientiam tollis mox desolata non subsistit neque perdurat. Tolle ab ea, inquam sufferendi substantiam et nullis mox viribus proculdubio perstat.” (ll.232-234)

tolle illi patientiam, et desolata non durat, tolle sustinendi tolerandique substantiam, et nullis radicibus ac uiribus perseuerat. -Cyprianus, 15 (p.408, ll.2-4).

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47.

Ecce astruit apostolus “neque unitatem, neque pacem seruari posse, nisi mutua nos invicem patientia foveamus et concordie federa, per tolerantiam custodiamus.” (ll.237-239)

probauit nec unitatem seruari posse nec pacem, nisi se inuicem fratres mutua tolerantia foueant, et concordiae uinculum patientia intercedente custodiant. -Cyprianus, 15 (p.408, ll.13-15).

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48.

... “non iurabis, non maledices, ablata non repetes, accepta alapa alteram verberanti prebebis maxillam, peccanti in te non septies modo, sed et septuagies septies quineciam omnia omnino peccata dimittes, pro aduersariis tuis et persecutoribus orabis. Quis, inquam, ista perferre aut implere poterit, nisi tolerantie ac patientie teneat firmitatem?” (ll.240-244)

Quid deinde, ut non iures neque maledicas, ut tua ablata non repetas, ut accepta alapa et alteram maxillam uerberanti praebeas, ut fratri in te peccanti non tantum septuagies septies sed et omnia omnino peccata dimittas, ut diligas inimicos tuos, ut pro aduersariis et persecutoribus precem facias, poterisne ista perferre nisi patientiae et tolerantiae firmitate? -Cyprianus, 16 (p.408, ll.16-21).

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49.

Patientia etenim est que fidei nostre fundamenta stabiliter ponit, que spei nostre incrementa sublimiter provehit, que omnes denique actus nostros ita dirigit, ut tenere dulciter possimus viam Christi et documenta, dum per eius tolerantiam studiose gradimur. Ipsa vel sola efficit (quemadmodum ante iam diximus) ut simus et perseveremus filii dei: dum patris nostri patientiam diligenter imitamur, ... (ll.246-250)

ipsa est quae fidei nostrae fundamenta firmiter munit. ipsa est quae incrementa spei sublimiter prouehit. ipsa actum dirigit, ut tenere possimus uiam Christi, dum per eius tolerantiam gradimur. ipsa efficit ut perseueremus filii Dei, dum patientiam patris imitamur. -Cyprianus, 20 (p.412, ll.9-13).

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50.

... qui hic in pluribus “fluctuantis seculi turbinibus et in pravorum hominum atque hereticorum persecutionibus constituti, eterne retributionis diem patientissime expectamus.” (ll.250-252)

... in istis fluctuantis mundi turbinibus et Iudaeorum siue gentilium et haereticorum quoque persecutionibus constituti patienter expectemus ultionis diem ... -Cyprianus, 21 (p.412, ll.17-19).

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51.

Tuetur in uirginibus patientia beata integritatem, in uiduis laboriosam castitatem, et in maritatis individuum charitatem. Hec virtus nos in prosperis reddit humiles, in aduersis constantes [f.52r] contra iniurias mansuetos ac mites. Ipsa docet nos, delinquentibus cito ignoscere. Et si ipse delinquas instanter veniam delicti facit petere. Hec denique tentamina hostis expugnat, persecutiones strennue tolerat, passiones et martiria ipsa vel una consummat. (ll.252-257)

... tuetur in uirginibus beatam integritatem, in uiduis laboriosam castitatem, in coniunctis et maritatis indiuiduum caritatem. facit humiles in prosperis, in aduersis fortes, contra iniurias et contumelias mites. docet delinquentibus cito ignoscere, si ipse delinquas, diu et multum rogare.

temptationes expugnat, persecutiones tolerat, passiones et martyria consummat. -Cyprianus, 20 (p.412, ll.4-9).

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52.

“Patientia itaque” (ait Cyprianus) “Deo nos commendat et ab omni malo conservat. Iram enim ipsa temperat, linguam refrenat, mentem gubernat, pacem custodit, disciplinam regit, libidinis impetum frangit, tumoris violentiam comprimit, incendia simultatis extinguit, coercet divitum potentiam, et pauperum refovet inopiam.” (ll.266-270)

patientia est quae nos Deo et commendat et seruat: ipsa est quae iram temperat, quae linguam frenat, quae mentem gubernat, pacem custodit, disciplinam regit, libidinis impetum frangit, tumoris uiolentiam conprimit, incendium simultatis extinguit, coercet potentiam diuitum, inopiam pauperum refouet, ... -Cyprianus, 20 (pp.411-412, ll.26-3).

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53.

Verum ut manifestius cognoscamus quam sit nobis necessaria et utilis patientia, cogitemus Dei nostrum sententiam, qua in origine nascentis mundi ac generis humani, Adam pater noster divine legis transgressor est punitus. Qui enim ad hoc nascimur, ut in hoc saeculo pressuris ac tribulationibus laboremus,” ... (ll.379-382)

Quam sit autem patientia utilis et necessaria, fratres dilectissimi, ut manifestius possit et plenius nosci, Dei sententia cogitetur quam in origine statim mundi et generis humani Adam praecepti inmemor et datae legis transgressor accepit. tunc sciemus quam patientes esse in isto saeculo

debeamus, qui sic nascimur, ut pressuris istic et conflictationibus laboremus. -Cyprianus, 11 (p.404, ll.24-29).

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54.

... huius enim sententiae vinculis omnes constricti sumus, donec morte expuncta de hoc saeculo recedentes in cinerem revertamur. In tristitia igitur et gemitu continuo simus, necesse est, omnibus diebus [f.55v] vite nostre, edamusque panem nostrum non sine sudore ac labore. (ll.388-391)

huius sententiae uinculo conligati omnes et constricti sumus, donec morte expuncta de isto saeculo recedamus. in tristitia et gemitu simus necesse est omnibus diebus uitae nostrae, edamus panem necesse est cum sudore et labore. -Cyprianus, 11 (p.405, ll.9-12).

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55.

... ubi nascitur et primum huius mundi excipitur hospes inicium a lachrymis sumit, ut dicit sapiens. Et quamvis adhuc omnium ignarus ac nescius est que aguntur in saeculo, nihil tamen aliud novit in illa ipsa ortus sui prima nativitate quam flere et plangere. (ll.392-395)

Unde unusquisque cum nascitur et hospicio mundi huius excipitur, initium sumit a lacrimis et quamvis adhuc omnium nescius et ignarus nihil aliud novit in illa ipsa prima natiuitate quam flere. -Cyprianus, 12 (p.405, ll.13-16).

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56.

Naturali profecto quadam providentia atque lamento huius vite anxietates, procellas et labores in ipso sue natiuitatis exordio, fletibus ac gemitu rudis anima protestatur. “Sudatur enim hic (ait Cyprianus) et laboratur, quamdiu isthic vivitur.” Et quid laborantibus atque sudantibus necessario secundum inpositam patri nostro Ade penitentiam, magis subvenire potest quam patientie solacium,” ... (ll.395-399)

providentia naturali lamentatur uitae mortalis anxietates et labores et procellas mundi quas ingreditur in exordio statim suo ploratu et gemitu rudis anima testatur. sudatur enim quamdiu isthic uiuitur et laboratur. nec sudantibus et laborantibus possunt alia magis quam patientiae subuenire solacia: ... -Cyprianus, 12 (p.405, ll.16-20).

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57.

Igitur quoniam nihil “in actibus nostris potest ad aliarum virtutum consummandam laudem nobis proficere nisi quod patientie acceperit firmitatem,” ... (ll.470-472)

... nec proficere aliquid in actibus nostris potest ad consummandam laudem, nisi inde consummationis accipiat firmitatem. -Cyprianus, 20 (p.411, ll.24-26).

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58.

... “insistamus pocius, et vigilanter elaboremus ut ad omnem tolerantiam stabilis domini nostri precepta accuratissime observemus, ut quum dies ire ac vindicte advenerit, non cum impiis et peccatoribus puniamur, sed potius cum iustis atque Deum timentibus in celo coronemur.” (ll.472-475)

insistamus potius et elaboremus et toto corde uigilantes atque ad omnem tolerantiam stabiles dominica praecepta seruemus, ut cum ille irae et uindictae dies uenerit non cum impiis et peccatoribus puniamur, sed cum iustis et Deum timentibus honoremur. -Cyprianus, 24 (p.415, ll.13-17).

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APPENDIX C: *LIBELLUS DE PATIENTIA*

Cornelius Aurelius, *Libellus de Patientia* [1524]  
(Leiden, UB, MS Vulcanius 66, ff.45r-57v)

Patientiam ab ipso Deo suam habere originem.  
Capitulum primum.

5 “Est itaque virtus patientie nobis” (incredibile dictu) “cum ipso Deo communis. Inde enim (teste  
Cypriano martyre) patientia incipit; inde claritas eius et dignitas enitescit.”<sup>1</sup> Summe igitur nobis  
diligenda est patientia quae Domino Deo nostro est mirum in modum familiaris, et gratissima  
semper fuit. Ecce mi confrater in Christo et congnominus meus Corneli, bonum ipsum, quod  
divina maiestas tantopere amplectitur et amat, nobis eciam proculdubio amandum seriose  
10 commendat. “In patientia,” inquit, “vestra possidebitis animas vestras.”<sup>2</sup> Sed quid? Si Dominus  
ipse nobis et Deus et Pater est, sectemur oportet patientiam Dei pariter et Patris nostri quoniam et  
famulos decet esse omni iure suo domino obsequentes et filios nihilominus a patre suo non  
degeneres.<sup>3</sup> Sed iam dei nostri patientiam qualis et quanta semper fuerit videamus. Ecce plurima  
ab hominibus instituta deorum figmenta, delubra, sacra sacrilega in sue maiestatis [f.45v]  
contumeliam et contemptum patientissime sustinens, “super bonos ac malos solem suum oriri  
15 facit,”<sup>4</sup> omnique terras hymbribus eque fecundat.<sup>5</sup> Nemo omnium ab eius beneficiis excluditur,  
quo minus iustis similiter et iniustis indiscretas segetum vindemias largiatur.<sup>6</sup> Nonne illius nutui  
et inseparabili equalitate nocentibus et innoxiiis, relligiosis et impiis, gratias agentibus et ingratis,  
tempora ipsa domino iubente obsequuntur, elementa famulantur?<sup>7</sup> Ecce inserviunt equo omnibus  
20 officio spirantes venti; fontes videmus dulciter fluere, copias grandescere messium, fructus  
mitescere vinearum, pomis denique arbusta repleri, nemora frondescere, ridere campos, prata  
virere.<sup>8</sup> Et quamquam assiduis atque quotidianis exacerbatur offensis, indignationem tamen suam  
temperat et prestitutum semel retributionis diem patienter expectat.<sup>9</sup> Mirum si non miremur illum  
tanta patientia et clementia sustinere peccatores, qui presentaneam in eos vindictam exercere  
25 potest. Differt tamen profecto eam, ea demum ratione et causa, “ut, si fieri posset, iam diu  
protracta malicia, homo in melius commutetur, et usque ad canos in scelerum contagione  
volutatus, vel sero convertatur ad Dominum qui per prophetam dicit: “Nolo mortem peccatoris  
sed ut magis convertatur et vivat.”<sup>10</sup> Atque iterum per Johelem: “Revertimini ad Dominum Deum  
vestrum quoniam misericors et pius et patiens est et multe miserationis et prestabilis super  
30 malicia et qui leviter flectat sententiam adversus impium irrogatam.”<sup>11</sup> [f.46r]

Sola patientia hominem in via virtutum perficit et filios Dei a filiis diaboli distinguit.  
Capitulum secundum.

35 Ecce, amicorum syncerissime Corneli virque consultissime, quoniam ipsa patientia Dei res est  
(teste Cypriano) et summe peculiaris, et is qui patiens mitisque invenitur Dei patris imitator  
existit.<sup>12</sup> Non habuit Deus in omni sapientia sua quo “discipulos ad perfectum magis erudiret  
quam ut ad patientiam hortaretur, dicens<sup>13</sup>: Diligite inimicos vestros, et orate pro eis qui vos  
persequuntur, ut filii sitis patris vestri qui in celis est, et qui solem suum oriri facit super bonos et  
40 malos, et pluit super iustos et iniustos. Si enim dilexeritis eos tantum qui vos diligunt, quam

mercedem habebitis? Nonne et publicani hoc faciunt? Et si salutaveritis fratres vestros tantum, quid amplius facietis? Nonne ethnici et hoc ipsum faciunt?” Et mox intulit dicens: “Estote itaque et vos perfecti, sicut et pater vester celestis perfectus est.”<sup>14</sup> “In omni utique patientia et longanimitate.”<sup>15</sup> O salutiferum divine pietatis documentum, O ineffabilem et omnibus inauditam saeculis doctrinam! Quis, obsecro, unquam audivit talia? Ecce magister ille qui non fallitur neque fallit, affirmat nos tum fieri perfectos dei filios, et in virtutibus docuit nos consummari, quum patientia Dei patris manet in nobis, et quum divine similitudo patientie manifestatur et relucet in artibus nostris.<sup>16</sup> O virorum candidissime Hoeni, que ea (putas) est gloria similem prorsus Deo fieri?<sup>17</sup> Qualem et quantam eam existimas [f.46v] felicitatem nos illud habere in virtutibus, quod divinis eciam laudibus possit equari.<sup>18</sup> “Estote,” ait, “perfecti sicut et pater vester celestis perfectus est.”<sup>19</sup> “Gloriemur,” igitur, suavissime confrater, “in tribulationibus nostris, scientes quoniam tribulatio patientiam operatur, patientia autem probationem, probatio vero spem, spes autem non confundit.”<sup>20</sup> Patientia etenim sola est, que unice probat, cuius patris nos filii sumus Deine an diaboli, teste Ysaac patriarcha qui dicit: “Accede huc, fili mi, ut tangam te,”<sup>21</sup> tribulationibus scilicet, et probem, utrum tu sis filius meus, pacienter ferens manum meam, an non. “Quem enim diligit dominus castigat, flagellat autem omnem filium quem recipit.”<sup>22</sup> Quicumque ergo in disciplina eius per patientiam non perseverat, sed eam indignans abiicit,<sup>23</sup> hic adulterinus iam factus, Dei filius esse desiit.<sup>24</sup> “Noli,” ait Augustinus, “a te patris tui flagellum repellere, si non vis repelli ab hereditate. Noli attendere quam penam habeas in flagello: sed quem locum teneas in testamento.”<sup>25</sup> Filii etenim dei sumus, teste Scriptura, “per lavachrum regenerationis,”<sup>26</sup> qua<sup>27</sup> celesti nativitate reparati sumus. “Si ergo filii, et heredes; heredes quidem Dei, coheredes autem Christi; si tamen compatimur, ut conregnantes glorificemur.”<sup>28</sup> Sustineamus itaque, mi germane compar, cum omni patientia et mansuetudine flagella piissimi patris ut evadere possimus flagella acerrimi tortoris. [f.47r] Patientia namque, ut prediximus, probationem id est peccatorum purgationem facit; haud secus atque amara antidoti confectio omne e corpore eiicit corruptelam. Et quemadmodum peccati maculam sola aufert cordis contritio, ita procul dubio, pene reatum ipsa tollit tribulatio, si eam patienti animo toleramus. Demum Paulo teste,<sup>29</sup> hec probatio, attactio et purgatio, spem firmissimam, certamque eterne beatudinis expectationem adducit, quando<sup>30</sup> abolita iam in nobis culpa delictorum et pena liberrimus, dabitur ad gloriam accessus, iuxta illud Evangelii<sup>31</sup>: “Beati qui persecutionem patiuntur, quoniam ipsorum est regnum celorum.”<sup>32</sup>

75 Patientiam Christus non solum verbo nos docuit,  
sed et facto eam nobis in seipso mirabilem ostendit.  
Capitulum tertium.

Sed quid ultra dicemus? Numquid non Dominus suam nos patientiam solo docuit verbo et eam insuper nobis facto non ostendit?<sup>33</sup> Mirum eciam in modum et ultra quam mens humana aut credere aut intelligere potest! Christi etenim patientiam ex opere testimonia nobis profitentur locupletissima. Inter omnia quippe suarum virtutum mirabilia, quibus divine maiestatis sue expressit indicia<sup>34</sup>, mirabilem semper ipse conservavit patientiam.<sup>35</sup> Nam<sup>36</sup> de illa celesti sublimitate, ut a primordiis repetam, ad hec terrena descendens, non aspernatur Dei filius nostram induere carnem, neque octavo die penaliter circumcidi.<sup>37</sup> Baptisatur a servo, omnium facile dominus.<sup>38</sup> Quadraginta diebus totidemque noctibus ieiunans, cum<sup>39</sup> hoste tentante congregitur.<sup>40</sup> Jude pedes [f.47v] humi procumbens abluit, quem ad extremum usque mirabili

patientia ad melioris vite frugem exprecarat (?), quem domesticum hostem cognovit sed non  
 detexit, eiusque osculum minime recusavit.<sup>41</sup> O quanta insuper equanimitate, quantaque patientia  
 incredulos et Israhelitas studuit suadendo ad fidem flectere, ingratos obsequio fovere,  
 90 contradicentibus respondere leniter, omnibus morem gerere, superbos et rebelles sustinere  
 clementer, persequentibus se humiliter cedere<sup>42,43</sup> Que omnia maxime sunt argumenta patientie.  
 Preterea prophetarum interfectores et adversus patrem suum semper effrenes usque ad ipsam  
 passionis horam,<sup>44</sup> tanquam gallina pullos suos, colligere conabatur.<sup>45</sup> Et quid ita demum sub  
 ipsa actum est cruce? Priusquam ad necis crudelitatem et sanguinis effusionem ventum est, que,  
 95 obsecro, mi Corneli, opprobria Iudeorum et blasphemantium, ab eo patienter non audita, que,  
 rogo, contumelie, que insultantium sputa patientissime ab eo non excepta?<sup>46</sup> Quid pluribus  
 moramur? Flagella ipse patitur, quo vindice angelus sathane quotidie flagellatur.<sup>47</sup> Coronatur  
 idem ipse pungentibus spinis qui martires suos floribus coronat eternis. Palmis in faciem  
 ceditur<sup>48</sup> qui immarcessibiles vincentibus palmas tribuit.<sup>49</sup> Terreno spoliatur amictu, qui  
 100 immortalitatis pallio ceteros vestit.<sup>50</sup> Aceto potatur qui aquam in vinum transformavit, et qui  
 poculum salutis omnibus propinare non destitit.<sup>51</sup> Felle insuper ab illis cybatur quibus mellis et  
 manne fuit largitor et qui est angelorum delicatissimus cybus.<sup>52</sup> Falsis testibus veritas [f.48r] ipsa  
 opprimitur; iudicatur iniuste omnium iudex futurus.<sup>53</sup> Condemnatur venia, illuditur maiestas,  
 irridetur virtus; fedissimis perfunditur sputis qui dulcium est ymbrium effusor. Et tandem ipse  
 105 filius Dei tacens tanquam agnus ad victimam ducitur.<sup>54</sup> Quid plurimis retardamur?<sup>55</sup> Ad crucem  
 domini sydera confunduntur, elementa turbantur, terra contremiscit, sol ipse (ne Iudeorum  
 facinus cogatur aspicere) radios mundo subtrahit.<sup>56</sup> Subitanea noctis caligo diem claudit, et  
 tamen dominus Jhesus inter hec tot mira non loquitur, non commovetur, nec maiestatem suam  
 saltem sub ipso mortis articulo profitetur, sed ad finem usque iugiter ac perseveranter tolerat  
 110 omnia, vel ea demum ratione et providentia, ut in ipso ad nostram instructionem, plena et  
 perfecta consummaretur patientia.<sup>57</sup> Quid tandem postremo? Pro crucifixoribus suis orat;  
 benignus et patiens nemini veniam negat. Adversariis et sui nominis inimicis, si penitentiam  
 agant delicti, non solum ad criminis indulgentiam verum etiam ad celestis regni premium  
 admittit<sup>58</sup> ac promouet<sup>59</sup>, dicens: “Pater, ignosce illis quia nesciunt quid faciunt.”<sup>60</sup> Quid hoc  
 115 verbo patientius, quid benignius proferri potest? Vivificantur christi sanguine etiam qui eius  
 sanguinem effuderunt. O qualis et quanta est Christi patientia, que nisi tanta profecto ac talis  
 extitisset, Paulum quoque apostolum modo ecclesia non haberet.<sup>61</sup>

120 Exemplum patientie non solum a Christo Deo et homine, verum etiam a puris hominibus nobis  
 esse demonstratum et relictum.  
 Capitulum quartum.

At forsitan ad hec, mi Corneli, replicabis et dices: [f.48v] Quid me homuntionem carne  
 125 animoque fragili ad eius hortaris patientiam qui Deus simul est et homo? Ad puros igitur  
 homines veniamus, et predecessorum nostrorum patientiam diligenter inspectemus. Intueamur  
 itaque “patriarchas veteres et prophetas iustosque omnes (qui figuram Christi in imagine  
 portaverunt), nihil omnium accuratius custodisse in suarum laude virtutum, quam id maxime  
 atque adeo unum, quod patientiam forti ac stabili equalitate tenuere.<sup>62</sup> Nonne Abel, martirium<sup>63</sup>  
 130 originem et iusti hominis primus inicians passionem, adversus Cayn<sup>64</sup> fratrem suum non  
 repugnat, nec reluctatur sed ut humilis ac mansuetus patienter occiditur?”<sup>65</sup> Nonne Abraham,  
 credulus Deo fideique iaciens primus fundamentum, tentatus in filio non cunctatur, non trepidat,

135 sed e vestigio preceptis domini tota devotione ac patientia obsecundat?<sup>66</sup> Nonne et filius eius  
 Ysaac, quom a patre immolandus offerretur, adeo patiens invenitur<sup>67</sup> ut dixerit<sup>68</sup> patri: “Pater,  
 alliga mihi manus et pedes, ne forte insurgam adversum te?”<sup>69</sup> Quid de Jacop, Ioseph, Moisi<sup>70</sup>, et  
 David rege ceterisque patribus dicemus? Nonne is (quem primum ordine posui), fugatus a fratre  
 e domo paterna patienter excessit et maiore postea eum patientia adorans premissis muneribus ad  
 concordiam studuit revocare?<sup>71</sup> Nonne Ioseph, venumdatum a suis et in Egiptum relegatus, non  
 140 modo eis patienter ignoscit, sed et gratuita (dum fames grassaretur) frumenta venientibus ad se  
 clementer impartit?<sup>72</sup> Nonne Moises, a perfido Israhel<sup>73</sup> populo frequenter contemptus et  
 iamiam<sup>74</sup> pene saxorum grandine obrutus, patiens ac lenis Dominum Deum pro eisdem  
 deprecatur,<sup>75</sup> dicens: “Domine, dimitte eis noxam hanc [f.49r], aut dele me de libro quem  
 scripsisti?”<sup>76</sup> Quid postremo de David rege ex quo secundum<sup>77</sup> carnem natus est Christus  
 referam?<sup>78</sup> Is itaque, si pie revolvimus, quam magna et mira ac ferme Christiana fuerit imbutus  
 145 patientia tum facile intelliges quom recordaberis illum habuisse in manu Saul regem inimicum  
 suum et se interficere molientem eumque occidere sine strepitu potuisse et tamen traditum sibi  
 servare ad vitam maluisse.<sup>79</sup> Sed neque secundum legem Moisi<sup>80</sup>, quod utique tum fas fuit hosti  
 suo rependisse vicem, imo occisum denique ab Allophilis in monte Gelboe eius in enecatorem  
 adhuc insuper vindicasse.<sup>81</sup> Ad novum redeo testamentum. Quid de martyribus dicemus, quid de  
 150 gloriosis confessoribus, quid de sacris denique virginibus, qui omnes ad celestis regni coronas,  
 patientie laude ac triumpho pervenerunt? Neque enim accipi unquam potest dolorum ac  
 passionum corona, nisi precedat in dolore patientia.<sup>82</sup> Quibus eciam eos haud iniuria  
 annumeramus, qui pro Christi nomen<sup>83</sup> sese suaque libenter impenderunt, qui preter assiduas  
 tentationum pugnas, in persecutionum certamine pingua reliquere patrimonia,<sup>84</sup> uxoresque  
 155 candidissimas et numerose prolis gratissima pignora, qui carceres hilariter subierunt, qui  
 cathenarum pondere pressi et animas pariter cum rebus “impedentes, gladios, bestias, ignes,  
 catastas, et omnia denique tormentorum genera, nobili virtute patientie fortiter pertulere,”<sup>85</sup> illo  
 ipso nimirum instigante et procinante<sup>86</sup> qui dicit: “Si permanseritis,” ait, “in verbo meo, vere  
 discipuli mei eritis, et cognoscetis veritatem, et veritas liberabit vos.”<sup>87</sup> [f.49v]

Patienter et fortiter in bono perseverandum esse et numquam ab operatione bona deficere aut per  
 impatientiam desistere.

Capitulum quintum.

165 Videsne, Corneli, quam patienter ex verbis Domini nobis in omnibus et “perseverandum et  
 tolerandum est, ut ad spem veritatis atque libertatis iam admissi, tandem per<sup>88</sup> incolatus nostri  
 agones ad ipsam possimus letanter pervenire veritatem ac libertatem?”<sup>89</sup> Nam hoc ipsum (ut  
 ingenue fatear) quod Christiani sumus fidei quidem et spei res est.<sup>90</sup> Verum enimvero neque spes  
 170 ipsa neque fides ad fructum suo voti poterunt pervenire sine patientia.<sup>91</sup> Patientia ergo nobis<sup>92</sup>  
 magnopere necessaria,<sup>93</sup> dicente Paulo: “Si enim id quod non videntes speramus, per patientiam  
 expectamus.”<sup>94</sup> Proculdubio et expectatio et patientia est nobis quam maxime necessaria, ut  
 saltem illud quod in baptisate esse cepimus, perseveranter impleamus, et ut etiam illud quod  
 credimus et speramus, Domino prestante capiamus.<sup>95</sup> Ad hoc eciam hortatur nos Paulus, dicens:  
 175 “Bonum autem facientes non deficiamus; tempore enim suo metemus non deficientes.”<sup>96</sup>  
 Quoniam merces nostra tunc erit eterna, et nemo eam tollet a nobis. Et quid dicam? Nihil homini  
 Christiano unquam perniciosius quam in operatione bona per impatientiam deficere, et iniquis

180 tentationum suggestibus aut avocatum aut devictum in medio laudis itinere <sup>97</sup> subito prorsus  
 deficere. Contra hec apostolus nos admonet, dicens: “Nolite amittere confidentiam vestram quae  
 magnam habet remunerationem.”<sup>98</sup> Ac demum: “Patientia enim vobis necessaria est ut  
 voluntatem Dei facientes reportetis promissionem.”<sup>99</sup> Et Johannes [f.50r] in Apocalipsi<sup>100</sup>: “Tene  
 quod habes ne alius accipiat coronam tuam.”<sup>101</sup> Que nimirum exhortatio nos utique excitat  
 185 patienter et fortiter in bono perseverare: ut, qui ad coronam et ad laudem iam proximam fere  
 nitimur durante usque in finem patientia victoriosius a Domino coronemur.<sup>102</sup> “Incassum quippe  
 bonum agitur si ante vite terminum,” teste Gregorio, “deseratur. Et frustra velociter currit qui  
 priusquam ad metas veniat deficit.”<sup>103</sup> Nullus igitur actus bonus, nulla virtus bona, nullum  
 denique opus bonum perficitur, nisi illud<sup>104</sup> perseverantia comitetur. Perseverantia<sup>105</sup> namque est  
 sicut anima rationalis in corpore, que, licet veniat ultima, est tamen omnium virtutum  
 190 corporalium atque animarum completa precedentium. Anima<sup>106</sup> enim vegetativa et anima  
 sensitiva, teste Philosopho,<sup>107</sup> imperfecte sunt nature. Quin imo per eas homo integer numquam  
 constitueretur, nisi per animam rationalem ultimata perfectio adderetur, et nisi quod imperfectum  
 fuerat per ipsam novissime compleretur. Ita<sup>108</sup> et vere credimus, licet in morum congerie plures  
 195 inveniantur virtutes, nullas tamen perfectas esse, quamdiu a perseverantia veluti a quadam  
 rationali anima non complentur ac perficiuntur. Et quid, obsecro, proficit, si arbor speciosum  
 quidem fructum producat sed ad debitam maturitatem, vento deiectus in arbore non permaneat?  
 Quod et ipse Dominus in evangelio confirmat, dicens: “Sicut palmes non potest facere fructum  
 nisi in vite manserit, sic nec vos nisi in me manseritis.”<sup>109</sup> Bene, optime, parum proculdubio  
 homini proficit, si fructus bone operationis ab eo incipitur, nisi etiam per stabilem  
 200 perseverantiam maturetur. “Perseverantia<sup>110</sup> nempe est unica summi regis filia, finis virtutum  
 earumque consummatio, [f.50v] totius boni repositorium et virtus ‘sine qua nemo videbit  
 Deum’<sup>111</sup>,<sup>112</sup> dicente Domino: “Qui perseveraverit usque in finem, hic salvus erit.”<sup>113</sup>  
 Perseverantia<sup>114</sup> enim est talaris tunica quam fecerat Jacob filio suo Joseph; <sup>115</sup> hec est cauda  
 pecudis que etiam cum capite in sacrificio domino iubetur offerri. “Turpe est,” ait Seneca,<sup>116</sup>  
 205 “cedere oneri, luctari cum officio, quod semel recepisti. Non est vir fortis neque strenuus aut  
 constans qui laborem fugit, nisi crescat illi animus ipsa etiam rerum difficultate.”<sup>117</sup> Unde et  
 Bernardus<sup>118</sup> in quadam epistula: “Absque perseverantia,” inquit<sup>119</sup>, “nec qui pugnat victoriam  
 nec victor palmam consequitur. Ipsa nutrix est ad meritum, mediatrix ad premium, soror  
 patientie, constantie filia, amica pacis, amiciciarum nodus, unanimatis vinculum<sup>120</sup>,  
 propugnaculum sanctitatis. Tolle perseverantiam nec obsequium mercedem, nec beneficium  
 210 gratiam, nec fortitudo laudem obtinebit.”<sup>121</sup> In disciplina, igitur, o Corneli, perseveremus cum  
 patientia et tamquam filiis se nobis offeret Deus.

215 Patientia non solum in nobis bona custodit, sed etiam a nobis adversa repellit.<sup>122</sup> Et patientiam  
 aliarum quidem virtutum esse consummatricem.  
 Capitulum sexto.

220 Et quid multa? Quis poterit unquam patientie laudes sufficienter et quidem dignis extollere  
 preconiiis? Ipsa enim in nobis non solum bona custodit, verum etiam a nobis adversa repellit.<sup>123</sup>  
 Ipsa quoque contra corporis atque carnis opera, quibus anima ipsa sepe numero expugnatur et  
 capitur virtutum suarum propugnaculo quotidie reluctatur. De pluribus perpauca inspiciamus ut  
 ex paucis intelligantur et cetera.<sup>124</sup> Ecce “mendacium,” ait [f.51r] Propheta<sup>125</sup>, “fraus, furtum,

adulterium et homicidium” iam inter mortales ubique dominantur et “inundaverunt” super terram  
 “et sanguis sanguinem tetigit.”<sup>126</sup> At vero sit firma fortisque in animo patientia, nec adulterio  
 225 quidem corpus tuum Deo sanctificatum templumque spiritus sancti factum pollues, nec tuam  
 iusticie semel dicatam innocentiam mendacii aut fraudis aut maledicti contagione inficies, nec  
 post digne gustatam Christi eucharistiam, qui suam pro hominibus in mortem animam tradidit,  
 alterius sanguinem fundere queres.<sup>127</sup> Quid si insuper dixerō patientiam omnium esse virtutum  
 consummatricem? Charitas siquidem fundamentum pacis est, et fraternitatis vinculum  
 230 firmitasque unitatis, et que spem atque fidem longe superat, que omnia opera, et ipsa demum  
 martiria teste Paulo<sup>128</sup> antecedit, que numquam excidit sed perpetua nobiscum in celestibus  
 perseverat.<sup>129</sup> Magna quidem et vera sunt hec charitatis preconia. Verum si ei patientiam tollis  
 mox desolata non subsistit neque perdurat; tolle ab ea, inquam, sufferendi substantiam et nullis  
 mox viribus proculdubio perstat.<sup>130</sup> Quapropter non ab re neque temere apostolus Paulus ei  
 235 patientiam adiungit, dicens “Charitas<sup>131</sup> patiens est, benigna est, omnia suffert, omnia credit,  
 omnia sperat, omnia sustinet.”<sup>132</sup> Et alio in loco<sup>133</sup>: “Cum patientia supportantes invicem in  
 charitate. Solliciti servare unitatem spiritus in vinculo et coniunctione<sup>134</sup> pacis.”<sup>135</sup> Ecce<sup>136</sup> astruit  
 Apostolus neque unitatem, neque pacem servari posse, nisi mutua nos invicem patientia  
 foveamus et concordie federa, per tolerantiam custodiamus.<sup>137</sup> [f.51v] Ecquis denique evangelica  
 240 illa, et quidem Domini nostri precepta, perferre poterit, quibus dicitur: non iurabis, non  
 maledices, ablata non repetes, accepta alapa alteram verberanti prebebis maxillam, peccanti in te  
 non septies modo, sed et septuagies septies quineciam omnia omnino peccata dimittes, pro  
 adversariis tuis et persecutoribus orabis.<sup>138</sup> Quis, inquam, ista perferre aut implere poterit, nisi  
 tolerantie ac patientie teneat firmitatem?”<sup>139</sup> Viden, mi Corneli, patientiam ipsam omnium esse  
 245 virtutum sal et condimentum? Quod enim cybus est sine sale, hoc cetera virtutes (quantumvis  
 magne) sunt absque fomento patientie. Patientia etenim est que fidei nostre fundamenta stabiliter  
 ponit, que spei nostre incrementa sublimiter provehit, que omnes denique actus nostros ita  
 dirigit, ut tenere dulciter possimus viam Christi et documenta, dum per eius tolerantiam studiose  
 gradimur.<sup>140</sup> Ipsa vel sola efficit (quemadmodum ante iam diximus) ut simus et perseveremus  
 250 filii Dei: dum patris nostri patientiam diligenter imitamur,<sup>141</sup> qui hic in pluribus fluctuantis seculi  
 turbinibus et in pravorum hominum atque hereticorum persecutionibus constituti, eterne  
 retributionis diem patientissime expectamus.<sup>142</sup> Quid multa? Tuetur in virginibus patientia beata  
 integritatem, in viduis laboriosam castitatem, et in maritatis individuum charitatem.<sup>143</sup> Hec virtus  
 nos in prosperis reddit humiles, in adversis constantes [f.52r] contra iniurias mansuetos ac  
 255 mites.<sup>144</sup> Ipsa docet nos delinquentibus cito ignoscere, et si ipse delinquas, instanter veniam  
 delicti facit petere.<sup>145</sup> Hec denique tentamina hostis expugnat, persecutiones strennue tolerat,  
 passiones et martiria ipsa vel una consummat.<sup>146</sup>

260 Per patientiam omnia in nobis vicia mortificari, affectum tamen pietatis non extinguere, et mala  
 quae patimur nobis prodesse plurimum<sup>147</sup>, vel ad eluenda peccata vel ad exercendam  
 probandamque nostram iusticiam.

Capitulum septem.

265 Hec de virtutibus quas in nobis patientia nutrit et consolidat dixerimus; nunc quomodo sua  
 vicissim firmitate omnia in nobis mortificet vicia, pariter audiamus. “Patientia<sup>148</sup> itaque” (ait  
 Cyprianus) “Deo nos commendat et ab omni malo conservat. Iram enim ipsa temperat, linguam

refrenat, mentem gubernat, pacem custodit, disciplinam regit, libidinis impetum frangit, tumoris violentiam comprimit, incendia simultatis extinguit, coercet divitum potentiam, et pauperum refovet inopiam.”<sup>149</sup> Verum enimvero non tam severum atque insuperabilem patientia reddit animum, ut omnino luctiferi affectus exuat pietatem. Sustinet profecto equanimiter omnia, deplorans tamen nihilominus iniquorum hominum pertinaciam et amicorum lugens obiter angustiam. Quemadmodum Seneca, scribens ad Paulum apostolum<sup>150</sup>, testatur, ubi dicit: “Putasne mi Paule, me non contristari aut luctuosum non esse, quod de tua innocentia supplicium sumatur? Sed feramus equo animo, et utamur foro, quod sors concesserit, donec invicta felicitas finem malis imponat.”<sup>151</sup> Et quodammodo<sup>152</sup> equum mihi cum Seneca offertur spacium (fatebor ingenue facessatque adulatio<sup>153</sup>, que neque etatem meam decet neque professionem): plurimum<sup>154</sup> in te compassione ferebar iuxta Pauli sententiam dicentis<sup>155</sup>: [f.52v] “Si quid patitur unum membrum, compatiuntur omnia membra.”<sup>156</sup> Quidni Christiano homini et (ut verum fatear) Catholice fidei, ego Christianus compaterer? Quidni, inquam, eum<sup>157</sup> turpiter affligi virum plangerem, plangerem, cuius doctrinam et legalem et canonicam omnes predicant, cuius elemosinas et patrocina enarrat omnis ecclesia sanctorum et pauperum Christi?<sup>158</sup> Quotidie interim quo aporiabaris, ego ipse et quidem ea potissimum hora, qua filium patri immolamus, Domino intimas fundebam preces, ut suis te pauperibus afflictisque restituere dignaretur. Quid multis? Exaudivit dominus, qui tecum fuit in tribulatione et eripuit te, orationem pauperum suorum quos paternaliter confovere solebas, et liberavit te de manibus querentium animam tuam,<sup>159</sup> quam utique in tua patientia cum virgine Lucia possedisti.<sup>160</sup> “In patientia etenim vestra,” ait Dominus,<sup>161</sup> “possidebitis animas vestras.”<sup>162</sup> Et illud: “Si me persecuti sunt, et vos persequentur.”<sup>163</sup> Et Judith vidua: “Omnes qui placuerunt<sup>164</sup> Deo, per multas tribulationes transierunt fideles.”<sup>165</sup> “Omnes enim,” ait Apostolus<sup>166</sup>, “qui pie volunt vivere in Christo Iesu, persecutionem patientur.”<sup>167</sup> “Future siquidem vite gloria presentis vite incommodis comparatur.”<sup>168</sup> “Adversitas enim que<sup>169</sup> bonis viris obiicitur, probatio virtutis est, non indicium reprobationis,”<sup>170</sup> teste Thobia<sup>171</sup> qui<sup>172</sup> dicit: “Hoc pro certo habet omnis qui colit te, quia vita eius si in probatione fuerit, coronabitur. Si autem in tribulatione fuerit, liberabitur.”<sup>173</sup> “Iuxta enim est Dominus” (ait Propheta) “hiis qui tribulato sunt corde, et humiles spiritu salvabit.”<sup>174</sup> Preterea “mala eciam que [f.53r] ab iniquis fideles perferunt, ipsis utique prosunt vel ad eluenda peccata, vel ad exercitandam probandamque iusticiam,” teste Augustino,<sup>175</sup> “vel ad commonstrandam huius vite miseriam.”<sup>176</sup> “Ferrum<sup>177</sup> quippe nostre mentis ad acumen non potest pervenire veritatis, nisi hoc eraserit alterius lima pravitatis.”<sup>178</sup> “Abel enim esse renuit<sup>179</sup> quem Cayn malicia non exercet.”<sup>180</sup> Quid igitur, mi Corneli? Dicamus cum glorioso<sup>181</sup> Christi confessore Hieronimo<sup>182</sup>: “Veniant plage, veniant omnia genera<sup>183</sup> malorum, modo post plagas Christus nobis adveniat.”<sup>184</sup> Apud Christianos certe miser non est qui patitur contumeliam, sed qui facit iniuriam. Patientia itaque omnem a nobis aufert peccatorum rubiginem, et dum “a Domino corripimur”, utiliter ad nostram salutem castigamur, “ne cum hoc mundo condemnemur,”<sup>185</sup> teste Thobia qui dicit<sup>186</sup>: “Benedictum nomen tuum, qui cum iratus fueris, misericordiam facies, et in tempore tribulationis dimittis hiis qui invocant te.”<sup>187</sup> Et Esaias<sup>188</sup>: “Coronans coronabit te Dominus tribulatione.”<sup>189</sup> “Per<sup>190</sup> multas quippe tribulationes oportet nos intrare in regnum celorum.”<sup>191</sup> Imo “si negari non potest,” Lactantio teste<sup>192</sup>, “quin patientia sit summa virtus,<sup>193</sup> et quam pariter vulgi publice voces philosophique et oratores maximis laudibus celebrant, necesse est iustum ac sapientem virum in potestatem esse hominis iniusti, ut capiat patientiam.”<sup>194</sup> Quid multa?<sup>195</sup> “Totius philosophie robur” (siquidem<sup>196</sup> Platoni credimus<sup>197</sup>) “est patientia.”<sup>198</sup> Et Socrates: “Viri,” ait “iusti<sup>199</sup> est scire, pati et iniuriam nulli facere.”<sup>200</sup> “Victoria [f.53v] enim sine adversario brevis est laus.”<sup>201</sup> Bis vincit qui se ipsum vincit.”<sup>202</sup> “Nobile

315 vincendi genus est patientia. Vincit qui patitur.”<sup>203</sup> Studeas ergo severa pati. “Magna etenim  
virtus est, si non ledas a quo lesus es. Magna gloria est, si ei cui nocere potuisti, parcas. Nobile  
vindicte genus est ignoscere victo.”<sup>204</sup> “Nihil<sup>205</sup> quoque fortius esse potest nihilque magis  
egregium,” teste Cassiodoro,<sup>206</sup> “quam audire noxia et non respondere contraria.”<sup>207</sup>

320 Nos ad patientiam non solum electorum exempla,  
verum etiam rerum naturalium proprietates mirabiliter provocant.  
Capitulum octavum.

325 Sed iam, omissis interim sanctorum exemplis Job et Thobia Christique fidelium, similitudinis  
gratia, nature secreta perscrutantes, plurima invenimus naturalia que nos ad patientiam mirum in  
modum provocent. Lapis<sup>208</sup> siquidem Amathites, teste Plinio, reddit incombustibilem quam  
semel attigit vestem.<sup>209</sup> Huic igitur gemme nos patientiam haud absurde comparamus, dum viri  
vere patientes nullo tribulationis igne valent pregravari. Quoniam,<sup>210</sup> teste Seneca, “cuiusvis  
doloris remedium est patientia,<sup>211</sup> et qui patientie virtutem perfectam habuerit, inflictis doloribus  
330 non dolebit. Et in Rhomanis principibus exploratissimum habemus quantam cum exercitu suo  
patientiam in adversitatibus habuerunt, et quam patienter verbera<sup>212</sup> et mortem pro republica  
sustinere. Sed et in vitulo marino<sup>213</sup> patientie virtutem invenimus. Is enim teste Plinio,<sup>214</sup> duas  
habet pinnulas, quarum si dexteram capiti supposueris mox tam profunde dormis, ut eciam  
sectiones corporis non sentias.<sup>215</sup> [f.54r] Ita vir patiens, cui ea “que sursum sunt sapiuntur”<sup>216</sup>, ubi  
335 Christus est in dextera Dei sedens,<sup>217</sup> veluti ad omne malum insensibilis ex divino amore  
efficitur aut certe pro modico reputat ea que patitur et tribulationes mundi parum aut minime  
sentit. “Consideratio namque premii minuit vim flagelli.”<sup>218</sup> Et “ideo forsitan hic nos  
temporaliter Dominus punit, ut eterne mortis ardorem pena redimat temporalis,”<sup>219</sup> et “ut vexatio  
det nobis intellectum. Trituratur enim granum ut reponatur in horreo, quadratur lapis ut sine  
340 sonitu mallei in edificio templi collocetur, movetur vehemens turbo quum Helias rapitur in  
celum.”<sup>220</sup> Et quid multis? “Maximum est remedium interioris hominis, si in huius area mundi  
variis tribulationum flagellis trituretur exterior patienter.”<sup>221</sup> Nam “omnis aut cordis aut corporis  
afflictio citra meritum est et salutis fructum sine patientie condimento.”<sup>222</sup> Sed quid? “Parva” et  
modica nimis sunt omnia que “hic toleramus, si recordemur quid ille biberit ad patibulum qui nos  
345 invitat ad celum.”<sup>223</sup> At nunc aliud videamus quo provocemur ad patientiam in Memphite  
exemplum<sup>224</sup>. Hic lapis (a suo loco nomen sortitus ubi abundantius reperitur) eam nihilominus  
obtinere proprietatem, ut, si eum aceto distemperes membraque<sup>225</sup> linias, ea mox adeo stupida<sup>226</sup>  
reddantur,<sup>227</sup> ut lesuras non sentiant dum secantur.<sup>228</sup> Ad huius rei tropologiam<sup>229</sup> venio.  
Memphites igitur, qui interpretatur ‘os meroris’, mortem ipsam significat que proculdubio omnia  
350 cum more consumit. Qui ergo sese memoriter morituros esse recolunt, et una cum aceto, id est  
infernium penarum acredine, mentem illiniunt, hii [f. 54v] profecto ita per virtutem patientie in  
Domino solidantur et requiescunt, ut omnes tribulationum sectiones, plagas atque dolores, aut  
parum curent aut minime sentiant. Hec etenim duo insperate, scilicet mortis et tormentorum  
infernium consideratio eternorumque affectio et<sup>230</sup> spes gaudiorum, ad subeundam omnem  
355 patientiam quam maxime conducunt, Paulo teste qui dicit: “Per patientiam,” ait, “curramus ad  
propositum nobis certamen, aspicientes in autorem fidei et consummatorem, Jhesum, qui  
proposito sibi gaudio sustinuit crucem, confusione contempta; atque in dextera Dei sedet.”<sup>231</sup>  
Recogitemus ergo, mi Corneli, Dominum nostrum Jhesum Christum, “qui talem sustinuit a  
peccatoribus contradictionem” in verbis contumeliosis et tormentis; et “non defatigabimur,



360 animis nostris deficientes.”<sup>232</sup> Si enim minaces<sup>233</sup> nautis pelagi fluctus, si tempestates grandinum  
 atque hiemes agricolis, si vulnera cedisque<sup>234</sup> militibus (teste Crisostomo<sup>235</sup>), si gravissimi ictus  
 plageque pugilibus leves videntur et tolerabiles propter spem pereuntium commodorum, quanto  
 magis nos, quibus celum preparatur in premio, nihil de presentis seculi asperitatibus sentire  
 debemus, quom maxime labores nostros mitiget in beatum venire finem. Non aspiciamus quod<sup>236</sup>  
 365 via est aspera, sed quo ducit, sed aliam quia lata est sed ubi desinit.<sup>237</sup> Sed quid nos ad hoc?  
 “Nondum enim ad sanguinem usque restitimus adversus peccatum repugnantes.”<sup>238</sup> Tui tamen  
 semper misertus sum (ita me gratie adiuvent) recolens eam, quam indigne [f. 55r] passus es,  
 iniuriam, nedum ignominiam. Ego enim tantum gravi ore ad tempus, id est silentio hominique  
 convictu, tu vero eciam grandi ere (ut fertur) mulctatus es. Sed quid? “Nihil eripit fortuna” viro  
 370 sapienti imo et patienti “nisi quod ipsa dedit. Virtutem<sup>239</sup> non dedit,” ergo nec eam sibi retrahit.  
 “Itaque vir sapiens” pariter et patiens, hic “nihil perdit. In unius possessione virtutis” mens eius  
 tota figitur, “ex qua depelli numquam potest.”<sup>240</sup>

375 Ad patientiam nos quam maxime corroborat iniuncta a Domino patri nostro Adamo penitentia et  
 multorum quos hic novimus calamitosa miseria.  
 Capitulum novum.

Verum ut manifestius cognoscamus quam sit nobis necessaria et utilis patientia, cogitemus Dei  
 380 nostri sententiam, qua in origine nascentis mundi ac generis humani Adam pater noster, divine  
 legis transgressor, est punitus.<sup>241</sup> Qui enim ad hoc nascimur, ut in hoc seculo pressuris ac  
 tribulationibus laboremus, reliquum est ut sciamus que nobis<sup>242</sup> hic patientia esse oporteat<sup>243</sup> .<sup>244</sup>  
 “Quia audisti” (ait Dominus ad Adam) vocem uxoris tue” plusquam meam “et comedisti de ligno  
 de quo preceperam tibi ne comederes, maledicta terra in opere tuo. In labore, tristitia et gemitu  
 385 commedes<sup>245</sup> ex ea cunctis diebus vite tue. Spinis et tribulos germinabit tibi, et comedes herbas  
 terre atque pabulum agri. In sudore vultus tui vesceris pane tuo, donec revertaris in terram de qua  
 sumptus es; quia pulvis es et in pulverem reverteris.”<sup>246</sup> Ecce quam valide etiam nos ad  
 patientiam corroborat Ade patris nostri penitentia ei a deo iniuncta: huius enim sententiae vinculis  
 omnes constricti sumus, donec morte expuncta de hoc seculo recedentes in cinerem  
 390 revertamur.<sup>247</sup> In tristitia igitur et gemitu continuo simus, necesse est, omnibus diebus [f.55v]  
 vite nostre, edamusque panem nostrum non sine sudore ac labore.<sup>248</sup> Et quid verbo veritatis  
 potest esse verius? Ecce infans: ubi nascitur et primum huius mundi excipitur hospes, initium a  
 lachrymis sumit,<sup>249</sup> ut dicit sapiens. Et quamvis adhuc omnium ignarus ac nescius est que  
 395 aguntur in seculo, nihil tamen aliud novit in illa ipsa ortus sui prima nativitate quam flere et  
 plangere.<sup>250</sup> Quid enim? Naturali profecto quadam providentia atque lamento, huius vite  
 anxietates, procellas et labores, in ipso statim<sup>251</sup> sue nativitatis exordio, fletibus ac gemitu rudis  
 anima protestatur.<sup>252</sup> “Sudatur enim hic (ait Cyprianus) et laboratur, quamdiu isthic vivitur.”<sup>253</sup>  
 Et quid laborantibus atque sudantibus necessario secundum impositam patri nostro Ade  
 penitentiam magis subvenire potest quam patientie solacium,<sup>254</sup> et ad eum mox confugere “qui  
 400 consolatur nos in omni tribulatione nostra”<sup>255</sup> congrua penitentiae quam nobis merito infligit, si  
 tamen eam patienter sufferimus? “Quantas” (ait Psalmista) “ostendisti mihi tribulationes multas  
 et malas” et “conversus consolatus es me” et “reduxisti me.”<sup>256</sup> Nemo in insulam maris transire  
 potest, si non prius transfretet. Ita nec ipsi paradysum ingredimur, nisi primum dum vivimus per  
 mare tribulationis transeamus. Impossibile est (ait Isidorus<sup>257</sup>) ut homo et tribulationes hic non  
 405 sentiat, et ad celorum gaudia perveniat.<sup>258</sup> Alterum preterea, quod nos ad<sup>259</sup> patientiam corroborat

est eorum (quos vel scripto, vel convictu novimus) calamitosa miseria, qui ex Cresis facti sunt Hyri<sup>260</sup> et ex dominis servi evaserunt; ex locupletibus, inquam, humiles, et ex imperiosis serviles. Consideremus, vir prestantissime Corneli, omnes illos quos olim nostra in etate fluvius irruens absorbit, quos hostilis [f.56r] furor patria expulit ferrumque, et ignis consumpsit; quos preceps  
 410 ira trucidavit, popularis momordit invidia, et infamia maculavit; quos filiarum et coniugum dedecoravit impudicia, quos eciam rebellium filiorum proteruitas et irreverentia assidue cruciat. Ecce hec et eiusmodi mille alia huius vite nostre incommoda (quibus, ut verum fatear, tamquam inextricabilibus labyrinthis et anfractibus includimur); si ex animo perpenderit, magno certe nobilis patientie proventu locupletabimur. Revocemus paulisper ad memoriam eos  
 415 eciam quos Dominus Deus, Pater omnium, variis hac nostra tempestate percussit calamitatibus, et proculdubio plures prohdolor inveniemus, cum quibus nemo nostrum suam velit fortunam permutare. At modo breviter nostri seculi tempestates, discrimina et turbines revolvamus, ut eorum comparatione nihil esse quod hic patimur cognoscamus. In lamentabili igitur Rodiorum<sup>261</sup> urbis excidio, per quod (prohnefas) Turcarum res celo fere equata est, quantum humani cruoris exhaustum sit, quot lachrimarum imbres effusi, quot ululatus procul auditi, quot ad celum usque lamenta pervenerint, quis (obsecro) nobis enarrabit? Et quis non lugeat quoties recolit que nunc pridem in Arthesia<sup>262</sup>, aliisque proxime<sup>263</sup> locis acta sunt, prophanata videlicet dei templa, sanctorum reliquias haberi contemptui, vasa sacra inter milites dividi, virgines obstuprari, et incendia rapinasque actitari quotidie. Hec et hiis similia, si animo reversamur, nostris egris  
 425 animis utilia sunt, non ut aliena esse debeat nobis grata vexatio, sed ea demum intentione ut, dum eorum comparatione parva videntur esse que nos patimur, [f.56v] minus amare presentem vitam transigamus.<sup>264</sup>

430 Inimicos et persecutores nostros nobis esse proficuos quia dum nos tribulant,  
 coronam nobis fabricant, et quanto nos amplius premunt, tanto fortius in virtutibus consolidant,  
 et omnia que patimur peccatis nostris esse ascribenda.  
 Capitulum decem.

435 Quoniam<sup>265</sup> teste Apostolo “non sunt condigne passiones,” miserie et calamitates “huius temporis ad futuram gloriam que revelabitur in nobis,”<sup>266</sup> et si socii tribulationum fuerimus, cum Christo erimus et glorie, nihil, me iudice, ad nostram eque proficit salutem ut<sup>267</sup> adversitas equanimiter tolerata. Quare magis (ut verum fatear) gratie Deo sunt a nobis referende qui nos hic tam brevibus et mox perituris paternaliter visitat angoribus et malis, ut eterna cum ipso gaudia  
 440 possideamus. Quid igitur? Numquam semen terre visceribus creditum ex se producere potest fructum nisi rigida hiemis frigora prius sustineat. Neque lignum congrue edificiis coaptatur nisi prius celaturas et stigmata patiat. Ita vere nemo omnium nostrum poterit ex se in presenti vita bonorum operum producere fructum, neque in paradisi edificio digne componi in futurum, nisi hic plurima prius fuerit perpessus tribulamina. Que quum ita sint<sup>268</sup>, omnes adversarii et  
 445 persecutores nostri non iam ut hostes, sed tanquam apes nobis facti sunt. Nam licet pungant pro tempore ad leviusculum pene, mellificant tamen nobis ad eterne dulcedinem vite. Sunt nobis preterea tanquam fabri: dum feriunt, coronam tamen perpetuam nobis fabricando<sup>269</sup> componunt. Incus eciam quanto magis malleo contunditur, tanto amplius consolidatur. [f.57r] Ignis a vento non extinguitur, sed fortius ab eo inflammatur. Et<sup>270</sup> “quid nos separabit a charitate Christi?”<sup>271</sup> Adamas quoque flammis excoctus efficacior redditur. Aurum in igne positum valorem non perdit sed

pulchrius evadit. Et si quid impuritatis habet admixtum, ignis exurens scoriam ab eo dumtaxat excutit, eius vero substantiam minime corrumpit. Ita et patientie virtus (ut breviter curram) nullis adversitatibus deiicitur, sed semper seipsa fortior redditur. “In omnibus,” ait Paulus,<sup>272</sup>  
 455 “tribulationem patimur, sed non angustiamur; persecutionem patimur, sed non derelinquimur; humiliamur sed non confundimur; deijcitur sed non perimus; semper mortificationem Jhesu Christi in corpore nostro circumferentes ut et vita Jhesu manifestetur in carne nostra mortali.”<sup>273</sup>  
 Preterea, vir patiens, Christi bonus odor efficitur in omni loco,<sup>274</sup> non secus atque species aromaticae que proculdubio eo maiorem adferunt<sup>275</sup> naribus hominum fragrantiam quanto  
 460 minutius fuerint pila<sup>276</sup> attrite. Igitur, dulcissime Corneli, si precedentium patrum facta et patientiam consideremus: erunt utique minime gravia que nos hic interim toleramus. “Id enim” (teste Paulo<sup>277</sup>) “quod in presenti est momentaneum et leve tribulationis nostre<sup>278</sup> supra modum in sublimitatem<sup>279</sup> eternum glorie pondus operatur in nobis.”<sup>280</sup> “Ecquis,” obsecro, “sanctorum sine patientia coronatus est? Ab ipsis namque ecclesie cunabulis non defuit iniquitas premens et iusticia<sup>281</sup> patiens.”<sup>282</sup> Et ideo si quid nobis adversi obvenerit, dicamus singuli cum fratribus Joseph: “Merito hec patimur quia peccavimus.”<sup>283</sup> Et illud<sup>284</sup> Michee<sup>285</sup>: “Iram Domini portabo quoniam peccavi ei, donec iudicet causam meam [f.57v] et faciat iudicium meum. Educet me in lucem et videbo<sup>286</sup> iusticiam eius.”<sup>287</sup> Hoc iam in te, vir prestantissime, completum gaudemus, qui ut alter Hercules constantissime cum Antheo congressus es, et vicisti eum, dicens ad illum  
 470 qui te fecit triumphare: “Non nobis, Domine, non nobis, sed nomini tuo da gloriam.”<sup>288</sup> Igitur quoniam nihil in actibus nostris potest ad aliarum virtutum consummandam laudem nobis proficere nisi quod patientie acceperit firmitatem,<sup>289</sup> insistamus potius<sup>290</sup> et vigilanter elaboremus ut, ad omnem tolerantiam stabiles<sup>291</sup>, Domini nostri precepta accuratissime observemus, ut quum dies ire ac vindicte advenerit, non cum impiis et peccatoribus puniamur,  
 475 sed potius cum iustis atque Deum timentibus in celo coronemur.<sup>292</sup> Per eum qui dicit: “In patientia vestra possidebitis animas vestras.”<sup>293</sup> Amen.

Explicit libellus de patientia.



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#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Cyprianus, *De bono patientiae*, 3 (p.398, ll.23-25).

<sup>2</sup> Luke 21:19.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 3 (pp.398-9, ll.27-2).

<sup>4</sup> Matthew 5:45.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 4 (p.399, ll.4-7).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 4 (p.399, ll.7-9).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 4 (p.399, ll.9-11).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 4 (p.399, ll.11-13).

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 4 (p.399, ll.14-16).

<sup>10</sup> Ezechiel 18:32; cf. Cyprianus, 4 (p.399, ll.17-21).

<sup>11</sup> Joel 2:13; cf. Cyprianus, 4 (p.399, ll.22-26).

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 5 (p.400, ll.11-12).

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- <sup>13</sup> Matthew 5:44-48.
- <sup>14</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 5 (p.400, ll.13-18).
- <sup>15</sup> Colossians 1:11.
- <sup>16</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 5 (p.400-1, ll.26-1).
- <sup>17</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 5 (p.401, ll.2-3).
- <sup>18</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 5 (p.401, ll.3-4).
- <sup>19</sup> Matthew 5:48.
- <sup>20</sup> Romans 5:3-5.
- <sup>21</sup> Genesis 27:21.
- <sup>22</sup> Cf. Hebrews 12:6.
- <sup>23</sup> Tilmans: "abilicit"
- <sup>24</sup> Cf. Hebrews 12:7-8.
- <sup>25</sup> Augustinus Hipponensis, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, 102, 20). Possibly from Manipulus florum, Paciencia d. Aurelius reverses the word order of "repellere flagellum".
- <sup>26</sup> Titus 3:5.
- <sup>27</sup> Tilmans: "quo"
- <sup>28</sup> Romans 8:17. "...ut et conglorificemur."
- <sup>29</sup> Cf. Romans 5:4-5.
- <sup>30</sup> Added above the line: "id est quia".
- <sup>31</sup> In margin: "Mattheus 5".
- <sup>32</sup> Matthew 5:10.
- <sup>33</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 6 (p.401, ll.5-6).
- <sup>34</sup> Tilmans: "iudicia"
- <sup>35</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 6 (p.401, ll.7-9).
- <sup>36</sup> Tilmans: "Viam"
- <sup>37</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 6 (p.401, ll.11-12).
- <sup>38</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 6 (p.401, l.15).
- <sup>39</sup> Tilmans: "tamen"
- <sup>40</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 6 (p.401, ll.17-20).
- <sup>41</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 6 (pp.401-2, ll.25-27, 1).
- <sup>42</sup> Tilmans: "credere"
- <sup>43</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 6 (p.402, ll.2-5).
- <sup>44</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 6 (p.402, ll.5-7).
- <sup>45</sup> Cr. Matthew 23:37.
- <sup>46</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 7 (p.402, ll.8-11).
- <sup>47</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 7 (p.402, ll.12-13).
- <sup>48</sup> Tilmans: "creditur"
- <sup>49</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 7 (p.402, ll.13-15).
- <sup>50</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 7 (p.402, ll.15-16).
- <sup>51</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 7 (p.402, ll.17-18).
- <sup>52</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 7 (p.402, ll.16-17).
- <sup>53</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 7 (p.402, ll.19-20).
- <sup>54</sup> Cf. Isaiah 53:7. Cf. Cyprianus, 7 (p.402, ll.19-21).
- <sup>55</sup> In margin: "Ille innocens, ille iustus immo innocentia? Ipse ... iusticia inter facinorosos deputatur latrones. Ad crucem et cetera."
- <sup>56</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 7 (p.402, ll.21-24).
- <sup>57</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 7 (p.402, ll.24-27).
- <sup>58</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 8 (p.403, ll.2-6).
- <sup>59</sup> Tilmans: "promonet".
- <sup>60</sup> Luke 23:34.
- <sup>61</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 8 (p.403, ll.6-10).
- <sup>62</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 10 (p.403, ll.23-26).
- <sup>63</sup> MS and Tilmans: "martyrum"
- <sup>64</sup> Tilmans: "Caym"
- <sup>65</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 10 (pp.403-4, ll.26-27, 1-2).

- <sup>66</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 10 (p.404, ll.2-5).
- <sup>67</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 10 (p.404, ll.5-6).
- <sup>68</sup> MS: “dixitur”
- <sup>69</sup> Cf. L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, vol.1, p.241.
- <sup>70</sup> Tilmans: “Moyses”
- <sup>71</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 10 (p.404, ll.7-9).
- <sup>72</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 10 (p.404, ll.9-11).
- <sup>73</sup> MS and Tilmans: “Israhelitarum”
- <sup>74</sup> Tilmans: “iamium”
- <sup>75</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 10 (p.404, ll.12-14).
- <sup>76</sup> Exodus 32:31-32.
- <sup>77</sup> Tilmans: “sed in”
- <sup>78</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 10 (p.404, ll.14-15).
- <sup>79</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 10 (p.404, ll.15-18).
- <sup>80</sup> Tilmans: “Moyses”
- <sup>81</sup> Cf. 1 Chronicles 10-20.
- <sup>82</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 10 (p.404, ll.20-23).
- <sup>83</sup> Tilmans: “non”
- <sup>84</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 12 (p.405, ll.24-25).
- <sup>85</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 12 (p.405, ll.26-28).
- <sup>86</sup> Tilmans: “procurante”
- <sup>87</sup> John 8:31-32. The following line, “Videns Corneli quam patienter et verbis...”, has been crossed out. Added in the margin: “Sequitur rubrica.”
- <sup>88</sup> Tilmans: “perm”
- <sup>89</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 13 (p.406, ll.12-14).
- <sup>90</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 13 (p.406, ll.14-15).
- <sup>91</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 13 (p.406, ll.15-16).
- <sup>92</sup> Tilmans: “vobis”
- <sup>93</sup> Cf. Hebrews 10:36.
- <sup>94</sup> Romans 8:25.
- <sup>95</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 13 (p.406, ll.21-23).
- <sup>96</sup> Galatians 6:9. Also found in Cyprianus, 13 (p.407, ll.5-6).
- <sup>97</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 13 (p.407, ll.7-9).
- <sup>98</sup> Hebrews 10:35.
- <sup>99</sup> Hebrews 10:36.
- <sup>100</sup> In the margin above line: “capitulo 3.”
- <sup>101</sup> Apocalypse 3:11; cf. Cyprianus, 13 (p.407, ll.12-13).
- <sup>102</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 13 (p.407, ll.13-15).
- <sup>103</sup> Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia in Iob*, 1, 37 (CCSL 143, p.57, ll.1-4). Possibly from *Manipulus florum*, Perseuerancia a. Aurelius agrees with MF in having “vite terminum” instead of “terminum vite” as in the original source. However, Aurelius restored “quippe” which is in the original text but not in MF, and has “ueniat” in agreement with the original source whereas MF has “uenerit”. Also, both MF incunables have “autem” instead of “ante”, but Aurelius agrees with the original source. Aurelius also has “et” where MF has “quia” and the original source has “quia et”.
- <sup>104</sup> Tilmans: “illus”.
- <sup>105</sup> Added in the margin by Vulcanius: “Perseuerantia”.
- <sup>106</sup> Added in the margin by Vulcanius: “Anima”.
- <sup>107</sup> Cf. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, Pars prima, quaest. 76, artic. 5c.
- <sup>108</sup> Added in the margin by Vulcanius: “Nota”.
- <sup>109</sup> John 15:4.
- <sup>110</sup> MS: “perseuerantia”.
- <sup>111</sup> Hebrews 12:14.
- <sup>112</sup> Bernardus Claraeuallensis, *Sermones de diuersis* 41, 10 (SBO 6.1, p.251, ll.6-9). Possibly from *Manipulus florum*, Perseuerancia b. Aurelius agrees with MF in having “unica” instead of “singularis” as in the original source, and they also agree on “finis virtutum” rather than “virtutum finis” as in the original source, and they also agree on

having “et” which does not appear in the original text. However, Aurelius has “totius” in agreement with the original source, whereas MF has “tociusque”. He also added “nempe” which is found in neither MF nor the original source, and he has “summi regis filia” whereas MF and the original source have “filia summi regis”.

<sup>113</sup> Matthew 10:22.

<sup>114</sup> Added in margin by Vulcanius: “Allegoria”.

<sup>115</sup> Cf. Genesis 37:23.

<sup>116</sup> Added in margin by Vulcanius: “Seneca”.

<sup>117</sup> Lucius Annaeus Seneca, *Ad Lucilium epistulae morales*, 22, 7. Possibly from *Manipulus florum*, Perseuerancia f. Aurelius agrees with MF in having “crescat”, instead of “crescit” in the original source. However, Aurelius has “lucari” instead of “luctare” as found in both MF and the original source, and “neque” instead of “ac” which both MF and the original source have. He also interpolated “aut constans” and “eciam” which appear in neither MF nor the original source. Also, there are several variants in the two MF incunables which Aurelius does not have: “et” added after “oneri” and “nec” instead of “nisi”.

<sup>118</sup> Added in margin by Vulcanius: “Bernardus”.

<sup>119</sup> Tilmans: “inqui”

<sup>120</sup> Added in margin by Vulcanius: “Pax. Unanimitas”.

<sup>121</sup> Bernardus Claraeuallensis, *Epistolae* 129, 2 (SBO 7, p.323, ll.11-16). Perhaps from *Manipulus florum*, Perseuerancia c. Both Aurelius and MF omit the line following “consequitur” in the original source: “Vigor virium, virtutum consummatio est”. Aurelius also agrees with MF in placing “est” after “nutrix” instead of after “soror”. However, Aurelius agrees with the original source in having “propugnaculum sanctitatis” instead of “sanctitatis propugnaculum” as in MF. Aurelius also has “victor palmam” whereas MF and the original source have “palmam victor”, and has “obtinebit” after laudem as the verb of the last line instead of “habet” after “mercedem”, as in both MF and the original source. He also adds “ipsa” which is found in neither MF nor the original source.

<sup>122</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 14 (p.407, ll.16-17).

<sup>123</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 14 (p.407, ll.16-17).

<sup>124</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 14 (p.407, ll.18-21).

<sup>125</sup> In margin above line: “Amos 4”.

<sup>126</sup> Hosea 4:2.

<sup>127</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 14 (p.407, ll.22-25).

<sup>128</sup> Cf. 1 Corinthians 13:8.

<sup>129</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 15 (pp.407-8, ll.26-27, 1-2).

<sup>130</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 15 (p.408, ll.2-4).

<sup>131</sup> In margin: “ad Corinthios 13”.

<sup>132</sup> 1 Corinthians 13:4, 13:7. Cf. Cyprianus, 15 (p.408, ll.5-9).

<sup>133</sup> In margin: “ad Ephesios 4”.

<sup>134</sup> Tilmans: “convinctione”.

<sup>135</sup> Ephesians 4:2-3. Cf. Cyprianus, 15 (p.408, ll.10-12).

<sup>136</sup> Added in margin by Vulcanius: “Nota”.

<sup>137</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 15 (p.408, ll.13-15).

<sup>138</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 16 (p.408, ll.16-20).

<sup>139</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 16 (p.408, ll.20-21).

<sup>140</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 20 (p.412, ll.9-12).

<sup>141</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 20 (p.412, ll.12-13).

<sup>142</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 21 (p.412, ll.17-19).

<sup>143</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 20 (p.412, ll.4-5).

<sup>144</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 20 (p.412, ll.6-7).

<sup>145</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 20 (p.412, ll.7-8).

<sup>146</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 20 (p.412, ll.8-9).

<sup>147</sup> Tilmans: “plumum”.

<sup>148</sup> Added in margin by Vulcanius: “Cyprianus”.

<sup>149</sup> Cyprianus, 20 (pp.411-12, ll.26-27, 1-3).

<sup>150</sup> Added in margin by Vulcanius: “Seneca”.

- <sup>151</sup> Pseudo-Seneca, *Epistolae ad Paulum apostolum et Pauli ad Senecam*, 11 (Il carteggio apocrifo di Seneca e San Paolo. ed. Laura Boccioni Palagi (Florence, 1978), p.72, ll. 2-7. Perhaps from *Manipulus florum*, Paciencia bf; Aurelius changes “concessit” to “concesserit” which isn’t found in the original source or MF.
- <sup>152</sup> Tilmans: “quoniam modo”
- <sup>153</sup> Added in margin by Vulcanius: “Adulatio”.
- <sup>154</sup> MS and Tilmans: “plurima”.
- <sup>155</sup> In margin: “1 ad Corinthios 12”.
- <sup>156</sup> 1 Corinthians 12:26.
- <sup>157</sup> Tilmans: “cum”
- <sup>158</sup> Cf. Ecclesiasticus 31:11.
- <sup>159</sup> Cf. Ecclesiasticus 51:4-5.
- <sup>160</sup> St. Lucia is associated with St. Cyprian and St. Cornelius, sharing their feast day on September 16.
- <sup>161</sup> In margin: “Luce 21”.
- <sup>162</sup> Luke 21:19.
- <sup>163</sup> John 15:20.
- <sup>164</sup> MS and Tilmans: “placuerit”
- <sup>165</sup> Judith 8:23.
- <sup>166</sup> In margin: “2 ad Thimotheum 3”.
- <sup>167</sup> 2 Timothy 3:12.
- <sup>168</sup> Auctor incertus (Hieronymus Stridonensis?), *Epistolae*, 7 (PL 30, col.111A).
- <sup>169</sup> MS: “qui”.
- <sup>170</sup> Gregorius Magnus, *Registrum epistularum*, 9, 229. Perhaps from *Manipulus florum*, Tribulatio z; Aurelius changes “iudicium” to “indicium”, in accordance with both of the incunabile editions of MF. Aurelius also restores “enim”, previously omitted in MF.
- <sup>171</sup> In margin: “Thobie 3”.
- <sup>172</sup> MS: “que”; Tilmans: “hic”
- <sup>173</sup> Tobit 3:21 (Jerome’s translation).
- <sup>174</sup> Psalms 33:19.
- <sup>175</sup> In margin: “In libro 3 de trinitate.”
- <sup>176</sup> Augustinus Hipponensis, *De trinitate*, 13, 16.
- <sup>177</sup> Tilmans: “Ferro”
- <sup>178</sup> Gratian, *Decretum*, 2, 7, 1, 48.
- <sup>179</sup> MS: “rennuit”.
- <sup>180</sup> Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia in Iob*, 20, 39. Probably not from MF Paciencia f because this excerpt accompanies the previous quotation from Gratian in the *Decretum*.
- <sup>181</sup> MS: “gloriso”.
- <sup>182</sup> Added in margin by Vulcanius: “Hieronymus”.
- <sup>183</sup> Tilmans: “genere”.
- <sup>184</sup> Hieronymus Stridonensis, *Tractatus LIX in Psalmos*, 66.
- <sup>185</sup> 1 Corinthians 11:32.
- <sup>186</sup> MS: “dicitur”
- <sup>187</sup> Tobit 3:13 (Jerome’s translation).
- <sup>188</sup> In margin: “capitulo 22”.
- <sup>189</sup> Isaiah 22:18.
- <sup>190</sup> In margin: “Actuum 14”.
- <sup>191</sup> Acts 14:21.
- <sup>192</sup> Added in margin by Vulcanius: “Lactantius”.
- <sup>193</sup> In margin: “in quinto libro divinarum institutionum”.
- <sup>194</sup> Lactantius, *Divinae institutiones*, 5, 23.
- <sup>195</sup> Added in margin by Vulcanius: “Plato”.
- <sup>196</sup> MS: “siquid”
- <sup>197</sup> In margin: “in suis sententiis”.
- <sup>198</sup> Johannes Sariberiensis, *Policraticus*, 3, 14, 8.
- <sup>199</sup> Added in margin by Vulcanius: “Socrates”.
- <sup>200</sup> Pseudo-Caecilius Balbus, *Sententiae philosophorum*, 22, 4.

- <sup>201</sup> Pseudo-Caecilius Balbus, *De nugis philosophorum* 1, 30. Perhaps from *Manipulus florum*, Victoria c, where this line is immediately followed by the same line that follows in the *Libellus*.
- <sup>202</sup> Publilius Syrus, *Sententiae*, 64. Perhaps from *Manipulus florum*, Victoria c, where this line is immediately preceded by the same line that precedes it in the *Libellus*.
- <sup>203</sup> *Carmina proverbialia*, 264.
- <sup>204</sup> Isidorus Hispalensis, *De lamentatione animae peccatricis*, 2, 33. Probably from *Manipulus florum*, paciencia ak; both MF and Aurelius omit the line which lies between these two sentences in the original source.
- <sup>205</sup> Added in margin by Vulcanius: “Cassiodorus”.
- <sup>206</sup> In margin: “Super psalmo ego tamquam surdus non audiebam” (Ps 37:14).
- <sup>207</sup> Aurelius Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum*, 37, 14. Possibly from *Manipulus florum*, Paciencia ap. All three versions are the same.
- <sup>208</sup> Added in margin by Vulcanius: “Amathitus”.
- <sup>209</sup> Cf. Plinius, *Naturalis historia*, 19.4.
- <sup>210</sup> Added in margin by Vulcanius: “Seneca”.
- <sup>211</sup> Publilius Syrus, *Sententiae*, 96.
- <sup>212</sup> Tilmans: “verbere”.
- <sup>213</sup> Added in margin by Vulcanius: “vitulus marinus”.
- <sup>214</sup> Added in margin by Vulcanius: “Plinius”.
- <sup>215</sup> Cf. Plinius, *Naturalis historia*, 9.15.
- <sup>216</sup> MS and Tilmans: “sapiunt”
- <sup>217</sup> Colossians 3:1-2.
- <sup>218</sup> Hugo de St. Cher, *Postillae in sacram scripturam*, Iob 7 (Venetiis, 1703, tome 1, fol.406r).
- <sup>219</sup> Petrus Blesensis, *Epistolae*, 12. Possibly from *Manipulus florum*, Tribulatio am; however, Aurelius has “ardorem” whereas both MF incunables and the original source have “ardores”. Also, Aurelius adds “hic nos” and “Dominus”, which are not in MF or the original source.
- <sup>220</sup> Petrus Blesensis, *Epistolae*, 44. Probably from *Manipulus florum*, Tribulatio an (first part); Aurelius agrees with the MS incunables in having “nobis” where the original source has “vobis”; however, “vehemens” is not found in MF or the original source, and Aurelius has “quum” instead of “ut” as in MF and the original source.
- <sup>221</sup> Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epistularum libri nouem* 7, 6, 5. Probably from *Manipulus florum*, Tribulatio an (second part); Aurelius and MF agree on “est” whereas the original has “esse”; however, “tribulationum” and “patienter” are not found in MF or the original source, and Aurelius has “huius” instead of “hac”, as in both MF and the original source.
- <sup>222</sup> Petrus Blesensis, *Epistolae*, 31. Probably from *Manipulus florum*, Tribulatio ao; Aurelius agrees with MF in having “omnis”, instead of “omnes” in the original source; however, Aurelius has “est et fructum salutis” instead of “et fructum salutis est”, as in MF and the original source.
- <sup>223</sup> Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epistularum libri nouem*, 9, 4, 3. Probably from *Manipulus florum*, Tribulatio ar; Aurelius and the MF incunables have “recordemur” whereas the original source has “recordamur”; also Aurelius and MF agree in having “nos”, which is not in the original source. However, Aurelius interpolates “et modica nimis sunt omnia que” and “ille”, which are not found in MF or the original source.
- <sup>224</sup> Added in margin by Vulcanius: “Memphites”.
- <sup>225</sup> Tilmans: “nembraque”
- <sup>226</sup> Tilmans: “stupido”
- <sup>227</sup> MS: “reddi”.
- <sup>228</sup> Cf. Plinius, *Naturalis historia*, 36, 11.
- <sup>229</sup> Added in margin by Vulcanius: “Tropologia”.
- <sup>230</sup> Tilmans: “est”
- <sup>231</sup> Hebrews 12:1.
- <sup>232</sup> Hebrews 12:3.
- <sup>233</sup> MS adds “sunt”
- <sup>234</sup> In margin: “super Matheum”; added above in margin by Vulcanius: “Chrysostomus”.
- <sup>235</sup> Tilmans: “Cristostomo”.
- <sup>236</sup> Tilmans: “quam”
- <sup>237</sup> Cf. Iohannes Chrysostomus, *Homeliae in Mattheum*, 24. Possibly from *Manipulus florum*, Tribulatio ak; however, there are numerous variants in Aurelius’ version, but part of Tribulatio ak that is included in this portion of



the *Libellus* seems to be originally from a passage attributed to Chrysostom in Hugh of St. Cher's *Postillae super evangelia*, on Matt. 7 (*Opera omnia*, tome 6, Lyons, 1645, fol.286).

<sup>238</sup> Hebrews 12:4.

<sup>239</sup> In margin: "Seneca".

<sup>240</sup> Lucius Annaeus Seneca, *De constantia sapientis*, 4, 4-5. Perhaps from *Manipulus florum*, Tribulatio as; however, there are a number of interpolations by Aurelius: "viro sapienti imo et patienti", "ergo nec eam sibi", "vir", "pariter et patiens hic" and "mens eius total figitur"; also, Aurelius has "retrahit" whereas both MF and the original source have "detrahit". On the other hand, but both MF and the *Libellus* omit the same lines that appear in the original source, and Aurelius has "sapiens" which appears in MF but not the original source, and agrees with MF in having "perdit" instead of "perdet" as in Seneca.

<sup>241</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 11 (p.404, ll.24-27).

<sup>242</sup> MS and Tilmans: "qua nos"

<sup>243</sup> Tilmans: "ossssssssporteat"

<sup>244</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 11 (p.404, ll.28-29).

<sup>245</sup> Added in the margin: "commedes"; Tilmans: "commodes".

<sup>246</sup> Genesis 3:17-19. Also found in Cyprianus, 11 (p.405, ll.1-8).

<sup>247</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 11 (p.405, ll.9-10).

<sup>248</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 11 (p.405, ll.10-12).

<sup>249</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 12 (p.405, ll.13-14).

<sup>250</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 12 (p.405, ll.14-16).

<sup>251</sup> Tilmans: *om.* "statim"

<sup>252</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 12 (p.405, ll.16-18).

<sup>253</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 12 (p.405, ll.18-19).

<sup>254</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 12 (p.405, ll.18-20).

<sup>255</sup> 2 Corinthians 1:4.

<sup>256</sup> Psalms 70:20-21.

<sup>257</sup> In margin: "In libro de summo bono".

<sup>258</sup> Cf. Isidorus Hispalensis, *Synonyma de lamentatione animae peccatricis*, 1, 26 (PL 83, col.833C).

<sup>259</sup> Tilmans: *om.* ad

<sup>260</sup> Cf. Ovidius, *Tristia*, 3, 7, 41.

<sup>261</sup> Added in margin by Vulcanius: "Rhodus".

<sup>262</sup> Added in margin by Vulcanius: "Arthesia".

<sup>263</sup> Tilmans: "proximis"

<sup>264</sup> In margin: "Memores simus verborum Petri apostoli in canonica quibus nonnullos fratres tempestatum fervore obsessos consolatur dicens: 'Nolite peregrinari neque pavere, charissimi, in fervore qui ad tentationem vobis fit quasi novi aliquid vobis contingat. Sed communicantes Christi passionibus gaudete, ut et in revelatione glorie eius, quando omne velamen auferetur gaudeatis animo pariter et corpore exultantes.' Prime Petri 4 capitulo." (I Petrus 4:12-13).

<sup>265</sup> In margin: "Ad rhomanos 8".

<sup>266</sup> Romans 8:18.

<sup>267</sup> MS and Tilmans: "atque"

<sup>268</sup> Tilmans: *om.* "sint"

<sup>269</sup> MS: fribricando.

<sup>270</sup> In margin: "Ad rhomanos 8".

<sup>271</sup> Romans 8:35.

<sup>272</sup> In margin: "2 ad corinthios 4".

<sup>273</sup> 2 Corinthians 4:8-11.

<sup>274</sup> Cf. 2 Corinthians 2:14-15.

<sup>275</sup> Tilmans: "adferent"

<sup>276</sup> MS: "pilo".

<sup>277</sup> In margin: "2 ad corinthios 4".

<sup>278</sup> Tilmans: "nonstre"

<sup>279</sup> MS and Tilmans: "sublimitate".

<sup>280</sup> 2 Corinthians 4:17.

<sup>281</sup> In margin: Augustinus. Sc. ...

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<sup>282</sup> Cf. Petrus Cantor, *Verbum abbreviatum*, 2, 24 (CCCM 196, p.688, ll.137-139). The last clause is from Augustinus Hipponensis, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, 56, 6 (CCSL 39, p.698, ll.3-4).

<sup>283</sup> Genesis 42:21.

<sup>284</sup> Tilmans: “illus”.

<sup>285</sup> In margin: “vii”.

<sup>286</sup> Tilmans *add.* “[in]”.

<sup>287</sup> Micheas 7:9.

<sup>288</sup> Psalms 115:1.

<sup>289</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 20 (p.411, ll.24-26).

<sup>290</sup> MS: “ocyus”; Tilmans: “coyus”.

<sup>291</sup> Tilmans: “stabilis”.

<sup>292</sup> Cf. Cyprianus, 24 (p.415, ll.13-17).

<sup>293</sup> Luke 21:19.