

Heliga Birgitta

Revelaciones Book III

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STOCKHOLM

REVELATIONES SANCTAE BIRGITTAE

REVELACIONES
LIB. III

EDIDIT

ANN-MARI JÖNSSON

SANCTA BIRGITTA

REVELACIONES

BOOK III

EDITED BY

ANN-MARI JÖNSSON

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This critical edition of Liber III of the *Reuelaciones* of Saint Birgitta of
Sweden is based on the readings of selected, medieval manuscripts. Fur-
thermore, the text of the *Editio princeps* (impr. B. Ghotan, Lübeck
1492) has been used.

The edition also contains an *apparatus criticus*, an *apparatus
fontium*, a bibliography, an introduction to the history of the manu-
scripts and the text, a glossary and indices of grammar, literary sources,
names and places, together with an excursus on the use of the Old
Swedish text(s) in Book III and another one on a *Latin Message*, an ori-
ginal draft, corresponding to Book III 8 and 9.

Keywords: St. Birgitta, St. Bridget, Revelation, Spirituality.

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Preface

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Uppsala, May 28, 1998

Ann-Mari Jönsson

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Abbreviations

Abbreviated titles of works of scholarship are given in the alphabetical Bibliography. The abbreviated references to the Bible are not indicated.

A General Abbreviations

abl. <i>the ablative</i>	hrsg. <i>herausgegeben (edited)</i>
acc. <i>the accusative</i>	l(l). <i>line(s)</i>
acc. c. inf. <i>accusativus cum infinitivo</i>	m. <i>genus masculinum</i>
app. crit. <i>apparatus criticus</i>	MS(S). <i>manuscript(s)</i>
app. hist. <i>apparatus historicus</i>	n. <i>genus neutrum</i>
Aufl. <i>Auflage (edition)</i>	N.F. <i>Ny följd (New Series)</i>
Bd. <i>Band (volume)</i>	OS <i>Old Swedish</i>
c. <i>century</i>	övers. <i>översatt (translated)</i>
cap. <i>capitulum</i>	p(p). <i>page(s)</i>
ch(s). <i>chapter(s)</i>	pl. <i>pluralis numerus</i>
cf. <i>confer</i>	R. <i>rubric</i>
cod(d). <i>codex (codices)</i>	r. <i>recto</i>
col(l). <i>column(s)</i>	rec. <i>recensuit, recensuerunt</i>
d. <i>dead</i>	s. <i>singularis numerus</i>
dat. <i>dative</i>	Ser. <i>Serie, Series</i>
diss. <i>dissertation</i>	Tom. <i>tomus</i>
ed. <i>edited, edidit</i>	Ups. <i>Upsaliensis</i>
f. <i>genus femininum</i>	utg. <i>utgiven (edited)</i>
fol(l). <i>folium (folia)</i>	v. <i>verso</i>
Hft. <i>Häfte (instalment)</i>	

B *Reuelaciones Sanctae Birgittae* and Related Works

Add. = An *Addicio* in the *Reuelaciones*.

BU 1 327:9–12 = Volume one, page 327, lines 9–12 of *Heliga Birgittas Uppenbarelser*. Efter gamla handskrifter utg. af G. E. KLEMMING.

Decl. = The *Declaracio* in the *Reuelaciones*.

Dep. = The *Depositio* in *A&P*.

ES = Alfonso Pecha da Vadaterra, *Epistola Solitarii ad reges* = JÖNSSON (1989).

Ex. = *Reuelacio extrauagans* = HOLLMAN (1956).

LM = Codex Holmiensis A 65a (the Royal Library, Stockholm), the *Latin Message*, the original draft of Book III 8 and 9 (see Excursus B).

Pa-Vita = *Vita b. Brigide prioris Petri et magistri Petri* (included in the Codex Panisperna of 1378, printed in *A&P*, 614–640).

Prol. Math. = *Prologus Magistri Mathie* = UNDHAGEN (1978:229–240).

Or. = *Oracio* in: *Quattuor oraciones* = EKLUND (1991).

QO = *Quattuor oraciones* = EKLUND (1991).

Rev. III = the third book of the *Reuelaciones*.

Rev. III Proem. 2 = §2 of the preface of the third book of the *Reuelaciones*.
 Rev. III 3:4 = Chapters 3 and 4 of the third book of the *Reuelaciones*.
 Rev. III 3:4,8 = §§4 and 8 of the third chapter of the third book of the *Reuelaciones*.
 Rev. III 12 (R) = The rubric of the twelfth chapter of the third book of *Reuelaciones*.
 Rev. V 8:3 = §3 of revelation 8 of the fifth book of the *Reuelaciones*.
 Rev. V, int. 9:22 = §22 of the *interrogatio* 9 of the fifth book of the *Reuelaciones*.
 RS = *Regula Saluatoris* = EKLUND (1975).
 RS II:105 = §105 of the II text in RS.
 SA = *Sermo Angelicus* = EKLUND (1972).

C Abbreviationes in Apparatu Critico Adhibitae

add. <i>addidit, addiderunt</i>	MS. <i>manuscriptum</i>
alt. <i>alteravit, alteraverunt</i>	om. <i>omisit, omiserunt</i>
app. crit. <i>apparatus criticus</i>	pag. <i>pagina</i>
app. hist. <i>apparatus historicus</i>	post alt. <i>post alterationem</i>
cfr. <i>confer</i>	post corr. <i>post correctionem</i>
cod. <i>codex</i>	R. <i>Rubrica</i>
corr. <i>correxerunt, correxerunt</i>	in ras. <i>in rasura</i>
del. <i>delevit, deleverunt</i>	sq. <i>sequens</i>
eras. <i>erasit, eraserunt</i>	supra lin. <i>supra lineam</i>
exc. <i>excepto</i>	trp. <i>transposuit, transposuerunt</i>
exp. <i>expunxit, expunxerunt</i>	(?) <i>ut videtur</i>
in marg. <i>in margine</i>	< > <i>verbum supplendum esse putavi</i>
in marg. inf. <i>in margine inferiore</i>	
in marg. sup. <i>in margine superiore</i>	
lin. <i>linea</i>	

1 Introduction

1.1 The Manuscripts

B = *Berlin*, Staatsbibliothek der Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, MS. theol. Lat. fol. 33, 15th c., foll. 75^r–97^r.

MS. **B** is dated by UNDHAGEN (1978:172 sq.) to the period 1445 to 1467. For a discussion of this date, see AILI (1992:19–21). There is a list of rubrics preceding Book III (= Rev. III) as well as text rubrics for the individual chapters.

Literature: BERGH (1967:41, 44, 48 sqq., 89 sqq., 1971:35, 40 sqq., 50 sqq., 67 sq., 75 sqq.); UNDHAGEN (1978:14 sqq., 21 sq., 170 sqq., 199); AILI (1992:19–21 with further references).

F = *Lund*, Universitetsbiblioteket, MS. 21 ('Codex Falkenberg'), 1380's, foll. 84^v–109^v.

UNDHAGEN (1978:92 sq.) claims that **F** is the oldest existing Vadstena manuscript written prior to 1386 by Brother Johannes Johannis Kalmarnensis. The corrections in Rev. III are made by the Brother except for III 10:20, which was added by a hand identical to **K**² (see below for MS. **K**). Furthermore, the passage (31:1) *leporinum* ... (31:19) *egrediebatur* is replaced by a reference to VIII:24. There are no rubrics for Rev. III.

Literature: HOLLMAN (1956:29–38, 47, 50 sq.); BERGH (1967:60 sq.); UNDHAGEN (1978:92–96); AILI (1992:21 sq. with further references).

K = *Kalmar*, Stifts- och Gymnasiebiblioteket (deposited in Lund University Library), 'Codex Kalmarnensis' (or 'Calmariensis'), late 14th c., foll. 50^r–64^r.

MS. **K** was written in Vadstena Abbey. It was corrected by a second hand, **K**², who is not identical to **K**¹ (cf. above MS. **F**). At the end of the codex (foll. 250^r–250^v) this second hand added the complete text of Rev. III 31, which was omitted by **K**¹. After III 30 there is a reference to this location: *require post finem tocius huius libri*. There are text rubrics for Rev. III.

Literature: HOLLMAN (1956:47); BERGH (1967:61 sqq.); UNDHAGEN (1978:96–113); AILI (1992:22 with further references).

O = *Oxford*, Balliol College Library, MS. 225, probably after 1424, foll. 48^v–64^r.

According to UNDHAGEN (1978:185) MS. **O** was probably copied at Syon Abbey from an exemplar that reached the monastery in 1424. Rev. III has text rubrics for the individual chapters.

Literature: BERGH (1967:42, 45 sqq., 89 sqq., 1971:34 sqq., 41, 46, 51 sq.,

65 sqq.); UNDHAGEN (1978:185 sq., 196, 198 sq., 225); AILI (1992:23 with further references).

P = *Palermo*, Biblioteca centrale della regione siciliana (formerly Biblioteca nazionale), MS. IV. G.2, ca. 1380, foll. 43^r–57^v.

MS. **P** was written in Naples (cf. for MSS. **Y** and **T^b**). There is a list of rubrics preceding Rev. III as well as text rubrics for the individual chapters.

Literature: BERGH (1967:55 sq., 58 sqq., 68 sq., 1971:54 sqq.); EKLUND (1972:28 sq., 1975:35 sqq.); UNDHAGEN (1978:150 sqq.); AILI (1992:23 sq. with further references).

V = *Venezia*, Biblioteca nazionale Marciana, MS. Lat. III 117 (collocazione 2371), 1415, pp. 119–155, 60^r–77^r (= No. 32 of class VII, Ascetici).

It is apparent from the *Explicit* to the *Liber ad reges* that MS. **V** was completed in 1415. The text is defective in Rev. III, since one leaf is missing, i.e., (13:8) *immoderatam* – (14:6) *multis*. There is a list of rubrics preceding Rev. III as well as text rubrics for the individual chapters.

Literature: HOLLMAN (1956:51 sq.); BERGH (1967:35 sqq.); EKLUND (1972:25 sqq.); UNDHAGEN (1978:153 sqq.); AILI (1992:24 sq. with further references).

Y = *New York*, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 498, ca. 1380, foll. 91^r–119^v.

Naples seems to be the probable origin also of MS. **Y** (cf. above for **P**). It was subjected to careful revision and correction by a hand, which throughout Rev. III seems to be the main hand. There is a list of rubrics preceding Rev. III as well as text rubrics for the individual chapters.

Literature: BERGH (1967:35 sqq., 1971:50 sqq.); UNDHAGEN (1978:156 sqq.); AILI (1992:25 sq. with further references).

A^b = *Darmstadt*, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, MS. 733, ca. 1400, foll. 60^r–78^v.

In MS. **A^b**, Rev. III opens with a list of rubrics but there are no text rubrics for the individual chapters (cf. below MSS. **u x v**).

Literature: UNDHAGEN (1978:200 sq.); AILI (1992:27 with further references).

T^b = *Warszawa*, Biblioteka Narodowa MS. 3310, 1379(?) foll. 96^v–119^v.

In Rev. III, five leaves have been lost in MS. **T^b**, i.e., (14:13) *et humilis* – (20:4) *heremo obti* (-nuisset).¹ This MS. may have been written in Naples (cf. above for **P**). There is a list of rubrics preceding Rev. III as well as text rubrics for the individual chapters.

Literature: SAWICKA (1935:86–96); LINDGREN (1993b, 1994); AILI-

¹ I am indebted to Dr. SLAWOMIR SZYLLER, Biblioteka Narodowa, who has kindly collated a number of readings for me in MS. **T^b**.

SVANBERG (1994); AILI-SVANBERG, *Imagines Sanctae Birgittae*, NY-BERG (1994) and my Chapter 2.3.1 below.

U^a = Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, MS. C 31, 14–15th c., foll. 144^r–145^v.

As far as Rev. III is concerned, MS. **U^a** covers only the *Addiciones* and *Declaraciones* to Rev. III 12 (§§26–32); 13 (§§36–37); 19 (§§25–31); 22 (§§6–7); 33 (§§7–8). See below, pp. 26, 29, 42, 57–59.

Literature: HOLLMAN (1956:48); UNDHAGEN (1978:113 sq.); ANDERSSON-SCHMITT-HEDLUND (1988:261–268); AILI (1992:26 with further references).

q = Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS. 3960, probably prior to 1386, foll. 66^r–93^v.

BERGH (1971:64) and UNDHAGEN (1978:134–137, 204–209) conclude that MS. **q** is the oldest of the dated revelation MSS. and probably older than MS. **F^b**,² which gives 1386 as the *terminus ante quem*. AILI is of the opinion that some of the corrections given in **q** are by another hand. In Rev. III, however, I consider all the corrections made by the same hand that wrote the actual text. III 31 (§1) *quia* ... (§19) *egrediebatur* is replaced by a reference to VIII:24. For Rev. III there is a list of rubrics preceding the book as well as text rubrics for the individual chapters.

Literature: BERGH (1967:63–65, 67–79, 89 sqq., 1971:64); UNDHAGEN (1978:134–137); AILI (1992:27 sq. with further references).

u = Praha, Národní Muzeum, MS. XIV. C.12 (No. 3451 Bartoš), from 1444, foll. 108^v–130^r.

According to a note on fol. 216^r MS. **u** was written in 1444. Rev. III opens with a list of rubrics. There are no text rubrics for the individual chapters (cf. MSS. **A^b x v**). MSS. **u x v** give an extended version of Rev. III 32 (see the Chapter 2.3.3 below). The *Tractatus de summis pontificibus*³ is mentioned in the testimony by Birgitta's confessor, Prior Petrus, on January 30, 1380 (*A&P* 524). This work is added in the Prague MSS. **u x v**, which originate from a MS. that was found in Italy by Matheus de Cracovia, later Bishop of Worms.⁴
Literature: AILI (1992:28–30).

x = Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní Kapitoly, MS. C 87 (519), from 1392, foll. 97^r–116^v.

In Rev. III, MS. **x** opens with a list of rubrics but there are no text rubrics for the individual chapters (see above for MS. **u**).

² Kraków. Bibliotheca Conventus Fratrum Carmelitarum Discalceatorum, MS. 214 F, from 1386.

³ For this work, see my Chapter 1.2.3.

⁴ He was a member of the second examining commission, appointed by Pope Urban VI in 1379, and made a proposal for the canonization of Birgitta. UNDHAGEN (1978:31 sqq.). See also p. 49.

Literature: BERGH (1967:27–32, 89 sqq.); UNDHAGEN (1978:63 sq.); AILI (1992:31 with further references).

v = *Warszawa*, Biblioteka Narodowa, microfilm no. 17067 (formerly Pock, Biblioteka Seminaryjna MS. 71 [39]), from 1400, foll. 53^r–64^v.

Rev. III opens with a list of rubrics. There are no text rubrics for the individual chapters (see above for MS. u).

Literature: BERGH (1971:8 with further references); UNDHAGEN (1978:68–71).

As regards the use of the designations β , β_1 , β_2 , γ , π , σ , see below, the Chapter 2 ‘The Manuscripts and Their Mutual Relationship’.

1.2 The History of the Text

St. Birgitta of Sweden (Birgitta Birgersdotter, ca. 1303–1373, canonized in 1391) wrote down or dictated her revelations in Old Swedish.⁵ They were later collected and translated into Latin by her Swedish confessors, Master Mathias Ovidi, Canon of Linköping Cathedral (d. ca. 1350), Prior Petrus Olavi of Alvastra (d. 1390) and Master Petrus Olavi of Skänninge (d. 1378). Finally, the Spaniard Alfonso Pecha da Vadaterra, former Bishop of Jaén (d. 1389), divided the revelations into eight books.⁶

In his edition of Book I of the *Reuelaciones* (= Rev. I), UNDHAGEN (1978:1–37) gives a general introduction to the textual history of the revelation books and the various redactions of them. I will therefore concentrate on what is particularly relevant for Book III (= Rev. III).

1.2.1 The Reception of the Revelations

To the question of *what* a revelation really is, Birgitta herself gives us the answer in III 6:1, where St. Ambrose says that he wants to talk to her through a similitude, because her heart cannot understand the implication of spiritual things without a corporal similitude.⁷ In III 4:18, the Virgin Mary says that certain events of a revelation can occur in an instant before God but for Birgitta’s sake they have been prolonged (*prolata sunt*) with the help of words, because a thousand years with God are like one hour. In III 30:8, Birgitta is called the channel of the Holy Ghost (*canalis scilicet Spiritus Sancti*). Furthermore, she shows herself an ancient prophet in III 19:23, where it is said in abstruse terms that God sometimes speaks in

⁵ For the extant Old Swedish versions, see Excursus A.

⁶ For the confessors’ relation with Birgitta and their participation in the writing down, translating, revising and publishing of the revelations, UNDHAGEN (1978:8 sqq.).

⁷ See also Revs. II 18:1–8; IV 58:16 (*spiritualia nisi per corporales similitudines non capiuntur*).

the present about what belongs to the future and about things that will happen, as if they had already taken place. Birgitta should not be concerned, though, if her prophecies do not come true according to her expectations, because the words of God could be understood in different ways (III 33:5).⁸ Thus the meaning must be that Birgitta *can* predict the future. Her mission is to hear and see spiritual words and convey these messages to certain persons. But just like the old prophets she needs interpreters and clerks to deliver her words.⁹

In the *Process Vita* the father confessors/translators let us catch a glimpse of the circumstances around the reception of one type of the revelations. We are told that when somebody asked Birgitta's advice, she prayed to God. Having then received a revelation, she wrote it down in Swedish or dictated it to a confessor, who in his turn dictated the Latin translation to a scribe. The confessors assure us that Birgitta took great care about the wording of the translation so that no word was added or subtracted from the holy revelation.¹⁰ Then the message was despatched to the questioner. In Rev. III 8 and 9 we have a good example of how the revelations were received, since we are fortunate enough to still have the *original* Latin draft (= *LM*, the *Latin Message*) of these two revelations, addressed to a master of Milan, with whom Birgitta had had an argument about the perfection of the Virgin Mary and the avarice and gluttony of the present-day masters. The draft consists of the first part of III 8 (§§1–13), in which the master is asked three questions, and the whole of III 9. It is quite remarkable that we also have the master's answer, which is written on the reverse of the draft. Inspired by this reply Birgitta had another revelation, which constitutes the second half of III 8 (§§14–18). This draft could have been written down either by Master Petrus or somebody else belonging to the close circle around Birgitta. This episode is recorded in the *Process Vita* and the *Pa-Vita* (see below, the Chapter 1.2.2). The fact that this original Latin draft is preserved makes it possible for us to compare this version with the one preserved in Rev. III and both of them to the Old Swedish version printed in *BU* 1 (MS. A 33).¹¹ Thus we are able to follow the various stages of the development of the text

⁸ Cf. VIII 48:6 Sed potes querere, quare verba dei ita obscure dicuntur, quod diuersimode interpretari possunt et quandoque aliter a Deo et aliter ab hominibus intelliguntur. (§7) Respondeo: Deus similis est confectori, qui conficit vinum ardens seu aquam ardentem, que de vino conficitur. (§8) Ille enim confector habet plures fistulas, quasdam ascendentes, quasdam vero descendentes, per quas vinum nunc sursum, nunc deorsum cooperante ignis calore decurrit, donec sit perfectum. (§9) Sic Deus in verbis suis facit, quia quandoque ascendit per iusticiam, quandoque iterum descendit per misericordiam, sicut patuit in rege, cui propheta ex iusticia dixit, quod moreretur et tamen postea misericordia addidit ei plures annos ad viuendum. (§10) Quandoque eiam descendit Deus per simplicem verborum prolacionem et corporalem expressionem, sed ascendit iterum per spiritualem intelligenciam sicut in Daud, cui multa dicta sunt sub nomine Salomonis, sed completa sunt sicut et intellecta in filio Dei. (§11) Quandoque eiam loquitur deus de futuris quasi de preteritis et presencia simul tangit et futura, quia omnia sunt in Deo, et presencia et preterita et futura quasi vnus punctus.

⁹ Cf. PILTZ (1991:455 sq., 1993:78 sq.).

¹⁰ *Process Vita* 84.

¹¹ As will be emphasized in Excursus A, the *OS text* is not yet established in a text-critical edition. Therefore, for practical reasons only edition *BU* is cited, unless a specific text-critical problem is discussed.

(see Excursus B with an edition of the draft). In those few cases when we still have a handwritten original by Birgitta,¹² we find that the Latin translation is actually strongly revised, allowing us to suppose that the Swedish confessors/translators were quite free in their relation to the text of the revelations.

1.2.2 The Dating of Individual Revelations in Book III

As to the dating of individual revelations in the third book LUNDÉN (1957: 273–276) dates III 1–4 to Sweden in 1344–1349; 5–7 to Milan in 1349; 8–9 to Sweden in 1344–1349; 10–11 to Rome in 1350; 12 partly to Sweden in 1344–1349, partly to Italy in the 1360's; 13–19 to Sweden in 1344–1349; 20–22 to Italy in 1350; 27 to Rome in ca. 1350 (the others cannot be dated). KLOCKARS (1966:48) says that III 1–22; 27 and 30 were written down by Master Petrus in a rather short period of time, i.e., during Birgitta's journey to Rome and her first years in Italy, because Prior Petrus was then still in Sweden and did not arrive until later on (*A&P* 491, 530). However, to state *what* was written down by Master Petrus and Prior Petrus respectively is an impossible matter, since we neither know exactly when Prior Petrus arrived in Rome nor when the individual revelations were received by Birgitta.

On the whole what we do know is merely that III 8 and 9 were intended for Archbishop Giovanni Visconti of Milan (1290–1354). An irrefutable fact is that the Bishop is called *Archbishop* in the original *LM* 8:8,10 (see above, the Chapter 1.2.1 and Excursus B, pp. 242 sq.). These two revelations can therefore be dated prior to 1354, the year of the Archbishop's death. In the autumn of 1349 Birgitta visited Milan on her way to Italy. According to the *Process Vita* (97) and the *Pa-Vita* (638) she answered an important master of theology here as is attested in the book of revelations.

For the other revelations, however well they may fit into a certain context, it should be remembered that it is not possible to say anything with absolute certainty, only what seems plausible (see below, the Chapter 1.3). It should be emphasized that the so-called *Addiciones* and *Declaraciones*, which can give some help regarding the identification, were *not part of the original revelation text (the β group), but inserted later on* (see below, pp. 23, 29, 42, 57–59). Theoretically these supplements could have been inserted in the wrong places.

1.2.3 The Redaction of Book III

Having established that the two datable revelations in Rev. III were between 1349 and 1353 and composed prior to 1354, we can now proceed to the history of the

¹² Three revelations are preserved in Birgitta's MS., A 65, Royal Library, Stockholm. It consists of two sheets: the one from ca. 1367 covers Rev. IV 49 and the other one from ca. 1361 records VIII 56 (§§97–102) and Ex. 80. They were edited by HÖGMAN (1951:73–83). See also UNDHAGEN-VAHLQUIST (1995:49).

redaction of the book. For the further development of the revelation texts, we know that in 1370, Birgitta herself entrusted the edition of her revelations to Alfonso.¹³ Up to now they had been kept secret. This assignment was renewed in 1372 in Famagusta on Cyprus. On her death-bed in 1373 she finally confirmed that she had commissioned Alfonso to revise the revelations. One gets the impression that he now had to work with extreme haste. Most certainly nothing was done before Birgitta's death.¹⁴ Alfonso's role as editor of the revelations and the extent he actually did revise them have been the object of much scholarly research and debate. Regarding Rev. V, BERGH (1971:17 sq.) has demonstrated that it is highly plausible that Alfonso did not even read much of the book. On the other hand GILKÆR (1993:19–22, 151 sqq.), who has studied the political ideas in *Liber celestis imperatoris ad reges* (= Rev. VIII), sees this work as an expression of Alfonso's political ideas and not Birgitta's. JÖNSSON (1996:27) contributes to the discussion by concluding that Alfonso's influence on the revelations is a subtle issue, which cannot be discussed in general terms. Having studied in detail *Tractatus de summis pontificibus* JÖNSSON says that Alfonso's influence can be found only in the selection and presentation of the texts and in a slight revision of these.¹⁵

As far as Rev. III is concerned, I have found that there are some obvious examples that show traces of editorial activity. In the first revelation, III 1:1, it says that Jesus Christ sent *me* to you (Ihesus Christus ... , ipse *me* misit ad vos). However, who is me? We cannot know that it is the Virgin Mary who talks, like in III 2–3, unless we read IV 126:36, on which this passage is based (see below, the Chapter 3.2). Further, in III 1:5 it is said, *Omnis igitur episcopus, qui taliter apparet precinctus, ad eum veniet Tobias, id est homines iusti et sequentur viam eius*. The words *Tobias, id est homines iusti et sequentur viam eius* ('Tobias, that is righteous men will also follow his way') strike me as very odd. However, in Rev. IV 126:44 we are told: *Omnis ergo episcopus qui taliter indutus est iusticia, confidens non in se set in Deo, ad eum veniet Thobias, id est homo iustus, et homines iusti sequentur eum* (... 'Tobias, that is a righteous man, and righteous men will follow him'), *quia plus proficiunt exempla bona et opera quam verba nuda*. Some caution should be taken, though, for the fact that we might have an archetypal error. There is also the insertion of *proch dolor* in the rubric of III 10, the expression *mirabiliter designantur* (III 13[R]) and a minor inconsistency in the rubric of III 8 compared to the actual text (*de inordinato magistrorum modernorum appetitu et de eorum falsa responsione ad Virginis gloriose questionem*). The text gives an answer

¹³ See *Process Vita* 98.

¹⁴ UNDHAGEN (1978:11 sqq.); JÖNSSON (1989:25 sqq., 40–47).

¹⁵ The *Tractatus* revelations are presented by AILI in accordance with Ghotan, i.e., as chapters Rev. IV 136–144. However, JÖNSSON (1997:19) showed that the work originally consisted of another four revelations, i.e., VI 63, IV 49, VII 31 and VI 96. JÖNSSON's edition is based on Alfonso's original compilation, since the *Tractatus* revelations were passed down independently of the *corpus reuelacionum* tradition (see 1996:19 sqq.).

from only *one* master. However, if it was Alfonso, who actually revised Rev. III or wrote the rubrics, is still an open question.¹⁶

KRAFT (1929:67) considered Rev. III to be sort of a ‘companion piece’ to the *Tractatus de summis pontificibus* containing, as it does, revelations with warnings and exhortations addressed to Popes, priests and monks only. It should, however, be remembered that the *Tractatus* is of a later date than Rev. III.¹⁷

GILKÆR (1993:162 sq.) says that it is likely that Rev. III was edited by Alfonso with the whole priestly state in mind. This was done because as early as the 14th century a need arose for minor selections from the very large corpus of revelations, so that a knowledge of Birgitta’s revelations could in this way be disseminated to a larger circle of people. He goes on saying that Alfonso might have intended to include Rev. III together with *Liber celestis imperatoris ad reges* (Rev. VIII with the *Epistola Solitarii*), *Tractatus de summis pontificibus* and *Celeste viridarium*¹⁸ in a larger compilation, planned in accordance with the first two parts of King Alfonso X’s legal treatise from the 13th century, *Las siete Partidas*. Many scholars have also discussed the question, whether Rev. VIII and *Tractatus de summis pontificibus* were signs of the fact that Alfonso planned a new redaction of the revelations in a thematic order. However, there does not seem to be any good argument for these ideas.¹⁹

The redaction of Rev. III can be dated with great exactness. In the *Process Vita* (79, 83), which was submitted to the papal authorities on December 17, 1373, by Birgitta’s children, Birger and Katarina, Prior Petrus and Master Petrus, there are references to Rev. IV. This means that Rev. III had also been worked out. The date of the *Process Vita* has been disputed, but JÖNSSON (1989:94 sqq., 1993:38 sqq.) has showed that there is hardly any reason to doubt that the preserved version is the one that really was handed over in December 1373. Thus we can be convinced that Rev. III was codified before that date. At this time Rev. III could probably be found in the same shape as we find it in the MSS. of the β-hyparchetype (see below, the Chapter 2.2).

The *first Alfonso redaction* of the revelations containing *Prol Math.* and Revs. I–VII was completed in all probability ca. 1375. During Birgitta’s canonization process copies were presented to members of the commission appointed by Pope Gregory XI for an examination. Alfonso later realized that there were many other revelations that deserved to be published to make Birgitta known. Thus the *second Alfonso redaction*, in which the *Epistola Solitarii* and *Liber celestis imperatoris ad reges* (= Rev. VIII) were included, was finished in 1377 at the latest according to

¹⁶ Cf. BERGH (1991a:12) and AILI (1992:45 sq.).

¹⁷ See also WESTMAN (1911:26 with n. 3).

¹⁸ These are Birgitta’s revelations, which concern the lives of Christ and the Virgin Mary. They were compiled and divided into three books by Alfonso and dedicated to the nuns of Vadstena. A text-critical edition of this work is being prepared by MARGARETA AGRELL, Uppsala University.

¹⁹ JÖNSSON (1997:15 sq.).

JÖNSSON (1989:85 sqq.), who advanced new theories regarding the date of the *Liber Celestis* (= Revs. I–VII).²⁰ Later the second Alfonsine redaction was extended by the supplementary *Addiciones* and *Declaraciones*, which were inserted by Prior Petrus (see pp. 23, 26, 42, 57–59).

UNDHAGEN (1978:17) showed that also in the first redaction Rev. III consisted of 34 chapters. NYBERG (1990:13 sqq.) launched a theory that Rev. I should originally have consisted of 60 revelations and Revs. II and III of 30 revelations each. These three books were related, which comprised “magisterial and solemn visionary texts, as if the redactor(s) wanted to collect in these first books the clearest, most outspoken, most predicative messages that Birgitta received”. NYBERG’s theory might have been inspired by KLOCKARS (1966:48), who states that the last four revelations (III 31–34) are disparate both regarding their contents and their date of reception and that it is therefore likely that they were included later on. However, there is no support for such ideas in the MSS. tradition. These are mere speculations and depend on *what* is emphasized by the reader and interpreter. The four last revelations (see pp. 40 sq.) were obviously not considered in any way odd by the OS retranslators. If we study the rubrics in *BU* 1, we see that regarding Rev. III 29, it is said that Birgitta is compared to Mary, the monastery of Solomon (Sancta byrgitta likna mariam salomonis mönstre). Further the rubric to III 30 is said to be about the Virgin Mary, who is compared to a flower (Jomfrv maria liknas blomstre). This praise of Mary then goes on in the rubric to III 32, where she is said to lead many to the haven of heaven (Vm mariam ledhas mange til hymerikis hampn). III 33 is about two men, one of whom is both a monk and priest and who wants to reform the Church (see below pp. 40 sq.). It seems in no way dissimilar to the other revelations. The king in III 31 might show some parallels to King Magnus Eriksson of Sweden, but he could just as well be another person (cf. LUNDÉN 1957:276). Finally, III 34 is also about the Virgin Mary and could not be considered in any way out of place in the context (see below).

1.3 The Contents of Book III

In 1349 Birgitta left Sweden and went to Rome to participate in the celebration of the jubilee year 1350. She was not impressed by the city, but blames Pope Clement VI in Avignon for the corruption of the Church and the miserable conditions. There had been many martyrs from St. Peter to Celestine V, but with Pope Boniface VIII (III 27:31 *Bonifacius ascendit sedem superbie*) the Church had deteriorated gravely. Christ and the Virgin Mary complain that many altars were deserted, that the votive offerings were squandered at inns and that the priests devoted themselves more to the world than to God (III 27:30 sq. *altaria plura desolata sunt, offertorium expenditur in tabernis, offerentes vacant plus mundo quam Deo.*).

²⁰ Cf. UNDHAGEN (1978:14 sqq.), who states not until ‘around 1380’.

The majority of the thirty-four chapters in Rev. III are intended for Popes, cardinals, archbishops, bishops, priests and monks. With her severe attacks on the Pope and his cardinals (III 10) as well as the Dominican and Benedictine monks (III 14–19 and 20–22, respectively)¹ Birgitta wanted to show the urgent need for a reformation of the Church, the monastic life and the existing religious orders. For her own part she wished to create a new religious order. In her opinion a prerequisite for ecclesiastical reform was the return of the Pope to Rome.² Rev. III was therefore meant to serve as a kind of *Speculum episcoporum*, a Mirror for Bishops: i.e., a textbook of the various duties of Christian life taught through negative examples.³ It was intended as an important guiding rule for the bishops in those days, foreign as well as Swedish: e.g., Bishops Thomas Johannis of Växjö (Bishop 1344–ca. 1376), Birgerus Gregorii of Uppsala (ca. 1327–1383), Nicolaus Hermanni of Linköping (1326–1391) and Hemmingus of Åbo (d. 1366). In MS. T^b, fol. 98^r, there is in fact a picture which shows how Birgitta receives a book by Christ and passes it on to a bishop.⁴ This idea of the pastor as a teacher by words and examples was first formed by St. Gregory the Great in his *Regula pastoralis* or *Cura pastoralis*, which tradition was followed by the mendicant orders, especially the Dominican.⁵ It lies near at hand to assume that another source of inspiration was St. Bernard of Clairvaux, who propagated his ideas of reform in *De moribus et officio episcoporum* (Ep. 42)⁶ and in *De consideratione* I–V to Pope Eugenius III. We know that Birgitta came into close contact with the Cistercian spirituality through her confessor, Prior Petrus of Alvastra.⁷ She also lived at Alvastra for some time.

FOGELQVIST (1993a:18 sqq., 242 sqq.) sees Birgitta's work as a continuation of the reform movements of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the aims of which were a return to the Biblical and Patristic models of Christian Life (e.g., Rev. III 1:3 sqq.; 29:12). Birgitta was of course loyal to the Pope and the Church of Rome (cf. III 33 below).⁸ Her reformation was more like a personal renewal, the founda-

¹ Cf. RS Φ :275. Here the orders are admonished to return to true humility, voluntary poverty and pure chastity.

² JÖNSSON (1996:18) points out the fact that the aim of *Tractatus de summis pontificibus* (see above, p. 27 sq.) was to advocate the return of the Pope and the Holy See to Rome and to reform the Church.

³ For the Mirrors (commandments) for monks, HEDLUND (1991:361 sqq.). Cf. Rev. VIII, i.e., *Liber celestis imperatoris ad reges*, which was intended to be a Mirror for Princes. GILKAER (1993:162).

⁴ LINDGREN (1993b:10).

⁵ KLOCKARS (1966:216); FOGELQVIST (1993a:151 sqq.). Gregory's *Moralia* is also mentioned in the *ES* V:40–50; VI:39 sq. For an investigation of the sources mentioned in the *ES*, GILKAER (1993:100 sqq.).

⁶ BERN, *Ep.*, 100–131. The letter is addressed to Archbishop Henricus de Boisrogues (1122–1142).

⁷ For *Speculum Monachorum*, which sometimes has been attributed to Bernard and sometimes to Bonaventura or the Franciscan monk David of Augsburg, see HEDLUND (1991:364–367).

⁸ A&P 525 (Dep. Petri Olavi prioris): Item dixit idem testis, quod dicta domina Brigida habuit reuelaciones diuinas, in quibus Christus et mater eius reprehendunt iudeos, gentiles et paganos et alios infideles *declarando eis clare* per rationes mirabiles diuinas, quod *nullus eorum nec aliquis saluatur extra fidem christianam catholicam et obedienciam Sancte Matris Ecclesie et vnus vicarij Christi Romanj*

tion of which was the zeal for God and the contempt for the world, and a reform of the Church's pastoral mission. Many of her ideas and thoughts can be found already in Petrus Lombardus, *Sententiae*, and Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*.⁹ Thus for instance, the discussion in Rev. III 3:4 sq. about the episcopal office goes back to the latter (see app. hist.). The bishop, Birgitta says, must always bear in mind, whether he wanted his office for his own sake or in order to serve God. If it is for himself, his desire is carnal. However, if it is for the glory of God, to do him honour, his desire is dutiful and spiritual. Further, it is said in Rev. III 19:9 that sins are augmented through repeated use, so that things that could have been forgiven and excused through contrition become very serious through negligence and contempt. The three questions put to a master by the Virgin Mary in Rev. III 8:8 and 9 (see pp. 25 sq. and Excursus B) whether he preferred to corporally have the favour and friendship of his bishop to spiritually presenting his soul to God, whether he found more pleasure in owning many florins than none, and which one of these things pleased him more, to be called master and sit among the foremost and most honoured for the sake of worldly honour or be called a simple brother and sit among the lowest, seem to be taken from Aquinas's *Summa contra gentiles*.¹⁰

One of the things that caused Birgitta great distress was that the love of God towards man was so great but the love of man towards God so little¹¹ and that the bishops wanted power to obtain the glory of the world and its riches rather than to help the poor (III 4:1 *Mater Dei loquitur ad sponsam Filii dicens: "Tu ploras, quod caritas Dei ad hominem est maxima et econtra caritas hominum est ad Deum modica. Vere sic est. Quis enim est dominus vel episcopus, qui non magis concupiscit dominium ad honorem mundi obtinendum vel diuicias quam ad subueniendum pauperibus suis propriis manibus ..."*).

Birgitta compares the Church to the virgin who is courted by three princes (III 24:4,11).¹² The first suitor loved her honourably (i.e., those who love God with their whole heart), the second just wanted her property and robbed her (i.e., those who love earthly possessions more than their own honour) and the third wanted her virginity and tried to rape her (i.e., those who put their own will before the love to God). Birgitta's own opinion regarding how the clergy should behave is quoted in the preface to Rev. III (taken from Rev. VI 53, see app. crit.) of the Ghotan edition: if somebody is a foreman for others, he should not be proud because of this, since everybody is of the same race and all power comes from God. He who is forced or wishes to be a foreman should appear in such a way to his subjects that he is simultaneously enviable regarding manners and morals and concer-

pontificis. Habuit eciam dicta domina Brigida, vt dixit iste testis, reuelaciones diuinas, per quas redarguuntur et dampnantur greci, heretici et scismatici et alij discrepantes et deuiantes a ritibus Sancte Romane Ecclesie. KLOCKARS (1971:97 sqq.).

⁹ PILTZ (1994:152).

¹⁰ See app. hist. for these passages.

¹¹ Cf., e.g., Revs. I 1;19;30;53; IV 116.

¹² See pp. 75 sq., 223.

ned about justness and fairness. He should be very careful and neither through words nor examples (*verbis vel exemplis*) give others opportunity or reason to sin.¹³ Nothing provokes so much the wrath of God or entices to sin as the loose morals of the clergymen.¹⁴

Rev. III is a book of considerable historical interest containing, as it does, many pieces of advice to persons of high rank. Naturally, scholars have not been able to resist the temptation to try to identify the persons addressed or referred to.¹⁵ The revelations are undoubtedly an important source for the history of Sweden in those days, but they are very difficult to use, since they present us with an ambiguous picture open to many interpretations. It should be stressed that Christ himself says to Birgitta that she should be stable and humble and that she should not think too highly of herself, when he showed her the traps that others had fallen into. *Their names should not be betrayed, unless she was ordered to do so.* It was not to shame these people that their failings were shown to Birgitta, but to convert them, that they should know the justice and mercy of God. He who is said to be a miserable sinner today can be forgiven tomorrow. *He who was said to be a miserable sinner yesterday can be said to be the dearest friend today* (III 26:7–10 Tu [sc. Birgitta] vero esto stabilis et humilis, nec te extollas in cogitatu, cum aliorum ostendo tibi pericula, *nec eorum prodas nomina, nisi tibi precipiatur.* Non enim ad confusionem eorum ostenduntur tibi eorum pericula, sed ut conuertantur et cognoscant iusticiam et misericordiam Dei. Sed nec eos fugere debes tamquam iudicatos, quia etiam si dixero hodie, quod aliquis pessimus est, si inuocauerit me cum contricione cras et cum voluntate emendandi, paratus sum indulgere ei. *Et quem heri dixi pessimum, hunc hodie dico amicum carissimum* propter contricionem ...).

In III 1–3¹⁶ Christ tells us how a good bishop should exercise his office, i.e., to love the Church instead of seeking his own profit (2:15 diligere Ecclesiam secundum laudabilem dispositionem *cure pastoralis*). KLOCKARS (1966:46 sq.) considers it very likely that III 1–3 were intended for Bishop Thomas of Växjö. She may be right, because the bishop mentioned in these three revelations (1:2 *episcopus iste*, 2:1 *Dic episcopo*, 3:1 *Ego exponere volo episcopo*), who vacillates between the road of dalliance and the straight and narrow one, is discussed again in III 12.¹⁷ In the rubric it is stated: ‘Loquitur sponsa Christo preces effundendo pro *supradicto episcopo*’. It is a fact that this earlier mentioned bishop is really Tho-

¹³ See Rev. III, Proem. (§3), with further references. Master Mathias had himself compiled a collection of examples. *Copia exemplorum*, edited by L. WÄHLIN. Mit Einleitung und Indizes von M. ANDERSON-SCHMITT (*Studia seminarii Latini Upsaliensis* 2). Uppsala 1990. KLOCKARS (1966:135 sq.).

¹⁴ See also Rev. IV 59. For Birgitta’s program of reform, FOGELQVIST (1993a:167 sq.).

¹⁵ It should be born in mind, though, that earlier scholars could not argue on the basis of a *text-critical edition*. Some of them seem not to have realized that the *Adds.* and *Decls.* were not part of the *original revelation text*.

¹⁶ These revelations are found also in Rev. IV 126:36–137. See my Chapter 3.2.

¹⁷ For the Swedish Church and the political subversion during this time, BRILIOTH (1941:103–117).

mas according to *Decl.* 12:26 (*Hic fuit episcopus Vexionensis*).¹⁸ It seems probable that the participle *supradicto* refers to no other bishop than the one in III:1–3, since the bishops in the revelations inbetween, i.e., III 4:3; 6(R); 7(R); 8:8; 11, can all on good grounds be other persons (see below).

III 4 deals with an undutiful bishop and his dutiful canon. STEFFEN (1909:25–28) and BRILIOTH (1941:196) says that these men might be Petrus Tyrgilli, Archbishop 1351–1366,¹⁹ and Master Mathias, respectively. SCHMID (1940:50–53) on the other hand voices the opinion that Bishop Bo of Växjö and Canon Nicolaus Thoriri²⁰ can be intended. However, as pointed out by KLOCKARS (1966:45), both of them are probably wrong, because in Rev. III 12, where Birgitta comes back to these two men (§18 *De altero episcopo, de quo prius dixi tibi*), the canon is mentioned as (§24) *canonico illi Aurelianensi*. Therefore, KLOCKARS says that the bishop might instead be Philip of Orléans who died in October 1349.²¹ It is of interest, though, to see that in the OS edition §§18–25 are placed in III 13 and the adjective *Aurelianensi* is left out, so that the description of the depraved bishop will consequently refer to Petrus Tyrgilli (who in his turn cannot be identified in the OS, since §36 has been replaced).²²

Revelations III 5–9 may have appeared to Birgitta in Milan²³ and Rome. In Rev. III 5 and 6, St. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan,²⁴ is the one talking to Birgitta. III 5 contains a judgement upon those in power, both temporal and ecclesiastical rulers, who through their bad examples corrupt the people. In III 6, a bishop is compared to a man who spends nine hours with his servant girl (i.e., the world), and one hour only with his wife (i.e., the Church). In III 7, the same Ambrose is contrasted to a bishop who loves the world. This bishop is like a bellows full of air or a snail lying in dirt. STEFFEN (1909:28 n.) and KLOCKARS (1966:210, 1971:148) are convinced that the bishop in III 6 and 7 is Giovanni Visconti, who was elected Archbishop of Milan in 1339. Created Cardinal by antipope Nicolaus V, Visconti was the one who fought against the papal armies to gain the ecclesiastical as well as the political power in northern and central Italy. He had to be defeated, if the Pope were to return to Rome. At the end of his life he did in fact give up his po-

¹⁸ This *Decl.* is missing in the OS texts, probably because Bishop Thomas should not be singled out. Cf. Rev. III 11, where the Swedish text corresponding to the *Add.* §16 *Hec reuelacio facta est de legato cardinali anni iubilei et cetera* is omitted. The following text (§16) *Filius ...* (§20) *discucientur* is placed after III 12. See also Excursus A, p. 222.

¹⁹ For him, BRILIOTH (1941:index).

²⁰ For him VIRDESTAM (1934:284).

²¹ EUBEL (1898:120).

²² In 13:36, the Swedish text corresponding to *Hec reuelacio facta est de episcopo Lyncopensi, qui postea factus fuit archiepiscopus. Item de eodem vj libro, capitulo xxii, quod incipit 'Ille prelatus'* is replaced by the words 'Sidhan then biscopin war dödhir som nu är af saght. sagdhis sancta byrgitta' (*BU* 1 347:5–7). See also Excursus A, p. 222.

²³ See Excursus B, pp. 242 sq.

²⁴ *A&P* 14, 309, 579.

litical ambitions and devoted himself to his ecclesiastical office and clerical reforms.²⁵ The only thing, however, that we can be sure of is that the following two revelations, III 8 and 9, were really addressed to Giovanni Visconti, since the Bishop is called Archbishop in the original *LM* and the episode is also attested in the *Process Vita* and the *Pa-Vita* (see above, pp. 25 sq., and Excursus B, pp. 242 sq.).

According to the parallel revelation IV 78 (78:3 *in ecclesia maiori beate Virginis*)²⁶ Birgitta had the III 10 revelation in the deteriorated church of St. Maria Maggiore in Rome. This dilapidated building symbolizes the Church of that time.²⁷ The revelation is addressed to a man (10:3 *Mitte ergo ad illum, quem tibi nominavi, nuncium meum. Quamuis autem ego scio cor et responsionem eius, finem quoque vite eius celerem, tamen debes mittere ei verba ista sequencia.*), who is said to be the deputy of the Pope in IV 78 (R *vicario domini Pape*). ÖBERG (1969:3,7,12) points out that Rev. III 10 is an older version of a text that was adapted to an epistolary form in Rev. IV 78 (cf. IV 78:25 *Hec omnia vero illa gloriosa virgo, que mulieri apparuit, mitti precepit vobis in scriptis, unde nouerit vestra reuerenda paternitas, quod ego, que hanc litteram vobis misi ...*). He dates Rev. IV 78 to 1351 or somewhat later (see also my Excursus B, p. 237). STEFFEN (1909:30 n.) and LUNDÉN (1957:298 n.) believe this III 10 to be meant for Cardinal Annibaldo Ceccano, who was sent as a legate by Pope Clemens VI to Rome in 1350.²⁸ He is probably right, because if we go on reading the Virgin Mary says in 10:3, “*Quamuis autem ego scio cor et responsionem eius, finem quoque vite eius celerem, tamen debes mittere ei verba ista sequencia*”. Annibaldo Ceccano died as early as July 17, 1350. The word *celerem* might have been added after his death.

In the *Add.* to III 10, there is an *additional* revelation, where Christ talks about the nuncios of the Pope (§17 *de nunciis pape*). According to §20 it was directed to the Cardinal of Albano, who was a prior at that time (*Albanensem cardinalem, qui tunc fuit prior*). Magnus Petri in his capacity as confessor general (1384–1394)²⁹ himself refers to this additional revelation in a letter of defence for Birgitta’s revelations (see app. hist. to Rev. III 10:18) and emphasizes the fact that Birgitta here

²⁵ When Giovanni Visconti died in 1354, his empire was divided between his two nephews. The one, Galeazzo, married a daughter of a son of the King of England, and Galeazzo’s son, Giangaleazzo, married a daughter of King John of France. The other nephew, Bernabo (d. 1385), was an arch-enemy of the Popes for many years. He is mentioned in one of the revelations to Pope Gregory XI (IV 143:6 *De discordia vero inter papam et Barnabonem respondeo, quod ultra modum est michi odiosa, quia infinite anime de illa periclitantur.*). Bernabo was removed by Giangaleazzo, who became the sole ruler of Milan in 1385. COLLIJN (1929:43 sqq.); KLOCKARS (1971:148); MEISS-KIRSCH (1972:8 sq.).

²⁶ See my Chapter 3.2.

²⁷ According to FOGELQVIST (1993b:149) the aspect *ecclesia congregata*, the congregated Church of Christians which so many had left, is meant here as opposed to the *ecclesia congregans*, the Church as an institution (or mother) gathering the Christians. Cf. the third aspect in Rev. III 24:17 *anime iustorum*, i.e., *societas sanctorum*, the community of the holy people and those chosen by God.

²⁸ For him, *Dictionnaire des cardinaux contenant des notions générales sur le cardinalat*, 644 sqq.

²⁹ SILFVERSTOLPE (1898–1899:79).

predicted the great schism of the Church in 1378. He says that she was given this revelation perhaps twenty years before the schism actually occurred. We are also provided with an interpretation of the revelation: the sun, he states, which is going to be parted, is the Pope. The stars, which will come to naught, are the cardinals and the wisdom that will be turned into foolery is that of the unfaithful (see above, pp. 29 sqq.).³⁰ KLOCKARS (1966:45 sq.) states that the man addressed in III 10 or in its *Add.* is likely to be Angelico Grimoaldi (1320–1388), the brother of Pope Urban V. We know that Angelico Grimoaldi is mentioned as Prior of S. Pierre in the French *Dien* (*Diè*) in 1358. He held this position until 1362, when he became Bishop of Avignon. In 1367, he was appointed Cardinal Bishop of Albano.³¹ Thus it seems likely that Rev. III 10 was intended for Annibaldo Ceccano (*vicarius Pape*) but the *prior* in the *Add.* is most certainly Angelico Grimoaldi.

III 11 could have been received by Birgitta in S. Giovanni in Laterano. The rich worldly bishop, who in the addition is mentioned as a cardinal legate during the year of the jubilee (§16 *Hec reuelacio facta est de legato cardinali anni jubilei*), may be Annibaldo Ceccano, who had such an office in 1350.³²

Rev. III 12 are about two vacillating bishops. As was stated (see above, pp. 32 sq.) according to the *Decl.* §§26–32 the first bishop mentioned in III 12 is Bishop Thomas Johannis of Växjö. Therefore, III 12 is probably connected with III 1–3, where it is stated that if this bishop wants to go on the road of righteousness, he must put away all his longing for the world (1:2). In IV 125, which is a revelation about seven animals, four sinful and three virtuous ones, this bishop is mentioned again in the *Add.* §§17–19. Here it is said that the first animal, i.e., the first bishop, was proud of his noble descent but was converted by the Holy Ghost. He came to Rome and followed Birgitta to Naples. In Benevent he had a serious kidney stone attack. But when he had vowed true love to God in his heart, he was cured.³³ Furthermore, there are a few passages in III 12, which go back to IV 126:33–34 (III 12:1–3) and IV 126:16–26 (III 12:15–17). For the other bishop, see the discussion above for III 4 (p. 33).

Rev. III 13 is of special interest to us, because the Virgin Mary reveals details about the crucifixion of her Son, which cannot be read in the Scriptures: e.g., that his heart was pierced by the point of the lance (13:28 sq. *Ego enim presens eram*,

³⁰ III 10 is mentioned by Alfonso in *ES* II:25 and VI:6. He says that Birgitta here is being told how to distinguish divine spiritual visions from those coming from the devil.

³¹ EUBEL (1898:34); Bertolini, O., 'de Grimoard, Anglic' *Enciclopedia Italiana* 17, 1933, 974.

³² KLOCKARS (1966:46).

³³ IV 125:17 *Primum animal, id est primus episcopus ex nobilitate superbiens, conuersus est ex verbis Spiritus sancti; qui veniens Romam et dominam Birgittam secutus usque ad Neapolim, cum essent in Beneuento, grauissime passus est de calculo. (§18) Cui egrotanti Spiritus sanctus dixit per dominam: "Regi Israhel infirmo preceptum fuit, ut apponeret cathaplasma super vulnus suum. Sic faciat iste: assumat perfectam caritatem in animo ad Deum, que est medicamentum optimum, et statim senciuet sanitatem."* (§19) *Quo audito votum vouit et mente et carne conualuit. De isto episcopo habetur tercio libro capitulo XII.*

quando miles ille egregius, filius meus, exiuit de Iherusalem tenere certamen, quod tam forte fuit et durum, quod omnes nerui in brachiis eius extendebantur. Dorsum erat liuidum et sanguinolentum, pedes perforati clauis, oculi et aures pleni sanguine. Collum quoque inclinabatur, quando tradidit spiritum. Cor scindebatur a cus-pide lancee et sic cum maximo dolore vicit animas.)³⁴ In the revelation the Virgin Mary gives advice regarding pastoral cure to a bishop, who can be identified as Archbishop Petrus Tyrgilli according to the *Add.* §36 (*Hec reuelacio facta est de episcopo Lyncopensi, qui postea factus fuit archiepiscopus*).³⁵ In the *Add.* §20 to IV 125, his distinguishing quality is said to be purity.³⁶ Petrus Tyrgilli was a loyal subject of King Magnus Eriksson up to 1363. But the following year he supported the election of King Albrecht of Mecklenburg.³⁷ KLOCKARS (1966:46 with n. 9) assumes that Bishop Thomas and Archbishop Petrus were probably in Rome in 1350, because on May 18, 1350, Petrus was given a letter of indulgence regarding his cathedral. This can, however, be doubted, since this letter was issued in Ville-neuve.³⁸

III 14–19 is a coherent, interesting group of revelations. The attack on the Dominicans is, as mentioned above, obviously a link in Birgitta's efforts to show that a new religious order was needed (cf. *RS*, prologus). In III 18, she deprecates the Dominican order saying that the Dominican monks listen rather to the devil than to their father, St. Dominic, and that only a few of them follow him (§1 sqq.).³⁹ Birgitta stresses the fact that it is important that the bishop receive his office for true, unselfish reasons (which is dealt with in the first part of St. Gregory's *Cura pastoralis*, cf. above, p. 30). St. Augustine is given prominence as a good example (§8 sqq.). In this revelation Birgitta's view regarding the episcopate and other issues is also given, as for instance, whether a Dominican monk should be allowed to become a bishop (§7 sqq.) or, whether it is a good thing that the monks occupied themselves with begging in order to be able to build high and precious churches (§22 sqq.). As was seen above (p. 26), LUNDÉN (1957:274) considers III 14–19 to have been revealed to Birgitta in Sweden between 1344–1349.

In Rev. III 14–16, two Dominican bishops are violently castigated (III 17:1 "*Dixi tibi heri de duobus, qui erant de regula sancti Dominici ...*"). Their fate is further discussed in the following three revelations III 17–19. In the *Add.* to III 19, they are said to be dead. In fact, one of them is stated to be dead as early as in III 16:16. In III 14:2 sqq., we are told that Birgitta a year and a month earlier received a message for the said bishop. Of these two bishops, the older one (III 14)

³⁴ See the three revelations on the Passion of Christ, I 10; IV 70 and VII 15. ELLIS (1993:213 sqq.).

³⁵ STEFFEN (1909:280 sqq.); SCHMID (1940:49 sqq.); KLOCKARS (1966:46).

³⁶ *Secundum animal, id est secundus episcopus fuit magne puritatis, de quo tercio libro capitulo XIII.*

³⁷ WESTERLUND-SETTERDAHL (1919:22).

³⁸ *DS* VI:5239.

³⁹ For St. Dominic, *Fsv. leg.* II, 794 sq.; CORNELL (1918); KLOCKARS (1966:173 sqq., 199 sqq.); ROSSING (1986:114).

was identified by SCHMID and BRILIOTH as Archbishop Petrus Philippi, which was refuted by KLOCKARS, though, because he died as early as 1341.⁴⁰ However, I think that it is likely that this man really was the Archbishop, who at that time was the provincial prior for all Scandinavian Dominicans. His father was the Councillor Filip Finvidsson (of Runby) and the first wife of Birger Persson (Birgitta's father) was his aunt. Nothing is known regarding how he discharged the duties of his office. We only know that he built a sacristy on Arnö. Compared to the younger bishop mentioned in this revelation the older one is said to have died in an honourable way (III 19:25 "*Miraris, filia, quare alius episcopus habuit pulcherrimum finem, alius ita horrendum, nam paries cadens confregit eum totum et modicum superuixit et hoc modicum cum ingenti dolore ...*"). In this context Christ also makes it clear that a righteous person is righteous before God no matter how he dies, but worldly men believe him to be righteous, who has a beautiful death without pain and shame (§26 *ego ipse dixi, quod iustus, qualicumque morte moritur, iustus est apud Deum, sed homines mundi hunc iustum reputant, qui pulchrum exitum habebit sine dolore et pudore*). The younger one (III 15) is most certainly the Dominican Ödgisle (Egislus) Birgeri (d. 1352–1353), Bishop of Västerås in 1329. BRILIOTH (1941:78 sqq.) describes him as a clerical adventurer, who never missed an opportunity to enrich himself. Furthermore, he was a Swedish proxy at the papal court in Avignon for more than ten years. Many embarrassing episodes are known from his time at the Curia. When he could not get Pope Benedict XII to confirm King Magnus Eriksson's occupation of Scania, he offered Cardinal Matteo Orsini 2,000 florins for the Pope's approval. He did not even hesitate to forge the King's seal to promote his own interests. Birgitta compares him to a horse-fly, who buzzes loudly, stings intolerably and prefers wealth to poverty (III 15:1 sq. "*Alium episcopum ostendi [sc. Mater Dei] tibi, quem vocaui pastorem gregis. Hunc similamus bruco, qui terreum habens colorem cum sonitu magno euolat et, ubicumque resederit, mordet intolerabiliter et cum dolore. (§2) Sic iste pastor terreum habet colorem, quia, cum ad paupertatem vocatus est, magis desiderat esse diues quam pauper; magis preesse quam subiici, magis habere voluntatem propriam quam aliorum obediencia disciplinari ...*").⁴¹ In III 17, we are given a somewhat different version of a vision, narrated by Theodericus de Apoldia in his *De Sancto Dominico confessore*, written in 1292. Here it is said that Dominicus once had a vision and saw all religious people gathered around Christ, but nobody came from his own order. The Lord asked him if he wanted to see his own order. When Dominicus so wished, the Lord put his hand over the mantle of the Virgin Mary and said that he had confided the Dominican order to his mother. The Virgin Mary then opened her mantle and held it over her crying servant, Domini-

⁴⁰ SCHMID (1940:54 sq.); BRILIOTH (1941:78 sqq.); KLOCKARS (1966:47 sq., 199 sqq.); ROSSING (1986:163 sq.).

⁴¹ For him, EKSTRÖM (1939:58–73).

cus.⁴² In Birgitta's revelation, though, the Virgin Mary promises Dominicus in his last hour to protect all faithful adherents of his Rule under her mantle (§12).

III 20–22 are about St. Benedict and the Benedictines.⁴³ In III 21, Birgitta tells us about the holy Benedict, who through the fire burning inside him sets fire to many others.⁴⁴ Now, however, many of the new fires have lost their warmth. She then explicitly demands a reformation of the order (§21 *Itaque cum talibus scintillis religio beati Benedicti renouari debet, que modo multis videtur desolata et abiecta*).⁴⁵ In III 22, a *monk* is castigated. In the *Decl.* he is described as a very worldly *abbot*, who did not care about souls (§6 *Hic fuit abbas nimis secularis nil curans de animabus*). LUNDÉN (1957:324) identifies this monk as Abbot Arnold of Farfa.⁴⁶ We know from *A&P* (491) that Birgitta did visit Abbot Arnold after her arrival in Rome. According to *Vita Katerinae filiae Birgittae*, written by Confessor General Ulpho Birgeri (d. 1433),⁴⁷ this happened in the same year that Katarina arrived in Rome. She says herself (*A&P* 323) that she came to Rome *anno jubeley*, i.e., 1350 (see p. 29).⁴⁸ However, I do not think that Abbot Arnold is really the one intended here, since the description of the *abbot* in *A&P* and the *monk* in III 22 is not the same, although both of them are compared to a harlot.

Revelations III 23–26 and 28–29 were probably all received in Italy. In III 23, God interprets and explains the Trinity to Birgitta. III 24 is the answer by Christ regarding Birgitta's prayer for the unfaithful ones (*infideles*).⁴⁹ In III 25, Virgin

⁴² Qui (sc. Dominicus) cum staret coram Domino, interrogavit eum dicens. Cur sic amarissime ploras? Qui ait: Quia in conspectu gloriae omnis Religionis homines intueor; de mei vero Ordinis filiis hic, proh dolor, nullum conspicio. Cui Dominus: Vis videre Ordinem tuum? At ille: Hoc desidero, Domine Deus. Tunc Filius Dei manum suam super scapulam Virginis, matris suae, ponens dixit ad illum: Ordinem tuum Matri meae commisi. Et cum adhuc pio adhaereret affectu, Ordinem suum videre desiderans, Dominus iterum dixit ei: Omnino vis eum videre? Respondit: Hoc affecto, mi Domine. Et ecce Mater virgo, dum placuit Filio, cappam, qua decorata cernebatur, evidenter patefaciens aperuit, expandens coram lacrymoso Dominico servo suo; eratque hoc tantae capacitatis & immensitatis vestimentum, quod totam celestem patriam amplectendo dulciter continebat (583:115). See CORNELL (1918).

⁴³ KLOCKARS (1966:192 sqq.); ROELVINK (1993:102).

⁴⁴ St. Benedict (d. 543) was of vital importance to Birgitta. She read his Rule or had it read to her during the time in Alvastra monastery, since the Benedictine Rule was used by the Cistercians. In Alvastra Birgitta could also listen to the *Dialogi* of St. Gregory, which contain Benedict's vita (*A&P* 535 *quadam die domina Brigida fecerat legi ante se dialogum Gregorij*). KLOCKARS (1966:184).

⁴⁵ Cf. Rev. VI 8:45; SCHMID (1940:56 sqq.); KLOCKARS (1966:170,177 sq.,185 sqq.); ROSSI (1993:53 sq.).

⁴⁶ KLOCKARS (1966:47) says that this monastery is wrongly placed *near* Bologna in the *Vita Katerinae*. Therefore, it cannot be ruled out that the original MS. talked about Farfa *and* Bologna. Rev. III 17 to St. Dominicus could then have been received in Bologna, where he is buried. KLOCKARS further suggests that consequently Rev. III 18 might have been written in Pavia, since this city is the burial place of St. Augustine and he is also praised in this revelation (§8 sq.). The visit to his grave is mentioned in *A&P* 14.

⁴⁷ Edited by C. ANNERSTEDT (*Scriptores rerum Svecicarum medii aevi*. III:2, 244–263). The vita was written in 1426 or the following year. JÖNSSON (1988:125 with n. 226).

⁴⁸ JÖNSSON (1988: 125 sq. with n. 227).

⁴⁹ See Excursus A, pp. 223 sqq.

Mary complains that Christ, the most innocent lamb, is despised by his own creatures.

III 26 in particular is remarkable, because Birgitta here discusses the difficult theological question whether Jews and pagans⁵⁰ could be worthy of salvation.⁵¹ She also introduces three forms of baptism, i.e., of water, blood and complete will (§19: *alius est baptismus aque, alius sanguinis, alius perfecte voluntatis*).

There is one revelation which may have been given to Birgitta shortly after her arrival in Italy. In III 27:1, Birgitta, having experienced Rome *corporaliter*, gives us her impressions of the eternal city.⁵² In this revelation, there is also an explanation of her *milicia Christianitatis* (§16), the Christian knighthood, and a comparison between the monk and the knight (§14 sqq.).⁵³

In III 28, Virgin Mary talks about four cities in which there are three different kinds of imperfect love, viz. §4 *dileccio inordinata*, §6 *dileccio imperfecta*, §7 *dileccio omnis malicie et immundicie, omnis inuidie et obduracionis* contrasted to the perfect love §11 *dileccio perfecta et caritas ordinata, qua nichil desideratur nisi Deus et propter Deum*.

Rev. III 29 contains a comparison between Birgitta and the Virgin Mary. Mary is the temple of Solomon, whose walls were gilded, whose roof was luminous, whose floor was covered with precious stones, whose whole composition was brilliant, whose whole interior was sweet-smelling and wonderful to look at (§1 *Maria, ... templum Salomonis, cuius parietes fuerunt deaurate, cuius tectum prefulgens, cuius pavementum preciosissimis instructum lapidibus, cuius compositio tota refulgens, cuius interiora omnia redolencia et delectabilia ad intuendum*). Birgitta, however, describes herself as being very different: my temple is totally the opposite of thine, because it is dark with vices, soiled with luxury, destroyed by the worms of desire, unstable through pride and ramshackle through worldly vanity (§11 *templum meum contrarium omnino tuo est. Est enim tenebrosum viciis, lutosum ex luxuria, corruptum ex cupiditatis vermibus, instabile ex superbia, labile ex vanitate mundanorum*).

In Rev. III 30, St. Agnes, patron saint of Rome and ordered by God to take special care of Birgitta and teach her Latin,⁵⁴ tells us about Birgitta's grammar lessons. Furthermore, St. Agnes praises the Virgin Mary, who says that the evilness of bad people must not sadden the good people.

⁵⁰ Cf. KLOCKARS (1971:112), who says that by 'pagans' Birgitta could mean the orthodox Christians in the country of Novgorod and the Saracenes. I see, however, no argument for this theory.

⁵¹ See Excursus A, pp. 225–227. Parts of III 26 together with passages from VII:30; II:7;8;13 and certain phrases by Alfonso constitute VIII 1; KLOCKARS (1966:32 n. 10). Cf. the OS texts, where the passage (26:1) *Filius ... (26:6) equale* is replaced by a reference to Rev. VIII (*Leta först j konunga bokinne, BU 1 379*).

⁵² In this revelation the Latin text differs from the OS, see Excursus A, pp. 227–233.

⁵³ Cf. Rev. II 11–13. The usage of military terminology in referring to the Christian struggles on earth was common among early Christian writers. See, e.g., von HARNACK (1905:1 sqq.).

⁵⁴ *Process Vita* 95; A&P 456,545; *Pa-Vita* 633.

Rev. III 31 is addressed to a worldly leader, a king who did not rule but was ruled, because he was so chicken-hearted. Sitting on his throne he looked like a crowned ass (§1). Birgitta here may have intended King Magnus Eriksson, who was referred to in III 12:27 as *regem captum*. But this is of course a mere speculation on my part.

Rev. III 32 makes a contribution to the question of whether the Virgin Mary may be considered sort of a redeemer together with Christ and an intermediary of grace (§2 *per me homines reducerentur ad portum celi*).⁵⁵

Rev. III 33 deals with two men. The one is like a block of stone (§1 *lapis quadratus*). The other is a Jerusalem pilgrim. Neither, though, could live up to the expectations of Birgitta. The former cannot be identified.⁵⁶ The latter is both a monk and a priest. Christ says to Birgitta that she should know the true state of this man, whom rumour had it was righteous and holy, and that this man furthermore was of *priestly* dignity (III 33:2 sq. *Hoc ideo factum est, ut quem fama iustum et sanctum dixerat, sciretis statum suum. Nam ipse est religiosus habitu et professione monachus sed moribus apostata, dignitate sacerdos sed seruus peccati, peregrinus fama sed intencione girouagus, Iherosolimitanus opinione sed magis Babilonicus.*). This man says himself that he is the future Pope intending to restore everything. Also his books bear witness to this (§4 *se credit et dicit pontificem futurum, qui restituuet omnia, cuius et libri hec testantur*). This revelation has been compared to Rev. VI 67⁵⁷ and VI 68. STEFFEN (1909:115 sq.) identified the *frater* in VI 67:11 as the Czech Johannes Militsch (1325–1374), the Vice Chancellor of Emperor Charles V. Militsch came to Rome to reform the Church and give advice to Pope Urban V. He also predicted the coming of antichrist and the end of the world to 1367.⁵⁸ That there should be a connection between VI 68 and III 33, VI 68 has been doubted by KLOCKARS (1966:158–160), who says that Militsch was a priest and member of the cathedral chapter and not a *frater*. Thus even if Rev. VI 67 is about Militsch,

⁵⁵ See Rev. I 35:50. BØRRESEN (1991:38 sqq.).

⁵⁶ Birgitta comes back to him in IV 125:13 (*est quasi Thomas pie dubitans et quasi lapis politus et quadratus*) and IV 125 Add. §33 (*Quintum animal fuit sicut lapis quadratus, homo in omnibus temperatus et discretus. De quo require III libro capitulo XXXIII*).

⁵⁷ Cf. especially VI 67:11 *Sed tempus istius Antichristi non erit, sicut frater ille, cuius libros vidisti, descripsit, sed in tempore michi cognito, quando iniquitas vltra modum habundauerit et impietas excreuerit in immensum. VI 68:3 Audi igitur libros, quos habet, et inuenies in eis ambitionem et propriam laudem. Nam legisti in libris suis, quod Petrus et Paulus dixerunt eum dignum summo sacerdocio et quod fieret simul papa et imperator* (§4) et quod, quando fuit necessitatus, inuenit ad caput suum quosdam denarios aureos et quamdam monetam incognitam, et quod Michael archangelus apparuit ei in corpore cuiusdam mercatoris et quomodo ipse congregauerat omnes precedencium prophecias. (§5) *Ideo scito, quod omnia ista sunt a dyabolo, qui illudit eum. Propterea dic ei, quod nec papa nec cesar fiet, ymmo, nisi cito redierit ad monasterium suum et steterit sicut monachus humilis, morietur infra breuissimum tempus sicut apostata, indignus communione sanctorum et consorcio monachorum.*”

⁵⁸ In 1363, he started to preach in Rome but was imprisoned. He wrote a work about antichrist, *Libellus de Antichristo*. When the Pope arrived in Rome, he was released and returned to Prague.

she is of the opinion that another person is intended in III 33 and VI 68, because Militsch in spite of his strange prophecies must be considered an honourable man. It seems likely that KLOCKARS is right.

Finally in Rev. III 34, Virgin Mary advocates purging and continence, so that the words of God can be spread.

2 The Manuscripts and Their Mutual Relationship

The first in the series of modern, critical Latin editions of Birgitta's revelations goes back to 1956 with L. HOLLMAN's edition of the *Reuelaciones extrauagantes*. The transmission of the text of the *Reuelaciones* has been investigated and elucidated upon by several scholars. Rev. I (with a detailed outline of the textual history) has been edited by C.-G. UNDHAGEN, Rev. IV by H. AILI and Revs. V–VII by B. BERGH, who was the first in the field with his edition of Rev. VII in 1967. Editions of the remaining two books, Revs. II and VIII, are being prepared by BERGH (after the death of UNDHAGEN) and AILI, respectively.⁵⁹

There are about eighty extant MSS. of Birgitta's revelations. The selections of MSS. which were used for this edition of Rev. III are based on the earlier investigations by BERGH, UNDHAGEN and AILI for their respective editions. To these MSS. has been added **T^b**. The MSS. collated (see the Chapter 1.1) and the *editio princeps* (**Gh**)⁶⁰ of 1492 were found to fall into two hyparchetypes, β and π respectively, the former with two subgroups and the latter with three.

It should be noted that the *stemma codicum* is different in the various revelation books. MS. **T^b** is collated for the first time here, because of its exceptional role for the text of the π hyparchetype. Furthermore, **P** is a contaminated manuscript for Rev. III just as for Rev. VI. **K** was transferred to the γ subgroup from the σ subgroup (as in Revs. I[= δ], V–VII, cf. Rev. IV).

2.1 The Previously Known Manuscripts: β – π

The most striking difference between the β and π hyparchetypes is that the MSS. of the former hyparchetype do not have the *Adds.* and *Decls.*, which were not part of the original revelation text (see pp. 23, 26, 29, 57–59). The revelation text itself is handed down in a very uniform way in all the collated MSS. All of them are close to the archetype. In the revelation text itself there are only some thirty passages, where (**P**) **Y V B O A^b** = β have one reading and **K u x v q F Gh** = π another. Most of them are just changes in word order or trivial variant readings, where it is

⁵⁹ When citing these two books, I used the preliminary editions on which the Birgitta concordance (see my Bibliography) was based.

⁶⁰ UNDHAGEN (1978:1–4 and *passim*); AILI (1992:31). In Rev. III, I discovered some 200 cases where **Gh** differs from the text established by me.

impossible on linguistic or contextual grounds to state which is the original reading of the archetype. These small changes are of course not surprising in view of the fact that the π redaction is a supplemented edition while β is not. Fortunately, in the majority of cases the variations are such that they do not affect the translation of the text.⁶¹

The dependency on a common source for MSS. of the β hyparchetype can best be demonstrated by the following three cases, where there are clear conjunctive errors in β as opposed to π :

19:12 sq. *Nam Deus usque ad ultimum punctum suffert hominem et expectat, si forte homo peccator voluntatem suam omnem, quam habet liberam, mouere voluerit ab affectu peccati, (13) sed quia voluntas non corrigitur, ideo anima fine infinito constringitur, quia dyabolus sciens, quod unusquisque secundum conscienciam et voluntatem iudicabitur, laborat maxime in fine, ut anima ludificetur et **euertatur** (**K u v q** σ reuertatur β_1 non reuertatur β_2 euitatur **x**) **ab** ($\beta_1 \gamma \sigma$ ad β_2) **intencionis rectitudine** (**P V** $\gamma \sigma$ rectitudinem **Y** β_2), quod et fieri permittit Deus, quia anima, cum deberet, renuit vigilare.⁶²*

The aim of the devil is of course to lead people away from the intention of doing the right thing. The β hyparchetype had the misreading *reuertatur*, which was retained in β_1 but ‘amended’ in β_2 to *non reuertatur ad intencionis rectitudinem*, which gives it the right sense.⁶³

30:1 *Beata Agnes loquitur sponse dicens: “Filia, dilige Matrem misericordie. Ipsa enim similis est flori siue cirpo, cuius figura consimilis est gladio. Qui quidem flos habet duas extremitates acutissimas et cuspidem gracilem. **Altitudine** (**K u x v q**² σ altitudinem β **T^b** [?] **q**¹) **vero et latitudine** ($\gamma \sigma$ latitudinem β **T^b**) *super alios flores se extendit ...*”*

The ablative forms of the π hyparchetype (except for **T^b**) give the only possible reading: ‘It (i.e., the flower) extends through its length and breadth above other flowers.’ Thus a parallel is also created to the ablatives in §2 (quia benedicta regina celi super omnem creaturam *excedit dignitate et potestate*).⁶⁴ It is hard to see the meaning of the β and **T^b** (?) reading: ‘It extends through itself (*se*) its length and breadth above other flowers.’ However, the erroneous accusatives might be explained as an influence from the other following accusatives: (§2) Hic flos super omnia habuit *altitudinem* and (§4) Habuit ... Maria *latitudinem* excedentem. Cf. also I 51:2 sq. (Filius respondit: “Mater mea, tu es similis flori, qui creuit in una

⁶¹ Some examples can be quoted: 1:1 saluare β et saluare π (see p. 63); 1:4 illam viam β viam illam π ; 1:17 quam β quam ad π ; 1:19 ne β nec π ; 2:9 quietem β requiem π and 5:4 eorum β illorum π .

⁶² This passage is omitted in **T^b**.

⁶³ This reading is also recorded in BU I 365:22 ‘ok wändas af rätte’ (‘and is averted from the right thing’).

⁶⁴ This is also the interpretation of the OS.

valle. Vallis autem excreuit cum flore suo super istos quinque montes et folia floribus dilatauerunt se super omnem altitudinem celi et super omnes choros angelorum ...”).

8:17 *Verum ego tria a magistro quesui. Quem (T^b K u q σ quam P ad que O que Y V B A^b x v) michi bene respondisse probarem, si in verbis suis fuisset veritas. Que quia in eis non erat, ideo de aliis tribus ipsum precaueo.*

The reading *Quem* is supported by the fact that this is the reading of the original document, the *LM*. See Excursus B, p. 240.

There is another example, which, though it is not equally clear, seems to indicate a β error:

5(R) *Verba Ambrosii ad sponsam de prece bonorum pro populo, et quomodo per gubernatores (P π gubernatorem Y V β₂) domini seculares et Ecclesie et per procellas superbia et cetera, et per portum introitus veritatis designantur, et de uocatione sponse in spiritum.*

The s. form *gubernatorem* is likely to be wrong considering the corresponding pl. form *domini* (‘and how with *governors* the worldly rulers and those of the Church ... are designated’). The pl. form is also found in §§1,3 and 4. Thus it might be presumed that it is MSS. P π, which handed down to us the reading of the archetype (see p. 47).

There are the following three cases of π errors:

7:4 sq: *Non sic dispositus fuit ille bonus Ambrosius episcopus. Eius denique cor plenum fuit diuina uoluntate, eius cibus et sompnus racionabilis. Qui exsufflans peccati uoluntatem (β uoluptatem π) tempus suum consumpsit utiliter et honeste. (5) Incendit frigidus diuina caritate bonorum operum suorum exemplo. Feruentes quoque uoluntate peccati (β uoluptate peccati T^b K q σ peccati uoluptate u x v) refriguerunt ex eius munda uita.*

19:11 *Et sic irretita anima per consuetudinem delectacionis inordinate non correxit nec conpescuit uoluntatem (β uoluptatem γ σ) peccati, donec iudicium erat in foribus et ultimus punctus appropinquabat.*

The choice between *uoluntas/uoluptas* is a difficult matter. In III 19:6 we find *fer pacienter et conare contra eas uoluntate* and III 24:11 *illi, qui preponunt Deo uoluntatem suam*.⁶⁵ The discussion is about the will of man. The argumentation is elaborated on in 19:12. Here it is said that God is patient with man until the last moment in order to see whether he wants to exercise his free will to refrain from

⁶⁵ Cf. III 24:19 *qui animam suam scandalizantes non curant, si eternaliter pereant, dummodo perficere possint uoluntatem suam*. The stemma is divided here, though, see my Chapter 4 ‘Textual Criticism’.

sin (*Nam Deus usque ad ultimum punctum suffert hominem et expectat, si forte homo peccator voluntatem suam omnem, quam habet liberam, mouere voluerit ab affectu peccati.*).⁶⁶ The phrase *voluntas peccandi* is well recorded in the revelation corpus, whereas there is no instance of *voluptas peccandi*. This is an important fact. One could also compare 26:7, where *propriam voluntatem* is contrasted to *meam* (sc. *voluntatem Christi*).⁶⁷ Thence *voluntatem* and *voluntate* of the β tradition undoubtedly give the best reading. The meaning is then that a depraved man chooses to sin. See also the discussion regarding III 6:6 in my Chapter 4 ‘Textual Criticism’.

Another two examples, which seem to show the division between β and π , are 1:14 *correpcionem/correccionem* (β error) and 19(R) *timoris/timore* (π error).

1:14 *Et ex habitu discernatur episcopalis auctoritas ad **correpcionem** (π correccionem β) et informacionem aliorum.*

The reading *correccionem* is handed down in the β hyparchetype but *correpcionem* in π . However, there are some parallel passages that corroborate the π reading: Rev. IV 126:57 (*nec curo, utrum indumentum tuum melius sit an vilius, nisi tantum ut propter honorem Dei episcopalis agnoscatur habitus et in habitu discernatur ab aliis episcopalis auctoritas ad correpcionem et informacionem infirmorum*), Rev. V int. 9:22 (*ad informacionem et correpcionem*)⁶⁸ and finally *correpcionem* is the word used by Alfonso in *ES* I:4 (*que nunc vobis scribit precepto celestis imperatoris altissimi presentem librum infrascriptum, ei diuinitus reuelatum, quasi quoddam preclarum speculum ad ornamentum regale et correpcionem morum vestrum*).⁶⁹

19(R) *Responsio sponse ad Christum, qualiter diuersis cogitacionibus et inutilibus afficitur ..., et responsio Christi ad sponsam ... de magna utilitate cogitacionum cum detestacione et **timoris** (β **q** timore **K u x v** σ) cum discrecione ad coronam habita ...*

The stemma is divided. The reading of the β hyparchetype *timoris cum discrecione* in the rubric might seem a bit obscure at first sight. Birgitta is talking here about how she is visited by various useless thoughts. In his answer Christ says that

⁶⁶ Cf. the OS, Excursus A, pp. 223–225.

⁶⁷ Rev. I 1:5 (Diligit [sc. homo] *voluntatem propriam* et me audire contempnit.); 1:6 (homo, *libero arbitrio datus*, voluntarie mandatis meis contemptis consentit diabolo, ideo iustum est, ut homo tyrannidem eius experiatur.); 1:11 (Prepone eciam *voluntatem meam* [sc. Christi] *voluntati tue* ...).

⁶⁸ Cf. Iudith 11,5: *vivit enim Nabuchodonosor rex terrae et vivit virtus eius, quae est in te ad correptionem omnium animarum errantium*. In *Versio Vulgata* *correctio* is used twice only. *Correptio* is also one of the words which Peregrinus discusses with Theodora in *Speculum Virginum* (145:10-11) *Correpcio* är mz hwilko infödda willan ällir giordh mz wananom, fortakx mz skälinna twangh. The work was known to Birgitta, HIDAL (1993:97); SAHLIN (1993b:113); KLOCKARS (1993:300).

⁶⁹ Cf. BERGH (1967:102) *corripiant/corrigant* and Rev. III Proem. 2, which goes back to Rev. VI 53:3 (*ad subditorum correccionem*).

these thoughts are very useful, because if they are repudiated and the *wisdom that comes from fear* is well applied, they will lead to the (eternal) crown. There is support for this interpretation in the following textpassage, where it is strongly emphasized that God should be feared with wisdom and that fear of God is a kind of gateway to heaven: (§2) *time cum discrecione*, (§6) *time racionabiliter* and (§7) *Time eciam quamuis cogitacionibus non consentis, ne forte propter superbiam cadas ... Ideo timor introductorium quoddam est in celum.*

2.2 The β Hyparchetype: $\beta_1 - \beta_2$

The β hyparchetype contains two subgroups (**P**) **Y V** = β_1 and **B O A^b** = β_2 , respectively.

There are no conjunctive errors in β_1 . There are, however, cases, where β_1 has one reading against the other MSS., e.g.:

3:4 erat₁₋₂] erit β_2 . Si episcopus attendere velit, quomodo accepit potestatem, attendat primo si desideravit episcopatum propter se vel an propter Deum; si autem propter se, tunc sine dubio desiderium suum *erat* carnale; si vero propter Deum, id est ad honorem faciendum Deo, tunc desiderium suum *erat* meritorium et spirituale.

4:13 Multi quoque demones sequebantur canonicum cupientes inuenire in eo aliquid mortiferum, quia de episcopo sic erant certi sicut cete, *qui* (**B A^b π** [exc. **F**] om. β_1 que **O** quod *post alt.* **F**) inter procellas seruat catulos suos viuos in ventre suo.

The β_1 MSS. are the only ones to omit the relative pronoun, which is of course not necessary for the reading.

21:6 Deum] dominum β_1

26:16 hii habebunt cum minus malis Christianis iudicium misericordie in suppliciis propter dileccionem iusticie et odium peccati, sed *non habebunt* (β_2 π [*post corr.* **T^b**] *dissimilem* β_1) consolacionem in seruicione glorie et visionis Dei ...

The reading *non habebunt* can be argued to be the correct one on the basis of the correspondence to the previous *habebunt*.

Another example shows the vacillation between the conjunctions *quod/ut* 12:15 nisi quod] nisi ut β_2 .

2.2.1 (**P**) **Y V** (β_1)

MS. **Y** once belonged to the monastery of St. Girolamo di Quarto, where Alfonso spent his last years.⁷⁰ In Rev. III, the affinity between **V** and **Y** is close, which is obvious from some fifteen cases.⁷¹ There are two conjunctive errors:

⁷⁰ JÖNSSON (1989:81 sq.); BERGH (1991a:16).

⁷¹ E.g., 4:22 sustentacionem] sustentacionem laudabilem et **Y V**; 6:7 ipsa] ea **Y V**; 27:5 veram] rectam **Y V**.

11:10 vestes (sc. *ordines*)] vestem **Y V**.

18:12 inquiens] inquiete **Y V**⁷²

BERGH has pointed out the discrepancy regarding MS. **P**. In Revs. I, IV, V, **P** belongs to the β hyparchetype, but in Rev. VII to π .⁷³ Finally, in Rev. VI, it is a contaminated MS. and varies between the two hyparchetypes.⁷⁴ This variation is also apparent in Rev. III. I found some thirty cases where **P** corresponds to the β hyparchetype, and another thirty where it follows the π reading. However, most of these are mere transpositions of words. According to my general principles, I here preferred the β reading except for 8:7, where the **P** π reading *intelligere valeam* (*valeam intelligere Y V* β_2) is supported by the *LM* (see below, p. 240).

There are nine cases, though, where a reading different from the β MSS. is given by **P**. Here I chose the β reading six times: 2:19 eterna β (= **Y V** β_2) sempiterna **P** π ; 4:12 vero β *om.* **P** π ; 8:9 magis videtur **Y V** β_2 videtur magis **P** π ; 11:13 immittere β (see the Chapter 4 'Textual Criticism') mittere **P** π ; 18:24 Deum β eum **P** π (*exc.* **T^b**)⁷⁵ and 29:1 refulgens β effulgens **P** π .

In the other three cases **P** π seem to give us the reading of the archetype: 5(R) gubernatorem β (= **Y V** β_2) gubernatores **P** π ; 12(R) Christi **Y V** β_2 v Christo **P** π (*exc.* v **F**) and 27:11 proximo **Y V** β_2 primo **P** π (see the Chapter 4 'Textual Criticism' and app. crit. to 27:11).

Furthermore, if we exclude the examples where *vero* is placed as the third word (see below, p. 64), there are three cases of transpositions, where **P** π can be argued to be right as opposed to β . In these cases I supported my choice on Rev. IV (126:51 and 126:93, respectively), with which the passages of Rev. III coincide: 1:10 passionis Christi amaritudinem β (= **Y V** β_2) amaritudinem passionis Christi **P** π ; 1:10 Christi humanitatis β humanitatis Christi **P** π ; 2:12 tibi assumis β assumis tibi **P** π .

One reading binds **P** to the β_2 subgroup: i.e., 4:16, where **P** β_2 have the contextually impossible *seuientem* and **Y V** π *seruientem*. Interestingly enough, there are also both errors and textual variants which bind together **P** and **T^b** of the π hyparchetype (see below, p. 52 sq.).

The examples discussed show the emanation of MSS. **Y** and **V** from a common source. Regarding **P** versus **Y** or **V**, no such relationship can be proved in Rev. III. NORDENFALK (1961:378) states that the initials of **P** and **Y** are so close both in matters of composition and execution that they clearly have a common origin. UNDHAGEN (1978:169 sq.) found in his investigation of Rev. I and *Prol. Math.* that the common source of **P** and **Y**¹ can have been the direct original of **Y**¹, but it

⁷² Cf. also 10:13 ante] autem **Y V**, where an error is easily made on paleographical grounds, though.

⁷³ 1971:54 sqq. and 1967:59 sq., respectively.

⁷⁴ 1991a:14 sq.

⁷⁵ The passage is omitted.

was most probably only indirectly a source of **P**. The direct original of **P**, he says, would seem to have been a manuscript, now lost, to which had been added *Regula Saluatoris* and a *Birgitta Vita*.⁷⁶

2.2.2 **B O A^b** (β_2)

It is not possible to say anything about the affinity between the MSS. **B O A^b**, since they all have individual errors due to the wish of the scribes to correct the text. There is only one error to be singled out, since it was not made independently:

30:16 Sic β_1 π sed β_2 .

As variants can be cited: 4:22 *familiam suam* β_2 *familiam* β_1 π ; 4:23 *Deo placuisset* β_2 *placuisse* β_1 π ; 11:15 *calcat et tangit* β_2 *tangit et calcat* β_1 π ; 30:3 *eci-am* β_2 *et* β_1 π .

2.3 The π Hyparchetype

2.3.1 The Recently Rediscovered **T^b** Manuscript

Background

T^b is a manuscript not unknown to previous editors. It had been described by SAWICKA (see above, p. 22), but was considered lost during World War II. However, on September 6, 1939, twenty-two of the most precious manuscripts of the Polish National Library, Biblioteka Narodowa in Warsaw, had been sent via Bukarest to Paris. In November they were deposited in the Polish Library at Quai d'Orleans. When the Germans threatened to reach Paris, the manuscripts were sent on to Canada, where they were deposited in a bank in Quebec. It was not until February 1959 that they were returned to Poland.⁷⁷ In 1960, **T^b** was first rediscovered by TORE NYBERG. Unfortunately, the discovery did not come to the knowledge of the editors of Birgitta's revelations. In 1993, **T^b** was rediscovered a second time by HÅKAN HALLBERG, Uppsala University Library. He was the first to point out then that a microfilm of the *Reuelaciones*, sent to Uppsala from Biblioteka Narodowa, was identical with the manuscript described by SAWICKA. MS. **T^b** immediately caused a heated debate between LINDGREN (1993b, 1994), AILI-SVANBERG (1994) and NYBERG (1994).

⁷⁶ See also BERGH (1971: 54 sqq., 1991a: 15 sqq.).

⁷⁷ AILI-SVANBERG (1994:28 sq.).

Description

MS. **T^b** contains the same texts as Alfonso's so-called *first redaction* of the revelations. This redaction comprised *Prol. Math.* and Revs. I–VII.⁷⁸ A copy of this redaction was given to Matheus de Cracovia, member of the second examining commission.⁷⁹ AILI believes MS. **T^b** actually to represent this first redaction, a copy of which should have been given to Matheus de Cracovia in 1379, the same year as the second canonization commission was appointed by Pope Urban VI. Matheus then carried his copy to Prague.⁸⁰ Having completed his own redaction of the revelations, the so-called Prague redaction,⁸¹ he handed the copy over to the Cathedral of Cracow. If AILI is right, **T^b** would indeed hold a unique position among the MSS.

The Position of **T^b** in the Stemmas of Revs. I, III–VI

It can first be noted that **T^b** does not have the *Adds.* or *Decls.* of the π recension. Having made this observation, I used earlier editors' results and compared the conjunctive errors, which they have considered reliable for their classifications of the MSS. into two hyparchetypes. I started with Revs. V–VII and came to the following results:

β	π T^b
V 8:14 in oculo	oculo
V int. 10:14 Hoc igitur vinum	Hoc igitur vinum quod
V 12:6 inferiora	interiora
V 12:13 infigit	infigit
V int. 12:19 corporali	corporalis
VI 9:8 in ore β T^{b1}	ore π T^{b2}
VI 15:1 vellet enim	enim vellet
VI 22:13 se	corde suo
VI 35:41 ego autem	autem ego
VII 7:7 penitentibus	petentibus
VII 13:59 aperietur cum perseuerancia	cum perseuerancia aperietur
VII 13:61 consequeretur	sequeretur
VII 14(R) fuit	intrauit
VII 15:32 liuidum. Quem ... plorantes	liuidum
VII 21:11 nitidissime	mundissime
VII 27(R) archiepiscopi Neopolitani	Bernardi archiepiscopi
VII 30:3 celesti	celestis

⁷⁸ See above, p. 28.

⁷⁹ See above, p. 23.

⁸⁰ AILI-SVANBERG, *Imagines Sanctae Birgittae*.

⁸¹ UNDHAGEN (1978:31–33).

The result is thus surprisingly clear. Regarding all conjunctive errors in V–VII, T^b corresponds to the π branch (except VI 9:8, where T^{b1} corresponds to β but T^{b2} to π).

I then went on with Revs. I, III and IV:

Rev. I: In Rev. I, T^b corresponds to π three times and to β once:

Prol. Math. 30 et fideliter β fideliterque π T^b ; I 1 37:1 inueniri β reperiri π T^b ; I 47:23 **admouetur** β T^b **apponeretur** π ; I 59:36 toto corde β T^{b1} toto corde, quod π T^{b2} .

Furthermore, T^b was found to be corrected from other MSS. both of the β and π recension, e.g., in I 59:36, where T^{b1} has the same reading as the β subgroup, whereas T^{b2} has that of the π branch.

Rev. III: Regarding the three conjunctive β errors stated for Rev. III (see above, the Chapter 2.1), the text of T^b is unfortunately lost once (19:13), corresponds to β once (30:1) and in the third case to π (8:17). In the other cases discussed 1:14, 5(R), 7:4 sq. T^b corresponds to π .⁸² T^b as a π manuscript in Rev. III is further corroborated by the following cases: 1:1 saluare β et saluare π T^b ; 4:19 elegit β_1 **B O** elegit A^b π T^b ; 5:1 lucrum Y^2 V π T^b lucrum temporale $P Y^1$ β_2 ; 6:6 voluntatis $P Y^1$ V β_2 T^{b1} voluptatis Y^2 T^{b2} γ σ ; 11:13 immittere $Y V$ β_2 mittere P π T^b ; 12(R) Christi $Y V$ β_2 v Christo $P T^b K u x q Gh$; 12:11 scilicet velle β velle scilicet π T^b ; 13:3 ad muros β muros π T^b ; 24:19 voluntatem β voluptatem π T^b ; 27:15 voluntatem $P Y^1$ V β_2 u voluptatem Y^2 $T^b K x v q \sigma$. Some 140 additions in the margin and another 60 above the line (by the same hand) undoubtedly bear witness to a revision of T^b . There are some twenty examples where T^{b2}/T^{b1} and $u x v$ have the same variant reading: e.g.: 5:5 se_2 *supra lin.* T^b *om.* $u x v$; 8:11 *de supra lin.* T^b *om.* $u x v$; 10:3 *ista sequencia in marg.* T^b *om.* $u x v$; 10:5 *in deberent corr.* T^b *deberent* $u x v$; 10:13 *deberent,* $] tenerentur$ T^{b1} $u x v$; 11:1 *mi supra lin.* T^b *om.* $u x v$; 12:12 *stetit]* *steterat* T^{b1} $u x v$; 12:20 *et,* $supra lin.$ T^b *om.* $u x v$ and 13:29 *lancee in marg.* T^b *om.* $u x v$. Since such is the case, it follows that T^{b1} $u x v$ go back to a common source and that T^{b2} consequently is a revised text.

Rev. IV: In Rev. IV, T^b corresponds to the π group four times (and to β twice):

IV 7:10 confessa β (**P V Y B O A^b Gh**) facta confessa π (**K u x F q**) facta T^b ; 22:4 deus factus est diues egenus β deus diues factus est egenus π T^b ; 37:3 **relinquentur** $P V$ β_2 T^b **relinquetur** Y **relinquuntur** π ; 68:6 paciencia β pacencie π (**K u x q Gh**) T^b ; 80:6 **solucione** $V Y$ β_2 T^b **lucione** P **solucionem** π ; 85:3 defendit β defendet π T^b .

The Errors of the Subgroups in the Stemmas

In my investigation of the errors of the subgroups of the previous stemmas I found that T^b does not share the errors common to the γ and $\sigma(\delta)$ subgroup, respectively, with some exceptions.

⁸² 19(R), 11 are omitted in T^b .

In Rev. I, **T^{b1}** shares the reading of δ both times and γ once:

γ	$\beta \delta \mathbf{T}^b$
I 1:4 quemadmodum	tamquam
I 5:9,18 ad preces	propter preces
I 14:2 fieri aliquid	fieri
I 14:3 minutissimum	nouissimum
I 16:4 omnes dyabolos	dyabolum
I 16:5 intelligenciam	intencionem
I 21:2 <i>om.</i> $\gamma \mathbf{T}^{b1}$	in tantum ... quod $\beta \delta$ (<i>in marg.</i>) \mathbf{T}^{b2}
I 23:13 <i>om.</i>	quia ... bone exemplum
I 53:31 <i>om.</i>	et ... verba mea
δ	$\beta \gamma \mathbf{T}^b$
I 29:4 ille $\delta \mathbf{T}^{b1}$	ille diabolus $\beta \gamma$ (<i>in marg.</i>) \mathbf{T}^{b2}
I 37:5 deitas $\delta \mathbf{T}^{b1}$	dicas, quod $\beta \gamma$ (<i>quod in marg.</i>) \mathbf{T}^{b2}

For Rev. III, see above, p. 50.

In Rev. IV, **T^{b1}** shares once the reading of γ :

γ	$\beta \sigma \mathbf{T}^b$
IV 9:6 sequens consciencie sue affectum	sequens non consciencie sue stimulos set suum carnalem affectum $\beta \sigma$ (<i>in marg.</i>) \mathbf{T}^{b2}
IV 76:6 <i>om.</i> $\gamma \mathbf{T}^{b1}$	sequens non consciencie affectum \mathbf{T}^{b1}
IV 93:4 in terra	tales $\beta \sigma$ (<i>in marg.</i>) \mathbf{T}^{b2} in tantum
σ	$\beta \gamma \mathbf{T}^b$
IV 49:17 flectet	flectat
IV 106:2 <i>om.</i>	vulnera
IV 107:24 sanctorum F ante corr. q	amicorum

In Rev. V, **T^b** shares three times (out of 5) the reading of γ and twice the σ subgroup:

γ	$\beta \sigma \mathbf{T}^b$
V int. 5:3 corporalibus	corporibus
V int. 5:9 <i>om.</i> $\gamma \mathbf{T}^b$	se $\beta \sigma$
V int. 6:5 ad	et
V int. 9:5 <i>om.</i> $\gamma \mathbf{T}^b$	ita $\beta \sigma$
V int. 13 the arrang. of the quest. and. resp.: 1,4, 5,2,3,7, 6 $\gamma \mathbf{T}^b$	1,2,3,4,5,6,7 $\beta \sigma$
σ	$\beta \gamma \mathbf{T}^b$
V int. 10:30 calumpniarentur	calumpniarent
V int. 11:8 euolabunt	volabunt
V rev. 7:1 Filius	Filius Dei
V int. 15:44 disputassent	non disputassent
V int. 16:27 <i>om.</i> $\sigma \mathbf{T}^b$	hoc $\beta \gamma$

In Rev. VI, no errors were shared:

γ	β σ T ^b
VI 6(R) homo Dei	<i>om.</i>
VI 23(R) <i>om.</i>	Cui peccata
VI 42:7 <i>om.</i>	et castitate
σ	β γ T ^b
VI 5:8 <i>om.</i>	in
VI 4:3 loquetur	loquatur
VI 14:17 <i>om.</i>	te
VI 107:3 veniunt ibi	veniunt

In Rev. VII, T^b shares once the reading of σ:

γ	β σ T ^b
VII 5:17 quantumcumque	quantum
VII 12:26 habebatis	habebitis
VII 15:17 corpus	cor
σ	β γ T ^b
VII 4:R Neapoli (<i>exc.</i> F)	Neapolis/Neopolitana
VII 10:6 meo episcopo σ T ^b	episcopo meo β γ
VII 12:30 vasella argentea (<i>exc.</i> F)	vasellis argenteis
VII 13:3 emisit (<i>exc.</i> F)	emitteret

Having studied the text-critical chapters in the earlier revelation books about archetypal errors, I also could conclude that T^b once shared the supposed archetypal reading. Regarding Rev. V 13(R) *de virtute illorum quinque locorum sacrorum, que* (v qui *ceteri*) *sunt in Iherusalem et Bethleem ...* BERGH (1971:90 sq.) says that the reading of the archetype was obviously *locorum ... qui*, and that *qui* was an unintentional error for *que*. There are many cases of the plural form *loca* so that there is no reason to believe that this noun was not in the normal neuter in this place. However, in this particular case I found that T^b actually hands down *que*.

We can now summarize that MS. T^b does not have the *Adds.* or *Decls.* of the π recension. This means that T^b represents the missing link, i.e. *an earlier redaction of the π group, of which we have had no knowledge before*. Thus there is nothing that contradicts AILI's theories that T^b actually should represent the first Alfonsine redaction. In my stemma I therefore consider T^b to represent a subgroup of its own (see p. 82). This means that the π hyparchetype should be constructed from *three* subgroups and not *two*.

The Relationship between T^b and P Y in Rev. III

The relationship between T^b and P Y deserves some comment as well. LINDGREN (1993b, 1994) and AILI-SVANBERG (1994) have shown that there is an *artistic relationship* between T^b and P Y by observing the fact that these three MSS. have the same historiated initials regarding Revs. I–VII. Therefore, AILI

considers all three of them to be written in the same scriptorium in Naples. This could explain why the *Adds.* and *Decls.* are omitted in **T^b** just as in the β tradition. An investigation of the conjunctive errors and variant readings of **P Y** versus **T^b** in Rev. I showed that in eight cases out of 17, **T^b** (**T^{b2}** or **T^{b1}**) share the reading of **P Y**.⁸³

In Rev. III, there is one clear error shared by **P** and **T^b**:

12:1 Dei] deus **P T^b** (Tu vero, Fili *Dei*, adiuvā conantem.).

Cf. also 29:2 quo] qua **P T^b** (Denique per omnem modum similis tu templo Salomonis, in *quo* verus Salomon spaciabatur et sedit ...), where the difference, though, between the two vowels is often difficult to distinguish.⁸⁴

One could also note the following textual variants:

1:4 paratus ire *per* (*supra lin. Y in marg.* [?] **T^b om. P**) illam viam, *per* (*supra lin. Y T^b om. P*) quam ille iuit ...

4:15 responderet] respondere **P T^b** (episcopus nil iusticie haberet, quid *responderet* ad proposita ...).

13:10 confringeret] confringerent **P T^b q** (Et ideo dixi, quod confringeret [sc. episcopus] seras cum uno ictu.).

13:22 episcopus iste *in marg.* **T^b** (iste episcopus **Y B A^b**) *om. P*

14:8 de *supra lin.* **T^b om. P**

23(R) Dei *supra lin.* **T^b q om. P**

27:14 in comparatiuo et superlatiuo gradu] in comparatiuo et in superlatiuo gradu. **P T^b q**

32(R) Deus Pater] Deus **P A^b T^b**

2.3.2 $\gamma - \sigma$

Within the π branch it is MS. **K**, which should be scrutinized next. Regarding Revs. I and V–VII, UNDHAGEN (1978:228) and BERGH (1967:112, 1971:94, 1991a:58) found that **K** can be referred to a subgroup which they call δ and σ ,

⁸³ I 10:22 velamen **T^{b2}** velum **Y¹ P T^{b1}**; 26:6 quasi *in marg.* **T^{b2} om. Y¹ P T^{b1}**; 27:2 laborem et dolorem **T^b** dolorem et laborem **Y P**; 27:8 eciam **T^b** autem eciam **Y¹ P**; 31:11 et eciam] et **T^{b1}** eciam *in marg.* **T^{b2}** et eciam *om. Y¹ P*; 33:5 homo *supra lin.* **T^{b2} om. Y¹ P T^{b1}**; 33:9 quasi, **T^b** sicut **Y¹ (?) P**; 41:2 sum, **T^b om. Y¹ P**; 41:48 misericordia *supra lin.* **T^{b2} om. Y¹ P T^{b1}**; 42:2 Nam *supra lin.* **T^{b2} om. Y¹ P T^{b1}**; 45:3 Mens] Consciencia **Y¹ (?) P T^{b2}** (*post alt.*); 45:21 diceremus **T^{b1}** dicemus **Y P T^{b2}**; 47:25 voluntatem, **T^b** voluptatem **Y P** voluntatem,] voluptatem **Y P T^b**; 48:1 celi **T^b om. Y¹ P**; I 48:7 qui sunt in mundo **T^b om. Y¹ P**; 52:4 in, *supra lin.* **T^{b2} om. Y¹ P T^{b1}**; 59:5 curans **T^b** curando **Y¹ P**.

⁸⁴ Cf. 31:12 reuixit] reuiuiscit **P T^b** (alius transiit ad mortem; alius vero blandimento aeris refocillatus *reuixit.*). The present tense is odd considering the perfect form *transiit*. However, this may be due to the possibility that the original had *revisit* and *revixit* was pronounced as *revis(c)it*.

respectively. AILI (1992:38.) emphasizes that **K** should be brought to the γ subgroup in Rev. IV. In my material the relationship between **K u x v q** = γ and **F Gh** = σ can be seen in a number of readings.⁸⁵

2.3.3 γ (**K u x v q**)

In the γ subgroup **K** and **q** are united by two conjunctive errors:

2:16 caute] incaute **K q** (probably influence from the following *inclinato*)

28:16 puericie **K**² (*altera manus*, see p. 21) puricie **K**¹ **q**¹⁸⁶

In addition to this there are thirteen variant readings (or transpositions): e.g., 10:18 dimidiabitur] dimidietur **K q** and 14:16 suppletur] completur **K q**. There are close links between these two MSS. in Revs. I and VI as well.⁸⁷

Only one case can be found where **K** and **Gh** have the same reading where the others do not: 8:9 in primis] cum primis. The corrections in Rev. III made by a second scribe **K**² can be referred, though, to a MS. very close to **Gh**. In Rev. III 31, which was written in its entirety by this second hand, **Gh** and **K**² are the only two MSS. which share 27 diverging readings or transpositions. Only nine readings by **K**² are not the same as those of **Gh**.

The relationship between MSS. **u x v** can be asserted by the fact that they do not have III 10 *Add.* §§17–20, III 11 *Add.* §16 superbe – §20 discucientur, III 12 *Add.* §26 est₂ – §32 Romam and III 19 *Add.* §25 habuit – §31 viuebat (see below, p. 57). Furthermore, in III 32:1–3 these three MSS. give us an extended, revised text, the origin of which could not be traced.⁸⁸

As conjunctive errors for MSS. **u x v** could be emphasized:

2:10 difficultatibus ... superatis] difficultatibus ... separatis **u x v**

⁸⁵ **Gh** is here regarded as a MS. *instar codicis*. UNDHAGEN (1978:225).

⁸⁶ Cf. also 11:16 (*Add.*) superbe] superbie **K q**. See p. 58.

⁸⁷ UNDHAGEN (1978:140 sqq.) and BERGH (1991a:17), respectively.

⁸⁸ The sentences in italics represent the extended version of MSS. **u x v**.

(§1) Mater loquitur ad sponsam dicens: “*Miraris, cur cor tuum quandoque est multum durum. Hoc est ut intelligas misericordiam dei et eam queras omni hora. Quidam vir ita querens optimos lapides repperit magnatem, quem eleuans manu propria custodiuit in thesauro suo, et per eum deduxit nauem ad portum tutum. (§2) Sic filius meus querens multos lapides sanctorum me specialiter elegit sibi in matrem ut per me homines quasi naues in fluctibus temptationum vagantes ad portum reducantur celi. (§3) Sicut ergo magnes attrahit sibi ferrum, sic ego attraho michi dura corda, que querunt filium meum toto corde. Ergo cum induratur cor tuum rogo (roga **u**) filium meum humili corde, ut saluat (soluat **u**) misericordia sua (etc post sua add. **u**).*”

The same reading is found in MS. **y** Praha Universitní Knihovna, MS V.G. 20, late 14th c. Traces of this extended version are also found in MSS. **M**² München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS. 26647, from 1394; **J**⁴ Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, MS. A 69, from 1484; **I** Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Hamilton 7, 15th c. and **s** Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, MS. A 67, from 1424. UNDHAGEN (1978:56 n. 42).

10:10 sicut] mea **u x v**

12:22 de illa clausula] clausula **u x v**

13:11 tenetur (*post corr.* **T^bF**)] conetur **u x v**

13:29 a (*post corr.* **T^b**)] pro **u x v**

16:4 dicit] dedit **u x v**⁸⁹

AILI (1992:38) has drawn attention to the close relationship between **K** and **u x**. He says that at least regarding Rev. IV **u** and **x** must be 'influenced by a manuscript closely related to **K**'. In my material I found the following variants common to **K u x v**:

3:4 vel an] an **K u x v**

4:9 instruere,] corrigere **K u x v**

28:2 caritates nuncupari] nuncupari caritas **u** caritas nuncupari **T^bl K x v**. Cf. 28(R) quatuor ciuitatibus, in quibus quatuor *caritates* inueniuntur.

29:12 legitur nec] nec legitur **K u x v**^l(?)

30:19 bonitas] benignitas **K u x v**⁹⁰

One can also observe the variation between the adversative *sed/et* 33:3 *sed,*] et **K u x v**. He is a monk by profession *but* a renegade considering his morals.

Furthermore, there are five cases, where **u x v** and the *LM* have the same reading (see Excursus B, p. 243 with n. 26).

2.3.4 σ (**F Gh**)

The position of **Gh** varies in the revelations. UNDHAGEN showed in Rev. I (1978:225) that this first printed edition could be regarded as *codicis instar* and referred to the δ -subgroup. In his editions of Revs. VII, V and VI, BERGH (1967:69, 1971:66, 1991a:18), placed it in the same group, which he designated σ . AILI, however, stated that regarding Rev. IV (1992:39 sqq.) the edition was compiled from MSS. close to **k** and **F** and not lineally descended from the π hyparchetype. As is apparent from the app. crit. to Rev. III, some fifty variant readings show that **F** and **Gh** emanate from the same subgroup σ just as in Revs. I and V–VII.

There is only one binding error: 27:28 habeat] sic **q¹ F Gh** habeant **V O A^b q²** habet **u x v**.

Another seven examples are not conjunctive errors in the strict sense of the word, but considering the context they could be argued as wrong:

⁸⁹ Note also the choice of words, e.g., 18:24 arcas] cistas **u x v** and 21:13 calorem] ardorem **u x v**.

⁹⁰ Cf. also 33:7 illorum (*Decl.*)] eorum **K u x v** and 27:8 sancta] sancto **T^b K u x v**.

3:3 quomodo et qualiter] quomodo et quare **K u q** quomodo et qualem **F Gh**. Here *qualiter* should correspond to the other adverb *quomodo*.

13:6 recolunt] ea recolunt **F Gh**. The pronoun *ea* was most certainly added by the scribe to correspond to *eis* (qui *recolunt* et eis utantur ad profectum suum).

13:24 quando] quando pater **F Gh**. The scribe probably wanted to clarify the passage by adding *pater*.

17:3 instituit] instituebat **u x v** constituit **F Gh**. The perfect *instituit* is doubtlessly the correct form, since (tria bona) *instituit* corresponds to (§4) *instituit ... instituit ... instituit*. The reading *constituit* is due to (§5) *constituit*.

18:22 perficiendas] edificandas **F Gh**. Cf. (§22) *edificant*, from which *edificandas* originates.

23:6 perhibet tibi₁] tibi perhibebit **u x² v** perhibebit tibi **x¹** perhibeat tibi **F Gh**. The subjunctive makes no sense here. Cf. the following *perhibet tibi₂*, where the subjunctive *perhibeat* in MS. **F** was corrected into the indicative.

28:4 desideratur] desideretur **F Gh**. The indicative *desideretur* has its parallels in the other verbs, which governed by the conjunction *cum*, take the indicative in this passage.

See also above (p. 54) regarding the relationship between **Gh** and **K²**.

2.4 Conclusions

As I have shown above, the manuscript tradition (**Gh** included) of Rev. III is divided into the two hyparchetypes β and π . If one compares the stemma of Rev. III with that of the other revelation books, it can be noticed that Rev. III is the only book where MS. **q** belongs to the γ subgroup. In Revs. I, IV–VII, **q** is placed in the σ (δ) subgroup.

In Rev. V, **P** belongs to the β hyparchetype, but in Rev. VII, to π . In Revs. III and VI it is considered a contaminated MS., since it varies between these two hyparchetypes.

In Revs. III and IV, MS. **K** is classified among the γ MSS., but in Revs. I, V–VII it has been proved to belong to the σ (δ) subgroup.

MS. **T^b** was not used by earlier editors. My investigation showed that in Rev. III it belongs to the π hyparchetype, where it represents a subgroup of its own.

Finally, in Rev. III, **Gh** is a text *codicis instar*, which belongs to the σ subgroup. The relationship between **Gh** and **K²** can also be noted. In Rev. IV, **Gh** was compiled from MSS. close to **K** and **F**.

2.5 The *Addiciones* and *Declaraciones*

The *Adds.* and *Decls.* are supplementary material in the form of clarifications and comments on the text, which were later inserted by Prior Petrus in Revs. I–IV and VI. This collection of supplements ends in the middle of *Decl.* VI 98.⁹¹ These additions and declarations are totally absent from the β hyparchetype and MS. **T^b** of the π hyparchetype. They are found (in various degrees) in the other π MSS. In the present Rev. III, seven individual revelations have *Adds.* or *Decls.* (III 10, 11, 13⁹² and 19 have *Adds.* and III 12,⁹³ 22 and 33 *Decls.*) I have collated the π MSS. (except **T^b**) as well as the Vadstena MS. **U^a**, which was considered by UNDHAGEN (1978:218) to be of outstanding value, since it can be assumed to have been copied directly from the collection of *Decls.* and *Adds.* that was handed over to Vadstena in 1380 by Prior Petrus.

AILI (1992:41 sq) showed in Rev. IV that the *Adds.* and *Decls.* are most consistently entered in **K q F Gh** and to a lesser degree in **U^a** but only sporadically in **x v** (see below).

The following survey will show the distribution of the supplements in the π MSS. of Rev. III.

<i>Capitulum</i>	T^b	K	q	u	x	v	F	U^a	Gh
10 (§§17–20)	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+
11 (§16 ... disputator)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
(§16 suberbe-20 disc.)	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	– ⁹⁴	+
12 (§26 Hic ... utilior)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
(§26 est2 – §32 Romam)	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+
13 (§36)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
13 (§37)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
19 (§25 Filius ... episcopus)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
19 (§25 habuit ... §31 viuebat)	– ⁹⁵	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+
22 (§§6–7)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
33 (§§7–8)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

On the basis of this material, though very limited, I constructed the following stemma:

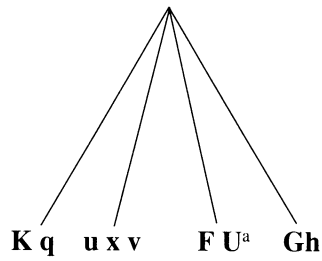
⁹¹ UNDHAGEN (1978:26 sqq.).

⁹² Rev. III 13 has two *Adds.*, if §36 is included.

⁹³ Rev. III 12 has two *Decls.*

⁹⁴ The omission of the *Adds.* to III 10 and 11 have been noticed earlier. A probably contemporary hand wrote *deficit hic* (and a reference sign) on fol. 144^r in the left margin before *Decl.* III 12. See UNDHAGEN (1977:114 n. 12).

⁹⁵ III 19 is omitted, see p. 22.



Since the texts in Rev. III are so short, it is almost impossible to determine their relationship. AILI (1992:41) stresses the consistent trait that **q** and **U^a** share errors. I have not found any such examples. It can only be observed that in III 12:29, Birgitta is called *beata* in **F** and **U^a** but *domina* in **K q Gh**, which could indicate that the former MSS. represent a worked up tradition. Some other examples can be quoted: 11:16 *cardinali*] *cardinalis* **x v**, 11:16 *superbe*] *superbie* **K q** and 19:25 *fili*] *fili* **u si x v**.

3 Principles of Edition

Book III of the *Reuelaciones* (= Rev. III) by St. Birgitta is published here for the first time in a modern text-critical edition with the *Addiciones* and *Declaraciones* (for these see pp. 23, 26, 29, 42, 57 sq.). I have complied with the principles laid down by previous editors, namely to follow the **Gh** edition in matters regarding the *arrangement* of the revelations, which means that these additions and declarations are placed after the chapters concerned, just as was done in the **Gh**, although they were not included in Alfonso's redactions of the revelations (see pp. 28 sq., 49).

I allowed myself the liberty of adding the preface, which only exists in **Gh**. It goes back to Rev. VI 53:2–4,8 sq.

3.1 The Reconstruction of the Archetype

The reconstruction is based on a comparison between the five subgroups: β_1 , β_2 (β hyparchetype) on the one hand and **T^b**, γ , σ (π hyparchetype) on the other.

When four out of the five subgroups have coincident readings, there is of course no difficulty in reconstructing the archetype. However, in the absence of consensus I favoured with a few exceptions the β reading, since BERGH (1971:43 sqq., 1991a:15) on the basis of his material in Revs. V and VII, stressed the fact that the β hyparchetype normally preserved the original reading, whereas π has a more normalized word order (see pp. 42 sq.).

3.2 Material from Book III Extant in Other Revelation Books

Two revelations reappear in other contexts: Rev. III 31 was reused by Alfonso as VIII 24.¹

Rev. III 10 is found also in IV 78:5–24. In III 10:3, Birgitta is exhorted by the Virgin Mary to tell a man that she is concerned about the abuses within the

¹ When Alfonso gathered material for *Liber celestis imperatoris ad reges* (= Rev. VIII), he took approximately half of the chapters from Revs. II–VII. The other half consists of revelations not included in these books BERGH (1991a:11). Rev. III 31 was left out by the *manus prima* in MS. **K** (see my Bibliography).

Church. Rev. IV 78 is then the actual letter addressed to this person (see p. 34).

Furthermore, Rev. III 1–3 are based on a longer version of Rev. IV 126:36–77,80–137 (see pp. 32 sq., 35). There are also a few passages in III 12 with approximately the same contents as IV 126: i.e., III 12:1–3 (cf. IV 126:33–34), III 12:15–17 (cf. IV 126:16–26).

3.3 The *Latin Message* (LM)

The *Latin Message*, the still existing draft of Rev. III 8 and 9, was consulted in three cases (Excursus B, pp. 238 sq.).

3.4 The Old Swedish Texts

The Old Swedish text versions were a source of inspiration. Although they have no decisive text-critical value for the Latin text, sometimes a comparison proved interesting (see the Chapter 4 ‘Textual Criticism’ and Excursus A, respectively).

3.5 The Rubrics

MSS. **P Y V B O** (β) and **T^b q** (π) have double rubrics: i.e., they have an additional list at the beginning of each book as well as text rubrics introducing the individual chapters. In this edition they have not been taken into account, since they could not contribute to the solution of any text-critical problems.

3.6 *A&P*

There is a parallel text to Rev. III 12 *Decl.* §§29–32 (see app. hist.) in *A&P* 536.

3.7 Cursus

Following the method created by JANSON (1975:14 sq.) I investigated Rev. III concerning *cursus planus*, *tardus* and *velox* and found that no prose rhythm was intended with the exception of three revelations: in Rev. III 10 these three cursus together show a frequency of 67%, but when the revelation is geminated as an epistle in IV 78:5–24, the frequency is only 50%. It should be noted that the number of cursus is the same in the two revelations, but since the corresponding text in Rev. IV is longer, the number of clause endings is naturally greater (36 compared

to 27). *Cursus* also appeared in III 8 and 9, where the corresponding figure is 85%. I treated these two revelations as one, since they are based on the draft of the original *LM*, see Excursus B, pp. 238 sq.

3.8 Orthography

I normalized the spelling in accordance with the usage generally observed in the MSS.: e.g., III 12:16 *Penitencia* **Y** β₂ π; *penitentia* **P V**. No orthographical divergencies in the MSS. or **Gh** are listed in the apparatus criticus.

3.9 Normalizations

All names have been normalized to the reading which has the best support in the MSS. The position of the numbers of the chapters has been normalized to *Capitulum I*, etc., and consistently placed after the rubrics. In the apparatus criticus no variations of figure, or their location are recorded, nor is it specified whether the figures are written in Roman or Arabic numerals.

3.10 The Apparatuses

The Apparatus Criticus

In the apparatus criticus I did not list obvious and insignificant miswriting in the MSS.: e.g., III 2:8 *desi ante desiderium exp. et lin. del. q* (nor orthographical divergencies, see 3.8 above). On the other hand all individual readings are given, which has not always been the case in earlier editions of the revelation books. Capital letters are not indicated. Regarding **Gh** I accounted for all the misprints, as the edition is the first one.² In MS. **K**, there are corrections made by a second hand designated **K**². In all other MSS., **Y**², etc., is the corrected form by the first hand: e.g., 10:3 *deberent₂] tenerentur T^{b1} u x v* means that **T**^{b2} together with all other MSS., with the exception of **T**^{b1} **u x v** handed down *deberent*; 11:10 *hominibus] omnibus A^{b2}* indicates that **A**^{b1} together with all other MSS. except **A**^{b2} handed down *hominibus*. When the original reading could not be seen, this was stated: for example 1:26 *in oriatur corr. T^b* or 12:2 *annihilabitur K u x v annihilatur β q σ post alt. T^b*.

The apparatus also contains references to other revelation texts and the OS edition (*BU*) that can be of importance regarding textual criticism, emendations, etc.

² So BERGH (1991a:25).

The text has been divided into paragraphs. The capital letters within brackets refer to the paragraphs into which **Gh** was divided.

The Apparatus Historicus

Since the revelations are of historical interest, the apparatus historicus contains references to other sources and authors, identifications of names, etc., in order to clarify the text.

4 Textual Criticism

In Rev. III there are some fifty cases where the reconstruction of the archetype gave rise to various problems and therefore should be commented on. Ten possible archetypal errors can be accounted for: see below the Chapter 4.1, for 3:16; 21:17; 34:1 sq. and the Chapter 4.2, for 1:5 (?); 8:9; 13:5; 13:6; 18(R); 18:28; 21:19. See also the Chapter 2 ‘The Manuscripts and their Mutual Relationship’, where certain text-critical problems are discussed.

4.1 Problematical Passages

1:1 *Ihesus Christus, deus et homo, qui venit ad terram assumere humanitatem, saluare* (β et saluare π) *animas sanguine suo, qui viam veram illuminavit aperuitque portam celi, ipse me misit ad vos.*

The relative clause could actually be understood in two ways according to the β MSS. Either the construction is asyndetic or the verb *saluare* is subordinated to *assumere*.³ The π MSS. hand down the coordinating *et saluare*.⁴ We have here a sentence where it is not possible to choose between the three alternatives on grammatical or contextual grounds. In such cases I favoured the β reading according to my general principles (see above, p. 59). There is a tendency in the π recension to give a more normalized text, whereas the β branch can be assumed to have preserved the authentic reading (see above, pp. 42 sq.).

1:5 *Omnis igitur episcopus, qui taliter apparet precinctus, ad eum veniet Tobias, id est <homo iustus, et> homines iusti et sequentur viam* (β_1 **O u x v** vitam **B A^b T^b K q** σ) *eius*.⁵

The first chapter of Rev. III is an exhortation to a bishop⁶ to follow the way of Christ, who illuminated the true way (§1 *qui viam veram illuminavit*). The bishop is advised that if he wants to go on the path of righteousness (§2 *Si episcopus iste proponit ire per viam artam*), he must renounce all greed for worldly things. He should be girded to travel (§3 *precinctus ad viam*) like the Scriptures say. When

³ Cf. AILI (1992:52), who says that there is no example of the final infinitive in the revelations. However, I have found some twenty cases.

⁴ Cf. BU 1 307:2–4 *Ihesus christus gudh ok man hulkin som kom til iordhrikis at taka* (‘to take’) *mandom at hela* (‘to heal’) *siälana mz sino blodhe*.

⁵ For this passage, see above, p. 27.

⁶ For him, see above, pp. 30, 32 sq., 35 sq.

Tobias was prepared to travel (§3 *paratus ad viam*), he found an angel standing there girded. The meaning of this is that the bishop should be prepared to follow the way of Christ (§4 *paratus ire per illam viam, per quam ille iuit, qui ait: 'Ego sum pastor bonus ...'*). These examples show that it is the true way that the bishop should follow: (§5) 'Therefore every bishop, who appears to be girded in that way, to him Tobias will come, i.e., a righteous man, and righteous men will also follow his way.' In the revelation corpus the verb *sequi* is used a few times together with *via* but only once with *vita* (Rev. VI 65[R]). Cf. also (§6) *debet comedere panem et aquam, antequam aggrediatur viam ... Quis est iste panis ... nisi bonum corporale et spirituale* and (§12) *Incepta igitur via salutis...*

For *homo iustus, et*, see p. 27.

1:14 *Et ex habitu discernatur episcopalis auctoritas ad correptionem* (π correptionem β) *et informacionem aliorum.*

See the Chapter 2 'The Manuscripts and Their Mutual Relationship', p. 45.

1:22 *Post cenam vero* (K x q σ vero cenam β T^b u v) *consolari potest cum familiaribus suis. — — 5:7 Per lucem vero* (V π in marg. Y om. P β₂), *quam amici Dei petebant ...*

In the revelation books a survey of the position of the conjunction *vero* after a preposition shows that it is placed as the third word in approximately 90% of all cases. The last example also appears in Rev. IV 126:69 (*Post cenam vero gaudere potest cum familiaribus suis honesto modo et consolari eos ...*). However, there is a tendency in the β hyparchetype to place *vero* as the second word. In Rev. III, there are another 25 cases where the conjunction is placed as the third word but two only where it takes second position 13:3 *Extra vero muros*, 30:13 *Post vero diluuium* (exc. u x v [dil. vero]).

2:6 sq. *Quid vero significant spine nisi aduersitates mundi? Contra has habendi sunt digiti decem preceptorum Dei et consiliorum eius, ut, cum pupugerit spina aduersitatis et paupertatis, consideretur passio et paupertas Christi.* (§7) *Cum vero pupugerit* (β₁ K pungitur β₂ T^b q F pungit u x v pungi [sic!] Gh) *spina ire et inuidie, consideretur caritas Dei, quam nobis seruare precipit.*

The manuscript tradition is divided and offers (including Gh) four different readings. The passive form *pungitur* is found in four of the five subgroups.⁷ Probably there was some influence from the previous *consideretur*. There is a passage in Rev. IV 126:84 sq. that can elucidate the problem (*Quid vero significant decem digiti habendi ante oculos nisi decem precepta, in quibus iustus homo speculari debet cotidie, ut, quociens pupugit spina obprobrii, respiciatur dileccio Dei; quociens pupugit spina malicie, opponatur dileccio proximi ...*). It should be noted that there

⁷ Cf. BU 1 313:7–9 *Nar han stingx* ('is stung') *af awndinna älla wredhinna torn tha skodhi gudz kärlek hulkin han bödh os at göma.*

are only two other examples in the revelation corpus, where *spina* is combined with the verb *pungere*. In both these cases the perfect tense is to be found: II 15:16 (spine acutissime *pupugerunt*) and I 27:4 (spinea corona eius, que sic immaniter *pupugit* caput eius sanctissimum ...). I therefore chose the perfect form *pupugerit* to obtain a parallel construction both to §6 and the other passages in the revelations, where *spina* is the subject.

3:16 *Cumque introducendus* (β_2 **K Gh** introducturus β_1 **T^b u x v q F**) *est talis episcopus* (in marg. **T^b** talem episcopum **P**) *in regnum glorie, occurret ei Ihesus Christus, Deus verus et homo, cum omni sanctorum exercitu.*

According to the stemma the active future participle *introducturus* may have been an archetypal error, corrected in MSS. β_2 **K Gh**. The passive use, however, of the active future participle occurs occasionally in Medieval Latin.⁸ In the revelations, though, there is only one uncertain example of this usage, viz. in RS (EKLUND 1975:79).⁹ When the future participle is otherwise used, it is in the active sense. I therefore preferred the gerundive reading *introducendus*, which renders the translation, ‘When such a bishop will be brought into the kingdom’. This choice is corroborated by the fact that the gerundive *introducendus* with the passive meaning is found once RS II 201 (et postea *introducendus* est conuentus).

4:19 *Quotidie quoque contingit, quod, ex quo episcopi et domini nolunt tenere officium suum ad quod vocati sunt, Deus eligit* (β_1 **B O** eligit **A^b π**) *sibi pauperes sacerdotes et campanarios, qui viuentes iuxta meliorem conscienciam suam ad honorem Dei libenter proficerent animabus, si possent, et faciunt que possunt.*

The stemma shows that the present form *eligit* is represented in four subgroups. It can be argued that the present tense gives the best correspondence to *contingit* in the main clause, ‘It also happens daily that ... God chooses’, etc.¹⁰ On the other hand it might be a corrected reading due to the imperfect subjunctive *proficerent*.¹¹

5(R) *Verba Ambrosii ad sponsam de prece bonorum pro populo, et quomodo per gubernatores* (**P π** gubernatorem **Y V** β_2) *domini seculares et Ecclesie et per procellas superbia et cetera, et per portum introitus veritatis designantur, et de uocatione sponse in spiritum.*

See the Chapter 2 ‘The Manuscripts and Their Mutual Relationship’, pp. 44, 47.

⁸ H-Sz 289, c γ; NORBERG (1943:193 sqq.); RICCI (1996:99).

⁹ BERGH (1991a:32) says that in Rev. VI 13:4 (debes disposita esse sicut virgo *desponsatura*) the passive interpretation is possible but unlikely.

¹⁰ Cf. BU 1 322:22 Thy *vuäl* (‘chooses’) gudh sik fatika preste. There is only one other example in the revelations where *contingit* is followed by the perfect tense and then with a passive construction (VIII 47:26 *Insuper tria reduco ei ad memoriam, que deus fecit ei. Sepe enim contingit, quod infans in vtero matris ita fortiter cum matre ligatus est, quod nullo modo separare se potest ab eo*).

¹¹ For inconsistent use of tenses, see my Gram. ind.: 7.2.5.

5:1 *Similiter et in istis temporibus amici Dei clamant dicentes: ‘O benignissime Deus, nos videmus populum innumerabilem in periculosis procellis perire, quoniam gubernatores auidi sunt illis terris iugiter applicare volentes, ubi sibi ipsis maius **lucrum** (Y² V π **lucrum** temporale P Y¹ β₂) existimant prouenire ...’*

The π hyparchetype has most probably handed down the correct reading. In the revelation material there are several instances of the concept *lucrum temporale* (e.g., I 32:14) or circumscriptions of it as opposites to *lucrum spirituale*. In the passage above there would be no use adding *temporale* for the sake of elucidation, however, since the words *gubernatores auidi* and the adjective *maius* indicate that the *worldly* gain is intended (cf. *temporale lin. del. Y*).

5:7 *Per lucem **vero**, quam amici Dei petebant ...*

See above 1:22.

6:6 *Septima hora intrabat in eum ardor carnalis concupiscencie. Octaua hora complebat cum ea sue **voluntatis** (P Y¹ V β₂ T^{b1} voluptatis Y² T^{b2} γ σ) appetitum.*

The words *voluntas/voluptas* are often confused in the revelations, although the meaning of the words might seem very different at first sight (see e.g., III 6:13;7:4–5¹²;19:11;24:19 and 27:15). However, SVENNUNG (1922:133–136), stressed several cases already in Orosius, where *voluntas* = *concupiscentia/voluptas* and *voluptas* = *voluntas*. This may be compared to the fact that in the Swedish medieval material excerpted for *Glossarium mediae latinitatis Sueciae* the occurrence of *voluntas* and *voluptas* is about the same.¹³ The meaning of *voluntas* is many times very close to that of *voluptas*,¹⁴ just as in present-day Swedish.¹⁵

I thus settled for the reading *voluntatis*. Handed down by β MSS. it gives a good parallel to 7:4 (*peccati voluntatem*), 7:5 (*voluntate peccati*) and 19:11 (*voluntatem peccati*) that were discussed above (pp. 44 sq.).

6:13 *Septima hora audiendo et videndo mundi delectabilia in **voluptatem** (P Y β₂ γ F voluntatem V T^b Gh) suam trahit desiderabiliter, ex quibus in corde accenditur impacienter et intolerabiliter.*

The fact that *voluptatem* is represented in four subgroups and gives good sense considering the wording *mundi delectabilia* and *trahit desiderabiliter* made it obvious that it was the reading of the archetype.¹⁶

7:4 sq: *Non sic dispositus fuit ille bonus Ambrosius episcopus. Eius denique cor*

¹² See above, pp. 44 sq.

¹³ I am indebted to Dr. EVA ODELMAN for this information.

¹⁴ Cf. SÖDERWALL, *lust* 1) lust, begär, böjelse, *håg* ('inclination', 'desire').

¹⁵ Cf. for example "Har du lust" ('do you have the desire')/ "vill du?" ('do you want?'), which both have the meaning of 'would you like?'.
¹⁶ The BU 1 327:9 sq. renders the text: ok draghir them thäckelika j sin *lusta*. This reading shows that the original(s) was (were) a manuscript like **K** and **F**.

plenum fuit diuina voluntate, eius cibus et sompnus racionabilis. Qui exsufflans peccati voluntatem (β voluptatem π) tempus suum consumpsit utiliter et honeste. (5) *Incendit frigidus diuina caritate bonorum operum suorum exemplo. Feruentes quoque voluntate* (β voluptate π) peccati refrigerunt ex eius munda vita. --- (19:11) *Et sic irretita anima per consuetudinem delectacionis inordinate non cor-rexit nec conpescuit voluntatem* (β voluptatem π) peccati, donec iudicium erat in foribus et ultimus punctus appropinquabat.

See the Chapter 2 ‘The Manuscripts and Their Mutual Relationship’, pp. 44 sq.

8:6 ‘Fiat’, inquiring, ‘michi secundum verbum tuum.’ *Et in eodem puncto verbum factum est caro in me, et Dei filius factus est filius meus, et sic ambo habebamus unum filium, qui utrumque est, scilicet Deus* (β est deus scilicet T^{b2} K q deus est scilicet F² est deus u x¹ v Deus est F¹ Gh deus T^{b1} x²) *et homo, et ego similiter mater atque virgo.*

The stemma shows that *scilicet* definitely was the reading of the archetype. It was dropped in the π branch and then supplemented (except for u x v Gh), because the context seemed a bit unclear without it.¹⁷ We have the same problem in: 8:16 *Illam eandem veritatem ego genui de me, qui utrumque, scilicet* (β T^b K q utrumque u x v σ) *Deus et homo, est ex se*¹⁸ and 29:13 *Vere dico tibi, quod utrumque sum, scilicet mater* (Y β₂ P γ F² Gh mater V T^b F¹) *regis Salomonis et mater pacificantis sacerdotis.*¹⁹

8:7 *Cumque hic filius meus ... iaceret in utero meo, tantam ab ipso adepta sum sapienciam, quod non solum magistrorum intelligere valeam* (P π valeam intelligere Y V β₂) *sapienciam ...*

I preferred here the P π reading, since it is attested in the *LM*. See above, p. 47 and Excursus B, p. 240.

¹⁷ BU I 330:28 sq. ok swa hafdhom vi badhin en son hulkin ther badhe är gudh ok man (‘who is both god and man’).

¹⁸ BU I 332:8–9 ok iak födde the sama sannindena aff mik som badhe är gudh ok man (‘who is both god and man’) j sik.

¹⁹ An investigation of the occurrence of *utrumque/utrumque scilicet* in the revelation material shows that there are another five examples with *scilicet* and three without it: IV 77:6 (*Mirabile tamen hoc esse videtur, quod dum verba tua audio tunc utrumque efficior scilicet saciata et famelica.*); IV 77:9 (*Et ideo nimis durum est cor illud, quod non vult diligere me nec me timere, cum sim utrumque scilicet omnium hominum nutritor et iudex.*); IV 78:26 (*ut ita me adiuent ad utrumque, scilicet ad corpus et animam ...*); RS II 258 (*Papa vero super vtrumque, scilicet principem terre et episcopum ...*); Ex. 116: 2 (*Et ideo carior michi es quam vtrumque, anima scilicet et corpus meum.*); IV 11:4 (*Respondit Agnes: “Tu vere utrumque mater et virgo et uxor es ...”*); VII 13:14 (*Ego coram te conqueror, quod vna mulier, que vtrumque est mea domina et tua mater ...*); RS. II 299 (*istas aduersitates pocius amplecterer quam vtrumque ad corpus et animam eternam felicitatem ...*).

8:17 *Verum ego tria a magistro quesivi. Quem (T^b K u q σ quam P ad que O que Y V B A^b x v) michi bene respondisse probarem, si in verbis suis fuisset veritas. Que quia in eis non erat, ideo de aliis tribus ipsum precaueo.*

See Excursus B, p. 240.

11:13 *Nunc autem in operibus suis demonstrat (sc. indiscretus episcopus), quod est generosus et diues, sapiens mundi et prodigus pecuniarum. Quid autem sunt hec omnia nisi tamquam digitos immittere (Y V β₂ mittere P π) ad fetencia?*

The intransitive construction *immittere ad* does not occur in the revelations, but there are three examples of *immittere in*.²⁰ However, since both hyparchetypes contextually give a good wording, I applied to my general principles and followed the β reading.

12(R) *Loquitur sponsa Christo (P T^b K u x q Gh Christi Y V β₂ v) preces effundendo pro supradicto episcopo et de respensionibus Christi et Virginis et sancte Agnetis sponse factis.*

It seems the hyparchetype which handed down the correct reading is the π one. *Christo* is also the *lectio difficilior*, easy to corrupt, owing to the fact that the words *Loquitur sponsa Christo* is a frequent phrase. There might also be some influence from the following genitives. Thus, if we examine the rubrics, it is clear that the object of the revelation is always defined when possible. The meaning of the rubric discussed is to emphasize the fact that Birgitta either talks to Christ (*Loquitur sponsa Christo*)²¹ or turns to Christ himself (*Christo preces effundendo*) with her prayers for the dead bishop, which is further emphasized by the vocatives in the first passages *O Domine mi ... o Pater piissime ... Tu vero, Fili Dei ... Tu quoque, Sancte Spiritus ... imple caritate tua episcopum frigidum et exinanitum.*

12:2 *Respondit Deus Pater: "Si trahens est fortis, res vero, que trahitur, ponderosa nimis, cicius dissipabitur (Y V π dissipatur P β₂) opus et annichilabitur (K u x v annihilatur β q σ post alt. T^b) ..."*

According to the stemma the π MSS. together with Y V support the use of the future tense *dissipabitur*, whereas the present tense of the coordinating *annichila-*

²⁰ II 17: 26 (*Et immittens stercus suum in animam sic obumbrabat intellectum eius, quod nec habebat Dei caritatem nec timorem.*); IV 14:1 (*Filius loquitur: "Cur times et sollicitaris ex eo, quod Dyabolus immittit aliqua in verba Spiritus sancti?..."*); VI 20:15 (*"... Immittam ergo in eum, qui calidus fuerit caritate filii mei, obedienciam, qua obediet in omnibus, que sibi fuerint imperata."*).

²¹ For *loqui* taking the dative, see, e.g., Rev. III 30:1.

tur is corroborated by the majority of the MSS. I preferred the future tense on the basis of a parallel case in Rev. IV 126:33, where this tense is used regarding both verbs: *Nam Scriptura dicit, quod nemo venit ad me, nisi Pater traxerit eum. Et ideo, si trahens est fortis, illud vero quod trahitur est ponderosum nimis, cicius dissipabitur opus et annichilabitur.*

12:9 ‘*Longa*’, *inquiunt*, ‘*est via* (**P** β_2 *vita* **Y V T^b K u x q** σ *via* *vita* **v**) *nostra. Misericordia Dei est maxima ...*’

Looking at the manuscript tradition we see that **P** β_2 have the reading *via* and the rest of the MSS. *vita* (except for **v**, which has both alternatives). The correct reading is *via*, because the discussion is here between two roads (§6), the straight and narrow one and the road of dalliance. Furthermore, in §10 it is said that there is a short cut regarding *the road* of this world, that is contrition and confession. (*Est enim compendium quoddam vie huius mundi, id est contritio et confessio.*)²² Cf. Rev. VI 52:105 *Et ideo hec via nimis longa fuit, quia vita carnis finita pena longa cito inchoabatur.*

12:11 *Talis cogitacio, scilicet velle* (β *velle scilicet* π) *peccare usque in finem et tunc confiteri, est valde debilis spes, quia nesciunt antequam cadunt.*

18:2 ‘*O fratres dilecti, sequamini me, quia vobis reseruantur quatuor bona, scilicet honor* (**Y V** β_2 *honor scilicet* **P** γ σ) *pro humilitate, diuicie perpetue pro paupertate, satietas sine fastidio pro continencia, vita eterna pro contemptu mundi*’ ...

An investigation of the position of the adverb *scilicet* in the revelation corpus resulted in the fact that *scilicet* is placed after its main word only in 25% of the cases. The manuscript tradition of Rev. III showed that only the two cases cited above were problematical. Owing to the tendency of the β branch to preserve the original reading, I decided in accordance with my general principles to comply with this group.

12:16 *Nam tria sunt, que inducunt ad fugiendum peccatum, et tria inductiua sunt ad obtinendam caritatem. Tria, quibus fugitur peccatum, sunt: Penitencia* (**P Y** β_2 π *Primum penitencia* **V**) *perfecta, secundum intencio nolle ea iterato committere, tertium emendare se iuxta consilia illorum, quos videt contempsisse mundum.*

It would seem that the introductory *Primum* of MS. **V** is necessary for the con-

²² The passage is translated in *BU* 1 337:19 sq. *wart liiff ok wäghir är langir* (‘our life and path is long’) *gudz miskund är aldra störst*. The retranslator(s)/editor(s) obviously had access to MSS. of both traditions and solved the problem by using both readings (so MS. **v**). Cf. Rev. III 1:5 *Omnis igitur episcopus, qui taliter apparet precinctus, ad eum veniet Tobias, id est <homo iustus, et> homines iusti et sequentur viam* (β_1 **O u x v** *vitam* **B A^b T^b K q** σ) *eius*, which in *BU* 1 308:6–8 is changed to: *thz är at räituise män skulu koma til hans ok fölgghia honom* (‘him’). The retranslator/editor has omitted both *vitam* and *viam* here, probably because he was not able to choose between the two possibilities.

text and that this word was lost in the archetype. But an investigation of Rev. I alone gives us several examples where *primo* is missing, so e.g. I 34:19 sqq. *Respondit diabolus*: “*Ego vidi in te tria: ego vidi gloriam tuam et honorem super omnia et cogitabam gloriam meam. ... (§20) Secundo vidi te esse potenciosem pre omnibus. ... Tercio vidi, que futura erant ...*” (§21) *Respondit Dominus*: “*Tu quesisti a me, quare istam sic dilexerim. Certe quia omnem maliciam tuam commuto in bonum. ... (§22) Secundo, quia tu tam prauam cupiditatem habuisti, ut velles esse potencior me ... and (§23) Tercio, quia tu inuidisti michi, ego sic caritatuus sum, ut me pro omnibus offerrem.*”²³

13:3 *Extra vero muros sunt due fosse profunde atque late. Ideo rogo ipsum, ut transiliat ambas fossas uno saltu, ascendat **muros** (π ad muros β) uno passu ...*

The stemma is divided between the two readings *ascendat ad muros* and *ascendat muros*. The story here is about a treasure kept in a castle behind four locks. Outside the castle there are high, thick walls, and outside the walls, two deep and wide moats. The only way to get to this treasure is to jump over the two moats with one jump, climb over the walls with one step and break all locks with one blow. The context seems to need the transitive use of the verb (cf. §15 *Denique sibi videtur, quod muri isti predicti ita sunt alti, quod nullo modo possent transcendendi* and §22 *Ecce nunc ostensum est, quomodo confringende sunt sere et transiliendi muri*). Thus there is also a good parallelism to *transiliat ambas fossas*. There are, however, only two clear cases in the revelations of the transitive use regarding *ascendere*, i.e., Rev. II 21:7 (*Descendente igitur illo, qui sustentabat onus corporis, paulatim et modice, prout poterat, ille alius ascendit scalam, que tendebatur ad pedes, et excussit clauos de pedibus* and III 27:31 (*Verumptamen scias, quod a tempore Petri humilis usque dum Bonifacius ascendit sedem superbie, innumera-biles anime ascenderunt in celum*). In the last example both the transitive and intransitive use of *ascendere* are exemplified.²⁴

14:1 *Mater loquitur ad sponsam Filii dicens: “Tu es vas, quod possessor implet et magister **euacuat** (vacuat T^{b1}). Attamen unus et idem est, qui implet et **euacuat** (Y V β₂ T^b u x v vacuat P K q σ) ...”*

In the stemma there is predominance for the β reading *euacuat*. The verb *vacuare* does not appear in the revelation corpus at all, whereas *euacuare* occurs several times, as for example in III 21:4. An initial vowel could easily be omitted by a

²³ The other examples are: I 40:1 sqq.; 42:1; 46:5; 54:24 sqq. Cf. BU 1 338:28–32, in which there is no correspondent to *primum*, *secundum* and *tercium*: The try mz hulkom syndin flys. är fulkomplikin idhrughe ok akt at ey vilia göra annantidh synd ok at vilia bätra sina synde äptir thera radhe som han see hafwa forsmat världinna.

²⁴ Cf. also VIII 48:25 *Verum postea deus videns in exercitu suo diminucionem creauit post presumpcionem demonum hominem ad obediendum preceptis suis et vt fructificaret, donec tot homines ascenderent celum, quot angeli de celo ceciderunt.*

scribe.²⁵ Furthermore, there would be no reason to change the verb *euacuat* into *vacuat* thus leaving out the prefix. On the contrary, both *implet* and *euacuat* are emphasized a second time in this paragraph. Cf. *euacuat* of the previous sentence, where **T^{b1}** has the form *vacuat*, which was changed into *euacuat* by **T^{b2}**.

14:11 *Iste episcopus simillimus est eciam papilioni, qui cogitat portare celum in cornu uno et terram in altero, qui (Y V T^b K q σ que P β₂ u x v) tamen, si posset, non sustentaret minimum quid (V β₂ T^b K q σ in marg. Y om. P u x v) ad honorem Dei.*

I believe the meaning of this sentence to be that of the π reading (except for **u x v**): ‘This bishop is very similar also to a butterfly, who (sc. papilio) thinks about carrying heaven on one of his feelers and earth on the other, *who* (sc. papilio) nevertheless, if he could, would not bear the *smallest thing* in honour of God’ (i.e., God is outside the sphere of interest of a butterfly so, even if it could, it would not bear anything to honour him). Thus *celum* and *terra* are opposed to *minimum quid*, which is the predominant reading in the MSS. and makes good sense. The alternative reading according to the β MSS. (except for **Y V**) would be ... *which* (sc. celum and terram) he would not bear *the least*, etc. This would, however, give a somewhat weakened meaning missing the parallel.²⁶

14:12 *Sic iste Ecclesie Dei credit et cogitat proficere verbo suo et exemplo, tamquam (β u x v tamquam si T^b K q σ) sine illo non ita cresceret.*

In this case it is possible to argue in either direction. The scribes of the π MSS. (with the exception of **u x v**) could be influenced by the following *sine* to add *si*, but on the other hand *si* might be dropped in the β MSS. just because of *sine*. I therefore conformed to my general principles of following the β reading. The construction *tamquam si* is also very rare in the revelation material and only appears three times (III 18:11; IV 63:27 and VI 31:45).

14:16 *Papilio quoque habet occultum exitum immundicie sue. Sic ipse improbe effundit iram suam et impacienciam, ut et latencia sua aliis ostendantur (P Y u x v σ non ostendantur V β₂ q non lin. del. et exp. K).*

The stemma is divided here. What is intended, though, in this context is that in addition to all the negative characteristics stated, the butterfly also shows to other people what should be hidden. Cf. *BU* 1 350:7: at hans lönlik thing *skulin tees* (‘should be shown’) androm.

²⁵ There seems to be the same problem in *BU* 1 347:14–16, though: Thu äst swa som thz kar hulkit som mästarin vp fülle ok *töme* (‘empty’) ok tho är han ä then sami hulkin som j fyllir ok *af töme* (‘empty out’).

²⁶ One could, though, compare this translation with *BU* 1 349:12–15, which obviously goes back to this Latin acc. pl. *que*, where *minimum quid* was omitted: Thänne biscopin är ämuäl likastir fiädalle hulkin som thänkir at bära hymilin a eno horne ok iordena a andro *Ok tho yppe holle ey fiädallin them j gudz hedhir* (‘and then the butterfly does not bear them in honour of God’).

15:4 *Prima est, quod omnibus vellet (sc. episcopus) dare verba pulchra et placencia ad hoc, ut ab hominibus* (β_1 **B A^b K q** omnibus **O u x v** σ) *honoraretur.*

The words *hominibus* and *omnibus* are very often contrasted in the revelations. In our case it is not possible from a contextual point of view to argue in any direction. The concepts *honorari a mundo* and *honores mundi* or *hominum* often appear in the revelation corpus. Cf. I 40:13 Sed ego, Dominus, nunc in mundo contempnor et *homo honoratur*. There is a passage, though, that corroborates the predominant β reading (except for **O**) that the bishop wanted to praise everybody, in order to be honoured by people (and not by God). It says in III 16:7 ut ab *hominibus mundanis laudarer*, videbar quasi omnia contempnere, ut vero diligerer a spiritualibus, humilis et deuotus apparebam.²⁷ Cf. also the following examples: IV 126:96 ('... Quid ad te si offendunt Deum? Da potius eis dona et accipe, utere honore tuo et amicitia hominum, ut eque possis *honorem hominum* habere et celestia obtinere.'). IV 126:118 (non ordinare aliquos nec promouere propter pecuniam, non exercere officium suum propter *honorem hominum* et fauorem nec propter preces carnales exaltare illos quos indignos nouerit et vite male?), V int. 15:22 ('... Si vero bestie nec laborarent nec timerent, dissoluerentur et infirmarentur. Ideo plurima opera mea sunt in abscondito, vt ego Deus mirabilis et incomprehensibilis sim cognitus et *honoratus ab hominibus* ex admiratione sapientie mee in creacione tantarum creaturarum mearum.') and Ex. 83:10 ('... Acquiram michi sapientiam hominum, quia sapientia diuina fatuitas est, mandata eius onerosa et exemplum eius difficile ad imitandum. Ad honorem vero vocatus sum; propterea laborabo, quomodo ab *homine honorari* possim. Hoc enim est leticia, esse magnum in mundo.').²⁸

18:2 *Si Dominicus descenderet de loco deliciarum, in quo feliciter vere est, et clamaret taliter: 'O fratres dilecti, sequamini* (β **K q F** sequimini **u x v Gh**) *me, quia vobis reseruantur quatuor bona ...'* (4) *Utamini* (β **K q F** Utimini **u v Gh**) *hiis, que certa sunt!*

The problem here is to decide whether the imperatives or the hortative subjunctive forms were the readings of the archetype. From the following §§3 and 4 we see that there are three imperatives: (§3) *Videte*, (§4) *Suscipite* and *Viuite*.²⁹ The imperative force of deponents are rarely used, though. *Sequimini* appears three ti-

²⁷ Cf. BU 1 351:2–4 Första är at han vil allom giua faghir ordh ther til at han skuli *af allom mannom* ('by all men') hedhras.

²⁸ Cf. I 19:6 ('Qui paciens est, ab *omnibus* contempnitur.' Sic ego propter pacienciam meam nimis videor ab *omnibus* fatuus esse et ideo ab *omnibus* contempnor.); IV 62:6 (Sic facit iste: Conformat enim se veste et actu cum *omnibus*, ut *omnibus* placeat omnesque exemplo suo et excessu ad superflua incitat dicendo ...); V int. 13:15 (*Omnibus* datur gracia ad hoc, vt ab *omnibus* diligatur dator gracie.); V int. 13:60 (Sed ideo dantur *omnibus* bona temporalia, vt ego Deus, omnium dator et creator, diligar ab *omnibus* et vt, cum boni superbiunt, per malos erudiantur ad iusticiam.).

²⁹ The imperative forms have their correspondents in BU 1: 'fölghin' (358:28), 'seen' (359:5), 'takin' (359:9), 'nytyin' (359:10) and 'lifvin' (359:11).

mes in the revelation corpus (II 12:46; IV 7:25: *persequimini*; VII 30:6) and eleven times in the Latin Vulgate. Of *utimini* there was none. However, there is a predominance in the stemma for the β reading. Furthermore, there is a similar case in Ex. 65:13, where the hortative subjunctive is followed by two imperatives: *Vtami- ni brodio vnus generis, siue sit olus siue aliud quodcumque sorbile, plura autem relinquit ob honorem Dei. Carnes vero vel pisces de duplici genere liceat vobis in mensa habere, et id, quod maius est, ob honorem meum dimittite.*

18:2 *scilicet honor*, see above 12:11.

18:18 sq. *Dixit iterum sponsa: "Dominicus instituit habere vestes non de optimis nec de vilissimis pannis sed de medie temperatis. Numquid reprehendendi sunt, si de melioribus (β u x v mollioribus K q σ) induuntur?"* (19) *Respondit Mater: "Dominicus, qui regulam de spiritu filii mei dictauit, precepit habere vestes non de melioribus (β u v mollioribus K x q σ) et preciosioribus, ne forte arguerentur et notarentur de pulchro habitu et precioso et sic superbirent..."*

To sum it up St. Dominicus prescribes that the monks should have neither the best nor the vilest clothes but be moderately dressed, so that they could not be rebuked because of their elegant clothes and eventually be presumptuous themselves. Considering the fact that the clothes are being discussed in terms of the superlatives *optimis*, *vilissimis* and *preciosioribus* and that it is emphasized in the final clause *ne forte arguerentur et notarentur de pulchro habitu et precioso et sic superbirent* ('so that they should not be accused and noticed because of their beautiful and costly clothes and thus become proud'), I think that *melioribus* should be considered the correct reading. Reading on the basis of **Gh** (*Dominicus instituit habere vestes non de optimis nec vilissimis pannis sed de medio temperatis*), BERGH (1991a:51 sq.) is of the firm opinion that *vilis* and *mollis* are contrasted here and that *mollioribus* therefore should be the correct reading. He supports his argumentation on IV 127:25 (*instituitur monachus ... et habitum habere de vilioribus non de mollioribus* [all MSS.]) and VI 19:4, V 8:3 (both with the reading *molliciem vestium*). But it should be noted that it is not until in §20 that the quality of the clothes is discussed: *Instituit etiam non habere vestes de vilissimis et durissimis, ne propter duriciam vestis inquietarentur nimium in capiendo sompnum post laborem. Sed instituit vestes habere medie temperatas et necessarias, de quibus non superbirent et in quibus nil vanitatis haberent, sed per eas frigus carnis expellerent et ad virtutum profectum continuum se munirent.* The OS retranslator(s) interpreted these passages in the same way, thus translating (*BU* 1 361:16 sq.) 'mz dyrom klädha bonadh' ('with expensive clothes') and *de melioribus et preciosioribus* with (*BU* 1 361:19) 'af thy dyrasto' ('of the most expensive').

19(R) *Responsio sponse ad Christum, qualiter diuersis cogitacionibus et inutilibus afficitur et ... responsio Christi ad sponsam ... de magna utilitate cogitacionum cum detestacione et timoris (β q timore K u x v σ) cum discrecione ad coronam habita ...*

See the Chapter 2 ‘The Manuscripts and Their Mutual Relationship’, pp. 45 sq.

19:11 *Et sic irretita anima per consuetudinem delectacionis inordinate non correxit nec conpescuit voluntatem* (β voluptatem γ σ) peccati, donec iudicium erat in foribus et ultimus punctus appropinquabat.

See the Chapter 2 ‘The Manuscripts and Their Mutual Relationship’, pp. 44 sq.

19:12–13 *Nam Deus usque ad ultimum punctum suffert hominem et expectat, si forte homo peccator voluntatem suam omnem, quam habet liberam, mouere voluerit ab affectu peccati, (13) sed quia voluntas non corrigitur, ideo anima fine infinito constringitur, quia dyabolus sciens, quod unusquisque secundum conscienciam et voluntatem iudicabitur, laborat maxime in fine, ut anima ludificetur et euertatur* (**K u v q** σ reuertatur β_1 non reuertatur β_2 euitatur **x**) **ab** (β_1 γ σ ad β_2) *intencionis rectitudine* (**P V** γ σ rectitudinem **Y** β_2), *quod et fieri permittit Deus, quia anima, cum deberet, renuit vigilare.*

See the Chapter 2 ‘The Manuscripts and their Mutual Relations’, p. 43.

19:24 *Audi adhuc unum verbum: ‘Multi sunt vocati, pauci vero electi’. Sic iste vocatus* (β **K q F** vocatus est **u x v Gh**) *ad episcopatum sed non electus, quia ingratus gracie Dei.*

It is obvious from the MSS. tradition that the archetype did not have a finite verb, a fact, which asks for alteration. The perfect participle with an elliptical form of *esse* has parallels in the revelation texts, e.g., Rev. VI 115:5 (Sed postquam Lucifer abusus est voluntate et mouit eam inordinate, *factus* ipse inordinatus et ex mala voluntate malus. Thus in analogy with the well-known concept *episcopus electus* is here created *episcopus vocatus*.) Cf. III 28:4 (*moriturus homunculus* and *in eternum regnaturus Deus*). It can be noted that the finite verb is left out in the following *quia*- clause, too. For ellipsis of forms of *esse* in the revelations, see BERGH (1991a:31,47 sq.).

21:1 *Loquitur Mater: ‘Dixi tibi prius, quod corpus beati Benedicti erat quasi saccus, qui disciplinabatur et regebatur, sed non regebat. Denique eius anima erat quasi angelus, qui* (**A^b K u x v** σ que β_1 **B O T^b q**) *dedit ex se calorem magnum et inflammacionem, sicut per exemplum ostendo tibi, quasi si essent tres ignes, quorum primus succensus in mirra dedit ex se odorem suauitatis ...’*

Here it has to be decided, whether the relative pronoun goes back to *anima* or *angelus*. In the previous sentence in this paragraph, though, there is the parallel case: *corpus* beati Benedicti erat quasi *saccus*, *qui*. In this case the text-critical apparatus lists no other readings of the relative pronoun. It can therefore be assumed that the reading *qui* in **A^b π** (except for **T^b q**) is that of the archetype. The irregular use of relative pronouns is a well-known phenomenon appearing already in the 4th century A. D.³⁰ See also the discussion below for 21:17.

³⁰ KARLSEN (1995:187–189).

21:17 *Per silicem vero significatur superbia. Quid enim durius est superbia mentis illius, que (u x v qui β T^b K q σ) omnium desiderat laudes et tamen concupiscit vocari humilis et videri deuota (Y V β₂ T^b u x v q deuotus P K σ)?*

In this passage we have another problem regarding the use of relative pronouns (see above 21:1). The discussion starts (§13) with the Virgin Mary saying that God gave her three sparks that are compared to various kinds of souls: Verumptamen ad solacium multorum dedit michi Deus scintillas tres... Prima extracta est de cristallo per solis calorem et splendorem ... (§14) Secunda extracta est de duro silice; tertia de ligno infructuoso ... (§15) Per cristallum... significatur *anima illa*, que licet frigida sit in amore Dei, tamen voluntate et affectu conatur ad perfectionem et rogat Deum sibi in adiutorium ... (§18) Quid abhominabilius *anima illa*, que omnibus in cogitatione se prefert et a nullis patitur obiurgari nec doceri? ... (§20) Per lignum vero infructuosum significatur *anima illa*, que nutrita in superbia fructificat mundo et desiderat habere mundum ad omnem honorem suum.

It is said in the rubric: superbia *mentis* per silicem ... designantur. It cannot be meant to denote a person ('his soul, who'). The reading *que* is guaranteed also through (§17) *deuota* in β (except for P) and five MSS. of the π hyparchetype.³¹ Probably there is an error in the archetype regarding (§17) *qui*, which was corrected to *que* in MSS. u x v. In analogy with (§18) *anima illa, que* the pronoun *illius* must refer to *mentis* ('the pride of that soul which').

24:19 *Istis debetur purgatio, donec operibus et oracionibus Ecclesie Deo reconcilientur. Tercius filius significat illos, qui animam suam scandalizantes non curant, si eternaliter pereant, dummodo perficere possint voluntatem (β voluptatem π) suam.*

As was stated (above pp. 31, 223) Rev. III 24 is about the virgin (= the Church), who is courted by three princes, the first of whom loved the virgin truly and offered her golden things and a crown, the second coveted her possessions and robbed her and the third wanted her virginity and tried to rape her.

24:3 In regno vero, ubi virgo erat, tale erat statutum, quod, quicumque honoraret, honoraretur, qui depredaret, depredaretur, qui vero *violaret*, decapitaretur. (§4) Rex vero regni habebat tres filios, quorum primus diligebat virginem et presentavit ei calceos deauratos cum cingulo aureo, anulum in manu et coronam super caput. Secundus vero concupiuit possessionem virginis et depredavit eam. *Tercius concupiuit virginitatem* virginis laborans, ut eam *violaret*. (§5) '... Primus quidem honoravit eam et dilexit toto corde. Secundus spoliavit eam. *Tercius* vero libenter dedisset vitam suam, si valuisset *violare* eam. (§6) In illo vero puncto rapti sunt, quo *voluntatem* completam habuerunt ad ista iam dicta perficienda.' (§8) Tu vero, fili mi, qui ad *violandam* virginem omnes adhibuisti conatus nec de facto tuo penituiti, (§9) ideo quot modos adhibuisti ad *dehonestacionem* virginis, tot modis aggrauabitur pena tua.

³¹ BU 1 372:3–6 says: Thy at hwat är hardhare än *thes hughsins höghfärdh* ('the pride of that soul') som astunda alla manna loff, ok girnas tho at kallas ödmiukir ok synas gudhelikin.

Considering the context *voluptas* might easily be considered to be the only alternative that would make sense owing to the fact that we should choose the reading which best corresponds to (§3) *violaret*, (§4) *violaret*, (§5) *violare*, (§8) *ad violandam virginem* and (§9) *ad dehonestacionem virginis*.³² However, as stated above, the word *voluntas* is also found in the same meaning as *concupiscentia* (see the discussion above regarding 6:6). In this sentence, though, I believe that it is rather the concepts *anima* and *voluntas* that are contrasted. The meaning intended is that people do not care about their soul at all but the only important thing is to have their own free will at any cost.³³ One can also note (§6) *voluntatem*, which means that the three men were caught exactly at the moment when they were totally absorbed in fulfilling their intentions (i.e., in the case of the third man to rape the virgin) and (§11) *Hec sancta Ecclesia quasi tres habet filios, in quibus significantur plures. Primus sunt illi, qui diligunt Deum toto corde. Secundus sunt illi, qui temporalia diligunt ad honorem suum. Tercius sunt illi, qui preponunt Deo voluntatem suam. Virginitas vero Ecclesie anime sunt hominum a sola deitatis potencia create.* Finally, in the revelations there are lots of examples with *voluntatem perficere* but only four (I 47:8; IV 96:4; 113:3; 132:14) with *voluptatem perficere*.

27:15 *Si vero est graue monacho pugnare contra voluntatem (P Y¹ V β₂ u voluptatem Y² T^b K x v q σ) carnis, militi est grauius inter armatos hostes procedere.*

In this case it is not possible to judge which is the correct reading (see the discussion above regarding 6:6 and 24:19). In accordance with my general principles, the β reading was chosen.

27:17 *Sed omnes gradus a sua laudabili dispositione apostatauerunt, quia caritas Dei versa est in cupiditatem mundi. Si enim offerretur (P β₂ K u x v q² auferretur V T^b q¹ σ post alt.Y) unus florenus, de tribus (sc. gradibus) magis tacerent plerique veritatem quam loquendo amitterent illum.*

Since the verbs *offerretur/auferretur* are very close, they have caused alterations. It is not possible to draw any conclusions from the stemma, because the one reading is represented in three subgroups and the other in four. In order to be able to further analyze the sentence, we should take a look at the context. The moral condition of the world is deplored here by the Virgin Mary. There are, she states, three grades of people, the good, the better, and the best ones (§8 *Ecce ponamus tres gradus, sicut tu composuisti, positium, comparatium et superlatium, id est bonos, meliores et optimos.*). Unfortunately, no grade has an ardent love for God (§13 *Sed queramus in istis gradibus supradictis, ubi inuenitur nunc caritas Dei feruencior?*). Accordingly, I think that §17 should be translated: ‘But all grades abandoned their laudable activities, for the love of God was turned into the longing for the world. For if one florin was offered (i. e., as a bribe for their silence),

³² BU 1 378:10 sq. vm the magho fulkomna sin *lusta* (‘lust’).

³³ See the discussion above regarding 7:4 sq., pp. 44 sq.

most people from these three (i.e., grades) would rather conceal the truth than talk and so lose it (i.e., the florin).³⁴ The other reading would be ‘For if there was a risk that *one florin would be brought away ...*’, but I consider this interpretation to be somewhat far-fetched.

27:20 **Viuum** (P Y β₂ T^b γ F² Gh vinum V F¹) *sacrificium et incensum matutinum comburitur in atrio.*

See Excursus A, pp. 231 sq.

27:28 *Vasa diuina venduntur contemptibiliter, quia sacramenta Dei propter pecuniam et fauorem mundanum dispensantur. Altaria vero desolata sunt, quia qui celebrat* (P Y B O T^b γ *celebrant* V A^b σ) *cum vasis manus habet* (P Y B O T^b u x v q *habent* V A^{b2} [habita A^{b1}] σ *om. K*) *a caritate Dei vacuas et oculos ad offertorium, et licet vere Deum habeat* (P Y B T^b K *habeant* V O A^b q² *sic q¹ σ habet u x v*) *inter manus, cor tamen vacuum est a Deo, quia mundanis vanitatibus est repletum.*

There is some confusion in the stemma regarding the s. and pl. forms of the verbs, since the pl. of the main clause (*Altaria ... desolata sunt*) could be expected to be followed by a relative clause in the plural. However, the distribution of the s. form *habet* in the stemma shows that the archetype must also have had *celebrat* and *habeat*. There is furthermore the fact that the s. form of the correspondent *cor* shows that a singular verb is required. Whenever people are spoken of, the pl. form *corda* is used, see e.g. III 8:7;13:16 and 27:1.³⁵

30:1 *Beata Agnes loquitur sponse dicens: “Filia, dilige Matrem misericordie. Ipsa enim similis est flori siue cirpo, cuius figura consimilis est gladio. Qui quidem flos*

³⁴ Cf. BU 1 384:12–14 *Ok än vm en guldþeningar offradhis* (‘and even if one gold coin was offered’) hällir thygdhe fläste sannindena än the taladhin ok mistin gullit. This is the reading of the OS. manuscripts. See also Rev. I 47:31 (Primo adhibent [sc. sacerdotes] michi ponderosum, quando diuinum officium, quod dicunt michi, est eis onerosum et graue. Magis enim loquuntur centum verba pro mundo quam pro honore meo unum. Magis darent centum marcas auri pro mundo quam unum denarium pro me. Magis cencies laborarent pro propria utilitate et mundi quam semel pro meo honore. Hoc onere deprimunt me, quasi mortuus sim a cordibus eorum.); II 14:50 (Qui autem plus appendit temporale quam spirituale, qui unum denarium dat michi et centum mundo et sibi mille, non eque mensurat, et talis mensurator indignus est habere aurum meum.); III 4:22 (nam eciam, si affluxisset sibi tota mundi substantia, non dedisset unum denarium ad hoc, quod fieret episcopus.); III 14:15 (Sic iste, si unum denarium obtinere posset cum multis tali modo, quod non notaretur et esset occultum, reciperet quidem, sed numquam fames cupiditatis extingueretur.); VI 39:23 (Tercia columpna erat auaricia in bonis suis, eo quod, si vnum denarium dare debebat pro nomine tuo, anxiabatur et grauabatur, et pro honore mundi libenter daret centum.).

³⁵ The singular is used also in BU 1 385:29–386:3 *Gudhelik ok hálagh kar sálias smálíka. thy at gudz sacramenta skipas ok gifwas for þáninga ok manna vild Altarin áru óðhelagdh Thy at then* (‘that person’) *som ámbítit gör mz karómin han hawir hándrena toma af gudz kárlek ok än thot han hawir sanne- líka gudh mállan handanna tho ár híártat tomt af gudhi.*

habet duas extremitates acutissimas et cuspidem gracilem. Altitudine (K u x v q² σ altitudinem β T^b [?] q¹) vero et latitudine (γ σ latitudinem β T^b) super alios flores se extendit ...”

See the Chapter 2 ‘The Manuscripts and Their Mutual Relationship’, pp. 43 sq.

34:1 sq. *Mater loquitur: “Si datur alicui anulus, qui nimis strictus est digito, et queritur ab inimico consilium, quid faciendum sit, respondit: ‘Precidatur (q prescidatur P² Y² K u prescindatur Y¹ β₂ T^b x v σ presidatur V prescitatur P¹) digitus et sic anulus ei adaptabitur. ‘Cui amicus: ‘Nequaquam’, inquit, ‘sed magis anulus cum malleo extendatur.’ (2) Si vero aliquis velit potum potentis domini per immundum panniculum trahicere et colare et quereret consilium ab inimico, ille respondit: ‘Precide (P² T^b σ prescinde Y V β₂ u x v q precinde P¹ K) de panno omne, quod immundum est, et ubi aliquid mundum inueneris, ibi trahice potum domini tui.’*

BERGH (1991a:26 sq.) studied the verb *precidere* with the variants *precidere/precindere* in Rev. VI 52:73 (Ego denique feci sicut campsor, qui *precidens* monetam reassignat eam domino.). The problem is whether the spelling *precid-* for *precid-* can be accepted as authentic, since this type of spelling is rather common in medieval Latin MSS. BERGH found that there are a number of passages in which the archetype seems to have had the stem *-cid-*, which spelling was then distorted in the manuscript tradition. AILI came to the same result in Rev. IV 22:16 and 130:12 (cf. IV 107:33 and 125:39). Judging from the MSS. of 34:1 sq. the archetype seems to have *prescindatur* and *prescinde* respectively. However, I chose the forms *precidatur* and *precide*, since I suspect the other readings to be archetypal errors.

4.2 Emendations

1:5 *Omnis igitur episcopus, qui taliter apparet precinctus, ad eum veniet Tobias, id est <homo iustus, et> homines iusti et sequentur viam eius.*

For this passage, see the Chapter 1.2.3, p. 27.

8:9 *Tercio, quid sibi de hiis duobus magis videtur placere, vocari scilicet magister et inter honoratos in primis <sedilibus> pro mundana gloria residere aut simplex frater vocari et inter ultimos residere.*

The omission of *sedilibus* must be an archetypal error, which I amended with the help of the *LM* and the *OS* texts. See Excursus B, pp. 239 sq.

13:4 sq. *Hic thesaurus sunt verba filii mei carissimi et eius preciosissima opera, que in passione et ante passionem fecit, (5) necnon et illa mirabilia opera, que tunc fecit, quando verbum factum est caro in corpore meo, et quod <facit>, quando (om. V K u x v) in altari cotidie panis eadem fit caro ad verbum Dei.*

The construction *quod quando* is hard to comprehend. As a consequence some of the MSS. left out *quando* in order to give some sense to the clause. *BU* 1 341:2-341:5 reads: *Ok the vndarlika gerningana som han giordhe Nar ordhit wardh köt j minom likama Ok nar brödhit wardhir daglika thz sama kötit a altareno for gudz ordha dygdh skuld* ('and the wonderful works he did when the word became flesh in my body, and when the bread daily becomes the same flesh on the altar because of the virtue of God's word'). It would be tempting to solve the problem by considering *quod* a dittography of *quando* and thus just dropping it, but the adverb *cotidie* in the following *quando*-clause does seem to require the present tense *facit*. Cf. the illogical construction in *BU* 1 owing to the imperfect 'han giordhe Nar ordhit wardh' ('he did when the word became') and '*Ok nar brödhit wardhir daglika*' ('and when the bread daily becomes'). The omission of *facit* is probably an archetypal error. Thus the OS retranslator(s)/editor(s) was/were not able to penetrate the construction correctly and simply omitted *quod*.

13:6 *Hec omnia sunt preciosissimus thesaurus, que ita iam neglecta et oblita sunt, quod paucissimi sunt, qui recolunt et eis utuntur* (*scripsi eis utantur* β **T^b K q** σ *utantur eis u utuntur eis x v*) *ad profectum suum*.

The problem here is why the two verbs in the relative clause have different *modi*. The stemma shows that the reading of the archetype was *eis utantur*. But the subjunctive has no meaning here. The first verb in the relative clause takes the indicative, *recolunt*. The subjunctive *utantur* must therefore be an archetypal error, which was corrected in MSS. **x** and **v**.

18(R) *Verba Matris ad filiam, quod cicius fratres nunc audiunt* (*scripsi audirent et audiunt* codd. **Gh**) *vocem diaboli quam sui patris Dominici ...*

This is a good example of the fact that the archetype is not the original. The archetype without doubt had the reading *audirent et audiunt*. However, the imperfect subjunctive, *audirent*, followed by the present, *et audiunt*, makes no sense. From a logical point of view *audirent* was written first. When it was later changed into *audiunt*, the reading *audirent et* was unfortunately not removed.

18:28 " ... *Verumptamen nunc compellor dicere veritatem, quod ille iustus iudex, qui iudicauit me, magis voluisset me liberare tam amara morte, sicut tunc paciebatur, cum staret in ligno crucis, sed iusticia, cui obuiare non poterat, contradicebat, quam quod aliter* (*scripsi taliter* codd. **Gh**) *fuissem, sicut nunc experior, iudicatus.*"

Since the two *sicut* are synonymous here with *quam* (see my Gram. ind. 7.1.3.), we must read *aliter* in order to give the proper meaning to the sentence, 'But now I am forced to tell the truth, that this fair judge, who judged me, would rather have wanted to save me through this his very bitter death, which he then suffered when he was on the wood of the cross, but justice, which he could not go against, would

not allow that I be judged *in any other way* than what I am now experiencing.³⁶ Hence *taliter* must be considered an archetypal error.

21:19 *Propterea Deus cooperante voluntate bona amouet* (P O ammouet Y V B A^b T^b K q σ admonet u x v) a (om. V u x v) *cordibus eorum contraria et <ammouet> quandoque mollia* (β₁ π inutilia β₂), *quibus et* (om. K) *a mundialibus retrahuntur et ad celestia incitantur.*

The Virgin Mary tells Birgitta that many proud people pray humbly to God that pride and ambition should be removed from their hearts. Then it must follow that ‘Therefore, God, working with good will, takes away the obstacles from their hearts and sometimes *brings forth* nice things, through which they are both drawn back from the world and are encouraged to (seek) heaven.’

It is necessary to add a verb like *ammouet* here to correspond to *amouet*, since without it the meaning would be that God sometimes takes away nice things, through which proud people are drawn back from the world and are encouraged to (seek) heaven,³⁷ which is the opposite to what should be expected considering the context.

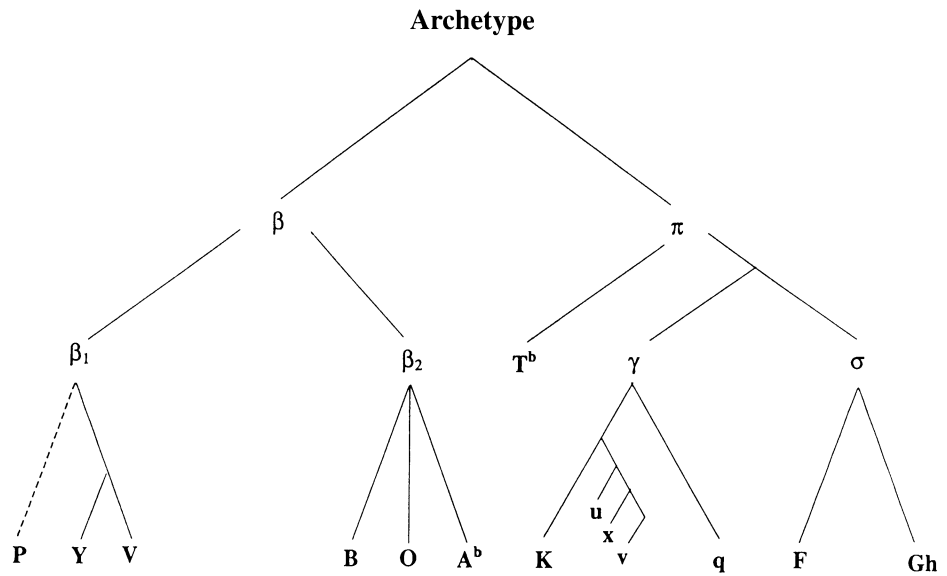
³⁶ The same interpretation is found in BU 1 363:4–6 *Än rätuisan hulkin som ey matte mote standas sagdhe a mot at iak skulde annorledh dömas* (‘that I should be judged in another way’). *än iak nw röne.*

³⁷ Cf. BU 1 372:11–15 *Thy for then godha vilian bort röre gudh* (‘God takes away’) *genwärdogh thingh af thera hiärtom ok stundom lustelik thingh mz hulkom the bort draghas af wärlzlikom thingom ok vpuäkkias til hymerikis thingh* (‘and sometimes nice things through which they are drawn back from the world and are encouraged to [seek] heaven’).

5 Sanctae Birgittae *Reuelaciones*,
Liber III

Stemma Codicum Adhibitorum

Rev. III exceptis addicionibus et declaracionibus:



Gh = editio princeps a Ghotan anno 1492 impressa; e litteris in textu positis apparet, quomodo capitula in ea editione dividantur.

- β = consensus codicum β_1 et β_2
- β_1 = consensus codicum **(P) Y V**
- β_2 = consensus codicum **B O A^b**
- π = consensus codicum **T^b γ et σ**
- T^b**
- γ = consensus codicum **K u x v q**
- σ = consensus codicum **F Gh**

Proemium

1 Filius Dei loquitur dicens: “Si quis preficitur aliis, non ideo superbire debet, quia prelatus est, sed magis timere, quia omnes eiusdem nature sunt et omnis potestas est a Deo. Quippe si bonus est, qui preficitur, a Deo est ad propriam et aliorum salutem; *2* si vero malus est, permissione Dei est ad subditorum correccionem et maius iudicium suum. Ergo cum aliquis vel cogitur vel desiderat preesse, talem se exhibeat subditis, ut et desiderabilis sit moribus et eciam vita utilisque in iusticia et equitate. *3* Et attendat, ne verbis vel exemplis vel abusione potestatis sue materiam et occasionem peccandi aliis tribuat, quia nichil ita prouocat iram Dei et homines ad peccandum sicut lasciua prelatorum. *4* Si enim Hely sacerdos sicut Finées et Moyses stetisset in vigore sacerdocii sui et dilexisset spiritualiter filios suos, tota generacio eius saluata fuisset.”

This preface is added in Gh, see my Chapter 3 ‘Principles of Edition’.

The spelling of the proemium is normalized in accordance with the principles of the Rev. III edition.

1 Si ... (*2*) suum Rev. VI 53:2-3. omnis potestas est a Deo Mt. 28,18. *2* Ergo ... equitate Rev. VI 53:4. *3* Et (*4*) fuisset Rev. VI 53:8-9. verbis vel exemplis St. Peter being a man edified by word and example is a model for emulation, Revs. III 27:6 sqq.; IV 76:20. See also III 4:7;27:12 and my Chapter 1.3, pp. 29 sqq. *4* Hely sacerdos Revs. IV 74:72; VII 19:22 sq.; AUG. De civ.17:5; BEN. Reg. cap. 2, ll. 57-59; Num. 25.7 sqq.; 1 Reg. 2,12 sqq; 14,3; 1 Mach. 2,26.

INCIPIT TERCIVS LIBER CELESTIVM
REVELACIONVM BEATE BIRGITTE DE REGNO
SVECIE DIIVINITVS REVELATVS

Monicio et informacio ad episcopum de modo tenendo in victu et vestitu et oracione, et qualiter se debeat habere ante mensam, in mensa et post mensam et hoc idem de dormicione, et qualiter in omnibus exerceat officium episcopale. Capitulum I.

1 “Ihesus Christus, deus et homo, qui venit ad terram assumere humanitatem, saluare animas sanguine suo, qui viam veram illuminauit aperuitque portam celi, ipse me misit ad vos. **2** (A) Audi tu, cui datum est audire spiritualia. Si episcopus iste proponit ire per viam artam, per quam pauci ambulant, et esse unus de paucis, deponat primo pondus circumstans et onerans eum, hoc est mundi cupiditatem, habendo mundum ad sola necessaria sua secundum episcopalem humilem sustentacionem. **3** Sic fecit ille bonus Matheus, qui vocatus a Deo reliquit onus graue mundi et inuenit onus leue. Secundo sit precinctus ad viam, sicut dicit Scriptura, quod Tobias paratus ad viam inuenit angelum precinctum stantem. **4** Quid significat, quod angelus erat precinctus, nisi quod omnis episcopus precinctus debet esse

Rev. III 1=IV 126:36-77. See my Chapter 1.3, pp. 32 sq., 35.

R liber celestium reuelacionum *For the combination ‘liber celestis’ and ‘celestes reuelaciones’, BERGH (1971:47-50); JÖNSSON (1989:57,66,85-89, 97 sq.).* episcopum *Rev. III 2 sq.; 12:26. See my Chapter 1.3, pp. 29 sqq.* **1** saluare animas sanguine suo *1 Petr. 1,18 sqq.* illuminauit *cf. Ps. 33,6. me sc. Virgin Mary; see my Chapter 1.2.3.* **2** audire spiritualia *Ex. 72; A&P 486. viam artam Rev. III 2(R),1,2,4,12;12:9;17:20; BEN. Reg. p. 44 l. 17 sqq.; Mt. 7,13; Lc. 13,24. deponat primo pondus Hebr. 12,1. 3 ille bonus Matheus Ex. 34:10; Mt. 9,9 sqq. Tobias ... stantem Rev. VIII 54; Tob. 5,5 sqq. 4 omnis episcopus precinctus debet esse Mal. 2,7; cf. Rev. VII 12; GREG. Moralia V 38:69; BERN. Serm. 100. Ego sum pastor bonus, qui pono animam meam pro ouibus meis Io. 10,11.*

I: β π

R om. F et₁ om. **O** et₂ om. **V** debeat **T^{b1}** debet **T^{b2}** γ (debent ante debet exp. q) habere debeat **Gh** in omnibus ante ante add. **Gh** mensam₁] missam **T^{b1}** in mensa ... mensam₂ in marg. (?) **T^b** (signum insertionis post mensam₁ est, sed ligatione manuscripti verba marginis non possunt legi) **I** qui₁ om. **u** saluare β et saluare π (vide pag. 43, n. 61) suo om. **O** viam veram] veram viam **O K** vitam veram (cf. 2 Tim. 1,10) **Gh** aperuit-que] qui aperuit **O** **2** est om. **V** proponit **P¹** per₁₋₂ supra lin. **T^b** circumstans] circumdans **P** **3** a Deo supra lin. **T^b** reliquet ante reliquit eras. **P** onus₁ infra lin. **O** sit] sic **V B u** viam₁] veritatem **v** dicit] dixit **V** ad₂] a **V** **4** signat **u** sic post angelus add **x** qui ante nisi lin. del. **V** nisi supra lin. **q** precinctus₂ om. **O**

cingulo iusticie et diuine caritatis, paratus ire per illam viam, per quam ille iuit, qui ait: 'Ego sum pastor bonus, qui pono animam meam pro ouibus meis', paratus eciam cum verbis loqui veritatem, paratus cum operibus facere iusticiam tam in se ipso quam in aliis **5** non dimittendo iusticiam propter minas seu obprobria, non propter falsam amicitiam seu vanum timorem. Omnis igitur episcopus, qui taliter apparet precinctus, ad eum veniet Tobias, id est <homo iustus, et> homines iusti et sequentur viam eius.

6 (B) Tercio debet comedere panem et aquam, antequam aggrediatur viam, sicut legitur de Helya, quod excitatus a sompno inuenit ad caput suum panem et aquam. Quis est iste panis datus prophete nisi bonum corporale et spirituale, quod administrabatur ei? **7** Nam preparabatur ei in heremo panis corporalis propter exemplum. Licet enim Deus potuisset sustentasse prophetam sine cibo corporali, voluit tamen preparari ei panem corporalem, ut intellegeret homo Deo esse placitum, quod utatur bonis Dei donis temperate ad consolacionem carnis. **8** Infusio quoque spiritualis inspirabatur prophete, quando quadraginta diebus iuit in fortitudine cibi illius. Nisi enim interna quedam unccio gracie inspirata fuisset menti eius, defecisset utique in quadraginta dierum labore, quia homo infirmus ex se erat sed ex Deo ad tantum perficiendum iter fortis.

9 Ergo quia in omni verbo Dei viuuit homo, monemus episcopum

5 Tobias *KLOCKARS (1966:74 with n. 14).* **6** Helya ... inuenit ... panem et aquam *3 Reg. 19,5 sq.; cf. Rev. VI 106; Ex. 39:4; 111:4; AMBR. Ep. I, 14:75 sqq. (Ep. extra coll.); BERN. Serm. 94.* **8** Infusio *AMBR. De Spiritu Sancto I 7:83 sqq.; cf. Sap 1,7. KLOCKARS (1966:95)* **9** in omni verbo Dei viuuit homo *Mt. 4,4.*

per, supra lin. **Y** in marg. (?) **T^b** (signum insertionis ante illam est, sed ligatione manuscripti verbum marginis non potest legi) om. **P** (vide pag. 53) illam viam β viam illam π (vide pag. 43, n. 61)
 per, supra lin. **Y T^b** om. **P** (vide pag. 53) iuit] ibit **V** bonus om. **O** debet esse post
 eciam add. **u** verbis] verbo **v** debet esse post paratus, add. **u** aliis supra lin. **V**
5 igitur in marg. (?) **T^b** (signum insertionis post Omnis est, sed ligatione manuscripti verbum marginis non potest legi) ergo **V** veniret **V** homo iustus, et addidi secuta *Rev. IV 126:44* (vide pag. 27) iusti in marg. **F²** iustum in marg. **F¹** iuste **x** sequentur] sequuntur **Y V** viam β_1
O u x v vitam **B A^b T^b K q** σ (vide pag. 63 sq.) **6** aggrediatu] egrediatu **P** β_2 **u v**
 quod] qui **O** suum supra lin. **Y q¹** om. **P** administrabantur **O** administratur **u q¹**
7 potuisse **P** preparare **F** panem ei **P T^b γ Gh** donis Dei **P** π **8** quoque supra
 lin. **q²** quandoque **q¹** homo om. **V** ad] in **v** perficiendum] superficiendum **V** iter
 perficiendum **u x** iter om. **v** **9** quia,] quando **O** qui **q¹**

sumere buccellam panis, hoc est diligere Deum super omnia. Hanc buccellam inueniet ipse ad caput suum, id est, quia ratio sua dicet ei Deum suum super omnia et pre omnibus diligendum tum propter creacionem et redempcionem tum propter longam pacienciam et suam bonitatem.

10 (C) Rogamus eum eciam bibere pauxillum aque, hoc est intime cogitare amaritudinem passionis Christi. Quis enim digne sufficiat cogitare angustias humanitatis Christi, quas tunc paciebatur, quando peciit transferri a se calicem passionis, quando gutte sanguinis decurrebant in terram. **11** Bibat ergo episcopus aquam istam cum pane caritatis et tunc confortabitur ad progrediendum in via Ihesu Christi.

12 Incepta igitur via salutis si episcopus ultra progredi voluerit, utile est ei a prima hora diei regraciari Deo toto corde, recogitare sollicite actus suos et petere auxilium a Deo ad faciendum voluntatem eius. **13** Deinde, cum induit se vestibus, oret in hunc modum: 'Cinis tenetur esse cum cinere et terra cum terra. Verumptamen, quia ex prouidencia Dei episcopus sum, induo te, corpus meum, vestibus, que ex terra sunt, non propter pulchritudinem et superbiam sed propter operimentum, ne nuditas tua appareat. **14** Nec curo, utrum indumentum tuum melius sit an vilius, sed tantum, ut ad reuerenciam Dei episcopalis agnoscat habitus. Et ex habitu discernatur episcopalis auctoritas ad correpcionem et informacionem aliorum. Ideo rogo te, piissime Deus, ut tribuas michi in animo stabilitatem, ne superbiam

Deum suum super omnia et pre omnibus diligendum *Deut. 6,5;10,12; Mt. 22,37; Lc. 10,27.*
10 quando peciit transferri a se calicem passionis *Prol. Math. 11; Rev. I 10:30;39:1; Mt. 26,39; Mc. 14,36.* gutte sanguinis *Rev. I 39:2 (sudor sanguinis with app. hist); Lc. 22,44.* **12** regraciari Deo toto corde *Mt. 22,37; cf. Rev. III 24:5 (dilexit toto corde).*

in hoc corr. q Deum,] verum **Y** inuenient **V**¹ dicit **T**^{b1} **x** creacionem et redempcionem] et redempcionem creationem **V** **10** Rogemus **u** eciam eum β_2 bibere] habere **K** amaritudinem passionis Christi (*cf. Rev. IV 126:51*) **P** π pass. Christi am. **Y V** β_2 (*vide pag. 47*) humanitatis Christi (*cf. Rev. IV 126:51*) **P** π Christi hum. **Y V** β_2 (*vide pag. 47*) Christi, *in marg. (?) T^b (signum insertionis post humanitatis est, sed ligatione manuscripti verbum marginis non potest legi)* quas] omnes **P** a se transferri β_2 **u** eius post sanguinis *add. K* **11** episcopus *in marg. (?) T^b (signum insertionis post ergo est, sed ligatione manuscripti verbum marginis non potest legi) om. V* **12** igitur] vero **u** tum (?) *ante si add. q* faciendam **V** **13** cum,] tamen **v** ex prouidencia Dei *post sum trp. A^b* in ante vestibus, *exp. et lin. del. q* **14** appareat *ante melius lin. del. T^b* melius] maius **u** correpcionem π correccionem **B** (*vide pag. 45*) et informacionem *om. V* superbeam **O**

de cineris et terre precio nec inaniter gloriatur de colore puluereo. **15** Sed presta fortitudinem ut, sicut habitus episcopalis discretus et honorabilis est pre aliis propter auctoritatem diuinam, sic habitus anime mee respiciatur apud Deum, ne propter auctoritatem indiscrete et indigne habitam deprimar profundius seu propter habitum laudabilem inaniter portatum denuder ignominiosius ad meam dampnationem.’

16 (D) Deinde legat vel decantet horas. Quo enim homo ad alciorem gradum ascenderit, eo maiorem honorem tenetur Deo reddere. Attamen cor purum ita placet Deo in silencio, sicut in cantu, dummodo aliis iustis utilitatibus occupetur homo. **17** Post dictam missam excerceat episcopale officium suum cauendo sollicitate, ne plus attendat ad corporalia quam spiritualia. Cum vero accedit ad mensam, cogitationem habeat talem: **18** ‘O Domine Ihesu Christe, qui corpus, quod corrumpitur, cibo corporali sustentari precipis, da michi auxilium sic corpori meo dare necessaria, ut non improbe contra animam insolescat caro ex ciborum superfluitate nec lentescat in seruicio tuo ex indiscreta parcitate. Sed inspira moderanciam congruam, ut, cum terra de terrenis sustentatur, dominus terre a terra sua ad iram non prouocetur.’ **19** Cum vero in mensa fuerit, permittitur ei moderata consolacio et collocucio, in qua euitetur scurrilitas et vanitas, ne tale verbum proferatur vel audiatur, quo audientes occasionem habeant ad peccandum, sed omnia sint honesta et salutaria. **20** Sicut enim in mensa corporali deficientibus pane et vino omnia sunt insipida, sic in mensa episcopali et spirituali deficiente bona doctrina et exhortacione omnia apposita insipida sunt anime. **21** Et ideo, ut euitetur vanitatum occasio, legatur vel recitetur aliquid in mensa tale, unde edi-

18 O Domine ... prouocetur *For this prayer, UNDHAGEN (1978:154 n. 5).* **19** collocucio, in qua euitetur scurrilitas *Rev. I 27:2; RS II: 76 (with app. hist.); BEN. Reg. cap. 6 ll. 15 sqq., cap. 43 ll. 4-5 (cf. cap. 7 ll. 127-131); Eph. 5,4. FOGELKVIST (1993a:42 with n. 81); cf. 2 Tim. 2,14; Tit. 3,2.*

nec₂₁ ne V glorietur x v **15** habitus₁ in marg. T^b Deum] dominum P
ne] non x v deprimat P habitum propter x denudar x v ignominiosus B ignominiosus u in dampnationem corr. T^b **16** homo₂ in marg. T^b **17** officium episcopale
V quam β quam ad π (vide pag. 43, n. 61) accedat V **18** caro om. x nec] ne V
tui ante tuo add. V inspira] inspirantia V de ante terra₁ exp. u in sustentatur corr.
T^b ut ante dominus exp. T^b ad iram in marg. T^b **19** collocucio V euitatur (?) F
ne (Rev. IV 126:64) β nec π (vide pag. 43, n. 61) **20** spirituali et episcopali T^b **21** euitetur] vitetur P vanitatum] vanitem P in mensa om. O

ficentur assidentes. Perfecta vero refeccione et redditis in benedic-
 cione Deo graciis inquirat agenda vel certe reuoluat libros, ex quibus
 trahi potest ad anime perfeccionem. **22** (E) Post cenam vero consola-
 ri potest cum familiaribus suis. Attamen sicut mater ablactans infan-
 tem perungit ubera cinere seu aliqua alia amaritudine, donec infans
 dissuescat a lacte et assuescat cibis solidioribus, sic episcopus attra-
 hat Deo familiares suos talibus verbis, quibus timeant Deum et dili-
 gant, ut et ipsorum sit pater per diuinam auctoritatem et eorum mater
 per spiritualem educacionem. **23** Si vero scit scienter aliquem suo-
 rum familiarium peccare ad mortem anime, qui auditis amonicioni-
 bus non respiscit, remoueat eum a se. Quem si retinuerit propter
 commodum et consolacionem temporalem, non erit immunis a pec-
 cato eius. **24** Pergens vero ad lectum suum examinet diligenter facta
 et affectus ipsius diei iam preteriti cogitando taliter: ‘O Deus, creator
 corporis mei et anime, vide me misericordia tua et presta gratiam tu-
 am, ut ex sompni abundancia non tepescam in seruicio tuo! **25** Nec
 sompni inquietudine deficiam in seruicio tuo sed modera sompnum
 meum ad honorem tuum, quem ad corporis alleuiacionem haberi
 precepisti, et da michi fortitudinem, ut inimicus dyabolus non inqui-
 etet me nec abstrahat a tua pietate.’

21 reuoluat libros ... ad anime perfeccionem *cf. RS* (II: 227 sq.): Libri quoque, quotquot necessarii fue-
 rint ad diuinum officium peragendum, habendi sunt, plures autem nullo modo. Illos autem libros habe-
 ant, quotquot voluerint, in quibus addiscendum est vel studendum *and Rev. III 8:7* (litterature astucia);
 8:13 (vacua stramina masticat). *KLOCKARS* (1966:26 sqq.). **22** sicut mater ablactans infantem ...
 sic episcopus *SAHLIN* (1993b:108). **23** *cf. Rev. VII 12:40-46; BEN. Reg. cap 2, ll. 57-59.; BERN.*
De consid. IV 6:21; Mt. 5,30.

Perfecta] Peracta **K** redditis] redictis **P** Deo *post* redditis *trp.* **V** graciis] gracias **u**
 gratus **q**¹ reuolluata **V** liberos **V**¹ **22** cenam vero **K x q** σ vero cenam β **T**^b **u v** (*vide*
pag. 64) potest] poterit **Gh** seu] vel **O** infans *in marg.* **T**^b disiuere (?) *ante* dissu-
 escat *add. v lin. del.* **x** assuescat β_2 assuescit **Y V T**^b **K u v q** σ assuescint (?) **P** assuescerat **x**
 verbum *post* timeant *add.* **V** Deum] dominum **P B A**^b auctoritati **q**¹ **23** familiari-
 um *in marg.* **Y** peccatorem **P** peccari (?) *ante* peccare *lin del et in aliquid in marg. scriptum,*
quod non potest legi, alt. **Y** auditis] ante dictis **P** monicionibus **K** respiscitis **K**
 retinuit **u** temporalem] corporalem **V** non₂ *supra lin.* **T**^b Christo *ante* peccato
exp. **q** peccato] pietate **P** **24** ipsius *in marg.* **T**^b iam *in marg.* **T**^b mee *post* anime
add. **Y V** sompnii **P K q F** tepescant **x** tepescat **v** tuo *supra lin.* **F** **25** sompni
 (*Rev. IV 126:75*)] **Y V T**^b **u**¹ **x**¹ **v Gh** sompnii **P** β_2 **K u**² **x**² **q F** in (*Rev. IV 126:75*)] **a P T**^b γ **F**
 sompnum] sonum **V** allienacionem **P** habere **x v** michi *in marg.* **T**^b

26 Surgens autem a lecto diluat confessione, si quas negligencias caro passa est, ne sequentis noctis sompnus cum preterite delictis oriatur.”

Verba Virginis ad filiam de remedio oportuno ad difficultatem episcopo occurrentem in via arta, et quomodo paciencia per vestes et decem precepta per decem digitos et desiderium eternorum et fastidium mundanorum per duos pedes designantur, et de tribus inimicis in via contra episcopum existentibus. Capitulum II.

1 Item loquitur Dei Mater: (A) “Dic episcopo, quod, si inceserit per viam iam dictam, tunc tria difficilia occurrent ei: primo, quod via est arta, secundo, quod in ea sunt spine pungitiue, tercio, quod via est petrosa et inequalis. 2 Contra hec tria dabo tibi tria consilia: Primum est, quod induat se episcopus vestibus forcioribus et subtiliter consu- tis contra viam artam. Secundum est, quod habeat decem digitos ante oculos suos, inter quos respiciat tamquam per cancellos, ne pungatur a spinis. 3 Tercium est, quod caute ponat pedes suos et in quolibet vestigio attemptet, si pes positus subsistit solide, nec precipitanter ponat ambos pedes simul, nisi prius certificatus fuerit de qualitate vie. 4 Quid vero significat via arta nisi maliciam hominum prauorum contra iustos, qui derident opera iusta et deprauant vias et monita iustorum recta et, quidquid humile et pietatis est, paruipendunt. 5 Contra tales homines induat se episcopus veste paciencie et constan- cie, quia paciencia grauia facit esse suauia et illatas contumelias gau-

Rev. III 2 = IV 126:80-109. See Rev. III 1 (with further references).

R episcopo *see Rev. III 1.* via arta *Rev. III 1:2 (with app. hist.).* **1** tria *ODELMAN (1993:19).*
spine pungitiue *cf. Cant. 2,2.* **5** *cf. Iob 29,14 sqq.*

26 a] de **V** se *post* diluat *add.* **K** *supra lin.* **q** *exp.* **T^b** ne *om.* **O** preteritis **V**
in oriatur *corr.* **T^b** et cetera *post* oriatur *add.* **u**

II: β π

R *om.* **F** et_{2,3}] et per **O** **1** Dei *in marg.* **T^b** Mater Dei **x v** quod₁ *in marg.* **T^b**
iam *om.* **K** occurrunt **O** via₁ *supra lin.* **q** **2** episcopus se **u x v²** episcopus *in*
marg. **T^b** *post* quod₁ *trp.* **V** **3** nec] ne **u x v F** precipitatur **P** precipitentur **u** ponas **K**
ambo **P¹V** fuerit certificatus **T^b** fueris **K** **4** signat **x** malicia **P** iusta
opera **F** deprauant] deprimant **V** dampnant **x** **5** *se supra lin.* **F** et constancie *in marg.* **T^b**
esse *supra lin.* **F**

denter tolerare. **6** (B) Quid vero significant spine nisi aduersitates mundi? Contra has habendi sunt digiti decem preceptorum Dei et consiliorum eius, ut, cum pupugerit spina aduersitatis et paupertatis, consideretur passio et paupertas Christi. **7** Cum vero pupugerit spina ire et inuidie, consideretur caritas Dei, quam nobis seruare precipit. Caritas enim vera non querit, que sua sunt, sed se totam exponit ad honorem Dei et proximi utilitatem. Quod vero debet esse cautus in ponendis pedibus significat, quod ubique debet racionabiliter timere. **8** Nam bonus homo tenetur habere quasi duos pedes. Primus est desiderium eternorum. Secundus est fastidium mundi. In desiderio vero eternorum debet esse discrecio, ne desideret eterna sibi soli tamquam digno, sed totum desiderium suum et voluntatem et remuneracionem ponat in manus Dei. **9** In fastidio vero mundi debet esse caucio et timor, ne fastidium sit propter aduersitates mundi et vite impacienciam, ne sit eciam propter vite temporalis maiorem quietem et laboris aliis proficui exoneracionem, sed solummodo fiat propter peccati abhominacionem et desiderium eterne vite.

10 Hiis igitur difficultatibus vie superatis adhuc precaueo episcopum de tribus inimicis, qui sunt in via sua. Primus quippe hostis nititur sibilare in aures episcopi, ut obstruat auditum eius. Secundus stat ante eum, ut pungat oculos eius. **11** Tercius est ante pedes eius clamans alte et habens laqueum, quo pedes illaqueat, quando eleuat eos a terra. (C) Primus hostis sunt homines illi siue infusiones ille, que nituntur episcopum trahere a via recta dicentes: **12** 'Cur tantum assu-

6 Quid ... mundi *BERN. Ep. 136; cf. BERN. Ep. 32.*
proximi utilitatem *1 Cor. 13,4-8; cf. Rev. VI 65.*
vite *RS II:105. FOGELKVIST (1993a:185 sqq.).*

7 Caritas enim vera non querit, que sua sunt ...
9 peccati abhominacionem et desiderium eterne

7 vero,] vere (?) **V** pupugerit β_1 **K** pungitur β_2 **T^b q F** pungit **u x v** pungi (*sic!*) **Gh** (*vide pag. 64 sq.*) precepit **O T^{b1} K Gh** non] duo **K** deponendis **u x v** ubicumque **P V** timere racionabiliter **F¹** **8** desiderio] desidesit **q¹** vero] vere **V** digno] digne **V** et (*supra lin.*) remuneracionem **T^{b2}** remuneracionemque **T^{b1}** **9** ne,] nec **P** fastidium *in marg.* **T^b** sit,] sic **P¹** eciam *supra lin.* **T^b** quietem β requiem π (*vide pag. 43, n. 61*) aliis] alii **T^{b1}** alicuius **u** alius **x** fiet **u¹ x v** fit **u²** peccata **Gh** **10** igitur] ergo **O** superatis] separatis **u x v** (*vide pag. 54*) suis *post* inimicis *exp.* **F** sunt] fuerunt **u** *in in* via *corr.* **T^b** sibi *post* nititur *add.* **u x v** sibilaret **V** auribus **P** ut pungat] ut perungat **P** et pungit **K** **11** eius *supra lin.* **Y** *post* pedes *trp.* β_2 illaqueat] illaqueet **P² Gh** quando eleuat *in marg.* **V** ille *om.* **F** que (*Rev. IV 126:93*) qui **V T^{b2} K q** σ retrace **T^b** **12** assumis tibi (*Rev. IV*)

mis tibi laborem et pergis per viam tam artam? Dierte ergo magis in viam floridam, per quam vadunt plures. Quid ad te quomodo ille vel illi viuunt? Quid ad te offendere vel obiurgare illos, a quibus honorari et amari possis? **13** Si non offendunt te et tuos, quid tibi cure est, quomodo viuunt aut si offendunt Deum? Si vero tu ipse bonus es, quid ad te iudicare alios? Da magis munera et accipe. Utere amicicia hominum, ut lauderis et bonus voceris in vita tua.' **14** Secundus hostis desiderat excecari te sicut Philistei Samsonem. Hii sunt pulchritudo et possessio mundi, fluxus vestium et diuersus apparatus rerum, honores hominum et fauores. Cum enim ista offeruntur et placent oculis, excecatur ratio, tepescit amor mandatorum Dei, peccatum perpetratur licencius et commissum leuigatur. **15** Propterea cum episcopus necessaria moderata habuerit, contentetur. Nam nimis multis videtur nunc dulcius esse stare ad molam cupiditatis cum Samsone quam diligere Ecclesiam secundum laudabilem dispositionem cure pastoralis. **16** (D) Tercius hostis clamat alte habens laqueum et dicens: 'Cur', inquit, 'sic vadis caute et inclinato capite? Cur in tantum humilias te ipsum, qui a pluribus debes et possis honorari? Esto magis sacerdos, ut sedeas cum primis! Esto episcopus, ut honorari possis a pluribus! **17** Procede ad maiores dignitates, ut maiora

14 hostis desiderat excecari te sicut Philistei Samsonem *Iud. 16,21 sqq.; cf. Revs. I 51:7; IV 84:2.*
15 stare ad molam *cf. Rev. III 7:2* (flabello pleno vento iuxta conflatorium ... carbonibus consumptis et ere ignito fluente); *26:10 sq.* (duo frustra argenti viui ... unus athomus); *30:11* (fabro fabricanti ... ignescit ferrum ... in frigidat) and *32:3* (magnes attrahit sibi ferrum). *These metaphors of technique probably come from BARTHOLOMEUS ANGLICUS, De proprietatibus rerum. KLOCKARS (1966:130 sq.); GÖTLIND (1990:152, 1993:157 sqq.).* secundum laudabilem dispositionem cure pastoralis *cf. Rev. III 18. See my Chapter 1.3.* **16-17** *cf. Revs. III 4:3 sqq; 8:8 sq.* **16** Cur in tantum humilias te ipsum *cf. Rev. III 4:21.* **17** Procede ad maiores dignitates *cf. Apoc. 3,11* (tene quod habes, ut nemo accipiat coronam tuam).

126:93) P π tibi assumis Y V β₂ (vide pag. 47) laborem in marg. F per₁ supra lin. T^b om. β₁
 tam] tantam F ergo supra lin. T^b igitur P β₂ in om. O per₂ supra lin. T^b
 Quid ... viuunt om. K ad₁] a V ille vel om. P viuant β₂ obiurgare et offendere T^b vel₂] et P T^b γ Gh amari et honorari T^b et₂] vel F **13** et₁ supra lin. T^{b2} vel T^{b1} es] eris V videaris post voceris exp. T^b vita] via V¹ **14** Secundum P philistini γ F philistim T^b Gh et₁ supra lin. q ista om. x tria post ista add. B peccatum P² peccatur P¹ commesum V **15** contentatur q¹ multis supra lin. q esse in marg. T^b stare esse O cupiditatem x quam ante secundum add. V laudabilem om. V suam ante dispositionem add. u x v laudabilis post cure add. V pastoris O K **16** dicit B vadis sic T^b incaute K q (vide pag. 54) qui] quia V cum x v de-beas K in possis corr. T^b posset B posses K possis et debes P magis] michi x

obtineas seruicia et maiori fruaris quiete! Congrega thesauros, quibus alios iuuans tecum ab aliis consolari possis et ubique esse letus!’

18 Cumque animus talibus inclinatus fuerit affectionibus et suggestionibus, mox affectus eleuatur quasi pede quodam praue delectationis ad terrenam cupiditatem, qua ita inuoluitur laqueo cure mundialis, quod vix consurgit ad considerationem sue miserie et premiorum seu suppliciorum eternorum. **19** Nec mirum: Scriptura enim dicit, quod, qui episcopatum desiderat, bonum opus desiderat ad honorem Dei. Nunc autem plerique desiderant honorem et refugiunt laborem, in quo est anime salus eterna. Propterea episcopus iste stet in gradu, quem habet, nec appetat alciorem, donec Deo placuerit ei aliter prouidere.”

Declaracio plenaria Virginis ad episcopum, qualiter, ut Deus honoretur per ipsum, exerceat episcopale officium et de duplici fructu veram dignitatem subsequente et de duplici confusione falsam dignitatem consequente et de occursu Ihesu Christi et omnium sanctorum ad verum et rectum episcopum. Capitulum III.

1 Loquebatur Mater Dei: (A) “Ego exponere volo episcopo, quid tenetur facere Deo et quid est honor Dei. Omnis itaque episcopus de-

19 qui episcopatum desiderat, bonum opus desiderat *Revs. III 4:8; IV 126:106; AUG. De civ. XIX 19; GREG. Past. 18; 1 Tim. 3,1. FOGELKVIST (1993a:195).*

Rev. III 3 = IV 126:110-137. See Rev. III 1 (with further references).

R episcopum *Rev. III 1.* **I** episcopo, quid tenetur facere Deo *Rev. II 14.* Omnis ... custoditam *cf. Ex. 28,1 sqq.; BERN. De consid. 1 (Prol.); Lev. 8,1 sqq.*

17 maiori] moiora (?) **P** uuas **V** alii **V**¹ te *ante* consolari *exp.* **T**^b **18** affec-
cionibus et *in marg.* **T**^b in eleuatur *corr.* **u** eleuetur **P** quodam] predicto **x** praue] igitur
V qua] quo **u** consideracionem] consolacionem β_2 **19** bonum opus desiderat *supra pag.*
q anime est **P T^b K q** σ eterna **Y V** β_2 sempiterna **P** π (*vide pag. 47*) nunc *post* quem
add. **K** appetet **A**^b ei *om.* **P** prouideri **V** etc *post* prouidere *add.* **v**

III: β π

R om. **F** officium episcopale **A**^b subsequente] consequente **T**^b obsequente **Gh** et₂ ...
consequente *om.* **P x v** occursu *ante* duplici *lin. del. et exp.* **q** **I** Dei, *in marg.* **T**^b hono-
ris **x**

bet habere infulam in brachiis suis bene custoditam, non vendere eam pro pecunia, non concedere aliis propter amiciciam carnalem, non perdere propter negligenciam et tepiditatem. **2** Quid vero significat infula episcopalis nisi potestatem et dignitatem episcopalem, ordinare scilicet clerum, conficere crisma, corrigere errantes, excitare exemplo suo negligentes? **3** Quod vero in brachiis debet habere infulam bene custoditam significat, quod sedule debet cogitare, quomodo et qualiter accepit potestatem episcopalem, quomodo eam tenuerit, quis vero sit eius fructus quisue finis. **4** Si episcopus attendere velit, quomodo accepit potestatem, attendat primo, si desiderauit episcopatum propter se vel an propter Deum; si autem propter se, tunc sine dubio desiderium suum erat carnale; si vero propter Deum, id est ad honorem faciendum Deo, tunc desiderium suum erat meritum et spirituale. **5** Deinde si episcopus cogitet, ad quid recepit episcopatum, certe ut esset pater pauperum et consolator et mediator animarum, nam bona episcopalia bona sunt animarum. Que si infructuose comeduntur et prodigialiter expenduntur, anime ille clamabunt vindictam super iniustum dispensatorem. **6** (B) Qualis vero erit fructus episcopalis dignitatis, dicam tibi: Ipse quippe erit duplex, sicut dicit Paulus, corporalis scilicet et spiritualis. Corporalis, quia in terris est vicarius Dei et ideo ob honorem Dei quasi Deus ab hominibus honoratur. **7** In celis erit corporalis et spiritualis propter glorificationem corporis et anime, quia ibi erit seruus cum domino tum propter vitam episcopalem, quam gessit in terris, tum propter exem-

4 THOMAS AQUINAS, *Summa Theologiae II-II* 185:1; ISID. III 33. ROELVINK (1993:102). See Rev. III 18:7. **5** cf. 1 Tim. 3,2 sqq.; Tit. 1,7. pater pauperum Rev. IV 74:70; Iob 29,16. **6** fructus episcopalis dignitatis ... erit duplex ... corporalis scilicet et spiritualis Rev. IV 126:115; 1 Tim. 5,17.

pecuniis V concedere] contendere P eam post perdere exp. T^b **2** dignitatem et potestatem K q σ et post clerum add. Gh **3** Quod] Quid P V B x F¹ suis post brachiis add. u x v exp. T^b debet₂] debeat Y β₂ qualiter] quare K u q qualem σ (vide pag. 56) et post episcopalem exp. T^b **4** vel an] an K u x v (vide pag. 55) an vel V T^{b2} vel T^{b1} B autem om. Y V suum₁ om. F erat₁] erit β₂ (vide pag. 46) vero post Deum₂ trp. O id est om. u ad faciendum honorem K fiendum O erat₂] erit β₂ (vide pag. 46) et supra lin. v **5** cogitat u x v recipit P et₁ om. T^b σ et consolator animarum et mediator P nam ... animarum om. P v episcopalia] temporalia O ille] ille num u ille mei x ille numquam v iustum P¹ u **6** Qualis] Quis K scilicet supra lin. T^b terra V O et₂ ... Dei₂ supra lin. F ob] ad u x v Dei₂] de P¹ **7** vero post celis lin. del. T^b et post erit, add. u x v tum₁] cum V episcopalem] temporalem O

plum humilitatis, quo alios secum ad gloriam prouocauit. **8** Omnis vero, qui vestem et dignitatem habet episcopalem sed refugit vitam, duplici confusione erit dignus. Quod vero potestas episcopalis non debet vendi significat, quod episcopus non debet esse scienter symoniacus nec exercere officium suum propter pecuniam vel hominum fauorem nec promouere illos propter hominum preces, quos sciuerit esse male vite. **9** Quod vero infula non debet aliis concedi propter amicitiam hominum significat, quod episcopus non debet dissimulare peccata negligencium nec dimittere illos impunitos, quos potest et debet corrigere, non silere peccata amicorum propter carnalem amicitiam nec imponere dorso suo peccata subditorum, quia episcopus est speculator Dei. **10** (C) Quod vero episcopus non debet perdere infulam propter negligenciam significat, quod episcopus non debet illa committere aliis ad faciendum, que ipse personaliter tenetur et potest fructuosius facere, nec propter quietem carnis illa dimittere aliis, que ipse perfeccius valeret adimplere, quia officium episcopi non est quietis sed laboris. **11** Nec episcopus ignorare debet vitam et mores eorum, quibus committit officia sua, sed scire et inquirere, quomodo seruant iusticiam et si prudenter et non cupide gerunt se in agendis. **12** Insuper scire te volo, quod episcopus, quia pastoris vices habet, tenetur habere fasciculum florum sub brachiis suis, quo oves vicine et remote illecte currant gaudenter post odorem eius. Iste vero fasciculus florum significat predicacionem diuinam, quam episcopus habere tenetur. **13** Brachia vero duo, quibus fasciculus predicacionis diuine innititur, sunt duo opera necessaria episcopo, scilicet bona opera in publico et bona opera in abscondito, ut oves vicine in episcopatu eius videntes caritatem episcopi in operibus et audientes in

7 exemplum humilitatis cf. *Rev. III 4:21*. **8** duplici confusione *Rev. IV 6:9; Is. 61,7*. **9** Quod ... episcopus est speculator Dei *AUG. De civ. XIX 16; GREG. Past. cap. 5; BERN. De consid. III, passim*.

8 qui *infra lin. T^b* ad *ante dignitatem add. V* debet] decet **O** scienter esse **K** propter ... preces *om. F* preces hominum **P Y T^b γ Gh** preces *om. V* esse *om. O*
9 dissimulare ... (§10) debet₂ *om. V* peccata,] peccatum **K** hominum *post peccata, exp.*
T^b **10** significat] signat **u x** que,] de quibus **K** fructus **K** **11** vitam *ante* committit
exp. et lin. del. q debet *post* inquirere *add. u* et₄ *om. u* in gerunt *corr. T^b* se gerunt **K** **12** te scire **F** quia] qui **O x v** florum *in marg. T^b* brachiis] pratis **V**
curant **V** significat] signat **x** habere episcopus **K q** **13** predicacionum **q** diuine
predicacionis **x v** ut *om. x v* oves] eques **v**

verbis glorificent Deum in episcopo. **14** Oues vero remote audientes famam episcopi desiderent illum ad sequendum, nam iste est suauissimus fasciculus non erubescere veritatem et humilitatem Dei, docere bona et eadem, que docet, facere, esse humilem in honore et deuotum in abiectione. **15** (D) Cumque episcopus compleuerit viam istam et peruenerit ad portam, necesse est ei aliquid habere in manu, quod presentet summo regi. Et ideo habeat in manu vas sibi carum, et hoc vacuum, offerendo illud regi summo. **16** Vas vero istud vacuum offerendum est cor suum. Quod ut vacuum sit ab omni voluptate et appetitu laudis transitorie, laborandum est ei die ac nocte. Cumque introducendus est talis episcopus in regnum glorie, occurret ei Ihesus Christus, Deus verus et homo, cum omni sanctorum exercitu. **17** Tunc audiet angelos dicentes: ‘O Deus noster, gaudium nostrum et omne bonum! Iste episcopus mundus fuit in carne, virilis in operatione. Decet ergo nos presentare eum tibi. Desiderauit enim quotidie nostram societatem. Ideo comple desiderium eius et auge ex aduentu eius gaudium nostrum.’ **18** Tunc quoque dicturi sunt et ceteri sancti: ‘O Deus, gaudium nostrum est de te et in te nec indigemus alio. Attamen gaudium nostrum excitatur ex gaudio anime huius episcopi, que, dum potuit, desiderauit te. **19** Portauit enim flores suauissimos in ore, quibus augmentauit numerum nostrum. Portauit in opere, quibus habitantes de prope et a longe reficiebat. Ideo da ei gaudere nobiscum et tu similiter gaude de eo, quem moriendo pro eo tantum desiderasti.’ Ultimo dicturus est ei rex glorie: **20** ‘O amice, venisti presentare michi vas cordis tui vacuum a te et a voluntate

20 vacuum a ... voluntate propria *BEN. Reg. cap. 4, l. 41; cap. 5, l. 23; cap. 7, ll. 29 sqq., 43 sqq.*

14 desiderant **u x v** consequendum **v** vero *ante* bona *add.* **u** opera *post* bona *add.* **V**
15 compleuit **u** ei *om.* **P x v** in manu habere **V** quod] et **V** regi summo]
 summo regi **B** **16** ut *om.* **V** voluptate] voluntate **V** ab *ante* appetitu *add.* **Y**¹ **β**₂ in-
 troducendus **β**₂ **K Gh** introducturus **β**₁ **T**^b **u x v q F** (*vide pag. 65*) ei *ante* talis *add.* **V** talis
 episcopus *in marg.* **T**^b talem episcopum **P** ei₂ *om.* **P** Christus Ihesus **V** et verus homo **P**
β₂ et verus et homo **Y** omnium **P** **17** gaudium ... bonum *om.* **V** mundus] nudus **V**
 ergo *in marg.* **T**^b eum presentare **V K q Gh** et *post* quotidie *exp.* **T**^b societatem
 nostram **P π** complebo **u**¹ **18** in ceteri *corr.* **T**^b ceteris (?) **V**² in te et de te **A**^b et in
 te *supra lin.* **F** **19** enim ... Portauit, *in marg.* **q** ore] flore **V** augmentauit ... quibus *in*
marg. **F** nostrum numerum **T**^b de longe et de prope **V** a] de **Y om.** **P** *verbum ante*
 similiter *eras.* **V** de eo *supra lin.* **Y** de eo, quem *in marg.* **q** quem] quam **v** mori-
 endo *om.* **q** **20** vas] vax **P V** voluntate] voluptate **T**^b

propria. Ideo ego implebo te delectatione et gloria mea. Leticia mea erit tua et gloria tua numquam finietur a me.’ ”

Verba Matris ad filiam de concupiscencia malorum episcoporum, et quomodo propter bonam voluntatem multi dignitatem obtinent spirituales, quam inordinati episcopi contempnunt, qui ad eam corporaliter sunt vocati, per latum exemplum inducit. Capitulum III.

1 Mater Dei loquitur ad sponsam Filii dicens: (A) “Tu ploras, quod caritas Dei ad hominem est maxima et econtra caritas hominum est ad Deum modica. Vere sic est. Quis enim est dominus vel episcopus, qui non magis concupiscit dominium ad honorem mundi obtinendum vel diuicias quam ad subueniendum pauperibus suis propriis manibus. **2** Et ideo, quia domini et episcopi nolunt venire ad nupcias omnibus preparatas in celo, venient pauperes et infirmi, sicut per exemplum tibi ostendere volo.

3 In ciuitate quadam erat quidam episcopus sapiens et pulcher et diues, qui de pulchritudine et sapientia sua laudatus non regraciabatur Deo, ut debuit, qui dedit ei ipsam sapientiam. **4** Laudabatur quoque et honorabatur de diuiciis suis et ideo dedit multa propter mundi fauorem. Plurima quoque concupiuit, ut largius daret et amplius honoraretur. (B) Iste episcopus habebat quendam clericum litteratum in episcopatu suo, qui taliter secum cogitabat: **5** ‘Iste’, inquit, ‘epis-

2 venient pauperes et infirmi *Lc. 14,16 sqq.*
1.3, p. 33. Cf. also Rev. III 2:16 sq.; 8:8 sq.
cf. Rev. III 8:8 sq.

3 quidam episcopus – (4) clericum *see my Chapter 1.3, p. 33.* qui dedit ei ipsam sapientiam *cf. 1 Cor 1,24.* **5-9**

te₂ *in marg.* **F** tua₂ *supra lin.* q² mea q¹ a me *supra lin.* **F** Amen **V** x v et cetera *post me add.* **u**

III: β π

R *om.* **F** voluntatem bonam **Y V B O** obtineant **K** inducit] indicat **V** **1** Dei₁] deus *in marg.* **T^b** loquitur] loquebatur **O** ad sponsam Filii (Filii *supra lin.*) dicens *in marg.* **T^b** ad hominem] et hominum **v** aritas hominum est ad Deum modica] caritas dei ad hominem est modica **u** ad deum est **T^{b1} K** est enim **q¹** ad₅ *supra lin.* **T^b** suis ... (2) Et *in marg.* **T^b** **2** Et *om.* **u x v** quia *om.* **V** et₂] vel **Gh** celos **u v** volo tibi ostendere **T^b** **3** quidam *in marg.* **T^b** qui₁] et **V** sua *om.* **V** laudandus **V** non] est **x** *in* debuit *corr.* **T^b** ei *supra lin.* **Y om.** **P** β₂ *in ipsam corr.* **T^b** **4** concupiuit] incipiunt **V** ut *om.* **P** largus **u** *in* habebat *corr.* **T^b** quendam *in marg.* **T^b** *om.* **B** fratrum *ante clericum add.* **V**

copus diligit Deum minus quam expedit. Vita eius tota tendit ad secularia. Ideo, si placeret Deo, libenter desiderarem episcopatum eius ad faciendum honorem Deo. **6** Non desidero quidem propter mundum, quia honor mundi non est nisi sicut aer, non propter diuicias, quia sunt graues tamquam onus grauissimum, non propter quietem carnis mee et commodum proprium, quia non teneor esse in quiete nisi rationabili, sicut corpus stare possit in seruiicio Dei, sed propter solum Deum desidero. **7** Et quamuis indignissimus sim honore, tamen ut plures lucrifacerem Deo et pluribus proficerem verbo et exemplo pluresque sustentarem de bonis Ecclesie, **8** libenter susciperem onus episcopale, nam Deus scit, quod carior esset michi mors dura et dulcius adferendum amarum supplicium quam episcopalis dignitas, quia, licet passibilis sim sicut ceteri, tamen qui episcopatum desiderat, bonum opus desiderat. **9** Ideo libenter desidero honorem episcopi cum onere episcopali sed sicut mortem, honorem quidem propter salutem plurimorum, onus vero propter salutem meam et amorem Dei et animarum ad hoc solum, ut bona Ecclesie possim distribuere pauperibus largius, animas instruere liberius, errantes instruere fiducialius, vexare carnem meam abundancius, moderare me ipsum sollicitius in exemplum aliorum.’

10 (C) Iste autem canonicus increpauit episcopum suum occulte et prudenter. Episcopus vero egre ferens verba confudit clericum aperte et imprudenter iactans se ad omnia sufficientem et moderatum. **11** Canonicus autem plorauit excessus episcopi patienter ferens

6 honor mundi non est nisi sicut aer cf. *Rev. I 2:7 with app. hist.* (honorem istum transitorium, qui non est nisi spuma maris); *40:13. FOGELKVIST (1993a:38 sqq.,185 sqq.).* **7** lucrifacerem Deo *FOGELKVIST (1993a:149 sq.).* verbo et exemplo *Rev. III Proem. 3 (with further references).* **8** qui episcopatum desiderat, bonum opus desiderat *Rev. III 2:19 (with app. hist.).*

5 si placeret Deo *om. V* desiderarer **q**¹ Deo honorem **V** **6** quidem] quippe **B** non est nisi *in marg. Y*² est **Y**¹ aliud *post* est *add. Gh* si *post* sicut₁ eras. **V** mee] me **B** possit stare **v** desiderio **P** **7** sum **q** honore] habere **u x v** lucrificarem **O** et₃ *supra lin. v* pluresque] plures que **V** **8** spirituale *ante* episcopale *lin del. et exp. x* scit] sit **P** esset] est **β**₂ esset michi] michi esset **u v** est michi esset **x** mors *om. x* episcopali **P**¹ passibilis] possibilis **u x v** sim] sum **β**₁ **u x v** tamen qui episcopatum *om. V* tamen] tantum **q** qui] quia **u v** bonum opus *in marg. q* opus desiderat *om. q* **9** Ideo *supra lin. T^b se *post* sicut *add. u x v* mortem] morto **x**² animarum *ante* plurimorum *exp. u* vero *om. T*^b largius pauperibus **Gh** instruere₂] corrigere **K u x v** (*vide pag. 55*) meam] suam **x v** moderari **T**^b **K** sollicitus **V** **10** eius *post* verba *add. u x v* sufficienter **V***

illata. Sed episcopus deridens caritatem et pacienciam canonici obloquebatur ei in tantum, quod canonicus arguebatur et reputabatur fatuus et mendax, episcopus vero iustus et circumspectus.

12 Tandem vero procedente tempore episcopus et canonicus migrauerunt et vocati sunt ad iudicium Dei. In cuius conspectu et presencia angelorum posita videbatur quedam sedes aurea et ante sedem infula episcopalis et totus eius ornatus. **13** Multi quoque demones sequebantur canonicum cupientes inuenire in eo aliquid mortiferum, quia de episcopo sic erant certi sicut cete, qui inter procellas seruat catulos suos viuos in ventre suo. **14** Propositis vero multis querimoniis contra episcopum, cur, scilicet, et qua intencione suscepisset episcopatum, cur superbiuit de bonis animarum, quomodo animas sibi commissas rexisset, quid vero Deo pro facta sibi gracia responderisset, **15** cumque episcopus nil iusticie haberet, quid responderet ad proposita, respondit iudex: 'Ponatur', inquit, 'in capite episcopi fex pro infula, in manibus autem pix pro cyrothecis, lutum in pedibus pro sandaliis, pro camisia et lintheo episcopali pannus meretricialis. **16** Pro honore suscipiat dedecus. Pro lata familia habeat seuientem turbam demoniorum.' (D) Deinde addidit iudex: 'Ponatur in capite canonici corona fulgida sicut sol, in manibus eius cyrothece deaurate, calciate pedes eius sotularibus. Insuper induatur habitu episcopali cum omni honore.' **17** Qui statim veste episcopali circumdatus ab omni celesti exercitu presentatus est iudici tamquam episcopus cum honore. Episcopus vero descendit sicut fur habens in collo funem, a cuius conspectu iudex auertebat oculos misericordie sue et omnes sancti cum eo.

11 vero *post* episcopus₁ *exp.* **T^b** vero *om.* **V** circumspectus et iustus **u x v** **12** vero *om.* **P** π (*vide pag. 47, 64*) migrauerunt et *in marg.* **T^b** vacati **V** sunt *om.* **V** quedam *in marg.* **T^b** in *ante* sedem *eras.* **B** sedem] sedes **P** **13** cupiente **q¹** aliquid in eo *m.* **P u x v q F** aliquid *m.* in eo **Gh** certe **T^b** qui *om.* β₁ que **O** in quod *alt.* **F** (*vide pag. 46*) **14** contra] esse **P** animam *ante* episcopatum *exp.* **u** episcopatum *in marg.* **P²** episcopum **P¹** cur₂ ... rexisset *post* respondisset *trp.* **B O** sibi (?) *ante* animas *lin. del. v* in pro facta *corr.* **T^b** rependisset **K** **15** nil] nichil **u x Gh** quid *in marg.* **T^b** quod **u x v** respondere **P T^b** (*vide pag. 53*) inquietis **P¹** capitate **q¹** in fax *alt.* **q** autem *in marg.* **T^b** pix] fix **V** cirothesis **B** ciratecis **O** autem *ante* in₃ *add.* **u x v** episcopali *in marg.* **T^b** episcopalem **B¹** *om.* **F** **16** lata *om.* **u** seruientem **P** β₂ (*vide pag. 47*) addit **F** sicut] sic **V** deaurato **v** pedibus **V** subtilibus **P** subtallaribus **V** subtularibus **A^{b1}** cum omni honore *in marg.* **T^b** **17** Qui ... episcopali *in marg.* **T^b** exercitu celesti **Gh** vero *om.* **Gh** aspectu **B**

18 Ecce quomodo propter voluntatem bonam multi obtinent dignitatem spiritualiter, quam illi contempnunt, qui ad eam corporaliter sunt vocati. Omnia hec fiebant in uno puncto apud Deum, sed propter te verbis prolata sunt, quia mille anni apud Deum sunt quasi una hora. **19** Quotidie quoque contingit, quod, ex quo episcopi et domini nolunt tenere officium suum ad quod vocati sunt, Deus elegit sibi pauperes sacerdotes et campanarios, qui viuentes iuxta meliorem conscienciam suam ad honorem Dei libenter proficerent animabus, si possent, et faciunt que possunt. **20** Ideo ingrediuntur loca episcopis preparata. (E) Nam Deus similis est illi, qui suspendens coronam auream ante fores domus sue clamat transeuntibus sic: ‘Omnis, cuiuscumque status fuerit, promereri potest coronam istam et quicumque nobilius vestitus fuerit virtutibus, obtinebit illam.’ **21** Verumptamen scito, quod, si episcopi et domini sapientes sunt carnali sapientia, Deus sapiencior est illis eciam spiritualiter, qui exaltat humiles et non approbat superbientes. Scito eciam, quod canonicus iste laudatus non curauit personaliter equum suum, cum iret ad predicandum vel ad opus suum. **22** Nec personaliter exstruxit focum suum cum commesturus esset, sed habuit familiam et necessaria sua ad sustentacionem rationabilem. Qui eciam habuit pecuniam sed non ad cupiditatem, nam eciam, si affluxisset sibi tota mundi substancia, non dedisset unum denarium ad hoc, quod fieret episcopus. **23** Nec pro toto mundo dimisisset episcopatum, si placuisset Deo, sed totam voluntatem suam posuit ad Deum paratus honorari ad honorem Dei et paratus deici pro amore et timore Dei.”

18 mille anni apud Deum sunt quasi una hora *Ps. 89(90),4; 2 Petr. 3,8.* **20** Omnis, cuiuscumque status fuerit, promereri potest coronam *cf. BEN. Reg. cap. 7, ll. 73 sq.* **21** Deus sapiencior est ... qui exaltat humiles et non approbat superbientes *Mt. 23,12; Lc. 14,11; Iac. 4,10; 1 Petr. 5,5 sq.; cf. Rev. III 2:16.*

18 tibi *post* propter *add.* v bonam] hominum u qui] quia x hec] que u probata x quasi *om.* x v **19** contigit v episcopi] ipsi u domini] deum V nolunt] volunt V elegit β_1 B O eligit A^b π (*vide pag. 65*) sibi *om.* O **20** illis u auream coronam Gh auream *in marg.* T^b ante] ad (?) *supra lin.* A^{b2} ant A^{b1} clamabit K sic *in marg.* T^b virtutibus] vestibus O **21** scit x si *supra lin.* B *om.* V et domini *om.* P et deum V sapientiore V est *om.* V eciam₁] eciam et γ F et V scit x laudandus V creauit (?) u cum] dum u x v exiret V ad₁] a V¹ **22** extraxit V destruxit u suam *post* familiam *add.* β_2 (*vide pag. 48*) sua *om.* K laudabilem et *post* sustentacionem *add.* Y V (*vide pag. 46, n. 71*) substancia mundi u x v **23** Deo placuisset β_2 (*vide pag. 48*) ad Deum posuit P et₁ *supra lin.* T^b

Verba Ambrosii ad sponsam de prece bonorum pro populo, et quomodo per gubernatores domini seculares et Ecclesie et per procellas superbia et cetera, et per portum introitus veritatis designantur, et de vocacione sponse in spiritum. Capitulum V.

1 “Scriptum est, quod amici Dei olim clamabant rogantes Deum dirumpere celos et descendere ad liberandum populum suum Israel. (A) Similiter et in istis temporibus amici Dei clamant dicentes: ‘O benignissime Deus, nos videmus populum innumerabilem in periculis procellis perire, quoniam gubernatores auidi sunt illis terris iugiter applicare volentes, ubi sibi ipsis maius lucrum existimant prouenire. **2** Illic se et populum ducentes, ubi horribiliores sunt iactus undarum nesciente populo securitatis portum et ob hoc miserabiliter periclitatur infinitus populus nimis paucis venientibus ad portum bonum. **3** Ideo rogamus te, omnis glorie regem, ut portum illuminare digneris, quatinus populus vitare sua pericula valeat et iniquis gubernatoribus non parere, sed ad portum rectum reduci lumine tuo benedicto.’

4 (B) Per istos vero gubernatores intelligo omnes potestatem ha-

R Ambrosii KLOCKARS (1966:45,65 with n. 24,210 sq.); SUNDÉN (1973:92). See Rev. III 6 sq. and my Chapter 1.3, p. 33. **1** amici Dei ... rogantes Deum ... ad liberandum populum suum Is. 64,1; cf. Zach. 9,9 sqq.; Mt. 21,5; Io. 12,15. procellis ... (2) iactus undarum ... portum bonum ... (3) gubernatoribus Rev. VI 65:78-84; AMBR. Ep. II, 7:36:1 sqq.; De Fide I 6:46 (ll. 32-34); De Incarn. Sacr. 5:34; cf. Ps. 23(24),2. **4** FOGELKVIST (1993a:33 sqq.). Cf. Rev. III 21:7.

V: β π

R Hec Rubrica debet esse insequendi vi (vi *supra* insequendi *additum*) capitulo in tali signo *supra lin. et in marg. add.* **Y**² Rubrica capituli quinti ante textum capituli sexti **Y**¹ **R** om. **F** eiusdem ante Ambrosii propter transpositionem (vide *supra*) add. **Y** Require verba ambrosii ipsius capitula transposita videntur ante textum add. **A**^b sponsam] filiam **T**^b per₁ om. v gubernatores (cfr. §§1,3,4) **P** π gubernatorem **Y** **V** β₂ (vide pag. 44, 47) secula **q**¹ per₂ om. **u** **x** **v** et cetera om. **K** introitum **P** de₂ om. v **1** celum **Gh** et₁ *supra lin.* **F** in₁ om. **V** Dei amici **x** **v** aliquid ante Dei₂ eras. **V** clama **V**¹ clamabant **Gh** in innumerabilem corr. **T**^b inenarrabilem **K** quoniam] quam v gubernatoribus **T**^b¹ ipsi **P** om. **V** maius] magis **B** lucrum **Y**² **V** π lucrum temporale **P** **Y**¹ β₂ (vide pag. 66) existimant] ex- *supra lin.* **F** **2** Illuc **u** **x** **v** suum post populum add. **F** iactus] tactus **u** **x** nesciente] me sciente **V** se ante securitatis exp. **V** securitatis] seueritatis **V**¹ ob] ab v populus infinitus **K** **q** **σ** paucibus **P** ad bonum portum venientibus **u** **x** **v** bonum portum **T**^b **K** **q** **σ** **3** te *supra lin.* **q**² et **q**¹ valet **V** inaquis **P** ad portum *etiam post* reduci add. **V** tuo lumine **K** **4** omnem **V**

bentes corporaliter et spiritualiter in mundo. Plerique enim eorum in tantum diligunt voluntatem propriam, quod de animarum utilitate suorum subditorum non attendunt, seuissimis mundi procellis, videlicet superbie, cupiditatis et immundicie, se voluntarie inuoluendo. **5** Quorum actus misera imitatur communitas credens se per illam viam tenere rectam et sic ipsi se una cum subditis perimunt sequendo sue voluntatis quemlibet appetitum. **6** Per portum vero intelligo introitum veritatis, qui nunc coram multis sic obscuratus est, quod dum aliquis dixerit viam ad portum celestis patrie, qui est sacratissimum Christi euangelium, tunc ipsum mentiri dicunt eorum opera magis sequentes, qui peccatis quibuslibet se ingerunt, quam illorum verbis credentes, qui euangelicam predicant veritatem. **7** Per lucem vero, quam amici Dei petebant, intelligo aliquam diuinam reuelacionem fieri in mundo ad hoc, ut caritas Dei renouari valeat in cordibus hominum et eius iusticia non obliuisci nec negligi. **8** Et ideo placuit Deo propter suam misericordiam et suorum amicorum petitionem vocare te in Spiritum Sanctum ad videndum, audiendum et intelligendum spiritualiter ad hoc, ut ea, que audieris in spiritu, debeas aliis reuelare secundum Dei voluntatem.”

8 vocare te in Spiritum Sanctum ad videndum ... aliis reuelare *Rev. VII 16 (with p. 79 n. 23); 27:2; Process Vita 81. FOGELKVIST (1993a:156 sqq.)*.

corporaliter ... mundo] in mundo spiritualiter et corporaliter **u x v** et₁] eciam **Y** enim supra lin. **Y om. P** eorum β illorum π (*vide pag. 43, n. 61*) propriam voluntatem **V** et post utilitate add. **Gh** eciam post suorum add. **P** β_2 lin. del. (?) **Y** seuissimi **v** mundis **O** videlicet *om. x v* scilicet **u** et₂ *om. x v* **5** illa **B u x v** tenere in marg. **Y** rectum **u** ipsis **P** se₂ supra lin. **T^b** *om. u x v* (*vide pag. 50*) pereunt **u x v** quodlibet **O** **6** coram *om V* obscurus **O x v** direxit **x v** ditrexit **u** ad] et **v** qui₂] que **B A^b** corpus ante Christi lin. del. et exp. **q** sequentur **F** **7** vero **V** π in marg. **Y om. P** β_2 (*vide pag. 66*) patebant **V** huc **v** renouare **v** obliuisci nec in marg. **T^b** **8** propter] per **V** misericordiam suam **Gh** et₂ *om. x v* petitionem amicorum **P** et ante audiendum add. **V F** voluntatem Dei **u x v**

Verba eiusdem Ambrosii ad sponsam quandam similitudinem viri et uxoris et ancille disponencia, et qualiter per adulterum episcopus malus et per uxorem Ecclesia et per ancillam mundi amor designantur, et de crudelissima sententia contra adherentes magis mundo quam Ecclesie. Capitulum VI.

1 “Ego sum Ambrosius episcopus, qui tibi appareo loquens tecum per similitudinem, quoniam cor tuum non potest capere intelligenciam spiritualium sine similitudine aliqua corporali. **2** (A) Vir quidam erat habens uxorem legitimam venustam valde et prudentem. Cui tamen ancilla plus placebat quam uxor et ex hoc tria contingebant: Primum est, quod verba et gestus ancille magis eum letificabant quam uxoris. **3** Secundum est, quod ancillam vestiebat nobilissimis indumentis non curans, quod uxor pannosa esset aut quod communi panno vestiretur. Tercium est, quod nouem horis morari solebat cum ancilla, decima vero solum cum uxore. **4** Nam prima hora erat cum ancilla vigilans, dum eius pulchritudinem aspiciendo iocundabatur. Secunda hora inter ipsius brachia dormiebat. Tercia hora pro ancille commodo corporalem laborem gaudenter sustinebat. **5** Quarta hora quietem corporis cum ipsa habebat post corporis lassitudinem. Quinta hora inquietudinem mentis et curam super eius prouisione habebat. Sexta hora mentis quietem cum ea habebat, quia iam videbat se de sua prouisione ei pleniter complacere. **6** Septima hora intrabat in eum ardor carnalis concupiscencie. Octaua hora complebat cum ea

R eiusdem Ambrosii *Rev. III 5,7* episcopus malus *see my Chapter 1.3, p. 33.*

I non ... intelligenciam spiritualium sine similitudine *see my Chapter 1.2.1.*

VI: β π

R Rubrica capituli sexti sequitur ante textum capituli quinti **Y**¹ **R** om. **F** Verba eiusdem Ambrosii *supra lin. add.* **A**^b eiusdem *in marg.* **T**^b om. **Y** adulterium **P** designatur **K** magis om. **O** quam] et **u x v** **1** episcopus *supra lin.* **T**^b quandam *post* similitudinem *add.* **Gh** quoniam *supra lin.* **q**² quem **q**¹ aliqua om. **F** **2** plus ancilla **x** *in* placebat *corr.* **T**^b *in hoc corr.* **T**^b gestus et verba **F** **3** vestiebant **x** vestibus *post* nobilissimis *add.* **K** aut] an **O** solebat morari **V** vero] non **P** solum om. **B** sola **T**^b γ **F** **4** laborem] laudem **K** **5** lassitudinem *post* corporis, *exp. et lin. del.* **q** mentis et curam] carnis et mentis curam **u x v** et *ante* mentis, *add.* **P Y** *supra lin.* **F** corporis *ante* mentis, *exp.* **V** et om. **V B T**^b **q** curam *in marg.* **T**^b quietem *in marg.* **Y** ea] ipsa **K** videbatur **v** se om. **Y V** **6** intrauit **T**^{b1} intrabit **B** *in* complebat *corr.* **T**^b

sue voluntatis appetitum. Nona hora aliqua omittebat agere, que tamen ei libebat perficere. Decima hora faciebat aliqua, que tamen non delectabat eum facere. **7** Et hac hora tantummodo manebat cum uxore. Veniens vero quidam de propinquis uxoris ad adulterum grauitere increpauit eum dicens: ‘Ad legitimam tuam mentis tue caritatem conuerte ipsam diligendo et sicut decet vestiendo nouemque horis cum ipsa manendo et sola decima hora cum ancilla, alioquin scias te mortem pessimam subiturum.’

8 (B) Per istum adulterum intelligo istius Ecclesie prouisorem habentem quidem episcopale officium sed vitam adulterinam. Ipse quippe sancte Ecclesie spirituali copula ita coniunctus est, quod ipsa eius sponsa carissima esse deberet, qui tamen caritatem suam ab ipsa retraxit multo plus diligens seruilem mundum quam dominam sponsamque tam preclaram. **9** Et ideo tria facit: Primum est, quod de mundi fraudulenta adulacione plus gratulatur quam de sancte Ecclesie morigerosa dispositione. Secundum est, quod omnem mundi ornatum diligit, de defectu vero ornatus ecclesiastici corporalis vel spiritualis minus curans. **10** Tercium est, quod nouem horas expendit pro mundo et solam decimam pro Ecclesia sancta. Nam prima hora cum mundo uigilat hilariter eius pulchritudinem intuens delectabiliter. Secunda hora inter brachia mundi, que sunt altitudo murorum et uigilantia hominum armatorum, dormit suauiter corporis sui securitatem se per hec tenere confidens feliciter. **11** Tercia hora pro mundano commodo corporalem laborem sustinet gaudenter, ut ex hoc cum mundo letetur corporaliter. (C) Quarta hora post corporalem laborem accipit quietem corporis libenter, quia, quidquid ei placet, iam

voluntatis **P Y¹ V β₂ T^{b1}** voluptatis **Y² T^{b2} γ σ** (*vide pag. 66*) aliqua *in marg.* **V supra lin.** **F**
in omittebat *corr.* **T^b** committebat **O** tamen] tam **q** libebat ei **V** ei libebant **x v**
 fecit **T^{b1}** delectabant **V u x v Gh** **7** Et hac hora] Et sic una hora **Gh** tantummodo]
 tantum **K** manebat tantummodo **Y V β₂** *in* manebat *corr.* **T^b om.** **u x v** ad₁ *om.* **T^b** et **v**
 adulterium **P¹ u¹** et *ante* grauitere *add.* **u x v** eum *infra lin.* **T^b** tue mentis **u x v**
 et, *supra lin.* **V** sicut] sic **v** decet] dicet **P** nouemque] ix **u x v** ipsa] ea **Y V**
 (*vide pag. 46, n. 71*) hora₂ *om.* **F** morte pessima **x v** ipsam *ante* pessimam *add.* **8** qui-
 dem] quoddam **V** adulteram **P** sancte] idem **V** ipsa₁ *om.* **V** deberet esse **O**
in deberet *corr.* **T^b** sponsamque] sponsam que **V** sponsam **Gh** preclaras **V**
9 ideo *om.* **V** gratulabatur **F** gratulatur quam *om.* **x** de₂ *supra lin.* **q** mundi₂]
 mundum **v** defectus **P** ecclesiastici] ecclesia **x** **10** expedit (?) **P** et₁ *supra lin.* **T^b**
 primo **V** sunt] est **v** securitate **x** hoc **V v F** hos **O** confidens *in marg.* **T^b**
 feliciter] hilariter **u x v** **11** sustinet] accipit **x v** corporaliter *et supra lin. et in marg.* *in*
ras. **F** est *post* hora₂ *in ras.* **F** accepit **O** quia *om.* **P**

habet sufficienter. **12** Quinta hora mentis inquietudinem habet multipliciter, ut mundanis rebus prouidere videatur sapienter. Sexta hora mentis quietem habet iocundaliter prouisionem suam mundanis hominibus placere videns uniuersaliter. **13** Septima hora audiendo et videndo mundi delectabilia in voluptatem suam trahit desiderabiliter, ex quibus in corde accenditur impacienter et intolerabiliter. Octaua hora perficit actualiter, que prius desiderabat ardentem. **14** Nona hora aliqua sibi placita propter mundum omittit inutiliter, ne videatur eos offendere, quos diligit carnaliter. Decima hora aliqua bona perficit sed non delectabiliter timens, quod infamis habeatur contemptibiliter et diudicetur miserabiliter, si ea aliqua ex causa omiserit totaliter. **15** Et ista hora decima solummodo cum sancta Ecclesia solet commorari, bona, que facit, non ex caritate faciens sed ex timore. Timet enim supplicium ignis infernalis. Qui, si posset cum sospitate corporis et mundanarum rerum abundancia eternaliter viuere, de carencia superne felicitatis non curaret. **16** (D) Propterea dico certissime iurans per Deum, qui caret principio et erit sine fine, quod nisi se cito ad sanctam Ecclesiam conuerterit cum ipsa nouem horas ducendo, cum ancilla vero, id est mundo, decimam, non tamen eum diligendo sed inuitus eius diuicias et honores secundum episcopale officium habendo, omnia ad Dei honorem humiliter et racionabiliter disponendo, ipse in anima sua percussione spiritualem tam grauem habebit, **17** sicut ille per similitudinem corporalem loquendo habere videretur, qui tam horribiliter percuteretur in vertice, quod planta pedis cum tota corporis carne dissolueretur, vene et nerui rumperentur, ossa con-

15 non ex caritate faciens sed ex timore *Rev. I 14:4 sq. (with app. hist.); cf. I Io. 4,18.*

12 inquietudinem mentis **T^b** ut] cum **u** prouideatur **q¹** videatur prouidere **u x v** videatur] valeat **B** sapienter videatur **q¹** iocundaliter **u** iocundabiliter **x v** **13** audienda **u** delectabilia **Y² T^{b1} F¹** delectabilia et **P Y¹ T^{b2} q F² Gh** delectabilia eciam **K** in₁ supra lin. **q om. P K** voluptatem] voluntatem **V T^b Gh** (*vide pag. 66*) **14** hora₁ in marg. **T^b** aliqua supra lin. **F om. x v** carnaliter] corporaliter **x v** perficit bona **Y V** habetur **x v** et ante si add. **K** si ea om. **K** ex aliqua **K q² F** aliqua **q¹** obmiserat **V** dimiserit **u x v** **15** in post Et add. **B** decima hora **T^b** cum sancta Ecclesia post commorari *trp.* **V** commorare **F** bona] bene **x v** coude **u** non₁ om. **v** faciens] facit **u x** non facit **v** Timet] timens **u x v** superne] eterne **K** **16** *verbum ante* iurans *eras.* **V** Deum] dominum **B** sine supra lin. **q** sanctam in marg. **Y om. P** ecclesiam sanctam β_2 deducendo **T^b** cum ante mundo add. **x v exp. T^b** eum] eam **V** honores] horores **O** habendo ante secundum *trp.* **T^b** Dei] deum **P** humiliter] hylariter **x v** spiritualem percussione **P π** **17** videtur **V β_2** percuttetur **u** corporis] capitis **V** dissoluerentur **V**

fringerentur et medulle miserabiliter undique effluerent. **18** Et sicut amarissime cor illius corporis cruciari videretur, si vertex et viciniora membra percuterentur, dum eciam planta pedis, que remocior est, lederetur, sic et misera anima diuine sentencie propinquissima ictui torqueri existimabitur amarissime, dum consciencia se videt ubique intolerabiliter sauciari.”

Verba Virginis ad sponsam, qualiter episcopus mundum diligens flabello pleno vento et testudini iacenti in putredine comparatur, et quomodo talis Ambrosio episcopo oppositus iudicatur. Capitulum VII.

1 “Scriptura dicit: ‘Qui diligit animam suam in hoc mundo, perdet eam.’ Iste vero episcopus diligit animam suam iuxta omnem voluptatem suam et spiritualis delectacio non est in corde eius. **2** Ideo bene comparari potest flabello pleno vento iuxta conflatorium, nam sicut carbonibus consumptis et ere ignito fluente adhuc remanet ventus in flabello, sic ipse quamuis nature sue tribuit omne, quod appetit, consumens tempus suum inutiliter, tamen remanet eadem delectacio sicut ventus in flabello. **3** Nam voluntas eius est ad superbiam et cupiditatem mundi, ex quibus induratis corde dat occasionem et exemplum peccandi, qui consumpti in peccatis defluunt in infernum. **4** Non sic dispositus fuit ille bonus Ambrosius episcopus. Eius denique

R Ambrosio *Rev. III 5 sq.* episcopus *see my Chapter 1.3, p. 33.* **1** Qui diligit animam suam in hoc mundo, perdet eam *Io. 12,25; cf. Mt. 10,39; Mc. 8,35; Lc. 9,24; 14,26.* **2** flabello pleno vento iuxta conflatorium ... carbonibus consumptis et ere ignito fluente *For Birgitta's metaphors of technique, Rev. III 2:15 (with app. hist.).*

medulla **K** undique *in marg.* **T^b** affluerent **O** efflueret **K** **18** si] scilicet **V T^b q**
scilicet cum **K** pedis] pendis **u** que *om.* **x** ledereri **B¹** ictu **F** et cetera sequitur *post sauciari add. v*

VII: β π

R om. F diligens mundum **u x v Gh** et cetera *post iudicatur add. P* **1** vero *in marg.* **T^b**
voluptatem] voluntatem **V T^b** voluptarem **Gh** **2** Ideo] Idem **P** plena **u x v** sicut,
om. O ere] ero **V** remanet] manet **V** ipse] iste **V** sibi *post remanet₂ add. u x Gh*
lin. del. v **3** est *post superbiam trp. u x v* mundi] mundicie **u** indurati **T^{b1}** indurato **u x v**
aliis *post dat add. u x v* confluunt **x v**

cor plenum fuit diuina voluntate, eius cibus et sompnus rationabilis. Qui exsufflans peccati voluntatem tempus suum consumpsit utiliter et honeste. **5** Ipse quippe bene vocari potest flabellum virtutum. Sannauit enim vulnera peccati verbis veritatis. Incendit frigidus diuina caritate bonorum operum suorum exemplo. Feruentes quoque voluntate peccati refrigerunt ex eius munda vita. Et sic ipse multos iuuuit, ne intrarent mortem inferni, quia diuina dileccio in eo permansit quamdiu vixit.

6 Iste vero episcopus similis est testudini, que iacens in innata putredine trahit caput in terram. Sic iste iacet et delectatur in peccati abhominacionem trahens animum ad terrena non ad sempiterna. **7** Tria reduco sibi ad memoriam: Primo, quomodo tenuerit officium sacerdocii. Secundo, quid significat verbum illud euangelii: 'Vestimenta sunt ouium, intrinsecus autem sunt lupi rapaces!' Tercio, cur ea, que temporalia sunt, tantum feruent in corde; creator vero omnium frigidus est in corde eius."

4 cibus ... rationabilis *FOGELKVIST (1993a:227 sqq.)*. **7** Vestimenta sunt ouium, intrinsecus autem sunt lupi rapaces *Revs. IV 16:3;102:28; VI 99:2; VII 16:10; VIII 16:7; Ex. 39:11; Mt. 7,15.*

4 cor fuit plenum **u x** fuit cor plenum **v** caritate *ante* voluntate *lin. del.* **v** sompnus] sonus **V** idem (?) *ante* rationabilis *add.* **Y** voluntatem **β** voluptatem **π** (*vide pag. 66 sq.*)
5 bene *om.* **F** et *post* caritate *add.* **Gh** queque **B** voluntate peccati **β** voluptate peccati **T^b K q σ** peccati voluptate **u x v** (*vide pag. 66 sq.*) ipse sic **F** intrauerint **u** delectatio **Gh** **6** qui **u v** in₁] eciam **F¹** in innata *corr.* **T^b** abhominacione **K u x**
superna **V** **7** reduce **v** sibi] tibi **O** quia *ante* officium *add.* **V** illud verbum **K**
q σ sunt₁] habent **O** sunt autem **v** tantum *om.* **V** tantummodo **Gh** feruenter **V**
eius *post* corde₁ *add.* **u x v** frigidus *om.* **u** cum (?) *ante* est *eras.* **q** eius *om.* **P** suo
O et cetera *post* eius *add.* **u v**

Verba Virginis ad sponsam de suiipsius perfeccione et excellencia et de inordinato magistrorum modernorum appetitu et de eorum falsa responsione ad Virginis gloriose questionem sibi per ipsam factam.
Capitulum VIII.

1 Mater loquitur: (A) “Ego sum illa, que ab eterno in caritate Dei fui et ab infancia mea Spiritus Sanctus perfecte erat mecum. Et sicut de nuce exemplum habere poteris, que dum crescit dilatante se testa, que extrinsecus est, dilatatur, et crescit eciam nucleus, qui intrinsecus est, ita ut nux semper sit plena et nichil in ea vacuum, quod capax sit alicuius rei exterioris. **2** Similiter et ego ab infancia mea plena eram Spiritu Sancto et iuxta corporis et etatis mee accrescenciam tam affluenter me totam repleuit Spiritus Sanctus, quod nichil in me vacuum reliquit ad peccati alicuius introitum. **3** Et ideo ego illa sum, que numquam peccatum commisi veniale nec mortale. Ego quippe in caritate Dei tam ardens eram, quod nichil michi placuit nisi perfectio voluntatis Dei. **4** Feruebat enim in corde meo ignis diuine caritatis. Deus quoque super omnia benedictus, qui me sua potencia creauit et Spiritus Sancti virtute repleuit, ad me ardentem caritatem habuit. **5** Et ex huius caritatis feruore misit nuncium suum ad me faciens me voluntatem suam intelligere, ut videlicet fierem mater Dei. Quod dum noui esse voluntatis diuine, statim ex igne caritatis, quam in corde ad Deum habui, per os meum exibat vere obediencie verbum, per quod nuncio sic respondi: **6** ‘Fiat’, inquit, ‘michi secun-

For the textual history of Rev. III 8-9, see pp. 25 sq., 33 sq. and Excursus B.

R eorum cf. §14: magistri **I** nuce ... testa *Excursus B*, p. 244, n. 28. **5** *AMBR. Ep. II, 10:71:3 sqq.; JER. Ep. 22:38.* **6** Fiat ... michi secundum verbum tuum *SA 7:11;14:18; Or. I; Lc. 1,38. BØRRESEN (1991:42).*

VIII: β π

R om. **F** perfeccione **P** magistrorum] magisterium **P** modernorum magistrorum **A^b**
 et cetera *post factam add.* **P T^b K** **1** que,] qui **P** et,] id est **O** perfecte *in marg.* **T^b**
 sicut *om.* **O** dum] cum **Gh** extrinsecus] exterius **B** dilatatur ... est *in marg. inf.* **F**
2 etatis et corporis mei **K** mei *post corporis add.* **u** reniam (?) *ante reliquit lin. del. et*
exp. v ad] a **P** **3** illa *om.* **x** sum illa **V T^b** commisit **v** nec] vel **u x v F¹** (*sic*
LM) voluntatis] voluntas **q¹** **4** caritatis diuine **T^b** sit *ante super exp.* **T^b** **5** eius *ante*
huius exp. et lin. del. huius *supra lin.* **F²** eius **F¹ u x v** ut videlicet (*vide BERGH 1991a:41*)
 Dei] eius β₂ in ... habui] in corde ad deum habui **A^{b2}** ad deum in corde habui **A^{b1}** in corde
 habui ad deum **F** ad₂ *supra lin. ex in corr. v* exiebat **V** exiuit **T^{b2} K q σ** vero exibat **u**
 vere exhibeat **x** vere exibat **v** obediencie *post meum trp.* **u x v** sic *supra lin.* **F om. Gh**
6 michi *om.* **F**

dum verbum tuum.' Et in eodem puncto verbum factum est caro in me, et Dei filius factus est filius meus, et sic ambo habebamus unum filium, qui utrumque est, scilicet Deus et homo, et ego similiter mater atque virgo. **7** (B) Cumque hic filius meus, qui est vir sapientissimus et Deus verus Ihesus Christus, iaceret in utero meo, tantam ab ipso adepta sum sapienciam, quod non solum magistrorum intelligere valeam sapienciam, verum eciam in cordibus eorum cerno, utrum verba ipsorum ex diuina caritate aut ex solius litterature astucia procedunt. **8** Ergo tu, que verba audis, nuncia magistro illi, quod ego tria ab ipso interrogo: Primo, utrum maius est sibi desiderium ad habendum fauorem et amicitiam episcopi corporaliter, vel an desiderat plus animam eius presentare Deo spiritualiter. **9** Secundo, utrum ex plurimorum florenorum propria et singulari possessione in animo plus delectatur vel an ex nullorum. Tercio, quid sibi de hiis duobus magis videtur placere, vocari scilicet magister et inter honoratos in primis <sedilibus> pro mundana gloria residere aut simplex frater vocari et inter ultimos residere. **10** Hec tria diligenter perscrutetur. Si enim episcopum corporaliter plus quam spiritualiter diligit, tunc sequitur, quod magis dicit ei illa, que delectant eum audire, quam om-

verbum factum est caro *Revs. I 35:2; II 13:3;17:2; III 13:5; V 4:9; VIII 1:15; 48:235; SA 1:1; Io. 1,14.*
7 sapienciam *cf. Revs. I 31:8;51:9;56:7;59:18; III 26:2 sqq.; Ex. 50:2;82:4; SA 19:1 sqq. (with app. hist.); AUG. Contra Academicos III.* litterature astucia (*see §13: vacua stramina masticat*) *Revs. I 33;51:9 sq.;59:17 sq.; II 22; VI 116:12 (Ad quid enim homo addiscit tot et tanta et tot reuoluit libros? Numquid ad seruiendum michi (sc. Christo)? Nonne magis propter curiositatem et deducionem temporum et ostentacionem et velle magister vocari?). Cf. Rev. III 1:21.* **8** tria ab ipso interrogo *cf. Rev. III 2:16 sq.; 4:3 sqq.; THOMAS AQUINAS, Summa contra gentiles III 1:28-32.* episcopi (*cf. app. crit.*) *Giovanni Visconti.* **9** *cf. Rev. III 15:4; 29:15.* in primis <sedilibus> pro mundana gloria residere *Mc. 12,39.* **10** audire ...

caro factum est **K q σ** sic *supra lin. q* filium unum **x** est, scilicet deus **β** est deus scilicet **T^{b2} K q** deus est scilicet **F²** est deus **u x¹ v** deus est **F¹ Gh** (*sic LM*) deus **T^{b1} x²** (*cf. app. crit. ad Rev. III 8:16;29:13, vide pag. 67*) atque] et **B u x v** (*sic LM*) **7** Cumque] Cum **B** ipso] eo **K** intelligere valeam **P π** (*sic LM*) valeam intelligere **Y V β₂** (*vide pag. 47*) verum] deum **x** solius ex **O** **8** dei *post verba add. u x v* ab ipso tria **T^b** Primo] Primo est **P** Primum est **T^b γ Gh** (*sic LM*) Primum **F** sibi *post utrum exp. F* episcopi] archiepiscopi *LM (vide Excursum B)* an] aut **u x v** (*cf. LM*) an desiderat plus *in marg. T^b* **9** Secundum **O T^{b1}** (*sic LM*) gaudeat vel *post plus add. B* quam *ante vel add. u x v* vel an] aut **V** an ex *in marg. T^b* nullorum] millorum **V** Tercium **T^{b1} v** (*sic LM*) quid] quod **O** qui **v** magis videtur **Y V β₂** videtur magis **P π** (*vide pag. 47*) inter₁ *supra lin. q* in primis] cum primis (*cf. Rev. III 2:16*) **K Gh** sedilibus (*sic LM, vide Excursum B*) vocare **V¹** et₃ *supra lin. V* inter₂] in **u** **10** enim *om. u x v* episcopum] archiepiscopum *LM (vide Excursum B)* plus corporaliter **O** ei *in marg. inf. T^b* illam **F**

nia peccaminosa prohibet, que delectant eum agere. **11** Si vero de plurimorum florenorum proprietate plus gratulatur quam nullorum, tunc diuicias plus paupertate diligit et videtur tunc amicis suis consulere, quod magis teneant, quidquid possunt acquirere, quam dimittant quo carere libencius potuissent. **12** Si vero delectatur nomine magistri propter honorem mundi et inter honoratos locari, tunc superbiam plus humilitate diligit et ex hoc similior coram Deo apparet asino quam magistro. **13** Tunc vacua stramina masticat, que litterature sciencie sine caritate comparantur, et deest optimum triticum, quod caritati comparatur, quia caritas diuina in superbo corde firmari numquam potest.”

14 (C) Post excusacionem autem magistri excusantis se et dicentis, quod maius esset sibi desiderium presentare animam episcopi Deo spiritualiter et quod plus delectatur in nullis florenis, tercio, quod nichil curat de nomine magistri, respondit iterum mater: **15** “Ego sum, que veritatem de ore Gabrielis audiui et indubitanter credidi, unde et veritas de meo corpore sibi carnem sumpsit et sanguinem et mansit in me. **16** Illam eandem veritatem ego genui de me, qui utrumque, scilicet Deus et homo, est ex se. Et quia veritas, que Dei filius est, ad me venire et in me habitare ex meque nasci voluit, ideo plenissime intelligo, utrum in ore hominum sit veritas an non. **17** Verum ego tria a magistro quesui. Quem michi bene respondisse

agere *HOLLMAN* (1960:230). **13** vacua stramina masticat *see above III 8:7* (litterature astucia) **15** Ego sum, que veritatem de ore Gabrielis audiui *AMBR. De Incarn. Sacr. 6:52 sq.; Lc. 1,26 sqq.* **16** veritas, que Dei filius est *Io. 14,6; cf. Revs. I 13:6;15:23;20:8;47:48; II 28; IV 21:1;63:10; VI 7:7; VIII 56.*

11 de *supra lin.* **T^b** *om.* **u x v** (*vide pag. 50*) florenorum proprietate *om.* **u x v** proprietate *in marg.* **T^b** possessione *post* gratulatur *add.* **u x v** nullorum] millorum **Gh** (*cf.* §14) paupertate] quam paupertatem **P V** et] ut **u x v** tunc₂ *om.* **u x v** teneat **v** possint **u x v** quo *supra lin.* **P** **12** vero] vere (?) **V** in deo apparet asino *corr.* **T^b** **13** enim *post* Tunc *add.* **u x v Gh** (*sic LM*) *eras.* **F** que] qui **u** litterature *in marg.* **T^b** liberature **P** comparantur] comparatur β_1 **O A^b T^b u** comparatur caritati **V** β_2 caritati paratur **v** numquam firmari **V** β_2 **x** **14** in autem *corr.* **v** *in marg.* **T^b** se *post* dicentis *trp.* **u x v** est β_2 sibi esset **u** quod₂ *supra lin.* **T^b** plus *om.* **F** nullis] mille β_1 ullis **x** quod₃] quia **u** mater] magister **v** **15** qui **O u** quidem (?) **x** archangeli *post* Gabrielis *add.* **P** β_2 audiui et *om.* **P** β_2 corpore meo **F** assumpsit **V O x** (*sic LM*) **16** eandem **A^{b1}** ego *om.* **u x v** σ (*sic LM*) qui] quod **u x v** utrumque, scilicet β **T^b K q** utrumque **u x v** σ (*sic LM, cf. app. crit. ad Rev. III 8:6; 29:13, vide Excursum B, pag. 238*) est₁ *post* Deus *trp.* **u x v** ex se *etiam post* veritas₁ *add.* **x v** quia *om.* **V** meque] me **O** me quia **v** **17** Verumtamen **u x v** Quem **T^b K u q** σ (*sic LM*) quam **P** ad que **O** que **Y V B A^b x v** (*vide Excursum B, pag. 240*).

probarem, si in verbis suis fuisset veritas. Que quia in eis non erat, ideo de aliis tribus ipsum precaueo. Primum est, quod aliqua sunt, que corporaliter diligit et desiderat, et illa nullo modo obtinebit. **18** Secundum est, quod illud, quod nunc habet cum mundana leticia, cicius amittet. Tercium est, quod pusilli intrabunt celum. Magni autem stabunt foris, quoniam porta est angusta.”

Verba Virginis ad sponsam, qualiter videntes et audientes et cetera fugiunt pericula virtute solis et cetera, adueniencia et occurrencia cecis et surdis et cetera. Capitulum IX.

1 Loquitur Mater: “Quamuis cecus non videt, nichilominus tamen ipso cadente in precipitium sol resplendet in sue claritatis splendore et pulchritudine, quam claritatem videntes homines itinerantes clarum visum habentes gratulantur itineris sui pericula fugiendo. **2** Et quamuis surdus non audit, tamen torrens cum strepitu sui impetus super eum ab alto cadit horribiliter eo, qui audire poterit, ad loca tuciora fugiente. **3** Et quamuis mortuus gustare non poterit, tamen ipso in vermibus putrescente bonus potus dulcedinem sui saporis retinet, quam viuus degustans in corde suo letificatur et audax ad quecumque virilia opera efficietur.”

18 pusilli intrabunt celum *Mt. 18,3.* porta est angusta *Mt. 7,14.*

Rev. III 9, see Rev. III 8 and my Excursus B.

suis] eius **u x v** est *om. x* quod] quia **x v** que₂ *supra lin. q* **18** *verbum supra*
 est] *eras. F* quod] quid **q¹** quod illud *in marg. F* in *ante* celum *add. F (cfr. LM)*
 Magni] quod agni **v** fortis **V** et cetera *post* angusta *add u*

IX: β π

R om. F et *post* cetera₂ *add. Gh* et₄ *om. K* occurrentis **P** et *ante* cecis *add. O*
 cecis et *supra lin. Y* et cetera₃ *supra lin. T^b om. β₁* **B O x** **1** Mater loquitur **F** ce-
 cus] totus **u** videat **T^{b1}** in *ante* ipso *add. x* precipium **P¹** resplendet *om. v*
 claritatis] caritatis **P¹V** pulchritudinis **P** visu **v** sui itineris **V** **2** surdus *om. u*
x v audiat **T^{b1}** (*sic LM*) torrens] carrens (?) **P²** correns (?) **P¹** cum] in **u v x** strepi-
 tus **B O** impetu **O** qui] quod **x** ad ... (§3) poterit *om. v* **3** vermis **O** potus bonus σ
 ad] et **x v** efficietur **V** (*sic LM*) officietur **v**

Loquitur Virgo ad filiam securitatem de verbis sibi dictis inducens et de periculo et de approximatione ruine Ecclesie, et qualiter ut in pluribus attendunt nunc Ecclesie prouisores, proch dolor, ad vitam meretricalem et pecunie cupiditatem et bonorum Ecclesie pro superbia prodigalitem et de ira Dei contra tales excitata. Capitulum X.

1 Loquitur Mater: (A) “Ne timeas ea, que nunc videbis, a spiritu malo esse existimans. Quemadmodum enim cum solis appropinquacione duo veniunt, scilicet lux et calor, que caliginosam umbram non sequuntur, **2** sic cum Spiritus Sancti aduentu in corde duo veniunt, ardor scilicet diuine caritatis et fidei sancte perfecta illuminacio. Hec autem duo nunc sentis. Hec quoque duo dyabolum, qui caliginose umbre comparatur, non sequuntur. **3** Mitte ergo ad illum, quem tibi nominaui, nuncium meum. Quamuis autem ego scio cor et responcionem eius, finem quoque vite eius celerem, tamen debes mittere ei verba ista sequencia.

4 Ego denique notum illi facio, quod in dextera parte sancte Ecclesie fundamentum tam vehementer dilapsum est, quod summa testudo plures rupturas habet dans ex se casus periculosos ita, quod multi de subeuntibus perdunt vitam. **5** Plereque eius columnne, que in altum tendere deberent, usque ad terram se inclinant totumque eciam

Rev. III 10 = IV 78:5-24. See my Chapter 1.3, pp. 34 sq.

R proch dolor *see my Chapter 1.2.3.* **1** a spiritu malo *For the separation of divinely inspired revelations from those coming from an evil spirit, ES II:25; WESTMAN (1911:145 with n. 5).* **2** BØRRESEN (1991:56). **3** illum *see my Chapter 1.3, pp. 34 sq.* **4-6** cf. *Rev. III 27:27 sqq. KLOCKARS (1971:147 sqq.).*

X: β π

R om. **F** securitatem om. **V** de₃ in marg. **T^b** om. **u x v Gh** nunc attendunt **B O** excitata **K¹** excitanda **T^{b1} K² u x v q σ** et cetera post excitata add. **K v** **1** a om. **V** meo ante malo exp. et lin. del. **V** maligno **x v maligo u** esse existimans etiam in marg. inf. **F** cum] tum **u** sole **P** scilicet lux] lux videlicet **P T^b K q σ** videlicet lux **u x v** caliginosum **O** **2** cum in marg. **T^b** cor **T^b u x v** (sic *Rev. IV 78:6*) tuo ante duo₁ add. **K** duo₁] tuo **O q** scilicet ardor **Y V B A^b** duo scilicet ardor **O** diuine scilicet **v** Hec₁ ... sentis post sequuntur trp. **K** in quoque corr. **T^b** duo₃ om. **V** **3** quem ... nominaui in marg. **T^b** id est ante nuncium add. **u x v** finem ... eius₂ om. **V** vite om. **F** eius₂ supra lin. **T^b** celerem] scelerem **K** ei mittere **T^b u x v** ei om. **O** verba om. **O** ista sequencia in marg. **T^b** om. **u x v** (vide pag. 50) **4** illi notum **T^b** illi facio] facio et **u** facio ei **x v** quod,] que **O** dilapsum] disipatum **V** quod₂ om. **B** quod₂ ... ita in marg. inf. **Y** summo **B** viam **V** **5** eius om. **V Gh** in deberent corr. **T^b** debent **u x v** (vide pag. 50) ad] in **V u x v** eciam om. **u x v** iam **V**

pauimentum tam suffossum est, quod ceci introeuntes cadunt periculose. Et adhuc interdum contingit clare videntes una cum cecis cadere grauiter causa periculosarum fossarum eiusdem pauimenti. **6** Et propter istas causas stat nimis periculose Ecclesia Dei et quid sibi sic stanti vicinius est quam ruina? Certissime dico tibi, quod, nisi reparationis iuuamen habuerit, ipsius ruina tam grandis erit, quod per totam christianitatem audietur.

7 (B) Ego autem illa virgo sum, in cuius uterum Dei filius venire dignatus est exclusa quacumque carnis contagiosa voluptate. Ille vero idem Dei filius de meo clauso utero natus est cum maxima consolatione et sine aliqua pena. **8** Ego iuxta crucem steti, quando cum vera paciencia infernum victorioso vincebat et sui cordis sanguine celum aperiebat. **9** Ego eciam eram in monte, quando Dei filius, qui est et meus filius, ad celum ascendit. **10** Ego eciam totam catholicam fidem clarissime noui, quam ipse euangelizando omnes ingredi celum volentes docuit. Ego itaque illa eadem iam sto super mundum continua oracione, sicut arcus celi super nubem, qui ad terram inclinari videtur et ambobus suis finibus eam tangere. **11** Per celestem arcum itaque meipsam intelligo, que ad habitatores mundi me inclino tangens bonos et malos oracione mea. Ad bonos namque me inclino, ut in hiis, que sancta Ecclesia precipit, stabiles efficiantur, ad malos vero, ne in malicia sua processum habeant, ut fiant deteriores. **12** (C) Notum itaque facio isti, quem tibi nominaui, quod ex una parte tetre

7 in cuius uterum Dei filius venire dignatus est *Lc. 2,1 sqq.* **8** Ego iuxta crucem steti *Revs. I 10:15 sqq.; 27:2 sqq.; 35:5-7; 39:1 sqq. (with app. hist.); II 21:1-14; III 13:28 sq.; IV 70:1 sqq.; 78:14; VI 28:1 sqq.; VII 15; SA 17; Or. I:17 sqq.; Or. II:47 sqq; Io. 19,25 sqq. ELLIS (1993:216) claims that the form of the crucifix described in Rev. IV 70:9 as a y-shaped variant of the 'tau' cross is 'practically unique in literature of the period'. **9** Dei filius ... ad celum ascendit *Mc. 16,19.* **10** BØRRESEN (1991:56). **11** celestem arcum *cf. Eccl. 43,12.**

tam <i>in marg.</i> T^b	ceci] ceti v	contingint O contigit v	quod <i>ante</i> clare <i>add.</i> V
6 quid] quod P	sic <i>om.</i> x v	stanti] statim V q tanti u	iuuamen reparationis Gh
tam <i>supra lin.</i> q	7 Dei filius, ₁] filius Dei σ	est ₂ <i>om.</i> u x v	maxima] omni u x v
aliqua] omni u x v	8 et] ac u x v	9 eram] omni u	qui ... filius ₂ <i>om.</i> O Deus
<i>post et add.</i> V	filius meus V	10 fidem <i>om.</i> O fide V	nouit O quam <i>in marg.</i> q³
quod q² quam q¹	eadem] causa u v	sicut] mea u x v (<i>vide pag. 55</i>)	inclinare V
attingere K	11 arcum <i>om.</i> T^b	et <i>ante</i> que ₁ <i>add.</i> P	tangens ... inclino ₂ <i>om.</i> x v
me ₂ <i>supra lin.</i> F	precepit O	precepit <i>post</i> que ₂ <i>trp.</i> u x v	vero <i>om.</i> u x v 12 quem
tibi nominaui <i>in marg.</i> T^b <i>om.</i> u x v	nominaui] nomina q¹	tetre <i>in marg.</i> Y terre P V β_2 v	

et horribiles nubes surgunt contra claritatem arcus. Per quas nubes intelligo illos, qui in carne vitam meretricalem habent et sunt insaciabiles similes voragini maris ad cupiditatem pecunie. **13** Bona quoque irrationabiliter ac prodigaliter, sicut torrens in impetu suo aquam fundens, pro superbia largiuntur. Hec itaque tria plerique nunc exercent Ecclesie prouisoires, quorum peccata in celum ascendunt horribilia ante conspectum Dei contra meam oracionem sicut teterrime nubes contra claritatem arcus. Sic eciam illi, qui iram Dei mecum placare deberent, contra se iram Dei excitant et tales in Ecclesia Dei non deberent exaltari. **14** Quicumque ergo curam apponere uoluerit, ut fundamentum Ecclesie fiat stabile et uinea illa benedicta, quam Deus fundauit sanguine suo, renouetur, si se insufficientem uiderit, **15** ego, regina celorum, cum omnibus angelis ei in adiutorium venire uolo sabulosas radices exstirpando sterilesque arbores in ignem proiciendo ac in earum locis ramusculos fructuosos inserendo. **16** Per uineam uero intelligo Ecclesiam Dei, in qua duo, scilicet humilitas et caritas diuina, debent renouari.”

Sequitur addicio

17 (D) Filius Dei loquitur de nunciis pape: “Vos uenistis in societatem maiorum et adhuc ad maiora ascendetis. Ideo summe meretur ille, qui laborat ad hoc, ut humilitas exaltetur, quia superbia iam nimis

14 uinea illa benedicta, quam Deus fundauit sanguine suo *Mt. 21,33 sqq. FOGELKVIST (1993a:28 sqq.)*. **17** Filius ... (18) ingemiscent *Excursus A, p. 222*.

et₁ etiam **O om. P B** consurgunt **F** arcus claritatem **u x v** (arcus *post corr.*)**T^{b2}**
 nubes₂] nubes **Y** in carne *om. u x v* **13** ecclesie *post* quoque *add. O K* ac] et β₂
 suo *om. u x v* aqua (?) **x** exercentur **V** in₂ *om. u x v* horribiliter **u x v**
 ante] autem **Y V** (*vide pag. 47, n. 72*) orationem meam **A^b** arcus claritatem **v** in
 arcus *corr. T^b* contra meam *ante* mecum *lin. del. et exp. q* mecum *in marg. T^b* mecum ...
 Dei₃ *om. x v* placere **O** se] me **O** et] eciam **Y** Dei₄ *om. u x v* deberent₂] te-
 nerentur **T^{b1}** **u x v** (*vide pag. 50*) exaltari *om. x* sed deprimi *post* exaltari *add. T^b*
14 fundauit Deus **u x v** suo *om. O* remouetur **u** sufficientem **V¹** **15** celi **u x**
v omnibus *om. u x v* Dei *post* angelis *add. u x v* ei *in marg. T^b* **16** scilicet *etiam*
ante duo *add. V* scilicet *in marg. T^b* humilitas scilicet **u x v σ** diuina *om. u x v*
 etc *post* renouari *add. u*

Add. 10: K q F Gh

Sequitur addicio] declaracio *in marg. sup. K²* Addicio *in marg. dextra K²* declaracio **F om. K¹ q**
17 maiorum] magnorum (-gnorum *post corr.*) **K²** (*non potest legi K¹*) mereretur **q¹**
 ille,] illi **Gh**

ascenderat. Honorem eciam maximum habebit ille, qui caritatem habet ad animas, quia ambicio et symonia iam in plerisque regnant. **18** Felix eciam erit ille, qui conatur pro posse suo, ut vicia de mundo extirpentur, quia iam plus solito inualescunt. Est eciam utilissimum habere et petere pacienciam, quia in diebus multorum, qui nunc viuunt, sol dimidiabitur, stelle confundentur, sapiencia infatuabitur, humiles in terra ingemiscent et audaces preualebunt. **19** Hoc sapiencium est intelligere et interpretari, qui aspera sciunt deplanare et futura prouidere.” **20** Hec reuelacio precedens facta fuit ad Albanensem cardinalem, qui tunc fuit prior.

Verba fidei sponse ad Christum, et qualiter Iohannes Baptista inducit sponse certitudinem Christi sibi alloquentis et de boni diuitis felicitate, et qualiter indiscretus episcopus propter sui fatuitatem et pessimam vitam assimilatur symie. Capitulum XI.

1 Sponsa loquebatur Christo in oracione humiliter dicens: (A) “O Domine mi, Ihesu Christe, sic firmiter credo tibi, quod eciam si serpens iaceret ante os meum, non intraret nisi te propter bonum meum permittente!”

18 *This passage was interpreted by General Confessor Magnus Petri as a prophecy about the schism of 1378 in a letter of defence for Birgitta’s revelations (contra calumpniantes sanctissimas reuelaciones beate Birgitte), see my Chapter 1.3, p. 34 sq. The letter was edited by UNDHAGEN (1960b:220-226): Nonne toti mundo iam nostris temporibus liquet scisma istud notissimum Ecclesie Romane, cui pronunc duo summi pontifices siue pape videntur presidere, quod beate Birgitte diuinitus reuelatum extitit forsitan ad viginti annos, antequam contigit, ut patet ex fine decime reuelacionis tercij libri Reuelacionum celestium, ubi sic dicitur: In diebus multorum, qui nunc viuunt, sol, id est Papa, dimidietur. Stelle, id est cardinales, confundentur. Sapiencia, scilicet infidelium, infatuabitur. Humiles ingemiscent, etcetera, ut ibidem patet (225 ll. 3-11). **20** Albanensem cardinalem see my Chapter 1.3, p. 34 sq.*

18 dimidietur **K q** (vide pag. 54) et₂ supra lin. **K² om. K¹q** **19** Hoc ... prouidere om. **F**
Hoc sa- **K²** (non potest legi **K¹**) **20** Hec ... prior ante (§17) Filius trp. **q** Hec ... prior post
(§16) renouari ex parte in marg. **K² om. K¹** Hec ... prior om. **F** sed Hec reuelacio facta fuit ad Albanensem cardinalem, qui tunc fuit prior in marg. inf. add. **K²**

XI: β π

R om. **F** fidei] fideli v et₁ supra lin. **T^b** ad ante certitudinem add. **V** de om. **u x v**
sibi (?) ante diuitis add. **v** assimilatur symie in marg. **T^b** etc post symie add. **v**
1 Christo om. **u x v** in in marg. **T^b** humiliter om. **V** mi supra lin. **T^b om. u x v**
(vide pag. 50) sic in marg. **Y** meum₂ om. **u x v**

2 Respondit Iohannes Baptista: “Ille, qui apparet tibi, ipse est naturaliter Dei filius, cui Pater me audiente perhibuit testimonium dicens: ‘Hic est filius meus.’ **3** Ipse est, a quo Spiritus Sanctus processit, qui me baptizante super eum in columbe specie apparuit. Ipse est secundum carnem verus filius Virginis, cuius corpus manibus meis attrectavi. Crede ergo ei firmiter et ingrediare viam eius. Ipse enim est, qui viam rectam ad celum demonstravit, per quam pauper et dives potest ingredi celum. **4** Sed querere poteris, quomodo dives dispositus esse debet, qui ingressurus est celum, cum Deus personaliter dixerit, quod facilius est camelum per foramen acus transire quam diuitem ingredi celum? Ad hoc ego respondeo tibi: **5** Ille dives, qui sic dispositus est, quod timet aliquid secum esse male acquisitum, qui sollicitus est, ne bona sua inutiliter et contra Deum expendantur, qui inuite possidens possessionem et honorem mundi libenter desiderat separari ab eis **6** turbaturque de dispendio animarum et inhonoratione Dei et, quamvis ex dispensacione diuina cogitur quodammodo habere mundum, tota tamen intencione vigilat circa amorem Dei, hic talis dives fructuosus et felix dives est et carus Deo. **7** (B) Sed non est sic dives iste episcopus. Ipse quippe similis est symie habenti quatuor condiciones, quarum prima est, quod preparantur ei vestes tendentes ad inferiorem partem et anteriora velantes, sed verecundiora eius apparent tota nuda. **8** Secunda condicio est, quod digitis suis tangens fetencia applicat ori suo. Tercia est, quod faciem quidem habet humanam sed colorem et speciem reliquam beluinam. **9** Quarta

2-3 Revs. I 41:41; IV 116:3; VI:29;33:19. **2** Ille ... est naturaliter Dei filius ... Hic est filius meus Mt. 3,13-17; 17,5; Mc. 1, 9-11; Lc. 3,21 sq.; Io. 1,29-34. **3** columbe specie apparuit Lc. 3,22. Ipse ... processit cf. Io. 16,12-15. **4** facilius est camelum per foramen acus transire quam diuitem ingredi celum Mt. 19,24; Mc. 10,25; Lc. 18,25.

2 ipse in marg. T^b om. V naturaliter est T^b filius Dei T^b K est₂ om. x v meus in marg. T^b **3** Sanctus om. O meis om. x v attractavi u v F² Gh Credo v ergo supra lin. T^b ingredi potest P T^b K q σ ingredi possunt u x v **4** querere] habere u debet esse dispositus σ quod om. V x v quam] quod V celum ingredi x v ego om. σ eci- am V tibi om. O **5** quod] qui P aliquid] aliquem P male esse P T^b K q σ est₂ om. V expensens ante possidens exp. et lin. del. x et honorem om. V **6** de om. u x v quamvis] quam vix V ex] de u x v dispositione V cogitur] in agitur alt. T^b et ante fructuosus add. V **7** dives sic u iste] ipse u¹ Ipse] Iste P β₂ est simi- lis B que post quod exp. et lin. del. q velantes] celantes u x v condiciones] conitidones Gh que post quod lin. del. et exp. q toto O **8** tangit x Tercium T^b q est₂ om. O et] in x

est, quod licet habet manus et pedes, attamen cum digitis et manibus calcat lutum. Sic iste episcopus fatuus est quasi symia, curiosus in mundi vanitate, deformatus a laudabili operatione, **10** nam habet vestes, id est ordines episcopales, qui sunt valde honorabiles et preciosi apud Deum, sed verecundiora sua apparent nuda, quia leuitas morum suorum et affectus carnalis ostenditur hominibus ad animarum destructionem. **11** Contra que dicit miles ille egregius, quod verecundiora hominis maiorem honestatem habent, notans per hoc, quod motus bestiales clericorum celari debent bonis operibus, ne exemplo eorum infirmi scandalizentur. (C) Symia quoque tangit et odorat fetencia. **12** Quid facit digitus nisi demonstrationem rei vise, sicut ego videns Deum in humanitate demonstraui eum digito, ‘ecce’, inquit, ‘agnus Dei’. Quid ergo sunt digiti episcopi nisi mores sui laudabiles, quibus demonstrare deberet iusticiam Dei et eius caritatem? **13** Nunc autem in operibus suis demonstrat, quod est generosus et diues, sapiens mundi et prodigus pecuniarum. Quid autem sunt hec omnia nisi tamquam digitos immittere ad fetencia? Nam gloriari de carne et lata familia, quid aliud est quam gloriari de inflatis saccis? **14** Symia quoque habet faciem humanam sed speciem reliquam beluinam. Sic iste animam quidem habet signaculo Dei insignitam sed per propriam cupiditatem deformatam. **15** Quarto sicut symia tangit et calcat cum pedibus et manibus lutum, sic iste affectu et opere terrenis inhiat auertens vultum suum a celestibus et inclinans ad terrena tamquam animal obliuiosum. Numquid talis mitigat iram Dei? Nequaquam, sed magis prouocat contra se iusticiam Dei.”

11 verecundiora hominis maiorem honestatem habent *1 Cor. 12,23.* **12** ego videns Deum ... demonstraui eum ... ‘agnus Dei’ *Rev. IV 39:4;74:3; Io.1,29.*

9 quod *om.* **O** habeat **u x v** et₂ *supra lin.* **T^b** manibus] pedibus **F** et pedibus *post*
manibus *lin. del.* **T^b** luctum **P** episcopus iste σ est₂ *om.* **u x v** **10** habet *om.* **u**
vestem **Y V** (*vide pag. 47*) id est] et **O A^b** que **O A^b** sua] eius **u x v** quia]
qui **q¹** et₂ *lin. del.* **x** hominibus] omnibus **A^{b2}** **11** ille miles **K** notans *om.* **u x v**
quod *ante* operibus *add.* **V** ne] Nam **F** exempla **O** eorum] illorum **u x v**
scandalizantur **x** **12** vise] in se **u v** sicut ... Deum] sicut eum videns sui **x v** ego]
enim **O** eum **u¹ x** humanitate] humilitate **F** eum *in marg.* **T^b** iusticia (?) **x** **13** di-
ues et generosus σ et *ante* sapiens *add.* **O u x v** diuitiarum *ante* pecuniarum *lin. del.* **K**
verbum ante omnia lin. del. et exp. v immittere **Y V** β_2 mittere **P** π (*vide pag. 47, 68*)
14 habet quoque **x v** habet,] habeat **F** quidem animam **V** quidem] quid (?) **q¹**
15 Quarto] Quinta **P** sicut *supra lin.* **q** sic **V x om.** **O** calcat et tangit β_2 (*vide pag. 48*)
manibus et pedibus **K** luctum **P** inhiant **q** suum *om.* **F** ad] a **P¹** oblio-
uiosam **P** Numquid] numquam **P¹** nonquid **A^b** Dei₂] Deum **P¹**

Addicio

16 (D) Hec reuelacio facta est de legato cardinali anni iubilei et cetera. Filius Dei loquitur: “O disputator superbe, ubi pompa tua, ubi apparatus equorum? Noluisti intelligere, cum esses in honore. Ideo nunc inhonoratus es. Dic igitur, quamuis omnia scio, audiente ista sponsa noua, que quero!” **17** Et statim quasi una persona tremula et nuda apparuit mirabiliter deformata. Cui dixit iudex: “O anima, tu docuisti spernere mundum et diuicias eius. Cur ergo secutus es ea?” **18** Respondit anima: “Quia dulcius sapuit michi fetor pessimus quam odor tuus suauissimus.” Et statim dicto verbo per Ethiopem unum infusum est anime vas sulphuris et veneni. Item dixit iudex: “O anima, tu posita fuisti populis in candelabrum lucis, quare non lucebas verbo et exemplo?” **19** Respondit anima: “Quia caritas tua fuit abrasa a corde meo. Ibam sicut homo sine memoria et sicut vir vagus respiciens presencia et non attendens futura.” Quo dicto anima priuata est lumine oculorum. **20** Et dixit unus Ethiops, qui astare videbatur: “O iudex, hec anima mea est. Quid facturus sum?” Respondit iudex: “Purga eam et quasi in prelo examina, donec veniat consistorium, in quo allegaciones amicorum et inimicorum discucientur.”

16 Hec ... cetera *Excursus A*, p. 222. legato cardinali *see my Chapter 1.3*, p. 35. **17** dixit iudex *For other scenes at the Court of Law, Revs. I 16; II 2; IV 7:50-52;102; VI 1. WESTMAN (1911:83-85).* **18** Ethiopem *cf. AMBR. De Spiritu Sancto II 10:111 sq.: nec quisquam inventus est de Iudaeis, qui levaret prophetam, sed unus Aethiops Abdemelech, sicut scriptura testatur. In quo nomine figura pulcherrima est, quia sermonem propheticum, quem Iudaei velut in caenum suae mentis carnisque detruserant, nos videlicet ex gentibus peccatores, nigri ante delictis et quondam infructuosi, elevavimus de profundo. Et ideo scriptum est Aethiopia praelevavit manus suas deo (i.e., Ps. 67,32). In quo sanctae ecclesiae species significatur, quae ait in Canticis canticorum (i.e., Cant. 1,4 sqq.): Nigra sum et decora filia Istrahel, nigra per culpam, decora per gratiam, nigra per condicionem, decora per redemptionem, aut forte nigra exercitii sui pulvere, nigra ergo, dum proeliatur, decora, dum victoriae suae insignibus coronatur.*

Add. 11 (§16) Hec reuelacio ... disputator **K q u x v F Gh** (§16) superbe ... (§20) discucientur **K q F Gh**

Addicio] addicio *et declaracio in marg.* **K²** Declaracio **F om. K¹q u x v** **16** Hec ... iubilei **K² om. K¹** cardinalis **x v** (*vide pag. 58*) et cetera *om. K q u x v F* disputata **u x v** etc in fine sexti *post* disputator *add. u* (*vide UNDHAGEN [1978:75 sq.]*) superbie **K q** (*vide pag. 58*) **17** anima *supra lin. q* **19** abrasa fuit **F** meo] mea **F¹** future **Gh** **20** est mea **K**

Loquitur sponsa Christo preces effundendo pro supradicto episcopo et de responsionibus Christi et Virginis et sancte Agnetis sponse factis. Capitulum XII.

1 “O Domine mi, scio, quod nemo ingreditur celum nisi Pater traxerit eum. (A) Ideo, o Pater piissime, trahe istum infirmum episcopum ad te. Tu vero, Fili Dei, adiuvata conantem. Tu quoque, Sancte Spiritus, imple caritate tua episcopum frigidum et exinanitum.”

2 Respondit Deus Pater: “Si trahens est fortis, res vero, que trahitur, ponderosa nimis, citius dissipabitur opus et annihilabitur. Si vero, qui trahitur, ligatus est, non potest adiuuvare nec seipsum nec trahentem, et si immundus est, qui trahitur, abhominabilis est ad trahendum et tangendum. **3** Sic episcopus iste dispositus est, sicut qui stat in diuersorio deliberans secum, que via sit tenenda.”

4 Respondit sponsa: “O Domine mi, numquid non scriptum est, quod nemo stabiliter stat in hac vita, sed aut vadit ad meliora aut ad peiora?”

5 Respondit Pater: “Utrumque dici potest, nam stat quasi inter duas vias, gaudii scilicet et doloris. Turbatur de horrore supplicii eterni.

R supradicto episcopo *Rev. III 1(R) (with further references). Agnetis Process Vita 95; A&P 456,545 sq.; Pa-Vita 633. 1-3 cf. Rev. IV 126:33 sq. ELLIS (1993:231). 1* nemo ingreditur celum nisi Pater traxerit eum *Rev. IV 12:7;118;126:33 sq.; Io. 6,44; cf. AMBR. De Fide I 10:62; V 12:149 sq.; Io. 14,6. 4* scriptum est, quod nemo stabiliter stat in hac vita, sed aut vadit ad meliora aut ad peiora (*see §25*). *Cf. the Old Swedish Pentateuch Paraphrase (in: Svenska medeltidens bibel-arbeten I. 283:19-21):* Oc engte thz thing ther skapt a'r hawer swa langan stadgha vtan omskiptilse swa som iak sigher ('And no thing which is created has such long stability but changes, as I say'); *WALTHER (1982-1986), 2, p. 506 (= 384590):* Mundus haud stat aut quiescit, ex loco mutat locum.; *THOMAS AQUINAS, Summa Theologiae I 9:2;10:4 sq. KLOCKARS (1971:19 sq. with n. 1).*

XII: β π

R *om. F* Qualiter ante Loquitur exp. **T^b** pro ante Christo *lin. del. K* Christo **P T^b K u x**
q Gh Christi **Y V β₂ v** (*vide pag. 47, 68*) **1** transerit **V** infirmum *om. x v* ad] a **P**
 Dei] deus **P T^b** (*vide pag. 53*) sanctus **V** spiritus sanctus **A^b** caritatem (?) **B**
 tua *in marg. V* istum *post* episcopum₂ *add. x v* exigentium **P 2** Deus *supra lin.*
q om. T^b σ Pater *om. F* res] rex **V** nimis ponderosa **V** dissipabitur **Y V π** dissipatur **P β₂** (*vide pag. 68 sq.*) annihilabitur **K u x v** annihilatur **β q σ** *post alt. T^b* (*vide pag. 68 sq.*)
 poteris **u x** potes **v** nec₁ *in marg. T^b* ad] et **x 3** stat in] statim **V** que] qui **q¹**
 sit] sic **P 4** *in* sponsa *corr. T^b* illa **u x v** numquid] Nonquid **A^b** non *supra lin. F*
 est scriptum **P** vadit *post* meliora *trp. σ* ad₂ *om. u x v* **5** Utrumque] -que *supra*
lin. u dicere **u¹** potest dici **v** duas *in marg. T^b* *in* vias *corr. T^b* scilicet] si **v**
 namque *post* Turbatur *add. u x v*

Assectat obtinere celeste gaudium, sed tamen asperum sibi videtur per viam, que tendit ad gaudium, perfecte ambulare. Vadit vero, quando illa sequitur, ad que feruenciosem habet voluntatem.”

6 (B) Item loquitur beata Agnes: “Iste episcopus est dispositus sicut ille, qui staret inter duas vias. Unam earum sciret artam in principio sed in fine gaudiosam; aliam sciret delectabilem ad tempus sed in fine habentem profundum insaciabile et dolorosum.

7 Cumque viator cogitans de istis viis delectaretur in eundo viam in principio delectabilem timens tamen de insaciabili profundo incidit talis cogitacio: ‘Est’, inquit, ‘compendium quoddam in via ista delectabili. Si inuenero illud, diu ambulare possum securus et, cum appropinquauero fini et profundo, si inuenero compendium, nichil michi nocebit.’ **8** Et ita ambulans securus in via, cum venisset ad profundum, cecidit miserabiliter, quia compendium, ut cogitauit, non inuenit. Talium cogitacionum viri inueniuntur hodie multi qui cogitantes taliter secum: **9** ‘Onerosum est’, inquit, ‘ire viam artam. Durum est relinquere voluntatem propriam et honores.’ Propterea ponunt sibi spem falsam et periculosam. ‘Longa’, inquit, ‘est via nostra. Misericordia Dei est maxima. Delectabilis est mundus iste et ad delectacionem creatus. **10** Ideo nil obest, si ad tempus utar mundo secundum velle meum, quia in fine vite sequi volo Deum. Est enim compendium quoddam vie huius mundi, id est contritio et confessio. Hanc, si obtinuero, saluus ero.’ **11** (C) Talis cogitacio, scilicet velle peccare usque in finem et tunc confiteri, est valde debilis spes, quia nesciunt antequam cadunt. Quibus et in extremis inspiratur quandoque tantus dolor et subitus finis, quod nullomodo fructuosam

9 viam artam *Rev. III 1:2 (with app. hist.)*. usque in finem et tunc confiteri *cf. Eccl. 7,40.*

10 FOGELKVIST (1993a:57).

11 velle peccare

et ante Assectat *add.* **u x v** asperum *om.* **K** videtur sibi asperum **F** per *in marg.*
T^b *supra lin.* **F om.** **V u x v Gh** gaudium] gaudia σ perfecte *om.* **F** ambulare perfecte **u**
x² (ad *post* ambulare *exp.*) **v** ergo ante vero *lin. del.* **B** in vero *corr.* **T^b** per aliam *post*
vero *add.* **K** **6** una **u** in Unam earum *corr.* **T^b** arctam **A^b** sed in fine *in marg.* **T^b**
insaciabilem **u x** **7** in₁ *supra lin.* **x** eundo] ostendendo **O** tamen] autem **V**
Est, inquit] Et numquam **P** nichil] nil **K x v q** **8** peruenisset **P Y¹ β_2** ut] quod **u x**
v in cogitauit *corr.* **Y** taliter *supra lin.* **F** **9** arctam **A^{b1}** altam **P** ire *post* artam *trp.*
u x v spem] spe-ciem **v** via **P β_2** vita **Y V T^b K u x q σ** via vita **v** (*vide pag. 69*)
10 nichil **F** in quia *corr.* **T^b** vite *om.* **K** volo sequi **u** confessio et contritio
A^b **11** scilicet velle β velle scilicet π (*cf. III 18:2 scilicet honor, vide pag. 69*) conteri β_2
et₂ *supra lin.* **q** inspires **u** quandoque *in marg.* **T^b** subditus **x**

poterunt inuenire contricionem. **12** Et merito; noluerunt enim preiudicare futura mala, cum potuerunt, sed in arbitrio et limitatione sua posuerunt tempus misericordie Dei. Nec proponebant finem facere peccato, antequam peccatum non poterat eos delectari. Similiter et episcopus iste stetit inter istas duas vias. **13** Nunc autem appropinquat vie delectabiliore carnis et habet ante se quasi tria folia, que legit. Primum folium legit dulciter et continue, secundum quandoque sed non cum delectatione, tertium folium raro et hoc cum dolore. Primum vero sunt diuicie et honores, quibus delectatur. **14** Secundum est timor iehenne et futuri iudicii, quo conturbatur. Tertium est amor Dei et timor filialis, qui raro reuoluitur. Si enim attenderet, quid pro eo fecit Deus quidue ei impendit, numquam amor Dei extingueretur in corde eius.”

15 Respondit sponsa: “O domina, roga pro illo.” Et tunc beata Agnes ait: “Quid facit iusticia nisi iudicium quidue misericordia nisi quod alliciat?” (D) Mater Dei loquitur: “Sic dicetur episcopo: Deus licet omnia potest facere, tamen homo personaliter cooperari debet, ut peccatum fugiatur et caritas diuina obtineatur. **16** Nam tria sunt, que inducunt ad fugiendum peccatum, et tria inductiua sunt ad obtinendam caritatem. Tria, quibus fugitur peccatum, sunt: Penitencia perfecta, secundum intencio nolle ea iterato committere, tertium emendare se iuxta consilia illorum, quos videt contempsisse mun-

12 episcopus iste *see above* **R**. **15-17** *cf. Rev. IV 126:16-26.*

poterunt fruc. inu. **P** fruc. inu. poterunt **T^b K q σ** fruc. inu. poterint **u x v** **12** mala futura **K**
 in *ante* limitatione *add.* **P** tempus *in marg.* **Y om. V** Dei] de **V** fine (?) **O**
 delectare **σ** steterat **T^{b1} u x v** (*vide pag. 50*) duas istas vias **K σ** (istas] -s *supra lin.*) **q**
 duas vias istas **u x v** **13** autem] vero **u om. x v** vie *om.* **V** delectabiliora **V** que *in*
marg. inf. **F** legit₁] perlegit **π** (*in marg. inf.* **F**) vero *ante* quandoque *add.* **V** Tercio **B**
 folium₂ *om.* **u x v** vero *om.* **V** **14** conturbatur] contristabatur **u x v** fecerat **T^{b1}**
 quidue] quit ne **x** impendit ei **x** impenderat **T^{b1}** eius] ipsius **u x v** **15** *in*
 sponsa *corr.* **T^b** Roga o domina **x²** illo] eo **F** Et] Sed **u** Et tunc *om.* **T^b** beata
 Agnes *in marg.* **T^b** ait *om.* **x v** inquit *ante* facit *add.* **T^b** quit ne **x** misericordia] vi-
 ta **u x v** quod] ut **β₂** (*vide pag. 46*) alliciatur **V** Dei *in marg.* **T^b** *in* potest *corr.* **T^b**
 tamen facere **P** homo] omnia **u** operari **T^{b1}** **16** sunt₁ *supra lin.* **q** hominem
 post inducunt *add.* **u x v** peccatum₁] peccata **u x v** inductiue **v** obtinendum **V Gh**
 obtinendam caritatem] diuinam caritatem obtinendam **K** peccata *ante* caritatem *exp. et lin.*
 del. **x** Tria, quibus] tribus tria **v** peccatum₂] peccata **u x v** sunt₃ *om.* **V** Penitencia
P Y β₂ π Primum penitencia **V** (*vide pag. 69 sq.*) *in* nolle *corr.* **T^b** iterum **β₂** est *post*
 tertium *add.* **u x v** se *om.* **O** illorum] morum (?) **v**

dum. **17** Tria vero cooperancia ad obtinendam caritatem sunt humilitas, misericordia et labor caritatis, nam quicumque non legeret nisi unum *Pater noster* pro obtinenda caritate, cicius appropinquaret illi effectus caritatis.

18 De altero episcopo, de quo prius dixi tibi, concludo nunc, quod fosse videntur ei nimis late ad saltandum, muri nimis alti ad scandendum, sere fortes ad confringendum. **19** Ideo sto ego et expecto eum, sed ipse vertit caput suum ad opera trium turbarum, quas delectabiliter videndo considerat. Prima earum corizat. **20** Huic ipse dicit: 'Placet michi audire vos, expectate me!' Secunda stat ad speculandum. Huic ipse dicit: 'Placet michi videre, que videtis, quia delectant me multum.' Tercia letatur et quiescit et cum hac querit ipse quietem et honorem. (E) Sed quid est corizare in mundo nisi ab una temporali leticia transire in aliam, ab uno appetitu honoris in alium? **21** Quid vero est stare et cogitare nisi a contemplacione diuina subtrahere animum et de congregacione et de erogacione temporalium cogitare? Quid vero est quiescere nisi carnis habere quietem? **22** Has itaque tres turbas considerando iam ascendit in montem altum, sed de sibi transmissis verbis meis nichil curat, nec de illa clausula verborum curat, scilicet, si tenet ipse promissionem suam, tenebo et ego meam."

23 Respondit sponsa: "O benignissima Mater, noli discedere ab eo!" Cui Mater: "Non discedo, donec terra suscipit terram. Immo

17 Pater noster *Mt. 6,9. FOGELKVIST (1993a:164).* **18-25** *Excursus A, p. 222.* **18** altero episcopo, de quo prius dixi tibi *Rev. III 4:3 sqq.; 12:24.* **20** corizare ... leticia *cf. Rev. I 27:1.*
22 si tenet ipse promissionem suam, tenebo et ego meam *cf. Num. 23,19; 2 Tim. 2,11-13.*

17 legerit **F** noster *in marg. x* illi] sibi **u x v** effectus] affectus **x v** **18** dixi tibi prius **V** tibi prius dixi **u x v** tibi prius dixi tibi σ (nunc *post* tibi₂ *eras. F*) quod *om. F* esse *post* ei *add. u x v* salutandum **v**¹ **19** et *om. P* specto β_2 **K q**¹ verterat **T**^{b1} **u x v** σ quas] quasi **u x v** corizat] corrigit **P**¹ **20** dicit₁] dixit **u x v** vos] nos (?) **V** audire ... michi₂ *in marg. inf. q* me₁] mea **P** dicit₂] dixit **u x v** audire *ante* videre *add. P lin. del. et exp. q* vos *ante* videtis *exp. T^b et₂ *supra lin. T^b *om. u x v (vide pag. 50)* Sed] scilicet **V** coricare **Y** aliam] altam (?) **q** honoris] honorum σ **21** est₁ *supra lin. v* diuina *in marg. T^b animum *om. O* de erogacione β erogacione π carnis] carius **v** **22** tres *om. V* in ascendit *corr. T^b descendit **V** ascenderat **u x v** in *om. u x v* sibi *om. u x v* transmissis sibi **K** (missi sibi **T**^{b1}) **T**^{b2} **q** σ nil **u** nec] nisi **u** de illa *om. u x v (vide pag. 55)* illa *in marg. T^b verbarum **V** curat₂ *om. u x v* aliquid *post* suam *fortasse* meam *eras. V* in tenebo *corr. F* viam *ante* meam *exp. et lin. del. q* **23** in sponsa *corr. T^b suscipiat **K** terra **O********

magis, si confregerit seras, obuiabo ei sicut ancilla et adiuuabo sicut mater?” **24** Et addidit Mater: “Tu, filia, cogitas, que fuisset remuneratio canonico illi Aurelianensi, si episcopus suus fuisset conuersus?” **25** Respondeo tibi: Sicut tu vides, quod terra profert herbas et flores diuerse speciei et diuersi generis, sic si omnis homo laudabiliter stetit ab origine mundi in institucione sua, omnes obtinuissent excellentem mercedem, quia omnis, qui in Deo est, transit ab una leticia in aliam, non quod tedium in aliqua sit, sed quia continue augetur delectacio delectabilior et gaudium ineffabile continue innouatur.”

Declaracio

26 Hic fuit episcopus Vexionensis. Qui, cum esset Rome, multum de reditu suo angustiaretur. Auditum est in spiritu: “Dic”, inquit, “episcopo, quod mora sua utilior est quam acceleracio. Hii quoque, qui de comitiua sua precesserunt, subsequenter eum. **27** Ideo cum ad patriam redierit, verba mea inueniet vera.” Sic itaque omnia euenerunt. Nam rediens inuenit regem captum et totum regnum turbatum. **28** Hii quoque qui precesserunt eum de comitiua impediti in via longe subsequerantur eum. “Scito eciam, quod domina illa, que est in comitiua episcopi, sana reuertetur, sed non in patria morietur.” Et ita euenit, nam secunda vice iuit Romam et ibi mortua est et sepulta.

24 canonico illi Aurelianensi §18. **25** cf. §4. **26** episcopus Vexionensis *see above III 12(R)*. **27** regem captum *In 1363, King Magnus Eriksson of Sweden allied himself with the Danish King Valdemar Atterdag. When his son, Håkon Magnusson, married Valdemar's daughter, Margareta, in 1363, the relation to the Swedish aristocracy became complicated. In the battle at Gataskogen near Enköping in 1365, King Magnus was defeated and taken prisoner. Having been released after seven years, he went to his son Håkon and was lost during a voyage. Cf. Ex. 73; Process Vita 88 sq.; A&P 485 sq., 492, 497 sq., Pa-Vita 624.* **28** domina illa cf. Rev. VI 39:116. KLOCKARS (1966:50) identifies her as Märta (Margareta) Sunesdotter Bååt, the wife of Ulf Åbjörnsson Sparre. However, LUNDÉN (1957:303, note) states that her name was Kristina Sigmundsdotter married to the same Ulf Åbjörnsson. Cf. DV §154:3 and A&P 327.

confringerit v obuiuabo V in sicut₁ corr. T^b quasi u x quod v in sicut₂ corr. T^b
quasi u x v **24** addit v in remuneracio corr. T^b om. V suus om. x **25** Responsio v
tu in marg. T^b quod¹ supra lin. T^b proferet T^b si sic u x v stetit laudabi-
liter T^b in ante mundi eras. V **26** subsequenter F

Decl. 12 (§26) Hic - utilior K q u x v F U^a Gh (§26) est₂- (§32) Romam K q F U^a Gh
Declaracio in marg. K² om. K¹ q u x **26** multum] et multum K q qui et multum u x v suo re-
ditu Gh angur x Auditum ... spiritu in marg. inf. U^a est₁ om. x v et cetera post uti-
lior add. u v an ante de₂ lin. del. U^a **28** eum₁ supra lin. F om. U^a sua post comitiua
add. F U^a

Item de eodem episcopo

29 Cum domina Birgitta descendisset de Monte Gargano ad ciuitatem Mafredoniam in regno Cecilie, idem episcopus existens in comitiua domine casu accidente in monte cecidit de equo ita grauiter, quod due coste fracte sunt. **30** Qui de mane, cum domina profectura esset ad sanctum Nicolaum de Baro, vocauit eam ad se dicens: “O Domina, grauissimum est michi hic sine vestra presencia manere. Et onerosum est eciam vobis moram trahere propter me maxime propter incursantes istos homines. **31** Rogo”, inquit, “vos per amorem Ihesu Christi, ut rogetis Deum pro me, et tangite manu vestra latus doloris mei! Spero enim per tactum manus vestre dolorem meum mitigari.” Que pro compassione resoluta in lacrimas respondit: “O Domine mi, ego reputor, quod non sum, nam ego sum peccatrix maxima in conspectu Dei. **32** Verumptamen omnes rogemus Deum et ipse respondebit fidei vestre.” Facta itaque oracione cum surrexisset, tetigit latus episcopi dicens: “Sanet te Dominus Ihesus Christus.” Et statim dolor discessit. Et surgens episcopus secutus est dominam per totam viam usque rediret Romam.

29-32 *There is a parallel text in A&P (dep. Prior Petrus Olavi) 536. Nicolaus of Myra, A&P 14,309,579.*

30 Nicolaum de Baro Bishop

29 Item ... episcopo *om.* **K**¹ Addicio de eodem episcopo *in marg.* **K**² Item ibidem de eodem **F U**^a episcopo *om.* **q** domina] beata **F U**^a (*vide pag. 58*) ad] in **F** comitiua] comitatu **F** accidente **q**¹ -i- *in aliquid alt.* **q**² eius *post coste supra lin. add.* **F** **30** presencia vestra **F U**^a eciam est **K** homines istos **F**¹ **31** manu vestra *om.* **Gh** latus ... (§32) vestre *in marg. inf.* **q** meum *post latus lin. del.* **U**^a pro₂] pre **Gh** in lacrimas *post compassione lin. del.* **U**^a respondit] ait **Gh** ei *post respondit add.* **K** O *om.* **K** sum, *supra lin.* **F** **32** vestre] nostre **K** surrexit **F** te *supra lin.* **U**^a noster *post Dominus add.* **F U**^a

Verba Matris ad filiam, qualiter verba et opera Christi per thesaurum et deitas per castrum et peccata per seras et virtutes per muros et pulchritudo mundi et delectatio amicorum per duas fossas mirabiliter designantur et exponuntur, et qualiter se debeat habere episcopus circa curam animarum. Capitulum XIII.

1 Mater loquitur ad sponsam Filii dicens: (A) “Ille episcopus petit me in suam caritatem. Ideo debet hoc facere, quod est michi carissimum. Ego quippe scio thesaurum, quem qui possederit, numquam erit miser. **2** Qui videbit eum, numquam senciet tribulacionem et mortem. Quicumque desiderat illum, habebit quidquid appetit cum exultacione. Iste vero thesaurus clausus est in bono castro quatuor seris, quod castrum habet extra se muros altos et spissos et grossos. **3** Extra vero muros sunt due fosse profunde atque late. Ideo rogo ipsum, ut transiliat ambas fossas uno saltu, ascendat muros uno passu, confringat omnes seras uno ictu et sic presentet michi rem preciosissimam. Nunc autem, quid ista significant, dicam tibi. **4** Hoc vobiscum vocatur thesaurus, quod raro sumitur in usus et raro mouetur. Hic thesaurus sunt verba filii mei carissimi et eius preciosissima opera, que in passione et ante passionem fecit, **5** necnon et illa mirabilia opera, que tunc fecit, quando verbum factum est caro in corpore meo, et quod <facit>, quando in altari cotidie panis eadem fit caro ad verbum Dei. **6** Hec omnia sunt preciosissimus thesaurus, que ita iam

1 Ille episcopus §36; see *Revs. IV 125:20; 130:3; VI 22(R)* and my *Chapter 1.3, p. 35 sq. Cf. the OS text. Excursus A, p. 222.* **4** thesaurus *cf. Mt. 6,20.* **5** verbum factum est caro *Io. 1,1,14.*

XIII: P Y β₂ π *solum* (R) Verba matris ... (§8) ad corporis **V**

R om. F filium **u** qualiter₁] in quibus **K** deberetur **x** deberet **v** etc *post* animarum
add. u **1** dei *post* Mater *add. Gh* loquebatur **O** ad sponsam (Filii *om.*) dicens *in marg.*
T^b episcopus *supra lin.* **T^b** caritatem] carissimam **u x** verbum, quod non potest legi **v**
 mihi *post* qui *add. B* miser erit **x v** **2** senciet] sentit **O** videbit **u** illum] eum **u x v**
 est *post* bono *trp.* **V** castrum *om.* **F** **3** atque] et **B** ipsos *ante* ipsum *exp.* **V**
 ipsum] episcopum **B** transileat **V q** transiliant **v¹** uno₁ *lin. del.* **B** ascendit **q**
 muros π (*cf. §§15,22*) ad muros β (*vide pag. 70*) passu] passo **V** confringet **F**
 et *om.* **x v** **4** vobiscum] nobiscum **V x** vocatur] notatur **u** quod] qui **O** usu
T^{b1} *verbum post* verba positum, quod non potest legi **x** filii mei carissimi **Y V** β₂ carissimi fi-
 lii mei **P T^b K x v q σ** filii mei **u** preciosa **V** *in* preciosissimam *et in textu et in marg. alt.* **A^{b2}** pre-
 ciosissima **A^{b1}** **5** opera *om.* **u x v** caro factum est **T^b** quod] quid **V om.** **B** facit (*vi-*
de pag. 78 sq.) quando₂ *om.* **V K u x v** **6** preciosissimus thesaurus *bis, etiam post* sunt₁ *add. P*

neglecta et oblita sunt, quod paucissimi sunt, qui recolunt et eis utuntur ad profectum suum. (B) Verumptamen corpus illud gloriosum Filii Dei iacet in castro munito, id est in deitatis virtute. **7** Sicut enim castrum defendit contra inimicos, sic Filii mei deitatis potencia defendit humanitatis sue corpus, ut nullus ei noceat hostis. Sere vero quatuor peccata sunt quatuor, quibus excluduntur multi a participatione et virtutis bonitate corporis Christi. **8** Primum est superbia et cupiditas ad honores mundi. Secundum est cupiditas ad possessiones mundi. Tercium est voluptas feda ad corporis immoderatam implecionem et fetidissimam eius explecionem. **9** Quartum est ira et inuidia et negligencia proprie salutis. Ista quatuor diligunt et in consuetudine habent nimis multi. Propterea elongantur nimis a Deo, nam vident corpus Dei et recipiunt, sed anima eorum tam longe a Deo est, sicut fures, qui furari desiderant, sed appropinquare non valent propter fortes seras. **10** Et ideo dixi, quod confringeret seras cum uno ictu. Ictus vero significat zelum animarum, quo ipse episcopus confringere debet peccatores cum operibus iusticie ex diuina caritate, ut confractis seris viciorum peccator pertingere valeat ad preciosum hunc thesaurum. **11** (C) Et, quamuis non possit omnes peccatores percutere, faciat, ut tenetur, que possit, et potissime hiis, qui sunt sub manu sua, non parcendo paruo vel magno propinquo vel cognato inimico vel amico. **12** Sic fecit ille sanctus Thomas de Anglia, qui passus est multas tribulaciones pro iusticia et in fine occubuit dura morte, quia non pepercit percutere corpora cum iusticia ecclesiastica ad

12 Thomas de Anglia *Thomas Becket of Canterbury. Fsv. leg. II, 787 sq.* percutere corpora ...

et oblita *in marg.* **T^b** *om.* **u x v** ea post qui *add.* σ (*vide pag.* 56) eis utuntur *scripsi*
 eis utantur β **T^b K q** σ utantur eis **u** utuntur eis **x v** (*vide pag.* 79) gloriosum] pretiosum **T^b**
 Dei] mei **K** virtutem **K¹** **7** contra *om.* **F** defendit] defenditis **v** nullis **K**
 sunt peccata **u** quatuor *ante* multi *exp.* **V** bonitate virtutis σ **8** Secundum ... mun-
 di *om.* **x** Secundus **P** cupiditas₂ ... est₃ *om.* **v** corporis] carnis **O** immoderatam - - -
 (14:6) multis *om.* **V** replecionem β_2 eius *in marg.* **F** **9** consuetudinem **Y F** nimis
 elongantur **K** nimis *supra lin.* **T^b** eorum *om.* **u x v** a Deo est β est a Deo π furare
q¹ **10** confringerent **P T^b q** (*vide pag.* 53) quo] quem **P** ipse episcopus *in marg.* **T^b**
 debes **P¹** cum₂ *om.* **Y x** suis *post* operibus *lin. del. et exp.* **x** ex] et **u x v** di-
 uine **P¹** peccator] peccatorum **P K** attingere **x v** **11** possit] poterit **u x v** *in* ut
corr. **T^b** *in* tenetur *corr.* **T^b F** conetur **u x v** (*vide pag.* 55) sub] in **x** amico vel inimico
T^b¹ **12** est *om.* **x v** penas *post* multas *lin. del. et exp.* **q** *in* pepercit *corr.* **q** ecclesi-
 astica iusticia **Y** β_2

hoc, ut anima minorem penam pateretur. **13** Cuius vitam imitetur iste episcopus, quatinus omnes audientes intelligant, quod odit peccata propria et aliorum. Et tunc talis ictus zeli diuini audietur super omnes celos in conspectu Dei et angelorum et multi conuertentur et meliorabuntur dicentes: ‘Non’, inquit, ‘odit nos sed peccata nostra. Resipiscamus ergo et erimus amici Dei atque sui.’

14 Tres vero muri, qui ambiunt castrum, sunt tres virtutes. Prima est dimittere delectabilia carnis et facere voluntatem Dei. Secunda est magis velle pati obprobria et dampna pro veritate et iusticia quam habere honores et possessiones mundi dissimulando veritatem. **15** Tercia est, non parcere vite vel bonis pro salute cuiuslibet Christiani. (D) Sed attende, quid nunc facit homo. Denique sibi videtur, quod muri isti predicti ita sunt alti, quod nullo modo possent transcendendi. **16** Propterea corda hominum non appropinquant illi gloriosissimo corpori cum permanencia, nec anime eorum, quia longe sunt a Deo. Et ideo precepi amico meo, quod transcenderet muros uno passu. **17** Hoc enim vobiscum vocatur passus, quando pedes longa a se separantur distancia ad transferendum celeriter corpus. Sic eciam est spiritualis passus. Cum enim corpus est in terra et caritas cordis in celestibus, **18** tunc transcenduntur tres predicti muri, quia tunc placet homini ex consideracione celestium dimittere propriam voluntatem, pati repulsam et persecucionem, pro iusticia mori eciam libenter pro honore Dei.

19 (E) Due vero fosse extra murum sunt pulchritudo mundi et presencia et delectacio amicorum mundi. In hiis fossis multi libentissime quiescerent et numquam in celis curarent videre Deum. **20** Et ideo fosse iste sunt late et profunde, late, quia talium hominum vo-

... ut anima minorem penam pateretur *I Cor. 5,5.*

13 vita x iste] ipse F odit₁] oderit u obit x zeli] celi P et₃ lin. del. x inquit
u x v Gh in ergo corr. T^b **14** est₁ om. O carnis delectabilia B facere post Dei trp. u
x v pati] pacti P huius ante mundi add. u x v **15** Tertium in marg. T^b possint β₂
possunt u x v ascendi ante transcendendi lin. del. et exp. v transcendere B **16** hominum]
eorum P β₂ illorum u x v quia] quoniam u v qui x Et om. u x v **17** longe x a
se longa u est corpus σ et om. u x v **18** muri predicti K eciam mori x v
19 multi om. v quiescetur x quiescentur v et₃] eciam u x v in celis curarent β cu-
rarent (curaret x) in celis π **20** fosse om. x late sunt F

luntates longe lateque sunt a Deo. Profunde quoque sunt, quia plurimos detinent in profundo infernali. **21** Propterea fosse iste transcendere debent uno saltu. Quid enim est saltus spiritualis, nisi separare totum cor suum ab hiis, que vana sunt, et de terrenis salire in regnum celi?

22 Ecce nunc ostensum est, quomodo confringende sunt sere et transiliendi muri. Nunc ostendam, quomodo presentare debet episcopus iste rem preciosissimam, que umquam fuit. Deitas quippe ab eterno et sine principio fuit et est, quia non est in ea inuenire principium siue finem. **23** Humanitas vero fuit in meo corpore et suscepit de me carnem et sanguinem. Ideo ipsa est res preciosissima, que umquam fuit et est. Ergo, quando anima iusti recipit cum caritate corpus Dei in se et corpus Dei implet animam, tunc ibi est preciosissima res, que umquam fuit. **24** Nam licet deitas est in tribus personis sine principio et sine fine in se, tamen quando misit filium suum ad me cum deitate et Spiritu Sancto, tunc sumpsit benedictum corpus suum de me. **25** Nunc vero ostendam eidem episcopo, quomodo presentanda est domino preciosissima res illa. Ubi enim amicus Dei inuenit peccatorem, in cuius verbis est modica caritas ad Deum et magna ad mundum, ibi anima vacua est ad Deum. **26** (F) Propterea amicus Dei habeat caritatem ad Deum dolendo, quod anima redempta sanguine creatoris inimica est Dei, condoleatque misere anime habendo ad eam quasi duas voces, unam, qua roget Deum misereri anime, aliam, qua ostendat anime periculum suum. **27** Si autem ista duo, Deum scilicet et animam, concordare poterit in unum, tunc ma-

24 quando ... de me *Ex. 50:13. HOLLMAN (1956:23).*

voluntas *ante* voluntates *lin. del. et exp. v* lataque *v* quia₂] et *u x v* detineant *v*
21 transiendi *P* cor suum totum *T^b* que] quo *u¹* **22** confringe *q¹* et₁ *supra*
lin. T^b episcopus iste *in marg. T^b* iste episcopus *Y B A^b om. P* (*vide pag. 53*) iste *om. O*
numquam *T^{b1}* finit *in marg. inf. infra* fuit₁ *add. P* fine (?) *x* **23** sanguinem et
carnem *x v* ipse *v* est₁ *om. K q* umquam₁] numquam *T^{b1}* iusti *om. u* Christi
ante Dei₁ *exp. et lin. del. v* cum caritate *post* Dei₁ *trp. u x v* in₂ ... Dei₂ *om. F* res pre-
ciosissima *u x v* umquam₂] numquam *T^{b1}* **24** *in* Nam *corr. T^b* licet] ita *v* *in* est
corr. T^b fine *in marg. T^b* pater *post* quando *add. σ* (*vide pag. 56*) pretermisit *F*
ad me *post* Spiritu Sancto *trp. u x v σ* sancto spiritu *B* de] a *u x v* **25** eidem *in*
marg. T^{b2} ei T^{b1} episcopo *in marg. T^b* enim *in marg. T^b om. u x v σ* et *om. u x v*
magna] magis vero *u magna vero x v* ibi] ubi *u x v* non *ante* ad₃ *add. v* et *post*
Deum₂ *lin. del. Y* **26** Et *ante* Propterea *add. A^b* habeat] habet *v* caritate (?) *O* do-
lenda *u* condoleatque] condoleat que *v* condoleat quia *B* una *P* miserere *P Y β₂*
27 autem] aut *x*

nibus dileccionis sue presentat Deo preciosissimam rem, quia, quando corpus Dei, quod fuit in me, et anima hominis a Deo creata conueniunt in unam amiciciam, hoc est michi carissimum. Nec mirum. **28** Ego enim presens eram, quando miles ille egregius, filius meus, exiuit de Iherusalem tenere certamen, quod tam forte fuit et durum, quod omnes nerui in brachiis eius extendebantur. Dorsum erat liuidum et sanguinolentum, pedes perforati clauis, oculi et aures pleni sanguine. **29** Collum quoque inclinabatur, quando tradidit spiritum. Cor scindebatur a cuspide lancee et sic cum maximo dolore vicit animas. Qui nunc residens in gloria extendit brachium ad homines, sed tamen paucissimi inueniuntur, qui presentent ei sponsam. **30** Ideo amicus Dei non parcat vite et bonis iuuando alios secum eosque filio meo presentando.

31 (G) Dicit adhuc eidem episcopo, quod, quia ipse petit me in suam caram amicam, ideo volo dare ei fidem meam et ligare me cum eo in unum vinculum. Nam corpus Dei, quod fuit in me, recipiet animam eius in se cum magna caritate. Ut sicut Pater cum Filio fuit in me, qui corpus meum et animam habuit in se et sicut Spiritus Sanctus, qui est in Patre et Filio, fuit ubique mecum, qui et filium meum habuit intra secum, sic et famulus meus ligatus erit cum eodem Spiritu. **32** Nam quando ipse diligit passionem Dei et corpus eius habet in corde carissimum, tunc habebit humanitatem, que intra se et extra se habet deitatem, et est Deus in eo et ipse in Deo, sicut est in me

28-29 Rev. III 10:8 (with app. hist.). **29** Cor scindebatur a cuspide lancee Revs. I 10:33; II 21:3; IV 70:21; cf. Io. 19,34. residens in gloria extendit brachium ad homines cf. GREG. *Moralia XXXII* 5:6; Ps. 43(44),4;70(71),18;135(136),12; Is. 33,2;53,1.

quando om. x v in post et₂ add. P carissimum non potest legi x mirum] çirum P
28 ille om. O u x v nerui supra lin. F in] et P¹ eius in marg. T^b preforati P
 plene σ **29** in a corr. T^b pro u x v (vide pag. 55) lancee in marg. T^b om. u x v (vide
 pag. 50) et sic] secundo (?) v sancti ante sic exp. et lin. del. q brachium post homines
 trp. u x v suum post brachium add. O sed om. u x v paucissimi tamen K
 q σ in marg. T^b paucissimi autem u x v inueniuntur] reperiuntur B presentant u x v σ
30 eosque] eos F **31** Dicit] Dicite P eidem] eodem v episcopo, quod in marg.
 T^b quod₁ om. u x v quia quod β₂ caram] carissimam u x v amicam in marg. T^b
 ei dare x T^b quod₂] qui P recipiat P Y Ut] et u x v sicut₁ supra lin. F
 qui₁] quia x meam post animam add. O intra secum] in se B legatus P
32 carissimum non potest legi x que] quando K et₂ om. u deitatem] diuinitatem u
 x v est post Deus₁ lin. del. et exp. q in₂ supra lin. q et post est₂ add. Y B A^b u x v in
 marg. q et ante in₄ add. T^b F

Deus et ego in eo. **33** Cum vero famulus meus et ego habemus unum Deum, tunc habebimus et unum vinculum caritatis et Spiritum Sanctum, qui est cum Patre et Filio unus Deus.

34 Adde adhuc unum verbum. Si iste episcopus tenet promissionem suam mecum, ego iuuabo eum, dum viuit. In fine vero vite volo seruire et astare ei presentando animam eius Deo et dicendo sic: ‘O Deus meus, iste seruiuit tibi et obediuit michi, ideo presento tibi animam eius!’

35 O filia, quid cogitat homo, qui contempnit animam suam? Numquid Deus Pater cum incomprehensibili deitate sua dimisisset innocentem filium suum pati in humanitate tam duram penam, nisi fuisset illa virtuosa delectatio et affectio, quam habet ad animas et illa eterna gloria, quam eis preparauit?”

36 Hec reuelacio facta est de episcopo Lyncopensi, qui postea factus fuit archiepiscopus. Item de eodem vj libro, capitulo xxii, quod incipit: ‘Ille prelatus’.

Et de eodem addicio.

37 “Episcopus, pro quo tu ploras, venit ad leue purgatorium. Ideo pro certo scias, quod, quamuis in mundo multos habuit impeditores, iam ipsi reportauerant iudicium suum et ipse propter fidem et mundiciam suam mecum gloriatur.”

36 see my Chapter 1.3, p. 36 and Excursus A, p. 222. episcopo Lyncopensi see §1.

37 Episcopus ... purgatorium Petrus Tyrgilli died in 1366. purgatorium III 24:19;28:5,16. HOLMQVIST (1954).

eo₁] Deo **F** **33** Cum₁] cumque **O** meus *om.* **O** et ego] ego et *post* vero *trp.* **u x v**
 habemus *om.* **x** et₂ *om.* **O** et₃] id est β₂ unum *ante* Spiritum *exp.* **T^b** **34** epis-
 copus *in marg.* **T^b** *om.* **u x v** meam *ante* suam *exp.* **u** dei *ante* ei *exp.* **v** ei *supra* *lin.* **q**
 obediui **P** **35** O *supra* *lin.* innocentissimum **B** habuit **u x v**

Add. 13 (§ 36): K q u x v F U^a Gh

36 Hec ... prelatas *om.* **F** Hec ... Lyncopensi] Hic fuit episcopus Lincopensis **u x v** Hec ... est] capitulum istud 13 est *in marg.* **K²** *om.* **K¹** Hec] <P>recedens **U^a** facta *om.* **U^a** episcopo *om.* **q** fuit] fuisset **u¹** episcopus *ante* archiepiscopus *exp.* **v** Item ... prelatas *om.* **x v**
 Item *om.* **u** de₂ ... xxii] De eodem libro vj capitulo xxii *post* (§37) gloriatur *trp.* **u x**
 xxii capitulo **K q U^a** quod ... prelatas *om.* **u** quod] et **K q U^a** filius loquitur *post*
 incipit *in marg.* *add.* **K²** *post* Ille *supra* *lin.* *add.* **q** prefatus (?) **q**

Add. 13 (§ 37): K q u x v F U^a Gh

Et ... addicio] declaracio *supra* *pag.* **F** Et de eodem **U^a** de eodem **K¹** Et *infra* *lin.* **K²** Declaracio *in marg.* **K²** *om.* **q x v** **37** Episcopus dicit *ante* Episcopus *add.* **u x v** Episcopus ... iam (qui *ante* iam *add.*) ipsi (*om.*) ... gloriatur *supra* *pag.* **F** verbum *ante* ploras *non potest legi* **x** suum *supra* *lin.* **q** gloriatur] *in* -tur *corr.* **K²**

Verba Matris ad filiam sub figura mirabili de quodam episcopo, qualiter scilicet episcopus per papilionem vermem et humilitas et superbia episcopi per duas alas et tres species mala episcopi palliantes per tres vermis colores, episcopi opera per spissitudinem coloris, duplex voluntas per duo cornua papilionis, cupiditas per os, modica caritas per paruum corpus designantur et exponuntur. Capitulum XIII.

1 Mater loquitur ad sponsam Filii dicens: (A) “Tu es vas, quod possessor implet et magister euacuat. Attamen unus et idem est, qui implet et euacuat. Nam sicut qui infunderet vasi simul vinum et lac et aquam diceretur magister, si unumquodque istorum insimul coagulatorum separaret et reduceret in naturam propriam, **2** sic ego mater et magistra omnium feci et facio tibi. Nam ante annum et mensem dicta sunt tibi plura negocia et omnia quasi coagulantur in anima tua, que, si statim effunderentur, simul videretur abhominabile, cum ignorarentur eorum finis. Ideo paulatim distinguo ea sicut michi placet.

3 Numquid recolis, quod misi te ad quendam episcopum, quem vocavi seruum meum? Ideo nos similamus eum papilioni vermi, qui habet alas latas colore albo, rubeo et blaeo respersas. Cum vero tangitur, color eius spissus remanet in digitis tamquam cinis. **4** Hic vermis modicum habet corpus sed grossum os, duo cornua in fronte et occultum locum in ventre, per quem immunda ventris emittuntur. (B) Ale vero huius vermis, id est episcopi, sunt humilitas eius et su-

R quodam episcopo *Rev. III 15;16;17:1;18:25 sqq.;19:25 sqq.; my Chapter 1.3, p. 36 sq.* papilionem *cf. Rev. IV 112.* **2** mater et magistra omnium *SCHMID (1940:92 sqq.).* **4** humilitas ... superbia *FOGELKVIST (1993a:37 sqq.).*

XIII: P Y $\beta_2 \gamma \sigma$ *solum* (§6) sanccioem - (§17) habebat V (R) Verba Matris - (§13) deuotus T^b

R *om.* F ille *ante* scilicet *add.* u x v per₁] in P (?) Y B O malas u x v papiliantes
T^{b1} opera episcopi K spissitudinem coloris *in marg.* T^b spissitudinem] similitudinem P
coloris] colorum u colorem x v et *post* papilionis *add.* v q Gh *supra lin.* T^b modica] a
bdica (a benedicta?) Y caritas per paruum *in marg.* T^b designatur (?) B¹ dignantur O
et exponuntur *in marg.* T^b K² *om.* K¹ exponuntur] exprimuntur B O 1 Mater] Maria K
ad ... dicens *in marg. inf.* T^b sponsa (?) x euacuat₁] uacuat T^{b1} Attamen ... euacu-
at₂ *in marg.* T^b est et idem B euacuat₂ Y V β_2 T^b u x v vacuat P K q σ (*vide pag. 70 sq.*)
autem *post* Nam *add.* F in infunderet *corr.* T^b infunderit u v infuderit x et₄ *om.* u v *lin.*
del. x³ *supra lin.* x² *om.* x¹ dicetur u ex magistra *corr.* T^b propriam naturam β_2 2 sic]
Si u feceram u x v ante] autem P mensam (?) q¹ que *om.* T^b u x v abhomi-
nabile *in marg.* F michi *supra lin.* F 3 nos] nunc V F¹ Gh latas alas u x v blauo P
Y blauio A^b plaeo u blaeos F tamquam] quasi u x v 4 os *om.* u x v immundam q¹

perbia. **5** Nam humilis apparet extra in verbis et in gestibus, humilis in vestibus et operacione, sed intus est superbia, qua magnus est in conspectu sui, tumidus de honore, ambiciosus de fauore hominum et arrogans aliis sua preferendo et aliena iudicando. **6** Hiis igitur duabus alis volat per humilitatem apparentem coram hominibus, ut singulis placeat et in ore sit omnium, per superbiam vero sibi ipsi, qua se existimat multis sanccioem. Tres vero colores alarum tres sunt species palliantes mala eius. **7** Nam color rubeus significat, quod continue de passione Christi disputat et miraculis sanctorum, ut vocetur sanctus, sed certe longe sunt a corde ipsius, quia minime sapiunt sibi. **8** Color vero blaueus significat, quod exterius videtur non curare de temporalibus, sed mortuus esse mundo et totus celestis, sicut blaueum speciem habet celi. Sed certe color iste secundus non maiorem coram Deo stabilitatem et fructum affert quam ille primus. **9** (C) Color vero albus indicat ipsum in vestibus religiosum, in moribus superlaudabilem. Sed tanta dulcedo et perfeccio est in colore tercio, qualis in duobus primis. **10** Sicut enim color papilionis spissus est et adheret manibus nil tamen relinquens manibus nisi quasi cinerem, sic opera sua videntur admiranda, quia desiderat esse solus, sed ad utilitatem propriam vacua et infructuosa sunt, quia non sincere querit nec diligit diligendum. Cornua vero duo duplex est voluntas eius. **11** Nam desiderat habere vitam sine incommodis in hoc mundo, post mortem vero vitam eternam, ut et honore magno non fraudetur in terris et in celestibus perfeccius coronetur. Iste episcopus simillimus est eciam papilioni, qui cogitat portare celum in cornu uno et terram in altero, qui tamen, si posset, non sustentaret minimum quid ad ho-

5 in₂ supra lin. **F** om. **Y Gh** et ante in₃ add. **u** in vestibus om. **x v** in ante operacione exp. **T^b** quam **u** magus **u** indicando **T^{b1} Gh** **6** igitur om. **u x v** ergo **O** omnibus ante hominibus add. **v** ut **q²** et **q¹** et ... existimat in marg. **Y** om. **P** se supra lin. **F** alarum om. **F** sunt tres σ mala] in alla **V** eius] cuius **P** **7** rubeus om. **u x v** signat (?) **x** de ante miraculis add. **T^b K q** supra lin. **F** sunt longe (longe supra lin.) **v** quia] que **P Y** sibi] tibi **P** **8** flaeus **u** blancus **P** signat **u** non videtur **Y V B¹ T^b** **u x v** de supra lin. **T^b** om. **P** (vide pag. 53) flaeum **u** color certe **V** offert **K** habet **O** **9** ipsum] eum **K** in₁ om. **F** vestibus ante moribus exp. **x** **10** nil ... manibus₂ om. **V** nil] vel **Gh** relinquendo **u** relinquendi **x v** sunt in marg. **T^b** om. **u x v** nec] et **u x v** diligendus **x** **11** incommodi **T^{b1}** et ut **V** Iste] Ipse **u x v** similis **P B** est om. **V** eciam est **K** portare om. **V** qui₂ **Y V T^b K q** σ que **P** β_2 **u x v** (vide pag. 71) minimum quid **V** β_2 **T^b K q** σ in marg. **Y** om. **P u x v** (vide pag. 71) ad] a **V**

norem Dei. **12** Sic iste Ecclesie Dei credit et cogitat proficere verbo suo et exemplo, tamquam sine illo non ita cresceret. Terrenosque homines per merita sua germinare spiritualiter suspicatur. **13** (D) Et ideo tamquam miles, qui certauerat, cogitat: ‘Cum’, inquit, ‘voco deuotus et humilis, ad quid extendam ad arciora vitam meam? Si pecco in quibusdam delectacionibus, sine quibus non delectabiliter uiuo, maiora merita et opera mea me excusabunt. **14** Cum enim celum per haustum eiam aque frigide obtineri poterit, quid necesse est ultra mensuram laborare?’

15 Papilio quoque habet latum os, sed maiorem habet latitudinem cupiditatis in tantum, quod, si muscas omnes voraret preter unam, adhuc illam solam concupisceret et deuoraret. Sic iste, si unum denarium obtinere posset cum multis tali modo, quod non notaretur et esset occultum, reciperet quidem, sed numquam fames cupiditatis extingueretur. **16** Papilio quoque habet occultum exitum immundicie sue. Sic ipse improbe effundit iram suam et impacienciam, ut et latencia sua aliis ostendantur. Item sicut papilio modicum habet corpus, sic iste modicam caritatem, quia, quod deficit sibi in magnitudine caritatis, totum suppletur in alarum latitudine et extensione.”

17 Respondit sponsa: “Si aliquam scintillam caritatis habet, semper spes est vite et caritatis et salutis.” Et Mater: “Qualem caritatem habuit Iudas, cum tradendo Dominum dixit: ‘Peccaui prodendo

14 celum per haustum eiam aque frigide obtineri poterit *Rev. IV 1:2; Ex. 65:11; Mt. 10,42.*

17 aliquam scintillam caritatis habet *Rev. VI 52:112-114.* Qualem caritatem habuit Iudas *Mt. 27,3 sqq.; cf. Revs. I 37:19 (with app. hist.);41:15;47:39; III 19:22; IV 58:27 sq.;106:8;132:8-9; VII 19:22. FOGELKVIST (1993a:134).*

12 ecclesiam **u x v** se ante credit add. **Gh** perficere **v** suo om. **u** tamquam **β u x v** tamquam si **T^b K q σ** (*vide pag. 71*) Terrenosque homines] hominesque terrenos **u x v** suspicatur] suffocatur **u** **13** ideo] imo (?) **P** deuotus vocor **u x v** et humilis ... (20:4) heremo obti (-nuisset) om. **T^b** Si om. **v** delectacionibus] delectabilibus **Gh** delectabitur **P u** merita ... mea] et merita mea et opera **x** et merita mea **v** me om. **x** **14** eiam post frigide *trp.* **K** optinere **P B A^b u** potest **u v om. x** quid om. **u** **15** habet₂ om. **u x v** omnes muscas **σ** solam *supra lin.* **F** tali ... notaretur] ut non notaretur **u** ut non vocaretur **x v** recipet **P u** **16** episcopus post ipse *lin. del. et exp.* **q** improbe ipse **V β₂** effudit **x** suam *etiam post* impacienciam add. **K** et₂ om. **x v** latencias **x** ostendantur **P Y u x v σ** non ostendantur **V β₂ q** non *lin. del. et exp.* **K** (*vide pag. 71*) caritatis magnitudine **K** caritatis om. **F** completur **K q** (*vide pag. 54*) aliarum **P** **17** vite *supra lin.* **A^{b2}** mite (?) **A^{b1}** et₁ om. **u x v** et caritatis *supra lin.* **F om. Y Gh** Iudas om. **x** prodendo] tradens **K**

sanguinem iustum?’ Voluit quippe videri habere caritatem, sed non habebat.”

Verba Matris ad filiam sub figura de alio episcopo, et qualiter talis episcopus per brucum vermem, verbosa eloquencia per euolatum, due consideraciones per duas alas, verba placencia mundi per morsum designantur, et de Virginis admiracione de vita istorum duorum episcoporum et de predicatoribus. Capitulum XV.

1 Item loquitur Mater ad sponsam dicens: (A) “Alium episcopum ostendi tibi, quem vocavi pastorem gregis. Hunc simulamus bruco, qui terreum habens colorem cum sonitu magno euolat et, ubicumque resederit, mordet intolerabiliter et cum dolore. **2** Sic iste pastor terreum habet colorem, quia, cum ad paupertatem vocatus est, magis desiderat esse diues quam pauper, magis preesse quam subiici, magis habere voluntatem propriam quam aliorum obediencia disciplinari. **3** Euolat quoque cum sonitu magno, quia de diuinis sermonibus abundat verbosa eloquencia, pro doctrina spirituali disputat de mundi vanitate et pro sancta ordinis sui simplicitate laudat et imitatur mundi vanitatem. **4** Habet insuper duas alas, id est duas consideraciones: Prima est, quod omnibus vellet dare verba pulchra et placencia ad hoc, ut ab hominibus honoraretur. Secunda est, quod vellet, ut omnes se inclinarent ei et obedirent. **5** Item brucus mordet inconsolabiliter. Sic iste mordet dampnose ad animam. Nam cum sit animarum medicus, non dicit accedentibus ad se periculum eorum et infirmitatem

R alio episcopo *Rev. III 16;17:1;19:25 sqq. and my Chapter 1.3, p. 36 sq.* **duorum episcoporum**
Rev. III 14. **1** bruco *Ex. 43:5. HOLLMAN (1956:80 sq. with Gloss. 236).* **4** ab hominibus ho-
 noraretur *cf. Rev. III 8:9;29:15.*

etc *post* habebat *add.* **u**

XV: β γ σ

R om. F verbosa] et verbosa **B** verba **u x v** volatum **A^b** et *ante* due *add.* **A^b** desig-
 natur **P** et *ante* de₂ *add.* **V** *supra* lin. **Y** predicatoribus **K¹** predicacionibus **P K² q**
1 quem] quam **v** gregorium **u** resederit] inciderit **K** **2** quam,] quoniam **u**
3 magno *in marg.* **Y om. P u x v** de,] pro **O u x v σ** nisi bona *ante* eloquencia *add.* **v**
 disputacione (dis- *exp.*) *ante* simplicitate *add.* **V** vanitatem mundi **V** vanitate **P**
4 daret **u¹** pulchra verba **u** ad hoc *om.* **K** hominibus (*cf. Rev. III 16:7*) β₁ **B A^b**
K q omnibus **O u x v σ** (*vide pag. 72*) inclin. ei **Y V β₂** ei inclin. **P γ σ** **5** dicit **P¹**

nec utitur resecacionis ferro, sed loquitur eis placencia, ut vocetur mitis et ne ab aliquibus deuitetur. **6** (B) Ecce in istis duobus episcopis mirabile magnum est. Alter enim apparet extra pauper, solitarius et humilis, ut vocetur spiritualis. Alius desiderat possidere mundum, ut vocetur misericors et largus. Alius iterum vellet videri possidere nichil et tamen concupiscit omnia possidere occulte. **7** Alter vult possidere in aperto plurima, ut tribuat multa et sic honoretur multum. Propterea secundum vulgare prouerbium, quia ipsi seruiunt michi taliter, quod non video, quia non approbo, ideo remunerabo eos taliter, quod non videbunt. **8** Miraris, cur tales laudantur de predicacione sua? Respondeo tibi: Quandoque malus loquitur bonis, quibus infunditur Spiritus Dei bonus non propter bonitatem doctoris sed per verba doctoris, in quibus Dei Spiritus bonus est propter bonum audientium. **9** Quandoque bonus loquitur malis, qui efficiuntur boni ex auditu et propter Spiritum Dei bonum et propter bonitatem docentis. **10** Quandoque eciam frigidus loquitur frigidis, ut frigidi auditores, dum referunt audita ad absentes feruentes, ipsi audientes fiant feruenciores. Propterea noli turbari ad quos mittaris. Deus enim est mirabilis, qui sternit aurum sub pedibus et lutum collocat inter radios solis.”

Verba Filii ad sponsam, quod Deo non placet animarum dampnacio, et de mirabilibus questionibus episcopi iunioris ad senem et de responsionibus senis ad iuniorem. Capitulum XVI.

1 Filius loquitur ad sponsam dicens: (A) “Quid credis, quare isti duo ostenduntur tibi? Numquid, quia vituperium eorum et damnum pla-

⁷ vulgare prouerbium cf. WALTHER (1963-1967), 4, p. 822 (= 28156).

1 isti duo see Rev. III 14 and 15.

ab] de V **6** istis] hiis K est om. F et₁ om. P vult u x v σ nichil ... possidere om. V occulta x v **7** apto P ipse seruiuit P Y B A^b q quod₁] et O re-
munero F **8** cur om. V quod K doctoris₁ ... verba om. V per] propter K Dei Spiritus]
spiritus dei P γ σ **9** Quandoque] cumque u x v qui supra lin. V **10** Quandoque]
cumque v ut] et P ad₁ om. x feruentes] ferentes q³ feruentes q² f?uentes q feruen-
ciores ante audientes lin. del. K fiunt V fierent K luctum P etc post solis add. u

XVI: β γ σ

R om. F iunioris] minoris V de₂ supra lin. q senis] senioris x v iuniorem] mino-
rem V **1** loquebatur K credes x

cet Deo? Absit. Sed ideo fit, ut paciencia et honor Dei manifestior fiat et audientes timeant iudicium Dei. **2** Sed veni et audi mirabile! Et ecce quidam iunior episcopus quesivit seniore[m] dicens: ‘Audi, frater, et responde michi. Cum ad obediencie iugum fuisti obligatus, cur deseruisti illud?’ **3** Cum paupertatem et religionem elegisti, cur reliquisti illas? Cum per religionis ingressum ostendisti te mortuum seculo, cur desiderasti episcopatum?’ Respondit senior: ‘Obediencia, que me subesse docuit, erat michi onerosa. **4** Ideo assectaui libertatem. Iugum, quod Deus dicit suaue, erat michi amarum. Ideo quesiu[i] et elegi corporis quietem. Humilitas erat in me ficta. Ideo concupiui honorem. Et, quia melius est minare quam trahere, ideo desiderau[i] episcopatum.’ **5** Quesiu[i] secundo iunior: ‘Cur non honorabas sedem tuam mundi honore? Cur non acquisisti diuicias per mundanam sapientiam? Cur non dispensasti ea, que habebas, secundum honorem mundi? Cur tantum te exterius deiecisti et non magis iuxta mundialem ambitionem processisti?’ **6** (B) Respondit senior: ‘Ideo non strau[i] sedem meam cum mundi honore, quia sperabam amplius honorari, si apparerem humilis et spiritualis quam si viderer temporalis. **7** Et propterea, ut ab hominibus mundanis laudarer, videbar quasi omnia contempnere, ut vero diligerer a spiritualibus, humilis et deuotus apparebam. **8** Ideo vero non acquisiui diuicias cum mundana sapientia, ne spirituales viri notarent me et contempnerent propter temporale. Ideo vero non dedi largiter dona, quia magis placebat michi esse cum paucioribus propter quietem meam quam cum pluribus. Et plus delectabar, si aliquid habebam in arca, quam si tribuissem aliquid manu mea.’

4 Iugum, quod Deus dicit suaue *Revs. I 15:12;58:16; IV 16:20; BERN. Sent. III:72; Mt. 11,30.*

Dei₁ om. x v Dei iudicium u x v **2** mirabilia u x v ecce *supra lin.* q² et q¹
quidam om. u x v iunior] minor V iugum obediencie Gh deseruisti] reliquisti u x v
3 elegisti et religionem O¹ eligisti A^{b1} reliquisti] deseruisti u x v illa B eas K
ostendidi P ostendi V¹ **4** dicit] dedit u x v (*vide pag. 55*) quietem corporis O
minare] mirare q¹ traheri P **5** iunior secundo V honorabas] ornabas u x v
per] propter K te om. V exterius te Y β₂ iuxta] iusta P **6** appareret Y¹ V B F
mundo (?) *ante* humilis exp. V quam si] quasi si u quasi x v viderer] videre P¹
7 Et om. u x v ut ab β ut a γ σ hominibus mundanis β mundanis hominibus γ σ
laudans (?) *ante* laudarer add. O non *post* vero exp. q diligeret P¹ deo *ante* deu-
otus exp. V **8** mundana *in marg.* ex humana corr. K notarentur O vocarent u ideo *ante*
contempnerent add. u temporalem x vero₂ om. V dedit V largiter dedi K pla-
cuit u x v in esse corr. u paucioribus] pauperioribus u pauperibus x v quam] aquam x

9 Item quesiuuit iunior: ‘Dic michi, cur dedisti asino dulcem et delectabilem potum de immundo vase? Cur tribuisti episcopo siliquas de ara porcorum? Cur coronam tuam strauisti sub pedibus? Cur expuisti triticum et masticasti zizaniam? **10** Cur soluisti alios de funibus, teipsum uero ligasti compedibus? Cur alienis vulneribus apposuisti sanatiua et tuis propriis mortificatiua.’ (C) Respondit senior: ‘Ideo dedi asino dulcem potum de immundo et despecto vase, quia, cum essem litteratus, placuit michi propter mundi honorem magis tractare sacramenta diuina altaris, quam vacare cure seculari. **11** Et, quia occulta mea erant incognita hominibus, Deo uero nota, assumpsi presumptionem nimiam et auxi michi iudicii terribilis grauiorem equitatem. Ad secundum dico, quod dedi episcopo siliquas de ara porcorum, quia nature mee incentiua effundendo perficiebam nec in cohercendo stabilis permanebam. **12** Ad tertium. Ideo posui coronam episcopalem sub pedibus, quia placuit michi magis facere misericordiam propter fauorem hominum quam iusticiam pro honore et amore Dei. **13** Ad quartum. Ideo expuens triticum masticabam stramina, quia uerba Dei non loquebar ex amore Dei nec delectabat me illa facere, que aliis proponebam. Ad quintum. Ideo alios soluens meipsum ligabam, quia uenientes ad me cum contricione absoluebam et illa, que illi penitendo deflebant et flendo relinquebant, hec me delectabat adimplere. **14** Ad sextum. Ideo alios unxi unguento sanatiuo et meipsum mortifero, quia docendo uite puritatem alios emendauit et meipsum deteriorauit. Nam illa, que precepi aliis, hec ipse nolui mouere digito. **15** Et unde alios uidi proficere, inde ipse deficiendo tabescebam, quia me delectabat magis commissis peccatis meis sarcinam addere quam ea emendando alleuiare.’

9 mundo **x**¹ zizania **u** **10** uero ligasti **Y V K u x q** σ ligasti uero **v** (*cfr.* §9 dedisti, tribuisti, strauisti, expuisti, masticasti §10 soluisti, apposuisti) uero ligabas **P** β_2 cum pedibus **P V** con pedibus **q** uero *post* Cur₂ *add.* **P** Ideo] item **u** immundo et despecto] mundo et precioso **u x v** vase *post* immundo *trp.* **V B** altaris *om.* **u x v** seculari cure **x v** seculari iure **u** **11** hominibus incognita **K q** σ uero *om.* **u x v** nata **O** uota **Gh** secundo **P** dico *in marg.* **A^b** ideo *ante* quod *add.* **u x v** intentiua **V u x** perficiebam] efficiebar **u** efficiebatur **x v** stabile **P¹** **12** Ideo] pro (?) **P** pro ... amore] propter honorem et amorem **u x v** amore et honore **K q** **13** expuens (?) **P¹** et *ante* masticabam *add.* **O** que₁] quia **u x v** aliis *om.* **O** illa₂] illia **V** deflebant **V³** flebant **V²** flerebant **V¹** deflendo **u x v** σ delectabant **A^b u x v q** **14** unxi alios **u x v** unguento **B K u x v** σ unguendo **q** sanato **x** quia] qui **P** uite] uice **P** **15** me *post* magis *trp.* **x** commissis *om.* **K** meis *om.* **u x v** σ ea *om.* **u x v** alleuiando emendare **B** alleuiare] alienare **u x v**

16 Post hec audita est vox quedam dicens: ‘Regraciare Deo, quod non es cum illis venenosis vasis, que, cum dissoluentur, vadunt ad ipsum venenum.’ Et sic statim alter istorum mortuus nunciabatur.”

Verba Virginis ad filiam vitam et ordinem sancti Dominici commendancia, et qualiter tempore mortis conuersus est ad Virginem, et qualiter modernis temporibus pauci de suis fratribus sequuntur signum Christi passionis per Dominicum eis datum et multi vadunt post signum incisionis per dyabolum eis oblatum. Capitulum XVII.

1 Item loquitur Mater ad sponsam dicens: (A) “Dixi tibi heri de duobus, qui erant de regula sancti Dominici. Certe ipse Dominicus filium meum habuit pro suo carissimo domino et me matrem eius dilexit plus quam cor suum. **2** Huic sancto inspirauit filius meus tria esse in mundo, que displicebant eidem filio meo, superbiam scilicet, et cupiditatem et concupiscenciam carnis. **3** Ad quarum trium diminucionem sanctus Dominicus impetrauit maximis suspiriis auxilium et medicamentum. Cuius Deus compassus lacrimis inspirauit ei legem et regulam viuendi, in qua ipse sanctus contra tria mala mundi tria bona instituit. **4** Nam contra vicium concupiscencie instituit nil possidere nisi cum licencia prioris sui. Contra superbiam instituit habere humilem habitum et simplicem. Contra carnis insaciabilem voraginem instituit abstinentiam et tempus debitum ad se regulandum. **5**

16 alter ... mortuus nunciabatur *Rev. III 18:25.*

R Dominici *Rev. III 18. See my Chapter 1.3, pp. 36 sqq.* **I** Dixi tibi heri de duobus *Rev. III 16.*
2 superbiam ... cupiditatem et concupiscenciam carnis *AUG. Conf. 10:35.*

16 est *om.* **B** quod] quia **K** es] eris **u** illi **V**¹ venenosis (*in marg.*) illis vasis **F** soluentur **x**¹ istorum] illorum **u x v** episcoporum *post* istorum *add.* **β**₂ nunciabatur mortuus **u x v**

XVII: β γ σ

R *om.* **F** commendamus **x** sue *post* mortis *add.* **v Gh** paucis **P** sequuntur *in marg.*
K² *om.* **K**¹ **u** signum sequuntur **x v** passionis Christi **v Gh** portant *post* passionis *lin. del.* **K** sanctum *ante* Dominicum *add.* **P** **1** Dei *post* Mater *add.* σ regula] regno **u**
 ipse ... meum] ipsum Dominicum filius meus **P** habuit *ante* filium *trp.* **O** domino carissimo **K** eius] suam **u x v** **2** *et*₁ *om.* **K** *et*₂ *om.* **V** **3** maximis] magnis **K** tria] talia **O** instituebat **u x v** constituit σ (*vide pag. 56*) **4** *et*₂] ad **x**

Priorem quoque constituit fratribus suis ad obseruacionem pacis et custodiam unitatis. Deinde volens quoddam spirituale signum dare fratribus suis impressit quasi unam spiritualem crucem et rubeam in sinistro brachio eorum iuxta cor, hec per doctrinam et exempli sui efficaciam, quando docuit et monuit eos continue recordari passionem Dei, predicare feruenter verba Dei non propter mundum sed propter amorem Dei et animarum. **6** Docuit insuper illos magis sub-iici quam preesse, voluntatem propriam odire, contumelias pacienter ferre, nil preter victum et vestitum desiderare, veritatem corde diligere et ore proferre, laudem propriam non querere, sed diuina verba semper in ore habere et docere et illa non propter pudorem dimittere nec propter fauorem humanum recitare. **7** (B) Cumque instaret tempus resolucionis eius, quod filius meus in spiritu ostendit ei, iuit ad me, matrem eius, cum lacrimis dicens: 'O Maria, regina celi, quam ipse Deus preelegit sibi in coniuncctionem deitatis et humanitatis. **8** Tu es illa singularis virgo et singulariter mater dignissima. Tu es illa potentissima, de qua ipsa potestas prodiit. Audi me rogantem te! Quia enim scio te potentissimam, ideo presumo de te. Suscipe fratres meos, quos educaui et foui sub stricto scapulari meo, et defende eos sub lato mantello tuo! **9** Rege eos et refoue, ne hostis antiquus preualeat eis et ne dissipet vineam nouellam, quam plantauit dextera Filii tui! Quid vero, domina mea, aliud noto per scapulare strictum, quod palliolum unum habet ante pectus et aliud retro, nisi duplicem consideracionem, quam ad fratres meos habui? **10** Sollicitabar quippe nocte et die pro eis, quomodo in racionabili et laudabili deseruissent

5 unam spiritualem crucem et rubeam *FOGELKVIST (1993a:158).* **8** illa singularis virgo *This expression originates from the hymn 'Ave maris stella' and Virgin Mary's prayer at the canonical hours (Sw. 'Jungfru Marias tidegård'). KLOCKARS (1966:112).* sub lato mantello tuo *Rev. II 23:5-7. LINDGREN (1993a:244).*

5 constituit] instituit **u x v** quoddam volens **K q** spiritalem **P** spiritale **O** speciale **F** quasi] tamquam **P u x v** unam] quadam **P om.** β_2 **u x v** in] et **u x v** hec *supra lin.* **F om.** **K u x v Gh** exemplum **P** recordare **V**¹ Dei₁] Christi **v** predicare *ante et*₅ *exp. et lin. del.* **q** **6** patientias *ante* contumelias *add.* **V** nichil σ et₁] ee **Gh** cordis **V** diuinam **B** dei *post verba add.* **O** humanum] hominum β_2 **7** ostendit ei in spiritu **V** ei in spiritu ostendit **Gh** cum lacrimis *om.* **x** sibi *supra lin.* **v**² Deo **v**¹ **8** Tu ... dignissima *om.* **V** dignissima mater $\gamma\sigma$ Audiui (?) **V**¹ te₂ *supra lin.* **q** potentissimum **u** educaueram et foueram **u x v** capulari **P**¹ sub lato] sublato **B**¹ **v** (?) tuo] meo **O** **9** refoue] reuoue **V** foueram **v** tui] mei **Gh** meum *post scapularem add.* **u x v** habet unum **u x v** habui] habueram **u x v** **10** et₁] ac **O** quomodo] quo **v**

Deo temperancia. Orabam eciam pro eis, ne quid de mundo concupiscerent, quod vel Deum offenderet aut famam humilitatis et pietatis apud proximum denigraret. **11** Nunc igitur, quia tempus remunerationis mee instat, assigno tibi membra mea. Doce ergo eos sicut filios et porta eos sicut mater.’ **12** Cum hiis enim verbis et aliis vocatus est Dominicus in gloriam Dei.

(C) Cui ego per similitudinem loquendo respondi taliter: ‘O Dominice, amice dilecte, quia dilexisti me plus quam te, ego sub lato mantello meo defendam et regam filios tuos, necnon et omnes, qui in regula tua perseuerant, saluabuntur. **13** Mantellus vero meus latus misericordia mea est, quam nulli feliciter petenti denego. Sed omnes, qui querunt sub misericordie mee sinu, proteguntur.’ **14** Sed quid credis tu, o filia mea, quod regula Dominici sit? Utique humilitas, continencia et contemptus mundi, nam omnes, qui hec tria assumunt et perseuerando diligunt, numquam dampnabuntur, et hii sunt, qui tenent regulam beati Dominici. **15** Sed audi mirabile: Dominicus assignauit filios suos sub mantello meo lato, et ecce pauciores sunt nunc sub mantello meo lato, quam erant tunc sub scapulari suo stricto. Nec tamen omnes viuente adhuc ipso Dominico habuerunt ouina vellera et Dominicos mores, sicut melius per exemplum ostendo tibi mores eorum. **16** Si Dominicus descenderet de altitudine celesti, in qua est, et diceret furi, qui prodit de valle et considerat oues ad mactandum et perdendum: ‘Cur’, inquit, ‘vocas et abducis oues meas, quas ex signis euidētissimis cognosco esse meas?’, **17** respondere potest fur: ‘Cur, Dominice, approprias tibi illa, que tua non sunt? Nam subrepcio violenta est aliena usurpare sibi.’ (D) Si respondere

16 qui prodit de valle et considerat oues ad mactandum et perdendum *Rev. VIII 16; Io. 10,10.*

temperantiam **V** quod] quo **K F** offenderent β_1 **K q F** denigrarent **P V K q F**
11 quia *om.* **F** mee *om.* **V F** instat ... (§12) aliis *om.* **x** ergo *om.* **u v** portat
P¹ **12** enim hiis (hiis *supra lin.*) **F** enim *om.* **u v** similibus *post* aliis *add.* **u v** **13** ve-
ro *om.* **u x v** latus meus β_2 est *post* latus *trp.* **u x v** quam] quia **u x v** me *post* qui
add. **K** queruntur **P** protegantur **u** **14** quid] quasi **P** credit **P¹** o filia mea *om.*
u x v quod] quid **K q** σ sit] sic **P** et *post* humilitas *add.* σ beati *om.* **F**
Dominici] Benedicti **P** **15** nunc sunt **P** nunc *om.* **x** meo iuit *ante* sub_2 *add.* **x**
lato, *supra lin.* **F** tunc erant σ tunc *om.* **u x v** suo] eius **u x v** Nec] ne **P¹**
ouina *om.* **V** omnia **B u x v F** et *ante* vellera *add.* **V** sicut] sed **F** ostenderet **u**
ostendendo **v¹** tibi *om.* **u** **16** altitudine] -ne *supra lin.* **x** nunc *post* qua *add.* **u x v**
prodit] perdit **x v** velle **v** vellere **x** oues,] omnes (?) **P** prodendum **u x v** do-
minice *ante* inquit *exp. et lin. del.* **q** abduces **V** **17** posset **V** sibi usurpare **u x v**

voluerit Dominicus se enutrisse eas et domuisse et precessisse et docuisse, dicturus est fur: ‘Si tu enutristi eas et docuisti, tunc ego blandiendo suaviter reduxi eas ad voluntatem propriam. **18** Si tu lenitatem cum austeritate miscebas eis et ego alliciebam eas blandius et ostendebam, quod delectabat eas suavius, et ecce plures currunt ad pastum et vocem meam. Et ideo oves, que sequuntur me feruencius, cognosco esse meas, quia liberum habent arbitrium sequendi allicientem.’ **19** Si responderit iterum Dominicus, quod oves sue signate sunt signo rubeo in corde, dicturus est fur: ‘Oves mee signate sunt signo meo, signo scilicet incisionis in dextra aure. Et, quia manifestus et evidencius est signum meum signo tuo, ideo cognosco oves meas.’ **20** Fur igitur iste dyabolus est, qui de ouibus Dominici plures sibi incorporavit, que incise sunt in dextra aure, quia non audiunt verba vite dicentis: ‘Arta via est in celum’, sed sola illa delectabiliter audiendo perficiunt, que eas delectat adimplere. Oves vero Dominici pauce sunt, que signum habent rubeum in corde, quia passionem Dei cum caritate recolunt et verba Dei predicantes feruenter vitam beatam ducunt in omni castitate et paupertate. **21** Nam hec est regula Dominici, sicut vulgo dicitur: ‘Omnia sua portare in dorso, nichil velle possidere nisi quod permittit regula. Non solum dimittere superflua sed et a licitis et necessariis quandoque propter carnis motus se temperare.’ ”

18 liberum habent arbitrium *Revs. I 1:6 sqq.; 58:8 sqq.; II 1:17 sqq.; THOMAS AQUINAS, Summa contra gentiles I 88.* **20** Arta via *Rev. III 1:2 (with app. hist.).* **21** vulgo dicitur *cf. WALTHER (1963-1967), 3, p. 608 (= 20001b), BERGH, Rev. VI 30:35 (with app. hist.).*

voluerit violenta *exp. et lin. del. ante* voluerit **q** volueris **P**¹ voluit **x** vult **F** et₂ *om.* **u x**
v precepisse **K u x v** blandiendo] plangendo **V** eas *supra lin.* **F** **18** et₁ *om.* **K u x v**
blandiciis **u x v** et₂ *om.* **u x v** delectabam **V** delectat **O** ad *ante* vocem *add.* **u x v**
quia] quam **u** **19** respondit **u** signo₂ *om.* **O** dei *post in*₂ *add.* **V** sibi *ante* et₂
add. **v** est₂ *ante* et₂ *trp.* **u x v**¹ **20** igitur *om.* **B F** qui] quia **V B** audiendo] audiunt
u x v delectant **u x v** eas *etiam post* delectat *add.* **x** pauci **B O** que₃] qui **O**
rubeum habent **V** σ quia₂] qui **O A**^b **q**² **Gh** Dei₂ *om.* **O** beatam vitam **K**
21 est *supra lin.* **F** *om.* **u x v** in *ante* vulgo *add.* **O** nil **V** et₁ *om.* β a] ad **P**
allicitis **V x v**¹ allicitis **u** et *ante* et₂ *exp.* **v** carnis] carius **V** temperare se **P K q** σ

Verba Matris ad filiam, quod cicius fratres nunc audiunt vocem diaboli quam sui patris Dominici, et quomodo nunc pauci imitantur vestigia eius, et qualiter episcopatus desiderantes propter mundi honorem et sui quietem et libertatem non sunt in regula sancti Dominici, et de terribili sententia contra tales et de experientia dampnationis pro tali episcopatu. Capitulum XVIII.

1 Loquitur Mater ad sponsam dicens: (A) “Dixi tibi, quod omnes, qui sunt in regula Dominici, sunt sub mantello meo. Nunc auditura es, quam multi sunt tales. **2** Si Dominicus descenderet de loco deliciarum, in quo feliciter vere est, et clamaret taliter: ‘O fratres dilecti, sequamini me, quia vobis reseruantur quatuor bona, scilicet honor pro humilitate, diuicie perpetue pro paupertate, sacietas sine fastidio pro continencia, vita eterna pro contemptu mundi’, vix audiretur. **3** Sed si econtra statim ascenderet dyabolus de conualle clamaretque alia quatuor dissimilia ‘vobis Dominicus’, inquiring, ‘promisit quatuor. Videte me, ego enim vobis, que desideratis, ostendam manu. **4** Nam ecce, honorem offero, diuicias habeo in manu, voluptas in promptu est, mundus erit delectabilis ad fruendum. Suscipite igitur, que offero! Utamini hiis, que certa sunt! Viuite cum gaudio, ut post obitum simul gaudeatis!’ **5** Si iste due voces nunc sonarent in mundo, plures current ad vocem latronis diaboli quam ad vocem Domi-

For Rev. III 18, see III 17.

R cicius fratres nunc audiunt vocem diaboli quam sui patris Dominici *cf. Revs. IV 33:23; VI 31;35.*

XVIII: β γ σ

R *om.* **F** Matris] virginis **u x v** sponsa *ante* filiam *exp.* **V** filium **u** nunc fratres **A^b**
nunc₁] sunt **P** audiunt *scripsi* audirent et audiunt *codd.* **Gh** (*vide pag. 79*) pauci nunc
A^b eius vestigia γ **Gh** eius *supra lin.* **Y om.** **A^b** de₂ *om.* **P** etc *post* episcopatu *add.*
x **1** Item *ante* Loquitur *add.* **u x v** dei *post* Mater *add.* **F** **2** loco] celo **v** vere] ver **P**
vero **V** *O lin. del.* **v** sequamini β **K q F** sequimini **u x v Gh** (*vide pag. 72 sq.*) vobis] no-
bis **x** reseruatur **B** seruantur **K** vobis *etiam post* reseruantur *add.* **F** scilicet honor **Y V**
β₂ (*cf. Rev. III 12:11* scilicet velle) honor scilicet **P γ σ** (*vide pag. 69*) pro humilitate] per humili-
tatem **v** perpetue *in marg.* **F** audietur **u** **3** descenderet **v** clamaretque alia] clama-
retque talia **u** clamaret quia talia **x v** Dominicus *ante* quatuor *trp.* **u x** inquiring Dominicus **V**
F promisit inquiring Dominicus **v** me ... (*enim om.*) ... (§4) honorem *in marg.* **Y**
enim *om.* **V** vobis₂] nobis **x** manu] viam **u** **4** offero,] prefero **u** voluptas]
voluntas **u** prompto **K u** erit] erat **v** Utamini ... Viuite *om.* **x** Utamini β **K q F U**
timini **u v Gh** (*vide pag. 72 sq.*) sunt ... (§5) nunc *in marg.* **Y** Viuite] inuite **u** ut] et **u x v**
5 scilicet *post* Si *add.* **v** due iste **O** voces *supra lin.* **F** nunc voces **x** nunc
ante in lin. del. **Y**

nici, amici mei tam preclari. (B) Et quid dicam de fratribus Domini-
ci? **6** Certe pauci sunt qui sunt in regula eius, et pauciores sunt qui
imitando sequuntur vestigia eius. Nam non omnes audiunt unam vo-
cem, quia non sunt omnes de uno genere, non quod non sint omnes a
Deo, et non quod omnes saluari non possint, si volunt, sed quia non
omnes audiunt vocem Filii Dei dicentis: ‘Venite ad me, et ego refici-
am vos, scilicet dando meipsum!’

7 Sed quid dicam de illis fratribus, qui propter mundum desiderant
episcopatus? Numquid sunt in regula Dominici? Nequaquam. Aut
qui acceptant episcopatus rationabili de causa, numquid excluduntur
a regula Dominici? **8** Non utique, nam beatus Augustinus regulariter
vixit ante episcopatum, sed in episcopatu non reliquit regularem vi-
tam, quamvis ascenderit ad maiorem honorem. **9** Assumpsit enim
honorem inuitus non ad quietem sed certe ad maiorem laborem, quia
videns se posse prodesse animabus libenter propter Deum reliquit
voluntatem propriam et quietem carnis, ut plures lucrifaceret Deo
suo. **10** Propterea, qui sic desiderant et assumunt episcopatus, ut ani-
mabus eo magis proficiant, ipsi sunt in regula Dominici et merces
eorum duplicabitur, tum propter regule dulcedinem, a qua abstracti
sunt, tum propter onus episcopale, ad quod sunt vocati. **11** (C) Prop-
terea iuro super eum Deum, super quem iurabant prophete, qui non
iurabant propter impacienciam, sed quia receperunt Deum in testi-
monium verborum suorum. Sic ego dico et iuro super eundem
Deum, quod veniet fratribus illis, qui contempserunt regulam Domi-
nici, venator de potestate cum effrenatis canibus, tamquam si seruus

6 Venite ad me, et ego reficiam vos, scilicet dando meipsum *Rev. VI 35:58;46:5;96:6;116:3; Mt. 11,28.*
7 *Rev. III 3:4.* **8** Augustinus *FOGELKVIST (1993a:194 sq.).* **9** Assumpsit enim honorem in-
uitus *Fsv. leg. I, 649 l. 20 sq.* (valdis Augustinus til biscop mykit nødogher [‘Augustine was chosen bi-
shop very unwillingly’]).

amici *om.* **x v** **6** regulam **u** eius, *om.* **F** vestigia sequuntur **Gh** qui *post* om-
nes, *add.* **F** omnes sunt **u x v** uno *om.* **O** sint omnes] sunt omnes **u x v** Deo]
Deum **B**¹ possunt **u x v** Dei] mei **K** dicentes **P**¹ **x v** omnes *post* me *add.* **u**
7 Numquid] numquam **P**¹ **v** Aut] Audi **P** **β**₂ numquid₂] non quasi **P** num quasi **Y** unde
quasi **V** numquam **v** **8** sed in episcopatu *in marg. inf.* **q** ascenderit **β** ascendit **γσ** **9** As-
sumptus **O** inuitus **P** sed *ante* non *lin. del.* **Y** non ad quietem] et non in quietem **P** **β**₂
ad, *supra lin.* **Y**² in (?)**Y**¹ posse *om.* **F** animabus libenter *om.* **P** quietem] re-
quiem **V** canis **O** ut] et **v** **10** qui] si **x v om.** **u** assumant **F** tum,] tunc **P**
cum **V** a] ab **V**¹ **11** eum] eundem **u x v** Deum,] dominum **P** **β**₂ quem] quam (?) **v**
Deum₂] dominum **P** **β**₂ nunc *post* dico *add.* **σ** iuro₂] iure **u** Deum₃ **γσ** dominum **β**
veniat **v**

diceret domino: **12** ‘Multe’, inquires, ‘oues intrauerunt ortum tuum, quarum carnes venenate sunt et vellera sordibus conglobata, quarum lac inutile est et lasciuia nimis insolescens. **13** Iube’, inquires, ‘eas abscidi, ne pascua pro ouibus utilibus deficient et ne bone oues ex insolencia malarum perturbentur.’ Cui responderet dominus: ‘Claude foramina, ne alique ingrediantur nisi quas michi bene conuenit et expedit educare et pascere et que pacifice sunt et honeste.’ **14** Sic ego dico, quod prius claudentur aliqua foramina sed non omnia. Post veniet venator cum canibus, qui non parcat velleribus a sagittis, non corporibus a vulneribus, ad hoc, ut vita finiatur. **15** Deinde venient custodes, qui diligenter considerabunt et attendent, de quo genere fuerint oues, que ad pastum domini intromittuntur.”

16 (D) Respondens sponsa dixit: “O domina, ne indigneris, si quero. Cum papa mitigauit eis austeritatem regule, numquid reprehendendi sunt, si comedunt carnes vel cetera, que apponuntur?” **17** Respondit Mater: “Papa considerans infirmitatem nature humane simul et defectum, quem quidam proposuerunt, rationabiliter permisit comedere carnes ad hoc, ut habiliores et feruenciores essent in predicando et laborando, non ut desidiores et dissoluciores apparent, et ideo excusamus papam de hac permissione.” **18** Dixit iterum sponsa: “Dominicus instituit habere vestes non de optimis nec de vilissimis pannis sed de medie temperatis. Numquid reprehendendi

16 papa mitigauit eis austeritatem regule *Birgitta refers to the papal Bull of 21 August, 1326, where Pope Johannes XXII permitted the brothers in Scandinavia to eat meat, when they were outside the monasteries for the sake of necessary duties such as preaching and hearing confessions (DN VII, 112). FOGELKVIST (1993a:229).*

suo post domino lin. del. **A^b** **12** inquiens] inquiete **Y V** (vide pag. 47) intrauerant **u x v** in ante ortum add. **u v** conglobata est post lac exp. **O** et i ante inutile lin. del. v lasciuia **O** **13** eas abscidi **Y V β₂ K q** eas abscidi **P** eas abscindi σ (cfr. app. crit. ad Rev. III 34:1 Precidatur; 34:2 Precide) occidi eas **u x v** pascua post utilibus trp. **u x v** in bone corr. **q** insolencia] insollercia **Y V A^b K q** malorum v perturbantur v respondet **O** respondit **u x v** ingrediatur v et₄ supra lin. **P** **14** Post] postea **K** veniat **x v** parcent β₂ **u x v** ad hoc vita ante vita lin. del. **q** **15** veniant **K v** attendunt v de quo] si (supra lin.) de suo **P** intromittentur **P**-tt- lin. del. **Y** intromittunt **B** intromitterentur **u x** intromittantur v **16** respondit **O K x q** domini post sponsa add. **O** dicens **K** digneris **P¹** numquid] Nonquid **A^b** numquam v reprehendi **V¹** si₂ ... apponuntur om. **P** vel] et **u x v** **17** quem] quam v preposuerant **u x** promisit v eos post permisit add. **Gh** apparent **u** eum ante papam add. **u x v** de] ex **u x v** **18** de₂ om. σ pannis om. **u x v** de₃ om. **V** medio **A^b u x v Gh** scilicet ante temperatis add. **A^b** temporaliter **x v** Numquam **P¹v** Nonquid **A^b** reprehendi **V B**

sunt, si de melioribus induuntur?” **19** Respondit Mater: “Dominicus, qui regulam de spiritu filii mei dictavit, precepit habere vestes non de melioribus et preciosioribus, ne forte arguerentur et notarentur de pulchro habitu et precioso, et sic superbirent. **20** Instituit eciam non habere vestes de vilissimis et durissimis, ne propter duriciam vestis inquietarentur nimium in capiendo sompnum post laborem. Sed instituit vestes habere medie temperatas et necessarias, de quibus non superbirent et in quibus nil vanitatis haberent, sed per eas frigus carnis expellerent et ad virtutum profectum continuum se munirent. **21** Et ideo laudamus Dominicum in institutione sua, sed fratres suos reprehendimus, eos videlicet, qui habitum suum ad vanitatem transformant, non ad utilitatem.”

22 (E) Dixit iterum sponsa: “Numquid reprehendendi sunt illi fratres, qui filio tuo edificant ecclesias altas et sumptuosas? Aut vituperandi et diudicandi sunt, si ad tales structuras perficiendas plura mendicant?” Respondit Mater: “Quando ecclesia in tantum lata est, quod capit ingredientes, **23** quando muri tantum in altum excreuerint, quod non coartant introeuntes, quando murorum spissitudo tam fortis est, quod non a quolibet vento dissoluatur, quando tectura tam firmiter compacta est, quod non stillat, sufficiat eis edificasse. **24** Nam placet Deo magis cor humile in humili ecclesia quam alti muri, in quibus corpora sunt intra sed corda abextra. Propterea non habent necesse implere arcas auro et argento propter edificia, quia non pro-

22-24 FOGELKVIST (1993a:43 sq.); LINDGREN (1993a:234); my Chapter 1.3, p. 36. **24** non profuit Salomoni edificasse tam sumptuosa edificia *Revs. I 51:9; III 19:16;29:12; IV 84:3; Ex. 27:1; JER. Ep. 125:1 sq.; GREG. Moralia 12:23; cf. AUG. De civ. 17:8; 3 Reg. 3,11 sq.;4,29-34;11 (UNDHAGEN [1978:403 l. 28 sq. with app. hist.]*).

melioribus β **u x v** mollioribus **K q** σ (*cf. mollioribus Revs. IV 127:25, VI 93:4;98:3, BERGH [1991a:51 sq.]; vide pag. 73*) induuntur] utuntur **P** induantur **u x v** **19** Respondi **Gh**
 melioribus β **u v** mollioribus **K x q** σ (*vide supra §18*) notarentur et arguerentur **V**
20 instituunt **O** non₁ ante de₁ trp. **x v** et durissimis om. **O** ne] non **v** somp-
 num] sonum **V** habere vestes med. temp. **B** medie om. σ non₂ ... quibus₂ om. **K**
 habent **x** et₄ ... munirent om. **V** **21** laudemus **u** eos om. **v** et ante non add.
Gh eras. **F** **22** Nonquid **A^b** reprehendi **B** edificant ante filio trp. **v** animas (?) ante
 altas exp. **u** et₂] aut **F** si supra lin. **V** perficiendas] edificandas σ (*vide pag. 56*)
 pluras medicantur **V** plura mendicat **v** **23** in ante tantum add. **O** exp. **K** eras. **F** in altum
 om. **O** excreuerunt β₂ exercuerint **V** introeuntibus **B** dissoluantur **B** dissoluitur
u x v tectura] rectura **V** sufficit **O** edificasse om. **V** **24** magis om. **F** humilem
P in₁ supra lin. **q²** et **q¹** arcas] cistas **u x v** (*vide pag. 55, n. 89*) implere post argen-
 to trp. σ

fuit Salomoni edificasse tam sumptuosa edificia, ex quo neglexit Deum diligere propter quem edificabantur.”

25 (F) Hiis dictis et auditis statim senior quidam episcopus, qui supra nunciabatur mortuus, clamabat dicens: “O, o, o, ablata est mitra et ecce apparet, quod latebat subtus. Ubi est nunc honorabilis episcopus? Ubi sacerdos venerandus? Ubi pauper frater? **26** Certe abest episcopus, qui unctus fuit oleo in officium apostolicum et in puritatem vite. Remanet vero seruus sterquilinii pinguedine maculatus. Abest eciam sacerdos, qui consecratus fuit verbis sanctis, ut mutaret inanimatum et mortuum panem in viuificantem Deum. **27** Remanet vero proditor fallax, qui vendidit eum propter cupiditatem, qui redemit omnes ex caritate. Abest quoque frater pauper, qui cum iuramento abnegauit mundum, sed nunc pro superbia et ostentacione mea sum iudicatus. **28** Verumptamen nunc compellor dicere veritatem, quod ille iustus iudex, qui iudicauit me, magis voluisset me liberare tam amara morte, sicut tunc paciebatur, cum staret in ligno crucis, sed iusticia, cui obuiare non poterat, contradicebat, quam quod aliter fuissem, sicut nunc experior, iudicatus.”

25 senior quidam episcopus ... mortuus III 16:16. See Rev. III 14. **26** pinguedine This word often appears in the revelations to mean 'fat' (i.e., Rev. III 21:8). In the OS (BU 1 362:24 sq.) this passage is rendered by 'ok atir blifwir thräksins thräl smittadhir mz fitma'. Here, though, pinguedo means 'manure'. After his death the depraved bishop is compared to 'a slave soiled with the manure of a dunghill'. As EKLUND pointed out in his edition of RS (see his Index of words: pinguedo) this meaning is not listed in any of the current dictionaries of Medieval Latin (except GMLS, where only the examples in RS are quoted). Cf. though, Rev. V int. 13:49 (Alter vero ager secundum temperiem temporum dispositus est. Cuius quedam pars est petrosa et indiget pinguedine [BU gözsl], alia humida indigens calore, alia sicca indigens humore.) and RS II:18 (Quibus respondit dominus: 'Ego plantabo michi nouam vineam, vbi apportabuntur palmites et mittent radices. Et ego ipse apponam circa eam pinguedinem [BU götzena oc fitman] et implebitur vino optimo ...'), §20 (Cum autem vinum vinee huius venerit ad collegium meum, tunc gaudebunt omnes et dabitur domino gloria et honor, qui plantauit vineam et pinguedinem [BU gödhninga] apposuit.), §29 (Propterea, ne omnino vinum deficiat, plantabo michi de nouo vineam, in quam tu portabis palmites verborum meorum, amicus meus ponet eos, ego vero ipse Deus apponam pinguedinem [BU fithma oc gödzl] graciae mee.).

Deum Y V β₂ eum P γ σ (vide pag. 47) edificabatur O u x v (cfr. BU 1 362:12-16)
25 episcopus quidam β episcopus γ σ supra om. β₁ nunciabat P dicens in marg. Y
dices (?) P quod] quasi P qui β₂ quid Y K q nunc est v est post Ubi₂ add. O est
post Ubi₃ add. A^b **26** fuit, om. u x v officium om. x a ante seruus exp. u Abest] adest
O fuit₂ in marg. v **27** propter] per (?) V redimit P q¹ pauper frater K q σ et
om. V **28** quod₁] quia V iudicabat u x v me₁ om. u x v voluisses q¹ liberare
me σ tunc om. K cum] dum u x v cui] cum V poterit K quod₂ supra lin. K
tot v om. O aliter scripsi taliter codd. Gh (vide pag. 79 sq.) iudicatus post fuissem trp. u x v

Responsio sponse ad Christum, qualiter diuersis cogitacionibus et inutilibus afficitur, et quomodo eas remouere non poterat, et responsio Christi ad sponsam, quare istud permittitur a Deo, et de magna utilitate cogitacionum cum detestacione et timoris cum discrecione ad coronam habita, et quod peccatum veniale non debet contempni, ne inducat in mortale. Capitulum XIX.

1 Loquitur Filius ad sponsam: (A) “Quid turbaris et sollicita es filia?” Respondit illa: “Quia diuersis cogitacionibus et inutilibus afficior, quas remouere non possum, et iudicii tui terribilis audicio me conturbat.” Respondit Filius: “Hec est vera iusticia. **2** Sicut enim prius delectabar in affectionibus mundi contra velle meum, sic nunc permittuntur tibi cogitaciones varie contra velle tuum. Verumptamen time cum discrecione et confide fortiter in me, Deo tuo, sciens pro certissimo, quod, quando mens non delectatur in cogitacionibus peccati, sed reluctatur eis detestando eas, purgacio sunt anime et corona. **3** Si vero modicum peccatum, quod intelligis esse peccatum, delectat te facere et facis ex confidentia abstinentie et presumpcione gracie, nec assumis penitentiam nec aliam facis emendacionem, scito illud posse fieri mortale. Propterea, si in mentem venerit aliqua peccati delectacio, qualiscumque fuerit, considera statim, ad quid tendit, et penitere. (B) Nam postquam natura hominis debilitata est ex infirmitate eius, pluries procedit peccatum. **4** Non enim est homo, qui non peccat saltem venialiter, sed Deus misericors dedit homini remedium

For Rev. III 19, see my Chapter 1.3, p. 36 sq.

3 modicum peccatum *cf. Rev. I 32:10 (with app. hist.).*
3,23; I Io. 1,10; cf. Prov. 24,16.

4 Non enim est homo, qui non peccat *Rom.*

XIX: β γ σ

R om. F inutilitatibus **u x v** efficitur **P** possit **P q Gh** responsio₂] responsi **q**¹
 quare] qualiter **P** premittitur **P**¹ et ante cogitacionum *lin. del.* **P** timoris β **q** (*cf.*
 §2 time) timore **K u x v σ** (*vide pag. 45 sq.*) adhibita ante habita *exp. et lin. del.* **q** est (?) *ante*
non₂ *add.* **P** *non₂*] ne **B** *verbum ante debet eras.* **K** inducatur **O** in *om.* **K**
 peccatum *etiam post mortale add.* **B** mortalem **v** **1** Loquebatur **x v** filia *post tur-*
 baris *trp.* **u x v** inutilitatibus **x**¹**v** afficiorum **P** possum] potero **u x v** audito **P**
 perturbat **u x v** **2** delectaberis **B** Verumptamen ... discrecione *bis, etiam post velle*
 meum *add.* **P** certissime **x v** mundi *ante peccati add.* **V** anime *supra lin.* **A**^b **3** et₁] *ex*
ex **V** ex confidentia] et ex diffidencia **u x v** assumis ... facis *om.* **V** penitentiam] pec-
 cuniam **P**¹ emendacionem] emendam **Y u x F**¹ **Gh** mente **B O q** veniat **v** tendat
K precedit **v** **4** homo est **v** saltim **P O A**^b **K q** *om.* **V** Sed ante Deus *lin. del.* **Y**
 dedi **B**

dolere, scilicet de omni peccato, necnon et emendata timere, ne forte non bene emendata sint. **5** Nam nichil ita odit Deus, sicut scire peccatum nec curare aut ex meritis aliquibus presumere, quasi Deus ideo toleraret aliquod peccatum tuum, quasi sine te non posset honorari, aut ideo licite permetteret tibi facere unum malum, quia fecisti plura bona, cum magis etiam, si centies fecisses bene pro unoquoque malo, adhuc non sufficeres rependere Deo pro caritate et bonitate sua. **6** Propterea time racionabiliter et, si cogitationes prohibere non poteris, saltem fer pacienter et conare contra eas voluntate. Non enim dampnaberis pro eis, si ingrediuntur, quia non est tuum prohibere, nisi in eis delectaberis. **7** Time etiam quamuis cogitationibus non consentis, ne forte propter superbiam cadas. Omnis enim qui stat, solius Dei virtute stat. Ideo timor introductorium quoddam est in celum. **8** Nam multi ideo lapsi sunt in precipitium et mortem propriam, quia timorem diuinum abiecerunt a se et ibi erubuerunt confiteri coram hominibus, ubi non erubescabant peccare coram Deo. Ideo, qui pro modico peccato non curat petere veniam, huic et ego dedignabor relaxare peccatum. **9** Et sic ex exercitacione auctis peccatis illud, quod ex contricione remissibile et veniale erat, ex negligencia et contemptu fiet valde graue, sicut in hac anima iam iudicata perpendere poteris.

10 (C) Postquam enim veniale et remissibile commisit, auxit per consuetudinem confidens de bonis suis aliquibus operibus quasi minora non attendendo, quod iudicarem. **11** Et sic irretita anima per

5 Nam nichil ita odit Deus, sicut scire peccatum nec curare *Iac. 4, 17; cf. Lc. 12,47; Rom. 14,23.*

9 THOMAS AQUINAS, *Summa Theologiae I-II 88:4.*

dolere **P V**² dolorem **Y V**¹ cogitacione *ante peccato lin. del. x* et *om. u x v* timore **P**
non₃ *om. P* mendata **P** sint] sunt **u** **5** ita *om. K* nec] et non **K x**² non **x**¹
aut,] aud **P** autem **V** presumere aliquibus **V** resumere **u v** ideo, *om. x*² non **x**¹
aliquod *post tuum trp. K* posse **P** cum] tum **V** etiam] enim **u x v** si *om. u*
x v malo *om. x* reprehendere **V** **6** saltim **P O A**^{b1} **K q** conare *in marg. v*² canare
v¹ voluntatem **u** prohibere₂ *om. K* delectarere **u** delectare **x v** **7** Time] tunc **P**
forte *om. u* cadis **Y V B** cades **v** enim *om. O* est quoddam **v** in celum est **V**
8 diuinum *in marg. x*² diuinam **x**¹ erubescabant] erubescant **v Gh** (-be- *in marg.*) **O**
curant **V** dedignabor] denegabor **v**¹ laxare **u** veniam *ante peccatum exp. et lin.*
del. q **9** ex, *om. γ Gh* ex₂ *om. u x v* remissibili **B** et,] ut **P** veniale] veniabl'e
V et contemptu *om. K* fiet *om. u v* fit *in marg. x* iam *om. F* **10** per] pro **v** de
aliquibus operibus suis bonis **K** attendenda **x** quod *supra lin. F om. u x v* **11** conpes-
cit **v** voluntatem β voluptatem γσ (*vide pag. 44 sq., 66*)

consuetudinem delectacionis inordinate non correxit nec conpescuit voluntatem peccati, donec iudicium erat in foribus et ultimus punctus appropinquabat. **12** Ideo appropinquante fine inuoluebatur subito consciencia eius miserabiliter et doluit, quod cito moreretur timens separari ab illo modico temporali, quod diligebat. Nam Deus usque ad ultimum punctum suffert hominem et expectat, si forte homo peccator voluntatem suam omnem, quam habet liberam, mouere voluerit ab affectu peccati, **13** sed quia voluntas non corrigitur, ideo anima fine infinito constringitur, quia dyabolus sciens, quod unusquisque secundum conscienciam et voluntatem iudicabitur, laborat maxime in fine, ut anima ludificetur et euertatur ab intencionis rectitudine, quod et fieri permittit Deus, quia anima, cum deberet, renuit vigilare.

14 (D) Noli insuper confidere et presumere nimium, si quem dico amicum et seruum, sicut vocaui istum prius, quia eciam Iudas vocatus est amicus et Nabugodonosor seruus. **15** Nam sicut dixi personaliter: ‘Vos amici mei estis, si feceritis, que precipio vobis’, sic dico nunc: ‘Amici sunt, cum me imitantur; inimici sunt, cum me et mandata mea contempnendo persequuntur.’ **16** Numquid non Daudid, postquam dictum est, quod inueni hominem secundum cor meum, excessit per homicidium? Salomon, cui tam mirifica data et promissa sunt, excessit a bonitate et non est completa in eo promissio propter ingratitude eius sed in me, filio Dei. **17** Propterea, sicut in dictamine tuo ponitur clausula cum finali, sic ego in locucione mea clau-

14 Iudas vocatus est amicus *Rev. IV 99:1 sq.; Mt. 26,50; cf. Rev. IV 132:8-10. MCGUIRE (1993:160 sqq.). Nabugodonosor seruus JER. 25,9. KLOCKARS (1971:72 sq.).* **15** Vos amici mei estis *Io. 15,14.* **16** Daudid ... hominem secundum cor meum *JER. Ep. 22:12; 1 Reg. 13,14; Act. 13,22. UNDHAGEN (1978:403, l. 26 with app. hist.).* excessit per homicidium *David ordered that Bethsabee's husband, Urias, should be placed at the fore of the battle and be left there to be wounded and die, which also happened. JER. Ep. 22:12; 2 Reg. 11 sq. See Revs. I 51:8; IV 53:4-5; V int. 13:12-15; VIII 4:12; Ex. 79:15; GREG. Moralia XII 18:23. UNDHAGEN (1978:403, l. 27 with app. hist.).* Salomon ... excessit a bonitate *Rev. III 18:24;29:12.*

12 finem **V** subito uoluebatur **V** doluit] voluit **u** moretur **x** temporali *om.* **V** usque *om.* **Gh** forte *om.* **O** omnem *om.* β_2 mouere] monere **P** voluerit] velit **K** effectum **P Y B A^b** **13** infinito] sine fine **K** quia,] quasi et **x** euertatur **K u v q** σ reuertatur β_1 non reuertatur β_2 euitatur **x** (*vide pag. 43*) ab $\beta_1 \gamma \sigma$ ad β_2 (*vide pag. 43*) rectitudine **P V** $\gamma \sigma$ rectitudinem **Y** β_2 (*vide pag. 43*) cum] dum **K** deberet] delleret **V²** delectatur **V¹** **14** eciam *ante* insuper *add.* **A^b** meum *post* amicum *add.* **V** sicut vocaui istum prius *etiam in marg. inf.* **A^b** eciam *om.* **x v** est *om.* **x v** **15** nunc dico **O** **16** Nonquid **A^b** Daudid] debent **P** per] propter **K** tam] tanta **V** a] ad **q¹** **17** clausula] clausa **P**

sulam istam pono et finalem. **18** Si quis fecerit voluntatem meam et dimiserit suam, hereditatem accipiet vitam eternam. Qui vero audierit nec faciendo perseuerauerit, erit sicut seruus inutilis et ingratus. **19** Sed nec debes diffidere, si quem dico inimicum, quia statim ut inimicus mutauerit voluntatem ad bonum, erit amicus Dei. Numquid non Iudas erat cum duodecim unus, quando dixi: ‘Vos amici mei estis, qui secuti estis me, et sedebitis super sedes duodecim.’ **20** Tunc quidem temporis sequebatur me Iudas, nec tamen sedebit cum duodecim. Quomodo ergo completi sunt sermones Dei? Respondeo tibi: Deus, qui videt corda et voluntates hominum, secundum illa iudicat et remunerat, que videt. **21** Homo vero secundum, quod videt in facie, iudicat. (E) Ideo, ne bonus superbiret vel malus diffideret, vocauit Deus ad apostolatam ita bonos sicut et malos, sicut et quotidie vocat ad dignitates bonos et malos, ut omnis, qui officium tenet cum vita, gloriatur in eterna vita. **22** Qui vero honorem habet absque onere gloriatur ad tempus in eternum periturus. Ergo, quia Iudas non sequebatur me corde perfecto, non pertinuit ad eum ‘qui secuti estis me’, quia non perseuerauit usque ad remuneracionem, sed ad eos, qui perseueraturi erant tam presentes tunc temporis quam futuri, **23** quia dominus, in cuius conspectu sunt omnia, quandoque loquitur in presenti, que ad futura pertinent, et de faciendis tamquam iam sint facta. Quandoque eciam preteritum futurumque permiscet et preteri-

21 Homo vero secundum, quod videt in facie, iudicat *1 Reg. 16,7.* **22** Iudas non sequebatur me corde perfecto *Mt. 26,47 sqq.; cf. Rev. III 14:17.* **23** cf. GREG. *Hom. I, 1:13* (Sciendum quoque est quod prophetae quidam e proximo tanguntur atque e longinquo minime tanguntur, alii vero e longinquo et non tanguntur e proximo, alii autem et e longinquo et e proximo prophetiae spiritu tanguntur. Nam quidam tanguntur e proximo et non e longinquo ...). *The passage is quoted in THOMAS AQUINAS, Summa Theologiae II 171:3. See PILTZ (1991:455 sq. with n. 33 [18:23 in the note should be 19:23]). See also AMBR. De Fide I 15:97. Cf. Rev. I 32:5-7, where Birgitta refers to prophets who never themselves saw their prophecies fulfilled, and Is. 45,11.*

et *supra lin.* u in O **18** suam om. x v voluntatem vel ante hereditatem add. P hereditatem om. V accipiat P perseuerauerit faciendo V **19** nec] ut u Nonquid A^{b1} persecuti u¹ sedetis F sedes] sedem V¹ **20** quidem] quippe V quidam v sedebitis F¹ et₂ om. v remuneret q iudicat post remunerat trp. v videt₂] videret u **21** ne ideo V superbiat V et₁ om. V u sicut₂] sic F omnes v tenet om. u x v vita₂] vita habuit u vita habuerit x v cum ante in₂ exp. V in₂ supra lin. q vita eterna Y V **22** absque] sine β₂ u x v onere] honore V conere v¹ sequebatur] secutus est β₂ non₂] nec u x v **23** dominus] deus x v cuius supra lin. F futuras x¹ iam om. K sint] sicut P permiscit P permiscit Y V

to utitur pro futuro, ut nullus presumat discutere consilium impermutabile trinitatis. **24** Audi adhuc unum verbum: ‘Multi sunt vocati, pauci vero electi.’ Sic iste vocatus ad episcopatum sed non electus, quia ingratus gracie Dei. Ideo nomine episcopus sed merito degenerans cum hiis, qui descendunt et non ascendunt, computatur.”

Addicio

25 (F) Filius Dei loquitur: “Miraris, filia, quare alius episcopus habuit pulcherrimum finem, alius ita horrendum, nam paries cadens confregit eum totum et modicum superuixit et hoc modicum cum ingenti dolore. **26** Respondeo tibi: Scriptura dicit, immo ego ipse dixi, quod iustus, qualicumque morte moritur, iustus est apud Deum, sed homines mundi hunc iustum reputant, qui pulchrum exitum habebit sine dolore et pudore. **27** Deus vero hunc discernit iustum, qui a diutina abstinentia probatus est vel qui pro iusticia tribulatur, quia amici Dei quasi tribulantur in hoc mundo aut ad minus supplicium in futuro aut ad maiorem coronam in celo, **28** nam Petrus et Paulus pro iusticia mortui sunt sed Petrus amarius Paulo, quia plus dilexit carnem Paulo, et, quia Ecclesie mee accepit primatum, debuit et se michi amariori morte conformare. **29** Paulus vero, quia plus dilexit continentiam, quia plus laborauit, tamquam miles egregius gladium obtinuit, quia ego dispono omnia secundum merita et secundum mensuram. **30** Propterea in iudicio Dei non coronat vel dampnat finis vel

24 Multi sunt vocati, pauci vero electi *Mt. 22,14.* **25** alius episcopus ... alius *Rev. III 14 and 15.*
26 iustus, qualicumque morte moritur, iustus est apud Deum *Sap. 3,1 sqq.* **27** *Rev. I 22:7 (with app. hist.).* **28** Petrus et Paulus *KLOCKARS (1966:169 sqq.); FOGELKVIST (1993a:157 sq.); NYBERG (1993).* **29** gladium *AMBR. Ep. II, 7:48:9; cf. Eph. 6,17.*

ut (*in marg. x²*) nec **x¹ v** inpremutabile **P** **24** vocatus iste **V** vocatus **β K q F**
 vocatus est **u x v Gh** (*vide pag. 74*) ingratus] indignatus **u** nomine *om. x v* computatur
K¹ computabitur **K² u x v σ** vix computa **V**

Add. 19: K q F U^a Gh solum (§25) Filius ... episcopus **u x v**

Addicio] Declaracio **F** Declaracio in fine Capituli **u** Declaracio in fine sexti **x v in marg. K² om. K¹ q**
25 Dei *om. F* loquitur *om. x v* dicens *post* loquitur *add. σ* filia] fili **u** si **x v** (*vide pag. 58*) etc *post* episcopus *add. u* (§25) habuit ... (§31) viuebat *om. u x v* **26** morte *supra lin. U^a* **27** qui a] qui vel **K q F²** quia **F¹** vel *ante* abstinentia *add. U^a* tribulantur] cribrantur **K q F** ad₁ *supra lin. U^a* **28** quia ... Paulo₂ *in marg. inf. F* ut *post* debuit *add. K* et₃ *supra lin. K²* ut **q om. K¹** in *ante* amariori *add. K q* amariore **K q U^a**
29 quia₁] qui **K q F** et *ante* quia₂ *add. K* omnia dispono **K q U^a** **30** vel₁] nec **K q F² U^a**

mors contemptibilis sed intencio et voluntas hominum et causa. Si-
militate est de istis duobus episcopis. **31** Nam alius paciebatur amario-
rem penam et despeccioem mortem. Hoc fuit ei ad minorem penam,
quamuis non ad gloriam, quia non paciebatur bona voluntate. Quod
vero alius obtinuit gloriosum finem, hoc fuit ex occulta iusticia mea
sed non ei ad premium eternum, quia non correxit voluntatem suam,
dum viuebat.”

*Verba Matris ad filiam, quomodo per talentum dona Spiritus Sancti
designantur, et qualiter sanctus Benedictus sibi donum Spiritus
Sancti datum multiplicauit, et per que Spiritus Sanctus vel spiritus
diabolicus hominis animam ingreditur. Capitulum XX.*

1 Mater loquitur: (A) “Filia, scriptum est, quod qui quinque talenta
acceperat, alia quinque lucratus est. Quid enim est talentum nisi do-
num Spiritus Sancti? Nam alii accipiunt scienciam, alii diuicias, alii
apud diuites familiaritatem, et tamen omnes duplum reportare debent
Domino suo lucrum, scilicet de sciencia viuendo utiliter sibi et alios
instruendo, **2** de diuiciis et ceteris donis utendo racionabiliter et aliis
misericorditer subueniendo. Sic ille bonus abbas Benedictus donum
gracie, quod acceperat, multiplicauit, quando omne contempsit, quod
transitorium erat, quando carnem suam seruire coegit anime, quando
nichil preposuit diuine caritati. **3** Qui insuper timens, ne aures macu-
larentur auditu inani, oculi visione delectabilium, fugit in heremum

For Rev. III 20, III 21 sq.; cf. Rev. VI 5,8. See my Chapter 1.3, p. 38.

1 qui quinque talenta acceperat, alia quinque lucratus est *Revs. IV 81:41; V int. 13:58; Mt. 25,14 sqq.*

2 Benedictus donum gracie ... multiplicauit *GREG. Dial. II.*

voluntas] voluntats **Gh** **31** quod *post* Nam *add.* **K q U^a** ad,] a **Gh** mea *supra*
lin. **q** suam ... viuebat *supra* lin. **F**

XX: β π (R) Verba Matris ... (§4) heremo obti (-nuisset) *om.* **T^b**

R om. F Verba Matris] Mater loquitur **B O** sibi *ante* datum *trp.* **V** per *ante* spiritus,
add. **u** diabolicus] malignus **B** animam hominis **A^b K** etc *post* ingreditur *add.* **u**
1 Mater **K² Pater O Maria K¹ F** qui] quicumque **P** acceperat] accepit **P** acceperit **F**
et qui *ante* alia *add.* **V** sup *ante* lucratus *add.* **P** lucracrus **Gh** est enim **q**
accipiunt alii **O¹** alii,] alia **B** duplum omnes **O** portare β₂ **q¹** sibi *supra* lin. **V**
2 vero *ante* et, *exp. et lin. del.* **q** aliis] alii **V¹** Sic] sicut **V¹** gracie] -e *supra* lin. **V**
contempsit *post* erat *trp.* **A^b** proposuit **B v** diuine *om.* **x v**

imitans illum, qui nondum natus exultando intra viscera materna cognouit aduentum sui piissimi redemptoris. **4** Qui quidem Benedictus etiam sine heremo obtinisset celum, quia mundus erat ei mortuus et cor eius totum plenum Deo. Sed placuit Deo vocare Benedictum in montem, ut, cum pluribus innotesceret, plures eius exemplo ad perfectionis vitam incitarentur. **5** (B) Huius beati viri corpus erat quasi saccus terre, in quo claudebatur ignis Spiritus Sancti, qui exclusit ab eius corde dyabolicum ignem. Sicut enim ignis corporalis ex duobus accenditur, ex aere scilicet et flatu hominis, sic Spiritus Sanctus ingreditur animam hominis vel per inspirationem personalem aut per aliquam operationem humanam seu locucionem diuinam mentem excitat ad Deum. **6** Similiter spiritus dyabolicus visitat suos, sed differunt incomparabiliter, nam Spiritus Sanctus calefacit animam ad querendum Deum, sed non comburit carnaliter. **7** Lucet etiam puritate modestie, sed non obfuscat mentem malicia. Spiritus vero nequam comburit mentem ad carnalia et amaricat intolerabiliter. Obfuscat quoque animam per inconsiderationem sui et deprimit eam inconsolabiliter ad terrena. **8** Ergo, ut ignis iste bonus, qui erat in Benedicto, igniret plures, vocauit Deus Benedictum in montem, qui conuocatis ad se pluribus scintillis fecit de eis per Spiritum Dei maximum rogam et composuit eis regulam de Spiritu Dei, per quam multi perfecti facti sunt sicut Benedictus. **9** Nunc autem multe faces proiecte de rogo sancti Benedicti iacent ubique disperse habentes pro

3 imitans illum, qui ... cognouit aduentum sui piissimi redemptoris *John the Baptist. Revs. IV 74:3; VI 59:2; Lc. 1,41.* **4** mundus erat ei mortuus *FOGELKVIST (1993a:185 sqq.).* **5** saccus *Revs. III 21:1; IV 127:7; Ex. 2.*

3 exultans **u x v** intra viscera **u x v** σ (*solum* intra viscera *in Reuelationibus, sc. I 43:10; V int. 6:1,7*) inter viscera β **K q** **4** etiam] enim **u om. x v** totum eius **u** Deo₂ *om. F* ut] et **q**¹ exempla **u v** **5** viri *post* erat *trp. x* exclusit **v**¹ accenditur] attenditur **q**¹ scilicet *om u* et] ex **P** ut (?) *post* sic *eras. P* Spiritus Sanctus] spiritus **O** personalem ... operationem *in marg. q* operationem] inspirationem **P** excitant **V** excitatem **O** Deum] dominum β_1 **6** et *post* Similiter *add. u x v* dyabolus **Y**¹ visita **q**¹ incomparabiliter] incorporaliter **P B A**^b calefacit] talem facit **x** animam *in marg. v* Deum] dominum **P** carnaliter] corporaliter **x v** **7** Lucet] licet **P** etiam] enim **B** malicie **B** malia **O** Spiritus *supra lin. u*² episcopus **u**¹ nequaquam **V u**¹ **v** numquam **P** ad *supra lin. q* considerationem **x v**¹ **8** iste ignis **u x v** Benedictum] Benedictus **P** qui₂ *om. V* conuocatis ad] vocatis a **P** vocatis ad **V** emissis a **K** se *supra lin. q* plures **v** maximum ... Dei₂ *in marg. inf. q* facti *om. u x v* sanctus *ante* Benedictus *add. P* **9** sunt *post* proiecte *add. T*^b de *supra lin. u* sancte **q**¹

calore frigiditatem, pro luce tenebras. Que si in igne iacerent conglolate, darent utique ex se flammam et calorem.”

Verba Matris ad filiam sancti Benedicti vite magnificenciam et perfeccionem per exemplum ostendenciam, et quomodo anima mundo fructificans per lignum infructiferum et superbia mentis per silicem et anima frigida per cristallum designantur, et de tribus scintillis valde notandis ab hiis tribus, scilicet cristallo, silice et ligno ortis.

Capitulum XXI.

1 Loquitur Mater: (A) “Dixi tibi prius, quod corpus beati Benedicti erat quasi saccus, qui disciplinabatur et regebatur, sed non regebat. Denique eius anima erat quasi angelus, qui dedit ex se calorem magnum et inflammacionem, sicut per exemplum ostendo tibi, quasi si essent tres ignes, quorum primus succensus in mirra dedit ex se odorem suavitatis. **2** Secundus succensus erat in arido. Qui dedit ex se carbones ardentem et splendorem fulgentem. Tercius succendebatur in oliua. Qui dedit ex se flammam, lumen et calorem. In hiis tribus ignibus intelligo tres personas et in tribus personis tres status in mundo.

3 Primus status erat eorum, qui considerata caritate Dei relique-

R sancti Benedicti *see my Chapter 1.3, p. 38.* **1** dixi ... prius *Rev. III 20:5.*

si] scilicet **T^b** in *supra lin.* **T^b** utique] ubique **T^b K q σ**

XXI: β π

R *om.* **F** vitam **u x v** fructificans mundo **O v Gh** fructiferum **v** infructuosum **V**
 et₃ *om.* **B O** per silicem *in marg.* **T^b** cristallum] Christ **q¹** designatur **v Gh**
 ab] de **K** hiis ... ortis *in marg.* **T^b** silice] scilicet **P** infructifero *post ligno add.* **A^b**
1 Item *ante* Loquitur *add.* **u x v** loquebatur *ante* loquitur *exp. et lin. del.* **v** dei *post* Ma-
 ter *add.* **u x v** ad filliam (*sic!*) *post* Mater *add.* **V** Dixi tibi] filia dixi tibi **P Y** (*filia in marg.*)
T^b Benedicti] Dominici **V** sed ... regebat *om.* **V** anima eius **T^b** angelus] ignis **K**
 de *post* angelus *exp.* **V** qui **A^b K u x v σ** que β₁ **B O T^b q** (*vide pag. 74*) se₁ *supra*
lin. **q** inflammantem **V** per exemplum *om.* **V** quasi] quia **T^b1** ex₂ *om.* **P** su-
 auitatis odorem **A^b1** **2** Secundo **u** erat succensus σ succensus est **u x v** accensus erat **B**
 arida **x v** a *post* se₁ *add.* **V** ardentem *in marg.* **T^b** ardentem **u** fulgentem splendo-
 rem **O** effulgentem **u x v** Qui₂] que **O F** hiis] hi (?) **T^b** ignibus] lignibus **P¹**
 ignibus *lin. del. et exp. post* tribus₂ **q** hiis *ante* tribus₂ *add.* **Y β₂** **3** considerata] deside-
 rata **v**

runt voluntatem propriam in manus aliorum, qui pro vanitate et superbia mundi assumpserunt paupertatem et abieccionem, pro intemperancia dilexerunt continenciam et puritatem. **4** Isti habuerunt ignem in mirra, quia sicut mirra amara est, sed tamen fugat demonia et extinguit sitim, sic abstinentia eorum amara erat corpori, sed tamen extinguebat inordinatam concupiscenciam et omnem potestatem demonum euacuabat.

5 (B) Secundus status erat eorum, qui cogitabant secum taliter: 'Ad quid diligimus honorem mundi, cum non sit aliud nisi quasi aer verberans aures? Ad quid diligimus aurum, cum non sit nisi terra ru-bea? Quis vero finis carnis nisi putredo et fauilla?' **6** Ad quid vero nobis prodest concupiscere terrena, cum omnia sint vanitas. Propterea ad hoc solum viuere et laborare volumus, ut Deus honoretur in nobis et ut alii ex verbis nostris et exemplis ad Deum igniantur.' **7** Isti tales ignem habuerunt in arido, quia amor mundi fuit eis mortuus et quilibet eorum dabat ex se ardentem carbonem iusticie et fulgorem diuine predicacionis.

Tercius status erat illorum, qui de amore Christi passionis feruentis toto desiderio affectabant mori pro Christo. **8** Isti ignem suum habuerunt in oliua. Sicut enim oliua in se habet pinguedinem et feruentiorem calorem, cum incenditur, sic isti totaliter impinguati fuerunt diuina gracia, ex qua dederunt ex se lumen diuine sciencie, ardorem feruentioris caritatis, robur honestissime conuersacionis.

9 Isti tres ignes longe lateque se dilatauerunt. Quorum primus incensus fuit in heremitis et religiosis, sicut describit Ieronimus, qui

4 Isti habuerunt ignem in mirra, quia sicut mirra amara est, sed tamen fugat demonia et extinguit sitim cf. *PLINIUS, Nat. Hist. XII:15 sq.* **6** omnia sint vanitas *Eccl. 1,2.* **7** amor mundi cf. *Rev. III 5:4.* **9** primus incensus fuit in heremitis et religiosis, sicut describit Ieronimus *Vitae patrum, Prologus (coll. 17-20). For this collection of legends, KLOCKARS (1966:176 sq.).*

propriam voluntatem **u x v** paupertate **P²** mundi *post* paupertatem *exp.* **O** **4** est amara σ erat amara **V** fugit **O** erat *supra lin.* **q²** erit **q¹** **5** eorum erat **Gh** honorem ... diligimus₂ *in marg. inf.* **q** mundi honorem **V** quasi *om.* **F** carnis finis **u x^{1v}** **6** diligimus aurum *post* quid *exp. et lin. del.* **q** nobis₁ *om.* **u x v** prodest nobis (vobis **q¹**) **K q²** sunt **x v** ut₁] et **P** honoratur **V¹** in *om.* **P a B A^b** et **O** et₃ *om.* **Y** Deum] dominum β_1 (*vide pag. 46*) **7** talem **x** eorum dabat ex se] eorum ex se dabat **Y β_2** ex se eorum dabat **V** ardentem *in marg.* **T^b** carbonem ardentem σ caritatis *ante* predicacionis *add.* **u x v** illorum] eorum **B** morte *ante* amore *exp. et lin. del.* **x** desiderio toto **u** **8** habet in se **T^b** habet *ante* in₂ *trp.* **A^b om.** **P** sciencie diuine **V** ardore **V** **9** se *supra lin.* **F om.** **B u x v** in dilatauerunt *corr.* **P** dilatantur **T^b u x v** in incensus fuit *corr.* **T^b** scribit **F**

vitae eorum inspiratus Spiritu Sancto inuenit mirabiles et merito imitandas. **10** Secundus ignis incensus fuit in confessoribus et doctoribus. Tercius in martiribus, qui carnem suam pro Deo contempserunt, et alii, qui contempsissent, si a Deo auxilium obtinuissent. (C) Ad quosdam igitur istorum trium statuum et ignium missus fuit beatus Benedictus, qui conflauit tres ignes in unum in tantum, quod qui insipientes erant illuminabantur, qui frigidi inflammabantur, qui feruientes erant feruenciores efficiebantur. **11** Et sic cum hiis ignibus incepit religio Benedicti, que unumquemque iuxta dispositionem et capacitatem sensus sui dirigebat in viam salutis et eterne felicitatis.

12 Nunc autem sicut de sacco beati Benedicti spirabat dulcedo Spiritus Sancti, per quem multa monasteria innouabantur, sic de sacco multorum fratrum eius discedit Spiritus Sanctus, quia calor cineris extinctus est et faces iacent disperse nec dantes ex se calorem nec splendorem sed fumum impuritatis et cupiditatis. **13** Verumptamen ad solacium multorum dedit michi Deus scintillas tres, in quibus intelligo plures. Prima extracta est de crystallo per solis calorem et splendorem, que se iam in arido fixit, ut fiat ex ea magnus ignis. **14** Secunda extracta est de duro silice; tertia de ligno infructuoso, quod creuit cum radicibus suis et folia sua dilatauit. **15** (D) Per cristallum vero, qui est lapis frigidus et fragilis, significatur anima illa, que licet frigida sit in amore Dei, tamen voluntate et affectu conatur ad perfectionem et rogat Deum sibi in adiutorium. **16** Ideo voluntas ista portat eam ad Deum et meretur, ut accrescant ei temptationes, per

vitae eorum *Vitae patrum, Vita S. Pauli (coll. 17-28), Vita S. Hilarionis eremitae (coll. 29-53), Vita Malchi, monachi captivi (coll. 53-60). For Birgitta and the Hieronymite order, JÖNSSON (1989:69 sq.).* **15** cristallum cf. *Ps. 147,17.*

vitam **V** merito *supra lin.* **q** in imitandas *corr.* **P** **10** ignis in marg. **T^b** om. **u x v**
 σ in incensus fuit *corr.* **T^b** qui₂ *supra lin.* **T^b F** eras. **q** om. **K u x v Gh** auxilium a Deo
P T^b γ Gh igitur] ergo **O** Benedictus] Bernardus **B** conflauit **q¹** in₄ om. v
 quod om. v qui₄] si **B** feruenciore **Y¹** **11** que] qui **O u¹** (?) **x** iuxta] secundum
V **12** sacco] sancto v beati om. **u x v** Benedicto v inspirabat **u x v**
 quem] quam v innouabuntur v multorum om. **x v** discedit] descendit **P** fauces
V facies **x v** disperso **x** **13** Deus om **V** tres scintillas **P π** calorem] ardorem **u x v** (*vide pag. 55, n. 89*) et splendorem om. **F** fixit, ut fiat] fixerat et fiat **u v** fixerat et erat **x**
 fixerat, ut fiat **T^b** magus **V** **14** de, *supra lin.* **F ex K** creuit cum] creuitque **P** dilatauit
P² x v delectauit **P¹** dilatuat **u** **15** tamen] cum **u** voluntatem et affectum v ad perfectionem om. **V** Deum] dominum **P** (*post alt.*) **Y** sibi *post auditorium trp.* **V** **16** eam] eum **u x q¹ F¹ Gh** (*supra lin.*) v Deum] dominum **P** (*post alt.*) **Y** et *supra lin.* **F**

quas frigescit a temptatione praua, donec Deus irradians cor sic figit se in anima a voluptate vacua, ut iam non velit viuere nisi ad honorem Dei. **17** Per silicem vero significatur superbia. Quid enim durius est superbia mentis illius, que omnium desiderat laudes et tamen concupiscit vocari humilis et videri deuota? **18** Quid abhominabilius anima illa, que omnibus in cogitatione se preferit et a nullis patitur obiurgari nec doceri? Verumptamen multi sic superbi petunt humiliter a Deo, ut ab eorum cordibus auferatur superbia et ambicio. **19** Propterea Deus cooperante voluntate bona amouet a cordibus eorum contraria et <ammouet> quandoque mollia, quibus et a mundialibus retrahuntur et ad celestia incitantur. **20** Per lignum vero infructuosum significatur anima illa, que nutrita in superbia fructificat mundo et desiderat habere mundum ad omnem honorem suum. Attamen, quia timet mortem eternam, multos stipites peccati extirpat, que aliter, si non timeret, perpetraret. **21** Propterea Deus propter istum timorem appropinquat anime et inspirat gratiam suam, ut lignum inutile fiat fructuosum. Itaque cum talibus scintillis religio beati Benedicti renouari debet, que modo multis videtur desolata et abiecta.”

17 Per silicem vero significatur superbia *cf. Iob 28,2.*

promeretur β_1 **u x v** voluptate] voluntate **V u** honorem] horrorem **V** **17** erum *post*
 Quid *exp.* **V** illius *in marg. inf.* **T^b** que **u x v** (*cf. deuota et §18 anima illa, que*) qui β **T^b K q**
 σ (*vide pag. 74*) desiderati **x¹** tamen] cum **u x** deuota **Y V** β_2 **T^b u x v q** deuotus **P K** σ
18 est *post* Quid *exp.* **T^b** vero *ante* abhominabilius *add.* **u x v** que] qui **q¹ Gh**
 in cogitatione se] se cogitatione **u x v** in cogitationibus se σ a] ab **V** superbi sic **x**
 petunt humiliter **x** auferretur **v** **19** amouet **P O** ammouet **Y V B A^b T^b K q** σ admonet
u x v a₁ *om.* **V u x v** volunta *ante* cordibus *exp.* **K** ammouet (*vide pag. 80*)
 mollia] inutilia β_2 et₂ *om.* **K** de *ante* celestia *lin. del.* **V** **20** vero] enim **O** nu-
 trita que **V** ad] et **v Gh** quia] qui **K q¹** semper *ante* stipites *add.* **x v** extirpant **B**
u que₂] quia **v** **21** *in ut corr.* **q** cum *om.* **x v** scintille **P** ronari **B²** ronare
B¹ videtur multis **P** γ σ videtur a multis **T^b**

Verba Matris ad filiam de monacho habente cor meretricum in pectore, et quomodo per propriam voluntatem et concupiscenciam et subterfugionem ab angelica vita a Deo apostatauit. Capitulum XXII.

1 Item Mater loquitur sponse: (A) “Quid vides in isto, qui astat, reprehensibile?” Respondit illa: “Quod rarissime dicit missam.” Cui Mater: “Non est ideo iudicandus. Sunt enim multi, qui factorum suorum memores racionabiliter abstinent et non minus michi sunt accepti. Sed que vides in eo alia?” **2** Et illa: “Quod non habet vestes a beato Benedicto institutas.” Cui Mater: “Contingit multociens, quod consuetudo quedam inchoatur, et omnes, qui sciunt eam esse malam et imitantur, reprehendendi sunt. Qui vero ignorant instituta laudabilia essentque libenter contenti de abiectoribus, si non consuetudo longinqua preualeret, tales non sunt faciliter et improbe iudicandi. **3** Sed audi, et indicabo tibi, quod in tribus aliis reprehendendus est: Primo, quod cor eius, in quo Deus quiescere deberet, est in pectore meretricum. Secundo, quod dimisit modicum suum et concupiscit multa aliena; promisit abnegare seipsum et sequitur totam propriam voluntatem. **4** (B) Tercio, quod Deus creauit animam eius pulchram quasi angelum et ob hoc deberet habere angelicam vitam, sed modo anima eius imaginem habet illius angeli, qui per superbiam a Deo apostatauit. **5** Hic apud homines magnus est, sed qualis apud Deum nouit Deus. Ipse enim Deus est, sicut ille qui clausum aliquid habens

R monacho *see my Chapter 1.3, p. 38.* **1** racionabiliter *BERGH (1971:87 n. 25).* **2** vestes a beato Benedicto institutas *Revs. III 20:5; IV 127:7; BEN. Reg. Mon. cap. 55.*

XXII: β π

R *om.* **F** meretriceum **Y** β₂ pectore *in marg.* **T**^{b2} corpore **T**^{b1} peccato **u** subterfugionem
V subterfugium **B O** etc *post* apostatauit *add.* **u** **1** Item *om.* **F** loquitur Mater **O u x v σ**
dicens post sponse *add.* **u x v** scilicet *ante* accepti *add.* **u** **2** contigit **q F** quedam
om. **V** et₂ *supra lin.* **T**^b quam **u x v** eam] ipsam **u x v** et₃ *supra lin.* **v** Qui] que **P**
 essentque] essent que **v** libenter *in marg.* **Y** abiencionibus **P B O** aiectoribus **V**
 non₃] enim **u** *in* faciliter *corr.* **T**^b feliciter **P** indicandi **Gh** **3** et₁ *om.* **O** iudi-
 cabo **Gh** quod₁] quid **u x v** aliis *supra lin.* **q** reprehendum **u** *in* deberet *corr.*
T^b pectore] corpore **v** meretriceum β₂ modicum suum *supra lin.* **F** multa *supra*
lin. **F** totam *in marg.* **T**^b **4** quod] quia **Y x** aimam] materiam **Gh** *in* eius₁ *corr.* **F**
 suam **Gh** habere deberet **V** habet imaginem σ a Deo *om.* **V** **5** magus **V** sit
post Deum *add.* **T**^b enim *om.* **u x v** est₂ *in marg.* **T**^b aliquid] aliquem **P** aliquid **u**

in pugno abscondit illud ab aliis, donec aperit pugnum. Sic Deus infirma elegit et coronas eorum in presenti abscondit, donec unicuique reddit secundum opera sua.”

Declaracio

6 Hic fuit abbas nimis secularis nil curans de animabus, qui subito mortuus est sine sacramentis, de quo dixit Spiritus Sanctus. “O anima, dilexisti terram et iam terra recepit te. **7** Mortuus es vita tua et iam non habebis vitam meam nec mecum eris particeps, quia societatem eius dilexisti, qui a me per superbiam lapsus est et contempsit veram humilitatem.”

Responsio Dei Patris ad preces sponse pro peccatoribus, et quomodo tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in terra, sicut tres in celo, et qualiter tota trinitas perhibet sponse testimonium, et qualiter sponsa sua sit per fidem et omnes, qui fidem rectam sancte Ecclesie imitantur. Capitulum XXIII.

1 “O mi dulcissime Deus, rogo te pro peccatoribus, in quorum consorcio ego sum, ut eis misereri digneris.” Respondit Deus Pater: “Audio et scio voluntatem tuam, ideo perficietur oratio caritatis tue. Propterea, sicut dicit Iohannes in epistula sua hodie, immo ego per Iohannem: **2** ‘tres sunt, qui testimonium perhibent in terra, spiritus, aqua et sanguis, et tres in celo, Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus’, sic

6 cf. Rev. VI:45; Ex. 97;105; A&P 491,525 sq.

R preces sponse cf. ES III:30. **2** tres sunt, qui testimonium perhibent in terra, spiritus, aqua et sanguis Rev. III 26:1 sqq.; 1 Io. 5,7 sq.

illud in marg. **T^b** elegit β eligit π utricuique **V** reddet **x Gh**

Decl. 22: K q u x v F U^a Gh

Declaracio in marg. **K²** om. **K¹ q u x v** **6** terra supra lin. **U^a** te supra lin. **q** **7** es supra lin. **q²** est **q¹** in ante vita add. **u** eris mecum **F** eius] illius **u x v** me supra lin. **U^a** veram om. **U^a Gh**

XXIII: β π

R om. **F** Dei supra lin. **T^b q** om. **P** (vide pag. 53) precem **P T^b γ Gh** et₂ om. **T^b v Gh**
 et₃ om. **P T^b q Gh** sua om. **P V** imitatur **O** **1** Deus in marg. sup. **T^b** sum
 om. **u x v** eis supra lin. **q** miserere **P O F** Audi **B** sua om. **u x v** **2** et ante
 aqua add. **O** et₃ supra lin. **T^b** Sanctus in marg. **T^b** sic] Si **V** sicut **O K**

tres dant tibi testimonium. Nam Spiritus, qui custodiuit te in visceribus matris, testificatur anime tue, quod Dei es per fidem baptismi, quam profitebantur ex parte tua parentes. **3** Testimonium perhibet tibi ipsa aqua baptismatis, quod humanitatis Christi es filia per renouacionem et emendacionem prime transgressionis. Testimonium quoque perhibet tibi sanguis Ihesu Christi, quo redempta es, quod deitatis es filia et a potestate dyabolica per sacramenta Ecclesie segregata. **4** Nos quoque Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus, tres in personis sed unum in substancia et potencia, testimonium tibi perhibemus, quod nostra es per fidem, similiter et omnes, qui rectam fidem sancte Ecclesie imitantur. **5** Et in testimonium, quod velis facere voluntatem nostram, procede et recipe de manu sacerdotis corpus et sanguinem humanitatis Christi, ut testimonium perhibeat tibi Filius, quod eius es, cuius corpus sumis in robur anime. **6** Testimonium perhibet tibi Pater, qui est in Filio, quod Patris es et Filii. Testimonium perhibet tibi Spiritus Sanctus, qui est in Filio et Patre et Spiritus in utroque, quod trium et unius es per fidem veram et dileccionem.”

fidem baptismi *cf. Rev. I 1:5 (with app. hist.);41:22. KLOCKARS (1966:105).* **3** aqua baptismatis ... sanguis *Rev. III 26:19;31:18.* **4** Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus, tres in personis sed unum in substancia et potencia *Rev. IV 23:3; VIII 19:2;47:31; AUG. De civ. XI 10; BERN. Sent. 1:1 sqq. KLOCKARS (1966:101).*

tibi *in marg.* **O** testatur **V** quod] quia **Y** parentes] putes **B** **3** perhibet tibi,] tibi perhibet **A^b** exibent tibi **V** aqua ipsa **Y V** Christi, *in marg.* **T^b** emundationem **Gh** perhibet tibi quoque **x v** perhibet tibi,] tibi perhibet **O** quo] quod **u x v** **4** *in ante* unum *add.* **K** perhibemus tibi **K q** **5** Christi *in marg.* **T^b** Filius tibi **x v** es] est **v** quod *ante* cuius *add.* **u** **6** perhibet tibi,] tibi perhibebit **u x² v** perhibebit tibi **x¹** perhibeat tibi σ (*vide pag. 56*) et *ante* quod, *add.* **x v** quod,] quia **T^b** es, *om. v* est *ante* et, *lin. del. v* Testimonium,] Tercio **O** perhibet tibi,] et perhibeat tibi **u** perhibeat **x** perhibeat tibi **v¹** tibi perhibeat **v¹** perhibeat tibi **F¹ Gh** Spiritus,] Spiritus sanctus **F** et veram **u x v** veram *etiam post* dileccionem *add. β_2 lin. del. Y* etc *post* dileccionem *add. u* Spiritus Dei ... perfectam (= *Rev. III 33:7-8*) *post* dileccionem *additum lin. del. q*

Responsio Ihesu Christi ad sponse preces pro infidelibus, scilicet quod Deus ex malicia malorum hominum honoratur, licet non ex virtute eorum et voluntate, quod sibi probat per exemplum, in quo Ecclesia vel anima per virginem et nouem ordines angelorum per nouem fratres virginis, Christus per regem, tres status hominum per tres filios regis designantur. Capitulum XXIII.

1 “O Domine mi Ihesu Christe, (A) rogo te, ut fides tua dilatetur super infideles, boni accendantur caritate tua amplius, mali vero meliorerentur.” Respondit Filius: “Tu turbaris ex eo, quod Deus minorem habet honorem. Desideras vero toto corde, ut perficiatur honor Dei. **2** Ideo do tibi unum exemplum, quo intelligere poteris, quod Deus etiam ex malicia malorum honoratur, licet non ex virtute et voluntate eorum. Nam virgo quedam erat sapiens et decora, diues et morigerosa, que habebat nouem fratres, quorum quilibet diligebat sororem suam sicut cor suum, et uniuscuiusque cor erat quasi in illa. **3** In regno vero, ubi virgo erat, tale erat statutum, quod, quicumque honoraret, honoraretur, qui depredaret, depredaretur, qui vero violaret, decapitaretur. **4** Rex vero regni habebat tres filios, quorum primus diligebat virginem et presentauit ei calceos deauratos cum cingulo aureo, anulum in manu et coronam super caput. Secundus vero concupiuit possessionem virginis et depredauit eam. Tercius concupiuit virginitatem virginis laborans, ut eam violaret. **5** (B) Isti vero tres filii regis capti sunt a nouem fratribus virginis et presentati regi. Cui

For Rev. III 24, Excursus A, pp. 223 sqq.

2 virgo *see §10.*

XXIII: β π

R *om.* **F** Ihesu *om.* **O** infidelibus **P B O T^b q** σ (*cfr. §1 infideles*) fidelibus **Y V A^b K u x v**
 hominum *in marg.* **T^b** hominibus **P¹** licet] sed (?) **q** probet **x** et₂ *supra lin.* **T^b** sta-
 tum **P¹** etc *post* designantur *add.* **u** **I** mi *om.* **u** accendentur **x v** in *ante* caritate
exp. **T^b** tua₂] tue **P¹** habet minorem **B** desiderans **K** consideras **x v** **2** quo] quod **u**
x v quod Deus etiam *om.* **x v** malorum] hominum **x v** malorum hominum **V** licet non]
 non (?) *supra lin.* litem **P** hominum *ante* eorum *add.* **x** quedam *in marg.* **T^b** et₂ *lin. del.*
x *in* habebat *corr.* **T^b** habuit **u x v** nouem] decem **B** *in* diligebat *in marg. corr.* **T^b** di-
 lexit **u x v** *in* sicut *corr.* **T^b** quasi **u x v** et₄ *om.* **x v** **3** et *ante* *lin. del.* **x** *in* tale
corr. **T^b** talis **x²** erat₂ *om.* **O** statutum erat **u x v** *in* statutum *corr.* **T^b** statuum **V¹**
 virginem *post* honoraret *add.* **K** depredaret] depredaretur **P** vero₂ *om.* **x v** **4** tres
 habebat (habebat *post corr.*) filios **T^b** tres filios habebat **F** tres habuit filios **u x v** *in* diligebat *corr.*
T^b dilexit **u x v** ei] sibi **V** corona **P** depredatus est **Gh** eam₁] virginem **x v**
 virginis] eius **u x v** **5** vero *om.* **u x v** et₁ ... regi *in marg.* **q**

dixerunt fratres: ‘Sororem nostram concupierunt filii tui. Primus quidem honorauit eam et dilexit toto corde. Secundus spoliauit eam. Tercius vero libenter dedisset vitam suam, si valuisset violare eam. **6** In illo vero puncto rapti sunt, quo voluntatem completam habuerunt ad ista iam dicta perficienda.’ Quibus auditis respondit rex: ‘Omnes’, inquit, ‘filii mei sunt, et omnes equaliter diligo. Verumptamen contra iusticiam facere non possum nec volo, sed ita de filiis sicut de seruis iudicare intendo. **7** Itaque, tu fili mi, qui honorasti virginem, veni et accipe honorem et coronam cum patre tuo! Tu vero fili, qui concupisti possessionem virginis et rapuisti, intrabis quidem carcerem, donec restituantur ablata. **8** Audiui enim testimonium super te, quod penitens de facto tuo voluisti reddere ablata, sed quia preuentus celeri et inopinato iudicio non perfecisti, ideo manebis carceratus, donec restituatur quadrans. Tu vero, fili mi, qui ad violandam virginem omnes adhibuisti conatus nec de facto tuo penituisti, **9** ideo quot modos adhibuisti ad dehonestacionem virginis, tot modis aggrauabitur pena tua.’ (C) Responderunt omnes fratres virginis: ‘Laus sit tibi, iudex, pro iusticia tua. Nisi enim virtus fuisset in te et in iusticia tua equitas, in equitate vero tua caritas, numquam taliter iudicasses.’

10 Hec autem virgo significat sanctam Ecclesiam, cuius dispositio est excellens in fide, pulchra in septem sacramentis, laudabilis in moribus et in virtutibus, amabilis in fructu, quia demonstrat veram viam ad eternitatem. **11** Hec sancta Ecclesia quasi tres habet filios, in quibus significantur plures. Primus sunt illi, qui diligunt Deum toto corde. Secundus sunt illi, qui temporalia diligunt ad honorem

5 dilexit toto corde *Mt. 22,37; cf. Rev. III 1:12.* **8** quadrans *Excursus A, p. 223 sqq..* **10** virgo significat sanctam Ecclesiam *cf. Speculum Virginum (50:23-25):* Wakta nw ath theodora, mädhan apostolin sigher, the hälghe kirkia som här är närwarandis, fästa enom man, swa som ena rena jomfru.

fratres] regi **V** expoliauit **T^b** de ante libenter *exp. et lin. del. v* libenter *post* suam
trp. β₂ **6** punctu **V** rapti] capti **O** sunt₂] estis **u x v** iudicare intendo β intendo (*in-*
tendo in marg. **T^b**) iudicare π **7** honorastis **P¹** virginem *supra lin.* v² reginam v¹ vero]
quoque **V** mi *post* fili₂ *add.* **K** qui₂ *om.* **V** quidem] quendam **P²** quidam **P¹** **8** fato
V voluisti] noluit **x** sceleri **K** et *om.* **O** indicio **P** profecisti **v** incar-
ceratus σ restituitur **u x v** quadrano (?) **u** quilibet (*cuilibet v²*) *post* quadrans *add.* **u x**
v¹ violandum **K v σ** violendam **q** virgines **V¹om.** **u x v** **9** quot] quod **x v** modeos
q¹ modis **P** dehonestacionem] honestacionem **P** tibi sit β₂ **x v** tua vero **u v σ**
10 ecclesiam sanctam σ excellens] extolens **P** in virtutibus β virtutibus π amabile
P quia] qui **q¹** viam veram **u x v** **11** quasi tres *om.* **x v** qui₁ *om.* **x** suo *post*
corde *add.* **P**

suum. Tercius sunt illi, qui preponunt Deo voluntatem suam. Virginitas vero Ecclesie anime sunt hominum a sola deitatis potencia create. **12** Primus ergo filius presentat calceos deauratos, quando contricionem suscipit pro commissis negligenciis et peccatis. Presentat vero vestes, quando precepta legis attendit, quando consilia euangelica seruat in quantum potest. **13** Componit cingulum, quando in continencia et castitate firmiter proponit perseuerare. Anulum quoque mittit in manum, quando firmiter credit, que precipit catholica Ecclesia, iudicium scilicet futurum et vitam sempiternam. **14** Lapis vero anuli spes est sperans constanter nullum peccatum esse tam abhominabile, quod penitencia et voluntate emendandi non deleatur. Coronam vero imponit capiti, quando caritatem veram habet. Sicut enim diuersi lapides sunt in corona, sic diuerse virtutes sunt in caritate. **15** Caput vero anime siue Ecclesie corpus meum est.

Hoc quicumque diligit et honorat, merito filius Dei appellatur. **16** (D) Ergo quicumque tali modo sanctam Ecclesiam et animam suam diligit, hic nouem fratres habet, id est nouem ordines angelorum, quia eorum particeps et socius erit in eterna vita. **17** Ipsi enim angeli sanctam Ecclesiam toto amore amplectuntur, quasi in corde cuiuslibet eorum esset. Non enim Ecclesia sancta saxa et parietes sunt sed anime iustorum, et ideo de earum honore et profectu tamquam de proprio angeli gratulantur. **18** Secundus autem frater vel filius signi-

12 consilia euangelica cf. *Magister Mathias, Homo conditus* (KLOCKARS [1966:121-123]). See *Revs. VI 46:4 sqq., 65:89; VIII 48:238. Cf. Mt. 6,24,26,33;11,28;19,21;22,21; Lc 12,22 sqq. (BERGH [1991a:172 app. hist.])*. **14** nullum peccatum esse tam abhominabile, quod penitencia et voluntate emendandi non deleatur *Revs. I 26:23;42:4; IV 63:3;89:11; VII 7:2-4.* diuerse virtutes sunt in caritate *I Cor. 13,1 sqq.* **15** Caput vero anime siue Ecclesie corpus meum est *AUG. De civ. XXII 18; AMBR. De Fide IV 3:30 sq.; Eph. 1,22 sq.;5,23; Col. 1,18,24.* **17** Ipsi ... esset *Excursus A, p. 225.* Non ... saxa et parietes ... sed anime iustorum i.e., *societas sanctorum. Ex. 39:14. KLOCKARS (1971:101 sqq.); FOGELKVIST (1993b:149 sq.)*.

Deo *supra lin.* V voluntatem cfr. §19 voluntatem (*vide pag. 44 sq.*) anime] animum B
 potentia deitatis V **12** presentet q quando,] cum V euangelicat T^{b1} conser-
 uat K obseruat T^b **13** que] qui P¹ quod u sancta post precipit add. K σ catholica om. K
 ecclesia catholica σ scilicet om. x futurum] filii futurum u x v **14** quod ... non vi-
 de BERGH (1991a:53) emendandi om. V capiti imponit V enim om. u x v caritati
 O **15** siue *supra lin.* Y ecclesia u est meum P Y B O T^b est om. V **16** et,] id
 est K diligit post Ecclesiam *trp.* K eciam post hic add. K particeps] princeps V
 erat u vita eterna σ **17** toto] tanto u x v amore] honore u x v quasi] quia B
 eorum om. x v sancta ecclesia x v pariete T^{b1} honore] onere V angeli, in
 marg. T^b **18** autem om. K

ficat illos, qui constitutionem sancte Ecclesie contempnentes viuunt ad honorem mundi et amorem carnis, qui virtutum pulchritudinem transformantes viuunt secundum voluntatem suam, attamen circa finem penitent et conteruntur de factis suis malis. **19** Istis debetur purgatio, donec operibus et oracionibus Ecclesie Deo reconcilientur. Tercius filius significat illos, qui animam suam scandalizantes non curant, si eternaliter pereant, dummodo perficere possint voluntatem suam. **20** Super tales nouem ordines angelorum petunt iusticiam, quia per penitentiam conuerti contempserunt. Ergo cum Deus facit iusticiam, laudant eum angeli propter equitatem inflexibilem. **21** Cum vero perficitur honor Dei gaudent de virtute eius, quod etiam malorum malicia utitur ad honorem suum. Ideo, cum videris prauos, compatere eis, gaude vero de honore Dei eterno. **22** Nam Deus, qui nichil mali vult, quia creator omnium et vere ex se solus bonus, permittit tamen multa fieri tamquam iustissimus iudex, de quibus in celestibus et in terris propter equitatem suam et occultam bonitatem honoratur.”

Verba querimonie Matris ad filiam, qualiter agnus innocentissimus, Christus Ihesus, negligitur modernis temporibus a creatura sua. Capitulum XXV.

1 Loquitur Mater: “Conqueror primo, quod agnus ille innocentissimus hodie portabatur, qui optime sciebat ire. Hodie puer ille tacebat, qui optime sciebat loqui. **2** Hodie puer ille innocentissimus circumci-

2 puer ille innocentissimus circumcisus est *Rev. V int. 10:37; Or. II; Lc. 2,21.*

significat] signat **Gh** illos *om.* **x** sancte *om.* **V** pulchritudinem] fortitudinem **u**
 secundum voluntatem] secundum voluptatem **T^b K** ad utilitatem **u x v** peniteant **v** pertinent
P conteritur **V** **19** reconciliantur **v** significat] signat **B** illos *om.* **v** pareant
P perficere possint *post* suam₂ *trp.* **u x v** possunt **K** voluntatem **β** voluptatem **π** (*cfr.*
§11, vide pag. 75 sq.) **20** per] ad **σ** **21** malicia malorum **Y V A^b** malo mali **u x v** *in* vi-
 deris *corr.* **T^b** **22** mali *om.* **O** est *post* omnium *add.* **K u x v**

XXV: **β π**

R om. **F** ad filiam *om.* **O** agnus *in marg.* **K² om.** **K¹** Ihesus Christus **O T^b x v** **x**
post Christus *add.* **V** sua creatura **K** etc *post* sua *add.* **u v** **1** Mater loquitur **u x v**
 dicens *post* Mater *add.* **σ supra lin.** **K** *in* sciebat *corr.* **T^b** *in* tacebat *corr.* **T^b** tacuit **u x**
v *in* qui₂ *corr.* **T^b** *in* sciebat loqui *corr.* **T^b** **2** ille] de **V** circumcisus **B**

sus est, qui numquam peccauit. Et ideo, quamuis irasci non possum, tamen videor irata ex eo, quod dominus maximus factus puer modicus obliuiscitur et negligitur a creatura sua.”

Verba Christi ad sponsam ineffabilis trinitatis misterium declarantia, et quomodo dyabolici peccatores per contricionem et voluntatem emendandi obtinent Dei misericordiam, et de responsione Christi, qualiter miseretur omnibus, scilicet tam Iudeis et cetera, et de duplici iudicio, dampnandorum scilicet et saluandorum. Capitulum XXVI.

1 Filius loquitur: (A) “Ego sum creator celi et terre, unus cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto, verus Deus, quia Deus est Pater, Deus Filius, Deus Spiritus Sanctus, non tres dii sed tres persone et unus Deus. **2** Nunc autem querere poteris, si tres sunt persone, quare non tres dii? Respondeo tibi, quod non est aliud Deus nisi ipsa potencia, ipsa sapiencia, ipsa bonitas, a qua est omnis potestas infra celum et supra, omnis sapiencia et omnis pietas, que poterit cogitari. **3** Itaque Deus trinus est et unus, trinus in personis, unus in natura. Nam potencia et sapiencia est Pater, a quo sunt omnia et qui est ante omnia, potens non aliunde sed a se ipso et eternaliter. **4** Potencia et sapiencia eciam Filius equalis Patri non a se ipso potens sed a Patre potenter et ineffabiliter genitus, principium de principio et a Patre numquam separa-

1 tres persone et unus Deus *Revs. II 13:1-10; III 23:2 sqq.; VIII 1:5-25;48:224-231; cf. the Athanasian Creed. KLOCKARS (1966:117 sq.); GILKAER (1993:92 sq., 98 sqq.).* **2** Deus ... a qua est omnis potestas *Rom. 13,1.* ipsa sapiencia *Rev. III 8:7.* **4** Potencia et sapiencia ... a Patre numquam separatum *Ps. 2,7; Hebr. 1,3 sq.*

qui] quia **P** in possum *corr.* **T^b** video **u v** irati **u** irasci **v** ex eo *in marg.* **T^b**
obliuiscitur et *in marg.* **T^b** *om.* **u x v**

XXVI: β π

R *om.* **F** trinitatis] eternitatis **B O** quomodo] qualiter **K** scilicet₁ *om.* **K** et **u x v**
tam] tamen **v** et₅ *om.* **v** duplici] publici **B** scilicet et] et **K u x v** sibi (?) *supra lin.*
q **1** Spiritu Sancto] sancto spiritu **B** est pater quia Deus **V** tamen *post non add.* **K lin.**
del. **F** **2** autem *om.* **u x v** sunt *om.* **σ** quere **P** aliud] alius **V** et₁ *om.* **F**
et₂ *supra lin.* **T^b** *om.* **K** excogitari **u x v** **3** est₁ *in marg. inf.* **T^b** est *etiam post*
unus₁ *add.* **V** et ante unus₂ *add.* **V** pater est **u x v** et₃ *supra lin.* **A^b** **q** **4** et ante eci-
am *eras.* **F** est ante Filius *add.* **u x v** potens *om.* **V**

tum. **5** Potencia et sapiencia eciam Spiritus Sanctus a Patre et Filio procedens, eternus cum Patre et Filio, et equalis in maiestate et potestate. Unus ergo Deus et tres persone, quia una natura trium, una operacio et voluntas, una gloria et potestas, qui ita est unum in essencia, quod eciam sunt distincti proprietate personarum. **6** Nam totus Pater est in Filio et Spiritu et Filius in Patre et Spiritu et Spiritus in utroque in una deitatis natura, non sicut prius et posterius sed ineffabiliter. Ubi nichil est prius aut posterius, nichil alio maius aut minus vel alterius, sed totum ineffabile et equale. Propterea bene scriptum est, quod Deus est mirabilis et multum laudabilis.

7 (B) Nunc autem conqueri possum, quod laudabilis sum parum et multis ignotus, quia omnes querunt propriam voluntatem sed pauci meam. **8** Tu vero esto stabilis et humilis, nec te extollas in cogitatu, cum aliorum ostendo tibi pericula, nec eorum prodas nomina, nisi tibi precipiatur. Non enim ad confusionem eorum ostenduntur tibi eorum pericula, sed ut conuertantur et cognoscant iusticiam et misericordiam Dei. **9** Sed nec eos fugere debes tamquam iudicatos, quia eciam si dixerio hodie, quod aliquis pessimus est, si inuocauerit me cum contricione cras et cum voluntate emendandi, paratus sum indulgere ei. **10** Et quem heri dixi pessimum, hunc hodie dico amicum carissimum propter contricionem in tantum, quod, si contricio fuerit stabilis, dimitto ei non solum peccatum sed et penam peccati, sicut per exemplum cognoscere poteris, quasi si essent duo frusta argenti viui et ambo concurrerent festinando inuicem. **11** Si in eorum coniuicione non esset residuum nisi quasi unus athomus, adhuc potens

6 Deus est mirabilis et multum laudabilis *Rev. VIII 1; Ps. 95(96),4.* **7** propriam ... meam *cf. Rev. IV 67:11-13;118.* **9** inuocauerit me cum contricione ... (§10) propter contricionem *Revs. I 50:22;54:24-26; II 14:53; VII 27:33. FOGELKVIST (1993a:89 sq.).* **10-11** duo frusta argenti viui ... (§11) unus athomus *For Birgitta's metaphors of technique, Rev. III 2:15 (with app. hist.).*

5 est ante eciam₁ *add. u x v eras. F* Spiritus Sanctus] scilicet **V** magestate **T^b** est post Deus *add. u x v* una ante voluntas *exp. O* qui] quia **P** β_2 in est ... essencia *corr. T^b* est] sunt **K** quod] quia **u** sint **K** **6** est,] et supra lin. **K** in ante Spiritu₁ *add. V B* sanctus post Spiritus *add. F lin. del. A^b* deitatis in marg. **T^b** effabiliter **T^{b1}** est₂ *om. V* aut₁ in marg. **T^b** nichil₂] vel **v** aut₂ in marg. **T^b** alterius] alcius **Y** alicuius **V** **7** autem *om. u x v* et] a **T^{b1}** scilicet ante quia *add. u x v* **8** stabilis esto **u x v** tibi ostendo **x v** precipitur **u x v** **9** Sed] scilicet **u** quia] quoniam **P** et post est *add. F* me supra lin. **V** cum₂ *om. u x v* ei lin. del. **v om. u x** **10** hunc ... carissimum *om. x v* dixerio **u¹** carissimum in marg. **q²** bonam **q¹** quod *om. K* eis **O** si₂ *om. u x v* frustra **P Y B x v** viui in marg. **T^b** ad ante inuicem *add. A^b K u x v* **11** non *om. V*

esset Deus facere, ne conuenirent. Sic si aliquis peccator esset ita radicatus in diabolicis operibus, quod staret in ipso puncto perdicionis, adhuc obtineret veniam et misericordiam, si Deus inuocaretur cum contricione et voluntate emendandi. **12** (C) Nunc autem, cum ita sim misericors, querere poteris, cur non misereor gentilibus et Iudeis, quorum aliqui, si erudirentur fide recta, libenter pro Deo morerentur? Respondeo tibi, quod omnibus facio misericordiam tam gentilibus quam Iudeis, nec relinquitur aliqua creatura sine misericordia mea. **13** Nam quicumque audiunt, quod fides eorum non est vera, et desiderant feruenter veram aut quicumque credunt hoc esse optimum quod tenent, quia non est eis aliud umquam predicatum, faciuntque toto conamine que possunt, horum iudicium erit in leuiori misericordia. **14** Nam duplex est iudicium, dampnandorum scilicet et saluandorum. Christianorum enim dampnandorum erit sine misericordia, quorum erit pena eterna et tenebre et voluntas firmata contra Deum. **15** Saluandorum vero erit visio Dei et gloriatio in Deo et velle Deo bonum. Ab hiis exclusi sunt gentiles et Iudei et mali et falsi Christiani. Qui quamuis non habuerunt fidem rectam, habuerunt tamen iudicem conscienciam suam credentes eundem esse Deum, quem coluerunt et offenderunt. **16** Illi autem, quorum voluntas et accio erat et est secundum iusticiam et contra peccatum, hii habebunt cum minus malis Christianis iudicium misericordie in suppliciis propter dilec-

12 fide recta cf. Rev. III 23:2. KLOCKARS (1966:105). omnibus facio misericordiam tam gentilibus quam Iudeis Revs. I 41:25 sqq.;48:16 sqq.;59:28 sqq.; II 3-5;19:59 sqq. KLOCKARS (1971:110 sqq.). **13** leuiori misericordia see §16; cf. Rom 2,9 sq. **14-15** Excursus A, pp. 225 sqq. **15** Ab hiis exclusi sunt gentiles et Iudei et mali et falsi Christiani cf. Revs. I 37:14-26;41:6-8,23-26;47:39; II 3:47-54. **16** Illi ... peccati cf. Rom. 2,12-16 sqq.

si₂ supra lin. T^b quis V esset₃ esse O ipso supra lin. F punctu V Dei
post misericordiam add. u x v inuocaretur] innotaretur V cum ante voluntate exp. V **12**
sim ita F gentilibus₁] gentibus x v morerentur] morerentur P¹ Y V gentilibus₂] gentibus
x v mea post creatura add. u x v **13** in Nam corr. A^b desideranter v et ante fer-
uenter add. x v feruentem V fidem ante veram add. K veram] naturam P fidem
post veram add. u x v in aliud corr. F numquam T^{b1} faciuntque] faciunt quia (?) V
quod ante toto add. v que] quod V **14** dampnandorum enim u x v pena erit Gh
est pena K firma V **15** vero in marg. inf. T^b om. u x v erit om. O velle om. V
Iudeis P¹ et₄ om. P cismatici post Christiani in marg. inf. add. T^b in habuerunt₁
corr. T^b iudicem ante credentes trp. V Deum] Dominum β₁ quem] que u quam v
16 Illi in marg. T^b Isti Gh autem in marg. T^b vero ante voluntas add. u x v exp. T^b
erit u est om. V hii om. Gh in cum ... Christianis corr. T^b cum] tum (?) v²
minus in marg. Y minus malis] bonis P in₁] a P

cionem iusticie et odium peccati, sed non habebunt consolacionem in seruicione glorie et visionis Dei, **17** quem non videbunt propter baptismi carenciam, quia aliquod temporale aut occultum iudicium Dei retraxit eos, ne salutem fructuose quererent et obtinerent. **18** (D) Si vero nichil retraxit eos in querendo Deum verum et baptizando, non timor aut labor, non dispendium bonorum vel honorum sed impedimentum solum humanam fragilitatem superans, istos, ego qui Cornelium et centurionem nondum baptizatos vidi, alcius et perfectius remunerare scio, sicut eorum exigit fides. **19** Quia alia est ignorantia malicie, alia pietatis et difficultatis, similiter et alius est baptismus aque, alius sanguinis, alius perfecte voluntatis, que omnia nouit pensare Deus, qui omnium nouit corda, propterea ego, qui sine principio natus sum eternaliter de principio, qui et iterum in fine temporum natus sum temporaliter ab inicio, noui singulorum remunerare merita et do unicuique iuxta merita sua. **20** Nec minimum bonum, quod fit ad honorem Dei, transiet sine remuneracione. Ideo teneris tu multum regraciari Deo, quia de Christianis nata es et in tempore salutis, quia multi desiderabant hoc obtinere et videre, quod offertur Christianis, et non obtinuerunt.”

17 cf. *Mt. 13,17.* **18** ego qui Cornelium et centurionem nondum baptizatos vidi *Rev. IV 21:10.* Cornelium *Act. 10,1 sqq.* centurionem *Lc. 7,1 sqq.* remunerare scio cf. *GREG. Past. II 6.* **19** baptismus aque ... sanguinis ... perfecte voluntatis cf. *AMBR. De Spiritu Sancto I 6:76 sqq.; Eph. 4,5.* baptismus aque cf. *BERN. Sent. I 41. SCHMID (1940:118 sqq.).* alius sanguinis *Rev. III 23:3;31:18* (sanguis introducit eas in celum); *Rom. 6,3.* perfecte voluntatis cf. *AUG. De baptismo IV 22:29.* Deus, qui omnium nouit corda *Ps. 7,10; Prov. 15,11; Io. 2,25; Act. 15,8; cf. A&P 380* (Quomodo nouit occultas cordium cogitaciones); *AMBR. De Spiritu Sancto II 10:110.* remunerare ... sua *Rev. I 14:3 (with app. hist.).* do unicuique iuxta merita sua *Rom. 2,6.*

in dileccionem iusticie corr. T^b innocenciam vite β₁ u x v et₄ supra lin. T^b in non habebunt corr. T^b dissimilem β₁ (vide pag. 46) visione O 17 aliquid V aliquot x retrahit P quererent supra lin. F querent v et] aut K 18 in querendo] inquirendo v q Deum] dominum β₁ verum deum K in ante baptizando add. K vel] aut u x v humanam fragilitatem] humanitatem K fragilitatem in marg. T^{b2} naturam T^{b1} ego post Cornelium trp. O baptizatos nondum v¹ alcius et perfectius supra lin. v² alium et perfectis v¹ 19 Quia] qui q¹ alia₁ in marg. T^b est alia σ verbo post similiter lin. deleteo os supra hoc verbum add. v est ante et₂ exp. v corda nouit u x v qui₂ om. u et₃ supra lin. T^b unicuique] numquam P merita₂] opera K 20 Dei in marg. F transiet (BERGH [1991a:46]) transiret P transeat x v merita sua et post sine add. P quia₁] qui x multe P hoc] hec P V A^b hoc etiam ante videre add. K et cetera (bis) post obtinuerunt add. v

Deprecacio sponse ad Dominum pro Roma et de multitudine innumerabili sanctorum martirum Rome quiescentium et de tribus gradibus perfectionis Christianorum et de quadam visione ipsius sponse, et qualiter Christus ei apparens predictam visionem sibi exposuit et declarauit. Capitulum XXVII.

1 “O Maria, licet immitis fueram, tamen te inuoco in adiutorium meum. (A) Et rogo te, ut rogare digneris pro excellentissima et sanctissima illa urbe Roma. Video enim corporaliter, quod quedam ecclesie, in quibus ossa sanctorum quiescunt, desolate sunt. Quedam vero habitantur, sed corda et mores rectorum earum longe sunt a Deo. **2** Impetra ergo eis caritatem, quia audiui ex scripturis, quod Rome quilibet dies in anno septem milia continet martirum. Et ideo, quamuis anime non minorem honorem obtinent in celo, licet ossa eorum contempnuntur in terris, tamen rogo te, ut sanctis tuis et sanctorum tuorum reliquiis amplior honor exhibeatur in terris et sic deuocio populi excitetur.”

3 Respondit Mater: “Si mensurares terram centum pedum in longitudine et totidem in latitudine et seminares eam plenam puris granis tritici, ita compresse, quod non esset distancia inter granum et granum nisi quasi articulus digiti unius, **4** quodlibet vero granum daret fructum centuplum, adhuc essent plures martires et confessores Rome a tempore illo, quo Petrus venit Romam cum humilitate, usquequo Celestinus discessit de sede superbie et reuersus est ad suam so-

For III 27, my Chapter 1.3, p. 39 and Excursus A, pp. 227 sqq.

1 Roma ... desolate sunt *Revs. IV 6,10,33,49; VI 105; A&P 491 sq.,510,515 sq.; cf. Rev. 1:59. KLOCK-ARS (1971:147 sqq.).* **2** scripturis ... ossa ... contempnuntur *Revs. VI 103; VII 4.* quilibet dies in anno septem milia continet martirum *Process Vita 94.*

XXVII: β π

R om. **F** et¹ om. **O** dictam **P u x v** visionem om. **O** exposuit sibi **u** declarat
V **I** fuerim (?) **Y** in₁ om. **O** et sanctissima om. **O** Romana **T^{b1}** ossa om. **V**
 ossa sanctorum] corpora sanctorum β₂ sanctorum reliquie **Y V** requiescunt **V T^{b1} u x v** om.
O earum om. **K** **2** Impetra] et impetra **V** ideo impetra **u x v** ergo in marg. **T^b om. u x v**
 in audiui corr. **T^b** audiueram **u x v** scripturis, quod] scripturis que quod **V** quod Rome
 om. **x v** quelibet **q σ** continet ante septem *trp. u x v* anime] ille **u x v** obtinuerit **v**
 ibi ante ossa *add. x* earum β₁ **O q** in marg. **T^b** honor post tuorum *lin. del. (lin. versa)*
u amplius **F** in et₃ corr. **T^b** sic supra *lin. alia manu T^b* **3** in pedum corr. **q**
 longitudinem **u x v** et totidem om. **B** latitudinem **x v** altitudinem **u** eam] ita **V**
 digiti unius **q¹** unius digiti **T^b K u x v q²** **4** quolibet **P** in essent corr. **q** usquequo]
 quo **V** desessit **V** discessisset **x v** discescit **F** de] a σ reuertebatur **u x v**

litarium vitam. **5** De illis vero martiribus et confessoribus loquor, qui fidem veram predicabant contra diffidenciam et humilitatem contra superbiam et qui pro veritate fidei mortui sunt vel voluntate parati erant mori. **6** (B) Nam Petrus et plures alii sic calidi et feruentes erant ad proferendum verba Dei, quod, si potuissent mori pro unoquoque homine, libenter fecissent. Attamen timidi fuerunt, ne a conspectibus illorum, quos verbo consolacionis et predicacionis fouebant, raperentur, quia salutem eorum plus desiderabant quam vitam propriam et honorem. **7** Fuerunt quoque cauti, et ideo processerunt occulte in persecucione propter lucrum et colleccionem plurimarum animarum. Igitur inter istos duos, Petrum scilicet et Celestinum, non omnes fuerunt boni sicut nec omnes mali. **8** Ecce ponamus tres gradus, sicut tu composuisti, positium, comparatium et superlatium, id est bonos, meliores et optimos. In primo gradu fuerunt illi, quorum cogitacio fuit ista: **9** 'Nos credimus quidquid sancta precipit Ecclesia. Neminem defraudare volumus, sed defraudata reddere et Deo seruire desideramus toto corde.' Consimiles eciam fuerunt tempore Romuli, fundatoris Rome, secundum fidem suam qui cogitabant taliter: **10** 'Nos intelligimus et scimus ex creaturis, quod Deus est creator omnium; hunc ergo diligere volumus pre omnibus.' Quamplures vero cogitabant ista: 'Nos audiuius ab Hebreis, quod Deus verus se ostendit eis per miracula manifesta. **11** Et ideo, si sciremus, in quo nos magis fundare deberemus, libenter faceremus.' Isti omnes fue-

5 fidem veram FOGELKVIST (1993a:123 sq.). **6** ne Excursus A, pp. 232 sq. **8** sicut tu composuisti cf. below §11 and Rev. III 30:8. For Birgitta's knowledge of Latin, KLOCKARS (1966:22 sq.); JÖNSSON (1993).

5 et confessoribus *in marg.* **T^b** veram] rectam **Y V** (*vide pag. 46, n. 71*) *et₂ supra lin.* **T^b**
om. **u x v** humilitate **x** in mortui sunt *corr.* **T^b** moriebantur **u x v** erant parati **F¹**
 erant *in marg.* **A^b** fuerunt **u x** **6** alii plures **Gh** erant] fuerunt **u x v** verba] verbum **V**
 unoque **Gh** a conspectibus] adspectibus **x** illorum] eorum **K** reparentur
P¹ reprobarentur β_2 recipierentur **v** plus] plures **P** **7** cauti] tanti **Gh** colleccionem] consolacionem **q¹**
 scilicet Petrum **V** fuerunt₂] fuerit **v** **8** posuisti **Y¹** hodie *post* composuisti *add.* **u x v** σ *et post* bonos *add.* **x v** *et₂ om.* **O K** **9** sancta precepit ecclesia **P V** s.
 e. precepit **F** precepit s. e. **K u x v** *et supra lin.* **T^b** *om.* **u x v** Deo *om.* **x de v** deseruire **x**
 suam *om.* **V** cogitabat **v** **10** hunc] huic **P¹** ergo *in marg.* **T^b** diligere *supra*
lin. **q** Quamplures] Quam- *ex* Quia *corr.* **q** vero *om.* **V** ista *om.* β_2 ab] **ex u x v** σ
 se ostendit **Y V** β_2 ostendit se **P** π **11** Et *lin del.* **V** ideo, si *in marg.* **T^b** fundere **V¹**
 fundare deberemus] fundaremus **x v**

runt quasi in primo gradu. (C) Tempore vero placito venit Petrus Romam, qui alios eleuauit in gradum positiuum, alios in comparatiuum et alios in superlatiuum. Illi enim, qui fidem receperunt veram, qui in coniugio et alia dispositione laudabili steterunt, isti fuerunt in positiuo gradu. **12** Qui vero sua dimiserunt propter caritatem diuinam, qui aliis bona exempla viuendi ostenderunt verbis et exemplis et operibus necnon et qui nichil Christo preposuerunt, isti fuerunt in comparatiuo gradu. **13** Qui vero carnem suam dederunt pro amore Dei, isti fuerunt in superlatiuo gradu. Sed queramus in istis gradibus supradictis. Ubi inuenitur nunc caritas Dei feruencior? Queramus in militibus et doctoribus. **14** Queramus in religiosis et mundi contemptoribus, qui tenerentur esse in comparatiuo et superlatiuo gradu, et certe nimis pauci inueniuntur, nam non est vita austerior quam vita militaris, si in sua vera institucione staret. Si enim monacho precipitur habere cucullam, militi precipitur grauius, scilicet lorica. **15** Si vero est graue monacho pugnare contra voluntatem carnis, militi est grauius inter armatos hostes procedere. Si vero ordinatur monacho durus lectus, grauius est militi in armis quiescere. Et si monachus turbatur et affligitur abstinencia, durius est militi affligi continuo timore vite. **16** (D) Non enim milicia Christianitatis incepta est propter mundi possessionem et cupiditatem sed ad confortandam veritatem et dilatandam veram fidem, et ideo gradus militaris et religiositatis in superlatiuo gradu vel comparatiuo esse tenerentur. **17** Sed omnes gradus a

12 verbis et exemplis *Rev. III Proem. 3 (with further references)*. **13** carnem suam dederunt pro amore Dei *see Rev. III 27:23 and 19:28 sq.* **14** monacho ... militi *Rev. II 11-13; Pa-Vita 627. KLOCKARS (1966:30 with n. 3)*. **16** milicia Christianitatis *KLOCKARS (1971:83 sqq.); ROSSING (1986:161)*. **17** omnes gradus ... apostatauerunt *Revs. IV 76; VI 26:13. FOGELKVIST (1993a: 31 sq.)*.

quasi *om.* **u** primo (*cfr. §8 primo*) **P** π proximo **Y V** β_2 (*vide pag. 47*) Petrus venit **Gh**
positiuum gradum σ et alios β alios π Illis **V** Isti **u x v** enim] vero **P** et₃] in
v isti₂ *in marg.* **T^b** **12** qui] que **v^l** exempla bona σ Christo nichil **F** **13** superlatiuo gradu β gradu superlatiuo π istis] hiis σ supradictis] iam dictis **u x v** nunc *in marg.* **T^b** *om.* **V v** σ autem *ante* caritas *add.* **V** Queramus ... doctoribus *in marg.* **q**
14 tenentur **V u** esse *om.* **V** et₂ *supra lin.* **T^b** in *ante* superlatiuo *add.* **P T^b q** (*vide pag. 53*)
pauce **O** quam vita *om.* **u x v** enim] vero **P** cucula (?) **P** lorica β_1
15 graue est **B F** monacho est graue **u x v** voluntatem **P Y^l V** β_2 **u** voluptatem **Y² T^b K**
x v q σ (*vide pag. 44 sq., 66 sq., 75 sq.*) militi *supra lin.* **V** procedere] incedere **V**
16 mallitia **V** Christianitatis] christiani **x v** dilatandum **Gh** vel comparatiuo *in marg.* **F** tenetur **V** tenentur **K** teneretur **F**

sua laudabili dispositione apostatauerunt, quia caritas Dei versa est in cupiditatem mundi. Si enim offerretur unus florenus, de tribus magis tacerent plerique veritatem quam loquendo amitterent illum.

18 Nunc autem loquitur sponsa dicens: “Iterum vidi quasi multos ortos in terra, rosas vero et lilia conspexi inter ortos. In quodam vero loco spacioso terre vidi agrum centum vestigiorum in longitudine et totidem in latitudine. **19** In quolibet autem vestigio erant septem grana tritici seminata et quodlibet granum dabat fructum centuplum. Post hec audiui vocem dicentem: ‘O Roma, Roma, muri tui sunt dirupti. Ideo porte tue sunt sine custodia. Vasa tua venduntur. **20** Ideo altaria tua desolata sunt. Viuum sacrificium et incensum matutinum comburitur in atrio. Ideo non egreditur de sancta sanctorum sanctus odor suavissimus.’”

21 Et statim apparens Dei Filius dixit sponse: “Horum intelligentiam, que vidisti, indico tibi. (E) Terra quam vidisti significat omnem locum, ubi nunc est fides Christiana. Orti vero significant loca illa, ubi sancti Dei receperunt coronas suas. **22** Verumptamen in paganismo, scilicet in Iherusalem et in aliis locis, multi fuerunt electorum Dei, quorum tamen loca tibi modo non sunt monstrata. Ager vero centum pedum in longitudine et totidem in latitudine significat Romam. **23** Nam si omnes orti de toto mundo coniuncti essent Ro-

20 sancta sanctorum *i.e.*, the most sacred (cf. §29) in contrast to atrio (§30). **22** in paganismo, scilicet in Iherusalem This passage puzzled LUNDÉN (1957:332 note). Having compared it with the OS (BU 1 384:31-32 j hedhnonne swa som j ierusalem ok j androm stadhom [‘in paganism, just as in Jerusalem and in other cities’]), he adjusted the text slightly and translated ‘i hednaland, i Jerusalem och andra orter’ (‘in pagan country, in Jerusalem and other places’), since, he says, Jerusalem could not be considered pagan. However, Jerusalem belonged to the Saracens in Birgitta’s days.

17 versi **O** enim *supra lin.* **V**² autem **V**¹ offerretur **P** β₂ **K u x v q**² auferretur **V T**^b **q**¹ σ *post alt.* **Y** (vide pag. 76 sq.) tribus (sc. gradibus vide §8) magnis **x v** quam] quod **T**^b loquendum **P** illum] alium **V** **18** Nunc ... dicens *in marg.* **T**^b sponsus **u** dicens] dicturus **Gh** rosas ... ortos₂ *om.* **V** terre *in marg.* **O** longitudinem **P**¹ in₃ *om.* **x** **19** autem] aut **P**² au **P**¹ seminata] semina **x v** et quodlibet] quodlibetque **u v** quolibetque **x** et (*supra lin.*) quodlibetque **T**^b in dabat *corr.* **T**^b dedit **u x v** dirupti sunt σ diruti **Y B O K q** diructi **T**^b **20** Viuum] Vinum **V F**¹ (vide *Excursum A*, p. 231 sq.) et *post* Viuum *add.* **V** sancta] sancto **T**^b **K u x v** (vide pag. 55, n. 90) **21** sponse *in marg.* **T**^b indicabo **u x v F**¹ recipiunt **O** suas *om.* **V** **22** in₂ *om.* **V** locis *om.* **O** loca tamen **x v** modo] iam **K om.** **u x v** non sunt monstrata] non monstrabantur **u**² monstrabantur non **u**¹ non manifestabantur **x v** monstrata *post corr.* **Y** agri **x v** vero *om.* **K** longitudine] latitudine **Y** latitudine] longitudine **Y** **23** muri *ante* orti *add.* **V** essent] esset **Gh**

me, certe Roma esset eque magna de martiribus, in carne loquor, quia ille locus electus est ad amorem Dei.

24 Triticum vero, quod inter vestigia vidisti, significat illos, qui per carnis maceracionem et contricionem et vitam innocentem intrauerunt celum. Rose vero pauce sunt martires rubicundi sanguinis sui effusione in diuersis locis. **25** Lilia vero confessores sunt, qui fidem sanctam verbis et operibus predicauerunt et confirmauerunt. Nunc autem ego possum loqui de Roma, sicut propheta loquebatur de Iherusalem: ‘Olim’, inquit ‘habitaui in ea iusticia et principes eius principes pacis. Nunc autem versa est in scoriam et principes eius homicide.’ **26** O, si cognosceres dies tuos, o Roma, fleres utique et non gauderes. (F) Roma quippe in diebus antiquis erat quasi tela colorata omni colore pulcherrimo et contexta nobilissimo filo. Terra quoque eius erat colorata colore rubeo, id est sanguine martirum et contexta, id est commixta ossibus sanctorum. **27** Nunc autem porte eius desolate sunt, quia defensores et custodes earum inclinati sunt ad cupiditatem. Muri eius depressi sunt et sine custodia, quia iam non curant animarum dampna, sed clerus et populus, qui sunt murus Dei, disperguntur ad faciendum utilitatem carnis. **28** Vasa diuina venduntur contemptibiliter, quia sacramenta Dei propter pecuniam et fauorem mundanum dispensantur. Altaria vero desolata sunt, quia, qui celebrat cum vasis, manus habet a caritate Dei vacuas et oculos

23 in carne loquor *cf.* §13. **24** Triticum *cf.* *Io.* 12,24-25. Rose ... effusione *cf.* *Apoc.* 7,13 *sq.*
25 Lilia ... confessores sunt *cf.* *Cant.* 5,13. Olim ... habitauit in ea iusticia et principes eius principes pacis. Nunc autem ... principes eius homicide. *Is.* 1,21 *sqq.*; *cf.* *Rev.* VI 26; *SA* 9:17. *KLOCKARS* (1966:77). **27** *cf.* *Revs.* III 10:4-6; VI 26:2 *sq.* *FOGELKVIST* (1993b:147 *sq.*). **28** sacramenta ... pecuniam ... dispensantur *cf.* *Rev.* III 29:16 (Regnat enim symonia).

esset] essent **Gh** ille locus **Y V** β₂ locus ille **P** π amorem] honorem **K** **24** Triti-
 cum] tertium **V** erat *supra lin. post* quod *add.* **P** erant *post* quod *lin. del.* **Y** vidisti *om.*
P *verbum post* vidisti *fortasse* animam *lin. del.* **Y** maceracionem] martiri facionem (?) **u**
 pauce *om.* **K** rubicundis **V**¹ rabricundi **Gh** effusionem **P**¹ **25** exemplis *ante* operi-
 bus *exp. et lin. del.* **x** sicut] quod **x** principes,₁] princeps **V** principes,₂] princeps **V**
 autem *om.* **V** scoream **K** storia **V** principes,₃] princeps **V** sunt *ante* homicide *exp.*
T^b **26** omnes *ante* tuos *eras.* **V** et,₁ *om.* **K** non *om.* **O** in] a **u x v** stela **T**^{b1} stola
A^b contexta **q**¹ filo nobilissimo **u x v** Terro **V** id est,₁] scilicet **K** sanguinem
q¹ **27** desolata **P**¹ custodes et defensores β₂ defensati *post* earum *add.* **V** inclinati
post cupiditatem *trp.* **V** et,₂ *om.* **T**^b iam *post* curant *trp.* **O** curantur **u** curabitur **x**
verbum supra animarum *add.* **Y** murus] muri **V O A**^{b1} faciendam **u x v** *in* utili-
 tatem *corr.* **T**^b **28** disperguntur *ante* dispensatur *lin. del.* **Y** sunt] fuerit **O** cum *post* qui
exp. **V** celebrat **P Y B O T**^b γ celebrant **V A**^b σ (*vide pag.* 77) habet **P Y B O T**^b **u x v q** hab-
 ent **V A**^{b2} (habita **A**^{b1}) σ *om.* **K** (*vide pag.* 77) a₁ *om.* **O**

ad offertorium, et licet vere Deum habeat inter manus, cor tamen vacuum est a Deo, quia mundanis vanitatibus est repletum. **29** Sanctum vero sanctorum, ubi olim summum consumebatur sacrificium, significat desiderium diuine fruicionis et visionis, de quo ascendere deberet caritas ad Deum et proximum et odor tocius continencie et virtutis. **30** Nunc autem sacrificium consumitur in atrio, id est in mundo, quia tota diuina caritas versa est ad incontinenciam et mundi vanitatem. Talis est Roma, corporaliter sicut vidisti, nam altaria plura desolata sunt, **31** offertorium expenditur in tabernis, offerentes vacant plus mundo quam Deo. Verumptamen scias, quod a tempore Petri humilis usque dum Bonifacius ascendit sedem superbie, innumera- biles anime ascenderunt in celum. **32** Adhuc tamen Roma non est sine amicis Dei, qui si haberent adiutorium, clamarent domino et ipse misereretur eisdem.”

Informacio Virginis ad sponsam de modo sciendi diligere et de quatuor ciuitatibus, in quibus quatuor caritates inueniuntur, et que istarum debet proprie caritas nuncupari et perfecta. Capitulum XXVIII.

1 Mater loquitur ad sponsam dicens: (A) “Numquid, filia, diligis me?” Respondit illa: “Doce me, domina, diligere, quia anima mea

28 cor tamen vacuum est a Deo SAHLIN (1993a:216 sqq.). **31** Bonifacius ascendit sedem superbie In 1302, Pope Boniface VIII (d. 1303) issued the Bull Unam Sanctam, in which he claimed both political and spiritual power for the Pope. For Birgitta’s relation to the Popes, JÖNSSON (1997:14).

1 filia, diligis me WESTMAN (1911:127 sq.).

a caritate] ad caritatem **K** vere *om.* **x v** Deum vere **T^b K u q σ** habeat **P Y B T^b K**
habeant **V O A^b q²** sic **q¹ σ** habet **u x v** (*vide pag. 55, 77*) **29** aliquid *post* sanctorum *eras.* **P**
consumabatur **K q F** consumebatur summum sacrificium **Gh** signat **x** ascendere]
ostendere **V** virtutum **x v** **30** consumitur *in marg.* **T^b** id est] ideo **v** caritas diuina **x¹**
continenciam **V u¹** corporaliter (*cf.* §1)] totaliter **x v** vidisti **B** plura] pulchra **K**
31 plus vacant **σ** in *ante* mundo *add.* **u** ascendit sedem ... ascenderunt in celum (*vide*
pag. 70) *in₂ om.* **u x v** **32** tamen] cum **O** Dei] meis **V** qui] quia **B** quod **O**
ipse *in marg.* **K** miseretur **q¹** etc *post* eisdem *add.* **u**

XXVIII: β π

R om. **F** sciendi] faciendi **Y¹ B O** *de₂ om.* **Gh** in quibus quatuor caritates inueniuntur
om. **V¹** istarum] istorum **V** debeat **T^b K q Gh** deberet **V** et₃ *om.* **P γ Gh** **I** dei *post*
Mater] *add.* **T^b** loquebatur **F** ad ... dicens *in marg.* **T^b** Numquid] numquam **B**

fedata est dileccione falsa, seducta veneno mortifero, pro quo non valet apprehendere dileccionem veram.” Et Mater: “Ego”, inquires, “docebo te. **2** Nam quatuor sunt ciuitates, in quibus quatuor inueniuntur caritates, si tamen omnes caritates nuncupari debent, quia non est proprie dicenda caritas, nisi ubi Deus et anima in vera virtutum unitate confederantur. **3** Prima igitur ciuitas est ciuitas probacionis, que est mundus, in quo ponitur homo, ut probetur, si diligit Deum an non, ut experiatur infirmitatem suam, ut acquirat sibi virtutes, quibus redeat ad gloriam, ut purgatus in terra gloriosius in celis coronetur. **4** In hac ciuitate inuenitur dileccio inordinata, cum diligitur caro plus quam anima, cum desideratur temporale feruencius quam spirituale, cum honoratur vicium et despicitur virtus, cum plus dulcessit peregrinacio quam patria, cum plus timetur et honoratur moriturus homunculus quam in eternum regnaturus Deus. **5** (B) Secunda ciuitas est ciuitas purgacionis, in qua abluuntur sordes anime. Placuit enim Deo talia loca ordinare, in quibus coronandus purgaretur, qui in libertate negligens insolescebat sed tamen cum timore. **6** In hac ciuitate inuenitur dileccio imperfecta, quia diligitur Deus ex spe soluende captiuitatis sed non ex feruore affectionis propter tedium et amaritudinem satisfaciende culpe. **7** Tercia ciuitas est ciuitas doloris, ubi est infernus. In hac inuenitur dileccio omnis malicie et immundicie, omnis inuidie et obduracionis. In hac quoque ciuitate regnat eciam Deus per ordinatam suam iusticiam, per mensuram suppliciorum debitam, per malicie refrenanciam, per libratam pro meritis omnium

3 mundus, in quo ponitur homo, ut probetur *cf. Rev. I 53:8 sq.; Ps. 138(139),23; Iac. 1,12. FOGEL-KVIST (1993a:134).*

est *om.* **F** et *ante* dileccione *add.* **K** meam *ante* veram *exp.* **u** Et *om.* **v** ego mater **v**
2 si ... caritates] si tamen omnes caritas *in marg.* **q** si] que **u x v** omnes] non omnes **u**
non omnis **x**² **v** non **x**¹ caritates nuncupari] nuncupari caritas **u** caritas nuncupari **T**^{b1}**K x v** (*vide*
pag. 55) debet **x** proprie *om.* **V** in caritas *corr.* **T**^b enitate **v** **3** igitur] ergo
u x v est ciuitas *om.* **V** que] quem **u** diligit **K** an] vel **K** ut₃] ac **v** acqui-
rant **P** acquiret **x** redeant **P** expurgatus **T**^{b1} purgatur **F**¹ gloriosus **u** coronetur in celis
u x v celo **B K** **4** desideretur σ (*vide pag. 56*) temporale] corporale **u x v** plus
ante feruencius *add.* **A**^b cum₅ *om.* **F** moriturus *om.* **V** homunculis **V** Deus *non po-*
test legi **V** **5** ciuitas₂ *om.* **F** anime sordes **u x v** purgetur **u** qui] que **O** negli-
gens *in marg.* **F** **6** dileccio] caritas **T**^b imperfecta dilectio **Gh** quia] qui **q**¹ ex₁] in
u x v **7** inferus **B** et₁ *om.* **v** hac quoque] hacque **u x** Deus] demon **x v** ver-
bum *ante* ordinatam *eras.* **A**^b inordinatam **u**¹(?) **x v** refrenacionem **q** omnium] ani-
mum **V**

equitatem. **8** Nam sicut alii dampnandorum peccant plus, alii minus, ita et pene et retribucionis condigne constituti sunt termini. Nam etsi omnes dampnandi includuntur tenebris, non tamen omnes uno eodemque modo. **9** Differunt enim tenebre a tenebris, horror ab horrore, ardor ab ardore. Ubique denique disponit Deus in iusticia et misericordia, eciam in inferno, ut aliter puniantur hii, qui peccauerunt ex industria, aliter qui ex infirmitate, aliter qui sola originalis peccati noxa tenebantur, quorum plaga, etsi in carencia diuine visionis et lucis electorum consistit, **10** misericordie tamen et gaudio per hoc appropinquant, quod ad horrorem suppliciorum non perueniunt, cum prauorum operum effectum non habebant. Alioquin, nisi Deus omnia disponderet in numero et mensura, diabolus numquam mensuram haberet in puniendo. **11** (C) Quarta ciuitas est ciuitas glorie. In hac est dileccio perfecta et caritas ordinata, qua nichil desideratur nisi Deus et propter Deum. Ut ergo ad istius ciuitatis perfeccionem peruenias, quadruplicem te oportet habere caritatem, scilicet ordinatam, mundam, veram et perfectam. **12** Ordinata vero caritas est, qua caro diligitur ad solam sustentacionem, mundus ad nullam superfluitatem, proximus propter Deum, amicus propter vite puritatem, inimicus propter remuneracionem. Munda vero caritas est, qua viciu[m] non diligitur cum virtute, qua consuetudo praua contempnitur, qua peccatum non leuigatur. **13** Vera autem est dileccio, quando Deus toto affectu et corde diligitur, quando honor et timor Dei precogitatur in omnibus actibus, quando ex fiducia bonorum operum minimum peccatum non committitur, quando sapienter moderat quis se ipsum ne ex nimio feruore deficiat, quando ex pusillanimitate et ignorancia temptacionum non declinatur ad peccatum. **14** Perfecta vero est

11 dileccio perfecta Ex. 34:8,15. FOGELKVIST (1993a:140 sq.).

8 in alii_{1,2} corr. **T^b** et₂ om. **A^b** retribuciones **O u x v** etsi] si et **B** in ante tenebris
 add. **B A^b** tenebis v eodem **K** **9** De ante Differunt exp. **V** enim in marg. **T^b** fir-
 mitate **P¹** ex ante sola add. **Gh** tenebantur noxa **P** quorum] quo **P²** in quo **P¹** **10**
 quod ad] et **P** quod] quam **V** horrorem **P** perueniant **u** in ante mensura add. **B**
 haberet] habet **B** **11** est, lin. del. **V** perfectio ante dileccio add. **P** oportet te **P T^b**
 γ **Gh** ordinatam scilicet **u x v** **12** qua₁] que **F¹** diligitur caro **q¹** dilitur **O** ul-
 lam (?) v cupiditatem ante puritatem exp. et lin. del. **x** in ante qua₃ add. **u** viciu[m] non
 diligitur cum v ante consuetudo exp. et lin. del. **q** **13** dileccio est **O** bonarum **V** mode-
 rat] videat **x v** quis om. **V** nimio] minimo v

caritas, quando nichil dulcessit homini sicut Deus. Hec in presenti inchoatur, sed in celo consumatur. Ergo dilige istam perfectam caritatem et veram, quia omnis, qui eam non habuerit, purgabitur, si tamen fidelis, si feruens, si paruulus, si renatus fuerit, alioquin transiet ad ciuitatem horroris. **15** Nam sicut unus est Deus, sic una est fides in Ecclesia Petri, unum baptisma, una glorie et remuneracionis perfeccio. Propterea, qui ad unum Deum peruenire desiderat, debet unam voluntatem et unam caritatem cum uno Deo habere. **16** Ideo miseri sunt illi, qui sic dicunt: ‘Sufficit, si ero in celo minimus. Nolo esse perfectus.’ O, insensata cogitacio! Quomodo erit ibi imperfectus, ubi sunt perfecti omnes, alii ex innocencia vite, alii ex innocencia puericie, alii ex purgacione, alii ex fide et bona voluntate?’

Laus sponse ad Virginem continens templi Salomonis similitudinem et deitatis unitatis cum humanitate veritatem inexplicabilem, et qualiter sacerdotum templa sunt vanitate depicta. Capitulum XXIX.

1 “Benedicta sis tu, Maria, Mater Dei, (A) templum Salomonis, cuius parietes fuerunt deaurate, cuius tectum prefulgens, cuius pavementum preciosissimis instructum lapidibus, cuius compositio tota refulgens, cuius interiora omnia redolencia et delectabilia ad intuentum. **2** Denique per omnem modum similis tu templo Salomonis, in quo verus Salomon spaciabatur et sedit, in quod induxit arcam

14 caritas ... in celo consumatur *cf. Mt. 11,11; 1 Cor. 13,10; Eph. 2,6; Phil. 3,20.*

1 Benedicta sis tu, Maria, Mater Dei *KLOCKARS (1966:66 [with n. 26],111,112 [with n. 39]). 1-9 Rev. I 42:1-9 (with app. hist.). 1 templum Salomonis ... (2) similis tu templo Salomonis 3 Reg. 5 sqq.*

14 caritas est **T^b u x v** sicut] nisi **x^l** Hec] hoc **K** inchoas **V** et ante si₂ *eras. V*
purgabitur *post* fuerit *exp. et lin. del. q* transeat **u x v** ciuitatem] caritatem **V 15**
gloria **P** desiderant **O** debent **O** unam₂] paruam **x 16** illi *om. u x v* alii ex
innocencia vite *om. P* vite *ante* puericie *lin. del. et exp. x* puericie **K²** puricie **K¹ q^l** (*vide pag.*
54) etc *post* voluntate *add. u*

XXIX: β π

R om. F templi] templa **V** et₁] eciam **u x** deitas **P** explicabilem **T^b** **1** deau-
rati **B (?) K x v σ** preciosissimis *in marg. F* structum **q F** stratum **K u x v Gh** refulgens
Y V β₂ effulgens **P π** (*vide pag. 47*) **2** tu] tum **V** templum **P** quo] qua **P T^b** (*vide pag.*
53) Salomon verus **T^b u^l x v q^l** induxit *om. V* archa **V**

glorie et candelabrum ad lucendum. **3** Sic tu, benedicta Virgo, templum es illius Salomonis, qui fecit inter Deum et hominem pacem, qui reconciliauit reos, qui vitam dedit mortuis et pauperes ab exactore liberauit. **4** Corpus quippe tuum et anima facta sunt deitatis templum, in quibus erat tectum diuine caritatis, sub quo Filius Dei egressus a Patre ad te gaudenter habitauit tecum. **5** Pauimentum vero templi fuit tua composita vita et exercitatio virtutum assidua. Nulla enim tibi defuit honestas, quia totum in te fuit stabile, totum humile, totum deuotum totumque perfectum. **6** Parietes vero templi fuerunt quadranguli, quia nullo perturbabaris obprobrio, de nullo superbiebas honore, nulla inquietabaris impaciencia nichilque nisi honorem et amorem Dei affectabas. **7** Picture vero templi tui fuerunt inflammatio continua Spiritus Sancti, qua in tantum eleuabatur anima tua, ut nulla esset virtus, que non amplior et perfeccior esset in te quam in aliqua alia creatura. **8** (B) Itaque in hoc templo tunc spaciabatur Deus, quando membris tuis infudit sue visitacionis dulcedinem. Requieuit vero, quando deitas sociabatur humanitati. Benedicta igitur sis tu, beatissima Virgo, in qua Deus magnus factus est puer paruus, antiquissimus dominus factus est pusillus filius, sempiternus Deus et creator inuisibilis factus est visibilis creatura. **9** Ideo, quia piissima et potentissima es domina, rogo te, respice in me et miserere mei. Mater enim Salomonis es, non illius, qui fuit filius David, sed eius, qui Pater est David et dominus Salomonis, qui edificabat templum illud mirificum, quod te veraciter prefigurabat. **10** Filius enim exaudiet

3 qui fecit inter Deum et hominem pacem ... liberauit *Eph. 2,1 sqq.; Col. 1,9 sqq.* ab exactore liberauit *cf. Is. 14,4 sqq.* **4** Corpus quippe tuum et anima facta sunt deitatis templum *Revs. 1 26:6-7 (with app. hist.; cf. 1 26:17);57:2; II 9:15 sqq.; 1 Cor. 3,16 sq.;6,19; 2 Cor. 6,16. KLOCKARS (1966:67).*

3 es] est **x** Salomonis illius **P T^b K u¹x v q σ** ab *om.* **O** **4** quippe] puipe **Gh** scilicet *ante* deitatis *add.* **V** Patre] te **O** te *supra lin.* **q** habitauit gaudenter **K** tecum] totum **x** **5** comp. tua **F¹ Gh** excitacio **A^{b1}** **6** templi] tecti **u x v** quadrangule **P T^b q** **F** quadrangulari **B** quia] qui a **Gh** perturbaberis **B** perturbaris **P q¹** superiebas **V** nichil **O** et amorem *supra lin.* **q** affectabaris **q¹** **7** fuerunt] sunt **x v** qua] qui **F¹** ut] et **P¹** quod **u x v** esset,] esse **q¹** virtus esset **B O** *in* que non *corr.* **q** **8** sociebatur **P¹ O v F** igitur] ergo **O u x v** tu *om.* **q** magus **V** est factus **v** **9** potentissima et piissima **F** fuit *om.* **x v** sed ... Daudid *om.* **P** est pater **u x v** edificat **Y¹** edificauit **β₂** Salomonis *post* templum *exp.* **q** illud] istud **u** quod] quam **P** **10** enim *om.* **O** exaudiat **x v**

Matrem et talem ac tantam Matrem. Impetra ergo, ut puer Salomon, qui fuit quasi dormiens in te, sit vigilans mecum, ut nullius peccati delectacio me pungat, sed contricio commissorum sit stabilis, amor mundi sit michi mortuus, paciencia perseuerans, penitencia fructuosa. **11** Non enim habeo aliquid virtutis pro me nisi verbum unum; hoc est ‘miserere, Maria’, quia templum meum contrarium omnino tuo est. Est enim tenebrosus viciis, lutosum ex luxuria, corruptum ex cupiditatis vermibus, instabile ex superbia, labile ex vanitate mundanorum.”

12 (C) Respondit Mater: “Benedictus sit Deus, qui cordi tuo hanc inspirauit proferre salutacionem, ut intelligeres, quanta in Deo sit bonitas quantaque dulcedo. Sed cur comparas me Salomoni et templo Salomonis, cum mater sim illius, cuius generacio non habet principium nec finem, et illius, qui legitur nec habuisse patrem nec matrem, hoc est Melchisedech? **13** Ipse enim describitur fuisse sacerdos et ad sacerdotes pertinet templum Dei, et ideo ego sum mater sacerdotis summi atque virgo. Vere dico tibi, quod utrumque sum, scilicet mater regis Salomonis et mater pacificantis sacerdotis. Nam Filius Dei, qui est et Filius meus, utrumque est sacerdos et rex regum.

14 Denique in templo meo induit se vestibus sacerdotalibus spiritualiter, in quibus obtulit sacrificium pro mundo. In ciuitate vero regali coronabatur corona regali sed aspera. Extra vero tamquam pugil fortissimus campum et pugnam detinebat. **15** (D) Nunc autem conqueri possum, quod oblitus et neglectus est idem filius meus a sacer-

10 amor mundi *Rev. I 6:2 (with app. hist.); cf. Revs. I 23:9; IV 43:1 sq.; VI 9:13.* **12** templo Salomonis *Rev. III 18:24; 19:16.* mater sim illius, cuius generacio non habet principium nec finem ... nec habuisse patrem nec matrem, hoc est Melchisedech *Hebr. 7,3; AMBR. Ep. I, 14:49 (Ep. extra coll.); AUG. De civ. XVI 22; De Fide III 11:87-89.* **13** Filius Dei ... utrumque est sacerdos et rex regum *Ps. 109(110),4; Hebr. 7,3.*

ac] et **u x v** fuerat **x** quasi *om.* **F** sit,] sic **P¹ v** pungat] purgat **V** commissio **u** commissi **x v** et *post* stabilis *add.* **Y** honor *ante* mundi *add.* **V** sit,] sic **P¹** et (?) *post* mortuus *add. (lin. versa)* **Y** perseueraris **K** **11** unum verbum **T^b** hoc] quod **u x v** contrario **P** omnino] animo **v** est tuo **B** cupiditatis] concupiscencie **K** **12** inspirauit hanc **V** salutacionem] saluacionem **q¹** sit in Deo **V** in *om.* **P** sit dei **P²** sit deo **P¹** comparasti me **u v** me comparasti me **x** Salomoni et *in marg.* **F** cum] cur **x** nec legitur **K u x v¹** (*vide pag. 55*) **13** enim *om.* **F** describitur] distabitur **P** ego *om.* **P** summi] sum **V** virgo] veri **u x v** quod *in marg.* **T^b om.** **u x v** utrumque,] utrum **u** scilicet mater **Y β₂ P γ F² Gh** mater **V T^b F¹** (*cf. app. crit. ad Rev. III 8:6,16, vide pag. 67*) rex] res **P** **14** coronabitur **V** **15** in oblitus et *corr.* **T^b** est *post* oblitus *add.* **P** meus *om.* **P B**

dotibus et regibus. Reges quippe gloriantur de palaciis suis, de exercitu suo et de processu et honore mundi. Sacerdotes vero superbiunt de bonis et possessionibus temporalibus animarum. **16** Nam sicut dixisti templum depictum auro, sic templa sacerdotum depicta sunt vanitate et curiositate mundi. Regnat enim symonia in capite. Arca testamenti sublata est, lucerne virtutum extincte, mensa deuocionis desolata.”

17 Respondit sponsa: “O Mater misericordie, miserere eis et roga pro illis.” Cui Mater: “Ab inicio sic Deus dilexit suos, ut non solum in precibus suis exaudiantur ipsi pro se, sed et alii propter eos sciant petitionis effectum. **18** Propterea, ut preces exaudiantur pro aliis, duo sunt necessaria, voluntas scilicet deserendi peccatum et voluntas proficiendi in bono. Omnis enim, qui hec duo habuerit, illi proficient preces mee.”

Verba sancte Agnetis ad sponsam de dilectione habenda ab ipsa sponsa ad Virginem sub floris figura, et qualiter Virgo gloriosa loquens declarat immensam et eternam pietatem diuinam contra nostram impietatem et ingratitude, et quomodo amici Dei non debent inquietari in tribulationibus. Capitulum XXX.

1 Beata Agnes loquitur sponse dicens: (A) “Filia, dilige matrem misericordie. Ipsa enim similis est flori siue cirpo, cuius figura consimilis est gladio. Qui quidem flos habet duas extremitates acutissimas et cuspidem gracilem. Altitudine vero et latitudine super alios flores

15 honore mundi *cf. III 8:9;15:4.* **16** Regnat enim symonia *cf. Rev. III 27:28. FOGELKVIST (1993a:74 sq.).*

1 similis est flori siue cirpo *Rev. I 51:2 (with app. hist.).*

Sacerdotes] sacerdos **P** superbiuit **P** et possessionibus temporalibus *in marg.* **T^b**
 et₅ *om.* **u x v** temporalibus *om.* **u x v** **16** meum *post* templum *add.* **u x v** enim]
 igitur **B** capite] clero **u x v** ablata **u x v** **17** *in* sponsa *corr.* **T^b** eis] meis **P²** mei **P¹**
 ipsis *ante* illis (illis] -s *supra lin.*) *lin del. et exp.* **V** ut] et **P** exaudiatur **V** pro se *in*
marg. **T^b** *om.* **u x v** affectum **T^b** **x v F** **18** et *ante* voluntas₁ *add.* **O** scilicet voluntas **T^b**
 habuerint (?) **q**

XXX: β π

R *om.* **F** ipso sponso **Gh** in mensam **V** nostra **Gh** misericordiam **u** et₃ *om.* **V**
1 dicens sponse **V** ad sponsam dicens *in marg.* **T^b** est similis **u x v F** altitudine **K u x v**
q² σ altitudinem β **T^b** (?) **q¹** (*vide pag. 43 sq.*) latitudine γ σ latitudinem β **T^b** (*vide pag. 43 sq.*)

se extendit. **2** Sic Maria flos est florum, flos, qui creuit in valle et super omnes montes se dilatauit. Flos, inquam, qui nutriebatur in Nazareth et in Lybanum, se diffundebat. Hic flos super omnia habuit altitudinem, quia benedicta regina celi super omnem creaturam excedit dignitate et potestate. **3** Habuit et ipsa Maria duas acies siue extremitates acutissimas, tribulacionem scilicet cordis in passione Filii et constanciam certaminis contra incursiones dyaboli, quia numquam peccato consenciebat. **4** Verum enim prophetabat senex ille, qui dicebat: ‘Tuam’, inquam, ‘animam pertransibit gladius.’ Nam quasi tot ictus gladii sustinuit spiritualiter, quot in filio suo vulnera et plagas preuidebat et videbat. Habuit insuper Maria latitudinem excellentem, hoc est misericordiam. **5** Nam sic pia et misericors est et fuit, quod maluit omnes tribulaciones sufferre quam quod anime non redimerentur. Nunc autem coniuncta Filio non obliuiscitur innate bonitatis sue, sed ad omnes extendit misericordiam suam, eciam ad pessimos. Ut sicut sole illuminantur et inflammantur celestia et terrestria, sic ex dulcedine Marie nullus est, qui non per eam, si petitur, sentiat pietatem. **6** (B) Habuit et Maria cuspidem gracilem, hoc est humilitatem. Per hanc enim placuit angelo respondens se esse ancillam, que eligebatur in dominam. Per hanc concepit Filium Dei, quia noluit placere superbis. **7** Per hanc ascendit ad summum thronum, quia nichil dilexit nisi ipsum Deum. Procede igitur, canalis, et saluta Matrem misericordie, quia iam venit!”

2 Maria flos est florum *Rev. I 51; Cant. 2. Cf. Speculum Virginum, p. 12, l. 12 sq.*: Thätta blomster är blomster aff blomstre, Christus jomfru. **3** duas acies siue extremitates acutissimas *cf. IV 74:68 sqq. tribulacionem scilicet cordis in passione Filii SAHLIN (1993a:213 sqq.)*. **4** senex *Simeon, Rev. VII 2. Tuam animam pertransibit gladius Rev. VI 57:4; SA 17:18; Lc. 2,35. tot ictus gladii sustinuit SAHLIN (1993a:217)*. **5** extendit misericordiam suam, eciam ad pessimos *FOGELKVIST (1993a:105)*. **6** Maria ... humilitatem *Rev. I 29:1 (with app. hist.)*. **7** canalis *see §9, where Birgitta is greeted by the words, ‘Come thou, channel.’ Virgin Mary is the channel of the Holy Ghost just as Birgitta is the channel of the Virgin Mary to the world. For the word ‘canalis’, see my Glossary.*

2 est] et **Gh** et ante florum *add. u x v* et₁ om. **V** in Nazareth] inuacaret **P** diffundebatur **V** omnem] omnes **V**¹ dignitatem **V**¹ **3** et₁] eciam β₂ (*vide pag. 48*) et₂ supra lin. **T**^b nonquam **A**^b **4** qui dicebat om. **V** deus post quasi *add. F* tot] toto **V**¹ tot ictus] totius **P** quot] quod **P V** suo om. **O** plagat **O** insuper] igitur **P** hoc est misericordiam supra lin. **V** **5** fuit et est **u x v σ** anime] alie **u** omnino **P** non anime **x**¹ et inflammantur om. **K** non₃ in marg. **O** sentit **u x v** **6** et] eciam β₂ **u** cupidem **v** cupide **x** hoc est] id est **u x v** humilitatem] humanitatem **V** enim post hanc₂ *add. F* quia om. **V** **7** nisi] nec **V** igitur] ergo **O u x v** canalis (§9)] carnalis **v** salutatur **P**

8 Tunc apparens Maria respondit: “Dixisti, Agnes, substantium, adde et adiectium!” Cui Agnes: “Si dixero ‘pulcherrima’ vel ‘virtuosissima’, hoc nulli de iure competit nisi tibi, que es mater salutis omnium.” Et respondit Mater Dei beate Agneti: “Dixisti verum, quia ego potencior sum omnium, ideo addam adiectium et substantium, canalis scilicet Spiritus Sancti. **9** Sed veni, canalis, et audi me! Tu doles ex eo, quod prouerbum istud vertitur inter homines: ‘Viuamus secundum libitum nostrum, quia Deus faciliter placatur. Utamur mundo et honore eius, dum possumus, quia propter hominem factus est mundus.’ **10** Vere, filia, talis locutio non procedit de caritate Dei nec tendit aut trahit ad caritatem Dei. Verumptamen Deus propter hec non adhuc obliuiscitur caritatis sue, sed omni hora pro ingratitude hominum ostendit pietatem suam. **11** (C) Nam ipse similis est fabro fabricanti opus solemne, qui quandoque ignescit ferrum, quandoque infrigidat. Sic Deus faber optimus, qui mundum fecit ex nichilo, ostendit suam caritatem Ade et posteris eius. **12** Sed refriguerunt in tantum homines, quod Deum quasi pro nichilo reputantes enormia plurima commiserunt. Propterea ostensa misericordia et amonitione benigna precedente ostendit Deus iusticiam per diluuium. **13** Post vero diluuium posuit Deus fedus suum cum Abraam et ostendit illi

8 cf. *Rev. III 27:8.* pulcherrima cf. *SCHMIDTKE (1971:257 sqq., art. XXXVI).* ideo ... (9) audi me cf. *BU I 394:3-7:* Thy skal iak til læggia adiectium ok substantium som är thes hælgha anda j lätis kar som kallas trumba ok kom nu thu ther iak liknar vidh thessa trumbona ok hör mig. canalis scilicet Spiritus Sancti *BÖRRESEN (1991:25).* **9** Viuamus secundum libitum nostrum, quia Deus faciliter placatur cf. *Rev. IV 99:6 sq.:* Percuciant quoque me quasi in dentes, quando auditis preceptis meis et passione mea dicunt: ‘Faciamus in presenti quidquid delectat nos, et nichilominus habebimus celestia. (§7) Si enim perdere aut in eternum punire nos vellet Deus, non nos creasset et non redemisset nos tam amare.’ Ideo scient iusticiam meam, quia sicut nec minimum bonum erit irremuneratum, sic nec minimum malum erit impunitum. **11** fabro fabricanti ... ignescit ferrum ... infrigidat *For Birgitta’s metaphors of technique, see III 2:15 (with app. hist.).* **12** ostendit Deus iusticiam per diluuium *Gen. 6,13 sqq.* **13** posuit Deus fedus suum cum Abraam *Revs. I 41:2; II 17:35; SA 3:1-5; 8:6-19; 9:3; Gen. 7,1 sqq. KLOCKARS (1966:70 with n. 2).*

8 et₁ om. x v dixero] dixeris x pulcherrimam v σ vel om. V virtuosissimam B σ virtuosa u x v de iure nulli Y V de iure om. F es] est V¹ mater es u x v Et Mater Dei respondit σ sum potencior T^b K u x q σ omnium₂] omnibus u x v ego ante addam add. u x v et ante canalis add. P **9** possimis q **10** vera P¹ de ... tendit om. V Dei₂ deus (?) A^{b1} Deus om. u propter hec deus O propter hoc deus K deus propter hec σ adhuc in marg. Y om. P β₂ **11** simili V¹ est similis K F ignescit ante ferrum exp. v ferrum ignescit v suam caritatem β caritatem suam π **12** refrigescebant u x v (?) T^{b1} Deum] dominum P in dominum alt. Y benigna in marg. T^b in precedente corr. T^b **13** diluuium vero u x v fedus in marg. F² pactum F¹

signa dileccionis sue et eduxit progeniem eius in signis et mirabilibus maximis. Dedit populo legem de ore proprio et verba sua et precepta signis euidentissimis confirmauit. **14** Cumque iterum procedente tempore frigeret populus et in tantam vesaniam prorumperet, quod eciam idola coleret, pius Deus volens iterum ignire frigidus misit mundo filium proprium, qui veram viam ad celum docuit et humilitatem veram imitandam demonstraui. **15** Nunc autem a multis nimium oblitus et neglectus est, sed tamen adhuc ostendit et exhibet verba misericordie sue. Non autem omnia perficientur simul magis nunc quam prius. Nam antequam veniret diluuium, prius ammoneretur et expectabatur populus ad penitentiam. **16** Sic et Israel antequam terram promissionis ingrederetur, prius probatus est et ad tempus protracta est promissio. Bene quippe valuisset Deus eduxisse populum in xl diebus et non protraxisse ad xl annos, sed iusticia Dei exigebat, ut ingratitude populi ostenderetur et misericordia Dei manifestaretur populusque futurus tanto magis humiliaretur. **17** (D) Nunc autem, si quis cogitare vellet, cur sic Deus afflixit populum suum aut cur pena aliqua debet esse eterna, cum vita ad peccandum non possit esse eterna, magna esset audacia, sicut et ille audax est, qui cogitatione et ratione intelligere et comprehendere nititur, quomodo Deus est eternus. **18** Denique Deus eternus et incomprehensibilis est et in eo eterna iusticia et retribucio est misericordiaque inexcogitabilis; alioquin nisi Deus ostendisset iusticiam suam in primis angelis, quo-

16 Israel ... terram promissionis ingrederetur *Exod. 12:31 sqq.; 19:1 sqq.; 20:1 sqq.* Bene quippe valuisset Deus eduxisse populum in xl diebus et non protraxisse ad xl annos *cf. Rev. 1 53:8; Deut. 8, 2 sqq.* **17** cur pena aliqua debet esse eterna *cf. Deut. 25,2.* **18** iusticia ... inexcogitabilis *cf. Rev. 1 56:6 (with app. hist.).*

sue et *om.* **u x v** et₂ *om.* **O** pro *ante* populo *add.* **V** sua *etiam post* precepta *add.* **u x v**
14 prodente **O**¹ ignire *in marg.* **q** per *ante* filium *add.* **P** *lin. del.* **Y** humilitatem *in*
marg. **V** viam *ante* imitandam *lin. del.* **V** **15** oblitus et *in marg.* **T**^b adhuc ostendit] ad
hunc ostendit **V** et *ante* magis *add.* **x v** nunc quam] nunquam **v** venit **u x v** am-
mouebatur **P**¹ **16** Sic] sed β_2 (*vide pag. 48*) ingrederetur *ante* terram *trp.* **u x v** tempus
P² tempore **P**¹ pertracta est **F** ad₂ *om.* **V** sed ... ostenderetur *post* humiliaretur *trp.* **T**^b
exhibebat **u** ingratitude] magnitudo **u** et *ante* populusque *add.* **Y** **17** quis] aliquis
u x v deus sic **F** affligeret **T**^b affligeret $\gamma\sigma$ deberet **K** posset **F** magnarum **q**
verbum post sicut *exp. et lin. del.* **v** et₁ *in marg.* **Y** *supra lin.* **T**^b *om.* **P** β_2 est audax **T**^b
et₂] vel **u x v** ratione] oracione **x**¹ intelligeret **V**¹ intelligeres **q**² et comprehende-
re *supra lin.* **q** *lin. del.* **Y** *exp.* **T**^b *om.* **V** et₃] vel **u x v** niteretur **T**^b **18** Denique *in marg.*
V Deus₁ *om.* **Y** **V** eternus *in marg.* **V** et₂ *om.* **O** *verbum et -que post* iusticia *in*
marg. lin. del. **x** misericordiaque] misericordia quoque **V** deus nisi **K**

modo sciretur iusticia eius, qui omnia iudicat in equitate? **19** Et nisi fecisset iterum misericordiam suam cum homine creando eum et liberando in infinitis signis, quomodo tanta bonitas eius sciretur et caritas eius tam immensa et tam perfecta? Igitur quia sempiternus est Deus, sempiterna est in eo iusticia, in qua non est addicio nec diminutio, **20** sicut in homine, qui precogitat opus suum facere tali modo et tali die. Deus vero, cum facit iusticiam suam vel misericordiam, perficiendo manifestat eam, quia ab eterno presencia, preterita et futura sunt apud illum. **21** Propterea amici Dei pacienter debent stare in amore Dei et non inquietari, quamvis viderint mundiales prosperari, quia Deus est sicut optima lotrix, que pannum immundum ponens inter procellas, ut ex mocione aque fiat purior et candidior, diligenter cauet iactus undarum, ne submergatur pannus. **22** Sic Deus ponit in presenti amicos suos inter procellas paupertatis et tribulacionis, quibus ad eternam vitam purgantur custodiens eos diligenter, ne vel nimia tristitia vel tribulacione intolerabili demergantur.”

Verba Christi ad sponsam optimum exemplum de medico et rege ponencia, et qualiter Christus per talem medicum designatur, et quomodo frequenter saluantur dampnandi secundum homines et dampnantur saluandi secundum homines vel mundum. Capitulum XXXI.

1 Filius loquitur ad sponsam dicens: (A) “Medicus venit in regionem longinquam et ignotam, in qua rex non regebat, sed regebatur, quia

Rev. III 31 = VIII 24. For the OS versions of this revelation, Excursus A, p. 233 sq.

R rege see my Chapters 1.2.3, p. 29 and 1.3, p. 40. **1** Medicus §13. Medicus ... rex STEFFEN (1909:41-43,285-287).

quomodo *lin. del.* v scietur **V** **19** liberando] laborando **V** quomodo] quoniam **B**
 bonitas] benignitas **K u x v** (*vide pag. 55*) tam₁ *om.* **O** Igitur] nunc autem **u x v**
 in eo est σ nec *supra lin.* **F**² seu **F**¹ vel **K** **20** tali modo] taliter **u** tali₂ *om.* **u x v**
 perficiendo ... eam *om.* **V** quia] qua **u**² **x v** quam **u**¹ **21** Dei₂ *supra lin.* **q** propera-
 ri **V** sicut] quasi **u x v** ponit **P** iactus (*cf. Rev. III 5:2*) β **T**^b ictus γ σ **22** ponit
post presenti trp. **O** purgantur **u x v**

XXXI: β **K**² (*om.* **K**¹) **T**^b **u x v Gh**

solum (R) Verba Christi ... (§1) regebatur **q**; (R) Verba Christi ... (§1) habebat **F**

R om. **F** et₁ *supra lin.* **q** de *post* et₁ *add.* **Y V B O** rege ponencia] regis potentia **V**
 et₁ ... homines *om.* **A**^b dampnantur] dampnatur **O om.** v etiam *post saluandi add.* **T**^b
1 Filius ... dicens *in marg.* **F** dei *post Filius add.* **K q σ** *in marg.* **T**^b loquebatur **u x**
 ad ... dicens *in marg.* **T**^b dicens *om.* β₁ deus *ante rex add.* **V** rex] res **P**¹ quia
 ... (§19) egrediebatur *om. et* etc Libro ad reges xxiii *post* regebatur *add.* **q**

cor habebat leporinum. Et ideo sedens in throno quasi coronatus asinus apparebat. **2** Populus vero suus vacabat commessacionibus et honestatis equitatisque oblitus omnes de futuris bonis consulentes odiebat. Cumque medicus se presentaret regi et de terra voluptatis se esse diceret causaque cognicionis infirmitatum hominum se affirmaret venisse, rex admiratus hominem et loquelam eius respondit: **3** 'Ego habeo duos in carcere cras decollandos. Alter eorum respirare vix potest, alius vero robustior et corpulencior est quam cum carcerem ingrederetur. Ingredere igitur ad eos et contemplare vultus eorum, quis eorum melioris sit complexionis.' **4** Cumque ingressus fuisset medicus et vidisset eos, dixit regi: 'Homo, quem robustum dicis, simillimus mortuo est nec viuere poterit. De alio vero spes est bona.' Cui rex: 'Unde', inquit, 'nosti hec?' **5** Et medicus: 'Quia', inquit 'alius impletus est humoribus et vento nociuo nec curari poterit. Alter vero exinanitus faciliter mediante lenitate aeris poterit sanari.' Tunc ait rex: 'Conuocabo nobiliores meos et sapientes, ut visa sapientia et industria tua gloriosus appareas in oculis eorum.' **6** (B) Cui medicus: 'Nequaquam', inquit, 'hoc facito. Scis enim populum tuum inuidum esse glorie, et quem non poterit opere, persequitur et deprauat verbo. Sed expecta, et ostendam tibi soli in conclauis sapienci-

3 duos *Nothing further is known of these two men, the one, who had made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and the other, who was a Cistercian monk. See Rev. I 32:19 sq. (Primus fuit nobilis et cantor superbus, qui, sine licencia pape Ierosolimam profectus, arreptus est a diabolo ... Secundus demoniacus eiusdem capituli fuit monachus ordinis Cisterciensis, quem diabolus tantum vexabat, quod vix a quatuor teneri potuit. Cuius lingua extracta videbatur quasi bouis, cuius vincula manuum inuisibiliter confringebatur. Iste per dominam Birgittam post mensem et duos dies per verba sancti Spiritus saluatus est.); IV 115:1.*

etc Require *post* leporinum *add.* **K¹** *et post finem tocius huius libri add. et postea folio 250^r-250^v totam reuelacionem XXXI scripsit* **K²** leporinum ... (§19) egrediebatur *om.* **F** coronatus] ornatus **u x v** **2** equitatisque] equitas quia **B** consolentes **V** odiebant **V** voluptatis] voluntatis **V** est *post* admiratus *exp.* **O** hominem] de homine **K² Gh** et loquelam] de loquela **K² Gh** ad loquelam **u x v** **3** homines *post* duos *add.* **K² Gh** et *ante* Alter *add.* **K² Gh** vix respirare **V T^b K² u x v Gh** in est *corr.* **Y** nunc *post* est *add.* **K² Gh** carcerem ingressus est **K²** in carcerem ingressus est **Gh** Ingredere] ingrederis **u²** igitur] ergo **B** quis] qui **x v** melioris] melius **B** esset *post* sit *add.* **u** complexionis sit **K² Gh** **4** Quem homo **Y** quem hominem **V** dicis] dicitis **P Y T^b K² u x v Gh** poterint **P¹** bona est **K² Gh** **5** alius inquit **K² Gh** est *om.* **u x** curare **P** facilius **P** mediante] modi^{ce} **x** leuitate **V** poterit (potest **K²**) sanari *post* faciliter *trp.* **K² Gh** Et *ante* Tunc *add.* **K² Gh** meos *etiam post* sapientes *add.* **u** sapientes] sapienciores **x v** glorioxius **V¹** glorioxos **V²** appareas *supra lin.* **V** **6** respondit *ante* medicus *add.* **K² Gh** quem] que **v** et *ante* persequitur *add.* **x** in persequitur *corr.* **u** et *post* persequitur *lin. del.* **u** deprauat] dampnat **O** dampnat **u²** dampno **u¹ x v** et *ante* verbo *add. lin. del.* **u x v**

am meam, sic enim instructus sum et doctus sapienciam meam plurimam habere in secreto et modicam in aperto. **7** Nec quero gloriam in tenebris tuis, cum in luce patrie mee glorior. Sed nec tempus sanitatis adhuc est, donec ventus australis afflauerit et sol in meridie apparebit.’ Cui rex: ‘Quomodo possent ista fieri in terra mea? **8** In ea enim sol rarissime oritur, quia extra climata sumus et ventus aquilonaris semper dominatur nobis. Sed quid michi sapientia tua prodest et tanta mora sanitatis? Video te satis verbis abundare.’ **9** Respondit medicus: ‘Sapientis est non esse subitum sed, ne tibi suspectus et ingratus appaream, da michi istos duos homines in potestate et ducam eos ad fines regni tui, ubi aer est competencior, et tunc videbis, quantum opera quantumue valebunt verba.’ **10** Cui rex: ‘Alcioribus’, inquit, ‘et utilioribus occupati sumus. Quid nos distrahis? Aut quid confert nobis magisterium tuum? In presentibus enim bonis delectamur, que videmus et possidemus, ad futura autem et incerta non aspiramus. **11** Verumptamen suscipe homines illos, ut petis, et si ostenderit in eis aliquid magnificum et dignum admiracione, predicabimus te et predicari faciemus gloriosum.’ **12** Susceptis igitur hominibus illis et ad temperiem aeris deportatis alius transiit ad mortem; alius vero blandimento aeris refocillatus reuixit.

13 (C) Medicus ille ego sum, qui mederi cupiens hominibus verba mea misi mundo. Quamuis autem infirmitates multorum vidi, duos

13 Medicus ille ego sum *Revs. IV 90,92; V 3; VI 48; Ex. 48:10* (Item dixit prior, quod post hec audiuit a domina Birgitta, quod Christus dixit ei in alia reuelacione hec verba: “Ego percussi eum, quia nolebat obedire, et postea sanauit eum, quia ego sum medicus ille, qui sanauit Tobiam et regem Israhel ...”). *AMBR. Ep. I, 14:46 sq. (Ep. extra coll.); BERN. Serm. 40; cf. Mt. 9,12.*

enim₂ in marg. **T^b** scilicet ante sapienciam₂ add. **K² Gh** in₂ supra lin. **T^b** se ante secreto exp. **V** et₅ om. **T^b u x v** modicum **u** habere ante in₃ exp. **V** **7** patrie] proxime **x** glorior **T^b** est adhuc **K² Gh** ventus lin. del. **A^b** tempus **P** astralis **O** ait post rex add. β_2 possunt **P B K² u x v** hec post possent exp. **O** fieri ista **O K² Gh** **8** In ea enim] eciam ea enim **V** cum in ea **u x v** enim post Video add. **K² Gh** verbis satis **V** habundare verbis **T^b** **9** est₁ om. **K²** sed] et **O** et₁] aut **Gh** homines post michi trp. **u x v** potestatem **v** eos] illos **B** verba valebunt **u x v** **10** et₁ om. **x v** utilioribus] utilitatibus **x v** detrahis **O v** magisterium] misterium **O** enim in marg. **T^b** om. **K² u x v** autem in marg. **T^b** autem et incerta] autem incerta **P** autem et ad incerta **B** et incerta **u x v** vero incerta **K² Gh** **11** aliquid **Y Gh** te om. **u x v** faciamus ex faciemus alt. **K²** **12** a medico post igitur add. **K² Gh** et lin. del. **K²** om. **x v** temperiem] temporalem **P** alius,] aliud **P** transit **V** transiuit β_2 ad₂] in **u x v** vero in marg. **T^b** de **u x v** reuixit] reuiuiscit **P T^b** (vide pag. 53, n. 84) **13** medere **K²** nisi post misi exp. **V** in mundo **P Y V O T^b** in mundum **B A^b** per te post mundo add. **K² Gh**

tamen ostendi tibi, in quibus et iusticiam et misericordiam poteris admirari. **14** Unum enim ostendi tibi, quem dyabolus possedit occulte sed eternaliter puniendum. Cuius tamen opera hominibus videbantur et laudabantur tamquam iusta. Alterum vero ostendi, cui aperte dominabatur dyabolus, sed sanandum dixi tempore suo, licet non hominibus aperte, ut tu credebas. **15** Fuit enim iusticia diuina. Ut sicut spiritus malignus paulatiue in eum dominari ceperat, sic eadem dictabat iusticia, ut paulatim egrederetur, sicut et egressus est, donec anima carne soluta peruenit cum ea dyabolus ad iudicium. Cui dixit iudex: 'Tu purgasti eam et cribrasti quasi triticum. **16** Nunc pertinet ad me pro confessione sua duplici corona coronare eam. Recede igitur ab ea, quam tanto purgasti tempore' et 'Veni, o felix anima, et vide sensibus spiritualibus gloriam meam et iocunditatem meam!' **17** Ad alteram vero animam dixit: 'Quia fides vera non fuit in te et tamen quasi fidelis gloriabaris et laudabaris et quia opera iustorum perfecta non sunt inuenta in te, propterea merces illa fidelium non erit in te. Tu quoque in vita tua quesuisti, cur volui mori pro te et cur humiliavi me tantum pro te.' **18** Ideo respondeo tibi nunc, quod fides Ecclesie sancte vera est, que sursum trahit animas, passioque mea et sanguis introducit eas in celum. Ideo infidelitas tua et amor tuus vanus depriment te ad nichilum et nichil eris respectu spiritualium eternorum. **19** Quod vero dyabolus non egrediebatur videntibus cunctis de homine illo, respondeo: 'Mundus iste est quasi vile tugu-

14 quem dyabolus possedit *Revs. I 32:19; IV 115:1.* **15-19** cf. *Ex. 51:28-32.* **18** sanguis introducit eas in celum *Prol. Math. 34; Revs. III 23:3;26:19; IV 48:2; VII 11:4.*

tibi *om.* **O** et₁ *om.* **V** meam *post* misericordiam *add.* **K² Gh** poteris **V** β₂
14 enim *om.* **V** tibi ostendi **v** dyabolus ... opera *om.* **v** Cuius] cui **B** tamen]
 vero **K² Gh** laudebatur **O¹** et *ante* iusta *add.* **x v** eciam *add.* **u** vero *om.* **V** tibi *ante*
 cui *add.* **V v** aperte cui (cui *supra* lin.) **u** sed₂] secundum **u x v** **15** Fuit enim] Nam
 fuit **K² Gh** ceperit **u** cepit **x v** paulatim egrederetur, sicut et egressus **T^{b3}** paulatiue egrederetur
T^{b2} paulatiue grederetur **T^{b1}** egressus (*cf.* §19 egrediebatur, *vide Excursum A, pag. 233 sq.*)
 soluta carne **V** **16** Nunc] non **V** autem *post* Nunc *add.* **K² Gh** igitur] ergo **O** tempore
 purgasti **K² Gh** ait ad animam *ante* Veni *add.* **K² Gh** et vide *om.* **u x v**
 ad *ante* gloriam *add.* **u** meam₂ *om.* **u x v** **17** animam *om.* **V** gloriabilis **P**
 laudabilis **P** perfecta iustorum **A^{b1}** perfecta *in marg.* **V** illa *om.* **x v** quoque]
 vero **u x v** cur₂ *om.* **K² Gh** me *om.* **V** **K² Gh** pro te tantum **K² Gh** **18** sancte *om.*
u x v que] et **B** est *ante* trahit *eras.* **V** passioque] Et passio **K² Gh** meus *post*
 sanguis *add.* **K² Gh** introducet **u x v** ad nichilum *om.* **u x v** **19** Quod₁] quia **u x v**
 homine illo] homine possesso **u x v** est *om.* **P**

rium respectu tabernaculi, quod inhabitat Deus populusque Deum exasperans. Ideo paulatiue, sicut ingrediebatur, egrediebatur.’ ”

Verba Virginis ad sponsam sub figura ponencia, qualiter Deus Pater ipsam inter ceteros sanctos elegit in matrem et in portum salutis. Capitulum XXXII.

1 Mater loquitur ad sponsam dicens: “Quidam querens lapides reperit magnetem, quem eleuans manu propria custodiuit in thesauro suo, et per eum deduxit nauem ad portum tutum. **2** Sic Filius meus multos querens lapides sanctorum me specialiter elegit in matrem sibi, ut per me homines reducerentur ad portum celi. **3** Sicut ergo magnes attrahit sibi ferrum, sic ego dura corda attraho Deo. Ideo turbari non debes, si quandoque cor tuum induratur, quia hoc est ad maiorem coronam.”

R matrem et in portum salutis *For the role of the Virgin Mary as redeemer and intermediary of grace, Rev. I 35; 50.* **3** magnes attrahit sibi ferrum *Rev. I 3:7 (with app. hist.); Ex. 91:2. This picture of a magnet as a symbol of the love of Christ, which attracts the souls may be taken from SUSO, Horologium aeternae sapientiae. KLOCKARS (1966:232); GÖTLIND (1990:151 sq., 1993:173 sqq.). For Birgitta's metaphors of technique, see also III 2:15 (with app. hist.). dura corda Rev. IV 76:29; 101:5. maiorem coronam KLOCKARS (1966:172 with n. 26).*

Deum] domini **O** exasperans Deum **u x v** adhuc ante Deum *add. u x v* Ideo *om. u x v* paulatiue ... egrediebatur] ingrediebatur paulatim sicut egrediebatur (egredietur **u**) etc (etc *om. u v*) **u x v** egrediebatur] ita egredietur **K² Gh**

XXXII: β π

R om. F Pater *om. P A^b T^b (vide pag. 53)* in₂ supra lin. **q** portum] potum **q¹** etc post salutis *add. u* **1** loquebatur **P Y¹** ad ... dicens in marg. **T^b** dicens ante ad, *trp. V* Quidam --- (§3) coronam (vide pag. 54) Quidam ... magnetem] Miraris, cur cor tuum quandoque est multum durum. Hoc est ut intelligas misericordiam dei et eam queras omni hora. Quidam vir ita querens optimos lapides repperit magnatem **u x v** in querens *corr. T^b* lapidem **P¹** magnatem **P V² T^b q² F** magnantem **V¹** magnatam **q¹** eleuans *om. V* in manu propria *corr. T^b* proprio **V** et supra lin. **q** in nauem ad *corr. T^b* **2** querens multos **u x v** spiritualiter **T^b** eligit (?) **q²** sibi ante in *trp. u x v* reduceretur **O** reducerentur ... celi] quasi naues in fluctibus temptationum vagantes ad portum reducantur celi **u x v** **3** Sicut ergo] Ergo sicut **F¹ Gh** sic] sicut (?) **q¹** ego] ergo **V** dura corda attraho Deo] attraho deo (Deo) michi **u x v** dura corda **u x v Gh** [(que querunt filium meum toto corde. Ergo cum induratur cor tuum rogo (roga **u**) filium meum humili corde, ut saluat (soluat **u**) misericordia sua (etc post sua *add. u*) post corda *add. u x v*] Ideo ... coronam *om. u x v*

Verba Filii ad sponsam, et quomodo per duorum hominum exemplum ostendit se iudicare secundum interiora et non secundum exteriora.

Capitulum XXXIII.

1 Filius Dei loquitur sponse: “Miraris de duobus, unus qui erat quasi lapis quadratus, alius peregrinus Iherosolimitanus. Sed neuter peruenit ad id, quod tu sperabas. Primus itaque, ad quem fuisti missa, fuit lapis quadratus firmus in conceptibus suis sed tamen quasi Thomas pie dubitans. **2** Ideo quia nondum erat tempus, quo complete sunt malicie, probauit vinum, sed non bibit. De secundo dixi, quod Iherosolimitanus esset comes itineris. Hoc ideo factum est, ut quem fama iustum et sanctum dixerat, sciretis statum suum. **3** Nam ipse est religiosus habitu et professione monachus sed moribus apostata, dignitate sacerdos sed seruus peccati, peregrinus fama sed intencione girouagus, Iherosolimitanus opinione sed magis Babilonicus. Insuper et contra obedienciam et apostolica statuta est egressus. **4** Totusque infectus est heresi ita, quod se credit et dicit pontificem futurum, qui restituet omnia, cuius et libri hec testantur. **5** Ideo subito morietur et, nisi cauerit sibi, patri mendacii sociabitur. Ideo non debes turbari, si aliqua obscure dicuntur aut si predicta non fient secundum cogitatum tuum, quia verba Dei diuersimode intelligi possunt. Et quociens hoc contingit, veritatem eorum indicabo. **6** Nunc autem ego Deus verus Iherosolimitanus sum. Ideo ego ipse comes itineris esse volo.”

R se iudicare secundum interiora et non secundum exteriora *cf. III 26:19* (qui omnium nouit corda).
1 unus qui erat quasi lapis quadratus *see Rev. IV 125:14,33* lapis quadratus *cf. AMBR. De Fide IV 5:52; BERN. Serm. 98; Ps. 117(118),22; Is. 28,16; Eph. 2,20 sq.; 1 Petr 2,6-8.* Thomas pie dubitans *Rev. IV 63:12;125:13; Ex. 34:8; Io. 20,24 sqq.; cf. Process Vita 95; A&P 483,561 sq.; Pa-Vita 633 sq.* **3** Nam ipse est religiosus ... (**4**) libri hec testantur *Rev. VI 68:3-4; cf. Rev. VI 67:11. See my Chapter 1.3, pp. 40 sq.* **5** nisi cauerit sibi, patri mendacii sociabitur *Rev. IV 38:2;61:3;63:17;75:8; Io. 8,44.* verba Dei diuersimode intelligi possunt *see my Chapter 1.2.1, pp. 24 sq.*

XXXIII: β π

R *om.* **F** Filii ad sponsam] Verba virginis ad sponsam filii **u**¹ et₁ *om.* **u x v** iudicaturum
K x iudicaturus **u v** **1** Dei *in marg.* **V** loquitur **K**² loquebatur **K**¹ **u x v** neuter] venter **V**
 id] idem **P** itaque *post quem trp.* **V** tu *ante fuisti lin. del.* **Y** missa fuisti **Gh** tu fu-
 isti missa **P O A**^b dubitans pie **u** **2** malicie *om.* **x** hominum *post malicie add.* σ
 dixit **P** quod] quia **u x v** esse **O** sciret **x v** **3** ipse *om.* **O** sed,] et **K u x v** (*vi-*
de pag. 55) apostota **K u F** et₂ *om.* **V** egressus est **T**^b **4** Totusque] totus quia **V**
 infectus] in effectus **P** est *om.* **x v** et₂ *om.* **A**^b **5** Ideo ... morietur *in marg.* **Y**
 morientur **V**¹ mendacii] iudicii **u x v** sociabatur **P** fiant **K** cogitationem **P**
 tuum] tuam **P** suum **u** contigit **Y v** **6** tui *post itineris add.* **Gh**

Declaracio

7 Spiritus Dei loquitur: “Audisti illum mortuum, de quo dixi tibi, quod erat lapis quadratus et pie dubitans. Ideo scito, quod non erit in numero illorum, qui temptauerunt Deum in deserto nec cum illis, qui petebant signum sicut Ione prophete, **8** nec cum illis, qui persecucionem mouerunt contra me, sed cum illis erit, qui zelum habebant et caritatem sed nondum perfectam.”

Verba Matris ad filiam sub figura, in qua anima in anulo, corpus in panno designantur, et qualiter anima per discrecionem debet purificari et corpus per abstinenciam debet mundari et non interfici. Capitulum XXXIII.

1 Mater loquitur: “Si datur alicui anulus, qui nimis strictus est digito, et queritur ab inimico consilium, quid faciendum sit, respondit: ‘Precidatur digitus et sic anulus ei adaptabitur.’ Cui amicus: ‘Nequaquam’, inquit, ‘sed magis anulus cum malleo extendatur.’ **2** Si vero aliquis velit potum potentis domini per immundum panniculum

7 in numero illorum, qui temptauerunt Deum in deserto *Num. 14,22; Ps. 105 (106),14.* qui petebant signum sicut Ione prophete *Rev. IV 137:6;143:2; Mt. 12,38 sqq.*

Decl. 33: K q u x v F U^a Gh

Declaracio *in marg.* **K² F** *om.* **K¹ q u x v** Liii *post* Declaracio *add.* **F** **7** Spiritus ... (§8) perfectam *in marg. inf.*¹ **q** Spiritus *post corr.* **K² (?) K¹** filius **x v** et filius **u** Dei *supra lin.* **F** quod₁] qui **q u x v Gh** quid **F** lapis *om.* **q** quasi *post* quadratus *add.* **U^a** illorum] eorum **K u x v** (*vide pag. 55, n. 90*) temptauerant **u** nec] ut **u** rome *ante* Ione *exp.* **v** **8** mouerant **K** habebant *ante* zelum *lin. del.* **U^a** habebant *supra lin.* **U^a**

XXXIII: β π

R *om.* **F** designatur **u** debet₂] debeat **u x v** purgari *ante* mundari *add.* **A^b** **1** dei *ante* loquitur *add.* σ *supra lin.* **K** est] sit **P** digito *om.* **x** et queritur] inquitur β₂ inimico *in marg.* **A^{b2}** amico **B A^{b1}** quid faciendum sit *om.* **u x v** respondet **A^b K** Precidatur **q** prescidatur **P² Y² K u** prescindatur **Y¹ β₂ T^b x v σ** presidatur **V** prescidatur **P¹** (*cfr. Rev. III 18:13: abscidi; vide pag. 78*) digitum *ante* digitus *add.* **V** inquit *in marg.* **F** malleo] martello **V**

¹ (§7) Spiritus ... (§8) perfectam *bis, etiam post cap. xxiii linea deletum.:* (§7) quod₁ *om.* **q** quasi *ante* pie *add.* **q** *in* signum *corr.* **q** quibus dixit deus non vero - habuit - signum (?) - - *post* signum *supra lin. add.* **q** sicut] -ut *in aliquid alt.* **q**

trahicere et colare et quereret consilium ab inimico, ille respondit: 'Precide de panno omne, quod immundum est, et ubi aliquid mundum inueneris, ibi trahice potum domini tui.' **3** Cui amicus: 'Nullo modo sic fiat sed magis prius mundificandus et lauandus est pannus et postea potus trahiciendus!' Sic est eciam in spiritualibus. In anulo itaque intelligitur anima, in panno vero corpus. **4** Ergo anima, que in digito Dei esse debet, extendi debet malleo discrecionis et purificationis, corpus vero non interfici sed mundari per abstinentiam, ut verba Dei per illud diffundantur."

Explicit Tercius Liber

4 corpus ... diffundantur *KLOCKARS (1971:51)*. mundari per abstinentiam *FOGELKVIST (1993a:224 sqq.)*.

2 traicero **x** et₂ *om.* **F** querere **P** ab] de **u x v** respondebit **V** responderet **K**
 respondet **u x v Gh** Precide **P² T^b σ** prescinde **Y V β₂ u x v q** precinde **P¹ K** (*vide pag. 78*)
 de *supra lin.* **V F** ubi] nisi **P** inuenitur **u x v** tui *supra lin.* **F om. u x v**
3 sed] si **B** et lauandus *post* pannus *trp.* **V** panniculus **v** potus] potius **P**
 eciam est **q F** eciam *om.* **u x v** anulo *bis, etiam in marg. add.* **A^b** itaque] igitur **K**
4 debet₁] debat **x** debet extendi **V O** debet₂ *supra lin.* **F post** purificationis *trp.* **Y β₂**
 et *ante* malleo *add.* **P** debet *ante* corpus *add.* **V** non *supra lin.* **q** etc *post* diffundantur *add.* **u x v**

6 Glossary

In the Glossary are listed words that are either completely lacking in GEORGES, *Ausführliches lateinisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch* or whose meaning are not adequately dealt with. With a few exceptions references are not given to those paragraphs where a certain word has the ordinary meaning. References are made to the other glossaries included in the modern editions of the revelation books and other relevant Birgittine works or literature.

- abextra** adv. = extra, 'on the outside', 'externally'; 'på utsidan', 'utvärtes', 'utanpå': 18:24 (BeD, GMLS, H-Sz 283¹; Revs. IV-VII, Ex.).
- abominabilis** adi., i.q. abominabilis: 12:2; 14:2; 21:18; 24:14 (GMLS, Hm; Rev. I, Ex.).
- abominacio**, onis f., i.q. abominacio: 2:9; 7:6 (GMLS).
- abstinere** v., intr. 'be continent', 'do penance', 'practice self-denial'; 'vara avhållsam', 'göra bot', 'öva försakelse': 22:1 (GMLS, LmR; Rev. I).
- accrescencia**, e f., 'increase', 'growth'; 'tillväxt': 8:2 (BeL, GMLS; QO).
- actualiter** adv., 'actually'; 'verkligen': 6:13 (BeL, GMLS).
- alciora, um** pro subst. adi. comp. n. pl. = res altiores, 'more important things'; 'viktigare saker': 31:10 (cf. TLL I 1780, 3 sqq.).
- aliquis, aliqua, aliquid** pron., see my Gram. ind.: 7.1.3.
- aliter - sicut** pron., see my Gram. ind.: 7.1.3.
- alius - alter** pron., see my Gram. ind.: 7.1.3.
- alleuiacio, onis** f., 'relief'; 'vederkvickelse': 1:25 (H-G; Ex.).
- alter - alius** pron., see my Gram. ind.: 7.1.3.
- amaricare** v., 'make bitter, distressed'; 'göra bitter, bedrövad, ledsen': 20:7 (Rev. I: *amaricari*).
- angustiari** v. pass., fere = angī, premi, 'be in a bad position', 'worry', 'be tormented with agony'; 'vara i trångsmål', 'ängslas', 'plågas av ångest': 12:26 (BeD; Rev. I).
- annihilare** v., i.q. adnihilare, 'annihilate'; 'tillintetgöra': 12:2 (GMLS, Nn, Nr; Rev. I, Ex.).
- antequam** coni., see my Gram. ind.: 7.2.5. Moods (f).
- appetitus, us** m. = cupiditas, 'cupidity'; 'lystnad', 'lusta': 3:16; 5:5; 6:6; 8(R); 12:20 (MW 793,9; BERGH [1971:76]).
- aridum, i** n. = lignum aridum, 'dry (resinous) wood'; 'torrved': 21:2,7,13 (cf. TLL. II 569, 57 sqq.).
- assectare** v., 'desire'; 'åstunda': 12:5 (*BU* 1 336:25 *astunda*, 'desire'); 16:4 (*BU* 1 352:22 *girmadhīs*, 'desire').
- assignare** v. = tradere: 17:11,15 (BeD₄, GMLS; Rev. V).
- assumere** v., suscipere, induere, 'take upon oneself'; 'taga på sig', 'ikläda sig': 1:1; 2:2,12; 16:11; 17:14; 18:9,10; 19:3; 21:3 (BeD; Rev. I).
- Aurelianensis** adi., 'from Orléans'; 'från Orléans': 12:24 (BeL).
- aut - vel** coni., see my Gram. ind.: 7.4.2.
- Babilonicus, i** m., i.q. Babilonicus, 'Babylonian'; 'Babylonier': 33:3 (BeD).
- beatus** adi. = sanctus, 'holy'; 'helig': 12:6 etc. (GMLS, Hm; Revs. V, VII).
- bene** adv., see my Gram. ind.: 7.3.
- blaeus** adi., 'blue'; 'blå': 14:3,8(bis) (GMLS).
- brucus, i** m. (Gr.) = oestrus, 'horse-fly'; 'broms': 15(R),1,5 (GMLS, Nn; Ex. Cf. Rev. II 19:26 'wasp'; 'geting').
- campanarius, ii** m., 'bell-ringer'; 'klockare': 4:19 (GMLS, H-G, Hm, Nr).

- canalis, is** f., translate fere = internuntius, 'intermediary', 'spokesman', 'channel'; 'förmedlare', 'språkrör', 'kanal': 30:7-9 (GMLS, Hm, Nn, Nr; Ex. See PILTZ [1991:451 sqq., 1993:78 sq.]).
- caput, itis** n., 'head', 'leader'; 'överhuvud', 'ledare', 'chef': 29:16 (BeD, GMLS; Rev. I).
- caro, nis** f. 1) = corpus hominis, natura humana, '(human) flesh', 'human body'; 'mänsklig gestalt': 1:7 etc., *in carne loquor*, i.e. 'those who endured pain in the flesh': 27:23 (BeD, LmR; Rev. I).
- casus, us** m. *casu accidente*: 'by accident'; 'av en tillfällighet': 12:29 (Ex. 59:2).
- celebrare** v. = missam agere, 'say Mass'; 'förrätta mässa': 27:28 (GMLS, Hs; Revs. VI, VII, Ex.).
- caelestia, ium** pro subst. adi. n. pl. = caelestia = caelum, caeli, 'Heaven'; 'Himlen': 11:15; 13:17,18; 14:11; 21:19; 24:22; 30:5 (H-G; Rev. I). Cf. below: *mundialia, temporalia, terrestria*.
- celi, orum** m. pl., '(the) Heavens', 'Heaven'; 'himlar(na)', 'Himlen': 3:7; 10:15; 13:13,19; 28:3 (BeD, Fi, LmR, L-S; Rev. I).
- cena, e** f. = vesperna, 'supper'; 'kvällsvard' (*BU* 1 311:10 *natwardhin*): 1:22 (GMLS, H-G, Hm, Nn; Ex.).
- cete** indec. n. pl. = **cetus, i** m., 'whale'; 'val': 4:13 (G).
- chirotheca, e** f. (Gr.), i.q. chirotheca = digitale, manica, 'glove'; 'handske': 4:15,16 (GMLS: *chirotheca*; Rev. VI 52:83).
- cirpus, i** m., i.q. scirpus, 'rush'; 'säv': 30:1 (LmR).
- clericus, i** m. (Gr.), 'clerk', 'clergyman'; 'klerk', 'präst': 4:4,10; 11:11 (DuC, GMLS, H-G, Hm, LmR; Rev. I. Cf. Ex.).
- clima, atis** n. (Gr.), *extra c.* 'the farthest north'; 'längst uppe i norr' (*BU* 1 398:9 *nordarst j wärldinne*, 'the farthest north in the world'): 31:8.
- cognoscere** v., see my Gram. ind.: 7.2.5. Tenses (e).
- comitiua, e** f., 'company', 'suite'; 'sällskap', 'följe': 12:26,28(bis),29 (GMLS; RS).
- commessacio, onis** f., i.q. comissatio, 'gluttony', 'feast'; 'frosseri', 'gästabud': 31:2 (GMLS).
- communitas, atis** f. = civium societas, 'society', 'the people'; 'samhälle', 'folket': 5:5 (Hm; Revs. I, IV, VII, Ex.).
- compati** v. = misereri, *c. alci.*: 24:21 (Slr, TLL III 2025,37 sqq.; Ex.).
- compendium, ii** n., 'short cut'; 'genväg': 12:7(bis),8,10 (H-G; Rev. IV).
- competens** adi., 'suitable', 'fitting'; 'lämplig', 'passande': 31:9 (GMLS, H-G, TLL III 2068, 9; 2069, 12; Rev. IV).
- competere** v., *competit alci.* = decet, 'is becoming'; 'det höves': 30:8 (BeD, GMLS, H-G, TLL III 2067, 32 sqq.; Ex.).
- conari** v. dep. 1) 'try to fight'; 'försöka att kämpa': 19:6 2) 'aim at'; 'sträva efter': 21:15 (BeD, GMLS; Rev. I).
- conclauē, is** n., 'private (secret) place', 'chamber'; 'avskild (hemlig) plats', 'kammare': 31:6 (Bl, DuC, GMLS, TLL IV 71, 71 sqq.; Rev. I).
- confessio, onis** f. = confessio peccatorum, 'confession (of sins)'; 'syndabekännelse', 'bikt': 1:26; 12:10; 31:16 (BeD, GMLS, Hm; Revs. I, V-VII, Ex., RS).
- confidere** v., *c. in alqm.* = *c. alci.*, in alqo.: 19:2 (LmR, H-Sz 87 γ; Rev. I. Cf. TLL IV 208, 55-64 and Rev. IV).
- confiteri** v. = peccata confiteri, 'confess'; 'bikta sig': 12:11; 19:8 (GMLS, H-G, Hm; Rev. VI, Ex, RS).
- conformare** v. refl., *se alci. c.* = simile reddere, accommodare, aptare, 'conform', 'adapt', 'accommodate'; 'göra lika'; 'anpassa': 19:28 (BeD, GMLS, L-S; Revs. I, IV. Cf. Ex.).
- confundere** v. = ignominia afficere, notare, reprehendere, 'insult', 'offend', 'censure'; 'skymfa', 'förolämpa', 'klandra': 4:10 (DuC, GMLS, TLL IV 263, 12 sqq.; Rev. I).
- confusio, onis** f. = pudor, ignominia, 'dishonour', 'disgrace', 'shame'; 'vanära', 'skam': 3(R),8; 26:8 (DuC, GMLS, LmR; Revs. I, IV, QO).
- consolari** v. 1) dep. pass.-med., 'be comforted', 'take comfort'; 'låta sig tröstas', 'känna tröst': 1:22 2) sensu pass.: 2:17 (Rev. I).
- consumare** v., i.q. consummare = conficere,

- 'complete', 'accomplish'; 'fullborda': 28:14 (GMLS, Hm, TLL IV 598, 57 sqq.; Revs. I, IV-VI. Cf. Rev. VII).
- consumere** v., 1) 'sacrifice'; 'offra' (*BU* 1 386:5 *offradhis*): 27:29 2) 'consume', 'waste'; 'förbruka', 'bortslösa' (*BU* 1 386:7 sq. *vpnötis*): 7:2-4; 27:30 (GMLS).
- contempnere** v., i.q. contempnere, fere = de dignari, recusare, nolle, 'disdain', 'refuse', 'scorn'; 'icke värdigas', 'försmå', 'vägra'; c. inf.: 24:20 (BeD, GMLS, Nr; Rev. I).
- contentare** v., in the pass. = contentum esse, 'be content', 'be satisfied'; 'nöja sig', 'vara tillfreds': 2:15 (GMLS; Rev. VII (*contentari*), Ex., RS).
- conterere** v. in the pass., 'be contrite, penitent', 'repent', 'do penance'; 'vara förkrossad, ångerfull', 'ångra sig', 'göra bot': 24:18 (BeD, GMLS; Rev. I [*conteri*], Ex.).
- contingere** v., see my Gram. ind.: 7.2.3.
- contricio, onis** f. = paenitentia, 'contrition', 'penitence', 'repentance'; 'ånger', 'botfärdighet': 12:10,11; 16:13; 19:9; 24:12; 26(R),9-12; 27:24; 29:10 (Bl, GMLS, H-G, Hm, Nn, Nr; Revs. I, VI, VII, Ex., RS).
- conturbare** v., fere = vexare, torquere, 'cause pain', 'torture'; 'plåga', 'tortera': 12:14; 19:1 (TLL IV 808, 21 sqq.; Rev. I).
- consuatio, onis** f. = vita, ratio vivendi, '(way of) life', 'conduct', 'behaviour'; 'vandel', 'levnadssätt', 'livsföring': 21:8 (GMLS, H-G; Rev. I, Ex.).
- conuerti** v. = pass.: se convertere, 'be converted', 'amend'; 'omvända sig', 'göra bättring': 12:24; 13:13; 24:20; 26:8 (BeD, GMLS, TLL IV 868, 62 sqq.; Rev. I).
- corizare** v., i.q. chorizare, 'dance in a circle'; 'dansa i ring': 12:19,20 (GMLS; UNDHAGEN 1960a: Gloss., Rev. VI 64:1).
- corona, e** f., fere = merces seu praemium, 'reward'; 'belöning': 16:9,12; 19(R),2,27; 22:5; 24:7,14 (bis); 27:21; 31:16; 32:3 (BeD; Revs. IV, V, VII, Ex.).
- coronare** v., 'crown', 'reward'; 'kröna', 'belöna': 14:11; 19:30; 28:3,5; 29:14; 31:16 (BeL, Nn).
- corporalia, ium** pro subst. adi. n. pl. = bona terrestria, 'earthly things'; 'jordiska saker': 1:17.
- correpcio, onis** f. = castigatio, 'chastisement', 'punishment'; 'näpst', 'bestraffning': 1:14 (LINDERBAUER [1922:175 sq.: *corripere*, 337: *correptioni*], LmR, Slr; Revs. V, VII, Ex.).
- corrigere** v., fere = corripere, castigare, punire, 'reprove', 'castigate', 'chastise', 'punish'; 'tillrättavisa', 'förebrå', 'taga i upp-tuktelse', '(be)straffa': 3,2,9; 19:11,13,31 (Ai, BeD, GMLS, TLL IV 1035, 20 sqq.; Rev. I).
- crisma, atis** n., i.q. crisma (Gr.) = sacramentum chrismatis, '(sacrament of) confirmation'; 'konfirmation(ens sakrament) *conficere* c. 'prepare the chrism'; 'bereda smörjelsen': 3:2 (GMLS, Nr).
- cuculla, e** f., 'cape (with hood)'; 'kåpa (med kapuschong, hätta)': 27:14 (GMLS, Hm, Nr; Rev. IV, Ex., RS).
- curiositas, atis** f. = id quod curiositatem movet, 'remarkable thing'; 'märkvärdighet': 29:16 (BeD, GMLS, TLL IV 1491, 77 sqq.; Ex).
- curiosus** adi., 'anxious (for)', 'careful (about)'; 'angelägen (om)', 'omsorgsfull (med)' (*BU* 1 334:30 *atwaktol*, 'careful'): 11:9 (GMLS, H-G).
- de** praep., see my Gram. ind.: 7.5.
- debere** v., see my Gram. ind.: 7.2.5. Moods (f).
- defraudare** v., *d. alqm.* = fraudare, decipere alqm., 'defraud, cheat, swindle someone'; 'lura, bedraga ngn.': 27:9 (GMLS, H-G; Rev. I).
- defraudata, orum** pro subst. perf. part. n. pl. = bona fraude acquisita, 'possessions obtained by fraud (deception)'; 'ågodelar som har förvärvats genom bedrägeri', (*BU* 1 383:8 *thz som illa är fangit*): 27:9 (Rev. I, Ex.).
- delectabilia, ium** pro subst. adi. n. pl., fere = res iucundae, 'amusements', 'entertainment', 'things that bring pleasure', 'delightful things'; 'förlustelser', 'nöjen', 'glädjeämnen', 'ljuva ting': 6:13; 13:14; 14:13; 20:3 (BeD; Rev. I).
- demonium, ii** n., i.q. daemonium = daemon, spiritus mal(ign)us, 'demon', 'devil', 'evil

- spirit'; 'djävul', 'ond ande': 4:16; 21:4 (Nr; Rev. I).
- denarius, ii** m., '(silver)coin'; '(silver)penning': 4:22; 14:15 (GMLS, Hs; Rev. I, Ex.).
- denique** adv. 1) fere = sed, autem, tamen, 'but', 'on the other hand', 'yet', 'still', 'nevertheless'; 'men', 'däremot', 'likväl': 7:4; 28:9 (H-Sz 514⁴, LmR; Rev. I) 2) fere = itaque: 10:4 (H-Sz 514⁴).
- deprimere** v., *d. ad nichilum* fere = ad nihilum redigere, 'annihilate', 'destroy'; 'förinta': 31:18 (Rev. I).
- desidius** adi., 'lazy'; 'lat': 18:17 (BeL).
- dictamen, inis** n., 'dictation'; 'diktamen': 19:17 (GMLS; SA).
- dies, ei** m.: 1:24; 27:26; f.: 27:2 (Rev. I, Ex., Gram. indices in: Rev. VII, SA, RS, QO). See my Gram. ind.: 7.1.1 (Gender).
- digne** adv. = merito, iure, ut dignum est, 'justly', 'rightly', 'as it should be'; 'med rätta', 'som sig bör': 1:10 (BeD, GMLS; *dignus*; Rev. I).
- diiudicare** v. = iudicare, damnare, condemnare, 'judge', 'condemn', 'blame'; '(för)döma', 'anklaga', 'klandra': 6:14; 18:22 (GMLS, Nr, TLL V₁ 1157, 9-15; Revs. I, V, Rev. IV: *diuidicacio*).
- diminucio, onis** f., i.q. deminutio, 'decrease'; 'förminskning': 17:3; 30:19 (GMLS, LmR, Slr, TLL V₁, 1206, 66 sqq.; Revs. IV, V).
- disciplinare** v. = castigare, '(morally) discipline', 'castigate', 'chastise'; 'tukta', 'späka', 'gissla': 15:2; 21:1 (GMLS; Rev. I: *disciplinatus*).
- discrecio, onis** f. = iudicium, prudentia, 'discernment', 'prudence', '(gott) omdöme', 'klokhet', 'eftertänksamhet': 2:8; 19(R),2; 34(R),4 (H-G, Hm, TLL V₁, 1350, 72 sqq.; Revs. I, V-VII, Ex., RS).
- discretus** part. adi., 'easily discernible', 'easily recognizable'; 'lätt urskiljbar', 'lätt igenkännlig' (*BU* 1 310:1 *vtskildir*): 1:15 (cf. Revs. I, VI, Ex.).
- discutere** v. = inquirere, examinare, 'inquire', 'examine', 'investigate'; 'rannsaka', 'noga undersöka', 'utforska': 11:20; 19:23 (GMLS, H-G; LmR; Rev. I; RS).
- dispensacio, onis** f. = dispositio (sc. divina) 'decision', 'arrangement'; 'anordning', 'bestämmande': 11:6 (Ai, GMLS, Slr, Sr, TLL V₁, 1398, 66 sqq.; Rev. VII, Ex.).
- dispositus** part. adi., fere = animo affectus, compositus, constitutus, 'disposed', 'affected', 'inclined'; 'beskaffad', 'sinnad': 7:4; 11:4,5; 12:3,6 (GMLS; Rev. VII).
- Dominicus** adi., 'of Dominicus'; 'utmärkande för Dominicus': 17:15.
- dulcedo, inis** f., fere = amor, caritas, bonitas, 'sweetness', 'love', 'affection', 'kindness', 'goodness'; 'sötma', 'ljuvlighet', 'älsklighet', 'kärlek', 'godhet': 9:3; 14:9; 18:10; 21:12; 29:8, 12; 30:5 (H-G, Nr, TLL V₁, 2184, 19 sqq; 2185, 8-20; Rev. I).
- dulcessere** v., i.q. dulcescere, intr. = dulce(m) fieri, 'become sweet, delicious, tasty'; 'bli söt(t), ljuvlig(t), välsmakande': 28:4,14 (Rev. I).
- dum** conii., see my Gram. ind.: 7.4.2.
- edificare** v., i.q. aedificare, transl. fere = spiritualiter firmare, corroborare, 'edify (spiritually)', 'fortify', 'build up'; '(andligen) uppbygga', 'stärka': 1:21 (BeD, Hm; Rev. I, Ex.).
- eligere** v., see my Gram. ind.: 7.2.3.
- emendacio, onis** f. 1) 'purification', 'atone-ment', 'penance'; 'rening', 'gottgörelse', 'bot' (*BU* 1 374:20 *renselse*): 23:3 (Nr 2) *e. facere*, see below: *emendare* 1: 19:3.
- emendare** v. 1) trans. 'make amends (for one's sins)', 'expiate (one's sins)'; 'gottgöra (sina synder)', 'göra bot (för sina synder)': 19:4² (GMLS, H-G, TLL V₂, 464, 56 sqq.; Revs. I, VII, Ex.) 2) reflex. *se e.* 'do better', 'reform oneself'; 'bättra sig', 'göra bättring': 12:16 (GMLS, TLL V₂, 459, 71 sqq.; Revs. I, VII, Ex.) 3) intrans = reflex. 16:15; 24:14; 26(R),9,11 (BeD, GMLS, H-G, TLL V₂, 459, 83 sqq.; Revs. I, VII, Ex.).
- emendata, orum** pro subst. perf. part. n. pl., 'expiated sins'; 'gottgjorda synder' (*BU* 1 364:6 *bättradha synde*): 19:4¹.
- es, eris** n., i.q. aes, 'ore'; 'malm' (*BU* 1 328:25 *malmin*): 7:2 (Nn, GÖTLIND [1990:153]; cf. HOLMQVIST [1954:219 sq.] *es* = 'copper'; 'koppar').
- eternum, i.**, i.q. aeternum, *ab eterno*: 'from the beginning'; 'från begynnelsen': 8:1;

- 13:22; 30:20 (TLL I 1148, 15 sqq.; Ex.).
- Ethiops, opis** m., i.q. Aethiops (Gr.) = diabolus, 'devil'; 'djävul': 11:18,20 (see app. hist to 11:18, Nn; Revs. VI, VII, Ex. Cf. GMLS).
- euolatus, us** m. = volatus, 'flight'; 'flykt', 'flygande': 15(R) (G, H-G).
- exactor, oris** m., 'bailiff'; 'fogde': 29:3 (GMLS, Hm, TLL V₂ 1135, 40 sqq.; Rev. I).
- exaltare** v., fere = extollere, magnificare, 'lift up', 'raise', 'elevate', 'exalt', 'magnify', 'praise'; 'upphöja', 'upplyfta', 'lovprisa': 4:21; 10:13,17 (BeD, H-G, Nr; Rev. I).
- excedere** v. 1) intr. = excellere, superiorem esse, 'exceed', 'excel'; 'överträffa', 'utmärka sig': 30:4 *e. super* = superare, vincere, 'exceed', 'surpass', 'excel', 'överstiga', 'överträffa': 30:2 *e. a bonitate* 'abandon one's goodness'; 'överge sin godhet': 19:16 (GMLS; Rev. I.) 2) peccare, 'sin'; 'synda': 19:16¹ (BeD, GMLS, Hm; Rev. V, Ex.).
- excessus, us** m. = immoderatio, 'excess'; 'omåttlighet': 4:11 (GMLS, H-G, Hm; Ex.).
- exemplum, i** n. = similitudo, 'parable'; 'liknelse': 4(R),2; 8:1; 17:15; 21(R),1; 24(R),2; 26:10; 31(R); 33(R) (BeD, GMLS, Nr, TLL V₂, 1328, 39 sqq.; Rev. I).
- exinanitus** part. adi., fere = omnino defatigatus, 'exhausted'; 'totalt utmattad': 12:1; 31:5 (GMLS [*exinatio*]₃; Revs. V, VII).
- existens** pres. part. of esse: 2(R); 12:29.
- expendere** v. 1) = consumere, 'use up', 'squander', 'waste'; 'förlösa': 3:5; 11:5; 27:31 (GMLS, H-G, Nr, Sr) 2) de tempore, fere = degere, 'spend', 'use'; 'använda': 6:10 (GMLS; Rev. VII, Ex.).
- ex quo** coni., see my Gram. ind.: 7.4.2.
- extinguere** v., trans. 'extinguish'; 'släcka': 21:4 *extinguit sitim ... abstinentia extinguebat inordinatam concupiscenciam* (TLL V₂, 1916, 60 sqq.; BERGH [1971: 76]).
- extremitas, atis** f. = acies, 'cutting'edge'; 'egg': 30:1,3 (BU 1 392:27 [to 30:1] *duas extremitates acutissimas*, 'two hwassa äggia'; 'two sharp cutting-edges'). This sense does not seem to be listed in the current dictionaries of medieval Latin.
- faber, bri** m. = faber ferrarius, '(black) smith'; '(konst)smed': 30:11 (BeD, GMLS, H-G, Hm, TLL. VI₁, 8,5 sqq.; Ex.).
- facere**: *emendacionem, finem, misericordiam, oracionem, reuelacionem, questionem f.*, see **emendacio**, etc.
- fasciculus, i** m., 'small bunch'; 'liten bunt': 3:12(bis),13,14 (GMLS; Rev. IV).
- fedus, eris** n., i.q. foedus.
- felicitas, atis** f., '(heavenly) beatitude'; '(himmelska) lycksaligheten': 6:15; 11(R); 21:11 (Nr).
- felix, icis** adi., 'holy', 'blessed'; 'salig': 10:18; 11:16; 31:16 (GMLS; Nr).
- fiducialiter** adv., 'with confidence', 'confidently', 'dauntlessly'; 'med tillförsikt', 'tryggt', 'frimodigt': 4:9 (*fiducialius*) (G, GMLS, H-G, Nr; Rev. I, Ex.).
- fieri** v., see below: *reuelacio*.
- figura, e** f. = imago, 'simile', 'allegory'; 'liknelse', 'bild': 14(R); 15(R); 30(R); 32(R); 34(R) (GMLS, Slr, Sr; Revs. I, V, VII).
- finis, is** m., *f. facere* = finire, 'to end'; 'avsluta': 12:12 (GMLS_{2b}).
- flabellum, i** n., 'bellows'; 'blåsbälg': 7(R),2(ter),5 (Nr).
- florenus, i** m. 'florin', 'gold coin'; 'florin', 'gyllen', 'guldpeng': 27:17 (GMLS, Hm; Rev. VII).
- frater, is** m., 'monk'; 'munk': 8:8 etc. (GMLS).
- frigidus** adi., fere = neglegens, durus, impius, 'cool (cold) towards something', 'indifferent'; 'kall gentemot ngt.', 'kallsinnig', 'likgiltig': 7:5,7; 12:1; 15:10 (ter); 21(R),10,15; 30:14 (Rev. I). Cf. below: *refrigescere*.
- fundare** v., refl. 'trust in'; 'förlita sig på' (BU 1 383:16 *fästa os*): 27:11.
- gaudiosus** adi. = gaudio plenus, laetus, 'joyful'; 'glädjerik': 12:6 (GMLS; Rev. VI).
- generacio, onis** f. = gens, 'family', 'ancestry'; 'släkt', 'ätt', 'stam': 29:12 (GMLS; Rev. VII).

- gentilis, is** m. = ethicus, paganus, 'gentile', 'heathen', 'pagan'; 'hedning': 26:12 (bis), 15 (G; Rev. I).
- gloriarī** v. 1) in the pass. 'be glorified'; 'bli förhärligad': 13:37; 19:21 sq.; 31:17 (GMLS: *glorior*_{2b}; Rev. VII). 2) dep. 'boast'; 'skryta': 11:13(bis); 29:15 (GMLS; Rev. VII).
- gratulārī** v. dep. = gaudere, laetari, 'rejoice', 'amuse oneself'; 'glädja sig', 'roa sig': 6:9; 8:11; 9:1; 24:17 (Ai, H-G, Nr, TLL. VI₂, 2253, 14 sqq.; Rev. I).
- gyrouagus, ī** m., 'tramp'; 'landstrykare': 33:3 (GMLS; Rev. VI).
- heresis, is** f., i.q. haeresis (Gr.), 'heresy', 'heretical doctrine'; 'irrlära', 'kätterī': 33:4 (BeD, GMLS; Rev. I).
- horae, arum** pl. f., 'horary prayers'; 'tidegärd': 1:16 (GMLS; Nr).
- humanitas, atis** f. = figura humana, 'human shape', 'manhood'; 'mänsklig gestalt', 'mandom': 1:1,10; 11:12; 13:7,23,32,35; 17:7; 23:3,5; 29(R),8 (Ai, BeD, GMLS, H-G, TLL. VI₃, 3075, 65 sqq.; Rev. I, Ex.).
- humiliare** v. = humilem reddere, 'make humble', 'humiliate'; 'göra ödmjuk', 'förödmjuka'; refl. *se h.*, 'humble, abase oneself'; '(för)ödmjuka sig': 2:16; 30:16; 31:17 (TLL. VI₃, 3101, 30 sqq., BeD; Rev. I).
- idem** pron., see my Gram. ind.: 7.1.3.
- iehenna, e** f., i.q. gehenna, 'hell'; 'helvete': 12:14 (GMLS, H-G, Hm; Ex.).
- Iherosolomitānus** 1) ī m., i.q. Hierosolymitanus, 'Jerusalem pilgrim'; 'Jerusalemspilgrim' (cf. BU 1 401:13 [to 33:3] *pelagrimbir*, 'pilgrim'): 33:2,3,6 2) adi. 'who has been on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem'; 'som har vallfärdat till Jerusalem' (BU 1 400:30 *ierusalems pelagrimbir*, 'Jerusalem pilgrim'. Cf. BeL: *hierosolymipeta*, 'pélerin qui part à Jérusalem'): 33:1.
- impendere** v. = praestare, 'bestow'; 'bevisa': 12:14 (Ai, GMLS, Slr; Revs. V, VII).
- impietas, atis** f., fere = inhumanitas, duritia, 'impiety', 'heartlessness', 'uncharitable-ness', 'mercilessness'; 'gudlöshet', 'hjärt, kärlekslöshet', 'obarmhärtighet': 30(R) (LmR; Rev. I).
- in** praep., see my Gram. ind.: 7.5.
- incensum i** n., 'incense'; 'rökelse': 27:20 (Nr).
- inconsolabiliter** adv. = insolabiliter, sine solatio, 'inconsolably'; 'otröstligt': 15:5; 20:7 (BeD, GMLS, LmR; Rev. I).
- indigne** adv., immerito, 'unduly', 'wrongfully'; 'orättfärdigt': 1:15 (Nr; Rev. I: *digne*).
- indiscrete** adv., fere = sine iudicio, imprudenter, 'without discrimination', 'imprudently'; 'utan urskillningsförmåga', 'oklokt', 'lätsinnigt': 1:15 (Ai, GMLS, LmR, Nr, TLL. VII₁, 1203, 59 sqq.; Rev. I).
- indiscretus** adi. = sine iudicio, imprudens, 'without discrimination', 'imprudent'; 'utan urskillning(sförmåga)', 'oklok', 'lätsinnigt': 1:18; 11(R) (GMLS, Nr).
- inductium, i** n., 'inducement'; 'skäl', 'motiv': 12:16 (GMLS; Rev. IV).
- indulgere** v., 'forgive (somebody's sins)'; 'förlåta (ngns. synder)': 26:9 (BeD, Nr).
- indurare** v. in the pass. 'become hardened'; 'förhärdas': 32:3 (GMLS; Rev. I).
- induratus** part. adi. = durus, 'hard(ened)', 'hard-hearted'; 'förhärdad', 'hårdhjärtad': 7:3 (TLL VII₁, 1273, 15 sqq.; Rev. I).
- infula e** f. 'mitre'; 'mitra': 3:1-3,9,10; 4:12,15 (GMLS; Rev. IV).
- ingredi** v., see my Gram. ind.: 7.2.3.
- inordinatus** adi., 'blameworthy'; 'klandervärd': 4(R); 8(R); 19:11; 21:4; 28:4 (BeL). Cf. below: *ordinatus*.
- inquietudo, inis** f., 'anxiety'; 'oroligt tillstånd': 1:25 (Nr).
- insimul** adv. = inter se, 'with each other'; 'sinsemellan', 'med varandra': 14:1 (Ai, GMLS; Rev. I).
- intelligencia, e** f., i.q. intelligentia = significatio, sensus, 'significance', 'meaning', 'sense'; 'betydelse', 'innebörd', 'mening': 6:1; 27:21 (GMLS, LmR, Nr; Rev. I).
- introductorium, ii** n., 'introduction', 'entrance gate'; 'inkörspart': 19:7 (GMLS: *introductorius*₂).
- ipse** pron., see my Gram. ind.: 7.1.3.
- legittima, e** f., i.q. legitima, 'wedded wife';

- 'äkta maka': 6:7 (GMLS [legitimus₂], Nr).
- liberare** v., 'save', 'redeem'; 'rädda', 'frälsa': 18:28; 29:3; 30:19 (Nr).
- libertas, atis** f., 'free will'; 'fri vilja' (*BU* 1 387:16 *j sino frälsa siälfwalde*): 28:5 (BeL).
- licet** coni., see my Gram. ind.: 7.2.5. Moods (f).
- litteratura, e** f. = littera, eruditio, 'erudition'; 'lärdom': 8:7,13 (GMLS, Hm, LmR; Rev. V).
- longe** adv., see my Gram. ind.: 7.5 *de* (d).
- lotrix, icis** f. = quae lavat, 'laundress'; 'tvätterska': 30:21 (GMLS; Revs. IV, VI).
- lucrifacere** v., fere = conciliare, 'win over (to belief)'; 'vinna (till tro)', 'omvända': 4:7; 18:9 (Nr).
- luxuria, e** f. = impudicitia, 'debauchery'; 'liderlighet', 'kättja': 29:11 (GMLS; Rev. VI).
- magister, tri** m., 'master', 'magister', 'doctor'; 'mäster', 'magister', 'doktor': 8(R), 7-9,12(bis), 14,15,17; 14:1(bis) (DuC, GMLS, Hm, Hs, LmR; Rev. I).
- maiores, um** pro subst. adi., comp. m. pl. = magnati, nobiles, 'magnates', 'the leading men'; 'stormän': 10:17 (GMLS: *magnus* II_{2b}).
- mandatum, i** n. = praeceptum, iussum, 'the commandment'; 'bud(ord)': 2:14; 19:15 (Ai, BeD, GMLS, TLL VIII 268, 10 sqq.; Rev. I).
- mantellus, i** m.: 17:13 (Rev. I: Ind. r. et l.: Gender, RS: Gram. ind.). See my Gram. ind.: 7.1.1 (Gender).
- medie** adv., see my Gram. ind.: 7.5 *de* (d).
- meretricus** adi., i.q. meretricius, 'meretricious'; 'tillhörande en sköka': 22(R),3 (TLL VIII 826, 4 sqq.; Rev. IV).
- meritorius** adi. = praemio dignus, 'meritorious'; 'förtjänstfull': 3:4 (Ai, GMLS, Hm, Slr; Ex.).
- michi** pron. = mihi.
- migrare** v., 'die'; 'dö': 4:12 (BeD, GMLS).
- miles, itis** m. = vir dignitatis equestris, eques, 'knight'; 'riddare': 11:11; 13:28; 14:13; 19:29; 27:13,14,15(ter) (Ai, BeD, GMLS, TLL VIII 943, 54 sqq.; Revs. I, VI, VII, Ex., RS).
- militaris** adi. = equester, nobilis, 'equestrian', 'of a knight', 'belonging to the nobility'; 'riddar-', 'adels-': 27:14,16 (GMLS, H-G, Hm, Hs; Rev. I).
- minare** v., 'drive'; 'köra': 16:4 (Nr).
- mirabilia, ium** pro subst. adi. n. pl., 'miracles'; 'mirakler': 30:13 (BeD, Nr).
- misereri** v., see my Gram. ind.: 7.2.3.
- misericordia, e** f., *m. facere* = misericordiam adhibere, 'show mercy'; 'visa barmhärtighet': 16:12; 26:12; 30:19,20 (GMLS; Rev. I).
- misterium, i** n., i.q. mysterium: 26(R).
- moderancia, e** f., fere = moderatio, modestia, temperantia, 'moderation', 'restraint', 'moderateness'; 'måtta', 'måttfullhet', 'måttlighet': 1:18 (BeD, GMLS, LmR, Nr; Revs. I,V, Ex.).
- moderare** v. = moderari: 1:25; 4:9; 28:13 (QO: Gram. ind.).
- modicum, i** n. 1) = res exigua, res parui momenti, 'small (little) thing', 'trifle'; 'liten sak', 'obetydlighet': 19:12; 22:3 (BeD, LmR, Nr, TLL VIII 1229, 72 sqq., 1234, 7 sqq.; Revs. I, IV) 2) adv. = paulisper, paulum 'moment', 'short lapse of time', 'instant'; 'ögonblick': 19:25(bis) (BeD, GMLS, LmR, Nr, TLL VIII 1235, 40 sqq.; Rev. I, Ex.).
- morigerosus** adi. = honestus, 'honourable', 'modest'; 'ärbar', 'sedesam': 6:9; 24:2 (GMLS, Hm; Ex.).
- mortale, is** n. pro subst. adi. = peccatum mortale: 19(R),3. Cf. below: *veniale*.
- mortalis** adi. = mortifer, 'mortal', 'deadly'; 'dödlig', 'dödsbringande': 8:3 (BeD, GMLS, TLL VIII 1513, 73 sqq.; Rev. I).
- mortificatiua, orum** pro subst. adi. n. pl. = mortificatiua vulnera, 'deadly wounds'; 'dödliga sår' (*BU* 1 353:22-24 *Hwi satte thu helsaman läkedom til andra manna sara ok drap thik mz dödhelikom sarom*, see below: *sanatiua*): 16:10 (*mortificatiuus* in: BeL, GMLS; cf. TLL VIII 1519, 39 sqq.).
- mundiales, ium** m., 'worldly persons'; 'världsliga personer': 30:21.
- mundialia, ium** pro subst. adi. n. pl. = mundum, 'the world', 'världen': 21:19 (cf. BeD, TLL VIII 1624, 82 sqq.). See *celestia, temporalia, terrestria*.

- ne - ne conii.**, see my Gram. ind.: 7.4.2.
nec conii., see my Gram. ind.: 7.4.2.
nichil, nichilum pron., see my Gram. ind.: 7.1.3.
nobiliores, um pro subst. adi. comp. m. pl. = nobiles, 'great men', 'noble men'; 'stormän', 'ädlingar': 31:5 (GMLS: *nobilis*₂).
noui v., see my Gram. ind.: 7.2.5. Tenses (e).
nullus pron., see my Gram. ind.: 7.1.3.
numquid particula interr. 1) = *nonne*: 14:3; 18:22; 28:1 (GMLS) 2) = num: 11:15; 13:35; 16:1; 18:7,16,18 (H-Sz 542⁴, 543¹) 3) *numquid non* = *nonne*: 12:4; 19:16,19 (BERGH [1971:54 n. 40], H-Sz 463, UNDHAGEN [1977: Gloss.]).
nuncius, i m., 'nuncio', 'legate'; 'nuntie', 'legat', 'sändebud': 8:5(bis); 10:3,17 (GMLS).
obliuisci v., dep. sensu pass.: 5:7; 13:6; 25:2; 29:15; 30:15 (H-G; Rev. I).
obtinere v., *o. gladium*, 'receive the sword (i.e., 'die by decapitation')'; 'mottaga svärdet ('dö genom halshuggning)': 19:29.
occasio, onis f., *ferre = causa*. 'cause', 'reason', 'occasion'; 'anledning', 'orsak', 'tillfälle': 1:19,21 (BeD, GMLS, H-G, LmR, Nr; Rev. I).
odi v., see my Gram. ind.: 7.2.2.
offerentes, ium pro subst. pres. part., 'those who proffer the votive offerings'; 'de som frambär offergåvorna': 27:31 (*offero* in: BeD, GMLS).
offertorium, n. 'votive offering', 'offertory'; 'offergåva', 'offertorium': 27:28,31 (GMLS, Nr).
oracio, onis f. = *preces, precatio*, 'prayer'; 'bön': 1(R); 10:10,11,13; 11:1; 23:1; 24:19 *oracionem f.* = *orare*: 12:32 (GMLS, H-G, Hm, Nr; Rev. I).
ordinare v., 'ordain'; 'viga': 3:2 (GMLS, Nr).
ordinatus adi., 'righteous', 'true'; 'rättfärdig', 'sann': 28:7,11(bis),12 (*BU* 1 387:25 sq. [to 28:7] *skipadha rätuiso*). Cf. above: *inordinatus*.
ordo, inis m. 1) *ordo* monasticus, 'Order'; '(kloster) orden': 15:3; 17(R) (Ai, BeD, GMLS; Revs. I, VII, RS) 2) 'vestments', 'pontificals'; 'ornat'; 'skrud' (cf. Nn, *BU* 1 334:32 *vigxlr*, 'vigning'; 'ordination', see my Excursus A, p. 224, n. 14): 11:10 (GMLS₂) 3) 'choir'; 'kör' (*BU* 1 377:26 [to 26:16] *kora*, 'choir'): 24(R),16,20 (BeD₄ *ordre angélique*).
papa, e m. = *episcopus summus*, 'pope'; 'påve': 10:17; 18:16,17(bis) (BeD, GMLS, H-G, Hm; Ex.).
parcere v., see my Gram. ind.: 7.2.3.
parens, entis m., 'godfather', 'godmother'; 'fadder' (*BU* 1 374:18 *gudh fädhir*): 23:2.
pars, partis f., *ex parte tua*, 'on your behalf'; 'å dina vägnar': 23:2 (GMLS_{1a}; Rev. I, Ex.).
paruipendere v., i.q. *parvi pendere*, 'make light of'; 'ringakta': 2:4 (BeD, GMLS; Ex., RS).
passio, onis f., 'the Passion'; '(Kristi) lidande': 1:10(bis); 2:6; 13:4(bis),32; 14:7; 17(R),5,20; 21:7; 30:3; 31:18 (GMLS; Rev. I).
Pater noster, *precatio Domini*, 'the Lord's Prayer'; 'Fader vår': 12:17 (GMLS; Rev. VI. See my Gram. ind.: 7.6 Substantival use of word groups).
paulatue adv., 'gradually'; 'gradvis': 31:15,19 (GMLS; Rev. IV).
peccaminosus adi., 'vitiosus', 'sinful', 'wicked', 'full of vices'; 'syndig', 'syndfull', 'lastbar': 8:10 (BeL). See below: *peccator*.
peccator, oris m., *ferre = peccatis plenus, vitiosus*, 'sinful', 'wicked', 'full of vices'; 'syndig', 'syndfull', 'lastbar': 13:10 (bis), 11,25; 23(R),1,11; 19:12; 26(R),11 (BeD, GMLS; Rev. I).
peccatrix, icis f.: 12:31 (BeD). See above: *peccator*.
peccatum, i n., *p. originale*, 'the original sin'; 'arvsynden': 28:9 (GMLS: *originalis*₁₂).
penitencia, e f., 'penitence'; 'botgöring': 12:16; 19:3; 24:14,20; 29:10; 30:15 (Hm; Revs. I, VII, Ex., RS).
penitere v. (pers. const. with *de* for class. impers. with the genitive), 'repent (of one's sins)', 'do penance'; 'känna ånger (över sina synder)', 'göra bot och bättring': 16:13; 19:3; 24:18 *p. de alqa. re*:

- 24:8(bis) (Ai, BeD, H-G, Nr, H-Sz 82(c); Rev. I).
- per** praep., see my Gram. ind.: 7.5.
- permanencia, e** f., 'endurance'; 'uthållighet': 13:16 (GMLS).
- perpendere** v., 'understand'; 'förstå': 19:9 (GMLS, Nr).
- persona, e** f. 1) = homo, 'human being', 'man', 'person'; 'människa', 'person': 11:17; 21:2(bis) (GMLS, H-G, Hm; Rev. I, Ex.) 2) = persona trinitatis, 'person of the Trinity'; 'person (gestalt) i Treenigheten': 13:24; 23:4; 26:1-3,5(bis) (Ai, GMLS; Rev. I).
- personalis** adi., 'personal'; 'personlig': 20:5 (GMLS).
- personaliter** adv. = ipse, 'personally', 'in person', 'myself'; 'personligen', 'i egen person', 'själv': 3:10; 4:21,22; 11:4; 12:15; 19:15 (BeD, GMLS; Revs. I, VII, Ex.).
- pertinere** v., see my Gram. ind.: 7.2.3.
- perturbo** v., in the pass., 'feel (very) distressed', 'be (very) anxious', 'grieve (much)', 'be (very) sorrowful'; 'oroas (mycket)', 'plågas (mycket)', 'ängslas (mycket)', 'känna sig (mycket) bedrövad', 'vara (mycket) ledsen': 29:6 (BeD). See below: *turbari*.
- pinguedo, inis** f., 'manure'; 'gödsel': 18:26 (see my app. hist. to this word).
- plures** adi., see my Gram. ind.: 7.1.4 Comparison.
- pluries** adv., 'often'; 'ofta': 19:3 (GMLS; RS).
- posse** subst. indecl. = facultas, potestas, 'power', 'ability'; 'förmåga': 10:18 (BeD, GML, Hm; Revs. V, VII, Ex., SA). Cf. below: *velle*.
- potestas, atis** f., 'office'; 'ämbete': 3:2-4,8 (Nr).
- precauere** v. = praemonere alqm. de alqo., 'warn somebody about somebody'; 'varna ngn. för ngn.': 2:10; 8:17 (GMLS; Ex.).
- precedens** part. pres. 'the above'; 'ovanstående': 10:20 (BeD, BeL).
- preceptum, i** n., 'commandment'; 'budord': 2(R),6; 24:12; 30:13 (GMLS).
- precidere** v., i.q. praecidere, 'cut off'; 'avskära': 34:1,2 (GMLS).
- precipicium, i** n., 'a headlong fall'; 'ett be-
- sinningslöst (huvudstupa) fall', *labi in p.*, 'fall into sin', 'degenerate'; 'falla i synd', 'degenereras' (BU 1 364:25 *ok mange fiollo thy j synde*): 19:8 (BeD, Nr; *störtegraff*, Sr).
- prefigurare** v., 'prefigure', 'symbolize in advance'; 'tidigare (i förväg) framställa bildligt', 'tidigare (i förväg) symbolisera': 29:9 (BeD, Sr. Cf. *figurare* in: Revs. I, VII).
- prelatus, i** m., 'prelate'; 'prelat': 13:36 (GMLS; Revs. I, VI, VII, Ex. Cf. RS).
- presens, entis** pro subst. pres. part., *in presenti* = in presenti vita, 'in the present life', 'in this (terrestrial) life'; 'i detta (jordiska) livet': 22:5; 28:14; 30:22 (BeD).
- presentare** v. = commendare, tradere, 'entrust, commit (to the care of someone)'; 'anförtro, överlämna (i någons vård)': 3:17,20; 4:17; 8:8 etc. (BeD, Hm, LmR; Rev. I) 2) refl., 'introduce oneself'; 'föreställa sig', 'presentera sig': 31:2.
- presumere** v. 'have confidence (trust) in'; 'hysa förtröstan (tillit) till': 19:5,14 *presumere de te*, 'I trust you'; 'jag litar på dig': 17:8 (GMLS; BERGH [1971:82]).
- preualere** v. intr. = superiorem fieri, superare, 'become superior', 'prevail'; 'få makten', 'få herraväldet': 10:18; 17:9; 22:2 (BeD, GMLS, H-G, L-S; Rev. I).
- primatus, us** m., 'supremacy'; 'överhöghet(en)': 19:28 (GMLS).
- prior, oris** m. = abbas, 'abbot'; 'abbot', 'klosterföreståndare': 10:20; 17:4,5 (DuC, GMLS, H-G, Hm; Revs. I, VI, Ex., RS).
- pro** praep., see my Gram. ind.: 7.5.
- proch dolor** interi. = pro(h) dolor, 'unfortunately'; 'tyvärr': 10(R) (GMLS, Hm; Revs. IV, VII).
- prodigaliter** adv. = prodige, 'prodigally'; 'slösaktigt': 3:5; 10:13 (BeD, Bl, GMLS, LmR; Rev. VI).
- profundum, i** n., fere = infernus, 'abyss', 'hell'; 'avgrund(en)', 'helvetet': 12:6,7 (bis), 8; 13:20 (Ai, BeD; Rev. I).
- promittere** v., see my Gram. ind.: 7.2.5. Tenses (e).
- prope** adv., see my Gram. ind.: 7.5(d).
- proprius** adi., see my Gram. ind.: 7.1.4.
- prosperari** v. dep. = secunda uti fortuna,

- 'prosper'; 'ha framgång': 30:21 (GMLS, LmR; Revs. V, VII, Ex.).
- protrahere** v. = proferre, differre, 'defer', 'delay', 'postpone'; 'uppskjuta': 30:16(bis) (GMLS; Rev. I, BERGH [1971:88]).
- prouisor, oris** m., 'director'; 'föreståndare', 'styresman': 6:8; 10(R),13 (GMLS).
- proximus, i** m., 'fellow man', 'neighbour'; 'medmänniska', 'nästa': 2:7; 27:29; 28:12 (GMLS, H-G, Hm).
- punctus, i** m. = punctum, i n. 'moment'; 'ögonblick': 4:18; 8:6; 19:11,12; 24:6; 26:11 (LmR).
- pungitiuus** adi., 'prickly'; 'taggig': 2:1 (GMLS, LmR; Rev. IV).
- purgacio, onis** f., 'expiation (purification) in Purgatory'; 'bot (rening) i skärselden': 24:19; 28:5,16 (BeD, LmR, Sr).
- purgatorium, i** n. = ignis purgatorius, 'Purgatory'; 'skärselden': 13:37 (BeD, GMLS, H-G, Hm; Revs. I, V-VII, Ex., QO).
- quadrangulus, i** m., i.q. quadriangulus: 29:6.
- quadrans, ntis** m., 'last farthing', 'last penny'; 'sista öret', 'sista skärfen': 24:8 (L-S 1[b], see my Excursus A, pp. 223 sqq.).
- quamuis** coni., see my Gram. ind.: 7.2.5. Moods (f).
- quatinus** coni., see my Gram. ind.: 7.4.2.
- questio, onis** f., i.q. quaestio, *q. facere* = querere: 8(R).
- quidam** pron., see my Gram. ind.: 7.1.3.
- quilibet** pron., see my Gram. ind.: 7.1.3.
- racionabiliter** adv. 1) = prudenter, 'prudently'; 'förnuftigt'; 'förståndigt': 2:7 etc. (G, GMLS) 2) = cum causa, 'with reason'; 'med skäl' (BU 1 373:2 *skäliska*: 22:1 (GMLS; Revs. V, VI, BERGH [1971:87 n. 25]).
- refeccio, onis** f.: 'meal'; 'måltid', 'föda', *r. perfecta* 'when the meal is eaten'; 'när måltiden har intagits': 1:21 (BeD, GMLS; Ex.).
- refrenancia, e** f. = refrenatio, 'restraining'; 'tyglande': 28:7 (GMLS; Rev. V).
- refrigescere** v., intrans. neglegens, durus, impius, 'become cool (cold) towards so-
- mething', 'become indifferent'; 'vara/bli kall gentemot ngt.', 'vara/bli kallsinnig', 'vara/bli likgiltig' (BU 1 329:10 [to 7:5] *kalle waro*): 7:5; 30:12 (BeD). Cf. above: *frigidus*.
- regraciari** v., dep. = gratias agere, 'thank', 'express one's thanks'; 'tacka': 1:12; 4:3; 16:16; 26:20 (BeD, GMLS, H-G, Hm; Revs. I, V, VI, Ex.).
- regula, e** f. 1) '(monastic) rule'; '(kloster) regel': 17:1,3,12,14(bis),21(bis); 18(R), 1, 6,7(bis),10 (bis),11,16,19; 20:8 (GMLS; RS).
- regularis** e adi., 'according to the (monastic) rule'; 'enligt (kloster)regeln': 18:8 (GMLS; RS).
- regulariter** adv. 'according to the (monastic) rule'; 'enligt (kloster)regeln': 18:8 (BeD, BeL, GMLS).
- religio, onis** f. = vita religiosa, vita monastica, 'religious life', 'monastic life'; 'gudfruktigt leverne', 'klosterliv': 16:3(bis); 21:11,21 (GMLS; Revs. I, VI, Ex., RS, SA).
- religiositas, atis** f., 'monastic life'; 'munkliv': 27:16 (BeL, GMLS, Nr).
- religiosus** 1) **i** m. = monachus, 'monk'; 'munk': 21:9; 27:14 (Ai, BeD, GMLS; Revs. I, V-VII, RS) 2) 'pious (religious) person', 'clean-living man'; 'from (religiös) person', 'renlevnadsman' (BU 1 401:10 sq. *renlifwis man*): 33:3 (BeD; Ex. Cf. RS). 3) adi. monasticus, 'monastic'; 'kloster-': 14:9 (GMLS; Rev. VI. Cf. RS).
- renouacio, onis** f., 'rebirth, 'regeneration'; 'pånyttfödelse': 23:3 (BeD).
- reportare** v., *iudicium suum r.*, 'judge oneself'; 'döma sig själv': 13:37.
- reputare** v. = putare, existimare, 'regard as', 'consider'; 'betrakta som', 'anse': 4:11; 12:31; 19:26; 30:12 (GMLS; Revs. I, VII, Ex.).
- resolucio, onis** f., 'death'; 'död': 17:7 (Nr. Cf. GMLS).
- respectus, us** m., abl. *respectu* 1) 'compared to'; 'i jämförelse med' (BU 1 400:9 *til syn ok liknilse vidh*): 31:19 (GMLS) 2) 'regarding'; 'med avseende på': 31:18 (GMLS).
- respicere** v., 'look at', 'behold', 'fasten one's gaze upon'; 'se', 'skåda', 'rikta

- blicken mot': 1:15; 2:2; 11:19; 29:9 (GMLS; Rev. I).
- respondere** v., 'reward', 'repay'; 'be(löna)', 'återgälda': 4:14; 12:32 (GMLS).
- reuelacio, onis** f. = visio, 'revelation'; 'revelation', 'uppenbarelse', *r. facere* = reuelare, 'reveal'; 'uppenbara': 10:20; 11:16; 13:36 *reuelacionem fieri*: 5:7 (GMLS, Nr).
- sacramentum, i** n., 'sacrament', 'eucharist'; 'sakrament', 'nattvard': 16:10; 22:6; 23:3; 24:10; 27:28 (BeD, H-G, Hm; Rev. I, Ex., RS).
- sacrificium, ii** n., 'sacrifice in the Mass'; 'mässoffer': 27:20,29,30; 29:14 (BeD, H-G; Rev. I).
- sanatiua, orum** pro subst. adi. n. pl. = sanatiua medicamenta, 'medicine (remedy)', 'plaster'; 'läkemedel, (botemedel)', 'plåster': 16:10 (cf. Rev. IV 90:2 *apponit medicamentum sanitatis*). 2) 'healing'; 'helande': 16:14 (Sr: *sanatiuus*; Rev. IV 61:7). See above: *mortificatiua*.
- satisfacere** v., 'do penance', 'expiate'; 'göra bot för', 'sona': 28:6 (BeD; Rev. I, Ex.).
- scandalizare** v., 'hurt'; 'skada': 11:11; 24:19 (Ai, BeD, H-G; Rev. I).
- scapulare, is** n., vestis monachica scapulas tegens, 'tippet', 'scapular'; 'axelkåpa', 'skapulär': 17:8,9,15 (BeD, H-G, Nn, Slr, Sr; Rev. VI, Ex.).
- scilicet** adv., the position of: 12:11; 18:2. See my Chapter 4 'Textual Criticism'.
- scoria, ae** f. (Gr.), 'sin', 'impurity'; 'synd', 'orenlighet': 27:25 (BeD)
- Scriptura, e** f. = Sacra Scriptura, 'Holy Scripture', 'Bible'; 'Den heliga Skrift', 'Bibeln': 1:3; 2:19; 7:1; 19:26 (BeD, H-G, Sr; Ex.).
- scurrilitas, atis** f., fere = lascivia, 'scurrility', 'frivolous talk'; 'lättfärdigt tal': 1:19 (BeD, H-G, LmR; Rev. I).
- sed nec** coni., see my Gram. ind.: 7.4.1.
- sequens**, part. 'the following'; '(den) följande': 1:26; 10:3.
- si** coni., see my Gram. ind.: 7.4.2.
- sibi** pron., see my Gram. ind.: 7.1.3.
- sicut** coni, see my Gram. ind.: 7.1.3.
- similare** v., i.q. simulare, 'compare to'; 'likna vid', 'jämföra': 14:3; 15:1; 29:2 (H-G; Rev. I)
- si tamen** coni., see my Gram. ind.: 7.4.2
- solummodo** adv. = solum, modo, tantum, tantummodo: 2:9; 6:15 (Rev. I).
- sotulares, ium** m. pl. = subtalares, 'shoes'; 'skor': 4:16 (RS).
- spirituales, ium** m. pl., 'religious men'; 'andliga män': 16:7 (BeD₇).
- spiritualia, ium** pro subst. adi. n. pl., i.q. spiritalia, 'spiritual things'; 'andliga ting': 1:2,17; 6:1; 31:18; 34:3 (BeD₄).
- stare** v., fere = esse: 4:6; 18:28; 26:11; 27:14; 30:21 (Revs. I, IV, VII, RS, QO).
- subditi, orum** m. pl. = subiecti, 'subjects'; 'undersåtar,-lydande': 3:9; 5:4,5 (H-G, Hm; Rev. I).
- sufferre** v., *s. alqm. (alqd.)* = ferre alqm. (alqd.), indulgere alci., 'bear, stand, put up with, be indulgent with someone (regarding something)'; 'fördraga, ha fördrag med, stå ut med ngn. (ngt.)', 'vara överseende mot ngn. (beträffande ngt.)': 19:12; 30:5 (Rev. I).
- sui ipsius** pron., see my Gram. ind.: 7.1.3.
- super** praep., see my Gram. ind.: 7.5.
- superlaudabilis** adi., 'beyond all praise'; 'höjd över allt beröm': 14:9 (BeD).
- supra** adv., 'above'; 'ovan': 18:25; 26:2.
- supradictus**, part. adi. = quem supra dixi, 'mentioned above'; 'ovannämnd': 12(R); 27:13 (H-G, Hm, Nr; Rev. I, SA).
- symia, e** f., i.q. simia: 11:9,11,14,15
- symonia, e** f., i.q. simonia, 'simony'; 'simoni': 10:17; 29:16 (BeL).
- symoniacus** adi., i.q. simoniacus, 'simoniacal'; 'simonistisk': 3:8 (BeL).
- talis** pron., see my Gram. ind.: 7.1.3.
- tamquam** coni., see my Gram. ind.: 7.2.5. Moods (f).
- tectura, e** f., 'roof'; 'tak': 18:23 (Nr).
- tela, e** f., 'cloth', 'linen?'; 'tyg', 'lärf't (*BU* 1 385:20 *lärf't*): 27:26 (RS)
- temporalis** 1) adi. = mortalis, terrestris, 'temporal', 'mortal', 'earthly'; 'timlig', 'dödlig', 'jordisk': 1:23; 2:9; 7:7; 12:20; 16:6; 19:12; 29:15; 26:17 (Ai, BeD, H-G, Hm, Nr; Rev. I, RS, SA). 2) *temporale, is* pro subst. adi. n. s. = res temporalis, mortalis, terrestris; 'temporal, mortal, earthly

- thing'; 'det världsliga': 16:8; 28:4 (Rev. I).
- temporalia, ium** pro subst. adi. n. pl.: 12:21; 14:8; 24:11 (see above: *temporale*).
- temporaliter** adv., 'in this world', 'for this life'; 'i den här världen', 'för det här livet': 26:19 (Nr).
- teneri** v. = debere, 'be obliged to', 'be bound to', 'should'; 'vara skyldig', 'böras': 1:16 etc. (H-G, Hm; Revs. I, V-VII, Ex., RS).
- tepscere** v., 'become cool, indifferent'; 'bliva ljum, likgiltig': 1:24; 2:14 (BeL; Rev. I).
- tepiditas, atis** f., 'half-heartedness', 'indifference'; 'ljumhet', 'likgiltighet': 3:1 (LmR; Rev. IV).
- terrestria, ium** pro subst. adi. n. pl. = mundus, 'the earth'; 'världen': 30:5 (BeD, Sr). Cf. above: *celestia, mundalia, temporalia*.
- trader** v., *t. spiritum* = extremum spiritum edere (effundere), 'breathe one's last', 'expire', 'die'; 'utandas sin sista suck', 'uppgiva andan', 'dö': 13:29 (Ai; Rev. I).
- trahicere** v., i.q. traicere, 'filtrate', 'strain'; 'filtrera', 'sila' (*BU* 1 402:4 *silā alla tunna* [to 34:2 *trahicere et colare*]): 34:2(bis),3.
- transgressio, onis** f., fere = peccatum, 'transgression', 'trespass'; 'försyndelse', 'synd', 'brott': 23:3 (BeD, LmR; Rev. I).
- turbari** v. med.-pass., fere = angi, anxium, sollicitum esse, dolere, 'feel distressed', 'be anxious', 'grieve', 'be sorrowful'; 'oroas', 'plågas', 'ängslas', 'känna sig bedrövad', 'vara ledsen': 11:6; 12:5,27; 15:10; 19:1; 24:1; 27:15; 32:3; 33:5 (BeD; Revs. I, V,VII).
- unus** pron., see my Gram. ind.: 7.1.3-4.
- unus - alius** pron., see my Gram. ind.: 7.1.3.
- unus - alter** pron., see my Gram. ind.: 7.1.3.
- usquequo** con., see my Gram. ind.: 7.4.2.
- ut - et ne** con., see my Gram. ind.: 7.4.2.
- utile est** = opus est: 1:12 (Rev. V: Ind. r. et 1).
- utiliora, um** pro subst. adi. comp. n. pl., 'more useful things'; 'nyttigare saker': 31:10.
- utrum - an non** con., see my Gram. ind.: 7.4.2.
- utrum - aut** con., see my Gram. ind.: 7.4.2.
- utrumque ... et** con., see my Gram. ind.: 7.3.
- utrum - vel an** con., see my Gram. ind.: 7.4.2.
- ut sicut** con., see my Gram. ind.: 7.4.2.
- vacuus** adi., v. *ad* = v. *ab*: 13:25.
- valere** v., 'be able to'; 'förmå', 'vara i stånd till': 3:10; 5:3,7; 8:7; 13:9,10; 24:5; 28:1; 30:16; 31:9 (RS, QO).
- vel - aut** con., see my Gram. ind.: 7.4.2.
- velle** subst. indecl. = voluntas, 'will', 'wish'; 'vilja', 'önskan': 12:10; 19:2(bis); 26:15 (H-G, Hm; Revs. I, V, VII, Ex. SA: Gram. ind.). Cf. above: *posse*.
- veniale, is** pro subst. adi. = peccatum veniale: 19:10. Cf. above: *mortale*.
- venire** v., see my Gram. ind.: 7.2.3.
- verecundiora, um** pro subst. adi. comp. n. pl. = verecunda membra, 'private parts'; 'blygd': 11:7,10,11 (BeD: *verecundus*). See my Gram. ind.: 7.1.4. (a).
- veraciter** adv. = vere, 'truly'; 'i sanning': 29:9 (DuC; Rev. V).
- Vexionensis** adi., 'from Växjö'; 'från Växjö': 12:26.
- vicis, is** f. 1) 'time'; 'gång', *secunda vice*: 12:28 (BeL; Rev. VII, QO) 2) 'role', 'function'; 'roll', 'funktion': 3:12 (BeD₄).
- vincere** v., *animam* v., 'win a soul'; 'vinna en själ': 13:29 (GMLS; cf. SA 19:5 *Videns autem ipsa virgo, quam sapienter ille per corporis sui passionem in cruce reuicit animas eisque celi portas aperuit, quas subdolos hostis ad gehennalem mortem vicerat ...*).
- virtuosus** adi. = virtute plenus, 'virtuous', 'strong', 'good'; 'dygdig', 'stark', 'god': 13:35; 30:8 (Revs. I, V-VII, Ex., RS, SA,QO).
- visio, onis** f. = revelatio, 'revelation'; 'uppenbarelse': 27(R, bis) (BeD; ES II:13 sqq.).
- vituperium, i** n. = contumelia, 'insult'; 'skymf': 16:1 (LmR; Rev. VII).

zelus, **i** m. (Gr) = studium, ardor, 'zeal', 'ardour'; 'nit', 'iver': 13:10,13; 33:8 (Hm, L-S; Revs. I, V, VI).

zizania, **e** f. (Gr.), 'weed'; 'ogräs' (cf. *BU* 1 353:21 *tistillin*, 'thistle'): 16:9 (BeD).

7 Grammatical Index

7.1 Nominal words

7.1.1 Nouns

altitudine/altitudinem: 30:1. See my Chapter 4 'Textual Criticism'.

Christo/Christi: 12(R). See my Chapter 4. 'Textual Criticism'.

correpcionem/correccionem: 1:14. See my Chapter 4 'Textual Criticism'.

Gender, see my Gloss.: *dies* (fluctuation of) and *mantellus* (change of) respectively.

hominibus/omnibus: 15:4. See my Chapter 4 'Textual Criticism'.

latitudine/latitudinem: 30:1. See my Chapter 4 'Textual Criticism'.

pinguedo: 18:26 (app. hist.).

quadrans: 24:8. See Excursus A, pp. 223 sqq.

via/vita: 1:5; 12:9. See my Chapter 4 'Textual Criticism'.

viuum/vinum: 27:20. See Excursus A, pp. 231 sq.

voluntas/voluptas: 6:6,13; 7:4-5; 19:11; 24:19; 27:15. See my Chapter 4 'Textual Criticism'.

7.1.2 Cases

Ablative:

in followed by abl., where class. Latin would have had a prep. with acc. indicating direction: 12:29 (*ad ciuitatem Mafredoniam in regno Cecilie* [for *Mafredoniam, in civitatem regni Siciliae*]).

Adjectives:

(a) emphasizing: 29:13 (*rex regum*).

(b) double genitives: 1:10 (*amaritudinem passionis Christi ... angustias humanitatis Christi*); 13:19 (*delectacio amicorum mundi*); 29(R) (*deitatis unitatis*) etc. (H-Sz 65⁴-66¹).

(c) coordination of an adjective and a part. gen.: 2:4 (*quidquid humile et pietatis est, parui pendunt*), (QO:Gram. ind.).

(d) Adjective, replacing a genitivus obiectivus: 8:7 (*ex diuina caritate*); 19:8 (*timo-*

rem diuinum) etc. (RS, SA: Gram. indices).

Genitivus comparationis: 30:8 (*ego potentior sum omnium*), (H-Sz 112⁴-113).

Nominativus pendens (isolated and emphasized): 29:18 (*Omnis enim, qui hec duo habuerit, illi proficient preces mee.*), (SVENNUNG [1935:36,172, 178-188], H-Sz 29¹⁻⁴).

Vocative, combined with the interjection *o*: 11:17,18; 22:6 (*O anima*); 23:1 (*O mi dulcissime Deus*); 27:19,26 (*O Roma*), (QO: Gram. ind.), (SVENNUNG [1958: 267, 270,287,414]).

7.1.3 Pronouns

aliquid (for class. aliquod): 4:13 (*aliquid mortiferum*) etc. (H-Sz 58²).

aliquis, aliqua, aliquid (for class. quis, quae, quid): 18:13 (*ne alique*); 14:17 (*Si aliquam*); 16:8 (*si aliquid*) etc. (H-Sz 194³, 195²).

aliter – sicut (for class. aliter – quam): 18:28 (H-Sz 595¹).

alius – alter corresponding (for class. alter – alter): 15:6-7; 31:5 (GMLS, H-Sz 208¹⁻²).

alter ... alius corresponding (for class. alter – alter): 15:6; 31:3.

idem, ipse, pron., in a weak sense similar to *hic, ille, is, iste*: 1:9 etc. (Rev. IV, RS: Gram. indices).

ipse, see *idem*.

nichil, i.q. *nihil, fere = non*: 8:14; 12:22. Inflected forms: *nichilum* (for class. nichil); 31:18 (*ad nichilum*); 30:11 (*ex nichilo*); 30:12 (*pro nichilo*) (H-Sz 454b).

nullus, pron. indef. (for class. nemo): 17:13; 19:23, 30:5 (H-Sz 204³-205¹; Rev. I: Gloss.).

quidam, pron., used as an indef. art.: 4:4 etc.

quilibet, pron. indef. (for class. unusquisque, omnis, quicumque, 'each', 'every(body)'; 'var och en', 'varje'): 2:3 etc. (Ai, H-G, Hm, LmR, Nr; Rev. I: Gloss.).

Relative pron., transition from relative to demonstrative pronoun: 1:1 (*qui ... ipse*); 27:11 (*qui ... isti*); 27:12,13; 29:18 (*qui ... illi*), (Rev. VII: Ind. r. et. l.).

sibi (for class. ei, eis): 7:7; 8(R) etc. (SA: Gram. ind.).

sicut, instead of a relative pron.: 18:28 (*ille iustus iudex, qui iudicavit me, magis voluisset me liberare tam amara morte, sicut (= quam) tunc paciebatur, cum staret in ligno crucis*), (H-Sz 557³).

sui ipsius (for class. sua): 8(R) (SA: Gram. ind.).

talīs, pron. adi., *hic talis*, fere = is, ille: 11:6 etc. (H-Sz 205⁴; Revs. V, VII: Glossaries).

unus – alius corresponding (for class. alter – alter): 12:6,20,25; 13:26; 33:1 (H-Sz 182¹).

unus – alter corresponding (for class. alter – alter): 14:11 (cf. H-Sz 429¹).

7.1.4 Adjectives

Adjectives, replacing a genitivus obiectivus, see: 7.1.2 (d).

Comparison:

compar. for posit.: 2:12 (*plures = multi*, ‘many’; ‘många’); 14:2 (*plura = multa*); 11:7,10,11 (*verecundiora*, see my Gloss.); 16:8 (*paucioribus-pluribus*); compar. for sup. 4:20 (*nobilius*); 18:19 (*melioribus et preciosioribus*) etc. (H-Sz 162^{3,4}, 164⁴, 168²-169; Rev. I: Ind. r. et. l.).

Genitive, replaced by an adjective, see: 7.1.2 Adjectives (d).

proprius, together with a poss. pron.: 4:1 (*suis proprius manibus*); 16:10 (*vulneribus ... tuis propriis*), (RS: Gram. Ind.).

unus, in a weak sense, similar to an indef. article: 11:17 (*quasi una persona tremula*) etc. (Rev. I, Ex.: Glossaries, RS: Gram. ind.).

7.2 Verbs

7.2.1 Inflexion

Deponentia in passive meaning, see my Gloss.: *consolari* and *obliuisci*.

moderare = moderari, see my Gloss.

7.2.2 Conjugation

Change of, 17:6 (*odire*); 31:2 (*odiebat*),

(Revs. V, VII: Indices r. et. l., RS: Gram. ind [inflexion]).

7.2.3 Constructions

contingere (inpers.), followed by an acc. c. inf.: 10:5 (*Et adhuc interdum contingit clare videntes una cum cecis cadere*), (H-Sz 359¹).

eligere, in alqd.: 30:6 (*ancillam, que eligebatur in dominam*); 32(R) (*elegit in matrem et in portum salutis*); 32:2 (GMLS; RS: Gram. ind.).

Equivalents of *esse*, see my Gloss.: *existens*, *stare*.

ingredi, alqd. (for *in*): 20:5 (H-Sz 372⁴).

misereri, with dat.: 23:1; 26(R),12; 27:32; 29:17 (Rev. I: Ind. r. et. l.).

parcere (pers.): 13:11 (*faciat, ut tenetur, que possit ... non parcendo paruo vel magno*); 13:15; 13:30 (*amicus Dei non parcat vite et bonis*); *p. alci rei ab alqare*, ‘spare something (from) something’; ‘förskona ngt. (från) ngt.’: 18:14 (*venator ... non parcat velleribus a sagittis, non corporibus a vulneribus*), (H-Sz 32⁴-33¹).

penitere (pers.) with *de*, see my Gloss.

pertinere, *p. ad alqm.* c. inf. = oportet, decet c. acc. c. inf.: 31:16 (Rev. I: Gloss.).

venire, followed by a prep. (for the final dat.): 10:15 (*ei in auditorio venire = ei auditorio venire*); *v. alci*, fere = venire ad alqm., ‘approach somebody’; ‘komma till (mot ngn.)’: 18:11 (H-Sz 86 sq.; Rev. I: Gloss.).

7.2.4 Problematical verb forms

egressus/ingressus: 31:15. See my Chapter 4 ‘Textual Criticism’.

introducendus/introducturus: 3:16. See my Chapter 4 ‘Textual Criticism’.

offerretur/auferretur: 27:17. See my Chapter 4 ‘Textual Criticism’.

precidere/prescindere, confusion of in the MSS.: 34:1,2. See my Chapter 4 ‘Textual Criticism’.

7.2.5 Tenses and moods

Tenses:

(a) Imperf. (subj.) for pres. (subj.): 27:14 (*Queramus ..., qui tenerentur*).

The perf. (for pres.): 2:3 (*certificatus fue-*

rit); 33:1 (*fuisti missa*). The pluperf. (for perf.): *fueram*: 1:8 (*inspirata fuisset*); etc. (H-Sz 322b; NORBERG [1968:25]); BERGH [1967:103 n. 8], RS, QO: Gram. indices).

(b) Perf. inf. (for pres. inf.): 1:7 (*Licet enim Deus potuisset sustentasse*), (H-Sz 351 sq.)

(c) Conditional clauses:

The pres. tense in a conditional *si*-clause (for fut. II), when the main clause takes the fut. I.: 12:22 (*si tenet ipse promissionem suam, tenebo et ego meam*); 13:34 (*Si ... tenet promissionem ..., ego iuuabo eum*); 14:13 (*Si pecco ..., maiora merita et opera mea me excusabunt*) etc.

Fut. I. in a conditional *si*-clause, when the main clause takes the present tense: 13:27 (*Si autem ista duo ... concordare poterit in unum, tunc ... presentat Deo preciosissimam rem*); 31:6 (*Scis enim populum tuum inuidum esse glorie, et quem non poterit opere, persequitur et deprauat verbo*).

Inconsistent use of tenses within cond. clauses expressing irreality: 12:24 (*cogitas, que fuisset remuneracio ..., si episcopus suus fuisset conuersus?*); 19:5 (*si centies fecisses bene pro unoquoque malo ..., adhuc non sufficeres rependere Deo*) etc.

(d) Pres. hortative subj. (for perf. subj.): 10:1 (*Ne timeas*).

(e) *cognosco* (for perf. *cognoui*): 17:16,18,19; 26:8, *cognoui* (for pluperf. *cognoueram*): 20:3 (BERGH [1971:62 n. 54]).

noui (for *noueram*): 8:5. Cf. *noui* (for scio): 10:10; 22:5; 26:19(ter), (BERGH [1971:62 n. 54]).

promittere, followed by the pres. inf. (for the fut.) in an acc. c. inf. constr.: 22:3 (H-Sz 357⁴-358¹).

Moods:

(a) An acc. c. inf. replaced by a *quod*-clause in the ind.: 2:1 (*Dic episcopo, quod ... tria difficilia occurrent ei*); 10:6 (*Certissime dico tibi, quod, nisi reparacionis iuamem habuerit, ipsius ruina tam grandis erit*); 12:28 (*Scito ... quod ... reuerte-*

tur ... morietur) etc. (Rev. I: Gloss: quod; KARLSEN [1998:13 sq., 69 sqq.]).

(b) Indirect questions, taking the ind.: 3:5 (*si episcopus cogitet, ad quid recepit episcopatum*); with different modi 3:3 (*debet cogitare, quomodo et qualiter accepit potestatem episcopalem, quomodo eam tenuerit*) etc. (H-Sz 538b).

(c) Indirect questions, initiated with *si* and taking the ind. 3:4 (*attendat primo, si desiderauit episcopatum propter se vel an propter Deum*); 3:11 (*inquirere, quomodo seruant iusticiam et si prudenter et non cupide gerunt se in agendis*.) etc. (H-Sz 464a).

(d) Consec. *quod*-clauses in the ind. (for class. *ut*- or a relative *qui*-clause with the subj.): 4:11 (*obloquebatur ei in tantum, quod canonicus arguebatur et reputabatur fatuus et mendax*); 8:3 (*tam ardens eram, quod nichil michi placuit*); 12:29 (*cecidit de equo ita grauiter, quod due coste fracte sunt*) etc. (cf. subj. 24:14; 6:17), (H-Sz 581⁴-582³).

(e) Unmotivated subj.: 13:19 (*In hiis fossis multi libentissime quiescerent et numquam in celis curarent videre Deum*).

(f) *antequam*, followed by the subj. imperf. (for perf. ind.): 30:15,16 (BERGH [1967:53]).

debere, in the subj. (for ind.): 10:5,13(bis) etc. (Rev. I: Gloss., Rev. V: Ind. r. et. I.: Mood).

licet, followed by the ind.: 11:9; 12:15; 13:24; 27:1,2 (H-Sz 605³).

quamuis, followed by the ind.: 7:2; 9:1-3 etc. (H-Sz 602⁴-603¹).

tamquam, followed by the imperf. (for pres.) 14:12; 18:11 (H-Sz 675¹).

The prospective function of the subj.: 19:10 (*non attendendo, quod iudicarem*), (GOODRICH [1917]; FRIDH [1971:47-50]; KARLSEN [1998:97]; Rev. I, p. 510: Tenses).

Relative clauses, ind. in relative clauses with a consecutive sense: 4:1 (*Quis enim est dominus vel episcopus, qui non magis concupiscit dominium ad honorem mundi*); 19:4 (*Non enim est homo, qui non peccat saltem venialiter*), (H-Sz 558⁴).

7.2.6 Infinitives, Participles, Gerund, Gerundive

Infinitives:

- (a) *facere* followed by an inf.: 2:5 (*paciencia grauia facit esse suauia et illatas contumelias gaudenter tolerare.*); 8:5 (*faciens me voluntatem suam intelligere.*) (H-Sz 345C; Rev. IV: Ind. loc.).
- (b) final inf. (for an *ut*-clause): 1:1 (*venit ... assumere humanitatem, saluare animas*, cf. my Chapter 4 ‘Textual Criticism’); 13:28 (*exiuit ... tenere certamen.*) (H-Sz 344³⁻⁴).
- (c) depending on a *verbum timendi*: 19:12 (*timens separari.*). Cf. 6:14 (*timens, quod ... habeatur.*) (H-Sz. 347²⁻³; SA, p. 143:G).
- (d) perf. inf. (for pres. inf.), see: 7.2.5 Tenses (b).
- (e) Substantival infinitives (H-Sz 343 sq.). See my Gloss.: *posse* and *velle*.

Participles:

- (a) pres. part. coordinated with a clause with *et* or *-que*: 4:10 (*confudit clericum aperte et imprudenter iactans se*); 31:19 (*Mundus iste est quasi vile tugurium respectu tabernaculi, quod inhabitat Deus populusque Deum exasperans.*); 33:7 (*erat lapis quadratus et pie dubitans.*)
- (b) anacoluthic use of pres. part.: 5:2 (*Illic se et populum ducentes [sc. gubernatores], ubi horribiliores sunt iactus undarum*); 29(R) (*Laus sponse ... continens templi Salomonis similitudinem.*)
- (c) Fut. participles used as a set concept: 28:4 (*moriturus homunculus ... in eternum regnaturus Deus.*)

Gerund:

- (a) in the ablative.
- (i) replacing a pres. part.: 14:17 (*tradendo ... dixit*); 17:12 (*loquendo respondi*) etc. (NORBERG [1968:25]; RS: Gram. ind.).
- (ii) with consecutive force: 13:11 (*parcendo*).
- (iii) with optative force: 3:19 (*... similiter gaude de eo, quem moriendo pro eo tantum desiderasti.*), [BU 1 319:5-7 glädz thu samuledh af honom hulkin som thu astundade swa mykit at thu vilde döo for hans skuld.].

(iv) with final force: 12:22 (*considerando*), (H-Sz 380β, ÖBERG [1969:15]; Rev. IV: Ind. loc.).

(v) with consecutive/final force: 1:2 (*deponat primo pondus circumstans et onerans eum, hoc est mundi cupiditatem, habendo mundum ad sola necessaria sua secundum episcopalem humilem sustentationem.*); 6:16 (*nisi se cito ad sanctam Ecclesiam conuerterit cum ipsa nouem horas ducendo ... diligendo ... habendo ... disponendo*); 13:26 (*habeat caritatem ad Deum dolendo ... condoleatque ... habendo*) etc.

(vi) with hortative force: 1:17 (*Post dictam missam exerceat episcopale officium suum cauendo sollicite, ne plus attendat ad corporalia quam spiritualia.*); 3:15 sq. (*Et ideo habeat in manu vas sibi carum, et hoc vacuum, offerendo illud regi summo. Vas vero istud vacuum offerendum est cor suum.*); 13:30 (*amicus Dei non parcat vite et bonis iuuando alios secum eosque filio meo presentando.*)

(vii) with imperative force: 6:7 (*Ad legitimum tuam mentis tue caritatem conuerte ipsam diligendo et sicut decet vestiendo nouemque horis cum ipsa manendo et sola decima hora cum ancilla ...*).

(b) The acc. after a gerund governed by a preposition: 1:12 (*ad faciendum voluntatem eius*); 18:20 (*in capiendo sompnum*); 26:18 (*in querendo Deum*); 27:6 (*ad proferendum verba Dei*) etc. (RS, QO: Gram. indices).

Gerundive, used as a fut. part. with passive meaning: 26(R) (*duplici iudicio, dampnandorum scilicet et saluandorum*); 26:14 (*Nam duplex est iudicium, dampnandorum scilicet et saluandorum.*); 26:15 (*Saluandorum vero erit visio Dei*); 28:8 (*alii dampnandorum*); 31(R) (*quomodo frequenter saluantur dampnandi secundum homines et dampnantur saluandi secundum homines vel mundum*), (H-Sz 394d; KARLSEN [1998:83 sqq.]).

7.3 Adverbs

aliter/taliter: 18:28. See my Chapter 4 ‘Textual Criticism’.

bene, adv.

(a) vi concess. *bene ... sed*, 'to be sure ... but', 'it is true ... but'; 'visserligen ... men', 'det är sant ... men': 30:16 (*Bene quippe valuisse Deus eduxisse populum ... sed iusticia Dei exigebat*), (GMLS; Rev. I, Ex.: Glossaries, RS: Gram. ind.).
(b) *b. facere*, fere = bonum facere: 19:5 (H-Sz 34⁴).

utrumque ... et (for class. et – et) 'both ... and'; 'både ... och': 29:13 (*Nam Filius Dei, qui est et Filius meus, utrumque est sacerdos et rex regum.*). Cf. my Chapter 4 'Textual Criticism' to 8:6 (Rev. VII: Gloss., RS: Gram. ind.).

7.4 Conjunctions

7.4.1 Coordinating conjunctions

sed nec (for class. nec/neque) vero, 'nor', 'and ... not'; 'och inte (heller)': 19:19; 26:9; 31:7 (BERGH [1971:38 sqq.]; Rev. I: Gloss.).

7.4.2 Subordinating conjunctions

aut ... vel (for class. aut – aut): 26:6 (H-Sz 522a).

dum (for class. cum, 'when'; 'när'): 5:6 (RS, QO: Gram. ind.).

ex quo, coni. caus. (for class. ex eo, quod, quoniam, 'since', 'because'; 'eftersom'): 4:19; 18:24 (LmR, TLL. V₂ 1107, 19-23; Rev. I: Gloss.).

ne – ne (for class. ne – neve): 2:9; *ne – et ne*: 17:9; 18:13 (H-Sz 536γ).

nec (for class. non): 31:5 (H-Sz 448³-449³).

quatinus, introducing a final or consecutive clause: 5:3 (*Ideo rogamus ..., ut portum illuminare digneris, quatinus populus vitare sua pericula valeat*); 13:13 (*Cuius vitam imitetur iste episcopus, quatinus omnes audientes intelligent, quod odit peccata propria et aliorum.*), (H-Sz 656³).

si, introducing indirect questions, see 7.2.5 Moods (c):

si (for class. num): 2:3; 3:4 etc., in double questions *si – an non* (for class. *utrum – necne*): 28:3 (*probetur, si diligat Deum an non*), (H-Sz 546e). See also *utrum – an non. si tamen* (for class. *si modo*): 28:2,14 (H-Sz 673³⁻⁴; Rev. IV: Ind. loc.).

usquequo, coni. temp. (for class. [usque eo] donec, 'until'; 'ända tills'): 27:4 (BeD, LmR; Rev. I: Gloss.).

ut – et ne (for class. *ut – neve/neque*): 15:5 (H-Sz 536 γ).

ut sicut (for class. *sicut*): 13:31 (*Ut sicut – sic*); 30:5; 31:15 (H-Sz. 635β; Rev. V: Ind. r. et. l.).

utrum – an non, in indirect questions (for class. *necne*): 8:16; 28:3 (H-Sz 546e).

utrum ... aut, in indirect questions (for class. *utrum – an*): 8:7 (H-Sz 466f, 546f).

utrum – vel an, in direct questions (for class. *utrum – an*): 8:8,9 (H-Sz 546f).

vel-aut (for class. *vel – vel*): 17:10; 20:5 (H-Sz 522β).

7.5 Prepositions

de (a) *penitere* (pers.) with *de*, see my Gloss.

timere, with *de* (for acc.): 12:7. See also 7.2.6 (c).

(b) with a causal meaning: 3:19 (*gaude de eo*); 4:3 (*de pulchritudine et sapientia sua laudatus*); 4:4 (*honorabatur de diuiciis suis*) etc. (SVENNUNG [1922:32]; QO: Gram. ind.).

(c) with abl. (for part. gen.): 1:2; 6:7 etc. (H-Sz 56⁴, 57¹, 58³, 59¹, 112², 261³).

(d) with adverb: 3:19 (*de prope et a longe*, 'far and near'; 'nära och fjärran'), (H-Sz 245⁴; Ex.: *alonge*); 18:18 (*de medie*, 'in a modest way'; 'måttligt').

(e) followed by the name of a city: 13:28 (*exiuit de Iherusalem*).

in (a) sensu temp.: 30:16 (*in xl diebus*), (H-Sz 148c).

(b) see 7.2.3: *eligere* and *venire*.

per, denoting the agent: 8(R) (*questionem sibi per ipsam factam*); 11:18 (*per Ethiopeum unum infusum*); 17(R) (*per Dominicum eis datum*); 17(R) (*per dyabolum eis oblatum*), (H-Sz 127¹, 240⁴; RS: Gram. ind.).

pro (a) with abl. pretii: 30:12 (*pro nichilo*) (GMLS₁)

(b) with adv.: 13:37 (*pro certo*); 19:2 (*pro certissimo*).

super, with acc., *iurare super* = i. per: 18:11(ter).

7.6 Syntactical structures

Acc. c. inf., often replaced by a *quod*-clause with the ind. See: 7.2.5 Moods (a).

Anacoluthon: 3:5 (*Deinde si episcopus cogitet, ad quid recepit episcopatum, certe ut esset pater pauperum et consolator et mediator animarum.*); 17:18 (*Si tu lenitatem cum austeritate miscebas eis et ego alliciebam eas blandius et ostendebam, quod delectabat eas suavius, et ecce plures currunt ad pastum et vocem meam.* Cf. BU 1 357:27-30 Vm ['if'] *thu samanblandade lät thingh ok hardh fore them Tha* ['then'] *lokkadhē iak them blidlikare ok iak tede them thz them lustade sötelikare Ok nw löpa flere äptir minne röst oc kost.*), (H-Sz 729 sqq.). See also 7.2.6 Participles (b).

Pleonasm: 4:1; 14:1; 16:1; 17:1; 18:1; 28:1 (*loquitur ... dicens*); 11:1 (*loquebatur ... dicens*); 30:12 (*enormia plurima*) etc. (H-Sz 523 sqq., 784 sqq.).

Substantival use of word groups: 12:17 (*non legeret nisi unum Pater noster*).

7.7 Style

Alliteration: 1:23 (*scit scienter*); 10:17 (*societatem maiorum ... ad maiora ascende-*

tis); 29:14 (*coronabatur corona*); 30:11 (*fabro fabricanti*); 31:16 (*corona coronare*).

Anaphora: 1(R) (*ante mensam, in mensa et post mensam*); 1:4 (*paratus ... paratus ... paratus*); 2:12 sq. (*Quid ad te ... Quid ad te ... quid ad te*); 2:19 (*desiderat ... desiderat ... desiderant*); 18:25 (*Ubi ... Ubi ... Ubi*); 28:9 (*aliter ... aliter ... aliter*); 28:14 (*si ... si ... si ... si*); 29:1 (*cuius ... cuius ... cuius*); 29:5 (*totum ... totum ... totumque*).

Asyndeton: 1:1 (*assumere humanitatem, saluare animas*). See my Chapter 4 'Textual Criticism'.

Ellipsis of *esse*: 3:6 (*Corporalis, quia*).

Pluralis reverentiae: 12:30 (*vestra presencia*); 12:31 (*vos ... rogetis ... manu vestra ... manus vestre*).

Repetitio: 1:18 (*terra de terrenis ... terra a terra*); 28:9 (*tenebre a tenebris, horror ab horrore, ardor ab ardore*) etc.

Rhetorical questions: 1:10 etc.

Word order:

(1) Cursus, see pp. 60 sq., 238 sq.

(2) The Latin Message versus Rev. III, see Excursus B.

8 Index Nominum

When there is some doubt regarding an identification, this is indicated by a question mark (?)

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8:8 *episcopi*; 8:10 *episcopum* = **Giovanni Visconti**. See above for 6(R).
10:3 *Mitte ergo ad illum* = **Annibaldo Ceccano** (?), Archbishop of Naples, Cardinal in 1327, d. 1350. See below for 11:16.
10:20 *Albanensem cardinalem, qui tunc fuit prior* = **Angelico Grimoaldi** (?), Prior 1358-1362, Cardinal Bishop of Albano 1367-1388.
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- 20:3 *illum* = **John the Baptist**.
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Novum testamentum

Mt.

3,13-17; 17,5: III 11:2 Ille, qui apparet tibi, ipse est naturaliter Dei filius, cui Pater me audiente perhibuit testimonium dicens: 'Hic est filius meus.'

4,4: III 1:9 in omni verbo Dei uiuit homo

6,9: III 12:17 Pater noster

7,13: III 1:2; 2(R),1,2,4,12; 12:9; 17:20 via arcta

7,14: III 8:18 porta est angusta

7,15: III 7:7 Vestimenta sunt ouium, intrinsecus autem sunt lupi rapaces!

9,9 sqq.: III 1:3 ille bonus Matheus

10,42: III 14:14 celum per haustum eciam aque frigide obtineri poterit

11,28: III 18:6 Venite ad me, et ego reficiam vos, scilicet dando meipsum!

11,30: III 16:4 Iugum, quod Deus dicit suaue

12,38 sqq.: III 33:7 qui petebant signum sicut Ione prophete

18,3: III 8:18 pusilli intrabunt celum

19,24: III 11:4 facilius est camelum per foramen acus transire quam diuitem ingredi celum

21,33 sqq.: III 10:14 uinea illa benedicta, quam Deus fundauit sanguine suo

22,14: III 19:24 Multi sunt vocati, pauci uero electi.

22,37: III 1:12 regraciari Deo toto corde
III 1:9 Deum suum super omnia et pre omnibus diligendum

III 24:5 dilexit toto corde

23,12: III 4:21 Deus sapiencior est ... qui exaltat humiles et non approbat superbientes

25:14 sqq.: III 20:1 qui quinque talenta acceperat, alia quinque lucratus est

26,39: III 1:10 quando peccit transferri a se calicem passionis

26,47 sqq.: III 19:22 Iudas non sequebatur me corde perfecto

26,50: III 19:14 Iudas uocatus est amicus

27,3 sqq.: III 14:17 Qualem caritatem habuit Iudas

28,18: III Proem. 1 omnis potestas est a Deo

Mc.

1,9-11: III 11:2 Ille, qui apparet tibi, ipse est naturaliter Dei filius, cui Pater me audiente perhibuit testimonium dicens: 'Hic est filius meus.'

10,25: III 11:4 facilius est camelum per foramen acus transire quam diuitem ingredi celum

12, 39: III 8:9 in primis <sedilibus> pro mundana gloria residere

14,36: III 1:10 quando peccit transferri a se calicem passionis

16,19: III 10:9 Dei filius ... ad celum ascendit

Lc.

1,26 sqq.: III 8:15 Ego sum, que ueritatem de ore Gabrielis audiui

1,38: III 8:6 Fiat ... michi secundum uerbum tuum.

1,41: III 20:3 imitans illum, qui nondum natus exultando intra viscera materna cognouit aduentum sui piissimi redemptoris

2,1 sqq.: III 10:7 in cuius utero Dei filius uenire dignatus est

2,21: III 25:2 puer ille innocentissimus circumcisisus est

2,35: III 30:4 Tuam animam pertransibit gladius.

3,21 sq.: III 11:2 Ille, qui apparet tibi, ipse est naturaliter Dei filius, cui Pater me audiente perhibuit testimonium dicens: 'Hic est filius meus.'

3,22: III 11:3 columbe specie apparuit

7,1 sqq.: III 26:18 ego qui ... centurionem nondum baptizatos uidi

10,27: III 1:9 Deum suum super omnia et pre omnibus diligendum

13,24: III 1:2; 2(R),1,2,4,12; 12:9; 17:20 via arcta

- 14,11: III 4:21 Deus sapiencior est ... qui exaltat humiles et non approbat superbientes
 14,16 sqq.: III 4:2 venient pauperes et infirmi
 18,25: III 11:4 facilius est camelum per foramen acus transire quam diuitem ingredi celum
 22,44: III 1:10 gutte sanguinis

Io.

- 1,1,14: III 13:5 verbum factum est caro
 1,29: III 11:12 ego videns Deum in humanitate demonstraui eum digito, 'ecce', inquit, 'agnus Dei'.
 1,29-34: III 11:2 Ille, qui apparet tibi, ipse est naturaliter Dei filius, cui Pater me audiente perhibuit testimonium dicens: 'Hic est filius meus.'
 2,25: III 26:19 Deus, qui omnium nouit corda
 6,44: III 12:1 nemo ingreditur celum nisi Pater traxerit eum
 8,44: III 33:5 nisi cauerit sibi, patri mendacii sociabitur
 10,10: III 17:16 qui (sc. fur) prodit de valle et considerat oues ad mactandum et pendendum
 10,11: III 1:4 Ego sum pastor bonus, qui pono animam meam pro ouibus meis
 12,25: III 7:1 Qui diligit animam suam in hoc mundo, perdet eam.
 14,6: III 8:16 veritas, que Dei filius est
 15,14: III 19:15 Vos amici mei estis
 19,25 sqq.: III 10:8 Ego iuxta crucem steti
 20,24 sqq.: III 33:1 Thomas pie dubitans

Act.

- 10,1 sqq.: III 26:18 ego qui Cornelium ... nondum baptizatos vidi
 13,22: III 19:16 Dauid ... hominem secundum cor meum
 15,8: III 26:19 Deus, qui omnium nouit corda

Rom.

- 2,6: III 26:19 do unicuique iuxta merita sua
 3,23: III 19:4 Non enim est homo, qui non peccat
 6,3: III 26:19 (alius est baptismus aque), alius sanguinis

- 13:1: III 26:2 Deus ... a qua est omnis potestas

1 Cor.

- 3,16 sq.; 6,19: III 29:4 Corpus quippe tuum et anima facta sunt deitatis templum
 5,5: III 13:12 percutere corpora ... ut anima minorem penam pateretur
 12,23: III 11:11 verecundiora hominis maiorem honestatem habent
 13,1 sqq.: III 24:14 diuerse virtutes sunt in caritate
 13, 4-8: III 2:7 Caritas enim vera non querit, que sua sunt, sed se totam exponit ad honorem Dei et proximi utilitatem.

2 Cor.

- 6,16: III 29:4 Corpus quippe tuum et anima facta sunt deitatis templum

Eph.

- 1,22 sq.; 5,23: III 24:15 Caput vero anime siue Ecclesie corpus meum est.
 2,1 sqq.: III 29:3 qui (sc. Salomon) fecit inter Deum et hominem pacem, qui reconciliauit reos, qui vitam dedit mortuis et pauperes ab exactore liberauit
 5,4: III 1:19 collocutio, in qua euitetur scurrilitas

Col.

- 1,9 sqq.: III 29:3 qui (sc. Salomon) fecit inter Deum et hominem pacem, qui reconciliauit reos, qui vitam dedit mortuis et pauperes ab exactore liberauit
 1,18,24: III 24:15 Caput vero anime siue Ecclesie corpus meum est.

1 Tim.

- 3,1: III 2:19; 4:8 qui episcopatum desiderat, bonum opus desiderat
 5,17: III 3:6 fructus episcopalis dignitatis ... erit duplex ... corporalis scilicet et spiritualis

Hebr.

- 1,3 sq.: III 26:4 Potencia et sapiencia eciam Filius equalis Patri non a se ipso potens sed a Patre potenter et ineffabiliter genitus, principium de principio, et a Patre numquam separatam.

7,3: III 29:12 mater sim illius, cuius generatio non habet principium nec finem ... nec habuisse patrem nec matrem, hoc est Melchisedech

7,3: III 29:13 Filius Dei ... utrumque est sacerdos et rex regum

12,1: III 1:2 deponat primo pondus

Iac.

4,10: III 4:21 Deus sapiencior est ... qui exaltat humiles et non approbat superbientes

4,17: III 19:5 Nam nichil ita odit Deus, sicut scire peccatum nec curare

I Petr.

1,18 sqq.: III 1:1 saluare animas sanguine suo

Proverbs

III 12:4 scriptum est, quod nemo stabiliter stat in hac vita, sed aut vadit ad meliora aut ad peiora.

III 15:7 secundum vulgare prouerbium, quia ipsi seruiunt michi taliter, quod non video, quia non approbo, ideo remunerabo eos taliter, quod non videbunt.

III 17:21 sicut vulgo dicitur: 'Omnia sua portare in dorso ...'.

See app. hist. for these expressions.

5,5 sq.: III 4:21 Deus sapiencior est ... qui exaltat humiles et non approbat superbientes

2 Petr.

3,8: III 4:18 mille anni apud Deum sunt quasi una hora

I Io.

1,10: III 19:4 Non enim est homo, qui non peccat

5,7 sq.: III 23:2 tres sunt, qui testimonium perhibent in terra, spiritus, aqua et sanguis

Unidentified proverb

III 30:9 prouerbium istud vertitur inter homines: 'Viuiamus secundum libitum nostrum, quia Deus faciliter placatur. Utamur mundo et honore eius, dum possumus, quia propter hominem factus est mundus.'

Cf. app. hist.

11 Excursus A:

On the Use of the Old Swedish Text(s) in Book III.

The Present State of Research Regarding the Latin and the Old Swedish Text(s)

St. Birgitta wrote down or dictated her revelations in Old Swedish. Of this composition there are only two original sheets left.¹ The revelations were translated into Latin by her two confessors, Prior Petrus Olavi of Alvastra and Magister Petrus Olavi of Skänninge, and later revised by Bishop Alfonso of Jaén.² The Latin version was then *retranslated* into Old Swedish at the end of the 14th century. WOLLIN (1981:5 sq.) is of the opinion that this retranslation was made at the beginning of the 1380's prior to the inauguration of Vadstena Monastery in 1384.

It should be emphasized that *the* Old Swedish retranslated text *does not yet exist in any text-critical edition*. What we do have access to is Old Swedish (OS) retranslation(s) preserved in various stages in a number of later manuscripts and fragments. Naturally, scholars have posed the question whether the OS retranslators/editors might have had access to the original OS texts written down by Birgitta (or perhaps various versions of these), which could have been useful in the retranslation and the editorial work. If this were the case, original revelation texts would be preserved in a way or are traceable in the retranslated OS texts.³

This question was first studied by HOLLMAN (1956:100 sqq.), who showed that regarding Ex. 17; 44; 80 and 89 the corresponding OS text (in *BU* 2, MS. A 5a) has priority over the Latin and builds on Birgitta's original Swedish text.⁴ In the OS text these four revelations are found in Book IV as nos. 139, 134, 141 and 138, respectively. Furthermore, HOLLMAN (1956:233 sq.) found a previously unpublished OS version of Ex. 28 (in Cod. Ups. C 25, 51^v-52^v), which, according to his belief, must go back to Birgitta's own original text.

I am indebted to Dr Lars Wollin, Uppsala University, for discussions regarding the Old Swedish texts of Book III.

¹ See my Chapter 1.2.1, p. 25 sq. with n. 12.

² See my Chapter 1.2, p. 24.

³ WESTMAN (1911:47-72); KRAFT (1929:17-42); BERGH (1971:16-33); ÖBERG (1986:66-72); MORRIS (1991b:32-52) and WOLLIN (1991b:407 sqq.).

⁴ The Extrauagantes also found in Rev. IV are of an older date than the only existing, relatively complete manuscript of the Extrauagantes, MS. Germ. 726 (comprising Ex. 1-46), Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, written in Vadstena in 1487-96 (*BU* 4 49 sqq.).

BERGH (1971:16-33) refuted earlier scholars' theories that the OS edition of Rev. V contains a more accurate version of the original than the Latin.

A valuable contribution to this discussion of the role of the original and the re-translated OS texts was made by EKLUND (1984a) when demonstrating that the existing OS text of the *Quattuor oraciones* represents an earlier stage of this text than do the two Latin versions. Consequently, he says, this may indicate that we have to re-assess the whole Old Swedish Brigittine text corpus. It is stressed that the OS text 'contains material which did not pass through the Latin but is derived from other sources'(1984a:8).⁵

Finally, BERGH (1991a:22-24) managed to solve some text-critical problems in Rev. VI with the help of the corresponding OS texts.

The Aim of my Research

My aim is to examine those passages in Book III (= Rev. III), where the Latin text gives one reading and the corresponding OS MSS another, in order to see which could be closer to the original, the OS texts or the Latin one.

The OS Manuscripts of Rev. III.

A general survey of the OS MSS. of the revelations and their relationship is provided by GUSSGARD (1961:37 sqq.).

Rev. III is found in its complete form in the OS MSS.: Cod. Holm. A 5a (early 15th. c., the Royal Library), Cod. Holm. A 33 (ca. 1450, the Royal Library)⁶ and Cod. Ups. C 61 (Uppsala University Library, early 16th c.).⁷ A 5a and A 33 are both secondary not only to the Latin version but also to an older, more original translation, represented in C 61.

KLEMMING edited Books I-III after A 33 (with certain gaps supplied by Cod. Skokloster 132) and Books IV-VIII after A 5a. Unfortunately, this edition is often misleadingly considered to be *the* OS text.

During his investigation of the OS MSS. GUSSGARD also found two fragments which represent the oldest version of the retranslated text. One of these, Cod. Ups. C 835a, contains Rev. III 15; 16:1-12 (*quam*); 21:6 (*cum*)-21; 22 (with the *Decl.*) and 23:1-2 (*matris*). The fragment was edited by GUSSGARD (1961:94-102).

⁵ Cf. Excursus B.

⁶ For a description of these two MSS., KLEMMING, *BU* 5 145-148.

⁷ The fourth manuscript, Skokloster 136 B, was excluded in my investigation, since it is secondary to A 5a. STÄHLE (1956:18,30); GUSSGAARD (1961:35) and BERGH (1991a:22 sq.) regard C 61 as superior to the source printed in KLEMMING's edition. On the basis of Rev. I 47-49, WOLLIN (1992a:128 sqq.) pointed out that A 5a is related to MS. **F** and **Gh** and A 33 to MS. **K**, respectively. Cf. Rev. III 27:20 (below, pp. 231 sq.), where **F**¹ has the same reading as the OS archetype.

A Comparison between the Latin and the OS Text(s) of Book III

1. Differences Regarding Rubrics, *Addiciones* and Some Text Passages

Regarding the Latin text the rubric of each chapter was written by Alfonso. In the *BU 1* text (= A 33)⁸ only chapters 5; 19-23 and 25-34 present rubrics and then in a very reduced shape and often comprised to one short sentence. The other chapters have just the ‘capitulum’ followed by the number. In A 5a, chapters 5; 22; 23; 25-30 (31 is lost) and 32-34 handed down the rubrics with the same reading as A 33. However, in C 61 all chapters (except chapters 1 and 13-16, where the text or parts of it are missing, see below) have long and detailed rubrics just as the Latin text. Examining the contents of the revelations in A 5a and A 33, where certain rubrics were dropped, one cannot help thinking that the retranslators/editors did not want to draw attention to the immoral priests and bishops, who are criticized as disgraceful for the Church.⁹ In the OS texts, the *Adds.* are omitted for III 12; 19 and 33. In III 12, this might be due to the problem of identification regarding the bishop mentioned (see pp. 26, 33 sq., 242 sq.). Regarding Rev. III 10, only §§1-4 were translated, but on the other hand there follows a reference to IV 88 (which is wrong, though, for IV:78).

Noteworthy is a strange transposition of some *Adds.* and text passages in the OS texts of Rev. III in both A 5a and A 33. In C 61, unfortunately, the passages corresponding to *BU 1* 338:19 *gudz älskoghe* – *BU 1* 354:6 *iak stran* (= Rev. III 12:14-16:13) are lost.

Rev. III 10:17 (*Add.*) – §18 (*ingemiscent*) is placed at the end of III 12 (*BU 1* 339:4-16 *gudz son sagdhe ... wärlidinne*).

Rev. III 11:16 (*Add.*) *Filius* – §20 is placed after III 12 (*BU 1* 339:16-340:10 *Än taladhe gudz son ... ranzsakas*).

(§16) *Hec reuelacio facta est de legato cardinali anni iubilei et cetera* is not translated in *BU 1*.

Rev. III 12:18-25 are placed in III 13 (*BU 1* 345:29-347:5 *Än talade gudz modhir ... glädhi vpnyas idhelika*).

Rev. III 13:36 is replaced by the words (*BU 1* 347:5-7) *Sidhan then biscopin war dödhir som nu är af saght. sagdhis sancta byrgitta*.

Rev. III 26:1-6 are missing in *BU 1*, wherefore the reader is asked to (*BU 1* 379:5) *Leta först j konunga bokinne* (‘Search first in the Book for Kings’).

⁸ Regarding text-critical problems the three OS MSS. were consulted. However, in other cases I had to for the sake of convenience to follow the printed edition (i.e., MS. A 33).

⁹ The same kind of censoring was found in the A 5a text corresponding to Rev. V, where certain chapters dealing with immoral priests were left out. BERGH (1971:23 n. 25). Furthermore, WOLLIN (1992a:114-128) pointed out that for the same reasons there is no translation of Rev. I 47-49 in A 5a.

These transpositions were discussed by KLOCKARS (1966:32 n. 9). In the Latin redaction, she says, parts of Rev. III 12 and 13 changed places owing to negligence. Therefore, it is in the OS text (= BU 1, A 33) that the correct order is preserved. Since she has no other arguments, I for my part see no reason to deviate from the Latin redaction. In the two revelations the discussion is about bishops. The introduction of another bishop in the Latin Rev. III 12 well suits the contexts (12:18 *De altero episcopo, de quo prius dixi tibi, concludo nunc ...*).¹⁰ Furthermore, it should be taken into consideration that the OS archetype cannot be established, when the passages concerned are lost in one of the MSS.

2. Rev. III 24.

A theory of OS priority over the Latin regarding Rev. III 24 was advanced by STEFFEN (1947:13-15). He pointed out three cases, which firmly convinced him that the Latin version was secondary:

III 24:7 sq. Tu vero fili, qui concupisti possessionem virginis et rapuisti, intrabis quidem carcerem, donec restituantur ablata. (§8) Audiui enim testimonium super te, quod penitens de facto tuo voluisti reddere ablata, sed quia preuentus *celeri et inopinato iudicio* non perfecisti, ideo manebis carceratus, donec restituatur *quadrans*.

BU 1 376:14-19. Thu skalt inga j mörkostufwo til thes röwit atir giäldz Thy at iak hördhe vitne owir thik at thu hafdhe idhruga for thina gerninga ok ville atir gifwa rofwit ok formatte ey for *bradhom dödh* Thy skalt thu blifwa j mörkostufw til thes *j ytärsta quarterit* atir giäldz.

Rev. III 24 is the story about the virgin (= the Church), who is courted by three princes (see pp. 31, 75 sq.). The text passage that now will be analysed is the righteous King's judgement regarding the greedy second son. The King says: 'But you, my son, who coveted the virgin's property and robbed her, you will be in prison, until what was robbed is restored. I have heard the testimony about you that you regretted your deed and wanted to give back what you had robbed, but did not have time to, since you were prevented by *the sudden and unexpected judgement*. Therefore you shall remain in prison, until the *quarter* is restored.'

The problematic word is of course the Latin *quadrans*, which generally means a 'quarter', 'fourth part' or a 'fourth part of a penny', 'a small coin'. According to STEFFEN the reader must then ask himself, 'What quarter should be repaid here?' Having found no plausible answer, STEFFEN states that the OS reading *j ytärsta quarterit* ('in the last quarter', i.e., 'in the last moment'),¹¹ gives the only possible

¹⁰ Cf. BERGH (1971:16 sqq.), who regarding Rev. V totally refuted the prevailing theories that the arrangement of the revelations in the OS was based on a text prior to the Latin one.

¹¹ Cf. LUNDÉN (1957:326) 'till dess sista skärven är återgäldad' ('until the last little bit is repaid'). In SÖDERWALL, (for *quarter*), this example is entered in the meaning of 'fjärdedels penning', 'styfver', 'skärf'. The other two examples referred to are: BU 3 191:21 'mannin skal göra rekenskap aff minzsta quartereno' and SUSO, *Gudeliga snilles väckare*, 447:26-27 'at brinna i skärsløelde ... til minzsta quarteret.'

meaning: i.e., the suitor shall remain in prison, until the debt is paid in the last moment (before his soul will be eternally damned).

STEFFEN's difficulties in interpreting the sentence seem to depend on the fact that an adjective like *nouissimus* ('last') is lacking in the Latin. An investigation of *quadrans* showed that this noun is used together with an adjective or an explanatory word in the revelation texts¹² but with one relevant exception, IV 102:32 Item iudex: "Numquid," inquit, "non legisti, quod quilibet homo debet reddere rationem etiam de *quadrante*, hoc est de *minimis*?" According to *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (*quadrans* 1b) *quadrans* can also mean a token of minimal value, 'a farthing': i.e., an adjective like *nouissimus* ('last') does not have to be added to imply the meaning of 'last farthing'. But this is not all. An argumentation based on the OS reading can be refuted totally! STEFFEN walked straight into the trap, since he considered BU 1 (= A 33) to be the OS text. I found that *j ytärsta quarterit* was the reading of only two MSS., A 5a and A 33. In C 61 (p. 58), which is the most reliable, the passage is translated to 'yterstha qwartherith' ('the last quarter'). This means that the Latin archetype most certainly did have *quadrans* and that the OS archetype actually had 'yterstha qwartherith'. The OS retranslators of A 5a and A 33 did not fully understand the implication of this word and consequently added *j*.¹³ This preposition made good sense and could also easily have been dropped. Thus it can be concluded that the King's logical judgement was that the son should remain in prison until the 'last farthing' or 'last penny' of what had been robbed was repaid.¹⁴

To go on with the story, the Latin text also states that the son was stopped from committing a crime through a sudden and unexpected judgement. Owing to the OS text, though, it was the virgin's sudden death. STEFFEN says that in the OS text

¹² I 14:3 (remunero eos, quidquid boni fecerint pro me, *usque ad ultimum quadrantem* et usque ad nouissimum punctum); IV 97:10 (Nam mittam tibi iusticiam meam quasi fluum rapidissimum et exigam a te *nouissimum quadrantem*); VI 10:21 (vsque ad *nouissimum quadrantem* soluet debita); VI 24:22 (vsque ad *nouissimum quadrantem* exigam peccata eius); VI 39:94 (Hoc enim est iusticia, vt tam diu anima purgetur, donec illa, que iniuste per eam ablata sunt, restituantur vsque ad *minimum quadrantem* aut per preces sanctorum aut per elemosinas et opera amicorum vel per purgacionem ad hoc dignam); VI 70:10 (An quod filius Dei mencietur, qui dixit, quod homo de *minimo quadrante* reddet rationem in iudicio?).

¹³ Cf. *Latin-svenskt glossarium efter Cod. Ups. C 20*, where *quadrans* is translated to 'fiärdadeel aff en smaa päningh' ('fourth part of a small coin').

¹⁴ There is another case, where the OS retranslator(s)/editor(s) did not understand the correct meaning of the Latin. Rev. III 11:9 sq. Sic iste episcopus fatuus est quasi symia, curiosus in mundi vanitate, deformatus a laudabili operatione, (§10) nam habet *vestes*, *id est ordines episcopales*, qui sunt valde honorabiles et preciosi apud Deum, sed verecundiora sua apparent nuda (BU 1 334:29-335:2 Swa är thänne biscopin flatir som apinia atwaktol wm wärldinna fafängho ok wanskapadhir thy at han hawir änga godha gerninga. han hawir *klädhe thz är biscops vigxlir* ('clothes, that is, the bishop's ordainment') hulka som äru storlika hedhirlika ok dyra när gudhi vtan hans bliugliko thingh synas bar). In this sentence the discussion is about a bishop's clothes, that is, his pontificals, which are very honourable and precious to God, but his private parts are naked. See *Latin-svenskt glossarium efter Cod. Ups. C 20*, where *ordo* is translated to 'sképilse eller skykilse ok *vixl* ('ordination').

we learn what eventually happened to the virgin herself. She was after all the main character and in a good story the ending should be told. Why was this change made then? STEFFEN goes on to explain that the virgin denotes the Church, which thus would have been dead when the story was written down. However, it certainly lived! I for my part cannot but consider it more likely that the OS retranslator(s)/editors allowed themselves some liberty in building up a moral story, since from a text-critical point of view, everything indicates that the Latin text has priority.

The third and last passage examined by STEFFEN is:

III 24:17 *Ipsi enim angeli sanctam Ecclesiam toto amore amplectuntur, quasi in corde cuiuslibet eorum esset.*

BU 1 377:28-30 Thy at änglane vmfämpna kirkiona mz swa storom älskogha Swa som *thit* hon ware j hwars therä hiärta.

The Latin text runs: 'For the angels themselves embrace the Church with full love, just as *if it were in the heart of each one of them.*' But we learn from the OS: 'For the angels embrace the Church with so great love, just as *your*¹⁵ she should be in the heart of everyone.' The OS text seems to be corrupt here. However, STEFFEN says that the word *thit* in the OS has been omitted in the Latin version. To be able to understand the true meaning of the passage one must remember that Birgitta is the one talking to Christ. The Church, he continues, is in the heart of Christ, which implies that just as the Church is in his heart, so should it be in the heart of each one. STEFFEN further asserts that *thit* ('your') here stands for 'in your'. According to STEFFEN such reductions are common in Birgitta's works as well as in contemporary literature. However, I have found that this is not the case. Thus probably *thit* is misplaced and should be dropped out, since without this pronoun the meaning of the OS sentence is the same as that of the Latin one.

3. Rev. III 26

Rev. III 26 is of theological importance, because Birgitta discusses the possibility of salvation for Jews and pagans.

KLOCKARS (1971:110 sqq.) is of the opinion that the Latin text (§14 sqq.) is obscure in some respects, which means that it ought to be somewhat corrupted. A comparison with the OS text (which according to her is *BU 1, A 33*), she goes on, makes it obvious that Birgitta divides Jews and pagans into *three* (her italization) groups. The first group is the evil ones, who will be condemned together with the evil Christians. The second group is represented by those who try to live righteously and avoid sin (and who together with the 'less evil Christians' will be rendered some mercy regarding the judgement. They will, however, not see the glory of God). Finally, the third and last group is those who through the baptism of 'perfect

¹⁵ or *yours* (?); *thit* is the reading of all the MSS.

will' shall be part of the salvation.¹⁶ Since KLOCKARS presupposes that the OS text is clearer and the Latin consequently corrupted, we should examine the text passages, in order to see if there is anything in the Latin text, which can corroborate that it is secondary to the OS.

III 26:14-17 Nam *duplex est iudicium, dampnandorum scilicet et saluandorum. Christianorum enim dampnandorum erit sine misericordia, quorum erit pena eterna et tenebre et voluntas firmata contra Deum.* (§15) *Saluandorum vero erit visio Dei et gloriatio in Deo et velle Deo bonum. Ab hiis exclusi sunt gentiles et Iudei et mali et falsi Christiani. Qui quamuis non habuerunt fidem rectam, habuerunt tamen iudicem conscienciam suam credentes eundem esse Deum, quem coluerunt et offenderunt.* (§16) *Illi autem quorum voluntas et accio erat et est secundum iusticiam et contra peccatum, hii habebunt cum minus malis Christianis iudicium misericordie in suppliciis propter dileccionem iusticie et odium peccati, sed non habebunt consolacionem in seruicione glorie et visionis Dei,* (§17) *quem non videbunt propter baptismi carenciam, quia aliquod temporale aut occultum iudicium Dei retraxit eos, ne salutem fructuose quererent et obtinerent. --- (§19) Quia alia est ignorancia malicie, alia pietatis et difficultatis, similiter et alius est baptismus aque, alius sanguinis, alius perfecte voluntatis, que omnia nouit pensare Deus ...*

BU 1 380:18-381:17 <14> Thy at *thriggia handa dombir är Förste är thera som fordömas skulu hulkra dombir* wara skal vtan miskund til äwerdhelika pino ok myrkir ok thera vili är stadhfästir mot gudhi.¹⁷ <15> *Än thera dombir som helas ok frälsas skulu skal wara gudz syn ok ära j gudhi ok at vilia gudhi got Aff thessom äru hedhninga ok iuda ok falske ok onde cristne män vtelykte Thy at än thot the hafdho ey rätta tro. tho hafdho the sit eghit samuit til domare troande then sama wara gudh som the dyrkado ok visto wäl han wara gudh ok tho retto the han mz wrangom gerningom* <16> *än thera vili ok gerninga som var ok är äptir rätvisonne ok mot syndinne. the skulu hafwa mz mindra illom cristnom mannom miskunninna dom j pinom for rätuisonna älskelighet ok syndinna hat* Ok tho skulu the ey hafwa hugnadh j äronna nytian ok gudz syn <17> *ther the ey skulu see for döpilsins mistilse thy at nakat wärldzlikit älla lönlikin gudz dombir hindrade them ok atirogh them at the skulin ey fructsamlika leta ok finna helsona. --- <19> Thy at annor är ilzskonna fauizska. ok annor mildhetz ok wan samlikhetz Samuledh är ok vatnsins döpile. annat är blodhins. annat fulkomnins vilia. ok al thessin kan gudh skodha ok löna ...*

First of all it should be pointed out that the reading is the same in the three OS MSS. In the Latin text the judgement is simply said to be *twofold* (§17 *duplex*): i.e., theirs who will be damned and theirs who will be saved. However, we learn from the OS edition that the judgement is more complicated than that, since it is *threefold* (<14> *thriggia handa*). If one studies the following passages in the Latin text (as well as in the OS text), it can actually be seen that Birgitta divides Christians, Jews and pagans into *three categories*: *pro primo* there are the evil ones, pagans and Jews, who together with the evil and false Christians will be condemned forever (§14 *Christianorum enim dampnandorum erit sine misericordia ... §15 Saluandorum vero erit visio Dei ... Ab hiis exclusi sunt gentiles et Iudei et mali et falsi*

¹⁶ Cf. PETRUS LOMBARDUS, *Sententiae*, col. 1093: Dist. IV. De triplici effectu baptismi.

¹⁷ For *there are three kinds of judgement. The first one is theirs, who will be damned, whose judgement will be without mercy to eternal torture and darkness and their will is hardened against God.*

Christiani). *Pro secundo* we have the Christians, who will be saved and have the sight of God, the glorification in God and they will want to have good things for God (§15 *Saluandorum vero erit visio Dei et gloriatio in Deo et velle Deo bonum*). *Pro tertio* there are the Jews and pagans, who hated sin and loved righteousness. Together with the ‘less evil’ Christians they will be shown mercy but will not be able to see the glory of God, because they were never baptized (§15 *gentiles et Iudei ... §16 hii habebunt cum minus malis Christianis iudicium misericordie in suppliciis propter dilectionem iusticie et odium peccati, sed non habebunt consolationem in seruicione glorie et visionis Dei, (§17) quem non videbunt propter baptismi carenciam*).¹⁸

Having analysed the text we see that both in the Latin and OS text Birgitta clearly speaks of *two groups*: i.e., those who will be *judged* and those who will be *saved*. Pagans, Jews and false Christians are excluded from the latter category. Consequently the *duplex iudicium* does not refer to the *three categories* but to the *two groups* or types of them. From this we must conclude that the Latin version is the one that presents us with the best reading. Accordingly, *thriggia handa dombir* is most certainly the result of a revision to explain the text. If we had had access to a version closer to the OS archetype, there would probably be a MS. that had copied the *duplex iudicium*.

4. Rev. III 27

Rev. III 27 is of great interest, since it is the revelation that differs most compared to the corresponding OS texts.

WESTMAN (1911:56 with n. 2) drew attention to this revelation at an early stage. He is of the opinion that we have here a text where it is difficult to decide whether the Latin or the OS (= BU 1, A 33) has priority.

To start with we can briefly conclude that the OS text is the longer one consisting of some additional 150 words. This is only a logical result of a translation from the Latin into OS. From a grammatical point there are a few acc. cum inf. constructions in the Latin text but none in the OS. Three examples of the present participle as the participium coniunctum in the OS (BU 1 384:14,21; 385:14) *sig-hiande* and four in the Latin (§18) *dicens*, (§19) *dicentem*, (§21) *apparens* and (§31) *offerentes* can also be observed. Unfortunately, though, this does not give any indication in either direction. Therefore, in order to solve the problem the cases where it is possible to argue for or against an OS priority will be discussed in detail.

In the beginning of the revelation Birgitta exhorts the Virgin Mary to pray for Rome, the most sacred of cities, because some churches are abandoned, although the bones of saints are buried there. In others there are people but the hearts and manners of their governors (clergy) are far away from God. Birgitta has learnt

¹⁸ Cf. GREG. *Moralia*, IV 32:64; VII 7:7; IX 27:42; XXVI 27:50 sq.; XXVIII 13:33.

from the scriptures that in Rome every day of the year have seven thousand martyrs:

III 27:1 sq. *Video enim corporaliter*, quod quedam ecclesie, in quibus ossa sanctorum quiescunt, desolate sunt. *Quedam vero habitantur*, sed corda et mores rectorum earum longe sunt a Deo. (2) *Impetra* ergo eis caritatem, quia audiui ex scripturis, quod Rome quilibet dies in anno septem milia continet martirum.

BU 1 381:31-382:6 *Jak seer* at somlika kirkior j hulkom som hálgra manna been hwilas äru ödhelagðha *j somlikom byggja ok nakre* än thera styrara hiarta ok sidhi äru lankt fran gudhi *rökta* them *ok ärna* kärlek Thy at iak hafwir hört af scriptinne at hwar daghir j are-no hallir siw thousand martires *här* ('here') j rom.

WESTMAN (1911:56 n 2) states that *här j rom* ('here in Rome'), which in the Latin text is rendered by *Rome* ('in Rome') only, could indicate that the OS text is influenced by the original Swedish text. He is quite right, when asserting that the word *här* has no correspondent in the Latin. But it should be noted that this word with all certainty refers to (§§1 and 30) *corporaliter*.¹⁹ Thus I think that we just have a mere change of expression which goes back to the retranslator(s) or editor(s). The distinction between the Latin *Quaedam vero habitantur* and OS *j somlikom byggja ok nakre* ('in some also some build') has no relevance for the question of priority. On the other hand the double expression *rökta them ok ärna* seems to facilitate the understanding of the text and should then indicate Latin priority.²⁰

Next passage discussed by WESTMAN (1911:56 n 2) is:

III 27:8-17 *Ecce ponamus tres gradus, sicut tu composuisti, positium, comparatium et superlatium, id est bonos, meliores et optimos. In primo gradu fuerunt illi, quorum cogitacio fuit ista: (§9) 'Nos credimus quidquid sancta precipit Ecclesia. Neminem defraudare volumus, sed defraudata reddere et Deo seruire desideramus toto corde.' Consimiles eciam fuerunt tempore Romuli, fundatoris Rome, secundum fidem suam qui cogitabant taliter: (§10) 'Nos intelligimus et scimus ex creaturis, quod Deus est creator omnium; hunc ergo diligere volumus pre omnibus.' Quamplures vero cogitabant ista: 'Nos audiimus ab Hebreis, quod Deus verus ostendit se eis per miracula manifesta. (§11) Et ideo, si sciremus in quo nos magis fundare deberemus, libenter faceremus.' *Isti omnes fuerunt quasi in primo gradu. Tempore vero placito venit Petrus Romam, qui alios eleuauit in gradum positium, alios in comparatium et alios in superlatium. Illi enim, qui fidem receperunt veram, qui in coniugio et alia dispositione laudabili steterunt, isti fuerunt in positio gradu. (§12) Qui vero sua dimiserunt propter caritatem diuinam, qui aliis bona exempla viuendi ostenderunt verbis et exemplis necnon et qui nichil Christo preposuerunt, isti fuerunt in comparatio gradu. (§13) Qui vero carnem suam dederunt pro amore Dei, isti fuerunt in superlatio gradu. Sed queramus in istis gradibus supradictis. Ubi inuenitur nunc caritas Dei feruencior? Queramus in militibus et doctoribus. (§14) Queramus in religiosis et mundi contemptoribus, qui tenerentur esse in comparatio et superlatio gradu, et certe nimis pauci inueniuntur, nam non est vita austerior quam**

¹⁹ Cf. LUNDÉN (1957:333), who on the basis of **Gh** translates 27:30 'Talis est Roma, *corporaliter* sicut vidisti', to 'Sådant är Rom *lekamligen*, såsom du sett' ('Such is Rome *physically*, as you have seen'). It should be translated: 'Such is Rome as you have seen *with your own eyes*.'

²⁰ See e.g. STÄHLE (1956:18).

vita militaris, si in sua vera institutione staret. Si enim monacho precipitur habere cucullam, militi precipitur grauius, scilicet *lorica*. (§15) Si vero est graue monacho pugnare contra *voluntatem* carnis, militi est grauius inter armatos hostes procedere. Si vero ordinatur monacho durus lectus, grauius est militi in armis quiescere. Et si monachus turbatur et affligitur abstinencia, durius est militi affligi continuo *timore* vite. (§16) Non enim milicia Christianitatis incepta est propter mundi possessionem et cupiditatem sed ad confortandam veritatem et dilatandam veram fidem, *et ideo gradus militaris et religiositatis in superlatiuo gradu vel comparatiuo esse tenerentur*. (§17) Sed omnes gradus a sua *laudabili dispositione* apostatauerunt, quia caritas Dei versa est in cupiditatem mundi. Si enim *aufferretur unus florenus, de tribus magis tacerent plerique veritatem quam loquendo amitterent illum*.

BU 1 383:5-384:14 <8> Vtan somi varo godhe somi bätre somi bäste The försto thänktö swaa <9> wi trom alt thz the hälgha kirkia biudhir wi viliom ängin swika Vtan atir gifwa thz som illa är fangit Vi astundom at thiäna gudhi af allo hiärta. tholike waro ok thäntidh rom byriadhis äptir sinne tro. hulke som swa thänktö <10> vi vndir standom ok vitom af creaturomen at gudh är aldra thinga skapare Han viliom vi älska owir al thingh Mange thänktö ok swa mz sik vi hördhom af iudomen at sandir gudh hawir sik them vppinbarat j mangom iärteknom <11> Ok thy vm vi vistom j hulkom wi skulum fästa os gerna giordhom vi thz Än petrus kom til rom j skipadhöm tima ok vplyuste tholika ok beuiste them höghre thingh ok kännedom af gudhi Thy at somlike toko sanna tro ok blifw j hionalaghi j loflike skipan <12> somlike forläto sit gooz for gudhelikin kärlek. ok thedho androm goz lifwirmis äptir döme mz ordhom ok geringom ok hafdho gudh käran owir al thingh <13> Andre waro the som sit köt gafwo j pinona for gudz skuld Än letom nw hwar gudz brännande kärlekir fins. letom j riddaromen ok känne fädhromen. <14> letom j renlifwis mannomen som wärldinna skulu owir gifwa ok forsma Ok visselika the finnas mykit faa. Nw är ey hardhare lifwirne än riddar skaps lifwirne vm the stodhen j sinne sanne skipan Thy at munkenom biudz af hafwa kuwlin. riddarenom biudz hardhare som är brynian älla platan. <15> Vm munkenom är thunkt at stridha mot kötsins lusta Thungare är riddarenom at fram gaa mällan wäknta ovini Vm munkenom skipas hardh sängh thungare är riddarenom at liggia j waknomen Vm munkin dröuis ok thwingas af atir halde. hardhare är riddarenom at thwingas af idhkelikom liifs wadha ok reddogha <16> Thy war ey cristit riddarskap byriat for wärldinna ägho ok giri vtan til at styrkia sannindena ok vtuida sanna tro <17> Än nw hawa alle gangit af sinne godho ok lofliko skipan ok stadhgha. thy at gudz kärlekir är vmuändir j them til wärldinna giri Ok än vm en gulpäningar offradhis hällir thygdhe fläste sannindena än the taladhin ok mistin gullit.²¹

²¹<8> But some were good, some better and some the best. The first (sc. people) thought like this: <9> We believe everything the holy Church bids (us to). We will deceive nobody, but give back what is wrongly got. We desire to serve God with of all our heart. There were such people also during the time when Rome was built according to its belief, who thought: <10> We understand and know through the creatures that God is the creator of all things. Him we want to love before all other things. Many also thought like this themselves. We heard from the Jews that the true God has revealed himself to them in many portents. <11> And, therefore, if we knew in whom we should trust, we would gladly do that. But Petrus came to Rome at a time that suited God and enlightened such people and showed them higher things and gave them knowledge of God. For some took holy faith and remained in marriage according to what was instituted. <12> Some sent away their possessions out of godly love and gave others examples of God's life with words and works and held God dearer than anything else. <13> There were others, whose bodies suffered pain for the sake of God. But let us now seek where the fervent love of God is. Let us seek in the knights and teachers. <14> Let us seek in the clean-living men, who should forsake and condemn the world. And for certain there are very few. Now there is no harder life than that of

In this passage there is a play on words, which shows that Birgitta was inspired by her grammatical studies. The situation is the following one: the Virgin Mary talks about the three stages of Christian perfection, which she illustrates by using a grammatical comparison, the *positive* (§11, those who lived in a marriage or under another righteous condition), the *comparative* (§12, those who forsook all possessions out of love for God and through their living set good examples for other persons and for whom God was secondary to nothing) and the *superlative* (§13, those who out of love for God sacrificed their lives). The sentences with these grammatical terms, i.e., (§8) *Ecce ponamus tres gradus, sicut tu composuisti, posituum, comparatiuum et superlatiuum, id est bonos, meliores et optimos. In primo gradu fuerunt illi, quorum cogitacio fuit ista,* (§11) *Isti omnes fuerunt quasi in primo gradu. Tempore vero placito venit Petrus Romam, qui alios eleuauit in gradum posituum, alios in comparatiuum et alios in superlatiuum ... isti fuerunt in posituo gradu,* (§12) *isti fuerunt in comparatiuo gradu,* (§13) *in istis gradibus supradictis,* (§14) *qui tenerentur esse in comparatiuo et superlatiuo gradu,* (§16) *Et ideo gradus militaris et religiositatis in superlatiuo gradu vel comparatiuo esse tenerentur* and (§17) *de tribus,* are all totally lacking in the OS. Therefore, KLEMMING poses the question whether the OS retranslator(s) really would have omitted these learned terms as not suited for his audience. I would say that it is quite obvious that if it was not the retranslator(s), then it was the editors, who found it difficult and altogether meaningless to bother the audience with this grammatical exercise. They must have considered it of no interest for the edification of the nuns and monks in Vadstena.

Furthermore, the grammatical exercise goes on in Rev. IV 74:1 “*Tu composuisti hodie, quod melius esset preuenire quam preueniri ...*”, which in the OS is rendered by: GWz son taladhe til sina brudh thw nampt j dagh j thine läkxe gamalt ordhquädhe, At bätra vare forekoma än fore komas (BU 2 141:24-26). AILI (1986:87) states that Bishop Alfonso when revising this text added *in gramatica* before *composuisti*, when this sentence was included in Rev. VIII 34:1 as: Christus loquebatur sponse dicens: “*Tu in gramatica tua composuisti hodie prouerbum, quod melius esset preuenire quam preueniri.*” In the OS this corresponds to: CHristus taladhe til sinna brudh Thw nampt ij dagh ij thine

the knight, if it is lived according to what is truly instituted. For the monk is bidden to have a cape, the knight is bidden (something) harder, which is the coat of mail or plate. <15> If it is hard for the monk to fight against carnal lust, it is harder for the knight to go forward between armed enemies. If the monk is ordered a hard bed, it is harder for the knight to lie in arms. If the monk is sorrowful and depressed by restraint, it is harder for the knight to be depressed all the time by a life of terror and fright. <16> Therefore, the knighthood of Christ was not instituted for the purpose of wordly possession and avarice, but in order to strengthen truth and spread the true faith. <17> But now all have left their good and righteous institution and position, because the love of God is changed in them into avarice for the world. Even if one florin was offered, most people would rather keep silent about the truth instead of talking and thereby risking losing the gold.

läkze gamalt ordhquädhe. at bätra vare forekoma än forekomas (BU 4 330:26-28).²²

This idea of (an) editor(s) who did not want to bother the audience with too much learning is supported by (§9) *tempore Romuli, fundatoris Rome*, which in the OS is rendered by (BU 1 383:9-10) *thäntidh rom byriadhis* ('the time when Rome was begun'). We see here that the Latin text is the more precise of the two versions. The same can be concluded regarding (§20) *sancta sanctorum* (BU 1 384:26 *höxsta mönstreno*, 'the highest monastery') and (§29) *Sanctum vero sanctorum* (BU 1 386:4 *hälagha mönstrit*, 'the holy monastery'). There is also (§26) *Terra ... erat ... contexta, id est commixta ossibus sanctorum* (BU 1 385:21-23 *jordhin ... är mz hälghra manna blodhe ok blandat mz hälgra manna benom*), where the Latin says that earth is woven together, i.e., mingled with the bones of holy men, whereas the OS simplifies the content to 'the earth is also mingled with the bones of holy men'.²³ These examples certainly show the desire of the OS editor(s) to elucidate and clarify the text, in order to make it easier for the reader to comprehend.²⁴

There is another passage, which offers a delicate problem *viz.* to choose between the paleographically close readings *viuum* and *vinum*.

III 27:20 *Viuum* (P Y β₂ T^b γ F² Gh *vinum* V F¹) *sacrificium* et incensum matutinum comburitur in atrio.

BU 1 384:24-25 *vinit* ok *offrit* ok *ottosangs rökilsit brännis j vthuseno*.

It is very hard to distinguish between the letters *u* and *v* in the Latin manuscript tradition. In the OS this passage is rendered by: 'The wine and the sacrifice and the incense of the morning song are burnt in the yard.'²⁵ The distribution of readings show unambiguously that *viuum* ('living') is the reading of the Latin archetype, whereas *vinit* ('the wine'), handed down by the three OS MSS., is the reading of the Swedish archetype. Contextually, though, the correct reading must be 'The living sacrifice (i.e., the Mass) and the incense of the morning (i.e., the pray-

²² Cf., however:

III 30:8 Tunc apprens Maria respondit: "Dixisti, Agnes, *substantium*, adde et *adiectium*." Cui Agnes: "Si dixero '*pulcherrima*' vel '*virtuosissima*', hoc nulli de iure competit nisi tibi, que es mater salutis omnium." Et respondit Mater Dei beate Agneti: "Dixisti verum, quia ego potencior sum omnium, ideo addam *adiectium* et *substantium*, canalis scilicet Spiritus Sancti ..."

BU 1 393:31-394:5 O agnes thu sagdhe *substantium* lägh til *adiectium* Agnes sagdhe vm iak sig-hir *aldra fäghirste aldra dydelikaste* thz höwir ängom rättelikare än thik som är aldra helso modhir Gudz modhir sagdhe sant är thz at iak är allom walloghare Thy skal iak til läggia *adiectium* ok *substantium* som är thes hälgha anda j lätis kar .

²³ Cf. though (28:9) *originalis peccati* ('the original sin'), (BU 1 388:9) *adams synd* (Adam's sin); (30:4) *senex ille* ('this old man'), (BU 1 393:8) *then gamble symeon* ('the old Simeon') and (30:12) *per diluuium* ('through the Flood'), (BU 1 394:26) *j noe flödh* ('in Noah's flow').

²⁴ Cf. the OS edition of Rev. V, where the editor(s) have shortened the text. MORRIS (1991b, introduction); WOLLIN (1992b:225 sqq.).

²⁵ LUNDÉN (1957:332) made the same interpretation.

ers at the canonical hours) are burnt in the yard'. Cf. 27:29-31 *Sanctum vero sanctorum, ubi olim summum consumebatur sacrificium*, significat desiderium diuine fruicionis et visionis de quo ascendere deberet caritas ad Deum et proximum et odor tocius continencie et virtutis. (§30) *Nunc autem sacrificium consumitur in atrio*, id est in mundo, quia tota diuina caritas versa est ad incontinenciam et mundi vanitatem. Talis est Roma, corporaliter sicut vidisti, nam altaria plura desolata sunt, (§31) *offertorium expenditur in tabernis, offerentes vacant plus mundo quam Deo*. In the Old Testament, it cannot be substantiated that wine was sacrificed by fire (libation). The concept is found in Rom. 12:1 (*hostiam viventem*). This is Paul's way of spiritualizing the sacrifices in the Old Testament and Birgitta is doing the same. In the interpretation of the vision about the sacrifice, it is said that the priests nowadays sacrifice in the yard (Sw. 'förgården'), i.e., that their thoughts are out in the world and that they are merely interested in the votive offerings, the *offertorium* (Sw. 'offertoriet'). Birgitta understands that the 'living sacrifice', as a description of the mass sacrifice, is the offering of Jesus Christ, 'the living bread, which comes down from heaven' (Io. 6). The mass that was celebrated in the morning may then in a vision be called 'the living sacrifice' and 'incense of the morning', if these words regarding sacrifices are understood in a spiritual sense. Also there is no meaning in separating the 'wine' from the 'sacrifice', if it is a question of the mass sacrifice, since the wine is part of this sacrifice.²⁶

There is a parallel case in Rev. IV 63:26 *Denique in sacrificio ipso offertur homini vita ipsa, Deus, et ingreditur vita set non permanet cum malis, quia malum non relinquunt, et ideo remanet sensibus eorum sola forma panis*.

Furthermore, it can be noted that *Viuum sacrificium et incensum matutinum* forms a chiasm.

Finally, there is a passage that seems to further strengthen the theory of Latin priority in III 27:

III 27:6 Attamen timidi fuerunt (sc. Petrus et plures alii), *ne* a conspectibus illorum, quos verbo consolacionis et predicacionis fouebant, raperentur, quia salutem eorum plus desiderabant quam vitam propriam et honorem.

BU 1 382:28-30 tho waro the mykit räddhe at the skullo ey bort takas af thera asyn hulka the vidhir gwekto mz predican ok hugnadz ordom.

The Latin text says, 'All the same they (sc. Petrus and many others) were afraid that they *would* be taken away from the faces of those whom they favoured with a word of consolation and sermon, because they were more concerned about the salvation of these people than their own life and honour.' Strictly grammatically, the texts of the three OS MSS. imply the opposite, i.e., that they were afraid that 'they *would not* be taken away', which is of course nonsense. The Latin *ne*, preceded by a *verbum timendi*, of course means 'that'.²⁷ It is probably the retranslators/edi-

²⁶ I am indebted to Dr. PER EKSTRÖM and Dr. ANDERS PILTZ, Lund University, for the interpretation of this passage.

²⁷ See my Chapter 4.2, for III 21:19 and III 18:28.

tor(s), though, who should be blamed for having overlooked the context. However, it cannot be totally excluded that we perhaps should just regard *ey* as a sort of pleonasm.

4 Rev. III 31

Rev. III 31 is another revelation, which STEFFEN (1947:15-16) states has OS (= BU 1, A 33) priority over the Latin. He presents the following passage:

III 31:3 sq. ‘Ego habeo duos in carcere cras decollandos. Alter eorum respirare vix potest, alius vero robustior et corpulencior est quam cum carcerem ingrederetur. Ingredere igitur ad eos et contemplare vultus eorum, quis eorum melioris sit complexionis.’ (§4) Cumque ingressus fuisset medicus et vidisset eos, dixit regi: ‘Homo, quem *robustum* dicis, simillimus mortuo est nec viuere poterit. De alio vero spes est bona.’

BU 1 397:11-20 <3> jak hawir twa män j myrkostofwo som skulu morghon hals huggas ok annor thera forma näplika andas ok annor thera är starkare ok fetare nu än han war nar han in gik j mörko stofwona Ok thy gak in til thera ok skodha thera änlite hulkin thera af bätte naturlike skipan är <4> Läkiarin gik in j mörko stofwona ok saa them Ok sagdhe konungenom then mannin som j sighin *starkare* wara är likaster dödhom man ok ey forma han lifwa Än af androm är got hop.

He says that it must be the OS reading *starkare* (‘stronger’), which is the correct form and not the Latin *robustum* (‘strong’), because we clearly have a comparison here. I found that the reading *starkare* is corroborated by C 61, whereas Rev. III 31 is missing in A 5a. However, I consider STEFFEN’s argumentation to be without value, since the positive form can be used in the context as well without any problem. Instead I would like to draw attention to another sentence that seems to affirm the priority of the Latin text:

III 31:15 Fuit enim iusticia diuina. Ut sicut spiritus malignus paulatiue in eum dominari ceperat, sic eadem dictabat iusticia, ut paulatim egrederetur, sicut et *egressus* est, donec anima carne soluta peruenit cum ea dyabolus ad iudicium.

BU 1 399:12-17 Thy at gudhelik rätuisa war at swa som ondir ande til byriade smam ok smam at herras owir han swa dictade the sama gudz rätuisa at han skulde vt gaa (‘go out’) smam ok smam swa som han *ingik* (‘went in’) til thes siälin skils vidh kroppin Ok diäfwllin kom til domin mz hänne.

In the Latin text it says, “There was a divine justice. Just as the evil spirit had gradually begun to dominate him, so ordered the same justice that he (i.e., the evil spirit) should gradually go out, just as he also *went out*, until the devil came to the court with her (i.e., the soul) separated from the flesh.” At first sight the reading *egressus* could be hard to accept. It is corroborated, though, by (§19) Ideo paulatiue, sicut *ingrediebatur*, *egrediebatur*. Obviously the OS retranslators/editors did not go deeper into the problem. Considering *egressus* an error caused by a mechanical iteration of the verb *egredior* it seemed logical to write *ingik*.²⁸ Contrary to

²⁸ Cf. Ex. 51:29 sq. Tria namque sunt demoniorum genera ... (§30) Secundum est quasi ignis, quod corpus omne et carnem impaciencia vexat et sic amaram facit homini vitam, vt mallet mori quam viuere,

STEFFEN I therefore consider it obvious that also the Latin Rev. III 31 has priority.

5. Conclusions

The theories advanced by earlier scholars of OS priority regarding Rev. III 24; 26; 27; 31 could be refuted.

The OS expression *j ytärsta quarterit* atir giäldz (in the last quarter', i.e., 'in the last moment') was claimed to give a better meaning than the Latin (24:8) 'restituatur *quadrans*' ('quarter'). However, *j ytärsta quarterit* is the reading of only two of the OS MSS. The third and best one handed down 'yterstha qwarterith' ('the last quarter'), which must then have been the original OS reading. Since obviously the Latin archetype did have *quadrans*, the word should be interpreted as 'farthing' with the implication of 'last farthing'.

Rev. III 26:14-17 deals with the question of judgement. The OS translation *thriggia handa dombir* (threefold judgement) for Latin *duplex est iudicium* (two-fold), goes back to the retranslators/editor(s), who confuse(s) categories with groups of people.

Rev. III 27 is the revelation which shows the greatest differences between the Latin and the OS text. These differences, however, depends on the fact that the retranslators/editor(s) rewrote or excluded certain terms (e.g. *positiuum*, *comparatiuum et superlatiuum*) in order to facilitate the text.

In Rev. III 31, the OS comparative form *starkare* was stated to have precedence over the Latin positive form *robustum*. However, we cannot argue in either direction on the basis of these two forms, since both of them are possible in the context. Instead this revelation presents a case where the OS retranslators/editor(s) obviously changed the text. There is also one case, where the Latin archetype Rev. III 31:15 has *egressus* but the OS the opposite, *ingik* ('went in'). This could be explained as a mere misunderstanding.

There was a transposition of some *Adds.* and text passages in the OS text versus the Latin. There is no reason, though, that OS priority should be suspected.

et pre impaciencia rapitur ad omne, quod spiritus ille impurus suggerit. *Hoc sicut faciliter venit, sic eci- am faciliter exit*, remanente tamen corporis infirmitate.

12 Excursus B:

The *Latin Message (LM)*, Corresponding to Book III 8 and 9.

The Background

When it is impossible to make a reconstruction of the Book III (= Rev. III) text or when the result is unsatisfactory, other sources, when available, have to be taken into account. For the two revelations III 8 and 9, there is another Latin version preserved, viz. a *Latin Message* (= *LM*).¹ This message on paper with the signum *Holm. A 65a* is still kept at the Royal Library in Stockholm.³⁰ Interestingly enough, the message was kept earlier in *A 65*, which now only contains the two sheets of Birgitta's autograph.³ But since the handwriting was different from *A 65* it was removed and given the new signum *A 65a*, in which codex it constitutes the sole document.

Up to now scholars have compared the Latin text as we know it *within* the revelation corpus with the OS (Old Swedish) autograph/ OS retranslation(s) and discussed various stages of editorial work based on the fact that some revelations were transformed into letters. I will, however, draw attention to another type of problem: i.e., that there were other *Latin texts* involved.⁴

The Question of Authenticity

According to KLEMMING (*BU* 4 192) the *LM* was probably written by Prior Petrus. This supposition is doubted by WESTMAN (1911:7 n. 3), who says that the writer must instead be Master Petrus. He supports his theory by a letter⁵ in the Na-

¹ Earlier printed by KLEMMING in *BU* 4 192-196.

² See my Chapter 1.2.1, p. 26 with n. 12.

³ ANNA FREDRIKSSON at the Royal Library has informed me that *A 65* originally consisted of three sheets, which came to the Royal Library from Antikvitetsakademien on October 4, 1854. The third sheet was later taken out some time after 1918 and then named *A 65a*.

⁴ Cf. WOLLIN (1983:35 sqq.), who suggests as a hypothesis that regarding Rev. VII parts of the Old Swedish text were actually not translations of the Latin but taken from a *pre-Latin Old Swedish text*. See also WOLLIN (1991b:416 sqq.), (1992a:140). EKLUND (1984a:8) says that the OS text of the revelations 'contains material which did not pass through the Latin but is derived from other sources'. See my Excursus A, p. 221.

⁵ Printed in *Svenska Riksarchivets Pappershandlingar 1351-1400*, no. 29.

tional Archives, Stockholm, which according to him should have been written by this master. This theory was later accepted by KRAFT (1929:54) and HÖGMAN (1951:70). I found that the letter discussed ends with the words: *Hec petrus de vadstena quondam venerabilis domine birgitta confessor*. However, having examined both the letter and the *LM* it is clear that in the first place the handwritings are not identical. In the second place the letter was probably not written by Master Petrus but by a Vadstena scribe, whose handwriting is typical of the Vadstena material, which shows a mixture of one- and two-storey a (i.e., *a* and *a*). It is also highly unlikely that Master Petrus himself would have ended the letter by saying: 'This (was written by) Petrus of Vadstena, once the confessor of the venerable lady Birgitta.' Since the handwriting of these words is identical with the text of the letter, it ought to have been added by the same person who wrote the letter itself. Therefore, I think that *scripsit* should be understood and not *<ego> scripsi*. The style of the letter is a modern cursive from the end of the 14th c. or the beginning of the 15th c., whereas that of the *LM* is definitely an older cursive with some archaic features as for instance consistently the two-story a. The style is also upright with no inclination.

On the back of the *LM* are the answers by an unknown master (8:14; for him see below and pp. 237 and 242). The handwriting of these answers can be characterized as cursive and more modern than the style of the actual *LM* text, because of its one-story *a*. It can be dated to some time between 1350 and 1400. The writer is either the master himself or a scribe in his staff. Furthermore, the handwriting and ink are different from that of the *LM*. The answers give the impression of having been written down speedily with a sort of 'note'-style. Interestingly enough, the *LM* gives with its dirty edges an authentic impression of general use, because it has been folded many times in order to be sent away. This would hardly be the case with a copy.⁶

On the verso side of the *LM* there is an addition at the bottom by another, third hand: *scriptum in libro magno* ('written in the big book'). This is the style of a scribe from approximately the end of the 14th c., similar to that of the letter.⁷ Thus it can be concluded that the addition is younger than the *LM*. This makes one wonder if the *LM* was not brought back to Sweden together with Birgitta's relics in 1374. It was then filed away in Vadstena. Later a scribe got hold of it. Having checked whether it had been entered in the revelation corpus, he wrote the addition as a kind of confirmation. Such notes are furthermore typical of the Vadstena material.⁸

⁶ I am indebted to Dr. MONICA HEDLUND, Uppsala University, for discussions of the description of the *LM*.

⁷ Cf. HÖGMAN (1951:71 sq.), who says that there is a Latin note, i.e., *Creditur scriptum esse p*, in the inferior margin of the second sheet of Birgitta's autograph in A 65, which seems to be written in the same handwriting as the *scriptum in libro magno* of A 65a.

⁸ WESTMAN (1911:7 sq.) assumes that before the revelations were sent away, they were recorded in this book, which had been initiated by Prior Petrus of Alvastra. Because of this note only, KLOCKARS

Thus the handwriting of the *LM* cannot be paleographically bound to any person known to us: i.e., there is no document left that can be proved to be written by any of Birgitta's confessors. But the general character, the answer entered by another hand, folding, etc. makes it probable that it is an authentic document, written down by somebody close to Birgitta.

The Question of Priority

The main question is naturally to establish which text builds on which. ÖBERG (1969:1-13) pointed out fifteen revelations that were *revised into letters*:⁹ i.e., the revelation texts have priority. We must then imagine the following procedure. Having received a revelation, Birgitta conveyed the message in the form of a letter to the person concerned. Now the question must be asked, why this procedure was not used in the case of our message. The most important answer is that the textual history of the *LM* is different from that of the letters: It is the Virgin Mary who speaks to Birgitta in Rev. III 8 and 9. She praises her own perfection and condemns the avarice and gluttony of a certain master of Milan, with whom obviously Birgitta earlier had had a discussion ([*LM*, first sentence] *Noueritis, o Magister, me mulierem illam, cui loquebamini, postquam vos vidi huiusmodi reuelacionem habuisse*, and [*LM* 8:8] *magistro, cui loquta es.*). Having been exhorted by the Virgin to ask this master three questions (III 8:8-9), Birgitta sent him the first part of III 8 (§§1-13) and the whole of III 9. Later on an unknown hand wrote down the master's answers to these questions (8:14) on the reverse of the letter. These written replies were later *incorporated* in the Rev. III text (8:14). After that Birgitta received a new revelation (8:15-18). It is important to bear in mind that in our case Birgitta did not receive a *complete* revelation that was to be sent on, but was exhorted by the Virgin Mary to gather further information regarding the three questions asked. Thus the complete revelation text could not be composed until the master had sent back his answers to Birgitta.

It is extremely fortunate that we have this first-hand knowledge regarding how Birgitta actually worked. Furthermore, we can also study in what way the confessors worked with the texts and revised them into a corpus of revelations. There is for instance a text passage which seems to have been given a more general meaning. This seems in line with Birgitta's intention to let the revelations in Rev. III serve as an example to all clergymen.¹⁰

(1966:35 sq.) believes that Birgitta's messages could first have been entered in small booklets or on loose leaves, whereas those revelations that were of general interest and had a certain length were registered in big books. These are supposed to be the books that were later handed over to Alfonso when he started his final editorial work. Cf. KRAFT (1929:54), though, who doubts WESTMAN's idea. As far as I can see there is nothing to prove this theory of a register at this early time.

⁹ These can still be found in copy books A1-A8 and B1-B5, in the Royal Library, Stockholm.

¹⁰ See my Chapter 1.3.

LM <16> Illam eandem veritatem genui de me, qui utrumque Deus et homo est in se. Et quia veritas, que Dei filius est, ad me venire et in me habitare et ex me nasci voluit, ideo plenissime intelligo, *utrum in ore hominis sit veritas an non, adhuc priusquam verba de ipsius labiis exeunt.*

Rev. III 8:16 Illam eandem veritatem ego genui de me, qui utrumque, scilicet Deus et homo, est ex se. Et quia veritas, que Dei filius est, ad me venire et in me habitare ex meque nasci voluit, ideo plenissime intelligo, *utrum in ore hominum sit veritas an non.*

BU 1 332:8-13 iak födde the sama sannindena aff mik som badhe är gudh ok man j sik ok thy at the sannindin som gudz son är vilde koma til mik ok byggia j mik ok födhas aff mik Thy vndir star iak fullelikast *hwat hällir sannindh är j mannanna ordhom állas ey.*¹¹

Thus in the *LM*, the Virgin Mary says, 'I gave birth to this truth from me, who is both God and man in himself. And because truth, who is the son of God, wanted to come to me and live in me, and be born by me, thus I fully understand *whether there is truth or not in that man's* (i.e., *magistri*) *mouth, even before the words leave his lips.*' In Rev. III, the italicized text was summarized into '*whether there is truth or not in the mouth of people*'.¹²

The *LM* gives us a picture of how the master is thinking and how his answers are rephrased when inserted in the revelation. We see that he is rather provocatively asked (8:9) whether he finds more pleasure in owning a 'lot of florins' than 'none'. According to the Rev. III text his answer is merely that he finds more pleasure in none (8:14 *plus delectatur in nullis florenis*), which gives the impression of a rather listless and uninterested master. In the *LM*, though, the master emphasizes that he has no property of his own and that he finds more pleasure in poverty, in which state he has professed himself, than in all the riches of the world.

As an argument in the question of priority I also examined the frequency of *cursus*. If the frequency of *cursus* was essentially higher in the *LM* than in the Rev. III text, this would most certainly mean that the *LM* was secondary (with the exception of the answer by the master, 8:14), because there would be no point in giving up the *cursus*. In accordance with the method introduced by JANSON (1975:14 sq.) I investigated Rev. III 8 and 9 (except 8:14)¹³ for *cursus planus, tardus* and *velox*.¹⁴ I found that Rev. III presented *cursus* in 28 out of 33 clause endings. The corresponding figure for the *LM* was 31.¹⁵ In seventeen cases I observed that the

¹¹ As was emphasized, the OS texts of Rev. III are handed down in four known MSS. However, the OS text is not established in a text-critical edition. Unless a specific text-critical problem is discussed, for the sake of convenience I cite MS. A 33 (in *BU* 1), since the differences were minimal compared to MSS., A 5a and C 61. See Excursus A, p. 221.

¹² Cf. Rev. III 8:7 *Cumque hic filius meus, qui est vir sapientissimus et Deus verus Ihesus Christus, iaceret in utero meo, tantam ab ipso adeptus sum sapienciam, quod non solum magistrorum intelligere valeam sapienciam, verum eciam in cordibus eorum cerno, utrum verba ipsorum ex diuina caritate aut ex solius litterature astucia procedunt.*

¹³ It could be noted that the master also answered with clauses, all three of which ended with *cursus*.

¹⁴ For *cursus* in some other Birgittine texts, see DIETRICHSON (1994).

¹⁵ Those clauses ruled out were: (8:8) *spiritualiter* (*cursus tardus*, but excluded according to JANSON's principles of *cursus*) and (8:10) *delectant eum agere* (*cursus dispondeus dactylicus*).

clause endings in Rev. III were changed, but in such a way that the cursus was preserved, tardus in *LM* 8:18 *cicius carebit* and Rev. III *cicius amittet*, for example, or changed into another, e.g., *LM* 8:11 *libencius possent* (planus) but Rev. III *libencius potuissent* (velox). There were only three cases where a reading in the *LM* was changed into non cursus: (§3) *voluntatis diuine* (planus) was changed to *voluntatis Dei*, (§4) *ardentem caritatem in sue diuinitatis potencia habuit ad me* (planus), which passage was shortened into *ad me ardentem caritatem habuit* (cursus spondeus dactylicus, though) and finally (§18) *introibunt in regnum celorum* (planus), was changed to *intraibunt celum* (ditrocheus).¹⁶ Therefore, the study of frequency of cursus was inconclusive.

The disposition of the *LM* should also be taken into consideration. As can be seen from the edition of the *LM*, Rev. III 8:1-13 and III 9 were written on the recto side, whereas the master's answers (Rev. III 8:14) and the Virgin Mary's comments on these (Rev. III 8:15-18) are found on the verso side. This can only mean that the master having received the message turned the page and added his answers. Then he sent it back to Birgitta. After the reception of the master's answers Birgitta had a new revelation, which was then written down.

Emendation in Establishing the Reading of the Rev. III Archetype

There are three text-critical problems in Rev. III 8. Since we have access to this *LM*, it should be examined to see whether the problematic passages can be clarified with its help. In III 8:9, we read:

Rev. III 8:9 Tercio, quid sibi de hiis duobus magis videtur placere, vocari scilicet magister et inter honoratos *in primis* pro mundana gloria residere aut simplex frater vocari et inter ultimos residere.

LM <9> Tercium, quod eum interrogo est, quid de hiis duobus sibi magis placere videtur, vocari videlicet magister et inter honoratos *in primis sedilibus* pro mundana gloria residere aut simplex frater vocari et inter ultimos residere.

BU 1 331:11-16 Thridhia hwat honom thökkis bätir aff thessom twem som är at kallas mästars ok sitia mz them första *j hedhirliko säte* ('on an honourable seat')¹⁷ for wärdzlika äro ok rosn älla kallas enfallir brodhir ok sitia mz them ytärsta ranzsaki thessin thry granlika.

The construction *residere in primis* is not to be found in any other context in the revelation corpus. We are here told that the master was asked which he liked better, namely, to be called master and reside 'among the honourable people especially'. The adverb *in primis* is, however, strange in the context. Therefore, I believe that it is the two concepts *inter honoratos* and *inter ultimos* that correspond and

¹⁶ *LM* 8:18 *pusilli introibunt in regnum celorum*; Rev. III 8:18: *pusilli intraibunt celum* (cf. Mt. 18.3: *dico vobis, nisi conversi fueritis, et efficiamini sicut parvuli, non intrabitis in regnum caelorum.*)

¹⁷ This is the reading of all the OS MSS.

that the construction *residere in* lacks a noun to the adjective *primis*. Cf. IV 102:21 (*qui residere videbatur in throno*), IV 138:11 (*qui residet in papali sede in sede Dei in mundo*) and Ex. 24:9 (Tercio quesuiit virgo a iudice: “Fili mi, si lictor fuerit in aliqua domo vel sederit, et dominus suus venerit volens in eadem domo et sede residere, quid faciet lictor?”). If a meaning like ‘among the foremost’ was intended, we would probably have had *cum primis* (so MS. **K** and **Gh** and also the three OS MSS. ‘mz them första’, i.e., ‘with the foremost’), which is found several times in the revelations, e.g., III 2:16 *Esto magis sacerdos, ut sedeas cum primis!*

When we read the corresponding passage in the *LM* we find that the text is rendered by ‘among the honourable people *on the first seats*’. This gives an excellent meaning. Obviously we have here an allusion to the *words by Christ, when he warned against those versed in the Scriptures*:

Mc. 12,38-40 et dicebat eis in doctrina sua: Cavete a scribis, qui volunt in stolis ambulare, et salutari in foro, et *in primis cathedris* sedere in synagogis, et primos discubitus in coenis: qui devorant domos viduarum sub obtentu prolixae orationis: hii accipient prolixius iudicium.

How is the relation then between these two Latin versions and the OS? In the OS text we find the translation ‘among the first people *on an honourable seat*’. If we rule out the possibility that the OS retranslator(s) or editor(s)⁴⁶ made this correction *per coniecturam*, he (they) must have based the translation on the *LM* (or theoretically a text that was the source of the *LM*, e.g. the OS autograph).

Thus the three versions above actually show both the priority of the *LM* over the Rev. III text and the priority of the OS translation to the Rev. III text. In fact we may have the *original OS* text here.

The other problem to be discussed in this context is the following:

Rev. III 8:17 *Verum ego* (sc. Maria) *tria a magistro quesuii. Qu e m* (**T^b K u q σ** quam **P** ad que **O** que **Y V B A^b x v**) *michi bene respondisse probarem, si in verbis suis fuisset veritas. Que quia in eis non erat, ideo de aliis tribus ipsum precaueo.*

The two relative pronouns, the acc. s. *Quem* (sc. magistrum) and acc. pl. *que* (sc. tria), respectively, both make good sense, ‘But I asked the master three things, *who* I would admit replied to me well (if there had been any truth in his words)’ and ‘*which* I would admit he gave me a good answer to’. Judging from the stemma the pl. form *que* in five of the β MSS. (ad que **O**) was the reading of the archetype, which might, though, be an influence from the sentence which follows. However, since we are fortunate enough to have the original of this revelation, I accepted the reading of the π hyparchetype on the basis of the *LM*. Finally, it does seem logical that the Virgin Mary emphasizes the master’s role by saying *Quem*.¹⁹

In the third case I simply preferred the **P** π reading (III 8:7) *intelligere valeam*, since it is supported by the *LM* (p. 47).

¹⁸ See above, Excursus A.

¹⁹ Cf. *BU* I 332:13-15 *Än iak spordhe thry thingh aff mästarenom til hulkin iak sagdhe* (‘to whom I said’) *han wäl hawa swarath mik vm sannindh ware j hans ordhom.*

Some Comparisons and Reflections Regarding the Style of the *LM* versus the Rev. III and the OS Text (BU 1)

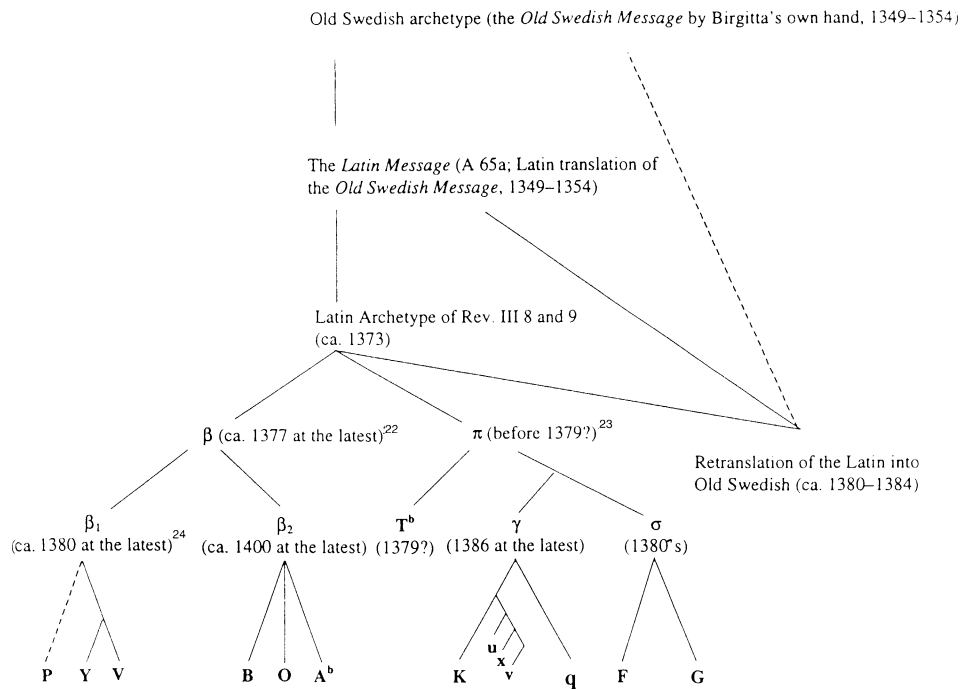
The fact that this *LM* is the only existing example of an original draft on which the final Latin revelation was based gives us a unique opportunity to compare it with the final authorized text (= Rev. III) revised by Master Petrus and Prior Petrus (and perhaps finally by Bishop Alfonso).²⁰ Thus we can construct a stemma which begins with the OS archetype and goes via the Latin archetype down to the existing Rev. III (see p. 242). This enables us also to follow some of the editorial stages. Finally, I compared the *LM* and the Rev. III texts with the OS version.²¹

Some features could be summarized: The *LM* hands down the longest version, 813 words (the introductory sentences omitted), which should be compared to 754 in Rev. III. This is a logical result considering the fact that the text must have been shortened and tightened up, when formed into the final Rev. III text. Certain words and circumlocutions were also left out (here italicized by me), e.g.: (§4) *in sue diuinitatis potencia* habuit ad me, (§5) fierem mater Dei *et parerem filium Dei*, (§8) magistro, *cui loquta es*, (§9) Tercium (Tercio Rev. III), *quod eum interrogo est*, (§16) *adhuc priusquam verba de ipsius labiis exeunt*, (§17) *volo ... sequetur*. The word order is often changed (*LM* 8:1 *erat perfecte* but Rev. III *perfecte erat*). The genitive is sometimes placed before the noun in Rev. III (*LM* 8:12 *magistri nomine* but Rev. III *nomine magistri*). The *LM* also shows that the adjective sometimes is placed before the noun, as is done in Swedish (*LM* 8:13 *diuina caritas* but Rev. III *caritas diuina*). The conjunctions are changed, (e.g., in the *LM* 8:2,3,7,11 *ut* is replaced by Rev. III *quod*). Words are changed into synonyms in Rev. III (*LM* 8:4 *eciam* but Rev. III *quoque*). A word could be given a stronger meaning or emphasized (*LM* 8:13 *non potest* but Rev. III *numquam potest*). One example of a double expression can be noted in Rev. III (*LM* 8:17 *desiderat* but Rev. III *diligit et desiderat*). There is also the change of tense and mode in a sentence (*LM* 8:7 *iacuit* but Rev. III *iaceret*).

Naturally, the OS is based primarily on the Rev. III text as can be seen from the list below regarding among other things the omitted words. However, from the passage in 8:9 we must draw the conclusion that either the *LM* was used here or *j hedhirliko säte* goes back to the OS archetype by Birgitta's hand and that this text was available to the retranslator(s)/editor(s). This seems to corroborate the thought put forward by EKLUND (1984a:20) that the existing Latin text might go back to a lost Latin text and that the OS text could have its provenance from this lost text. Consequently the issue whether the OS text perhaps should be connected above the archetype reconstructed from the Latin MSS., must be considered. In Rev. III 8 and 9, however, the OS retranslated text should be connected below the Latin ar-

²⁰ Cf. ELLIS (1993:209-233).

²¹ Cf. Rev. VI, *Decl.* 71, which has, according to **Gh**, as its source a letter from Birgitta's confessor, Prior Petrus, to Bishop Nicolaus Hermanni (BERGH 1991a:20).



chetype but the *LM* (which here could correspond to what EKLUND calls the lost text) was used as well.

Identification of the Bishop Mentioned in Rev. III 8

It is of importance to notice that the *LM* is of value not only for the reconstruction of the Rev. III text but that it also contributes to the identification of the clergymen concerned. The episode is mentioned in the *Process Vita* 97 (*Cum esset [sc. Birgitta] in Mediolano, stetit ibi longo tempore, vbi beata virgo Maria inter alia verba respondit ad verba cuiusdam magni magistri in theologia, vt habetur in libro celestium reuelacionum.*). It is said that Birgitta stayed in Milan for a long time and that the Virgin Mary answered a learned theologian there.²⁵ This unknown master and monk (cf. §9), who is blamed for wanting to please his bishop instead of blaming him for his sins, was most certainly the father confessor of Archbishop Giovanni Visconti of Milan, who died in 1354, because in the *LM* the latter is said to be an archbishop (8:8 *archiepiscopi*, 8:10 *archiepiscopum*). This information is given on-

²² See my Chapter 1.2.3, p. 28 sq.

²³ See my Chapter 2.3.1, p. 49.

²⁴ The dates are only approximate, since they are based on the earliest MS. collated within each subgroup.

²⁵ See also *Pa-Vita* 638.

ly in the *LM*. Both the Rev. III text and the OS version say that he was a bishop only.²⁶ Visconti was a bitter enemy of the Pope. He was made cardinal by the anti-pope and tried to control the whole of northern and central Italy. In reality he was an obstacle that had to be removed if the Pope was to return to Rome. Regarding Visconti, Birgitta seems to have been successful with her moral message, because he did leave political life and became an ardent reformer of the clergy.²⁷

Conclusions

The comparison between Rev. III and the *LM* showed that the latter has priority. This was proved by the fact that we have quite a *unique* case regarding Rev. III 8 and 9, because these two revelations are preserved in the *original LM*, on which the final authorized Rev. III text was based. Thus this *LM* is important to us for the establishment of the Rev. III archetype, various stages of editorial work and also regarding the identification of the bishop in Rev. III 8.

Regarding the relationship between the *LM* and the Rev. III text versus the OS text it can be stated that the OS text follows the Latin of the Rev. III text. However, the retranslator(s)/editor(s) also used the *LM* text or a text that was the source of the *LM*.

The *LM* is paleographically interesting, since the handwriting shows archaic features and is without doubt older than the Vadstena material still left in Sweden. The *Terminus post quem* for the *LM* is 1349, the year when Birgitta arrived in Italy. The *LM* was most likely written in Milan, where Birgitta stayed for some time on her way to Rome. The *Terminus ante quem* is 1354, since Archbishop Giovanni Visconti, the bishop intended in Rev. III 8, died in that year.

We can, therefore, conclude that the *LM* was written by someone belonging to the intimate circle round Birgitta during her time in Rome. *Thus it might actually be the only existing proof of one of her confessors' handwritings.* Later the message was brought back to Sweden. At the end of the 14th c. or the beginning of the 15th c. it was discovered by a scribe, who wrote a note saying that the revelation had been inserted in the revelation corpus.

²⁶ Interestingly enough, there are some instances where the reading of the *LM* is shared by the π reading (preferably the σ group). However, we can see that the *LM* was not used by the scribe(s) of the MS. **K** written in Vadstena Abbey, since he (they) probably tried to amend the text but not in accordance with the *LM* (see pp. 54 sq.):

8:3 nec] vel **u x v F¹** *LM*

8:6 est, scilicet Deus] deus est **F¹ Gh** *LM* (for the other readings, see app. crit.)

8:16 ego genui] genui **u x v σ** *LM*

8:16 utrumque] **u x v σ** *LM* utrumque scilicet β **T^b K q**

8:17 Quem **T^b K u q σ** *LM* quam **P** ad que **O** que **Y V B A^b x v**, see above, p. 240.

²⁷ For Visconti, see also above, pp. 26, 33 sq.

The *Latin Message* (LM)

(A 65a^r) Noueritis, o Magister, me mulierem illam, cui loquebamini, postquam vos vidi huiusmodi reuelacionem habuisse. Et sic me adiuuet Ihesus Christus utrumque ad corpus et animam, quod omnia infrascripta michi fuerunt spiritualiter reuelata. Apparuit enim michi, indigne peccatrici, dignissima Virgo Maria dicens:

<Rev.III 8> <1> “Ego illa sum, que ab eterno in caritate Dei fui et ab infancia mea erat perfecte mecum Spiritus Sanctus. Et sicut de nuce exemplum habere poteris, que dum crescit, crescente et dilatante se testa, que extrinsecus est, dilatatur, et crescit eciam nuclius, qui intrinsecus est, ita ut nux semper sit plena et nichil in ea vacuum, quod sit capax alicuius rei exterioris.²⁸ <2> Similiter et ego ab infancia mea plena eram Spiritu Sancto et iuxta corporis mei et etatis accrescenciam tam affluenter me totam Spiritus Sanctus repleuit, ut nichil in me vacuum reliquit ad alicuius peccati introitum. <3> Et ideo ego illa sum, que numquam peccatum commisi veniale vel mortale. Ego in caritate Dei tam ardens eram, ut nichil michi placuit nisi perfeccio voluntatis diuine. <4> Feruebat enim continue in corde meo ignis diuine caritatis. Deus eciam super omnia benedictus, qui me sua potencia creauit et Spiritus Sancti virtute repleuit, ardentem caritatem in sue diuinitatis potencia habuit ad me. <5> Et ex huius caritatis feruore misit nuncium suum ad me voluntatem suam me faciens intelligere, ut videlicet fierem mater Dei et parerem filium Dei. Quod dum noui voluntatis esse diuine, statim ex igne caritatis, quam in corde meo ad Deum habui, per os meum exibat vere obediencie verbum, per quod nuncio sic respondi: <6> ‘Fiat michi secundum verbum tuum.’ Et in eodem puncto verbum factum est caro in me, et sic Dei filius factus est meus filius, et sic ambo habebamus unum filium, qui utrumque Deus est et homo, ego eciam mater et virgo. <7> Dum hic filius meus, qui est vir sapientissimus Ihesus Christus, iacuit in utero meo, tunc ab ipso tantam adepta sum sapienciam, ut non solum magistrorum sapienciam intelligere valeam, verum eciam in cordibus eorum cernere, utrum verba ipsorum ex diuina caritate aut ex solius litterature astucia procedunt. <8> Tu, que verba mea audis, renuncia magistro,

²⁸ *testa ... nuclius ... nux* cf. Revs. IV 58:9; V int. 10:37; VI: 110:6. This comparison with a shell and its nucleus originally goes back to St. Jerome, Ep. 58:9 (*Qui esse uult nuculeum frangit nucem*). This letter is written to a priest, Paulinus of Barcelona, who wanting to become a monk has asked Jerome’s advice regarding the behaviour of a good priest. There are, however, other striking parallels regarding contents between this letter and the *LM*, e.g., 58:2-7 (§2 Denique et tu audita sententia Saluatoris: “si uis perfectus esse uade, uende omnia quae habes et da pauperibus, et ueni, sequere me”), §4 (aestimes ... te pro operibus tuis apud Deum nostrum habere mercedem. Reuera ... considerans et propositum tuum, et ardorem quo saeculo renuntiasti, differentias in locis arbitror si urbibus et frequentia urbium derelicta in angello habites, et Christum quaeras in solitudine, et ores solus in monte cum Iesu, sanctorumque tantum locorum uicinitatibus perfruaris, id est, ut et urbe careas et propositum monachi non amittas. ... loquor ... de monacho et monacho quondam apud saeculum nobili, qui idcirco pretium possessionum suarum ad pedes apostolorum posuit, docens pecuniam esse calcandam, ut humiliter et secreto uicitans semper contemnat quod semel contempserat.), §5 (Si officium uis exercere presbyteri, si episcopatus te ... delectat ... aliorum salutem fac lucrum animae tuae. Sin autem cupis esse quod diceris, monachus, id est solus, quid facis in urbibus quae utique non sunt solorum habitacula sed multorum?), §6 (multitudines hominum et officia et salutationes et conuiuia ueluti quasdam catenas fugias uoluptatum. ... Qui Christum desiderat et illo pane uescitur, non quaerit magnopere quam de pretiosis cibis stercus conficiat. ... saecularium et maxime potentium consortia deuita.), §7 (iam non sunt tua quae possides; dispensatio tibi credita est. ... Esse christianum grande est, non uideri. Et nescio quomodo plus placent mundo quae Christo displicent.) and §8 (Iacet enim ... oratio, in qua tantum verba laudantur.). Cf. *LM* §§8-13. Moreover, Master Mathias himself wrote a work on rhetoric entitled *Testa Nucis* (ODELMAN 1993:17). Cf. GREG. *Past.* I 8 (*Si quis episcopatum desiderat, bonum opus desiderat*).

cui loquuta es, quod ego ab ipso tria interrogo et diligenter in consciencia sua consideret, qualiter illa tenentur in corde suo: Primum est, utrum maius est sibi desiderium ad habendum fauorem et amicitiam archiepiscopi corporaliter, aut ipsius animam Deo presentare spiritualiter. <9> Secundum, quod ipsum interrogo est, utrum ex plurium florenorum singulari et propria possessione in animo plus delectaretur vel nullorum. Tercium, quod eum interrogo est, quid de hiis duobus sibi magis placere videtur, vocari videlicet magister et inter honoratos in primis sedilibus pro mundana gloria residere aut simplex frater vocari et inter ultimos residere. <10> Hec tria in se diligenter perscrutetur. Si enim archiepiscopum corporaliter plus quam spiritualiter diligit, tunc sequitur, quod magis dicit ei ea, que delectant eum audire, quam prohibet omnia peccaminosa, que delectant eum agere. <11> Si etiam de plurium florenorum proprietate plus gratulatur quam nullorum, tunc diuicias plus paupertate diligit et videtur tunc amicis suis consulere, ut magis teneant quicquid acquirere poterint, quam dimittant quo carere libencius possent. <12> Si autem delectatur magistri nomine propter honorem mundi et inter honoratos locari, tunc superbiam plus humilitate diligit et ex hoc similior coram Deo apparet asino quam magistro. <13> Tunc enim vacua stramina masticat, que litterature possunt comparari, tunc namque deest optimum triticum, quod caritati diuine comparatur, quoniam diuina caritas in superbo corde firmari non potest.”

<Rev. III 9> <1> “Tu que verba mea audis intelligere debes, quod, quamuis cecus non videt, nichilominus tamen ipso cadente in precipitium sol in sue claritatis resplendet pulchritudine, qua<m> videntes gratulantur itineris sui offencula fugiendo. <2> Item quamuis surdus non audiat, nichilominus tamen torrens cum strepitu sui impetus super eum ab alto cadit horribiliter, eo, qui audire potest, ad loca tuciora fugiente. <3> Item quamuis mortuus gustare non potest, nichilominus tamen ipso in vermibus putrescente bonus potus dulcedinem sui saporis retinet, quam viuus degustans in corde letificatur et audax ad quecunque virilia opera peragenda efficitur.”

<Rev. III 8>

(A 65a^v) — <14> *Ad primum, magis eligo animam domini Deo presentare spiritualiter.*
 — *Ad secundum, quod nihil habeo proprium et magis delector in paupertate, quam professus sum, quam in omnibus diuiciis mundi.*
 — *Ad tercium, quod magis michi placet simplex frater vocari quam pro vana et mundana gloria magister appellari.*

<15> “Ego Maria, que veritatem de ore Gabrielis audiui, indubitanter credidi veritati, unde de meo corpore veritas sibi assumpsit carnem et sanguinem et mansit in me. <16> Illam eandem veritatem genui de me, qui utrumque Deus et homo est in se. Et quia veritas, que Dei filius est, ad me venire et in me habitare et ex me nasci voluit, ideo plenissime intelligo, utrum in ore hominis sit veritas an non, adhuc priusquam verba de ipsius labiis exeunt. <17> Ego a magistro tria interrogabam. Quem michi bene respondisse probarem, si in verbis suis fuisset veritas. Que quidem quia in eis non erat, ideo nunc de aliis tribus ipsum precauere volo et illud scilicet est, quod in ipsius responsionibus defecit videlicet veritas, verba mea plenissime sequetur. Primum est, quod aliqua sunt, que corporaliter desiderat et illa nullo modo optinebit. <18> Secundum est, quod hoc, quod nunc habet, cum mundana leticia cicius carebit. Tercium est, quod pusilli introibunt in regnum celorum. Magni autem stabunt extra, quoniam porta est angusta.”²⁹

9:1 videt *ex* audiat *correctum*

8:17 scilicet est] idem KLEMMING (BU 4 195)

²⁹ Revelation and paragraph numbers within brackets have been added by me in accordance with the Rev. III text. For principles of edition, see pp. 59 sqq.

Appendix regarding differences between the *LM*, the Rev. III text and the *BU 1* (= MS. A33) version:

<i>LM</i>	<i>Rev. III</i>	<i>Commentary</i>
8:1 erat perfecte 8:1 sit capax	perfecte erat capax sit	<i>The verb is sometimes placed before its complement in the LM just as in Swedish.</i>
8:10 proh. omnia peccami. 8:15 assumpsit carnem	omnia peccamin. proh. carnem sumpsit	<i>The verb is placed before its indirect object in the LM just as in Swedish.</i>
8:1 illa sum 8:2 Spirit. Sanc. repl. 8:5 volunt. suam me fac. 8:5 voluntatis esse 8:7 ab ipso tantam ...sap. 8:7 sap. intellig. valeam 8:8 ab ipso tria 8:9 sing. et propr. poss. 8:9 quid de hiis duobus sibi 8:9 placere videtur 8:17 a magistro tria	sum illa repl. Spirit. Sanc. fac. me volunt. suam esse voluntatis tantam ab ipso ... sap. intellig. valeam sap. tria ab ipso propr.et sing. poss. quid sibi de hiis duobus videtur placere tria a magistro	<i>Change of word order</i>
8:16 in ore hominis (see above) 8:12 magistri nomine	in ore hominum nomine magistri	<i>Change of number</i> <i>The noun could be placed before genitive in the LM just as in the Swedish.</i>
8:13 diuina caritas	caritas diuina.	<i>The adjective is sometimes placed before the noun in the LM just as in Swedish.</i>
8:7 iacuit 8:7 valeam ... cernere 8:9 delectaretur 8:11 acquirere poterint 8:11 possent 8:13 possunt comparari 8:17 precauere volo 9:2 audiat 9:3 efficitur	iaceret cerno delectatur possunt acquirere potuissent comparantur precaueo audit efficietur	<i>Change of tense and/or mood or rephrase with a modal auxiliary</i>
8:3 vel 8:7 Dum 8:2,3,7,11 ut 8:13 quoniam	nec Cumque quod quia	<i>The conjunction is changed.</i>
8:4 eciam	quoque	<i>Change into synonyms</i>

8:9 videlicet	scilicet	
8:12 autem	vero	
8:17 interrogabam	quesiui	
8:18 carebit	amittet	
8:18 extra	foris	
8:8 renuncia	nuncia	<i>Change of verbs/conjunctions/ adverbs/pronouns/prepositions</i>
8:10 ea	illa	
8:11 eciam	vero	
8:16 in se	ex se	
8:18 introibunt	intrabunt	
9:2,3 Item	Et	
8:13 non	numquam	<i>Emphasis</i>
8:16 genui	ego genui	
8:1 crescente et dilatante	dilatante	<i>Double expressions</i>
8:17 desiderat	diligit et desiderat	
8:9,11 plurium	plurimorum	<i>Morphological distinction</i>
8:8 archiepiscopi	episcopi	<i>Vital information added in the LM</i>
8:10 archiepiscopum (see above)	episcopum	
8:1 Virgo Maria dicens	Mater loquitur	<i>Change of phrases</i>
8:2 alicuius peccati	peccati alicuius	<i>A pronoun is sometimes placed before its main word in the LM just as in the Swedish.</i>
8:6 meus filius but	filius meus	
8:2 corporis mei et etatis	corporis et etatis mee	
8:3 Ego	Ego quippe	<i>Omissions/additions of words</i>
8:4 enim continue	enim	
8:9 in primis sedilibus	in primis <sedilibus> (see above, p. 239 sq.)	
8:10 in se	omitted	
8:17 Ego	Verum ego	
8:17 quidem quia	quia	
8:17 ideo nunc	ideo	
8:6 et sic ... et sic	et ... et sic	<i>Anaphora in the LM</i>
<i>LM</i>	<i>Rev. III</i>	<i>BU I</i>
8:1 Virgo Maria	Mater	JOmfrv maria gudz modhir
8:1 crescit, crescente et dilatante	crescit dilatante	wäxe ok vtuide
8:3 vel	nec	älla
8:3 Ego	Ego quippe	Sannelika iak
8:3 diuine	Dei	gudz
8:4 enim continue	enim	Thy at

8:4 in sue diuinitatis potencia habuit	habuit	hafde
8:4 eciam	quoque	ok
8:5 et parerem filium Dei	<i>omitted</i>	<i>omitted</i>
8:5 in corde meo	in corde	j mino hiärta
8:6 Fiat	Fiat, inquiens	wardhe
8:6 et sic ¹	et	oc
8:6 qui utrumque Deus est et homo, ego eciam mater et virgo	qui utrumque est, scilicet Deus et homo, et ego similiter mater atque virgo	hulkin ther badhe är gudh ok man ok iak badhe modhir ok iomfrv
8:7 Dum	Cumque	Nar
8:7 Ihesus Christus	et Deus verus Ihesus Christus	ok sandir gudh ihesus christus
8:7 tunc	<i>omitted</i>	<i>omitted</i>
8:7 valeam ... cernere	cerno	forma ... vndirsta
8:8 Tu, que verba mea	Ergo tu, que verba	Thy thu som ordhin
8:8 renuncia	nuncia	kungör
8:8 magistro, cui loquta es	magistro illo	them mästaranom
8:8 et diligenter ... suo	<i>omitted</i>	<i>omitted</i>
8:8 archiepiscopi	episcopi	biscopsins
8:8 aut ipsius animam Deo presentare sp.	vel an desiderat plus animam eius pre- sentare Deo sp.	älla presentera gudhi hans siäl andelika
8:9 Secundum, quod ipsum interrogo est	Secundo	Annantidh
8:9 vel nullorum	vel an ex nullorum	älla af änghom gul päninghom
8:9 Tercium, quod eum interrogo est	Tercio	Thridhia
8:9 videlicet	scilicet	<i>omitted</i>
8:9 in primis sedilibus	in primis	j hedhirliko säte
8:10 Hec tria in se	Hec tria	thessin thry
8:10 archiepiscopum	episcopum	biscopin
8:10 ea	illa	the thingh
8:11 eciam	vero	<i>omitted</i>
8:11 possent	potuissent	mogho ... mista
8:12 autem	vero	<i>omitted</i>
8:13 Tunc enim	Tunc	Thy
8:13 que litterature possunt comparari, tunc namque	litterature sciencie sine caritate comparantur, et	liknas boklikom visdom vtan kärlek ok
8:13 caritati diuine comp.	comp. caritati	liknas kärlekenom
8:13 quoniam	quia	Thy
8:13 non	numquam	aldrigh
8:15 Ego Maria, que	respondit iterum mater: Ego sum	Tha swaradhe iomfrv maria an- nan tima Jak är the
8:15 ore Gabrielis	ore Gabrielis	ängilsins munne
8:15 audiui, indubitanter credidi veritati, unde	audiui et indubitanter credidi, unde et veritas	hördhe ... ok trode vtan alt iäff ... Ok thy ... ok sannindin

8:15 assumpsit	sumpsit	tok
8:16 genui	ego genui	iak födde
8:16 qui utrumque, Deus et homo	qui utrumque, scilicet Deus et homo	som badhe är gudh ok man
8:16 et ex me	ex meque	ok ... aff mik
8:16 in ore hominis	in ore hominum	j mannanna ordhom
8:16 adhuc priusquam verba de ipsius labiis exeunt	<i>omitted</i>	<i>omitted</i>
8:17 Ego	Verum ego	Än iak
8:17 interrogabam	quesiui	spordhe
8:17 Que quidem	Que	Nw mädhan
8:17 ideo nunc	ideo	Tha fore
8:17 precauere volo	precaueo	wara...af
8:17 et illud ... sequetur	<i>omitted</i>	<i>omitted</i>
8:17 desiderat	diligit et desiderat	älskar likamlika ok astunda
8:18 hoc	illud	thz
8:18 carebit	amittet	skal ... mista
8:18 introibunt	intrabunt	skulu ingaa
8:18 in regnum celorum	celum	j hymerike
9:1 Tu que verba mea audis intelligere debes, quod	Loquitur Mater	JOmfrv maria gudz modhir tala- de sighiande
9:1 sol in sue claritatis re- splendet pulchritudine, qua<m> videntes gratu- lantur itineris sui offen- dicula fugiendo.	sol resplendet in sue clari- tatis splendore et pulch- ritudine, quam clarita- tem videntes homines itinerantes clarum visum habentes gratulantur iti- neris sui pericula fugien- do	skin solin j sins klarhetz skinj ... Än the som see klara solinna fäghrindh glädhias flyande sins wägx wada
9:2,3 Item	Et	ok
9:2 audiat	audit	höre
9:2 nichilominus tamen	tamen	tho
9:2 audire potest	audire poterit	höre
9:3 potest	poterit	forma ey
9:3 nichilominus tamen ipso in vermibus putrescente	tamen ipso in vermibus	<i>omitted</i>
9:3 in corde	putrescente	
9:3 opera peragenda	in corde suo	j sino hiarta
9:3 efficitur	opera	mannelika gerninga
	efficietur	<i>omitted</i>

- ad dñm magis otigo auz dñm po pteare spualit
- ad spm qñt hco qñt q magis pteat spualit
- ad pteat su qñt dñm dñm mudi
- ad tñm q magis in pteat pteat dñm qñt opama
- mudana gloria magis apellari

Ego maria que videri de ore gabrielis audiri
 indubitate credidi videri un de meo coape
 veritas sibi assumpsit carnem & sanguine uniate
 in me illa adde videri genitrix de me qñt qñt
 de d & homo e in se et quid veritas q de filio e
 ad me venire in hinc habitare & eneme nati
 voluit deo plenissime intelligo veni in ore hinc de
 veritas e in adde pteat dñm de me dñm dñm

Et ego dñm qñt dñm dñm que in hinc
 hinc sibi magis sicut pteat videri que qñt quid hinc no
 erat pteat de aliis tñm pteat videri nullus
 de qñt pteat pteat dñm dñm dñm dñm
 mea plenissime sequit qñt pteat qñt qñt qñt
 hinc dñm dñm & illa nullo in oponebre qñt dñm qñt qñt
 modum hinc dñm mudana lectia acqñt carebre
 qñt dñm dñm pteat dñm dñm dñm dñm
 ac stabit qñt qñt pteat dñm dñm

Et ego in hinc
 magis

