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# Bernart Amoros, *Liber proverbiorum vulgarium et sapientum* (1333)

## I. Introduction

### 1. History of the Text and Reasons for an Edition

Manuscript MM 1175 at the Archives Nationales in Paris is a nineteenth-century folio-sized blank book in which have been mounted twenty-two loose leaves that were recovered from a late medieval binding. The leaves have been dated in the fifteenth century<sup>1</sup>. Eight of them, numbered in a later hand from one to seven and then nineteen, transmit all that we have of a work called the *Liber proverbiorum vulgarium et sapientum*, finished by *Amorosus Bernardus* in 1333 according to Leaf 2r, lines 1-3 (see edition below). In general these eight leaves contain twenty-four to twenty-six lines of text, but Leaves 1 and 7 have been torn in two and we have just the top portions, containing thirteen lines on both sides of Leaf 1 and twenty lines on Leaf 7 recto. Leaf 7, unlike the others, has been mounted in such a way that the verso is inaccessible. Leaf 2r has eighteen lines of text, including white space around the colophon (2r6) and at the end of the page. The extant text contains all or part of 341 verses, including a number of partially illegible lines in which we can read as little as a single letter or a fragment of one (7r20). According to Leaf 2r5, the original text was 1500 verses long, which would have made thirty folios averaging twenty-five lines on each page. It appears that about twenty-two folios have been lost.

The early transmission of the manuscript has left traces in its margins. At the bottom of Leaf 2r we find marginalia that are difficult to decipher, like many others throughout the work. In this passage it seems possible to read in a hand more recent than the text of the *Lib-*  
*er*, to the left, *Pertinet ista modo Arturus nomine dictus*, which may be

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<sup>1</sup> *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France: Université de Paris et universités des départements*, Paris 1918, p. 488.

corrected editorially to *Arturo ... dicto* for rhyme (the final vowel of *modo* at the caesura rhymes with *dicto*) as well as sense; to the right, ... *a Dubruel*; and lower down to the left, *SS*, presumably the abbreviation for *subscripsi* (see *Marginalia* 2r18). Perhaps in the fifteenth or sixteenth century the owner of the manuscript was a woman whose family name was Dubruel, and she signed it. Then she married, and she or someone else added: «She now belongs to one called Arturus by name». This inscription is a rhymed hexameter, imitating the meter of the *Liber*<sup>2</sup>. Other marginalia include glosses ranging from synonyms of words in the text to applications of one of the proverbs, as once in Occitan (*fuoc*, «fire» 3r9, as in «Where there's smoke there's fire», referring to *crimina*). One comment identifies a verb as belonging to the fourth conjugation, and thus disambiguates two homonyms (*vincit* from *vincire* not *vincere*, 7r6). Sometimes the glossators argue with the text (*Non* 3v8, 4v20), correct it (*Com* 4v18, changing *plere* to *complere* as the hexameter requires), or add to it (a misogynous proverb, 19r4). They cite the Bible, Augustine, Boethius, and Gregory the Great. Apparently the manuscript passed through the hands of clerics, as one would expect, and perhaps those of a laywoman.

The provenance becomes clear in 1880. Folio 1v of the nineteenth-century book contains a note: «Tous ces fragments ont été retirés de l'ancienne reliure / Des mémoriaux de la Faculte / Paul Viollet / Archiviste de la faculté». The note bears no date, but P. Viollet, Archiviste of the Faculté de Droit of the University of Paris, published an account of the discovery of the fragments in 1880<sup>3</sup>. In the same year L. Delisle of the Bibliothèque Nationale, who had overseen the dismantling of the original binding, published two brief passages from the *Lib-er proverbiorum* that he identified as its beginning and end<sup>4</sup>. The second passage names the author, gives the year when he completed the

<sup>2</sup> The avoidance of elision in *modo Arturo* is typical of the *Liber* and the age.

<sup>3</sup> P. VIOLLET, *Une visite à Cheltenham: les statuts de la Faculté de droit de Paris; la pratique de Guido*, in «Journal général de l'instruction publique», 31 janvier 1880, pp. 98-99. Viollet indicates that the «ancienne reliure» in which the *Liber* was found came from «Les Mémoriaux ou Commentaires des Doyens qui remontent au XVe siècle», that is, Archives Nationales MM 1049, Ancienne cote (1), marked on the spine of the present binding: «Mémorial de la Faculté de Droit de Paris. 1. 1414-1448».

<sup>4</sup> L. DELISLE, *Mélanges de paléographie et de bibliographie*, Paris 1880, pp. 428-429, edited Leaf 1r, the title and lines 1-7, and Leaf 2r, lines 1-5.

work, and describes it as containing a thousand proverbs in fifteen hundred verses. According to Viollet, Delisle expressed a strong desire to have the fragments in the Bibliothèque Nationale, but the Dean of the Faculté de Droit decided to keep them in the Archives of his school. There the book was assigned the shelfmark 122. In 1918 the *Catalogue général* of manuscripts of public libraries in France briefly described manuscript 122<sup>5</sup>. In 1932 manuscripts 1 to 140 in the Archives of the Faculté de Droit were deposited in the Archives Nationales<sup>6</sup>. Manuscript 122 became MM 1175. It still bears the mark 122 on its spine.

In 1921 the *Histoire littéraire de la France* devoted an entry by Ch.-V. Langlois to *Bernard Amoros, collectionneur de poésies en provençal et en latin*<sup>7</sup>. We shall return below to Bernart's activity as the scribe of a troubadour chansonnier; at this point we shall pause only to note that he boasts in the preface to the chansonnier of his ability to distinguish correct from incorrect composition in both the vernacular and Latin, *et en vulgare et en lati*. Regarding the *Liber proverbiorum*, Langlois reprints the two passages that had been published by Delisle<sup>8</sup>. He observes correctly that the second passage is not the end of the book, as Delisle had said, but the end of the preface. Unfortunately Langlois misread a key line, omitted a word, and created needless confusion over the date of the work. The manuscript and Delisle express the year in which Bernart completed his work as follows:

Anno milleno ter centum ter quoque deno  
 Adiuncto terno ... (2r1-2)

In the year one thousand, thrice a hundred and thrice ten,  
 With a third added on ...

Langlois skipped the repetition of *ter* in the first line and published a version that is unmetrical, a broken hexameter:

<sup>5</sup> See note 1 above.

<sup>6</sup> J. FAVIER, ed., *Les Archives Nationales. Etat général des fonds*, I, Paris 1978, p. 394.

<sup>7</sup> CH.-V. LANGLOIS, *Bernard Amoros, collectionneur de poésies en provençal et en latin*, in *Histoire littéraire de la France*, XXXV, Paris 1921, pp. 526-532.

<sup>8</sup> LANGLOIS, *Bernard* cit., p. 529.

Anno milleno ter centum quoque deno  
 Adiuncto terno ...

In the year one thousand, thrice a hundred and ten,  
 With a third added on ...

As he pointed out, this misreading would mean that the work was completed not in 1333 but in 1313. Langlois judged Bernart's proverbs «mauvais» and the poet «inexpert», as «maladroit» as other medieval versifiers of proverbs. He would not be surprised, he wrote, if a methodical comparison of Bernart's work with earlier ones like it showed «qu'il n'y a, dans le sien, presque rien ou rien de lui»<sup>9</sup>. We shall return to the issue of originality; for the present, suffice it to say that Langlois' hasty conclusion that Bernart was not original, and his condemnation of the poet for this supposed lack of originality, serve only to dismiss the work rather than to help us understand it. Langlois goes on to discuss possible identifications of Bernart Amoros, as we shall do below. He takes for granted that the author of the *Liber proverbiorum* and the scribe of the chansonnier are one and the same: «Il paraît évident que le compilateur de chansons et le collectionneur de proverbes sont une seule personne»<sup>10</sup>.

Langlois' contempt for Bernart's Latin verses, which he did not read carefully enough to avoid his blunder in the line about the year, contributed to their subsequent neglect. In 1936, writing in the *Dictionnaire de biographie française*, M. Barroux described Bernart Amoros as the compiler of a manuscript of troubadours, adding briefly that «on peut le considérer presque sûrement comme étant le même que le Bernard Amoros qui avait composé aussi un recueil d'un millier de proverbes, en 1313 ou 1333»<sup>11</sup>. Bernart has continued to enjoy occasional attention from specialists, but only for his chansonnier. In the first edition of the *Dictionnaire des Lettres Françaises: Le Moyen Age*, Ch. Camproux made no mention of the collection of proverbs<sup>12</sup>. In the

<sup>9</sup> LANGLOIS, *Bernard* cit., p. 530.

<sup>10</sup> LANGLOIS, *Bernard* cit., p. 531.

<sup>11</sup> M. BARROUX, *Amoros (Bernart)*, in *Dictionnaire de biographie française*, II, Paris 1936, p. 695.

<sup>12</sup> CH. CAMPROUX, *Bernart (Amoros)*, in *Dictionnaire des Lettres Françaises: Le Moyen Age* (henceforth *DLFMA*), Paris 1964, p. 121.

second edition G. Brunel-Lobrichon did not either, although she added reference to the article by Langlois<sup>13</sup>.

There are several reasons why the *Liber proverbiorum* deserves more attention. First, because of the growing interest in proverbs, as witnessed by the publication of the *Thesaurus Proverbiorum Medii Aevi* and a spate of recent studies concerning proverbs in Occitan<sup>14</sup>. Second, because of the growing appreciation of the importance of the chansonniers in Occitan and other languages. An ongoing project to analyse these manuscripts in minute detail, called «*Intavulare*», will extend to more than forty chansonniers a level of analysis approaching a volume apiece<sup>15</sup>. In one of the *ante-litteram* founding moments of this project I. Frank called for study of the chansonniers that would extend to the psychology of their scribes<sup>16</sup>. We know little, however, about these people; students of Occitan manuscript V, for example, have found it necessary to ask whether the *R. de Capelades* who signed the colophon could be identified as a certain Pedro de Capelades<sup>17</sup>. But even a skeptical Lan-

<sup>13</sup> G. BRUNEL-LOBRICHON, *Bernart Amoros*, in *DLFMA*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Paris 1992, p. 156.

<sup>14</sup> *Thesaurus Proverbiorum Medii Aevi: Lexikon der Sprichwörter des romanisch-germanischen Mittelalters*, 14 vols., Berlin 1995-2002 (henceforth *TPMA*). W. PFEFFER, *Proverbs in Medieval Occitan Literature*, Gainesville 1997. E. SCHULZE-BUSACKER, *Proverbes et expressions proverbiales dans la littérature narrative du Moyen Âge français. Recueil et analyse*, Genève 1985; *Des "Disticha Catonis" en Espagne, Italie et France*, in *Europhras 88: Phraséologie contrastive*. Actes du Colloque International Klingenthal-Strasbourg, 12-16 mai 1988, ed. G. Gréciano, Strasbourg 1989, pp. 421-430; *Une réécriture chrétienne des Disticha Catonis: Lo Libret de bos ensenhamens de Raimon de Cornet*, in *Literatur: Geschichte und Verstehen, Festschrift für Ulrich Mölk*, ed. H. Hudde and U. Schöning, Heidelberg 1997, pp. 61-80; *Les proverbes dans la lyrique occitane*, in «*La France latine*», 129 (1999), pp. 189-210; *L'héritage gnomique et parémiologique dans la poésie des troubadours*, in «*Ab nou cor et ab nou talen*». *Nouvelles tendances de la recherche médiévale occitane*, ed. A. Ferrari – S. Romualdi, Modena 2004, pp. 169-188. In *L'héritage gnomique* cit., p. 170, Schulze-Busacker speaks of «le renouveau des études parémiologiques et gnomiques des trente dernières années».

<sup>15</sup> A. FERRARI, coordinator, «*Intavulare*». *Tavole di canzonieri romanzi*, Roma, Liège, Modena 1997-. See my review in «*Romance Philology*», 61 (2007), pp. 79-92.

<sup>16</sup> I. FRANK, *De l'art d'éditer les textes lyriques*, in *Recueil de travaux offert à M. Clovis Brunel*, Paris 1955, I, pp. 463-475: 474.

<sup>17</sup> I. ZAMUNER, «*Intavulare*». *Tavole di canzonieri romanzi, I. Canzonieri provenzali, 3. Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, V (Str. App. 11 = 278)*, Modena 2003, pp. 29-30; A. ALBERNI, *El cançonier occità V: un estat de la qüestió*, in «*Cultura Neolatina*», LXV (2005), pp. 155-180: 157-158. Noto has detected a tantalizing detail that may throw light on the psychology of Pietro Berzoli of Gubbio, the first scribe of Occitan MS P: he honored troubadours he considered major by introducing their works with an initial letter that ex-

glois conceded that Bernart Amoros compiled both a major troubadour chansonnier and the *Liber proverbiorum*, which is therefore precious evidence of the literary interests and personality of an important transmitter of troubadour poetry. Third, because of the rarity of contacts between the literary world of the troubadours and the world of Latin. One scholar has gone so far as to speculate that the relative absence of Latin authorship in the South of France is evidence of the small influence of the Church in the region, and therefore of its readiness for heresy and ripeness for crusade<sup>18</sup>. If there are few Latin compositions that can be traced to anyone in the world of the troubadours, each one of them has all the more importance for understanding the nature of cultural diglossia particular to the region. The *Liber proverbiorum* is a significant witness of Latin learning in the medieval Midi.

## 2. Bernart Amoros

The chansonnier written by Bernart Amoros is lost, but we have records of a copy executed in 1589 by Jacques Teissier of Tarascon for Piero di Simon del Nero, a Florentine nobleman who owned two other troubadour manuscripts<sup>19</sup>. Teissier's copy has been divided into two parts. One part, now in Firenze (Biblioteca Riccardiana 2814), contains Teissier's pages 1 to 251<sup>20</sup>. The second part, now in Modena (Biblioteca Estense, Càmpori Gamma. N. 8.4; 11, 12, 13), contains Teissier's

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tended over the height of three lines instead of two. See G. NOTO, «Intavulare». *Tavole di canzonieri romanzi, I. Canzonieri provenzali, 4. Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, P (plut. 41. 42)*, Modena 2003, pp. 38, 53, 75.

<sup>18</sup> J. WÜEST, *La dialectalisation de la Gallo-Romania. Problèmes phonologiques*, Berne 1979, pp. 370-371.

<sup>19</sup> Teissier copied from «un chansonnier compilé, à la fin du XIIIe siècle, par Bernart Amoros, clerc de Saint-Flour; l'original, aujourd'hui perdu, appartenait alors à Leone Strozzi», according to A. JEANROY, *Bibliographie sommaire des chansonniers provençaux (manuscrits et éditions)*, Paris 1966, p. 19. Piero del Nero also owned MSS F<sup>a</sup> (Firenze, Riccardiana 2981, completed 1594) and c<sup>a</sup> (sixteenth century): JEANROY, *Bibliographie sommaire* cit., pp. 5, 22; A. PILLET and H. CARSTENS, *Bibliographie der Troubadours*, Halle/Saale 1933 (henceforth abbreviated BdT), pp. XIV, XXVI; F. ZUFFEREY, *Recherches linguistiques sur les chansonniers provençaux*, Genève 1987, p. 79. On Piero di Simon del Nero see S. DEBENEDETTI, *Gli studi provenzali in Italia nel Cinquecento e Tre secoli di studi provenzali* (1911, 1930), revised by C. Segre, Padova 1995, pp. 55-56, 95-97, 273-275.

<sup>20</sup> G. BERTONI, *Il canzoniere provenzale di Bernart Amoros (sezione Riccardiana)*, Friburgo 1911 (henceforth *Riccardiana*).



pages 252 to 616<sup>21</sup>. We also have a listing by Teissier of poems in the exemplar that, for various reasons, he did not copy<sup>22</sup>. The Riccardiana copy includes a preliminary notice that provides the most extensive information we have about Bernart Amoros. This notice was copied twice, once by Teissier on folio 1r and again on folios 160v-161r by an unidentified scribe who recopied all the non-lyric items in the original by Bernart Amoros. The notice on folio 1r reads as follows:

(1) Eu, Bernartz Amoros, clergues, scriptors d'aquest libre, si fui d'Alvergna, don son estat maint bon trobador, e fui d'una villa qe a nom Saint Flor de Planeza. (2) E sui usatz luenc temps per Proensa, per las encontradas on son mout de bonz trobadors, et ai vistas et auzidas maintas bonas chanzos. (3) Et ai apres tant en l'art de trobar q'eu sai cognoisser e devezir, en rimas et en vulgar et en lati, per cas e per verbe, lo dreig trobar del fals. (4) Per qu'eu dic qe en bona fe eu ai escrig en aquest libre drechamen, lo miels q'ieu ai sauput e pogut. (5) E si ai mout emendat d'aqo q'ieu trobei en l'issemble, don ieu o tiein e bon e dreig, segon lo dreig lengatge. (6) Per q'ieu prec chascun qe non s'entrameton de emendar, e granmen qe, si ben i trobes cors de penna en alcuna letra, chascuns hom, si truep pauc no saubes, pogra leumen aver drecha l'entencio; et autre fail non cuig que.i sia bonamen. (7) Qe granz faillirs es d'ome qe si fai emendador si tot ades non a l'entencion, qe maintas vetz per frachura d'entendimen venon afollat maint bon mot obrat primamen e d'avinen razo, si com dis uns savis:

Blasmat venon per frachura  
d'entendimen, obra pura  
maintas vetz de razon prima,  
per maintz fols qe.s tenon lima.

(8) Mas ieu m'en sui ben gardatz, qe maint luec son q'eu non ai ben aüt l'entendimen. (9) Per q'ieu no.i ai ren volgut mudar per paor q'ieu non peiures l'obra, qe truep volgra esser prims e sutils hom qi o pogues tot entendre, specialmen de las chanzos d'en Giraut de Borneill lo maestre. (10) E son en aquest libre chanzo e sirventes e descort e tenzon DCCV<sup>23</sup>.

<sup>21</sup> G. BERTONI, *Il canzoniere provenzale di Bernart Amoros (complemento Càmpori): edizione diplomatica*, Friburgo 1911 (henceforth *Càmpori*). ZUFFEREY, *Recherches* cit., pp. 79-101. Volumes on these two manuscripts are being prepared for «*Intavulare*» by L. BORCHI CEDRINI and W. MELIGA respectively.

<sup>22</sup> Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Pal. 1198; see BERTONI, *Tavola dei testi tralasciati nella copia del canzoniere di B. Amoros*, in *Riccardiana* cit., pp. 14-23 (henceforth *Tavola*).

<sup>23</sup> Edited here from microfilm. Cf. the edition by ZUFFEREY, *Recherches* cit., pp. 80-81.



(1) I, Bernart Amoros, clerk, writer of this book, was from Auvergne, where many good troubadours have been from, and I was from a town that is called Saint-Flour de Planèze. (2) And I have traveled<sup>24</sup> for a long time through Provence, through the regions where there are many good troubadours, and I have seen and heard many good songs. (3) And I have learned so much of the art of composition that I know how to recognize and distinguish right composition from false in declension and in conjugation, in poems both in the vernacular and in Latin. (4) And so I say that in good faith I have written rightly in this book, as best I knew and was able. (5) And I have emended much that I found in the exemplar, so that I find it good and right, according to right language. (6) So I beg everyone not to set about to emend, and especially since even if he found a slip of the pen on some letter, each man, if he does not know too little, could easily grasp the right meaning; and I honestly do not think there is any other error in it. (7) It is a great fault in a man who emends although he does not grasp the meaning right away, for many times for lack of understanding many good words, cleverly wrought and with an appropriate subject, are ruined, as a wise man said: «They [good words] are criticised for lack / of understanding, pure work / often of clever subject, / by many fools who have a file». (8) But I have kept carefully from doing this, for there are many places that I have not got the meaning clearly. (9) But I have tried not to change anything for fear that I might make the work worse, for I would have liked very much to be a clever and subtle man who could have understood it all, especially in the songs of Sir Giraut de Borneill, the master. (10) And there are in this book 705 cansos and sirventes and descorts and tensons.

Bernart Amoros informs us that he was a clerk from Saint-Flour, which is a town in Haute Auvergne (*département* of Cantal), located between Clermont-Ferrand about 100 kilometers to the north, Le Puy-en-Velay the same distance to the east, and Aurillac about 70 kilometers to the west. Saint-Flour is situated on a promontory of the *Planèze* (Latin *PLANITIA*, “flatness”), a plateau of volcanic basalt, and overlooks the valley of the Lander River a hundred meters below<sup>25</sup>. From Auvergne, where he claims there were many good troubadours, Bernart says he traveled frequently to Provence, where he seems to have gained his authority in vernacular poetry<sup>26</sup>. This authority, as

<sup>24</sup> Uzar “fréquenter”: E. LEVY, *Petit Dictionnaire provençal-français*, Heidleberg 1966, p. 376.

<sup>25</sup> P. JOANNE, *Dictionnaire géographique et administratif de la France*, Paris 1890-1905, VI, p. 4119 (St.-Flour); V, p. 3547 (Planèze). Saint-Flour was the birthplace of J.-P. MIGNE, editor of the *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina*, 221 vols., Paris 1844-1882 (henceforth *PL*).

<sup>26</sup> We have 210 troubadour poems that can be localized in Auvergne and 421 in Provence, the most productive of the regions. Other areas with more poems than Auvergne include Languedoc with 388 and Limousin with 212. These figures are based on those of

he describes it, is based first on his experience in regions where there were many good troubadours, and second on his grammatical mastery of declension and conjugation in Occitan and Latin. Bernart assures us that he applied his expertise as he copied the songs into his chansonnier; he begs the reader to refrain from altering his work, as he has refrained from altering difficult texts such as the *cansos* of Giraut de Bornel, even when he did not understand them. He only wishes he were clever enough to grasp their meaning.

Bernart concludes the notice with the statement that his manuscript contains 705 poems. The Firenze copy contains 230 items, the Modena copy 350, and the list of omissions 116, for a total of 696. The discrepancy is easier to notice than to explain; the situation is complicated, and we should not be quick to conclude that Bernart described his own work inaccurately. Whatever the exact number of lyrics he transcribed, his manuscript contained more poems than the celebrated manuscript **A** (Roma, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, lat. 5232), with 626 lyric texts, but fewer than the largest of all the troubadour manuscripts, **C** (Paris, BnF fr. 856), which has 1206. To judge from the notice he may have written his chansonnier in Provence, where two other major chansonniers were compiled, if not in Auvergne, where we know of no others<sup>27</sup>. Of the extant chansonniers that were written in the Midi, most came from Languedoc; the greatest number overall were written in Italy<sup>28</sup>.

The book, he says, contains *cansos* and *sirventes* and *descortz* and *tensos*. I have identified 685 poems that were in Bernart's book<sup>29</sup>. He

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JEANROY; see W. D. PADEN, *Troubadours and History*, in *The World of Eleanor of Aquitaine: Literature and Society in Southern France Between the Eleventh and Thirteenth Centuries*, ed. M. Bull and C. Leglu, Woodbridge 2005, pp. 157-182: 163.

<sup>27</sup> Chansonniers from Provence include **B** (s. XIII) and **f** (s. XIV), according to M. DE RIQUER, *Los trovadores. Historia literaria y textos*, Barcelona 1975, I, pp. 12-13.

<sup>28</sup> Chansonniers from Languedoc: **C** (Narbonne, s. XIV), **E** (s. XIV), **J** (s. XIV), **R** (s. XIV), **Z** (s. XIII), **p** (s. XIV), and **q** (1373), according to RIQUER, *Los trovadores* cit., ibid. ZUFFEREY, *Recherches* cit., p. 79, n. 158, speculates that Bernart Amoros may have written his chansonnier in Italy.

<sup>29</sup> Eleven songs were included twice: BdT 70,11 (*Tavola* 58 = *Tavola* 79); BdT 124,1 (*Riccardiana* 79 = *Tavola* 99); BdT 124,2 (*Riccardiana* 80 = *Càmpori* 242); BdT 124,7 (*Riccardiana* 78 = *Càmpori* 241); BdT 167,58 (*Càmpori* 22 = *Tavola* 47); BdT 183,1 (*Càmpori* 211 = *Càmpori* 250); BdT 194,6 (*Riccardiana* 200 = *Càmpori* 6); BdT 243,2 (*Riccardiana* 139 = *Càmpori* 228); BdT 372,2 (*Riccardiana* 193 = *Tavola* 98); BdT 375,18 (*Riccardiana* 197 = *Tavola* 64); and BdT 456,2 (*Càmpori* 87 contains *Càmpori* 91). In the dis-

strongly favored the *canso*, which accounts for two-thirds of them (462, or 67%), but only 40% of the legacy of the troubadours taken globally<sup>30</sup>. Less than a fifth of the poems in the book were *sirventes* (120, or 18%); less than one per cent were *descortz* (5); eleven per cent were *tenso*s (76) as Bernart used the term (including *partimens*), arranged in a sequence at the end of the manuscript. Genres that were represented in the manuscript but are not mentioned in the notice include the *pastorela* and the *planh*<sup>31</sup>. The most striking such case is the *cobla*, which accounts for only three items in Bernart's manuscript but about 20% of the global legacy<sup>32</sup>. Perhaps the *cobla* was too occasional or too coarse for his taste, in contrast to the idealistic tone of the *canso*; or it may simply have been too new, having first developed around the 1190's<sup>33</sup>. Another thirteenth-century genre that is missing is the *baldada* or *dansa*, which was perhaps meant by Guiraut Riquier when he criticized the vogue for *captenhs leugiers / e critz mesclatz ab dezonor*, «frivolous behavior and cries mixed with dishonor»<sup>34</sup>. Bernart's contemporary Guilhem Molinier, the author of the *Leys d'amors*, elaborated a system of genres containing eleven principal ones and seventeen that he called *no-principals*. The four genres mentioned by Bernart Amoros are all *principals*, as, indeed, are all those represented in his manuscript except the *cobla*<sup>35</sup>. His listing of genres in the notice, with its several minor omissions, seems rather casual.

cussion that follows I have followed the identification of poems by genre in I. FRANK, *Répertoire métrique de la poésie des troubadours*, Paris 1953-1957, II, pp. 89-192.

<sup>30</sup> W. D. PADEN, *The System of Genres in Troubadour Lyric*, in *Medieval Lyric: Genres in Historical Context*, Urbana 2000, pp. 21-67: 27.

<sup>31</sup> *Pastorela*: Càmpori 9, 56. *Planh*: Riccardiana 22, 93, 130, 196; Càmpori 4, 19, 97, 115, 125, 135, 155, 170, 171, 197; *Tavola* 87.

<sup>32</sup> Càmpori 196, 308; *Tavola* 71. PADEN, *System* cit., *ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> C. LEUBE, *Cobla*, in *Grundriss der romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters* (henceforth *GRLMA*) VI.2, Heidelberg 1970, pp. 67-72: 69. E. W. POE, "Cobleiarai, car mi platz": *The Role of the Cobla in the Occitan Lyric Tradition*, in *Medieval Lyric: Genres in Historical Context*, Urbana 2000, 68-94: 71.

<sup>34</sup> BdT 248,17. For an edition of twenty such texts see A. RADAELLI, *Dansas provenzali del 13. secolo. Appunti sul genere ed edizione critica*, Firenze 2004.

<sup>35</sup> Guilhem Molinier does not mention the *cobla* either, although the term was used as the name of the genre (not meaning "stanza") in the *vida* of Uc de Saint Circ; see J. BOUTIÈRE, I.-M. CLUZEL, M. WORONOFF, *Biographies des troubadours. Textes provençaux des XIIIe et XIVe siècles*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Paris 1973, p. 239 (5), and POE, "Cobleiarai, car mi platz"

Bernart drives home his argument against reckless emendation with a verse citation from *uns savis* (“a wise man”) comprising four lines of seven syllables apiece, feminine, rhymed aabb. These lines, with their authoritative source, constitute a proverb<sup>36</sup>. They are not cited by Peretz or Cnyrim, however; nor do they appear in the *Concordance de l’Occitan Médiéval*<sup>37</sup>, although we learn there that they use language that recurs in poems Bernart copied into his chansonnier<sup>38</sup>. The impression that Bernart has created this proverb for his argumentative purpose is strengthened by considering the syntax of its insertion into the discourse of the notice. The proverb begins *Blasmat venon*: *blasmat* is a past participle in the nominative plural masculine, and *venon* is a third-person plural verb. Evidently *blasmat* modifies the plural masculine subject of *venon*, but what is the subject? There is no plural masculine noun in the proverb until *folz* in the last line, which cannot be the subject of the first line. That subject must be *bon mot* in the prose preceding the proverb. Thus the argument runs: «Many good words, cleverly wrought and with an appropriate subject, are ruined, as a wise man said: They [good words] are criticised», and so on. The proverb does not stand apart from its prose context; it is a rhetorical figure woven into Bernart’s discourse, apparently invented by him for this purpose.

When did Bernart Amoros transcribe his chansonnier? Bertoni pointed out that it must have been completed no earlier than about 1270, since it includes texts that refer to the Battle of Tagliacozzo in

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cit., 71. Other *dictatz principals* are the *vers*, *dansa*, *partimen*, *pastorela*, *retroncha*, *plang*, and *escondig*; see A.-F. GATIEN-ARNOULT, ed., *Monumens de la littérature romane*, Toulouse 1841-1849 (henceforth GATIEN-ARNOULT), I, pp. 338-365, and C. APPEL, ed., *Provenzalische Chrestomathie*, 6th ed., Leipzig 1930, pp. 197-201.

<sup>36</sup> On the use of phrases to introduce proverbs see B. PERETZ, *Altprovenzalische Sprichwörter*, Erlangen 1887, pp. 431-432, and E. CNYRIM, *Sprichwörter, sprichwörtliche Redensarten und Sentenzen bei den provenzalischen Lyrikern*, Marburg 1888, pp. 6-7, including examples of *le savis*. *Lo Savi* is an alternate title of the Occitan collection of proverbs also known as the *Libre de Seneca*; see below.

<sup>37</sup> P. RICKETTS, *Concordance de l’Occitan Médiéval. COM2, les troubadours, les textes narratifs en vers*, Turnhout 2005 (henceforth COM2).

<sup>38</sup> Lanfranc Cigala, BdT 282,2.104: *qu’eu faz’ obra tant pura*; BdT shows this in ms. a<sup>1</sup> (the Modena fragment). Peire d’Alvernhe, BdT 323,1.9: *mostres vers de rason prima*; BdT shows this in ms. a (the Firenze fragment). The noun *lima* “file” occurs at the rhyme in several poems including Arnaut Daniel, BdT 29,10.4, which is also in ms. a.

1268<sup>39</sup>. Bertoni added that the chansonnier includes work by Bonifacio Calvo but not by Bertolome Zorzi; the former was active around 1253-1266, the latter around 1266 to 1273<sup>40</sup>. Bertoni conjectured that the manuscript may have been written «negli ultimi anni del sec. XIII, ma non vi sono dati per toglierli di arrivare sino ai primi anni del secolo seguente»<sup>41</sup>. He provided no *terminus ante quem* short of the appearance of the manuscript in Firenze in 1589, when Jacques Teissier copied it. Langlois pointed out, however, that the city of Saint-Flour became the seat of a bishopric in 1317, and argued that if the clerk Bernart Amoros failed to mention the elevation of his town to episcopal dignity, it was probably because it had not yet occurred<sup>42</sup>. This argument is interesting but not compelling. More recent work on the history of Saint-Flour has shown that the bishops were usually absentees:

Ce qui caractérise le plus les prélats sanflorains pendant toute cette période [1317-1482], c'est leur non-résidence. La plupart du temps, ils mettent très longtemps avant de prendre leurs fonctions et, dès qu'ils en sont investis, on les rencontre davantage dans leurs manoirs autour de Saint-Flour qu'à la tête de leur diocèse<sup>43</sup>.

It is not obvious that if Bernart Amoros wrote the notice to his chansonnier after 1317, he would necessarily have mentioned the bishopric<sup>44</sup>.

However that may be, the *Liber Proverbiorum* shows that Bernart Amoros was active in 1333. If he compiled his chansonnier in, say, 1315, he included no poems written in the preceding forty years; if he

<sup>39</sup> BERTONI, *Càmpori* cit., pp. XX-XXI, referring to *Càmpori* 264, Calega Panzano, *Ar es sazoz c'om se deu alegrar*, BdT 107,1, ed. V. DE BARTHOLOMAEIS, *Poesie provenzali storiche relative all'Italia*, Roma 1931, II, pp. 250-256, and *Càmpori* 266, Peire de Chastelnou, *Mon chantar voil retrair a criminal* = BdT 396,6, attributed to Raimon de Castelnou as *Mon chantar voill retrair al comunal*, ed. A. GIANNETTI, *Raimon de Castelnou: Canzoni e dottrinale*, Bari 1988, no. 6, pp. 43-44.

<sup>40</sup> For the dates see RIQUER, *Los trovadores* cit., III, pp. 1416, 1524.

<sup>41</sup> BERTONI, *Càmpori* cit., p. XXI.

<sup>42</sup> LANGLOIS, *Bernard Amoros* cit., p. 528.

<sup>43</sup> A. RIGAUDIÈRE, *Saint-Flour, ville d'Auvergne au bas Moyen Age. Étude d'histoire administrative et financière*, Paris 1982, I, p. 70.

<sup>44</sup> In the *Speculum Sacerdotum* one of the first topics mentioned is that a priest should make his residence at his church (see the edition below, v. 20).

did so later, the period he ignored was longer. Other writers such as Matfre Ermengaud, in his *Breviari d'amor* (begun in 1288), and Guilhem Molinier, in the *Leys d'amors*, while exalting the best troubadours of earlier times, also encouraged composition among their contemporaries. It seems, however, that the troubadours of the late thirteenth century deliberately imitated their predecessors in the mid-twelfth century<sup>45</sup>. It appears that Bernart Amoros shared this reverence for troubadours of the classic period. Among those of the late thirteenth century, the two most prolific ones shine by their absence: Guiraut Riquier, who began to write around 1254, and Serveri de Girona, who began around 1259<sup>46</sup>. The poets best represented in the mid-thirteenth century are two Italians, Lanfranc Cigala with twenty-three poems and Bonifaci Calvo with nineteen, and the Quercynois Daude de Pradas with fifteen. Major troubadours of the mid-thirteenth century are represented with few works: the Italian adventurer Sordel with two and Peire Cardenal of Auvergne, the celebrated anticlerical satirist, with just one<sup>47</sup>. Uc de Saint-Circ has six. On the other hand, Bernart's memory extends back to the earliest known troubadours, with three songs by Guilhem de Peitieu<sup>48</sup>, five by Jaufre Rudel<sup>49</sup>, and nineteen by Marcabru. The bulk of his selection is work composed around the second half of the twelfth century, more than a hundred years before he wrote: there are thirty-two compositions by Bernart de Ventadorn and twenty-three by Raimbaut d'Aurenga, fifty-three by Giraut de Borneil (whom he men-

<sup>45</sup> PADEN, *Troubadours and History* cit., pp. 171-175.

<sup>46</sup> Troubadours from the end of the thirteenth century who are represented with one or two songs apiece include the little-known figures Alberjat, Bertran de Paris de Rouergue, Bremon Rascas, Calega Panzan, Gauceran de Saint-Didier, Luquet Gatelus, Peire de Castelnou, and Templier. In what follows I shall generally follow the attributions in FRANK, *Répertoire* cit., but I shall note conspicuous departures in Bernart's manuscript.

<sup>47</sup> BdT 335,57 (Càmpori 263), *Tostemps azir falsetat et enjan*, a *sirventes* against the ways of the world that could not distress any ecclesiastic.

<sup>48</sup> BdT 183,1, *Ab la dolchor del temps novel* (Càmpori 211, attributed to the Coms de Peitieu; Càmpori 250, attributed to Jaufre Rudel); 183,10, *Pos de chantar m'es pres talenz* (Càmpori 212); 183,11, *Pos vezem de novel florir* (Càmpori 207, attributed to Bertran de Pessars). Bernart included none of Guilhem's *Companho*-poems, nor the song of the *cat ros*, *En Alvernhe part Lemozi*.

<sup>49</sup> BdT 262,2 (Càmpori 248); 262,3 (Càmpori 206, attributed to Bernart Marti); 262,5 (Càmpori 24, attributed to Guilhem de Cabestanh); 262,6 (Càmpori 249); 262,7 (Càmpori 251).

tions in the notice), forty by Gaucelm Faidit, twenty-eight by Peirol, twenty-three by Bertran de Born, and twenty-six by Peire Vidal. In his selection of troubadour poems Bernart Amoros showed an unmistakable classicizing taste.

In the *Liber Proverbiorum*, the second leaf begins:

Anno milleno ter centum ter quoque deno  
 Adiuncto terno complevit, tempore verno,  
 Dictus Amorosus Bernardus, in his studiosus,  
 Librum presentem proverbia mille tenentem  
 Milleque qui[ngento]s versus [h]is ordine junctos.  
 Christus laudetur opere cui finis habetur. (2r1-6)

In the year one thousand, thrice a hundred and thrice ten, / With a third added on, in the spring season, / The said Bernart Amoros, studious in these matters, / Completed the present book containing a thousand proverbs / And fifteen hundred verses joined in order to these. / Christ be praised for the work whose end is at hand.

No doubt the poet had already given his name in the lower portion of Leaf 1 that has been lost; hence *Dictus Amorosus Bernardus* in line 3. Presumably he actually did complete the work in spring (*tempore verno*, line 2); such a reality may have carried overtones of the spring-setting typical of troubadour *cansos*. That Bernart was studious in the matter of proverbs is evident from the *Liber*; we have already seen an indication of it in the notice to the chansonnier. He specifies the number of proverbs and of lines in the *Liber* as he counted the number of poems in the chansonnier. Line 6 is a traditional colophon (see Analogues).

A third work, called the *Speculum Sacerdotum*, seems to be attributed to Bernart Amoros in some manuscripts<sup>50</sup>. For an edition of extracts from this work, based on manuscript **P**<sup>2</sup> (Paris, BnF, lat. 3480), see the Appendix. It ends as follows:

Explicit hoc speculum doctrine presbiterorum  
 Per B. compositum, qui fert cognomen Amorum,  
 Anno millesimo, C. tres, X. bis quoque seno.

<sup>50</sup> I was alerted to the existence of these attributions by A.-V. Gilles-Raynal of the *Section latine, Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes*, to whom I am most grateful.



Sunt huic coniuncta speculo tria millia metra,  
Istis adiuncta duo sunt et septuaginta.  
Explicit Speculum Sacerdotum.

Here ends this mirror of doctrine for priests / Composed by B., who bears the family name Amorum, / In the year one thousand, three hundred, twice ten and six. / To this mirror are joined three thousand lines, / Added to them are seventy-two. / Here Ends the Mirror of Priests.

The second of these lines, which names the author, recurs identically in manuscript **P**<sup>1</sup> (Paris, BnF, lat. 3445). Both these manuscripts date from the fifteenth century. Other scribes varied the line in ways that suggest they did not understand it. Some introduce a lacuna where the name should be:

Per [*lacuna*] compositum qui fert cognomen duorum (**P**<sup>5</sup>)

Per [*lacuna*] confectum qui fert cognomine morum (**P**<sup>6</sup>)

Two elide it:

Per compositum qui fert cognomen duorum (**P**<sup>3</sup>**T**)

Others struggle to fill the empty slot. One does so unmetrically:

Per te compositum qui fers cognomen dominorum (**P**<sup>4</sup>)

Another found a more felicitous solution:

Per P. confectum qui fert cognomen amarum (**V**)

The version in **P**<sup>1</sup>**P**<sup>2</sup>, *Per B. compositum, qui fert cognomen Amorum*, uses the initial B as a letter, not an abbreviation; the B scans as one long syllable in the hexameter<sup>51</sup>. This unusual way of employing

<sup>51</sup> Similarly, the following line, *Anno millesimo, C. tres, X. bis quoque seno*, uses the monosyllabic names of the letters C and X, instead of the bisyllabic words *centum* and *decem*, to make the hexameter. For similar usage of these letter-names as single long syllables, see CH. DU FRESNE DU CANGE, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, Niort 1883-1887, II, p. 1, s.v. «C» (*Non plus quam centum C. littera fertur habere*); VIII, p. 419, s.v. «X» (*X duplex denos numero tibi dat retinendos*).

an initial may have contributed to the confusion over the name in the other manuscripts. The scribes of **P**<sup>5</sup> and **P**<sup>6</sup> puzzled over both elements in the author's name, the initial and the cognomen; the scribes of **P**<sup>3</sup>, **T**, and **P**<sup>4</sup> gave up on the initial and experimented with the cognomen. Among those who did not understand the name, the scribe of **V** did best, substituting P for the initial and *amarum* for *amorum*: «Confect by P., who bears a bitter family name».

It seems plausible to accept *B. Amorum* as the author of the *Speculum Sacerdotum*. If he was identical to the Bernart Amoros of the chansonnier and the Amorosus Bernardus of the *Liber Proverbiorum*, we have another specific date, 1326, to add to his curriculum. As in the *Liber Proverbiorum* he names himself, names the work, provides the date of its composition, and gives an exact measure of its contents. The two Latin works use the same Leonine hexameter form. Bernart's name and the mathematical measure also occur in the chansonnier, where he boasts of his skill in Occitan and Latin<sup>52</sup>.

Can the scribe or author of these three works be identified with an historical individual? Langlois reported that the municipal archives of Saint-Flour mention several men from the quarter of La Bastide named Amoros, including Jean Amoros, Thomas Amoros, and B. Amoros<sup>53</sup>. This evidence is sufficient to show that Amoros was a family name, and not, as one might have idly supposed, a description of an amorous penchant<sup>54</sup>. B. Amoros appears in these municipal records in 1324, 1337, and 1338, among those owing payment of the *taille*, a municipal tax. Reasoning that clerics were excused from this tax, Langlois drew the inference that this B. Amoros was probably not the *clergues* who names himself in the chansonnier<sup>55</sup>. But his logic has been undermined by Rigaudière in his study of the *contribuables*, those listed as owing the *taille* in Saint-Flour. Contrary to general principles, Rigaudière found many clerics so listed, although it appears that they were excused from

<sup>52</sup> For detailed verbal resemblances see the list of parallels, below, following the translation of the *Speculum Sacerdotum*.

<sup>53</sup> Langlois, *Bernard Amoros* cit., pp. 528-529.

<sup>54</sup> Etymologically the family name Amoros (modern French Amoureux, Lamoureux) probably did allude to such a characteristic, as did the English names Loving, Love, and so on, but we have no reason to infer such a meaning at the time of Bernart Amoros.

<sup>55</sup> Langlois, *Bernard Amoros* cit., p. 528.

actually paying the tax<sup>56</sup>. According to Rigaudière these clerics were typically identified on the tax roles as *Mossenhor*, “My Lord”. I do not know if the B. Amoros who appeared in 1324, 1337, and 1338 was called *Mossenhor*. Whether he was so called or not, however, we know that the historical B. Amoros of Saint-Flour was active from 1324 to 1338. It seems reasonable to identify him with Bernart Amoros, the scribe of the chansonnier, who was from Saint-Flour and proud of his competence in the vernacular and Latin, and may have written the chansonnier during these years or earlier. We may plausibly identify him as well with B. Amorum, who wrote the *Speculum Sacerdotum* in 1326, and with Amorosus Bernardus, who wrote the *Liber Proverbiorum* in 1333<sup>57</sup>.

### 3. Contexts

The European tradition of proverb collections goes back to Solomon, Cato, and Seneca<sup>58</sup>. All three of these names referred to figures in literary tradition rather than historical individuals. Solomon was regarded as the author of the Hebrew wisdom books, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, which were translated into the Latin Vulgate by Jerome in the fourth century. ‘Cato’ is the unknown author, active in the third or fourth century, of a text called the *Disticha Catonis* that was used in schools as a beginning Latin reader from the ear-

<sup>56</sup> RIGAUDIÈRE, *Saint-Flour, ville d’Auvergne* cit., II, pp. 826-827.

<sup>57</sup> Persuaded that the Bernart Amoros on the tax roles of Saint-Flour was not the cleric, scribe of the chansonnier and poet of the *Liber Proverbiorum*, Langlois investigated another Bernart Amoros, rector of Moussoulens near Carcassonne, who was active from 1321 to 1337. The existence of this contemporary and homonymous cleric is sobering, but no reason to divert our attention from the Bernart Amoros of Saint-Flour. See LANGLOIS, *Bernart Amoros* cit., pp. 531-532. Yet another «B. Amorosi, clericus» is attested in a document from Carcassonne dated 1247: see S. GUIDA, *Il trovatore Bermon ‘Rascas’*, in *Miscellanea di studi romanzi offerta a Giuliano Gasca Queirazza*, Alessandria 1988, I, pp. 369-403: 384-385.

<sup>58</sup> On Latin see B. TAYLOR, *Medieval Proverb Collections: The West European Tradition*, in «Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes», 55 (1992), pp. 19-35; M. MANITIUS, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, III, München 1931, pp. 713-719; F. J. E. RABY, *A History of Secular Latin Poetry*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Oxford 1957, I, p. 400, n. 3. On the vernacular see C. SEGRE, *Le forme e le tradizioni didattiche*, in *GRLMA* VI.1, Heidelberg 1968, pp. 102-108, and VI.2 cit., pp. 151-161.

ly Middle Ages until the eighteenth century. In the ninth century another anonymous author compiled the *Proverbia Senecae*, mixing passages from the Roman philosopher with material from other sources, including the *Sententiae* of Publilius Syrus, written in the first century BCE. From the eleventh to the fifteenth century a number of Latin authors compiled collections of gnostic texts, including quite a few in Germany and several in the North of France (Alan of Lille, Abelard, Vincent of Beauvais). Meanwhile proverb collections had sprung up in various vernaculars, beginning in the twelfth century in French, continuing in the thirteenth century in French, Spanish, Catalan, Italian, and Flemish, and ending in the fourteenth century in Italian and Flemish.

In Occitan the earliest vernacular proverb collection was a paraphrase of the *Disticha Catonis* that has been dated at the end of the twelfth century<sup>59</sup>. Next came *Le Savi* ("The Wise Man"), also known as the *Libre de Seneca*, in the latter thirteenth century<sup>60</sup>. About the same time Guillem de Cervera composed an extensive collection of proverbs in Catalan<sup>61</sup>. Scholars debate whether this man was the same as Cerverí de Girona, the most prolific of the Occitan troubadours<sup>62</sup>. If they were the same, Cerverí wrote lyric poetry in Occitan because he accepted it as the language of lyric expression, and (as Guillem de Cervera) reverted to his native Catalan for non-lyric sapiential verse. A Picard collection from the thirteenth century was translated into Oc-

<sup>59</sup> GRLMA VI.2 cit., p. 155, §2996. P. MEYER, *Fragments d'une paraphrase provençale du Pseudo-Caton*, in «Romania», XXV (1896), pp. 98-110, is based on Paris, BnF, lat. 6080, which Meyer regarded as a fifteenth-century imitation of eleventh-century style. However, the Paris manuscript was written in the twelfth century according to C. BRUNEL, *Bibliographie des manuscrits littéraires en ancien provençal*, Paris 1935, no. 206. R. TOBLER, *Die altprovenzalische Version der Disticha Catonis*, Berlin 1897, edited a thirteenth-century manuscript from Italy that was then in Berlin (Staatsbibliothek, Gall. oct. 30; BRUNEL, *Bibliographie* cit., no. 2), but it was destroyed at the end of the Second World War according to Schulze-Busacker, *Une réécriture* cit., p. 61 n. 1. Abbreviated in COM2 as DIS1 (MEYER) and DIS2 (TOBLER).

<sup>60</sup> A. D'AGOSTINO, *Le Savi, testo paremiologico in antico provenzale*, Roma 1984. S. ORLANDO, ed., *Un'altra testimonianza del Seneca provenzale*, Torino 1984. Abbreviated in COM2 as LSA1 and LSA2.

<sup>61</sup> J. COROMINES, ed., *Guillem de Cervera: Versos proverbials*, Barcelona 1991. Abbreviated in COM2 as PRO.

<sup>62</sup> For the identification of Guillem de Cervera as Cerverí de Girona see RIQUER, *Los trovadores* cit., III, p. 1556; rebutted by COROMINES, *Guillem de Cervera: Versos proverbials* cit., pp. 5-7. RIQUER persuades SCHULZE-BUSACKER, *Une réécriture* cit., p. 61.

citan and preserved in a fourteenth-century manuscript<sup>63</sup>. In 1328-1337 Guilhem Molinier included in his massive *Leys d'amors* ("Laws of Love", i.e. love poetry) a section on proverbs, which he described as a rhetorical figure including the proverbs of Solomon, Seneca, Cato, «and also the other vernacular proverbs (*proverbi vulgar*) that people often say without knowing their author»<sup>64</sup>. After 1330, probably, the priest and friar Raimon de Cornet wrote his *Libret de bos ensenhaments*, an Occitan recasting of the *Disticha Catonis*<sup>65</sup>. From the mid-fourteenth century we have a single leaf, preserved in a miscellany, with a series of four-line Occitan proverbs that end with a colophon by the scribe Aguito<sup>66</sup>. So in 1333, when Bernart Amoros wrote the *Liber Proverbiorum Vulgarium et Sapientum*, the tradition of proverb collections in Occitan was drawing to a close, as were the medieval traditions in all the vernaculars. Latin collections would continue to be compiled through the fifteenth century, culminating in the *Adagia* of Erasmus, first published in 1500.

Bernart's title echoes as *proverbi vulgar* in Guilhem Molinier, who might have explained that *proverbia vulgarium* refer to proverbs of the common people, proverbs with no known author, while *proverbia sapientum* include those of Solomon, Cato, and Seneca – all fictional authors, but fictions with names. The title echoes those of other works. Latin collections include the early thirteenth-century *Proverbia Rustici*<sup>67</sup> and the contemporary *Proverbia Rusticorum*<sup>68</sup> as well as the *Pro-*

<sup>63</sup> S. ORLANDO, *Relitti francesi nei proverbi (e negli aforismi medici) in lingua d'oc del Palatino 586*, in «Medioevo Romanzo», 15 (1990), pp. 277-298. Abbreviated in COM2 as DDP (*Dits des philosophes*).

<sup>64</sup> GATIEN-ARNOULT, *Monumens cit.*, III, pp. 270-280 (*De paroemia*): 272. On the date see A. JEANROY, *Les Leys d'Amors. Guilhem Molinier, principal rédacteur des Leys d'Amors; Bartholomieu Marc et Joan de Saint-Sernin*, in «Histoire littéraire de la France», 38 (1949), pp. 139-233: 154. The versified version is J. ANGLADE, ed., *Las Flors del gay saber*, Toulouse 1919-1920, III, pp. 270-280, abbreviated in COM2 as LAB.

<sup>65</sup> SCHULZE-BUSACKER, *Une réécriture cit.* Ed. J.-B. NOULET and C. CHABANEAU, *Deux manuscrits provençaux du XIVe siècle*, Montpellier 1888, pp. 114-129, 160-161.

<sup>66</sup> ORLANDO, *Relitti francesi cit.*

<sup>67</sup> E. VOIGT, *Prouerbia Rustici*, in «Romanische Forschungen», 3 (1887), pp. 633-641: 640.

<sup>68</sup> J. ZACHER, *Altfranzösische Sprichwörter*, in «Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur», 11 (1859), pp. 115-144; Flemish, manuscript s. XIII, *GRLMA* VI.2 §3100.

*verbia Sapientium*<sup>69</sup>. French offers a collection called *Proverbia Vulgaria* (Eastern France, manuscript s. XIV, *GRLMA* VI.2 §3016), another called *Li Proverbes au vilain* (French Flanders, 1174-1191, *GRLMA* VI.2 §3068), and yet another called *Li Diz et proverbes des sages* (Picard, around 1260, *GRLMA* VI.2 §2936).

There is no doubt that Bernart's title refers to proverbs of the unlearned and the learned. This social distinction implies a second, linguistic distinction between the vernacular and learned language, that is, between Occitan and Latin. Bernart provides no indication, however, which proverbs are those of the crowd and which of learned men. The language of his composition is Latin throughout. Other collections mix languages: the *Proverbia Vulgaria et Latina* uses French and Latin (late thirteenth-century manuscript, *GRLMA* VI.2 §3040); an anonymous Anglo-Norman treatise beginning *Deez ait tant maistres* («A Curse on So Many Teachers») gives vernacular proverbs with a Latin translation (s. XIII, *GRLMA* VI.2 §3044); another Anglo-Norman collection, *Incipiunt proverbia*, does the same using Latin verse (s. XIII.2 / 2, *GRLMA* VI.2 §3032); *Male bouche* («Bad Mouth»), from Eastern France, gives vernacular proverbs with a Latin paraphrase (manuscript s. XIV, *GRLMA* VI.2 §3052), as does *Cu dex vuet aidier* («Whom God Will Aid», Franche-Comté, s. XIII, *GRLMA* VI.2 §3132). Bartolomeo da San Concordio combined Italian and Latin (b. 1262, d. 1347, *GRLMA* VI.2 §2916). It appears that Bernart Amoros versified proverbs that he knew in Occitan as well as in Latin. On this assumption I have marshaled analogues to his book in both languages. Beneath its Latin surface, the *Liber* has roots in both sides of the divide between the vernacular and learned language.

The Occitan region did not always lack poets who wrote in Latin<sup>70</sup>. In the fourth century Ausonius, born in Bordeaux, described the

<sup>69</sup> J. HUEMER, *Zur mittellateinischen Spruchpoesie, II*, in «Anzeiger für Kunde der deutschen Vorzeit», 27 (1880), pp. 211-218, 292.

<sup>70</sup> Occitan was spoken south of a line that runs from Bordeaux up and across the Massif Central, then down to Valence and Provence. The principal dialects are Limousin, Auvergnat, Alpine Provençal, Languedocien, and Provençal; Gascon is a distinct language. The Occitan region does not include Poitiers, Lyon, or Cluny. Guilhem IX, the first troubadour, adopted a language that was not spoken in Poitiers, the capital of his county of Poitou, but was spoken in Bordeaux, the capital of his duchy of Aquitaine. On Latin poets see F. J. E. RABY, *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry from the Beginnings to the Close of the Middle*

pleasures of his retreat in Aquitaine; a student of his named Paulinus became a poet and moved first to Spain, then to Italy, where he became known as Paulinus of Nola. Minor poets of the fifth century included Claudius Marius Victor, a rhetor of Marseilles; Hilary, bishop of Arles; Paulinus, perhaps the bishop of Béziers; Paulinus of Pella, who was born in Greece, grew up in Bordeaux, and lived in Marseilles; and Paulinus of Périgueux. Poets of the sixth century included Avitus, bishop of Vienne, and Virgilius Maro, perhaps of Toulouse. In the ninth century Ermoldus Nigellus, a cleric from Aquitaine, served at the court of Louis the Pious. In the eleventh century ranking churchmen in the Midi continued to write poetry, including Aimar, bishop of Le Puy, and Gerbert of Aurillac, whose career led him from Aquitaine to Reims to Rome, where he took the name Sylvester II as pope. During this time the abbey of Saint-Martial in Limoges produced Latin liturgical texts that sometimes incorporated Occitan<sup>71</sup>. But during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the slate of Latin poets from the Occitan region whose names we know is blank<sup>72</sup>. Of course, many medieval Latin poems are anonymous in the manuscripts and therefore difficult to localize<sup>73</sup>. Ten anonymous Latin love-poems were includ-

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Ages, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Oxford 1953, pp. 72 (Ausonius), 101 (Paulinus of Nola). RABY, *A History of Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Oxford 1957, I, pp. 54 (Ausonius), 67 (Paulinus), 68 (Claudius Marius Victor), 69 (Hilary of Arles), 71 (Paulinus of Pella), 73 (Paulinus of Périgueux), 153 (Virgilius Maro), 221 (Ermoldus Nigellus), 307 (Fulbert of Chartres, Gerbert of Aurillac). RABY, *The Oxford Book of Medieval Latin Verse*, Oxford 1959, nos. 24-27 (Paulinus of Nola), 44 (Avitus), 125-129 (Fulbert of Chartres), 141 (Aimar of Le Puy). F. BRITAIN, *The Penguin Book of Latin Verse*, Baltimore 1962, pp. xvi (Ausonius), xviii (Paulinus of Nola), xix (Avitus), xxii (Ermoldus Nigellus).

<sup>71</sup> J. CHAILLEY, *Les premiers troubadours et les versus de l'école d'Aquitaine*, in «Romania», LXXVI (1955), pp. 212-239; M. SWITTEN and H. D. CHICKERING, eds., *The Medieval Lyric: A Project Supported by the National Endowment for the Humanities and Mount Holyoke College*, rev. ed., South Hadley 1988-1989, I, pp. 1-34.

<sup>72</sup> A possible exception is Guido de Bazoches, of Châlons, who studied in Paris and then in Montpellier; see RABY, *A History of Secular Latin Poetry* cit., II, p. 38; RABY, *The Oxford Book of Medieval Latin Verse* cit., no. 180; J. F. BENTON, *The Court of Champagne as a Literary Center*, in «Speculum», 36 (1961), pp. 551-591: 572-573.

<sup>73</sup> As is true of many poems in P. DRONKE, *Medieval Latin and the Rise of European Love-Lyric*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Oxford 1968, II: *Medieval Latin Love-Poetry*. Dronke provides «as complete a conspectus as possible of the medieval Latin poetry concerned with love» (II, pp. 545-584: 545), including 152 manuscripts, only one of which is now located in the Occitan region: Montpellier, Bibliothèque de l'École de Médecine H 196, written in Paris or



ed in a manuscript compiled at Limoges by Bernart Itier, the librarian at Saint-Martial, in 1210; some of them, like two that also appear in the *Carmina Burana*, may not have been written in the Occitan region, but at least one that contains explicit reference to Limoges probably was <sup>74</sup>.

During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries many Latin poets wrote in Northern France, illustrious figures such as Peter Abelard, Baudri of Bourgueil, Adam of Saint Victor, Alan of Lille, Bernard Silvestris, Hugh Primas, and Walter of Châtillon. In the Midi, historians and chroniclers continued to write in Latin, although unevenly from region to region <sup>75</sup>. Marriage rituals were composed in Latin from the twelfth century onward; marriage contracts became commonplace in the thirteenth century, and were always written in Latin <sup>76</sup>. Legal documents of all kinds continued to be written in Latin, although the role of Occitan grew so

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at Saint-Germain d'Auxerre in the late thirteenth century, containing texts in Latin and French but not in Occitan. Latin songbooks did not provide attributions with the regularity that became normal in vernacular chansonniers.

<sup>74</sup> Paris, BnF, lat. 3719, a songbook containing «chiefly sequences and conductus» and ten love songs, six of them edited by DRONKE, *Medieval Latin* cit., I, pp. 288-294; II, pp. 378-386; reference to Limoges, II, pp. 384-386. Dronke's list of manuscripts containing medieval Latin poetry of love includes just one other that came from the Occitan region: Paris, BnF, lat. 1118, a troparium and prosarium from Saint-Martial, written in the tenth or eleventh century, that includes *Iam, dulcis amica, venito*. For an edition of the two versions of this poem see W. D. PADEN, ed., *The Medieval Pastourelle*, New York 1987, I, pp. 8-11; II, p. 532.

<sup>75</sup> «La culture historique fut, durant la période féodale, assez inégale dans l'ancienne Aquitaine; très brillante au centre, en Limousin, assez florissante à l'ouest, en Poitou, elle est presque nulle en Auvergne et en Berry ... Dans le sud de l'ancien royaume de Charles le Chauve, de l'Océan aux Alpes, la production historique a été extrêmement peu abondante à l'époque féodale»: A. MOLINIER, *Les Sources de l'histoire de France des origines aux guerres d'Italie (1494)*, I, 2, Paris 1902, pp. 101, 117.

<sup>76</sup> J.-B. MOLIN and P. MUTEMBE, *Le rituel du mariage en France du XIIe au XVIe siècle*, Paris 1974. «Dans le Midi à partir du XIIIe siècle, l'usage du contrat de mariage se répand très rapidement, au point de concerner bientôt l'ensemble de la société y compris le petit peuple des villes et les ruraux. Il y a donc dans les archives notariales un très grand nombre de ces contrats»: J.-M. CARBASSE, *La condition de la femme mariée en Languedoc (XIIIe-XIVe siècles)*, in «La femme dans la vie religieuse du Languedoc (XIIIe-XIVe s.)», Cahiers de Fanjeaux, 23, Toulouse 1988, p. 100. «Il n'y a guère eu d'actes [de mariage] rédigés en langue romane et nous n'avons en tous cas rencontré aucun contrat de mariage ainsi rédigé»: J. HILAIRE, *Le régime des biens entre époux dans la région de Montpellier du début du XIIIe siècle à la fin du XVIe siècle*, Montpellier 1957, p. 28.

prominent that one scholar believes that the southern vernacular was on the point of supplanting Latin just when French gained the upper hand<sup>77</sup>. In the late thirteenth century Guillelmus de Aragonia, physician and philosopher, translated passages from the troubadours into Latin for his treatise *De Nobilitate Animi*<sup>78</sup>. In the early fourteenth century Raimon de Cornet wrote extensively in Occitan and occasionally in Latin<sup>79</sup>. Manuscript collections of Latin poetry, similar to the chansonniers of the troubadours, were compiled in various regions; one was made in Catalonia, but none in the Occitan region proper<sup>80</sup>.

It may be, as I have noted, that the absence of Latin poets in the Occitan region during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries signified a weakness in the Church, but this does not account for the extensive use of Latin in discourses other than poetry, including history, written largely by ecclesiastics, and liturgical texts such as the marriage rituals. The greater meaning of the absence of Latin poets seems to lie in its complementarity with the presence of the troubadours. Their vernacular poetry, unlike that of the trouvères, seems to have swept before it the impulse to write poetry in Latin, except in scattered cases like the poems copied by Bernart Itier and the two Latin poems by Raimon de Cornet. As for Bernart Amoros, vernacular scribe and Latin poet, it stimulated him to combine elements of vernacular and learned culture in his Latin proverbs.

<sup>77</sup> J. SIBILLE, *L'occitan ou langue d'oc*, in *Les langues de France*, ed. B. Cerquiglini, Paris 2003, pp. 173-190: 183. PH. MARTEL, *Du latin à l'occitan, émergence de la langue vulgaire*, in *Dix siècles d'usages et d'images de l'occitan. Des troubadours à l'internet*, ed. H. Boyer and Ph. Gardy, Paris 2001, pp. 71-91. Latin and Occitan blended in *latin farci*, employed in legal documents from the tenth to the twelfth century; see J. BELMON and F. VIELLIARD, *Latin farci et occitan dans les actes du XIe siècle*, in «Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes», 155 (1997), pp. 149-183.

<sup>78</sup> See my forthcoming edition in collaboration with M. Trovato.

<sup>79</sup> F. ZUFFEREY, *Bibliographie des poètes provençaux des XIVe et XVe siècles*, Genève 1981, p. 60, lists two *poésies latines*: *Amore Dei Bernardus*, in NOULET and CHABANEAU, *Deux manuscrits provençaux* cit., pp. 70 and 152; *Mater Jesu, castrum virginitatis*, op. cit., pp. 37 and 147. J. SALVAT, *Raimon de Cornet*, in *DLFMA*, 1992, pp. 1223-1224.

<sup>80</sup> On the Ripoll songs see RABY, *A History of Secular Latin Poetry* cit., II, pp. 236-247; RABY, *The Oxford Book of Medieval Latin Verse* cit., nos. 224-228. P. BOURGAIN, *Les chansonniers lyriques latins*, in *Lyrique romane médiévale: la tradition des chansonniers*, ed. M. Tysens, Liège 1991, pp. 61-84; F. STELLA, *I canzonieri d'amore della poesia mediolatina. Cicli narrativi non lineari, contesti epistolari, dimensione scolastica*, in "Liber", "Fragmenta", "Libellus" *prima e dopo Petrarca*. In ricordo di d'Arco Silvio Avalle, Firenze 2006, pp. 35-53.

#### 4. *Form, Purpose, Achievement*

The *Liber* is written in rhymed or Leonine hexameters, the typical form of collections of proverbs as well as other genres in Medieval Latin<sup>81</sup>. The use of this form in sapiential poetry composed in the South of France goes back to the first of the Occitan collections, the translation of the *Disticha Catonis*. The thirteenth-century manuscript edited by Tobler provided texts in three registers: first a Latin couplet from the *Disticha* in the original unrhymed hexameters, written in red; then a paraphrase in rhymed hexameters, in green; and finally the Occitan version, in black<sup>82</sup>. The rhymed Latin version is called the *Novus Cato*; written perhaps in the eleventh century, it is attributed in some manuscripts to a certain Martinus, possibly of Laon<sup>83</sup>. Like the author of the *Novus Cato*, Bernart Amoros put proverbial material in various forms into Leonine hexameters.

In antiquity the unrhymed hexameter was usually marked by a caesura following the long syllable at the beginning of the third foot. In medieval practice the caesura came to be marked more strongly by rhyme linking that syllable to the last one in the line; accompanying the rhyme was frequent *productio ob caesuram*, in which a short syllable at the caesura was considered long, as a short syllable at the end of the line always was. Rhyme affected primarily the last vowel in a word, which was unstressed except in monosyllables. When such rhyme involved only the last vowel, it was merely assonance; since it usually affected a syllable that was not stressed, its auditory impact must have been limited in comparison to that of rhyme in modern languages. But usually rhyme also included the following consonant, producing something more like rhyme in our sense, even though it was unstressed. Often rhyme extended also to the preceding consonant, or as far as the

<sup>81</sup> The tradition of rhymed hexameters sprang from extensive use of assonance by Sedulius in the fifth century, developed through Eugenius of Toledo and poets in Northern Gaul, and became the norm in the tenth century, according to D. NORBERG, *Introduction à l'étude de la versification latine médiévale*, Stockholm 1958, pp. 38-40. See also P. KLOPSCH, *Einführung in die mittellateinische Verslehre*, Darmstadt 1972, pp. 61-92.

<sup>82</sup> TOBLER, *Die altprovenzalische Version der Disticha Catonis* cit.

<sup>83</sup> MANITIUS, *Geschichte* cit., III, p. 713, hazards that *Lanquino* may represent *Lauduno*. The poet's origin is unexplained for F. J. WORSTBROCK, *Novus Cato*, in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Berlin 1978-, VI (1987), pp. 1239-1240.

vowel of the preceding syllable, which was often stressed. When Latin rhyme included the stressed vowel preceding an unstressed one, it was like feminine rhyme in Occitan, where rhyme fell on the last stressed vowel followed by an unstress.

If we take rhyme as unstressed assonance at the caesura, Bernart Amoros rhymes all his lines with a single exception (3r18)<sup>84</sup>. Almost always the rhyme extends to the end of the syllable, either because there is no following consonant (-o / -o, etc.) or because the following consonants rhyme (-ur / -ur, etc.)<sup>85</sup>. In many lines the onset of the syllable rhymes as well (-mam / -mam, etc.). In about half the lines in the *Liber* we have rhyme extending onward from the vowel of the penultimate syllable, which is usually stressed (*ficta* / *dicta*, etc.). In these lines Latin rhyme closely resembles rhyme in contemporary Occitan.

Sometimes Bernart's rhyme extends beyond the line to create couplets. If the basic rhyme pattern of a line may be expressed as *a* / *a* // (with the slash marking the caesura and the double slash marking the end of the line), we find couplets in the patterns *a* / *a* // *a* / *a* //, but also, and more distinctively, in *a* / *b* // *a* / *b* //, where there is no rhyme within the line itself but only from one line to another<sup>86</sup>. Occasionally we find larger metrical sequences<sup>87</sup>. The incidence of supplementary rhymes in other positions adds to the general rhyming effect<sup>88</sup>. The alternation of single lines with couplets and larger units creates an ef-

<sup>84</sup> Bernart employs *productio ob caesuram*, treating a naturally short syllable as long, almost always rhymed, in some 80 lines, approaching a quarter of the extant text. Every line has a caesura except for 3v17. On *productio ob caesuram* see KLOPSCH, *Einführung* cit., pp. 74-76.

<sup>85</sup> The syllabic codas differ in nine lines: -at / -a, -it / -is, etc.

<sup>86</sup> The rhyme-scheme *a* / *a* // is found in 71% of the lines, with *a* / *a* // *a* / *a* in another 8% and *a* / *b* // *a* / *b* in 7%, that is, eleven couplets (3r1-2, 3r5-6, 3r12-13, 3v24-25, 4r13-14, 5r10-11, 5v19-20, 6r1-2, 6r10-11, 19r3-4, 19v17-18). There are three examples apiece of *a* / *a* // *a* / *b* and *a* / *b* // *b* / *b*, and single cases of *a* / *a* // *b* / *a* (3r8-9), *a* / *b* // *c* / *b* (6r12-13), and *a* / *b* // *a* / *b* // *a* / *c* (2v5-7).

<sup>87</sup> Larger units on one sustained rhyme extend over five lines in 2v11-15, rhyming on -us in a passage structured around repeated *Vis ... sis*, and in 6v3-7, rhyming on -endi in the Ecclesiastes passage discussed below.

<sup>88</sup> For example in the only line without a caesura: *Sepe rogare, rogata tenere, retenta docere* (3v17). Lacking caesura and therefore any rhyme based on caesura, the line is nevertheless highly structured by three series involving repetition on the levels of lexicon, phonology, morphology, and syntax: *rogare, rogata; tenere, retenta; rogare, tenere, docere*.

fect of prosodic variety. Bernart's play with rhymes in his Latin proverbs recalls the myriad rhyme structures in the poetry of the troubadours that he transcribed in his *chansonniér*<sup>89</sup>.

Comparison of the *Liber* with analogues and possible sources in Latin and Occitan leaves little doubt that recasting them in Leonine verse was one of Bernart's guiding purposes<sup>90</sup>. Such recasting, of course, imposed changes in expression. Although a few of the Bernart's lines show verbatim repetition of an analogue<sup>91</sup>, most of them involve repetition with variation. Quintilian taught that the orator should adapt proverbs to his own discourse, as Bernart did, for an effect of *urbanitas*<sup>92</sup>. Moreover, for almost as many lines I have been unable to find any analogues, which implies that another of Bernart's purposes was to create original sentences in Leonine form, as he created the proverb of the *savis* in the headnote to his collection of troubadour poetry. John of

<sup>89</sup> Further prosodic details: among the hexameters are nine pentameters. Twice we find spondees in the fifth foot of the hexameter (3r21, 3v16). Bernart avoids elision (*tibi est* 6v18), as is typical of medieval practice; at 19r21 he recasts a model with elision in a new rhymed form without it. Metrically flawed lines involving false quantities, apparently tolerated for the sake of meter, include *operē* 2r6, *rōgo* 2v24, *crīmīna* 3r9, *plācetur* 4r12, *āmīneris* 4v5, *quīvīs* 6r2, *rēsērvatur* 6r9, *pēcus* 19r1, *ād* 19r17, and *sūum* 19v26. Bernart was not fastidious about quantity.

<sup>90</sup> I have searched for parallels in H. WALTHER, *Proverbia sententiaeque Latinitatis Medii Aevi. Lateinische Sprichwörter und Sentenzen des Mittelalters in alphabetischer Anordnung*, 9 vols., Göttingen 1963-1986 (henceforth WALTHER), first alphabetically by incipit and then by selecting two or more key words in the target passage and searching the index for co-occurrence of those words. I have searched by incipit and by key words in J. WERNER, *Lateinische Sprichwörter und Sinnsprüche des Mittelalters aus Handschriften gesammelt*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Heidelberg 1966 (henceforth WERNER). I have searched by key concepts in *TPMA*, which includes proverbs in Latin, Occitan, and other languages.

<sup>91</sup> See Analogues to 2v9, 2v12, 3r12-13, 3v17-18, 3v20, 4v10, 4v14, 4v24, 5r6, 5r24, 5v17, 6r4, 6r5, 6v10, 6v17, 6v25, 19r18, 19r19, 19v15.

<sup>92</sup> H. LAUSBERG, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik*, München 1960, Registerband, s.v. *proverbium*. In *Institutio Oratoria* 6.3.98 Quintilian speaks of *Proverbia opportune aptata*, «proverbs opportunely adapted». *Apto*, «to form or modify so as to suit, adapt, accommodate, fit» (*Oxford Latin Dictionary*). *Maiorem vim accipiunt [sententiae rectae] et mutatione figurae ... et tralatione a communi ad proprium*, 8.5.6, ed. D. A. RUSSELL, Cambridge, Mass., 2001, Loeb Library, III, p. 410, translated by Russell as «[Direct *sententiae*] acquire greater force (1) by a change of Figure ... (2) by a move from the general to the particular». Following Lausberg, I would render the last words, *tralatione a communi ad proprium*, as «by a move from the common to one's own».

Salisbury provided advice on the *ars inveniendi proueria*<sup>93</sup>. The distinction between proverbs and sentences has always been uncertain; both are memorable sayings, one more traditional, the other more original<sup>94</sup>. It is likely, of course, that another researcher would find different parallels, including some for passages where I have found none, and it is possible that some parallels that were known to Bernart Amoros have since been lost without a trace. Nevertheless the results in hand provide material for reflection on the nature of the *Liber proverborum*.

Bernart's strategy may be seen in his version of Ecclesiastes 3:1-8, which reads as follows in the Vulgate:

- <sup>1</sup> Omnia tempus habent,  
Et suis spatiis transeunt universa sub caelo.
- <sup>2</sup> Tempus nascendi, et tempus moriendi;  
Tempus plantandi, et tempus evellendi quod plantatum est.
- <sup>3</sup> Tempus occidendi, et tempus sanandi;  
Tempus destruendi, et tempus aedificandi.
- <sup>4</sup> Tempus flendi, et tempus ridendi;  
Tempus plangendi, et tempus saltandi.
- <sup>5</sup> Tempus spargendi lapides et tempus colligendi,  
Tempus amplexandi, et tempus longe fieri ab amplexibus.
- <sup>6</sup> Tempus acquirendi, et tempus perdendi;  
Tempus custodiendi, et tempus abiiciendi.
- <sup>7</sup> Tempus scindendi, et tempus consuendi;  
Tempus tacendi, et tempus loquendi.

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<sup>93</sup> *The Parisiana Poetria of John of Garland*, ed. T. LAWLER, New Haven 1974, pp. 10-13. «By “proverb” John does not mean a popular maxim but a brief general statement invented by the author of a letter to suit his purpose, by serving as a kind of major premise on which he can construct the argument of his letter. Even when the sentiment is proverbial, as is frequently enough true, the expression is always that of the *dictator*, never of the folk», LAWLER cit., p. 231.

<sup>94</sup> «Both the Latin and French / Occitan Middle Ages use “proverb” indiscriminately to refer to any *sententia* from the Classics, the Bible, the Church Fathers, the sort of “folk-wisdom” discussed here, and even axioms invented by a medieval author himself», R. N. B. GODDARD, *Marcabru, Li Proverbe au vilain, and the Tradition of Rustic Proverbs*, in «Neuphilologische Mitteilungen», 88 (1987), pp. 55-70: 55-56. «One morning at breakfast Lord John Russell, the English statesman ... [d. 1878], is said to have defined a proverb by saying it is *One man's wit and all men's wisdom*», A. TAYLOR, *The Wisdom of Many and the Wit of One*, in TAYLOR, *Selected Writings on Proverbs*, ed. W. Mieder, Helsinki 1975, pp. 68-73: 68.

<sup>8</sup> Tempus dilectionis, et tempus odii;  
Tempus belli, et tempus pacis.

<sup>1</sup> All things have their season: / and in their times all things pass under heaven. / <sup>2</sup> A time to be born, and a time to die. / A time to plant, and a time to pluck up that which is planted. / <sup>3</sup> A time to kill, and a time to heal. / A time to destroy, and a time to build. / <sup>4</sup> A time to weep, and a time to laugh. / A time to mourn, and a time to dance. / <sup>5</sup> A time to scatter stones, and a time to gather. / A time to embrace, and a time to be far from embrace. / <sup>6</sup> A time to get, and a time to lose. / A time to keep, and a time to cast away. / <sup>7</sup> A time to rend, and a time to sew. / A time to keep silence, and a time to speak. / <sup>8</sup> A time to love, and a time of hatred. / A time of war, and a time of peace.

Compare this rhythmical prose with Bernart's rendering on Leaf 6v2-9 in the edition below. The anaphora on *Tempus* organizes both versions, and is supported in Bernart's by meter and rhyme. Bernart maintains the rhyme on *-endi* from his verse 3 to 7, then modulates to *-andi* for the last two lines. Jerome employs the same two endings, but does not use them as structural rhymes; he mixes them freely, sometimes omitting one (5b) or both (8ab). Bernart introduces the anaphoric passage with two lines rhyming similarly on *redeunt / fuerunt* and *habent / debent*, drawing for the first on another passage in Ecclesiastes. In several lines he uses a biblical phrase verbatim in the first part of his line and matches it in the second part with a rhyme of his own invention (6v2, 3, 5, 6); the adaptation is freer in line 4, and becomes innovative in lines 7, 8, and 9. He jumbles the order of lines in the Vulgate, adapting, in order, Ecclesiastes 3:1, 4, 7, 6, 5, then innovating in two lines, and returning to Ecclesiastes to imitate its verse 8.

The passage imitating Ecclesiastes is unusual in two ways: because Bernart attends so closely to the language of his authoritative model, and because he sustains the imitation over so many lines. Classical poets such as Ovid and Horace figure in scattered reminiscences of their thought, expressed by them in hexameters that Bernart recasts freely as he adds rhyme<sup>95</sup>. The passage on women, Leaf 7r1-17, is more typical in the variety of its analogues, predominantly anonymous

<sup>95</sup> For Ovid, *Heroides*, see analogues to 5v14 and 5v25; *Metamorphoses*, 4v7; *Remedia Amoris*, 3v5 and 19r13; *Tristia*, 3v19. For the *Disticha Catonis* see 5r12, 5r21, 5v6, 5v13, 19r18. For Publilius Syrus, *Sententiae*, see 3r3, 3v7, 6r16, 6r24. For Horace, *Epistles*, see 4v21 and 6r1.



medieval sentences that echo in Guillem de Cervera's Catalan *Versos proverbials* and sometimes in Occitan. Taken as a whole, the parallels I have noted are dominated by medieval Latin texts, mostly anonymous, conveniently catalogued by Walther and Werner. Biblical passages, especially from the Old Testament sapiential books<sup>96</sup>, are prominent but less frequent than parallels in the vernacular, including narrative verse such as the *Versos proverbials*, the *Libre de Seneca*, the *Breviari d'amor*, and the *Leys d'amors*. Troubadours represented include Bernart de Ventadorn, Peire Cardenal, and others<sup>97</sup>. Sometimes Bernart's Latin verse resembles an analogue in Occitan more closely than one in Latin<sup>98</sup>, as he says himself at the beginning of the *Liber* (1r1-3). The bilingual collection of parallels mirrors the diglossia in Bernart's world and in his works.

By reading Bernart's proverbs in the context of the assembled analogues, we gain another perspective onto what he did. Sometimes he joins two traditional sentences into one more complex statement<sup>99</sup>; sometimes he extends or prefaces a traditional sentence, changing it into what appears to be a new thought<sup>100</sup>. And sometimes he seems to have pioneered a sentence of his own. A quality of irony or worldliness adds spice to the morality in some adaptations and some original lines<sup>101</sup>. The combination of religious and worldly tones may be un-

<sup>96</sup> I have noted sixteen analogues in Ecclesiasticus, ten in Proverbs, eight in Ecclesiastes, and a few in Psalms, Genesis, and Wisdom. In the New Testament, I have noted five in Matthew and one or two in Romans, James, Luke, and Hebrews.

<sup>97</sup> I have noted six parallels in Bernart de Ventadorn (3r15, 4r22, 5r8, 6v10, 6v18, 7r5) and Peire Cardenal (3r1, 3v20, 4v7, 19v4, 19v5, 19v7), five in Bertran Carbonel (2r15, 3r8, 3r16, 5v1, 5v24), four in Folquet de Marseille (3v7, 3v19, 4v19, 19r25) and Pons Fabre d'Uzes (5r12, 5v1, 6v4, 6v5), three in Guilhem Figueira (1v2, 3v20, 19r1), and two in Bertran de Born (2r13, 3r5), Gausbert de Puycibot (5r6, 19v3), Giraut de Borneil (3v7, 5r6), Guilhem de la Tor (3v7, 5v6), Lanfranc Cigala (5r6, 5v6), Peire Milon (4v14, 6r11), Pistoleta (3v14, 5r13), Pons de Chapteuil (3v7, 4v7), Rambertino Buvaelli (3r15, 6r11), and Sor-del (2r13, 3v20).

<sup>98</sup> 3r1, 3r3, 3r8, 3v2-3, 3v9, 5v1, 5v24, 7r6.

<sup>99</sup> E.g. 2r12-13, 3r15-16, 5r3-4, 19r1-2.

<sup>100</sup> Bernart adds a following line in 3r1-2, 3v11-12, 4r13-14, 6r7-8; a preceding line in 4v1-2, 6v19-20.

<sup>101</sup> Ironic adaptations, 2r13, 5v3-4; worldly ones, 2v2, 3v4-5, 5v5, 19v6, 19v8, 19v10. Ironic new sentences, 2r9-10, 2r11, 2r14, 4r1, 4r20-21; worldly ones, 2r18, 3r11, 3r17, 3r19-20, 3v16, 4v3, 4v26, 5v7.

derstood in terms of the mixed audience for whom Bernart, like other compilers of proverbs, was apparently writing<sup>102</sup>. Some of the sentences that seem to be original remain rather obscure<sup>103</sup>, but many of them are clear, thought-provoking, and even witty.

The *Liber* is more than a commonplace book, a collection of memorable sayings passively copied from various sources. It is a poem, modest in ambition and achievement, but nevertheless an original poem that casts in its traditional form a large number of sayings, some adapted from Latin prose or verse and others from Occitan, and provides them with a preface (extending to Leaf 2r, line 6) that must originally have been some fifty lines long. It is comparable with the French *Proverbes au vilain* (1174-1191) and *Proverbes de Marcoul et de Salemon* (early s. XIII), and the Italian *Proverbia* of Pseudo-Jacopone (end s. XIII or beginning s. XIV), all of which C. Segre has described as «Elaborazioni originali di proverbi», explaining, «Chiameremo così le raccolte in cui i proverbi di varia origine (non indicata) sono stati unificati in una sola forma metrica, ed assumono perciò un aspetto originale»<sup>104</sup>. We have evidence in hand that Bernart Amoros adapted his materials in the Ecclesiastes passage and many others; for lack of known analogues, we may suppose that he also created original sentences. Both strategies contributed to the tradition of the versified proverb collections that Segre calls «elaborazioni».

Bernart's decision to put all his proverbs in Latin, and none in Occitan, may have reflected an intuition that the age of Occitan proverb collections was drawing to a close while that of collections in Latin would continue. The Latin of the *Liber* shows the influence of Occitan in various ways: in echoes of proverbial expressions from the troubadours; in lexical effects such as that of *molher* on *mulier*, which comes to mean "wife" (7r1 note), and in *pera*, "pear tree" (5r15 note); in the worldly tone; in Bertran's practice of rhyme, especially as it resembles

<sup>102</sup> «Cette combinaison entre didactique religieuse et mondaine n'est évidemment pas une trouvaille propre à Raimon de Cornet; elle est plutôt une caractéristique des oeuvres didactiques destinées aux laïcs telles qu'on les rencontre depuis la fin du XIIe siècle», SCHULZE-BUSACKER, *Une réécriture* cit., p. 65. One could also infer that ecclesiastics like Raimon de Cornet and Bernart Amoros had a worldly side of their own.

<sup>103</sup> 3r23-24, 4v16-17, 5r15, 6r12, 6v24, 19v9.

<sup>104</sup> SEGRE, *Le forme e le tradizioni didattiche* cit., pp. 107-108.

rhyme in Occitan; in his occasional indifference to Classical quantity, when he feels pressed by the need of composing a line<sup>105</sup>.

As a collector of troubadour verse and the scribe of a major troubadour manuscript, as a translator of proverbs from Occitan and an adapter or inventor of others in Latin, and as the author of a *Mirror for Priests*, Bernart Amoros moved through the diglossia of his age, contributing to the monumentalization of the vernacular even as he sustained the authority of ecclesiastical culture.

## II. Liber proverbiorum vulgarium et sapientum

Except as indicated in the Rejected Readings, square brackets [] enclose material that is illegible in the manuscript. Abbreviations are expanded silently. Pentameters are indented.

### 1. *Text*

Leaf 1r

1

[I]ncipit liber proverbiorum vul[gar]ium et sapientum.

[S]cribo tibi metrice pro[verbia], dulcis amice,  
A vulgo ficta cur sunt [vu]lgaria dicta,  
Ad condimentum miscens q[ue]dam sapientum.  
Dogmata priscorum redolet mixtura bonorum;  
Doctrinam morum dant nobis verba proborum.  
Hec contempn[e]nda non sunt sed corde tenenda,  
Namque perutilia sunt percipientibus ipsa.  
Non bene maiora dicis spernendo mino[r]a  
Virtutes t... portant nisi veli ...

1r5

<sup>105</sup> Such indifference seems to be less prevalent in the *Speculum Sacerdotum*, since in the extracts edited here I have found no false quantities; but this may result only from the shortness of the sample. In other ways the prosody of the *Speculum* is like that of the *Liber Proverbiorum*. *Productio ob caesuram* occurs in 21 of 63, or 33 per cent of the lines. All the lines rhyme, as defined above. Groups of lines sometimes rhyme together, and tend to do so toward the beginning and end of sections: lines 1-4 on -e, 5-6 on -um; 17-18 on -am and 20-23 on -a; 47-48 on -i and 49-52 on -e / -um; 3059-3060 on -a.

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Si v... nantur ... umque quod ip[sa] ...	1r10
V[er]ba fori[s] ... s...	
...on tum ...	
...r...	1r13

## Leaf 1v

Sunt hec [dis]iuncta que sunt simul optima iuncta.	
Prin[ci]pio [dominum] deposce velit fore tecum	
Et bona com[pl]ere tibi det, mala cuncta cavere.	
Debet adherere domino qui cuncta replere	
Que debet facere bona vult, a sorde tacere;	1v5
Numquam deficiet qui Christo semper adheret,	
Nam Christus nullum linquit nisi deserat ipsum.	
...u... re habet ... stabile dominus sibi vim dat ubique	
... [s]atagas vere cor firmum senis habere	
... bene dat d[ominus] illi ... do[na]t	1v10
...	bona donat
...	mentis
...	f
	1v13

## Leaf 2r

	2
Anno milleno ter centum ter quoque deno	
Adiuncto terno complevit, tempore verno,	
Dictus Amorosus Bernardus, in his studiosus,	
Librum presentem proverbia mille tenentem	
Milleque qui[ngento]s versus [h]is ordine junctos.	2r5
Christus laudetur opere cui finis habetur.	
Si vigeat frigus nimium vel maximus estus,	
Non bene fit gratus sermo nisi sit breviatus.	
Bestia meridie lapsa fore fertur asellus;	
Sic homo grandevus fatuus pecus est reputatus.	2r10
Pars satis est parva de re nimium mihi cava.	
Frenum pone gule, vel frena tibi gula ponet;	
Ede tua pone mensuram vel ratione[m];	
Paupertatis erit mensura velis ibi nolis.	
Non fuit hic verus tibi nec sincerus amicus	2r15
Qui subito factus est pro modicis inimicus.	
[Q]ui bene lucratur ac expensas moderatur	
Hic cito ditatur alias nisi prepidiatur.	2r18

## Leaf 2v

Est malus eventus alium [si] pro duce fretus.	
Fert aliud vicium crimen nisi linqueris ipsum.	
Noscit versutus versutum signa sequutus.	
Infelix optat ut grex similis sibi sustat.	
Inficit egra pecus alias cur est removenda	2v5
Et medicanda, secus ab ovili proicienda.	
Cogitat hoc asinus, aliud meditatur agaso.	
Mutua sepe valent alias ut dona valerent;	
Non obolus solus pingue parabit olus.	
Vis homines nosse perfecte? Da sibi posse;	2v10
Vis fore tu gratus? Humilis sis, largus et aptus;	
Vis fieri tutus? Paciens [s]is, pauca locutus;	
Vis fieri salvus? Semper caveas fore pravus;	
Vis fore sanatus? In cunctis sis moderatus;	
Vis fieri dignus? Sis prudens atque benign[us];	2v15
Vis fieri sapiens? Perama dominum bona dicens.	
Doctum discipulum facit usus sepe magistrum.	
O Deus omnipotens, sapiens super omnia, clemens,	
A quo cuncta bona donantur et omnia dona,	
Grates quas valeo tibi, non quas debeo, reddo	2v20
Verbis et mente quia te nichil ... ente.	
Ut melius potui scripsi proverbia vulgi	
Dictaque prudentum que magnum dant documentum.	
Te rogo stultis prosint et docmate fultis.	
Nil prodest sine te, Deus, omnia sunt bona per te;	2v25
Postulo [hoc], domine, quod des mihi te sine fine.	2v26

## Leaf 3r

3

Uritur interdum qui se putat igne calere;	
Sic venit ad vicium modice qui temptat avere.	
Sepe minatorem contingit habere timorem.	
Penas sepe luunt homines quas non meruerunt.	
Mendaces faciunt ne credam verba loquenti;	3r5
Hi similes fiunt serpenti falsa ferenti;	
Taliter nigrati faciunt quod habent mala grati.	
Fiat ubicumque: procedit fumus ab igne;	
Crimina cuncta possunt per signa patere.	
Fac bona que poteris propere dum corpore vivis;	3r10
Cum defunctus eris, operari nulla valebis.	
Plures exterius apparent esse benigni	

Qui sunt interius fal[l]aces atque maligni.  
 Tam pede capra ferit quod prava cubilia querit.  
 Stultus agit tantum quod conti[n]git sibi dampnum; 3r15  
 Donec rostra cadunt, ad fontem vascula vadunt.  
 Fur iterat furta donec manus est sibi curta.  
 Qui cubat et surgit tarde fit denique pauper.  
 Quando nimis crescunt incendia, raro quiescunt;  
 Quando nimis crescit temptatio, vix requiescit. 3r20  
 Sero parat gressus mus murilegi degressus;  
 Rapto quadrupede sera cero<sup>106</sup> ponitur ede.  
 Timpana vel tuba dum sunt nova sunt mage pulcra;  
 Res mage sunt grate quando sunt in novitate.  
 Sepe redit baculus ubi premitis extitit ortus. 3r25

### Leaf 3v

[S]i dominus mores tibi det, f[r]uctus et hon[ore]s,  
 Si stultum sequeris, stultus sic efficeris;  
 Te si prudentem sequeris faciet sapientem.  
 Per se non tacta sol non red[d]it calefacta;  
 Vix amor incendit quos numquam rarone cernit. 3v5  
 Fer mala, tum pausa, quia nil agitur sine causa;  
 Alleviat dira paciencia, sed gravat ira.  
 Quod puer addiscit reoli[t] bene quando senescit.  
 Sepe minus fiunt que multis iussa fuerunt.  
 In reliquis fidit; quivis sit, sepe nichil fit. 3v10  
 Quod non Martinus est<sup>107</sup>, sanctus edit peregrinus;  
 Quod non vult unus, aliu[s] reputat sibi munus.  
 Sub corio latitat asinus qui post bene certat;  
 Apti sunt aliqui quamv[is vi]deantur inepti.  
 Sepe nocet fari, nocet autem raro tacere. 3v15  
 Cur bene vitari debent mala? Fama vere.  
 Sepe rogare, rogata tenere, retenta docere:  
 Hec tria discipulum faciunt superare magistrum.  
 Sepe placet quod obest et sepe quod est grave prodest.  
 Pelle sub agnina latitat mens sepe lupina; 3v20  
 Sepe latent multe sub vultu simplice culpe.  
 Mitis deliram responsio mitigat iram;  
 Provocat hanc durus sermo nimium nociturus.  
 Sepe valet modicum qui se putat esse valentem;  
 Sepe facit dampnum credens bona se facientem. 3v25

<sup>106</sup> *Cero* for *sero*, “too late”.

<sup>107</sup> *Est* from *edo*, *edere* “to eat”, as in Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.22 and elsewhere.

## Leaf 4r

4

[H]oc raro durat quod junior a sene discat.  
 [Q]ui probitate caret, nil forma decens sibi prode[st].  
 Nil est utilius homini quam fidus amicus.  
 Pax et amor domino redolent super omnia summo.  
 Nil s[ine] mensura perdurat nec sine cura; 4r5  
 Nil [est] persanctum nisi sit prius ordine ceptum.  
 Nil reor rem fenus si sit generosus egenus;  
 Paupere ditato nil seuius esse notato.  
 Nil valet illa domus quam quisque regit quasi summus.  
 Nil mihi [pl]us consta[t] quam quod prece quis mihi prestat. 4r10  
 Moto responde pulcre taceasve recede,  
 Ut sic placetur quando te maior habetur.  
 Vastat rubigo ferrum cito nil faciendo;  
 Sic vastatur homo nimis otia vana sequendo.  
 Qui bene custodit se pravaque iugiter odit 4r15  
 Et bona vult facere cito prudens deberet<sup>108</sup> esse.  
 Presens, preteritum, prudens videt atque futurum.  
 Ut vivat comedit prudens et pocula sumit;  
 Compleat ut libitum bibit ac edit istrio multum.  
 Non delectatur sapiens sibi si tribuatur 4r20  
 Magnus honor late sin quaqua com[m]e[n]date<sup>109</sup>.  
 Fur putat ut cuncti confratres sint sibi juncti.  
 Absque Deo fieri bona non possunt neque diti;  
 Absque labore gravi fieri nil grande putavi. 4r24

## Leaf 4v

Omne bonum jure reputatur vix fo[re] gratum];  
 Omne bonum rarum reputatur plus fore [carum].  
 Is cito provocat qui sepe minus cito jurat.  
 Cuius criminibus cito credi[s] non es amicus;  
     Tardus ut amineris<sup>110</sup> fidus amicus eris. 4v5  
     Qui quo vult vadit in sua dampna cadit.  
 Qui melius cernit et de[t]erius sibi sumit

<sup>108</sup> The abbreviation normally represents *debet*, but scansion requires a dactyl, apparently treating imperfect subjunctive *debēret* (second conjugation) like *ponēret* (third conjugation). As often the third foot employs *productio*, treating the last syllable of *facere* as long.

<sup>109</sup> As emended for sense, the line reads with a spondee in the fifth foot.

<sup>110</sup> *Amineris* from *amoeno*, *amoenare* “to please, to delight”.



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Stultus censeatur et tamquam cecus habetur.	
Quisque laborare debet si vult bene stare.	
Qu[i] venit extremus [iratum] sepe videmus.	4v10
Qu[u]i vult corr[igere debet] peccata cavere.	
Deseruit doctor raro [qu]od corrig[it] actor.	
Qui vadit nocte fert plurima v...	
Deficit ambobus [qui] vult servire duobus.	
Qui male clam facere vult obtat solus abire.	4v15
Quando vis emere terras aut edificare	
Primo scias unde [c]o[m]plere, valebis habunde.	
Que primo [de]mit homo post quandoque requirit.	
Debet servire qui vult ad magna venire.	
Qui vadit peregre rigidum cor debet habere.	4v20
De se quisque timet cum vicini domus ardet.	
Sepe sedens perdit quod habet vix qui cito pergit.	
Si veniam tibi vis, opus est te parcere cuivis.	
Com[m]oda qui sentis, jun[g]as honus emolumentis;	
Ludere si cupias, affectas ut latro fias.	4v25
Nil sibi dimisit qui perdidit arma pudoris.	4v26

## Leaf 5r

## 5

Qui manibus cuncta vult ulcisci sua probra	
Est opus a propria fugiendo recedere terra.	
Omnia contractat, denigrat pix calefacta;	
Sic maculat cunctos pravus socius sibi iunctos.	
Stultus censeatur qui semper mollis habetur.	5r5
Qui cito dat bis dat; nescit dare qui dare tardat.	
Congregat hic modicum qui vult amplectere multum.	
Scire nimis credens est stultus [tam] male credens.	
Qui totum confert mihi totum cal... ffert.	
Qui nimis emungit effudit sepe [c]ruorem;	5r10
Qui nimium pungit causat sibi sepe dolorem.	
Qui nimium loquitur, sine culpa vix reperitur.	
Qui nimis accelerat cito peccat seque retardat.	
Credens omne malum cito pandit se fore pravum.	
Semper habet folia nimis exfolians quoque pera <sup>111</sup> .	5r15
Qui mala vult verba semper nimis invenit ipsa.	
Continue veniunt illis bona qui bona querunt.	
Cum quis venatur et non capit, inde gravatur.	

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<sup>111</sup> *Pera*, “pear-tree” in Vulgar Latin and Occitan, replaced Classical *pirum* “pear”, plural *pira*, which is the etymon. *Exfoliare* “to strip of leaves”, here used passively.

Est nimium salsus cibus aut modicum male gratus.  
 Competit hic sese quisquis nimis effodit alte. 5r20  
 Qui nimis indagat secreta Dei cito peccat.  
 Qui se sublimat plus quam decet, hunc Deus ymat.  
 Qui nimis est humilis cum non decet est puerilis.  
 Hunc homo deridet qui multum vel cito ridet.  
 Quisque domum rediens debet quequam bona ferre. 5r25

## Leaf 5v

Dicet nulla tibi stultus nisi quod placet ip[si].  
 Qui genitum proprium non corrigit hic odit ip[su]m.  
 Cum quis ab antiquo di[s]cedere curat amico,  
 Querit ut inveniat casus quibus hoc bene fi[at].  
 Qui pravo servit grates et premia perdit. 5v5  
 Qui sine letitia vivit, mors est sua vita.  
     Qui vult rixari non erit absque pari.  
 Nullus ei reddit qui communi bene servit.  
 Qui bene mutatur a Christo sepe juvatur.  
 Qui scit cantare vix vult cantare rogatus; 5v10  
 Qui nescit canere bene per se cantat ubique.  
 Cum male firmatur domus, inde ruina paratur.  
 Qui se collaudat vel culpat se male fraudat.  
 Plus dolet afflictus iniuste quam bene dignus.  
 Qui gerit officium quod nescit, post piget ipsum. 5v15  
 Qui sua non celat aliorum probra revelat.  
     Qui sedet in terra non habet unde cadat.  
 Multa pati [c]ogor ut pacem det mihi dulcor.  
 Qui caret alis et sine scalis tendit ad altum  
 Non dubitet quin precipitet faciens cito saltum. 5v20  
 Contra se iactat qui se de crimine iactat.  
 Qui de stultitiis gaudet per eum male factis  
     Non est correctus, prudens, nec bene rectus.  
 Cum quis habet tempus et spectat, abest sibi tempus.  
 Qui semper tolerat mala, prospera iugiter optat. 5v25  
 Amittit totum, cuius fit ad omnia votum. 5v26

## Leaf 6r

## 6

Quo prius imbuitur retinet vas semper [odorem]<sup>112</sup>;  
 Quo quivis inst[r]uitur homo servat denique [honorem].  
 Plenus orat venter, non vestis facta recenter.

<sup>112</sup> [Odorem]: Conjecture based on the analogue in Horace.

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Stat medio virtus; extrema tenet loca virus.	
Est virtus placidis abstinuisse bonis;	6r5
Est virtus facere gratis facienda necesse.	
Falsum subcumbit, verum super omnia vincit;	
Verum vult clare fore non tenebris latitare.	
Quamvis condatur verum, tandem reservatur.	
Si verum dicis quod vis, tibi fert inimicos;	6r10
Si bene servietis, tibi servitium dat amicos.	
Sepe rubor scabi[em] gignit, scabiesque capellum.	
Nempe pudor fatuus est dignus ferre flagellum?	
Non puto signa fo[re] juvenis meliora pudore;	
Recta facit fieri pudor et peccata caveri.	6r15
Sepe sper[a]nt humiles, mala propria sepe videntes,	
Ac alios reputant fore mente bonos et honorant.	
Est presumendus quivis bonus et reverendus,	
Ne quando constat quod pravus non bonus extat.	
Vix solitam vitam mutant victus vel amictus.	6r20
Cum prece mulcetur homo vilis, peior heretur.	
Est oculis domini cultor bonus et fimus agri.	
Sepe manus oculi sunt cordis signa profundi.	
Unum servitium sibi vult aliud fore dandum.	6r24

### Leaf 6v

[I]n terram redeunt de terra queque fuerunt.	
Omnia tempus habent in quo fieri mage debent:	
Tempus ridendi constat, tempus quoque flendi;	
Tempus dicendi, tempus quandoque tacendi;	
Tempus perdendi, tempus lucrum capiendi;	6v5
Tempus spargendi, tempus quandoque merendi;	
Tempus servendi, tempus large suadendi;	
Tempus pausandi, tempus necnon operandi;	
Tempus bellandi, tempus quoque pacificandi.	
Hoc fuit, est, et erit: similis similem sibi querit,	6v10
Exceptis tumidis quia quisque parem sibi spernit.	
Cuncta timendo Deum fac te memorans moriturum.	
Quam dives cupidus pauper contentus habet plus;	
Omne bonum quod habes exterminat unica labes.	
Quod libet est nimium vicium semperque nocivum.	6v15
Esse puto stultum quisquis sibi tollit amicum.	
Ex improviso fallitur omnis homo;	
Omne novum placidum tibi est quandoque nocivum.	
Pre[b]entem mittas et non sibi plurima dicas;	
Sepe domesticitas contemptum maxima gignit.	6v20

Est quasi desidia simplicitas nimia.  
 Qui nimium comedit animam cum corpore ledit.  
 Qui mihi concedit cito vel negat est mihi gratus.  
 Sunt partes multe pulcre simul inde minute.  
 Longa quies sompni vicio [fi]t fomes in omni. 6v25

## Leaf 7r

7

Dividit hospicia mulier<sup>113</sup> quod agat sibi g[r]atam].  
 Femina tristatur dum que vult non operatur.  
 Femina, fles mesta; flet quando vult quoque leta.  
 Femina nil celat; bona vel mala, cuncta revelat.  
 Femina vult vetitum complere, tenere negatum. 7r5  
 Nil hominem vincit sicut mulier—neque vincit.  
 Femina pro socia quandoque facit mala plura.  
 Fert homini magna meretrix quamplurima dampna.  
 Consumit sensum tempus, cum corpore sensum;  
 Tollit ei dominum, fert l[u]ctus, tollit amicum; 7r10  
 Contampn[e]ns animam, tollit cum nomine famam.  
 Vult meretrix multas similes fieri s[ibi] stultas.  
 Femina quot cernit tot amat, tot denique servit.  
 Femina non casta se dissipat et b[ona] v[ast]at.  
 Femina vinosa, mere[tr]ix vel litig[i]osa 7r15  
 Non est sit grata nec con[iu]gio sociat[a].  
 Leno jurando vult fallere, femina flendo.  
 Se canis edendo claudum cur ... sibi credo.  
 Filius est l ... ... ns  
 ... 7r20

## Leaf 19r

19

Pecus age[n]s cecum facit ipsum sternere s[e]c[um];  
 Presbiter ignorans populum male dirigit erra[n]s.  
 Franguntur sepe dentes hominis sine casu;  
 Signa mali sepe famam ledunt sine lapsu.  
 Si vis absque metu fore, fac bene, prava cave tu. 19r5  
 Si videas cedo; si non furando recedo.  
 Non male peccabis bene cum mortem memorabis.  
 Si vis ut fac[ia]nt alii tibi que bona fiant,  
 Convenit [ut] fa[cia]s sic quod gratus sibi fias.

<sup>113</sup> *Mulier*, in Classical Latin “woman”; here the context suggests “wife”, as at 7r6, 7r14, and in Occitan *molher*.

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Si prodesse[e] ...	quam dampnum dare nolis	19r10
Non ... vid ...	ua facta videres.	
Obsta principi[is] cu[m] temptat te malus hostis.		
Sero [veni]t medicus cum morbus fit diuturnus.		
Se semper [p] ... plusquam prodesset obesset.		
Si doctor legeret pueris minus inde noceret.		19r15
Si mens non orat, in vanum lingua laborat;		
Plus Deus ad ora spectat quam dulcia verba.		
Si cupias pacem, linguam compesce loquacem;		
Non locus est pacis ubi regnat lingua loquacis.		
Tunc pete si qua velis cum dator est ylaris.		19r20
Sincerum nisi sit vas, quicquid ponis acescit.		
Est opus immundum si cor non fit bene mundum.		
Quamvis sint fratres, non sunt similes sibi plures;		
Nemo manet penitus alii similis foris intus.		
Non f[aci]as famulum te si bene quis fore tecum.		19r25

### Leaf 19v

[N]ullus in orbe labor prodest nisi sit Deus actor;		
Qui Christum metuit bona perficit et mala linquit.		
Non bene sunt grata domino benefacta coacta.		
Qui facit aut dicit mala quod fiant sibi querit.		
Te citius fallet si vult in quo mage fides.		19v5
Servitium pariens peccat nisi sit bene reddens.		
Signa facultatis sunt vestes, non probitatis.		
Qui bona que cepit dimittit honore carebit.		
Laude carent prima nisi fine gerantur opima.		
Velle tuum vendis danti cum munera prendis.		19v10
Sepe minus patrant homines qui se mage iactant.		
Carmina qui nescit aut invidet hec reprehendit.		
Serpens in gremio meritis mala reddit amico;		
Reddit iniquus homo malefactum pro benefacto.		
Omnes res gestas faciunt duo: velle, potestas.		19v15
Si Deus est pro me, quicumque velit societ te.		
Esto columbina dilectus simplicitate		
Et serpentina protectus caliditate.		
Ut nullum fraudes, vites fieri tibi fraudes.		
Non extoll[ar]is populo si predominaris;		19v20
Esto bonis humilis, perversis esto virilis.		
In mensa letus maneat et in ede facetus.		
Custodi natam ne te confundat et ipsam;		
Si libitum faciat mulier juvenis, cito peccat.		

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Uxorem vere fugi si queris habere	19v25
Que suum sensum plus quam formam neque censum	19v26

## 2. Rejected Readings

2r6 cuius. 2r16 innimicus. 2v1 [si] *supplied*. 2v15 benigne. 3r6 His. 3r13 falaces. 3r15 contigit. 3r21 detrusit *corrected in MS to* degressus. 3v4 redivit. 4r21 comedate. 4v4 credit. 4v12 Desservit. 4v17 plere *corrected above* [de]mit 18 *to* complere. 4v24 Comoda. 5r8 [tam] *supplied*. 5r24 deridet. 5v18 gogor. 5v25 tollerat. 6r2 instituit. 6r10 innimicos. 6r16 sperunt. 6v15 semper quoque. 7r10 lictus. 7r11 Contampnans. 19v16 vellit.

## 3. Marginalia

1r2 *ficta id est posita*.

1r3 *condimentum id est saporem*.

1r4 *priscorum id est antiquorum*.

1v1 In upper left corner: *Psalmus: Deus in adiutorium meum* / *intende* = Psalm 69:2. “O God, come to my assistance”. – *Boecius ii<sup>o</sup> [illi MS]: Vocandum cen[s]eo rer[um] / omnium patrem quo pretermisso / nullum rite / fundatur exordium* [*Boecius* inserted above line with caret; *patrem* above line, over a word that has been crossed out]. Boethius, *De Consolatione Philosophiae* 3.9.33: *Inuocandum, inquam, rerum omnium patrem, quo praetermisso nullum rite fundatur exordium*. “We must invoke the Father of all things”, I replied, “for if this is not done, no beginning may be founded properly”. – Above line to the right: *Boecius in tertio De Solacione*. “Boethius in the third [book] of the *De Consolatione*”. On the word *solacione*, nominative *solacio*, cf. OOcc *solatz*. – Above *[dis]iuncta: separata*.

1v2 Above *deposce: id est roga*.

1v4 In left margin: *Adherere id est adiungere se*. Below: *Psalmus: Mihi autem*. Psalm 72:28: *Mihi autem adhaerere Deo bonum est*. “But it is good for me to adhere to my God”.

1v11 Above *donat: [...] iru [...] nare*.

2r18 In bottom margin to left, more recent hand: *Pertinet ista modo Artur[o] nomine dict[o]* (*Arturus ... dictus* MS). “She [the woman whose name follows?] now belongs to him who is called Arturus by name”. – Below to the right: [...] *a Dubrue*. – Below to the left: SS. *Subscripsi*, “I have signed”<sup>114</sup>.

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<sup>114</sup> A. CAPPELLI, *Dizionario di abbreviature latine ed italiane*, 6<sup>th</sup> ed., Milano 1967, p. 362.

2v2 In right margin: *Gregorius: Peccatum quod per pe[n]itentiam / non diluitur mox suo pondere ad aliud trahit*. “A sin which is not soon washed away in penance draws by its weight to another”. Paraphrase of Gregorius, *Homiliae in Ezechielem*, PL 76, col. 915a: *Peccatum quippe quod per poenitentiam citius non deletur, aut peccatum est et causa peccati, aut peccatum et poena peccati, aut peccatum simul et causa et poena peccati*. “A sin, indeed, which is not soon ended in penance, is either a sin and the cause of sin, or a sin and the penalty of sin, or a sin and both a cause and penalty of sin”. Gregory’s thought was echoed by others. Joannes de Deo, *Excerpta ex Poenitentiali*, PL 99, col. 1089b: *Ut dicit sanctus Gregorius, peccatum quod per poenitentiam non purgatur suo pondere trahit ad aliud peccatum*. “As Saint Gregory says, a sin which is not purged by penance draws by its weight to another sin”. Thomas Aquinas, *Quaestiones disputatae de veritate*, q. 22 a. 1-10: *Secundum Gregorium, peccatum quod per poenitentiam non deletur, mox suo pondere ad aliud trahit*. “According to Gregory, a sin which is not ended in penance, soon draws by its weight to another”. The sentence was repeated widely without attribution.

3r6 In left margin: *Serpenti: id est diabolo qui in / forma serpentis dixit / mendacium Eve*. “The serpent, that is, the devil, who, in the form of a serpent, spoke the lie to Eve”.

3r9 Above *cuncta possunt: fuoc* (Occitan, “fire”). Gloss to *crimina cuncta*, as interpreted by the proverb.

3r17 Above *curta: id est brevis*. Although I have not found parallels to this sentence, mutilation was practiced as punishment for theft.

3r21 *detrusit* corrected in MS to *degressus*. In left margin: *Sero mali piguit / quem demon in igne / detrusit*. “Too late he is ashamed of his evil whom a demon has destroyed in fire”. Cf. Guillem de Cervera, *Versos proverbials*, PRO 1555: *Qui, neci, ·s vol peccar, / neci·s pert, ses govern: / espers de perdonar / met mans pechs en infern*. “The fool who means to sin foolishly loses himself without control; hope for pardon puts many fools in Hell”.

3v2-3 In right margin: *Proverbia xii<sup>o</sup>: Qui cum sapientib[us] / graditur sapiens erit / amicus stultorum / similis efficietur* = Proverbs 13:20. “He that walketh with the wise shall be wise; a friend of fools shall become like them”.

3v8 In left margin, in another hand: *Non*.

3v22-23 In right margin: *Proverbia xv<sup>o</sup>: Responsio / mollis frangit iram / sermo durus suscitatur / furorem* = Proverbs 15:1. “A mild answer breaketh wrath: but a harsh word stirreth up fury”.

4r3 In left margin: *Ecc<sup>i</sup> vj[...]/ nulla est comparacio*. Ecclesiasticus 6:15: *Amico fidei nulla est comparatio*. “Nothing can be compared to a faithful friend”.

4r11 Above *Moto: irato*.

4r15 In left margin: *S*.



4v3 In right margin: [...] *multum / ir* (*ir* crossed out) *iuran[s] repl[e]bitur / iniquitate*. Ecclesiasticus 23:12: *Vir multum iurans implebitur iniquitate*. “A man that sweareth much shall be filled with iniquity”.

4v15 In right margin: *id est ire*. Gloss to *abire*.

4v20 In right margin: *Non*.

5r3 In left margin: *tetigerit / [...]* *abitur ab ea*. Ecclesiasticus 13:1: *Qui tetigerit picem inquinabitur ab ea*. “He that toucheth pitch shall be defiled with it”.

5r10 In left margin: [...] *qui vehemens*. Proverbs 30:33: *Qui vehementer emungit elicit sanguinem*. “He that violently bloweth his nose bringeth out blood”.

5r11 In left margin: [...] *git eligit*. Augustine, *In Joannis evangelium tractatus CXXIV* 99.4, *PL* 35, col. 1887: *Ipsa mens nostra [...], quando immutabilem veritatem intelligit, eligit, diligit*. “Our mind [...], when it understands immutable truth, chooses it and loves it”.

5r20 In left margin: [...] *sapere quam / [...]* *jere*. Romans 12:3: *Dico enim [...] omnibus qui sunt inter vos; non plus sapere quam oportet sapere*. “For I say [...] to all that are among you, not to be more wise than it behoveth to be wise”.

5r21 In left margin: *ur xvij<sup>o</sup> qui*.

5r22 In left margin: *hunc habere*. Perhaps Hebrews 8:3: *Omnis enim pontifex ad offerendum munera, et hostias constituitur: unde necesse est et hunc habere aliquid, quod offerat*. “For every high priest is appointed to offer gifts and sacrifices: wherefore it is necessary that he also should have some thing to offer”.

5r24 In left margin: *Fatuus in risu / [...]* *em suam vir / [...]* *vix altet*. Ecclesiasticus 21:23: *Fatuus in risu exaltat vocem suam; vir autem sapiens vix tacite ridebit*. “A fool lifteth up his voice in laughter: but a wise man will scarce laugh low to himself”.

5r25 In bottom margin, different hand: *h ij<sup>o</sup> ... uix ... fit uitus*.

6r1 In left margin: *V*.

6r7 In left margin: *Esdre ij<sup>o</sup>: Veritas magna / est et fortior pre omnibus*. Vulgate, 3 Esdras 4:35: *Nonne magnificus est qui haec facit, et veritas magna, et fortior prae omnibus?* Apocrypha, 1 Esdras 4:35: “Is he not great that maketh these things? Therefore great is the truth, and stronger than all things”.

6r9 Above *condatur: abscondatur*.

6r16 In left margin: *Gregorius: Humilitas est quando quis parva / de se extiterat et bona / al[t]erius (alerius MS) sine invidia et livore / comendat*. Author uncertain, perhaps Hugh of Saint Victor, *Miscellanea*, in *PL* 177, col. 548C: *Humilitas ad se est qua quisque de semetipso parva existimat. Humilitas ad alios est qua bona aliorum homo sine invidia et livore commendat*. “Humility toward oneself is that by which

one thinks little of himself. Humility toward others is that by which one commends the good of others without envy or spite”. – *Item Gregorius in omelia: / Isti preponunt sibi in animo ipsos / plerumque quos corrigunt meliores / extiment eos quoque quos / iudicant quod agentes per / disciplinam subditos et per / humilitatem custodiunt semet / ipsos.* Gregory, *Homiliae in Evangelia* XXXIV.2, PL 76, col. 1247A: *Praeponunt sibi in animo ipsos plerumque quos corrigunt, meliores existimant eos quoque quos judicant. Quod videlicet agentes, et per disciplinam subditos, et per humilitatem custodiunt semetipsos.* “Commonly in their minds they set themselves before those they correct and esteem themselves better than those whom they judge. Doing so they watch over those subject to them with severity and over themselves with humility”.

6v2 *Ecc<sup>i</sup> iij<sup>o</sup>: Omnia tempus habent et suis / spatiis transeunt sub celo tempus / nascendi et tempus moriendi tem[...].* Ecclesiastes 3:1-2: *Omnia tempus habent, et suis spatiis transeunt universa sub caelo. Tempus nascendi, et tempus moriendi; tempus plantandi ....* “All things have their season: and in their times all things pass under heaven. A time to be born, and a time to die. A time to plant...”. The abbreviation *Ecc<sup>i</sup>* is identical to those referring to Ecclesiasticus at 4r3, 19v2 (twice), 19v20, and 19v23.

6v9 *Proverbia xii<sup>o</sup> (crossed out) xiiij<sup>o</sup>: Inter superbos / semper iurgia sunt* = Proverbs 13:10. “Among the proud there are always contentions”.

6v14 *Jacobus: Offendens in uno / factus est omnium reus.* James 2:10: *Quicumque autem totam legem servaverit, offendat autem in uno, factus est omnium reus.* “And whosoever shall keep the whole law, but offend in one point, is become guilty of all”.

7r6 *Vincit id est ligat et est / quarte coniugacionis.* The first *vincit* is from *vincio*, *vincire* “to bind”, the second from *vinco*, *vincere* “to conquer”.

7r8 *Proverbia vij<sup>o</sup>: Mulier autem / viri pretiosam cepit / animam.* Proverbs 6:26: *Mulier autem viri pretiosam animam capit.* “But the woman catcheth the precious soul of a man”.

7r15 *Vinosa id est plena vino / seu ebriosa.* “*Vinosa*, that is, full of wine or inebriated”.

7r18 *edendo id est manifestando.*

7r19 *Proverbia x<sup>o</sup>: Filius sapiens leti / ficat patrem filius vero / stultus mestus [e]st.* Proverbs 10:1: *Filius sapiens laetificat patrem, filius vero stultus moestitia est matris suae.* “A wise son maketh the father glad: but a foolish son is the sorrow of his mother”.

19r1 *Matheus xv<sup>o</sup>: Cecus si ceco / ducatum prestet ambo in / foveam cadu[n]t.* Matthew 15:14: *Caecus autem si caeco ducatum praestet, ambo in foveam cadunt.* “If the blind lead the blind, both fall into the pit”.

19r4 *[Fe]mina multa fovet / a quibus animus hebet*. “Woman encourages many things by which the mind grows dull”. Has no apparent relation to the text of the *Liber* at this point; cf. the passage on women, 7r1-17.

19r13 In left margin at 19r12: *c<sup>i</sup> xvij<sup>o</sup>: Ante langorem / [ad]hibe medicinam* = Ecclesiasticus 18:20. “Before sickness take a medicine”.

19v2 *Ecc<sup>i</sup> I<sup>o</sup>: Timor domini ex / pellit peccatum* = Ecclesiasticus 1:27. “The fear of the Lord driveth out sin”. – *Item Ecc<sup>i</sup> xv<sup>o</sup>: Qui timet De[um] / faciet bona* = Ecclesiasticus 15:1. “He that feareth God will do good”.

19v16 *A Paulo viij<sup>o</sup>: Si Deus pro nobis, quis contra nos?* = Romans 8:31. “If God is for us, who is against us?”.

19v17-18 *Matheus x<sup>o</sup>: Estote prudentes sicut / serpentes et simplices sicut columbine*. Matthew 10:16: *Estote ergo prudentes sicut serpentes, et simplices sicut columbae*. “Be ye therefore wise as serpents and simple as doves”.

19v20 *Ecc<sup>i</sup> xxxij<sup>o</sup>: Rectorem posuerunt / te noli extolli quasi unus ex ipsis*. Ecclesiasticus 32:1: *Rectorem te posuerunt? noli extolli; esto in illis quasi unus ex ipsis*. “Have they made thee ruler? Be not lifted up: be among them as one of them”.

19v23-24 *advertente / se firma custodia[m]*. Ecclesiasticus 26:13: *In filia non advertente se, firma custodiam*. “On a daughter that turneth not away herself, set a strict watch”. – *Item Ecc<sup>i</sup> xlij<sup>o</sup>: / Super filiam luxuriosam / constitue custodiam ne quando / faciat te in opprobria venire*. Ecclesiasticus 42:11: *Super filiam luxuriosam confirma custodiam, nequando faciat te in opprobrium venire inimicis*. “Keep a sure watch over a shameless daughter, lest at any time she make thee become a laughing-stock to thy enemies”.

### III. Translation

Leaf 1r

*Here begins the Book of Proverbs of the Common and the Wise.*

I write proverbs for you metrically, gentle friend,  
 Created by the crowd, since they are vernacular sayings,  
 Mixing in some of learned men for spice.  
 The mixture has the odor of teachings of good, ancient men;  
 The words give us doctrine of the ways of the righteous.  
 They should not be despised but kept in the heart,  
 For they are most useful to those who understand them.  
 Not wisely do you say greater things, disdaining the lesser ...

1r5

...

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...	1r10
...	
...	
...	1r13

### Leaf 1v

These [things] joined together are disjointed, yet excellent.	
In the beginning beseech the Lord to be with you	
And grant you to achieve good things, to fear all evils.	
He must cling to the Lord who wishes to fulfill	
All the good things that he must do, to be silent about filth;	1v5
He will never die who always clings to Christ,	
For Christ leaves no one unless he abandons Him.	
...	
...	
...	1v10
...	
...	
...	1v13

### Leaf 2r

In the year one thousand, thrice a hundred and thrice ten,	
With a third added on, in the spring season,	
The said Bernart Amoros, studious in these matters,	
Completed the present book containing a thousand proverbs	
And fifteen hundred verses joined in order to these.	2r5
Christ be praised for the work whose end is at hand.	
If great cold obtains or greatest heat,	
A poem is not pleasing unless it is short.	
When noon has passed, a little ass is called a beast;	
Thus an old man is known as a simple fool.	2r10
A small part of an empty thing is quite enough for me.	
Put a rein on gluttony, or gluttony will put reins on you;	
In your home put measure or reason;	
The measure of poverty will be there, whether you want it or not.	
He was not a true friend to you, or sincere,	2r15
Who suddenly became an enemy over some trifle.	
He who saves well and moderates his expenses	
Will soon be rich, unless he becomes entangled elsewhere.	2r18

### Leaf 2v

The result is bad if it depends on another as leader.  
 Vice brings another crime, unless you leave it.

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One clever man recognizes another by following signs.	
An unhappy man hopes the herd will be like him.	
A sick sheep kills others, so it must be removed	2v5
And cured, or ejected from the fold.	
The ass thinks one thing, the drover plans another.	
Mutual gifts often help, and will help another time;	
Not only pennies will buy plump peas.	
Do you want to know men perfectly? Give them power;	2v10
Do you want to be pleasing? Be humble, giving, and clever;	
Do you want to be safe? Be patient, say little;	
Do you want to be saved? Always fear to be wicked;	
Do you want to be cured? In all things be moderate;	
Do you want to be worthy? Be prudent and kind;	2v15
Do you want to be wise? Love the lord greatly, saying good things.	
Practice often makes a student into a learned teacher.	
O all-powerful God, wise above all things, merciful,	
By whom all good things are granted and all gifts,	
I give you the thanks I can, not those I should,	2v20
In words and mind since ...	
As best I could, I have written proverbs of the crowd	
And sayings of the wise, which make a large work.	
I pray you that they benefit the foolish and those sustained by learning.	
Nothing avails without you, O God, all things are good through you;	2v25
I ask you, O Lord, to grant me yourself without end.	2v26

### Leaf 3r

Sometimes he is burned who means to warm up by the fire;	
Thus he comes to vice who tries to yearn with moderation.	
It often befalls a threatening man to fear.	
Men often pay penalties they did not deserve.	
Liars make me disbelieve anyone speaking words;	3r5
They become like a serpent bearing falsehoods;	
In the same way, men blackened [by scandal] hurt those [who were] welcome.	
It happens everywhere: smoke comes from fire;	
All crimes can be detected by clues.	
Be quick to do what good you can while living in your body;	3r10
Once you are dead, you can do nothing.	
Many men appear on the outside to be kind	
Who, on the inside, are deceptive and malign.	
The nanny-goat kicks until she makes her filthy bed.	
The fool carries on until he suffers harm;	3r15
Until their spouts fall off, jugs keep going to the spring.	
The thief repeats his thefts until his hand is short.	
He who stays in bed and rises late will be a poor man in the end.	

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When fires grow too great, they rarely quiet down;  
 When temptation grows too much, it does not rest. 3r20  
 Too late the mouse plans his steps after stumbling on the mouser;  
 When the horse is stolen it's too late to bar the house.  
 Drums or a tuba are prettier when new;  
 Things are more pleasing when they are novelties.  
 Often the scepter returns where arose a gentle birth. 3r25

### Leaf 3v

Even if the Lord gives you good character, profit and honor,  
 If you follow a fool, a fool you will become;  
 If you follow a prudent man, he will make you wise.  
 What it does not touch, the sun does not warm;  
 Love does not burn those whom it rarely or never sees. 3v5  
 Bear your ills, then pause, for nothing happens without cause;  
 Patience eases hard times, but anger makes them harder.  
 What a boy learns he remembers growing old.  
 Things often fail that many were ordered [to do].  
 He has faith in relics; whoever he may be, often nothing happens. 3v10  
 What Martin does not eat, the holy pilgrim eats;  
 What one does not want, another thinks a boon.  
 Under the skin hides an ass who later struggles well;  
 Some men are clever though they seem inept.  
 Often it does harm to speak, but rarely to be silent. 3v15  
 Why must we avoid bad deeds? In truth, because of fame.  
 Often to ask, to remember what he asked, to teach what he remembers:  
 These three things make a student surpass his teacher.  
 What harms often pleases and what is heavy often helps.  
 Beneath a lambskin often hides a wolfish mind; 3v20  
 Many faults often hide behind a simple face.  
 A soft answer softens raging anger  
 Which a harsh and hurtful word provokes.  
 Often he is worth little who thinks he is worth much;  
 Often he does damage who thinks he is doing good. 3v25

### Leaf 4r

What a young man learns from an old one rarely lasts.  
 If a man isn't honest, a handsome face won't help.  
 Nothing is more useful to a man than a faithful friend.  
 Peace and love are redolent above all else to the highest Lord.  
 Nothing lasts without measure, without care; 4r5  
 Nothing is holy unless first set in order.

I say interest is no matter if the borrower is from good people;  
 But take note—nothing is more cruel than a poor man who gets rich.  
 The house is worth nothing where each one rules as head.  
 I find nothing more pleasing than a loan at my request. 4r10  
 Answer an angry man gently or be silent, turn away,  
 So he is pleased to be thought greater than you.  
 Rust quickly ruins iron that is doing nothing;  
 Thus a man is ruined by indulging idle leisure.  
 He who cares for himself, always hates wicked things, 4r15  
 And tries to do good, should soon be wise.  
 A wise man sees the present, past, and future.  
 A wise man eats and takes a glass to live;  
 A minstrel drinks for pleasure and eats too much.  
 A wise man is not satisfied with honor granted far and wide 4r20  
 Unless he is commended everywhere.  
 A thief thinks all men are brothers joined to him.  
 Without God good cannot be done, nor men made rich;  
 Without hard work great things cannot be done, I think. 4r24

#### Leaf 4v

Not every lasting good thing is considered pleasing,  
 But every rare good thing is considered dear.  
 He is often quick to provoke who is not so quick to swear.  
 You are not a friend of a man in whose crimes you are quick to believe;  
     When you are slow to be pleased, a true friend you will be. 4v5  
     He who goes where he will falls to his loss.  
 He who sees better and chooses worse  
 Is thought a fool and treated as blind.  
 Everyone must toil if he wants to live well.  
 We often see him angry who came last. 4v10  
 He who wants to improve himself must avoid sin.  
 Rarely has a teacher devoted himself to what an orator corrects.  
 He who walks at night suffers many things ...  
 He fails them both who tries to serve two [masters].  
 He who means to do secret evil chooses to go alone. 4v15  
 When you want to buy land or build,  
 First know how to finish up, you will thrive in plenty.  
 What a man puts off at first, sometimes he later needs.  
 He must serve who hopes to come to greatness.  
 He who goes in a strange land must have a hard heart. 4v20  
 Everyone fears for himself when his neighbor's house is burning.  
 He who sits often loses what he who walks is glad to get.  
 If you seek a boon, you must pardon someone.  
 You who appreciate comfort, join concern to your efforts;



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If you wish to gamble, see that you become a thief.	4v25
One who has lost the weapons of shame has surrendered nothing.	4v26

### Leaf 5r

He who tries to avenge all his shames with his hand Will need to flee from his own land. Everything it touches, hot pitch blackens; Thus a dishonest friend stains all who are joined to him. A man is thought a fool who always seems gentle.	5r5
He gives twice who gives quickly; he who gives slowly knows not how to give. He gathers little who tries to grasp much. Thinking he knows much, he is a fool for thinking so badly. He who gives me all ...	
He who sneezes too much often brings up blood; He who irritates too much brings grief upon himself. He who talks too much is not found without fault. He who speeds soon errs and makes himself late. By believing every bad thing, one shows that he is wicked.	5r10
Although it may shed many, a pear tree still has leaves. He who seeks bad words always finds too many. Good things always come to those who seek good things. He who goes hunting and takes nothing soon tires. Food with too much salt, or too little, is not pleasing.	5r15
Whoever digs deep comes to terms with himself. He soon sins who asks too much about God's secrets. He who rises higher than he should God hurls down. He who is too humble when it is not right is acting like a child. One laughs at a man who laughs too much or too soon.	5r20
Any one returning home must bring good things.	5r25

### Leaf 5v

A fool will tell you nothing but what pleases him. He who does not correct his own child hates himself. When someone plans to abandon an old friend, He tries to find reasons why he would be right. He who serves a wicked man loses thanks and his reward.	5v5
If one lives without joy, his life is death. One who wants to fight will not fail to find another. No one pays the man who serves the common good. He who changes for the better is often helped by Christ. He who knows how to sing is unwilling to sing when asked; He who does not know how sings unbidden everywhere.	5v10
When a house is badly built, its collapse is near. He who praises or blames himself is cheating himself.	

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He who suffers unjustly suffers more than one who deserves it.	
He who holds an office that he does not understand will later be ashamed.	5v15
He who does not hide his own dark deeds reveals the ones of others.	
He who sits on the ground has nowhere to fall.	
I am forced to suffer many things so that sweetness will give me peace.	
He who lacks wings and without ladders climbs to the height	
Should have no doubt that he hastens his fall.	5v20
He who boasts of crime boasts against his own good.	
He who rejoices in follies he has committed	
Is neither righteous, upstanding, nor wise.	
When someone has time and waits, time escapes.	
He who tolerates bad times ever hopes for good.	5v25
He loses all who swears to gain all things.	5v26

### Leaf 6r

A glass retains the odor in which it first was steeped;	
A man maintains his teacher's honor to the end.	
A full belly speaks, not clothing newly made.	
Virtue stands in the middle; poison goes to extremes.	
For the placid it is a virtue to abstain from good things;	6r5
It is a virtue to do freely what must be done.	
Falsehood succumbs, truth conquers all;	
Truth seeks to stand forth clearly, not hiding in the shadows.	
Although the truth be hidden, at last it will be found.	
Tell truly what you want and it brings you enemies,	6r10
But serve well and your service gives you friends.	
Often redness brings a scab, and a scab [brings] hair.	
Doesn't foolish modesty deserve to feel the whip?	
I cannot think of better signs than modesty in youth;	
Modesty makes us do what's right and escape from sin.	6r15
The humble hope, although they see their own bad ways,	
And believe that others mean well and accord them honor.	
Anyone should be presumed to be good and reverend,	
Even if it turns out he is not good but wicked.	
Food and clothing scarcely change one's accustomed life.	6r20
When a base man is caressed with prayer, he becomes incorrigibly worse.	
In the eyes of the Lord the ploughman is good, and so is the dung of the field.	
Hands and eyes are often signs of the inward heart.	
One favor calls for another to be given in return.	6r24

### Leaf 6v

Whatever things were of the earth will return to earth.  
 All things have a time in which they should be done:  
 There is a time for laughing and a time for weeping;

A time for speaking and a time for keeping silent;  
 A time for losing and a time for taking profit; 6v5  
 A time for sowing and a time for winning;  
 A time for serving and a time for generously persuading;  
 A time for pausing and a time for acting;  
 A time for making war and a time for making peace.  
 This has been, is, and will be: like seeks the like, 6v10  
 Except for the wrathful, since each one spurns his peer.  
 Do all things in fear of God, remembering you will die.  
 The contented pauper has more than the greedy miser;  
 A single fall can destroy every good you have.  
 What pleases is a great vice and always harmful. 6v15  
 I think he is a fool who casts off his friend.  
     Every man is deceived by surprise;  
 Any new pleasure can sometimes do you harm.  
 Send away a man who offers, and do not tell him more;  
 Often greatest intimacy breeds contempt. 6v20  
     Too much simplicity is like laziness.  
 He who eats too much harms his soul as well as his body.  
 He who grants my request at once, or denies it, pleases me.  
 Many beautiful parts are also very small.  
 Long rest of sleep becomes tinder for every vice. 6v25

### Leaf 7r

A wife provides hospitality to make herself pleasing.  
 A woman grows sad when what she wants is not done.  
 Woman, you weep when sad (she weeps when she wants, even happy).  
 A woman hides nothing; she reveals everything, good or bad.  
 A woman wants to do what is forbidden, to have what is denied. 7r5  
 Nothing binds a man like a woman – yet she does not conquer him.  
 Sometimes for a friend a woman does many bad things.  
 A great whore brings many losses to a man.  
 Time consumes sense, sense with the body;  
 Takes away one's lord, brings grief, takes a friend; 7r10  
 Condemning the soul, takes fame with name.  
 A whore wants many women to be foolish like her.  
 A woman loves as many as she sees, then serves as many.  
 An unchaste wife dissipates herself and destroys wealth.  
 There is no drunken woman or quarrelsome whore 7r15  
 Who can be pleasing or joined in marriage.  
 A pimp tries to deceive by swearing, a woman by weeping.  
 I think a dog eating itself ...  
 A son is ...  
 ... 7r20

## Leaf 19r

A fool leading a blind man takes a fall along with him;  
 An errant, ignorant priest guides his people badly.  
 Often a man's teeth are broken without a fall;  
 Signs of evil often harm a name without a lapse.  
 Do good, avoid evil, if you want to be without fear. 19r5  
 If you see, I yield; if not I stealthily return.  
 You will not err badly when you remember death.  
 If you want others to do what will be good for you,  
 You must act so as to please them.  
 If you do not wish to give harm ... 19r10  
 Do not seem ...  
 Resist from the beginning when an evil enemy tempts you.  
 Too late comes the doctor when illness turns chronic.  
 ... does more harm than good.  
 If a doctor read to boys he might do less harm. 19r15  
 If mind does not pray, tongue labors in vain;  
 God considers faces more than sweet words.  
 If you want peace, control a chattering tongue;  
 It is not a place of peace where a chattering tongue rules.  
     If you want something, ask for it when the giver is cheerful. 19r20  
 Unless a dish is clean, whatever you put in it turns sour.  
 It is dirty work if a heart does not come clean.  
 Although they are brothers, many are not alike;  
 No one is deeply like another, both outside and in.  
 If someone gets along with you, do not make him your servant. 19r25

## Leaf 19v

No labor on earth will profit unless God is the mover;  
 He who has feared Christ does good and leaves the bad.  
 Good deeds under compulsion are not pleasing to the Lord.  
 He who does or says bad things asks that they happen to him.  
 He will deceive you first, if he wants, in whom you have most trust. 19v5  
 He who does a favor fails if it brings no profit.  
 Clothes are a sign of means, not of honesty.  
 He who loses goods he got will be lacking honor.  
 They lack first praise, if not born in a fertile region.  
 You sell your will to the giver when you take gifts. 19v10  
 Often men accomplish less who boast more.  
 He who does not know songs, or dislikes them, criticises them.  
 A serpent in the bosom pays a friend badly for his kindness;  
 An unjust man repays a good turn with a bad one.  
 Two things produce all great deeds, will and power. 19v15

If God is on my side, let whoever wants join you.  
 Be loved with dove-like simplicity  
 And protected with snake-like wiles.  
 In order to cheat no one, avoid becoming a cheat.  
 You will not be praised by the people if you are too eminent; 19v20  
 Be humble to the good, be manly to the wicked.  
 At table be cheerful and jolly at home.  
 Watch over your daughter lest she ruin herself and you;  
 If a young woman does her will, she soon sins.  
 Flee a wife if you truly want to have one 19v25  
 Who ... her sense more than her beauty or wealth ... 19v26

#### IV. Analogues

Latin citations from before 500 A.D. provide author, title, book and line. Latin citations from after 500 A.D., other than those from Walther or Werner, give author, title, and reference to *TPMA*, which may be consulted for the edition. Occitan citations are identified as in *COM2*: troubadours by BdT number, narrative verse with the siglum in *COM2*. Occitan texts are cited from *COM2*. The equal sign = denotes verbatim identity. The dash – demarks a new analogue. Some analogues from sources later than Bernart Amoros, such as the *Adagia* of Erasmus and the *Proverbia Germanica* (1508), are included as examples of traditions that may have begun before him.

1r2 WALTHER 34334a: *A vulgo dictum non est falsum neque fictum*. “What is said by the crowd is neither false nor fictitious”.

1r8 WALTHER 4170: *Cum fueris maior, cunctis te crede minorem*. “Though you may be greater, believe you are smaller than everyone”.

1v1 See Marginalia.

1v2 Guilhem Figueira, BdT 217,7.5: *Ni anc ses Dieu fi ni comensamen / no vim fruchar fruit de bona semensa*. “Nor ever have we seen an end or a beginning bear fruit of good seed without God”.

1v5 WERNER S94: *Si nescis fari bene, disce tacendo beari!* “If you don’t know how to speak well, learn how to be blessedly silent”.

2r6 *Colophons de manuscrits occidentaux des origines au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Fribourg 1965-1982, nos. 20294-98 (s. XIII-s. XV): *Christus laudetur, quia libri finis habetur*. “Christ be praised, for the end of the book is at hand”. Bernart’s version requi-

res *productio* on the final vowel of *opere* (in the fourth foot), as well as the emendation of *cuius* to *cui*.

2r8 Alanus ab Insulis (d. 1202), *TPMA* s.v. Predigen 1: *Sit autem sermo compendiosus, ne prolixitas pariat fastidium*. “Let a sermon be abridged, lest prolixity cause distaste”.

2r12 WALTHER 28638: *Si mihi cavissem, si frena gule posuissem, / febres quartanas non revocasset anas*. “If I had feared for myself, if I had put reins on my gluttony, an old woman’s illness would not call back quartan fevers”. – Wipo, *Proverbia* (c. 1028), *TPMA* s.v. Essen 169: *Per crapulam cibi et potus perit homo totus*. “By intoxication with food and drink, the whole man perishes”.

2r13 WERNER A9: *A te quaeratur medium, nimium fugiatur*. “Seek the mean, flee excess”. – WERNER O63: *Omnibus adde modum! modus est pulcherrima virtus*. “In all things add moderation! Moderation is the most beautiful virtue”. – Bertran de Born, BdT 80,45.14: *Mas ses mesura non es res*. “But without measure there is nothing”. – Guilhem de Montanhagol, BdT 225,10.30: *Car entre-l trop e-l pauc mezura jatz*. “Between too much and too little lies measure”. – Sordel, BdT 437,26.39: *Doncs fora ops q’entre-l pauc e-l trop fos / una vertutç c’om apela mesura*. “So it would be necessary that between too little and too much there be a virtue called measure”. – Sordel, *Ensenhamen d’onor*, EDO 719: *Per qu’om deu, qui tot vol salvar, / per la meiana via annar*. “One who wishes to save everything must take the middle way”. – *Leys d’Amors* (1328-1337), ed. GATIEN-ARNOULT I, p. 136: *Si mezura vols en tot cas, / ia de leu no vendras al bas*. “If you want measure in everything, you will never lightly come out low”.

2r15-16 Salomon et Marcolfus (end s. X-s. XII), *TPMA* s.v. Freund 265: *Hosti pro modico fit amicus et hostis amico*. “For a little, a friend turns into an enemy and an enemy into a friend”. – Bertran Carbonel, BdT 82,69.4: *Als hops conoys hom tota via / son bon amic*. “In need one always recognizes one’s good friend”.

2v1 *Florileg von S. Omer* (c. 1200), *TPMA* s.v. Ander 158: *Non aliis credas plus quam tibi, ne tua ledas*. “Do not put greater trust in others than in yourself, lest you do yourself harm”.

2v2 See Marginalia. – Saxo Grammaticus (d. c. 1220), *TPMA* s.v. Sünde 68: *Quisquis enim uni se flagicio dederit, in aliud mox procliuor ruit; ita alterum alterius incitamentum est*. “Whoever commits one shameful deed soon rushes more readily into another; thus one is an incitement for the other”. – Arnold von Lüttich, *Alphabetum Narrationum* (1297-1308), *TPMA* s.v. Sünde 69: *Peccatum unum quandoque inducit in aliud*. “Sometimes one sin leads to another”.

2v5-6 Benedictus, *Regula* (after 530), *TPMA* s.v. Schaf 121: *Ne una obis moruida omnem gregem contagiet*. “Lest one infected sheep spread contagion to the whole flock”. – Ivo de Chartres (d. 1116), *TPMA* s.v. Schaf 124: *Vestrum est oves morbidas quae contagione sua plurimas perdunt, ab ovili interim remove*. “Your [task] is to

remove quickly from the flock infected sheep that kill many with their contagion”. – Raimon Feraut, *Vida de sant Honorat* (c. 1300), VSH 5160: *Caza la feda maguay-nada, / que non enferme ta maynada*. “Drive away the infected sheep so that it will not sicken your flock”.

2v7 WERNER A65: *Altera mens asini; mens altera qui regit illum*. “The ass’s mind is one thing, the mind that drives it another”.

2v8 J. MORAWSKI, *Proverbes français antérieurs au XVe siècle*, Paris 1925, n. 950: *Il se sont maint ome, qui lour preste si lour done*. “There are many men to whom, if you make a loan, you make a gift”.

2v9 = WALTHER 18124, WERNER N215.

2v12 = WALTHER 33774.

2v13 Seneca, *Epistulae Morales* 28.9: «*Initium est salutis notitia peccati*.» *Egrege mihi hoc dixisse videtur Epicurus, nam qui peccare se nescit, corrigi non vult*. “«Awareness of sin is the beginning of salvation.» Epicurus told me this excellently, as it seems to me, for he who does not know that he sins does not want to be corrected”.

2v15 WALTHER 13548: *Laude manet dignus, qui nititur esse benignus*. “He remains worthy of praise who strives to be kind”.

2v16 Ecclesiasticus 1:14: *Dilectio Dei honorabilis sapientia*. “The love of God is honorable wisdom”. – WALTHER 7879: *Est sapiens multum, qui amat Dei cultum*. “He is very wise who loves the worship of God”. – *Leys d’Amors* (1328-1337), ed. GATIEN-ARNOULT III, p. 274: *Comensamen de tot sen es / qu’ames Dieus sobre tota res*. “The beginning of all wisdom is to love God above all things”.

2v17 WALTHER 5926: *Discere, querere, sepe revolvere sit tibi cura! / Hec tria discipulum faciunt superare magistrum*. “Take care to learn, to seek, and often to reflect. These three things make the student surpass the teacher”. – Cf. 3v17-18.

3r1 WERNER F34: *Fervida vicino flamma nocere solet*. “A hot flame often harms one who is nearby”. – Elias Cairel, BdT 133,9.32: *Mas, maintas vetz, qui-s cuja calfar, s’art*. “But many times he who means to warm himself is burned”. – Peire Cardenal, BdT 335,11.5: *Tals se cuida calfar que s’art*. “Some mean to warm themselves who are burned”. Recurs verbatim in Matfre Ermengaud, *Breviari d’Amor*, BRV 34330, 34509; Arnaut de Mareuil, *Salut*, SAM4 141; Amanieu de Sescas, *Salut*, SAS2 021; Falquet de Romans, *Salut*, SFR 164.

3r3 Publilius Syrus, *Sententiae*: *Multos timere debet quem multi timent*. “He whom many fear must fear many”. – *Roman de Jaufre*, JAU 1063-64: *Car zo dizon nostr’ ancessor / que tal menasa, c’a paor*. “As our ancestors say, some who threaten are afraid”.

3r4 WALTHER 21856: *Penas sepe luit, quas homo non meruit*. “A man often pays penalties that he has not deserved”.



3r5 Bertran de Born, BdT 80,18.23: *Mas ges non ditz vertat aicel que men*. “He who lies scarcely tells the truth”.

3r5-6 WALTHER 14639: *Mendaces faciunt, ne credam [credas WERNER M22] vera loquenti, / Et multis iustis perfidus unus obest*. “Liars prevent me (you WERNER) from believing one who speaks truth, and one faithless man is an obstacle to many just ones”.

3r8 WALTHER 6576: *Dum locus igne caret, iam fumus non ibi paret; / Cum procul ignis abest, non prope fumus adest*. “When a place lacks fire, smoke does not appear there; when fire is far away, smoke is not near” (cf. WALTHER 4216, 4344). – Bertran Carbonel, BdT 82,38.7: *Que hom dis per tot lo mon / que-l fuocx no-s fay tan preon / que-l fums no n’an fortz; per que / deu hom ponhar de far be*. “For they say everywhere that fire cannot be so deep that smoke won’t go out, and that is why a man should strive to do good”.

3r10 WALTHER 8638: *Fac bona, queque potes, modico dum tempore vivis!* “Do good deeds, whatever you can, in the short time when you live!”.

3r12-13 = WALTHER 21617 (*Cum sint*), 25220 (*Qui sunt*).

3r14 WALTHER 31017: *Tam pede capra ferit, quod mala strata gerit*. “A nanny-goat strikes with her foot until she has poor bed-coverings”. – Iacobus Vitriacensis, *Sermones Feriales* (1229-1240), TPMA s.v. Ziege 2: *Tantum scalpit capra, quod male iacet in terra nuda*. “A nanny-goat digs until she lies miserably on the bare ground”. – Raimon Feraut, *Vida de Sant Honorat*, VSH 5811: *Tant grata li cabra tro pogna que mal jay*. “The nanny-goat scratches until she manages to lie miserably”. – *Livre de Sydrac*, RAYNOUARD II, p. 282a<sup>115</sup>: *Tan grata cabra truey que mal jatz*. “Tant gratte la chèvre jusqu’à ce qu’elle gât mal”.

3r15 Arnaut Catalan, BdT 27,6.19: *Mas homs folls leu no-s chastia / tro q’a pres dan angoussos*. “But a foolish man is not chastised until he has taken painful grief”. – Bernart de Ventadorn, BdT 70,30.21: *Fols no tem, tro que pren*. “A fool does not fear until he gets it”. – Dalfinet, BdT 120,1.19: *Fols non tem, tro q’es chastiatz*. “A fool does not fear until he is chastised”. – Rambertino Buvaletti, BdT 281,5.26: *Qar trop foleia / qui sec son dan*. “He is very foolish who seeks his own harm”. – Uc Brunenc, BdT 450,3.5: *Car de foudat ven dans totas sazoz*. “For from folly always comes harm”. – Anonymous, BdT 461,86.7: *E qui fa fol privat de se, / mais ama penre mal que be*. “And he who makes a lonely fool of himself prefers to get bad than good”.

3r16 WALTHER 6278: *Donec fracta cadit, ad lymphas (fontes WERNER D142) amphora vadit*. “A jar goes to the water (fountain WERNER) until it falls and breaks”. – Bertran Carbonel, BdT 82,29.8: *La jens laigua / ditz: Tant vai lo dorcx a l’aigua, / tro que l’ansa lay rema*. “Lay people say, «The pitcher goes to the water until the han-

<sup>115</sup> F.-J.-M. RAYNOUARD, *Lexique roman*, 6 vols., Paris 1844 (henceforth RAYNOUARD).

dle stays there»". – *Vices et Vertus*, RAYNOUARD III, p. 73b: *Proverbis es comus que tant vay lo dorc a l'ayga tro que se trenca*. "It is a common proverb that the pitcher goes to the water until it breaks".

3r18 Cato Novus (end s. XII-beg. s. XIII), *TPMA* s.v. Schlafen 84: *Ne (Non WERNER N257) timeas uane de somno surgere mane: / longa quies somni uitio fit fomes in omni*. "Do not fear in vain to arise early from sleep; a long rest of sleep becomes tinder for vice in everyone".

3r21 WALTHER 1631: *Astuti sensus ubi regnant murilegorum, / Confestim pereunt illic consortia murum*. "Where the clever senses of mousers rule, crowds of mice speedily perish".

3r22 WALTHER 26253: *Rapto quadrupede sero sera ponatur (paratur WERNER R2) in ede*. "When the horse is stolen, too late a lock is put on the house". – Philip the Chancellor (d. 1236), *TPMA* s.v. Schliessen 13: *Clauduntur post perditum / equum sero januae*. "After the horse is lost, the doors are closed too late". – *Chanson de la croisade albigeoise*, CCA 67 014: *Mas com ditz lo proverbis, tart se son perseu / qu'els an claus lor estable e-l cavals son perdu*. "But as the proverb says, too late they realized that they had closed the stable, and the horses were lost".

3v1 WALTHER 32618: *Ut ver dat florem, flos fructus, fructus odorem, / Sic studium mores, mos censum, census honores*. "As spring gives the flower, the flower fruit, fruit its smell, so study gives character, character wealth, wealth honors".

3v2 Otloh v. St. Emmeram, *Proverbia* (c. 1065), *TPMA* s.v. Narr 720: *Amicus stultorum efficietur similis*. "The friend of fools will become like them". – *Proverbes des sages*, *TPMA* s.v. Narr 721: *Qui stultis se associat, / hinc habet ut stultus fiat*. "He who associates with fools gets to become a fool". – *Dits des philosophes*, DDP 007: *E qui d'amor ab fol s'asambla / el cove que fol resambla*. "And he who joins company with a fool must come to resemble a fool".

3v2-3 See Marginalia. – *Dits des Philosophes*, DDP 005: *Qui a compagnie savia s'atent / per raison savi en devien. / E qui d'amor a fol s'asambla / el cove que fol resambla*. "He who attends to wise companions becomes wise for good reason, and he who joins a fool in love must come to resemble a fool". – *Libre de Seneca*, LSA1 99: *Si segues le fol, fols seras / e savis si am savi vas*. "If you follow the fool you will be a fool, and wise, if you go with a wise man". – Guillem de Cervera, *Versos proverbials*, PRO 453: *Qui savis vol usar / savis covén que sia; / qui ab foyls vol anar / apendrà de foillia*. "He who wants to keep company with the wise must be wise himself; he who wants to go with fools will learn folly".

3v4 WALTHER 23756: *Quem non prospiciet sol, non per eum calefiet*. "He on whom the sun will not shine will not be warmed by it". – *Florileg von S. Omer* (c. 1200), *TPMA* s.v. Sonne 142: *Quod non prospiciet sol, illud non calefiet*. "What the sun does not look upon, it will not warm". – *Proverbia rustici* (beg. s. XIII), *TPMA* s.v. Sonne 143: *Quod non prospitiet sol, non illud calefiet*.

3v5 Ovid, *Remedia Amoris* 503: *Intrat amor mentes usu, dediscitur usu*. “Love enters minds by habit and is unlearned by habit”. – WERNER I121: *Intrat amor mentes usu, deducitur usu*. “Love enters minds by habit and is led out by habit”.

3v6 WALTHER 9324a: *Fer mala cum pausa: nemo patitur sine causa*. “Bear ills with a pause; no one suffers without cause”.

3v7 Publilius Syrus, *Sententiae: Cuius dolori remedium est patientia*. “Endurance is the cure for any pain”. – Pseudo-Seneca, *Monita* (before 567), *TPMA* s.v. Dulden 209: *Dolor patientia vincitur*. “Grief is overcome by patience”. – WALTHER 15480: *Multi sunt, ira quando sua corda gravantur, / Qui mox conantur, ut pessima quae loquantur*. “There are many who, when their hearts are weighed down by wrath, soon try to say terrible things”. – WERNER N82: *Nobile vincendi genus est: «patientia vincit»*. “A noble way of conquering is: «Patience conquers»”. – Folquet de Marseille, BdT 155,23.59: *Car merces e loncs sofrirs venz / lai on no val forsa ni genz*. “Mercy and long patience conquer when strength and cleverness are of no help”. – Gaucelm Faidit, BdT 167,44.16: *Ab soffrir venz hom tot dia*. “With patience one always wins”. – Guilhem de la Tor, BdT 236,3a.44: *Car, en sufren, / venz hom la gen*. “With patience one wins people over”. – Giraut de Borneil, BdT 242,3.34: *Que totztems bos sofrire vens!* “Good patience always wins!” – Jaufre Rudel, BdT 262,1.14: *Eras sai ben az escien / que sol es savis qui aten, / e selh es fols qui trop s’irais*. “Now I know for sure that only he is wise who waits, and he is a fool who becomes too angry”. – Pons de Chapteuil, BdT 375,26.53: *Que bos sufrire / conquer sufren*. “One who suffers well conquers by enduring”. – Guillem de Cervera, *Versos proverbials*, PRO 143: *Passiencia venç*. “Patience wins”. – Cf. 3v22.

3v8 WALTHER 25991: *Quod puer addiscit, senex deserere nescit*. “What a boy learns, an old man cannot give up”. – WERNER Q214: *Quod puer addiscit, assuescat dum iuvenis sit! / Inveterata sapit, quod nova testa capit*. “What a boy learns, let him be accustomed to while he is young! An old cup smells of what it held when new”. – WERNER Q215: *Quod puer assuescit, leviter dimittere nescit*. “What a boy becomes accustomed to, he cannot easily put off”. – WERNER Q230: *Quos pueri mores didicere, tenent seniores*. “Old men keep the ways they learned as boys”.

3v9 Guiraut Riquier, BdT 248,45.58: *De far l’obra son trop li dictador / de drechura e pauc li fazedor*. “Too many give lawful orders to do the work, and too few do it”.

3v11 WALTHER 25933: *Quod non Martinus, comedit suus hic peregrinus*. “What Martin does not eat, this his pilgrim eats”. – WERNER H3: *Haec non Martino, sed conveniunt peregrino*. “These things do not suit Martin, but the pilgrim”. – WERNER Q211: *Quod non Martinus comedit, suus hoc peregrinus*. “What Martin does not eat, this his pilgrim eats”.

3v13 Cf. WERNER I63: *In quo nascetur asinus corio, morietur*. “An ass will die in the skin he was born in”.

3v14 WERNER M64: *Multi prudentes vivunt velut insipientes*. “Many prudent men live as fools”. – Albertet, BdT 16,15a.48: *Qe ben savis hom foleia*. “A quite wise man acts foolish”. – Pistoleta, BdT 372,5.27: *E tals es savis apellatz / que fay e ditz de grans foudatz*. “Such a man is called wise who does and says great follies”.

3v15 WALTHER 24075: *Qui fari nescit, taceat, dum mens sua crescit*. “Let him who does not know how to speak be silent while his mind grows”. – Guillem de Cervera, *Versos proverbials*, PRO 1499: *Per savì ès tenguts / le foyls, ca va caylan: / molt es nobla virtus / can hom va cor sobran*. “A wise man is considered the fool, when he is silent: it is a very noble virtue when one controls his heart”.

3v17-18 = WALTHER 27263, WERNER S22; cf. WALTHER 5926, 15421.

3v19 Ovid, *Tristia* 2.266: *Nil prodest, quod non laedere possit idem*. “Nothing is useful that cannot also be injurious”. – Folquet de Marseille, BdT 155,3.17: *Tot so que val pot nozer atressi*. “All that helps can also hurt”.

3v20 = WALTHER 21158. – Matthew 7:15: *Attendite a falsis prophetis, qui veniunt ad vos in vestimentis ovium, intrinsecus autem sunt lupi rapaces*. “Beware of false prophets, who come to you in the clothing of sheep, but inwardly are ravening wolves”. – Guilhem Figueira, BdT 217,2.157: *Car’ avetz d’anhel ab simpla gardadura / dedins lops rabatz*. “You have the face of a lamb with a simple look, inside a ravening wolf”. – Peire Cardenal, BdT 335,31.5: *E-m pren a sovenir / que n’Ezengris, un dia, / volc ad un parc venir: / mas pels cas que temia, / pel de mouton vestic*. “I remember that one day Isengrin wanted to get into a sheepfold, but because he was afraid of the dogs he put on a sheepskin”. – *Libre de Seneca*, LSA2 820: *Es lop e sembla ovelha*. “He is a wolf, but he looks like a lamb”.

3v21 WERNER F4: *Fallentem vultum, fulgentem despice cultum!* “Despise a deceiving face, a shining adornment”. – Guilhem de Montanhagol, BdT 225,14.30: *Soven, sotz belh parven / se rescon gran falsia*. “Often beneath a fair appearance hides great falsehood”.

3v22-23 See Marginalia. – WALTHER 31675: *Tu motum mentis comprime, iram mitigando, / Vanaque colloquia sollicite vitando*. “Hold back the impulse of your mind by softening wrath, carefully avoiding vain conversations”. – *Libre de Seneca*, LSA1 233: *Paraula dousa fa amic / et assuauia enemig*. “A gentle word makes a friend and soothes an enemy”. – Cf. 4r11.

4r3 See Marginalia. – WALTHER 17721: *Non est thesaurus melior quam fidus amicus*. “There is no treasure better than a faithful friend”. – WALTHER 34725: *Amicus fidus amico*. “A friend [is] faithful to a friend”.

4r6 Sapientia 11:21: *Sed omnia in mensura, et numero, et pondere disposuisti*. “But thou hast ordered all things in measure, and number, and weight”. – *Vita Mariae* (c. 1st half s. XIII), *TPMA* s.v. Mass (Masseinheit) 6: *Certis sub ordinibus cuncta depu-*

*tasti, / in mensura numero vel pondere locasti.* “You have set all things according to certain orders; you have placed them in measure, number, and weight”.

4r8 WALTHER 20953b: *Paupere ditato gravius nihil esse putato! / Paupere nil peius, dum sors res ampliat eius.* “Think nothing is more disagreeable than a pauper grown rich! Nothing is worse than a pauper when fate favors his affairs”. – WERNER P26: *Paupere ditato nihil acius esse putato!* “Think nothing is more severe than a pauper grown rich!”.

4r9 WALTHER 16898: *Nil valet illa domus, quam vir regit impietatis.* “The home is worth nothing that a man of impiety rules”. – WALTHER 21262: *Per te domus propria provide regatur, / Alieno domino sua relinquatur.* “Let your home be ruled wisely by you; let his be left to another master”. – Hervieux, *Fabulistes latins*, TPMA s.v. Herr 30: *Melius esse habere unum dominum quam plures.* “It is better to have one lord than many”.

4r10 WERNER G25: *Gratia debetur pro munere, si cito detur; / Si tarde detur, minus; ingratum retinetur.* “Thanks are owed in exchange for a gift, if it is given quickly; if it is given slowly, less so; if it is kept, it is not pleasing”.

4r11 Proverbs 15:1: *Responsio mollis frangit iram.* “A mild answer breaketh wrath”. – WERNER F69: *Frangitur ira grauis, ubi fit responsio suavis.* “Heavy wrath is broken when a soft answer is made”. – Cf. 3v22.

4r12 Cf. 1r8.

4r13 WALTHER 3271: *Consumptum redit in nihilum rubigine ferrum.* “Iron consumed by rust returns to nothing”. – Egbertus von Lüttich, *Fecunda Ratis* (1022-1024), TPMA s.v. Rost 6: *Sepe leo fortis muscarum sumitur escis, / consumptum redit in nihilum rubigine ferrum.* “Often a mighty lion is taken as food of flies; iron, eaten by rust, returns to nothing”. – Gualterus de Castellione, *Alexandreis* (c. 1182), TPMA s.v. Rost 7: *Ferrum cuncta domans atque omni durius aere / consumit rubigo vorax.* “Voracious rust consumes iron, which conquers all things and is harder than any brass”.

4r15 WERNER P145: *Prudens dicetur, bene vivere qui potietur.* “He will be called prudent who masters living well”.

4r18-19 *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 4.28.39: *Esse oportet ut vivas, non vivere ut edas.* “You must eat to live, not live to eat”. – Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria* 9.3.85: *Non ut edam vivo, sed ut vivam edo.* “I do not live to eat, but eat to live”. – Guillem de Cervera, *Versos proverbiais*, PRO 4091: *Manjar deu desirar / hom, per tal c’aja vida, / no viure per manjar / voler, qu’és vid’ aunida.* “A man should desire to eat in order to have life, not desire to live to eat, for that is a shameful life”. – *Leys d’Amors* (1328-1337), ed. GATIEN-ARNOULT III, p. 344: *Manja per ton cors ajudar, / no vivas per voler manjar.* “Eat to support your body; do not live to want to eat”.

4r19 WERNER H25: *Histrion post victum, nummum quaerens vel amictum, / non est delictum, si quis sibi porrigat ictum*. “If, after eating, a minstrel asks for coin or clothing, it is not a crime if someone gives him a blow”.

4r22 WERNER E22: *Esse suos fratres homines latro iudicat omnes*. “A thief judges all men to be his brothers”. – Bernart de Ventadorn, BdT 70,29.31: *Mas ben es vertatz que laire / cuida, tuich sion sei fraire!* “But it is very true that a thief thinks all men are his brothers”. – *Libre de Seneca*, LSA1 685: *Hom que no ha leutat el cor / cuya tuht sian d’aquel for*. “A man who does not have loyalty in his heart thinks everyone is of that kind”.

4r24 WALTHER 198: *Absque labore gravi non puto magna dari*. “Without labor, I do not think great things are given”. – WERNER A19: *Absque labore gravi non possunt magna parari*. “Without great labor, great things cannot be accomplished”. – Pistoleta, BdT 372,2.3: *Qu’anc ses afan ric gazanh no vi faire*. “Never have I seen great gain made without toil”.

4v2 WERNER O38: *Omne, quod est rarum, dicunt homines fore carum*. “Men say everything that is rare is dear”. – *Doctrine des Vaudois*, Raynouard V, p. 44a: *Plus rars, plus precios*. “More rare, more precious”.

4v3 See Marginalia.

4v4-5 WALTHER 3960: *Cuius criminibus cito credis, non es amicus; / Ultimus hinc proprie scit mala quisque domus*. “You are not a friend of one whose crimes you quickly believe; hence properly each one of the home is last to know bad things”. – WALTHER 34725: *Amicus fidus amico*. “A friend [is] faithful to a friend”. – *Libre de Seneca*, LSA1 707: *A far amic fay lonc demor / mas pueis l’ama de tot ton cor*. “Take a long time to make a friend, but then love him with all your heart”.

4v7-8 Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 7.20: *Video meliora proboque, / deteriora sequor*. “I see the better and approve it, but I follow the worse”. – WERNER D75: *Deteriora sequor, video meliora proboque*. – WERNER E17: *Errat homo vere, qui cum bona posset habere, / sponte subit poenas infernalesque catenas*. “A man truly errs, who, though he could have good, willingly suffers pains and infernal chains”. – Pons de Chapteuil, Bd 375,2.32: *Dunc ben es folz, qui-l ben ve e-l mal pren*. “So he is surely a fool who sees the good and takes the bad”. – Peire Cardenal, BdT 335,49.17: *Malditz es homs que-l ben ve e-l mal pren*. “A man is cursed who sees the good and takes the bad”.

4v9 WERNER N221: *Non operando peris; res age! Tutus eris*. “By not acting you perish: do something! You will be safe”.

4v10 = WALTHER 24999: *Qui venit extremus, iratum sepe videmus*. – WERNER H45: *Hospitii seri cito dat iactura doleri*. “The waste of coming late to an inn soon gives reason to grieve”.

4v14 = WALTHER 5306, WERNER D65. – Matthew 6:24: *Nemo potest duobus dominis servire*. “No one can serve two lords”. – Luke 16:13: *Nemo servus potest duo-*



*bus dominis servire*. “No servant can serve two lords”. – WERNER N34: *Nemo potest digne dominis servire duobus*. “No one can worthily serve two lords”. – WALTHER 8388: *Excidit ambobus, qui vult servire duobus*. “He fails both who tries to serve two”. – WALTHER 34094: *Vix placet ambobus, qui vult servire duobus*. “He scarcely pleases both, who tries to serve two”. – Peire Milon, BdT 349,1.1: *Aisi m’aven com cel qui segnor dos / serv per tosttenps ni no n’a ghierdos*. “It befalls to me as to one who serves two lords always, but gets no reward”. – Pujol, BdT 386 002 018: *Quar hom non pot ben servir dos senhors*. “For a man cannot serve two lords well”.

4v15 *Dits des Philosophes*, DDP 069: *Sage felon deu hom cremir / e al fol felon deu hom fugir; / e sage debonaire amar / e [fol TPMA s.v. Schlecht 271] debonaire deportar*. “One must fear a wicked, clever man, and flee the wicked foolish man, and love the good, clever one, and indulge the good, [foolish] one”. – *Leys d’Amors* (1328-1337), ed. GATIEN-ARNOULT III, p. 278: *D’avolas gens sias privatx, / si no vols esser diffamatx*. “Keep your distance from wicked people, if you don’t want to be defamed”.

4v18 Lucan, *Bellum civile* 1.281: *Tolle moras: semper nocuit differre paratis*. “Avoid delay; it has always been harmful to defer things that were ready”. – WERNER R61: *Res, quae differtur, auferri saepe videtur*. “A thing that is put off often turns out to be lost”. – *Flamenca*, FLA 5001: *Alonguis fa man destorbier*. “Delay creates many an obstacle”.

4v19 WERNER D105: *Discat servire, qui quaerit ad alta venire!* “Let him learn to serve, who seeks to rise to heights!” – Folquet de Marseille, BdT 155,23.59: *Car merces e loncs sofrirs venz / lai on no val forsa ni genz*. “For mercy and long patience overcome where force and cleverness fail”.

4v21 Horace, *Epistles* 1.18.84: *Nam tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet*. “It is your business when your neighbor’s wall catches fire”. – Egbertus von Lüttich, *Fecunda Ratis* (1022-1024), *TPMA* s.v. Brennen 8: *Dum flagrat uicina domus, ibi proximat ad te*. “When your neighbor’s house burns, it is close to you”. – Guillem de Cervera, *Versos proverbiales*, PRO 517: *No cants quan foc s’encenya / al alberch del vestí; / garda qu’e-l tieu no-s prenha! / e si pots, tost l’auct*. “Do not sing when fire catches in the home of your neighbor; see that yours doesn’t take fire, and if you can, quickly put it out”.

4v23 WALTHER 13263: *Jus superat venia, parcere docta quia*. “A boon surpasses law because it has learned to pardon”.

4v24 = WALTHER 2980.

4v25 WERNER L64: *Ludere si cupias, aequos socios tibi quaeras!* “If you want to gamble, seek like-minded friends”. – Bebel, *Proverbia Germanica* (1508), *TPMA* s.v. Spiel 196: *Lusor est: aut dives, aut multum laborans, aut fur*. “He is a gambler: either rich or hard-working or a thief”.



5r1-2 *Libre de Seneca*, LSA1 909: *Qui de totz ses tortz quer venjansa / can cuya pujar desbalansa*. “He who seeks vengeance for all his wrongs, when he thinks he rises, loses his balance”. – *Leys d’Amors* (1328-1337), ed. GATIEN-ARNOULT I, p. 318: *Veniar del tot sas afn[ti]as e sos dans, / dir mal d’autru am ver o fals lengatge, / fan creysher mals, discordios, e afans, / e d’amistat rompo lo pariatge*. “To take vengeance for one’s shames and losses, to speak evil of another in language true or false, add to evil, discord, and strife, and break the company of friendship”.

5r3 See Marginalia. – WALTHER 32325: *Ut calidam picem sic exhorre meretricem / Et quasi ranarum reputabis fedus earum!* “Abhor the prostitute like hot pitch, and you will think their filth like that of toads”. – *Traduction de Bède*, RAYNOUARD V, p. 367b: *Qui toca la pez s’en entacha*. “He who touches pitch gets dirty”. – Guillem de Cervera, *Versos proverbiales*, PRO 1979: *Si pega calda prens / senyal te-n portaràs: / s’ab orgoylós aprens / supèrbia-t vistràs*. “If you catch hot pitch / you will carry its trace: / if you learn from the proud, you will dress in pride”. – Matfre Ermengaud, *Breviari d’Amor*, BRV 27399: *Qu’om laugieiramen ses laizar / pega cauda no pot tocar*. “For one cannot lightly touch hot pitch without being dirtied”.

5r4 WALTHER 21233: *Per pravum socium vir venit in vitium*. “Through a depraved friend a man comes to vice”. – WERNER E136: *Ex vili socio fit vitiosus homo*. “Because of a vile friend a man becomes vicious”.

5r5 WERNER D164: *Dum cor mitescit domini, servile pigrescit*. “When the lord’s heart softens, the servant’s grows lazy”. – WERNER M26: *Mens pigra servilis, cum mens manusuescit erilis*. “The mind of a servant is lazy when the mind of his lord grows gentle”. – WERNER M35: *Mitis praelatus facit ignavos famulatus*. “A mild lord makes lazy servants”.

5r6 = WERNER Q71: *Qui cito dat, bis dat; nescit dare, qui dare tardat; / Qui cito dat, gratum bis facit esse datum*. “He who gives quickly gives twice; he knows not how to give, who delays to give; he who gives quickly makes the gift twice pleasing”. – WALTHER 23943: *Qui cito dat, bis dat; qui differt munera, nil dat; / Qui cito donavit, munera bina dedit*. “He who gives quickly gives twice; he who delays gifts gives nothing; he who gave quickly gave double gifts”. – WALTHER 33767: *Vis dare, da subito! Dandi modus iste perito; / Res perit invito, qui dedit absque cito*. “You want to give, give at once! That is the way of giving for the wise man; the affair dies for the unwilling one who gave without haste”. – Gausbert de Pui-cibot, BdT 173,3.44: *Bella dompna, ben sapchatz / que mil tans valria / us dos que hom fort volria / s’era tost donatz, / que qui trop lo tardaria; / car cel qui dona viatz / fai sos gratz meillors*. “Fair Lady, know well that a gift that a man wanted badly would be worth a thousand times as much if it were given quickly than if one delayed it too long; for he who gives quickly makes his thanks better”. – Giraut de Borneil, BdT 242,52.49: *Qan lo dos es trop tarzaz, / perd s’en lo dos e-l graz*. “When the gift is too much delayed, the sweetness and pleasure are lost”. – Lan-franc Cigala, BdT 282,23.35: *Car perdutoz es lo dos qu’es trop tarzatz*. “Lost is the

gift that is too long delayed”. – *Flamenca*, FLA 1659: *E qui trop fai son don attendre / non sap donar e deina vendre, / e si dos promes es tost datz / si meseis dobla e sos gratz*. “And he who makes someone wait too long for his gift does not know how to give but deigns to sell, and if a promised gift is given quickly it doubles itself and its pleasure”.

5r7 WERNER Q83: *Qui maiora cupit, saepe minora capit*. “He who desires bigger things often gets smaller ones”. – Folquet de Romans, BdT 156,6.30: *Qui tot vol tenir, tot pert*. “He who tries to grasp everything loses it all”.

5r8 WERNER S196: *Stultus stultitiam semper putat esse sophiam*. “A fool always thinks his folly is wisdom”. – Bernart de Ventadorn, BdT 70,43.9: *Ai, las! tan cuidava saber / d’amor, e tan petit en sai*. “Alas, I thought I knew so much of love, and I know so little!”

5r10 See Marginalia. – WALTHER 24353: *Qui nimis emungit, cito provocat ille cruorem*. “He who sneezes too much often brings up blood”. – WERNER Q102: *Qui nimis emungit, cito provocat ille cruorem. / Immoderata facit correctio deteriore*. “He who sneezes too much often brings up blood; immoderate correction makes one worse”. – WALTHER 24353a: *Qui nimis emungit, fundit pro lacte cruorem*. “He who sneezes too much pours out blood instead of mucus”.

5r11 See Marginalia.

5r12 Proverbs 10:19: *In multiloquio non deerit peccatum*. “In the multitude of words there shall not want sin”. – *Disticha Catonis* 2.16: *Nec te conlaudes nec te culparis ipse: / hoc faciunt stulti, quos gloria vexat inanis*. “Neither praise nor blame yourself: fools do this, whom empty glory troubles”. – WALTHER 24370: *Qui nimium loquitur, raro discretus habetur*. “He who talks too much is rarely considered discreet”. – WERNER P37: *Peccatum cumulant, qui plurima verba redundant*. “They pile up sin who overflow with many words”. – Guilhem de l’Olivier, BdT 246,5.910: *E per sobras de parlaria / aitals homs si desment tot dia*. “And by excess of talk such a man always undoes himself”. – Guilhem de l’Olivier, BdT 246,75.1: *Trop parlar fay desmentir / si meteys mantas sazós, / so es veraya razós*. “Too much talking makes you undo yourself many times, that is a true statement”. – Peire Vidal, BdT 364,20.58: *Val mais bos esteners / que fols parlars*. “Good abstaining is worth more than foolish speech”. – Pons Fabre d’Uzes, BdT 376,1.35: *Car fols es qui vol retraire / so que sap e fai a selar, / e fols qui vol dir totz sos vers*. “For he is a fool who wants to tell what he knows and should be hidden, and a fool who wants to tell all his truths”. – Raimbaut d’Orange, BdT 389,18.54: *Que trop parlars / fai piegz que pechatz criminaus*. “Talking too much is worse than mortal sin”. – Fierabras, FIE 2100: *E val may bon calar que no fay fol parlar*. “And good silence is worth more than foolish speech”. – Guillem de Cervera, *Versos proverbials*, PRO 1211: *Axí con trop parlars / a mants parladors nòts, / sí-s fay sovèn caylars; / e massa calfar, còts*. “Just as too much talk harms many talkers, so often does not talking; and too much heating burns”.

5r13 WALTHER 24348: *Qui nimis accelerant, obstacula talibus obstant*. “Those who go too fast run into obstacles”. – WERNER R50: *Res est damnosa, quae fit nimis impetuosa*. “It is a harmful business that is done too impetuously”. – Pistoleta, BdT 372,4.8: *Qui-s cuicha pert, e consec qui aten*. “He who hastens loses, and he who waits succeeds”. – *Libre de Seneca*, LSA1 145: *Qui-s cocha fort leu si degola / e fol-dat so sen hor afola*. “He who hastens easily falls, and folly therefore destroys his wit”. – Guillem de Cervera, *Versos proverbials*, PRO 357: *Mantes vets pus se tarda / qui-s cuyda cutxar may, / e qui enan no guarda / sovên anreyra cay*. “Often he goes slower who means to hasten more, and he who does not look forward often falls back”.

5r14 WERNER A155: *Autumat hoc in me, quod novit perfidus in se*. “The wicked man suspects in me what he knows in himself”.

5r17 Bernart Tot-lo-Mon, BdT 69,2.30: *E ben auretz, si ben sercatz*. “You will have good, if you seek good”. – Matfre Ermengaud, *Breviari d’amor*, BRV 29273: *Don, si ben queretz, trobaretz*. “So if you seek good, you will find [it]”.

5r19 Bertran d’Alamanon, BdT 76,5.1: *La sal an mes a tan gran for / per q’eu tem fort e tem ancor / qe-l proverbis q’es tan diz torn en mal: / Condugz ab carn totz es per-dutz per sal*. “They put on so much salt that I feared, and still fear, that the proverb repeated so much may turn bad: «A dish with meat is ruined by salt»”.

5r20 See Marginalia.

5r21 See Marginalia. – *Disticha Catonis* 2.2: *Mitte arcana dei caelumque inquire-re quid sit, / an di sint caelumque regant, ne quaere doceri; / cum sis mortalis quae sunt mortalia cura*. “Put off asking about the secrets of God and what heaven is; do not ask to be taught whether gods exist and rule heaven; since you are mortal, take care for mortal things”. – *Disticha Catonis* 2.12: *Quid deus intendat, noli perquirere sorte: / quid statuat de te, sine te deliberat ille*. “Do not ask fate what God intends: without you he deliberates what to decide about you”. – WALTHER 3108: *Connec-tit paleas, nodum vestigat in ulva, / Qui secreta Dei cuncta scienda putat*. “He ties straws, traces a knot in sedge, who thinks all the secrets of God are to be known”. – *Libre de Seneca*, LSA1 483: *Greu es, qui trop vol enquerre / l’afar de Dieu, que non y erre*. “If one asks too much about God’s business, it is hard not to go astray”. – Guillem de Cervera, *Versos proverbials*, PRO 4303: *No voylas enquerir / secrets ce-lestials: / membre-t qu’as a morir / e pensa dels mortals*. “Do not seek to investigate heaven’s secrets: remember you must die, and think of mortal ones”.

5r22 WERNER E108: *Est verum verbum: frangit deus omne superbum*. “It is a true saying: «God destroys every proud man»”.

5r23 WALTHER 24357: *Qui nimis est humilis, hic pro stulto reputatur*. “He who is too humble is considered a fool”. – *Facetus* (s. XII), *TPMA* s.v. Demut 186: *Qui ni-mis est humilis, hic vacuus esse putatur*. “He who is too humble is considered worthless”.

5r24 = WALTHER 11295. – See Marginalia. – *Facetus* (s. XII), *TPMA* s.v. Lachen 110: *Risus in ore tuo pius et rarus videatur; / per crebros risus levitas in corde notatur*. “Show laughter on your face piously and rarely; frequent laughter shows levity at heart”. – *Libre de Seneca*, LSA1 339; *Leys d’Amors* (1328-1337), ed. GATIEN-ARNOULT III, p. 276: *Savis hom ri pauc e suau, / e-l fols ri tot iorn e s’esgau*. “A wise man laughs little and low, and the fool laughs all day and rejoices”.

5v1 Ecclesiastes 10:14: *Stultus verba multiplicat*. “A fool multiplies words”. – WERNER I101: *Insipiens fatur, quidquid subito meditatur*. “A fool says whatever he thinks at the moment”. – WERNER I101: *Insipiens uno sua profert cuncta momento*. “A fool tells all his thoughts in one moment”. – Bertran Carbonel, BdT 82,1.20: *Car gran foldat / fai sel que sec sa fola voluntat*. “For he commits great folly who follows his foolish will”. – Pons Fabre d’Uzes, BdT 376,1.40: *E fols qui sec totz sos volers*. “And [he is] a fool who follows his every whim”.

5v3 Ecclesiasticus 9:14: *Ne derelinquas amicum antiquum; novus enim non erit similis illi*. “Do not give up an old friend; a new one will not be like him”. – WALTHER 15994: *Ne derelinquas amicum, quem habuisti antiquum! / Novus non erit similis, quod erit mutabilis*. “Do not leave an old friend whom you have had. A new one will not be like him, because he will be changeable”.

5v5 WERNER Q117: *Qui pravo servit, pretium cum tempore perdit*. “He who serves a wicked man loses worth with time”. – WALTHER 24537a: *Qui pravo servit, nihil impetrat et sua perdit*. “He who serves a wicked man gets nothing and loses what he has”. – WALTHER 24539: *Qui pravo servit, penitus sua tempora perdit*. “He who serves a wicked man loses his time”. – WALTHER 24540: *Qui pravo servit, pretium perdit*. “He who serves a wicked man loses reputation”. – WALTHER 24541: *Qui pravo servit, pretium cum tempore perdit*. “He who serves a wicked man loses reputation along with his time”.

5v6 *Disticha Catonis* 2.3: *Linque metum leti: nam stultum est, tempore in omni / dum mortem metuas, amittere gaudia vitae*. “Give up fear of death, for it is foolish, while you fear death at all times, to put off the joys of life”. – Guilhem de la Tor, BdT 236,12.33: *Com podez dir qe deuria / vida meillz qe morz valer / a cellui qe no-s jauzis / de joi e toz temps languis?* “How can you say that life should be worth more than death for one who does not enjoy joy and always languishes?” – Lanfranc Cigala, BdT 282,9.22: *Car qui ioi ni solaz fui / a peich de mort se condui*. “For he who flees joy and pleasure behaves worse than a dead man”. – *Libre de Seneca*, LSA1 391: *Nuls plazers am ioy no-is compara: / mais val mort que vida amara*. “No pleasure compares with joy: death is worth more than a bitter life”.

5v11 *Salomon et Marcolfus* (end s. X-s. XII), *TPMA* s.v. Singen 64: *Qui male cantat, primus incipit*. “He who sings badly begins first”. – Gunther von Paris, *Ligurinus* (1186-1187), *TPMA* s.v. Singen 63: *Imo etiam mos est, ut plus cantare laborent, / qui gravius cantant*. “Nay, it is even the custom that they strive harder to sing

who sing worse”. – Bebel, *Proverbia Germanica* (1508), *TPMA* s.v. Singen 66: *Male cantantes plus cupiunt canere quam boni cantores*. “Bad singers want to sing more than good singers”.

5v12 Seneca, *De Ira* 1.20.2: *In ruinam prona sunt, quae sine fundamentis crevere*. “Things that grew up without foundation are inclined to fall”. – Caesarius of Arles (d. 543), *TPMA* s.v. Fundament 2: *Quaelibet enim fabrica quamvis sublimis et ampla sit, si firmum non habuerit fundamentum, cito delabitur in ruinam*. “Though a structure may be sublime and ample, if it did not have a firm foundation it soon falls to ruin”. – Guillem de Cervera, *Versos proverbials*, PRO 1299: *La maysos non es ferma / senes bos fundamens*. “The house is not solid without a good foundation”.

5v13 *Disticha Catonis* 2.16 = WALTHER 16264: *Nec te conlaudes nec te culpaveris ipse: / hoc faciunt stulti, quos gloria vexat inanis*. “Do not praise yourself or blame yourself; fools do this, whom empty glory vexes”. – WALTHER 24669: *Qui se collaudat, se laudis munere fraudat*. “He who praises himself robs himself of the gift of praise”. – Cato Novus (end s. XII-beg. s. XIII), *TPMA* s.v. Lob 24: *Nemo sibi culpam vel laudem conferat umquam; / convenit hoc uanis quos gloria uexat inanis*. “No one should ever give himself blame or praise, as is fitting for vain people whom empty glory vexes”. – WERNER N38: *Nemo sibi culpam nec laudem conferat umquam!* – Matfre Ermengaud, *Breviari d’amor*, BRV 30976: *Quar propriis laus es folles*. “Praise of oneself is folly”. – Raimon de Cornet, *Libret de bon ensenhamens*, DMD3 195: *De tu mezeys no digas mal ni be, / si no t’es ops, qu’om no-t blasme de re*. “Speak neither ill nor good of yourself, unless you must, so you will not be blamed for anything”.

5v14 Ovid, *Heroides* 5.7: *Leniter, ex merito quidquid patiare, ferendum est; / quae venit indigno poena, dolenda venit*. “Softly must we bear whatever suffering is our desert; the penalty that comes without deserving brings us dole”.

5v17 = WALTHER 24691 (*cadet*). – Alanus ab Insulis (d. 1202), *TPMA* s.v. Fall 179: *Tutior in terra locus est, quam turribus altis, / qui jacet in terra, non habet unde cadat*. “A safer place is on the ground than in high towers; he who lies on the ground has no place to fall from”. – Guillem de Cervera, *Versos proverbials*, PRO 209: *Can humilitats raya, / bas estan a plaser; / car non ha <hom> on caya, / per so no pot caser*. “When humility shines, he who is low has pleasure; since a man has nowhere to fall, he cannot fall”.

5v18 James 1:4: *Patientia autem opus perfectum habet, ut sitis perfecti et integri, in nullo deficientes*. “Patience hath a perfect work: that you may be perfect and entire, failing in nothing”.

5v19 WERNER I31: *Implumis casu volucer petit ima volatu*. “A bird without feathers, by a fall, seeks the depths in its flight”. – *Recueil de poésies religieuses du manuscrit de Wolfenbüttel*, PRW4 274 2506: *Ne senes vos no-m poisc plus adreçar / cum*

*l'ausel pot senes ala volar*. “And without you I cannot raise myself, as the bird cannot fly without a wing”.

5v21 WALTHER 21081: *Peccatum duplicat, qui se de crimine iactat*. “He doubles his sin who boasts of his crime”. – WERNER D192: *Dupliciter peccat, qui se de crimine iactat*. “He sins doubly who boasts of his crime”. – Raimon de Cornet, *Libret de bon enshamens*, DMD3 197: *De ton pecat no·t vuelhas gloriar, / ni del befag penedre ni lauzar*. “Do not glory in your sin, nor repent or praise your good deed”.

5v22-23 Plautus, *Trinummus* 321: *Qui ipsus sibi satis placet, nec probus est nec frugi bonae*. “He who pleases himself greatly is not righteous or able”. – WERNER N229: *Non placet ille mihi, quisquis placuit sibi multum*. “Whoever pleases himself greatly does not please me”.

5v24 Cassianus, *Conlationes* (426-429), 6.15: *Amissum ac praeteritum tempus ulterius revocari non potest*. “Time past and lost can no longer be called back”. – Bertran Carbonel, BdT 82,73.5: *Car qui no fai can far poiria, / non o fara cant far volria*. “For he who does not act when he could will not act when he would”. – *Flamenca*, FLA 5239: *Car qui non fai can far poiria / ja non fara quan far volria*. “For he who does not act when he could will not act when he would”. – *Les sept joies de la Vierge*, JDV3 322: *Car nos trobam en l'Escriptura / que, qui no fa be cantz poyria, / nom potz far can el ce volria*. “For we find in scripture that he who does not act when he could cannot act when he would”. – *Libre de Seneca*, LSA1 603: *Qui pert son temps de son pro far, / ges can si vol no·l pot cobrar*. “He who wastes his opportunity to do his good cannot get it back when he wants”. – *Libre de Seneca*, LSA2463: *Cascun ha temps de son pro far / e si·l pert no·l pot pueihs cobrar*. “Each one has time to do his good, and if he wastes it he cannot get it back”. – Guillem de Cervera, *Versos proverbiais*, PRO 863: *Perdimens de temps es / dura e stranya causa, / car temps val mays que res*. “Loss of time is a hard and strange thing, for time is worth more than anything”. – *Leys d'Amors* (1328-1337), ed. GATIEN-ARNOULT III, p. 278: *Qui no fay can poyria / can far vol se fadia*. “He who does not act when he could, when he wants to act, hopes in vain”.

5v25 Ovid, *Heroides* 11.61: *Spes bona det vires*. “Let good hope give strength”. – *Florileg von S. Omer* (c. 1200), TPMA s.v. Dulden 273: *Fit leue, quod toleras, si proxima prospera queras*. “What you tolerate becomes light if you seek prosperity soon”. – WERNER D193: *Dura libens tolerat, si quis sublimia sperat*. “If one hopes for the sublime, he willingly tolerates hard times”. – Guilhem de Cabestanh, BdT 213,1a.13: *Ben esperans gazanha*. “He who hopes well moves ahead”. – Peire Raimon, BdT 355,18.27: *Mas ieu aug dir qu'om savis, a sazos, / conquer manhs bes sofren ab esperansa*. “But I hear tell that a wise man sometimes gains many good things by enduring with hope”.

5v26 WALTHER 972, WERNER A78: *Amittit totum, qui mittit ad omnia votum*. “He loses all things who sends his vow to everything”.



6r1 Horace, *Epistles* 1.2.69: *Quo semel est imbuta recens, servabit odorem / testa diu*. “A jar will long keep the fragrance of what it was once steeped in when new”.

6r2 WALTHER 5942: *Discipuli virtus honor assolet esse magistri, / et bene si studeat, fama docentis erit*. “The virtue of a student is the honor of his teacher, and if he studies well he will be the fame of his instructor”. – WALTHER 27924: *Semper crescit honor et gloria celsa magistro, / cuius discipulus noscitur esse probus*. “The honor and lofty glory of a teacher whose student is known to be honorable always grow”. – WALTHER 30682b: *Summus honor crescit et gloria summa magistro, / cuius discipulus dicitur esse bonus*. “Highest honor and highest glory redound to the teacher whose student is said to be a good man”.

6r3 WERNER V11: *Venter farcitus ludit, non ueste politus*. “A stuffed belly plays, not one made handsome by clothing”. – WERNER V29: *Veste nova melius ludit venter saturatus*. “A full belly plays better than one with new clothing”.

6r4 = WALTHER 30315. Cf. WALTHER 23131, 33673.

6r5 = WALTHER 8002.

6r6 WALTHER 39857e1c: *Quidquid confertur gratis, id omne est bonum*. “Whatever is conferred freely, that is all good”.

6r7 See Marginalia.

6r10 Gualterus Map, *Carmina* (d. 1208 / 1210), *TPMA* s.v. Wahr 96: *Qui verum loquitur est hostis publicus*. “He who speaks truth is a public enemy”.

6r11 Rambertino Buvaelli, BdT 281,8.44: *Que bos servirs mi deu valer*. “Serving well should do me good”. – Peire Milon, BdT 349,1.6: *Za comanda razos: / cel qui ben fai, deu ben trobar amis*. “Reason commands that he who does well must indeed find friends”. – *Flamenca*, FLA 2019: *Car servisis ab bon saber / adus amix e guisardo*. “For service with understanding brings friends and reward”. – Guillem de Cervera, *Versos proverbials*, PRO 1223: *Si mon servici prens / obligats me seràs, / e ja mos malvolens / a dreyt no jutjaràs*. “If you take my service you will be obliged to me, and never will you judge my enemy by rights”. – Guillem de Cervera, *Versos proverbials*, PRO 4219: *Homils e paciens / conquer, sirvén, amichs; / ergoylós, negligens / desservén, enamichs*. “A humble, patient man / wins friends by serving them; a proud one, negligent, by disserving them [makes] enemies”.

6r13 Cf. 5r23.

6r16 See Marginalia. – Publilius Syrus, *Sententiae*: *In malis sperare bene nisi innocens nemo solet*. “None but the guiltless can nurse bright hopes in woe”. – Otloh von St. Emmeram, *Proverbia* (c. 1065), *TPMA* s.v. Hoffen 71: *In malis sperare bona innocens maxime solet*. “The innocent is especially likely to hope for good in the midst of woes”.

6r23 Arnaut de Marsan, EAM 359: *Huelhs e mas son messatje / mot soven del coratje*. “Eyes and hands are very often messengers from the heart”.

6r24 Publilius Syrus, *Sententiae: Beneficium saepe dare docere est reddere*. “To confer repeated kindness is tuition in repayment”. – Erasmus, *Adagia Chiliades* 1.1.34 (1536), *TPMA* s.v. Gunst 20: *Gratia gratiam parit*. “A kindness brings forth a kindness”. – *Lo Savi*, LSA1 625: *No sias ges desconoissens, / membre-t del servizi que prens*. “Do not be ungrateful; remember the favor you accept”. – Guillem de Cervera, *Versos proverbials*, PRO 399: *Qui no vol autre honrar / no vol esser honrats*. “He who does not want to honor another does not wish to be honored”.

6v1 Genesis 3:19: *Pulvis es et in pulverem reverteris*. “Dust thou art, and into dust thou shalt return”. – Ecclesiastes 3:20: *De terra facta sunt, et in terram pariter revertuntur*. “Of earth they were made, and into earth they return together”.

6v2 See Marginalia. – WALTHER 20086: *Omnia tempus habent et tempore perficiantur; / Impetus et facti turbatio proiciantur*. “All things have their time and are done in time; let the impulse and disturbance of a deed be thrown forth”.

6v3 Ecclesiastes 3:4: *Tempus flendi, et tempus ridendi*. “A time to weep, and a time to laugh”. – Anonymous, BdT 461,149.1, cited in Matfre Ermengaud, *Breviari d’amor*, BRV 31445-48: *Luecx es c’om chan e c’om s’en lais / e luecx de rir’ e de parlar, / e de tot deu hom luecx gardar / qui es savis, cortes ni gais*. “There is a place to sing and to stop singing, and a place to laugh and talk, and one who is wise, courtly, and gay must observe the place for everything”. – Matfre Ermengaud, *Breviari d’Amor*, BRV 31440-43: *Quar en totas res deu guardar / luoc e sazo, qui ben vol far, / autramen pot hom leu falhir*. “For in all things [a lover] must observe place and time, if he seeks to do well; otherwise one can easily err”. – Arnaut de Mareuil, *Razos es e mezura*, v. 95-96: *Car li ris e li joc / An lur temps e lur loc* (ed. M. EUSEBI, *L’ensenhamen di Arnaut de Mareuil*, in “Romania”, 90 (1969), pp. 14-30; COM2 EMA 096 reads *An lur temps e lur joc*). “For laughter and games have their time and their place”. – *Lo Savi*, LSA1 531: *Temps y a en c’om pot rire / e temps y a en c’om cossire*. “There is a time for a man to laugh and there is a time for a man to think”.

6v4 Ecclesiastes 3:7: *Tempus tacendi, et tempus loquendi*. “A time to keep silence, and a time to speak”. – Pons Fabre d’Uzes, BdT 376,1.30: *Locx de parlar, locx de taire*. “A time for speaking, a time for keeping silent”.

6v5 Ecclesiastes 3:6: *Tempus acquirendi, et tempus perdendi*. “A time to get, and a time to lose”. – Pons Fabre d’Uzes, BdT 376,1.31: *Locx de donar, locx d’estraire*. “A time to give, a time to take”.

6v6 Ecclesiastes 3:5: *Tempus spargendi lapides et tempus colligendi*. “A time to scatter stones, and a time to gather”.

6v8 Guillem de Cervera, *Versos proverbials*, PRO 1267: *Lochs e sasós cové / a dire ez a far; / en loch poràs far bé / on te faràs blasmar*. “Place and time are right to speak and act: in a place you can do well and be blamed”.

6v9 See Marginalia. – Ecclesiastes 3:8: *Tempus belli et tempus pacis*. “A time of war and a time of peace”.



6v10 = WALTHER 11012, WERNER H33. – Isidorus, *Synonyma* (610-615), *TPMA* s.v. Gleich 6: *Similes enim similibus conjungi solent*. “Like is often joined to like”. – Amarcus (c. 1100), *TPMA* s.v. Gleich 8: *Sic quisque parem sibi querit*. “Thus each man seeks his like”. – *Gesta Ambaziensium* (c. 1155), *TPMA* s.v. Gleich 11: *Veteri enim proverbio dicitur: Similis similem quaerit*. “In an old proverb it is said, «Like seeks like»”. – Arnaut de Mareuil, BdT 30,10.8: *Com quecx ab sa par s’aizi*. “As each one takes ease with his mate”. – Bernart de Ventadorn, BdT 70,40.3: *E chascus auzels quer sa par*. “And each bird seeks its mate”. – Guilhem de Saint-Didier, BdT 234,9.2: *El mon non a neguna creatura / no truep sa par*. “There’s not a creature in the world that does not find its mate”. – Guilhem de l’Olivier, BdT 246,20.11: *Per que dis homs c’ades vol companhar / per natura tota cauz’ ab sa par*. “So they say that by nature every thing always wants to keep company with its peer”. – Marcabru, BdT 293,31.7: *C’usqecs vas sa par s’atrai*. “For each one is attracted to his mate”. – Matfre Ermengaud, *Breviari d’Amor*, BRV 7177: *Quascus ab sa par s’atura*. “Each one joins its mate”. – Guillem de Cervera, *Versos proverbials*, PRO 341: *Tota res vol son par / e tir’ a son semblan – / orgoyls no pot durar, / ab altre orgoyl, ses dan*. “Every creature seeks its mate and draws toward its like – pride cannot continue with another pride without harm”.

6v11 Proverbs 29:22: *Vir iracundus provocat rixas*. “A passionate man provoketh quarrels”. – Proverbs 30:33: *Qui provocat iras, producit discordias*. “He that provoketh wrath bringeth forth strife”. – Ecclesiasticus 28:11: *Homo enim iracundus incendit litem*. “A passionate man kindleth strife”.

6v12 Ecclesiasticus 14:12: *Memor esto quoniam mors non tardat*. “Remember that death is not slow”.

6v13 WALTHER 6798a: *Dura divitibus adiecit vincula dives, / Me, quia pauper eram, dimisit abire soluto*. “Wealth has thrown hard chains on the wealthy; because I was poor, wealth set me free and sent me away”. – WALTHER 31292: *Tempus adhuc veniet, quod dives, qui modo gaudet, / Assidue flebit, dum pauper in corde ridebit*. “The time will yet come when the rich man who now rejoices will weep constantly while the poor man laughs in his heart”. – WALTHER 37267: *Honeste pauperem esse melius est quam iniuste divitem*. “It is better to be poor honestly than rich dishonestly”.

6v14 See Marginalia. – WALTHER 19806, WERNER O29: *Omne bonum, quod habes, contaminat unica labes*. “Every good thing that you have is spoiled by a single fall”.

6v15 Wipo, *Proverbia* (c. 1028), *TPMA* s.v. Freude 211: *Voluptas mundana semper est vana*. “Worldly pleasure is always vain”. – WERNER A57: *Affert afflicta veniam, culpam caro laeta*. “Afflicted flesh brings kindness, joyful flesh fault”. – WERNER H19: *Hic miser est et erit, qui mundi gaudia querit*. “He is wretched and will be, who seeks the joys of the world”.

6v16 Ecclesiasticus 20:17: *Fatuo non erit amicus, et non erit gratia bonis illius*. “The fool will have no friend, and there will be no thanks for his good deeds”. – Guillem de Cervera, *Versos proverbials*, PRO 1999: *Fats no sab gasanyar / ne servir amistats, / e pots o be jurar; / c’amichs non ha hom fats*. “A fool does not know how to make or keep friendships, and you can swear that a foolish man has no friends”. – Guillem de Cervera, *Versos proverbials*, PRO 4171: *L’amistansa dels fats / lieu se pren et lieu frayn; / grieu l’amors dels senats / s’apren, e ferm remayn*. “The friendship of fools is easily made and easily broken; with difficulty the love of the wise is learned and remains firm”.

6v17 = WALTHER 8271, WERNER E124.

6v18 WERNER O33: *Omne novum pulchrum; fit vilius inveteratum*. “Every new thing is beautiful; when old it loses its value”. – WERNER Q72: *Qui cito laetatur, leviter dolet et lacrimatur*. “He who soon rejoices easily grieves and weeps”. – Aimeric de Belenoi, BdT 9,1.34: *Qu’ey non es joys que non torn en dolor*. “For there is no joy that does not turn to grief”. – Bernart de Ventadorn, BdT 70,22.41: *Tostems sec joi ir’ e dolors / e tostems ira jois e bes / et eu no cre, si jois no fos, / c’om ja saubes d’ira que s’es*. “Grief and sadness always follow joy, and joy and happiness always follow sadness; and I do not believe, if there were no joy, that one would ever know what sadness is”. – Cerveri de Girona, BdT 434,7c.26: *Tots gauigs torn’ en dol a la fi*. “All joy turns to grief in the end”.

6v20 Jerome, *Epistolae* 60.10.3: *Non, ut in plerisque accidere solet, adsiduitas familiaritatem, familiaritas contemptum illius fecerat*. “With him it was not as so often with many: intimacy did not breed familiarity, nor familiarity contempt”. – Innocent III, *De Contemptu Mundi* (1180-1190), TPMA s.v. Vertraut 4: *Nam crudelitas parit odium, et familiaritas parit contemptum*. “For cruelty breeds hatred, and familiarity breeds contempt”. – Traduction de Bède, RAYNOUARD IV, p. 642a: *Familiaritatz aparelia mesprezament*. “Familiarity breeds contempt”.

6v22 WALTHER 24366: *Qui nimium comedit, moritur, dum vivere credit*. “He who eats too much dies while thinking he lives”. – Cf. 2r12.

6v23 Cf. 5r6.

6v25 = WALTHER 13940.

7r3 WALTHER 4481: *Cum studeat fecte mulier falsaria flere, / Coniugis irate tu noli verba timere! / Non cures oculis, coniunx si murmure rorat: / Instruit insidias lacrimis, dum femina plorat*. “Though a false woman may strive to weep falsely, do not fear the words of your angry wife. Do not take care for [her] eyes, if your wife grows dewy with murmuring; a woman sows treachery with her tears when she weeps”. – WALTHER 5294: *Dedicere flere feminam est mendacium*. “It is a lie that a woman unlearns how to weep”. – WALTHER 5658: *Didicere flere femine ad mendacium*. “Women learned how to weep for lying”. – WALTHER 13222: *Jure sibi innato femina flere potest*. “A woman can weep by innate law”. – Nivardus, *Ysengrimus* (1146-1148),

TPMA s.v. Frau 515: *Iure sibi innato femina flere potest*. “A woman can cry by in-born right”. – Guillem de Cervera, *Versos proverbials*, PRO 4439: *Ta muyler despagada / no cresas tota hora: / dits de muyler irada / decep marit, quan plora*. “Do not always obey your wife when she is displeased: words of an angry wife deceive a husband when she cries”.

7r4 WALTHER 9126: *Femina nil celat, quod habet sub corde, revelat*. “A woman hides nothing; what she has in her heart she reveals”.

7r5 WALTHER 26107: *Quod vetitum fuerit, femina sepe querit*. “A woman often seeks what has been forbidden”. – Albert von Stade (1249), TPMA s.v. Frau 427: *Foemina praecipue, quae prohibentur, avet*. “A woman especially craves what is forbidden”. – Bernart de Ventadorn, BdT 70,43.33: *D’aisso-s fa be femna parer / ma donna, per qu’e-lh o retrai, / car no vol so c’om deu voler, / e so c’om li deveda, fai*. “My lady looks like a woman in this, so I reproach her, for she does not want what one must want, and she does what is forbidden”. – Guillem de Cervera, *Versos proverbials*, PRO 4787: *Pus femna vol entendre / en far sen o folor, / geyn e maneyra pendre / sab, de manta color*. “If a woman is intent on doing something wise or foolish, she will find a way and manner with many a pretext”.

7r6 Guillem de Cervera, *Versos proverbials*, PRO 1523: *Nuyla res no-t tenrà, / aygua, vents ne presós, / tant com femna farà, / no pus: seràs ginyós ...?* “Nothing will hold you, water, wind, or prison, as a woman will do, nothing else. Will you be clever?” – Guillem de Cervera, *Versos proverbials*, PRO 2967: *Per femn’ és tals vensuts / qui per home no-s venç; / tals pert per vi vertuts / per fèr non és perdens*. “Some are conquered by a woman who are not conquered by a man; some lose their strength through wine who do not lose to steel”.

7r8 See Marginalia.

7r9 Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 15.234: *Tempus edax rerum*. “Time, consumer of things”. – Ovid, *Ex Ponto* 4.10.7: *Tempus edax igitur praeter nos omnia perdit*. “Therefore consuming time destroys all things but us” (the poet speaks of his endurance in adversity). – WERNER O47: *Omnia consumit inveterata dies*. “The day, grown old, consumes all things”.

7r10 Vitalis Blesensis, *Geta* (1150-1160), TPMA s.v. Tod 101: *Omnia mors tollit*. “Death takes away all things”.

7r14 WALTHER 30899: *Surgit ab uxore tentatio plena dolore: / Si non est casta, potius vendenda sub hasta*. “Temptation full of grief arises from a wife: if she is not chaste, better to sell her at auction”.

7r15 *Lo Savi*, LSA1 179-80: *Femna beveiritz no-is manten / de malvastat ni d’avol sen*. “A drinking woman does not keep / from wickedness and an evil mind”.

7r17 Cf. 7r3.

7r19 See Marginalia. – WALTHER 9505a: *Filius est patris sapiens et gloria matris*. “A wise son is the glory of his father and mother”.

19r1 See Marginalia. – WERNER S68: *Si caecus caecum conetur ducere secum, / in foveam ductor primus cadit, inde secutor*. “If a blind man tries to lead a blind man, first the leader falls into the pit, then the follower”. – Guilhem Figueira, BdT 217,5.16: *Doncs si l’uns orbs l’autre guia, / non van amdui en la fossa cazer? / Si fant, so dis Dieus, qu’ie-n sai ben lo ver*. “So if one blind man leads another, won’t they both fall in the ditch? Yes they do, as God said, and I know well the truth”.

19r2 WERNER C58: *Clericus indoctus non est crudus neque coctus*. “An unlearned cleric is neither raw nor cooked” (i.e. neither fish nor fowl, neither cleric nor lay). – *Libre de Seneca*, LSA2 1019: *Que segra lo pobol, ni cal / si-l prelastz que es primier fay mal?* “Whom will the people follow, or which one, if the priest who is the leader does wrong?”.

19r5 *Salomon et Marcolfus* (end s. X-s. XII), TPMA s.v. Furcht 252: *Cor mundum nichil timet*. “A clean heart fears nothing”. – WERNER Q182: *Quisquis agit prave, quae feret, illa cave!* “If someone acts crookedly, beware the things he brings!”.

19r7 WERNER Q89: *Qui memor est mortis, est contra crimina fortis*. “He who is mindful of death is strong against crimes”.

19r8-9 Matthew 7:12: *Omnia ergo quaecumque vultis ut faciant vobis homines et vos facite eis*. “All things therefore whatsoever you would that men should do to you, do you also to them”. – WALTHER 3361a: *Convenit, ut detur: qui donat, dona meretur*. “It is right to give; he who gives deserves gifts”.

19r10 Bebel, *Proverbia Germanica* (1508), TPMA s.v. Schaden 170: *Qui nescit prodesse, saepe tamen nocet*. “He who knows not how to help often hurts”.

19r12 WALTHER 19668a: *Obsta principiis, quia tunc cito vincitur hostis!* “Resist in the beginning, for then the enemy is quickly overcome”.

19r13 See Marginalia. – Ovid, *Remedia Amoris* 91: *Sero medicina paratur, / cum mala per longas convalere moras*. “Too late is the medicine prepared, when the disease has gained strength by long delay”. – WERNER D36: *De morbo veteri nescit medicina mederi*. “Medicine is unable to cure an old disease”.

19r14 Iacobus Vitriacensis, *Sermones FERIALES* (1229-1240), TPMA s.v. Schaden 165: *Econuerso multi, dum prodesse volunt, obsunt*. “On the other hand, many, when they want to help, hinder”.

19r15 Guillem de Cervera, *Versos proverbials*, PRO 4151: *Meylor estar faria / ab un franch trobador / c’ab metge, qui tot dia / fa de gran mal pijor*. “It would be better to spend time with an honest troubadour than with a doctor, who every day makes a great ill worse”.

19r16 *Glossa super Eberhard de Bethune, Graecismus* (1270), *TPMA* s.v. Herz 201: *Si cor non orat in vanum lingua laborat*. “If the heart does not pray, in vain the tongue toils”. – WERNER D165: *Dum cor non orat, in vanum lingua laborat*. “While the heart does not pray, in vain the tongue toils”.

19r17 WERNER D151: *Dulcia verba serit, qui falsum dicere quaerit*. “He sows sweet words who seeks to speak false”.

19r18 = WALTHER 28381, WERNER S78.1. – *Disticha Catonis* 1.3: *Virtutem primam esse puta conpescere linguam; / proximus ille deo est, qui scit ratione tacere*. “Consider the first virtue to be restraining your tongue; he is next to God who knows how to be silent with reason”. – WALTHER 102: *A te mendacis spernatur lingua loquacis*. “You should spurn a chattering, lying tongue”. – WERNER S71: *Si cupias pacem, linguam compesce loquacem*. “If you want peace, restrain the chattering tongue”. – Aimeric de Peguilhan, BdT 10,31.13: *Per trop parlar creisson maint encombrer*. “From too much talk arise many hindrances”. – *Leys d’Amors* (1328-1337), ed. GATIEN-ARNOULT I, p. 318: *En trop parlar no falh peccatz, / qui-l sap temprar es assenatz*. “In too much talk sin is not lacking; he who knows how to control it is wise”.

19r19 = WALTHER 17973. – WALTHER 17517: *Non domus est pacis, ubi regnat lingua loquacis*. “It is not a house of peace, where reigns a chattering tongue”. – WERNER N189: *Non locus est pacis ubi regnat lingua loquacis: ut scriptura docet, garrula lingua nocet*. “It is not a place of peace where reigns a chattering tongue: as scripture teaches, a garrulous tongue does harm”.

19r20 *Ecclesiasticus* 35:11: *In omni dato hilarem fac vultum tuum*. “In every gift show a cheerful countenance”.

19r21 WALTHER 29668: *Sincerum est nisi vas, quodcumque infundis, acescit*. “Unless the vessel is clean, whatever you pour in turns sour”.

19r22 WALTHER 19513: *O munde immunde, cur non facis omnia munde*. “O unclean world, why do you not do all things cleanly?”.

19r23 Guillem de Cervera, *Versos proverbials*, PRO 715: *D’un arbr’ ay vists poms dos, / l’u àvol, altre bo: / a vets l’us frayr’ es bos / e l’autre no té pro*. “I saw two apples on a tree, one bad, the other good: sometimes one brother is good and the other is of no use”. – Guillem de Cervera, *Versos proverbials*, PRO 3947: *Segons Dieu tuyt em frayre: / pero, pauc nos semblam: / pus tuyt avem un payre, / per què tuyt no-ns amam?* “According to God we are all brothers, but we are not alike; since we all have one father, why do we not love each other?”.

19r24 Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 7.8: *Nullas duas in tot milibus hominum indiscretas effigies existere*. “Among so many thousands of men, there are no two completely similar faces”. – Iacobus a Voragine, *Legenda Aurea* (c. 1263-1267), *TPMA* s.v. Gleich 225: *Interrogetur, quod est majus admirabile, quod Deus umquam in par-*

*va re fecerit. Interrogatus de hoc ... dixit: diversitas et excellentia facierum: inter tot enim homines, qui fuerunt ab initio mundi et usque in finem futuri sunt, duo reperiri non possent, quorum facies per omnia similes sint vel essent.* “Let it be asked, what is most admirable that God ever did in a small thing. Asked about this, he said: the diversity and excellence of faces: for among so many men who have been since the beginning of the world and will be until the end of the future, two cannot be found whose faces are or will be similar in everything”.

19r25 Saxo Grammaticus (d. c. 1220), *TPMA* s.v. Dienen 599: *Decipitur, quisquis seruum sibi poscit amicum; / sepe solet domino uerna nocere suo.* “Whoever asks a servant to be his friend is disappointed; often a servant harms his lord”. – Folquet de Marseille, BdT 155,1.10: *Mas trop servirs ten dan maintas sazos, / que son amic en pert hom, so aug dire.* “But too much serving does harm many times, for that way one loses his friend, as I hear tell”.

19v1 WERNER P130: *Proficit absque deo nullus in orbe labor.* “No labor in the world brings profit without God”.

19v2 See Marginalia. – WALTHER 36148: *Declina a malo, et in bono te exerce!* “Turn aside from evil and strive for good!”

19v3 Seneca, *De Beneficiis* 2.8.2: *Beneficium non est, cuius sine rubore meminisse non possum.* “It is not a favor, if I cannot remember it without blushing” (because I had to ask for it). – Gausbert de Puyebot, BdT 173,3.37 (also Matfre Ermengaud, *Breviari d’Amor*, BRV 31989; *Dits des philosophes*, DDA 284): *Que dobla valors / es de far bens et honors / lai on mestier an, / anz c’om quieira ni deman.* “For it is worth twice as much to grant goods and honors where they are needed before they are sought or asked for”.

19v4 Peire Cardenal, BdT 335,27.77: *Car qui fai deslial obra, / segon c’a servit s’atroba.* “He who commits a disloyal act is recognized as he has deserved”.

19v5 Peire Cardenal, BdT 335,9.12: *Si co·l proverbis despo: / ja no·t fizar en Velai / ni en clergue ni en lai.* “As the proverb has it: Never trust, in Velay, either a cleric or a lay”.

19v6 *Roman de Jaufre*, JAU 4517: *Que pros hom deu gazardon rendre / de servi, cant lo vol prendre.* “A noble man must give reward for service, if he accepts it”.

19v7 Bernard de Clairvaux (d. 1153), *TPMA* s.v. Kleid 31: *Porro decor qui cum veste induitur, et cum veste deponitur, vestis procul dubio est, non vestiti.* “The charm that is put on with clothing and taken off with clothing belongs without doubt to the clothing, not the one wearing it”. – WERNER V49: *Uir bene uestitus esse peritus / creditur a mille, quamuis ydiota sit ille.* “A well-dressed man is believed by a thousand to be knowledgeable, even though he is a simpleton”. – Peire Cardenal, BdT 335,42.91: *Vers es c’argens / e garnimens / fan de cusson baron semblar.* “It is true that money and clothing make a horse-trader look like a baron”.



19v8 Cicero, *De Officiis* 2.15.54: *Multi enim patrimonia effuderunt inconsulte largiendo*. “Many men have poured out their patrimony by spending ill-advisedly”. – Nivardus, *Ysengrimus* (1146-1148), *TPMA* s.v. Verschwenden 3: *Nemo sue debet prodigus esse rei*. “No one should be prodigal with his property”. – Jacobus de Cessolis (c. 1300), *TPMA* s.v. Verschwenden 4: *Stolidissimum opus est propria prodige expendere et aliena appetendo sperare*. “It is a very foolish deed to spend one’s own prodigally and hope to get someone else’s”. – WERNER Q115: *Qui plus expendit quam lucri summa rependit, / non admiretur si paupertate gravetur*. “He who spends more than the sum of his money bears should not be astonished if he sinks into poverty”. – Matfre Ermengaud, *Breviari d’Amor*, BRV 32028: *Aug dir: / qui mai despen que non guazanha / non pot esser que no-ilh sofranha*. “I hear tell, «If one spends more than he makes, one cannot avoid feeling the lack»”.

19v10 WERNER C66: *Commater dantis manui manus accipientis*. “The hand of the giver is godmother to the hand of the receiver”. – WERNER S70: *Si capio munus, fueram pro munere servus*. “If I accept a gift, I would become a servant because of the gift”. – Guillem de Cervera, *Versos proverbials*, PRO 4719-20: *De dos te guardaras / perprendre, no deguts*. “Take care not to accept gifts that are not proper”.

19v13 WALTHER 42269b: *Serpens in gremio*. “A serpent in the bosom”.

19v14 WERNER G23: *Grates pro meritis numquam tibi reddet iniquus*. “A wicked man will never give you thanks as you deserve”. – WERNER I28: *Impia non meminit mens, quae bona facta recepit*. “The wicked spirit does not remember what good deeds it received”. – WERNER P129: *Proficiet raro bonitas impensa maligno*. “Rarely does kindness extended to a wicked man do one any good”.

19v15 = WALTHER 19919. – WERNER E6: *Efficiunt cunctas res mundi posse, voluntas; / altrum tollatur: nihil est quod perficiatur*. “Ability and will produce everything in the world; if either one is lacking, nothing can be accomplished”.

19v16 See Marginalia. – Psalms 117:6: *Dominus mihi adiutor: non timebo quid faciat mihi homo*. “The Lord is my helper; I will not fear what man can do unto me”. – WALTHER 28437a: *Si Deus est pro me, quis meus hostis erit!* “If God is for me, who will be my enemy?”.

19v17-18 See Marginalia.

19v20 See Marginalia.

19v21 WALTHER 8022a: *Esto bonis agnus, leo fervidus esto malignis*. “Be a lamb to the good, be a fierce lion to the wicked”.

19v22 WERNER M27: *Mensa sis laetus et pauca loquendo facetus*. “At table be cheerful and amusing, saying little”.

19v23-24 See Marginalia. – Guillem de Cervera, *Versos proverbials*, PRO 2175: *Qui fiyla lax’ anar / defors, con ops hi ha, / no volrà dins estar / tots jorns c’ops hi aurà*.

“If you let a daughter go outside when there is need, she will always refuse to stay inside when need will be”.

## V. *Extracts from Bernart Amoros, Speculum Sacerdotum*

Manuscripts:

- P<sup>1</sup>** (Paris, BnF, lat. 3445; s. XV), fols. 78-140. Bibliothèque Nationale, *Catalogue général des manuscrits latins*, V, Paris 1966, p. 412.
- P<sup>2</sup>** (Paris, BnF, lat. 3480; s. XV), fols. 21-76. Bibliothèque Nationale, *Catalogue général* cit., V, p. 487.
- P<sup>3</sup>** (Paris, BnF, lat. 14890; s. XIII, XIV, XV), fols. 191-239. L. DELISLE, *Inventaire des manuscrits de l'Abbaye de Saint-Victor conservés à la Bibliothèque impériale, sous les numéros 14232-15175 du fonds latin*, Paris 1869, p. 57.
- P<sup>4</sup>** (Paris, BnF, lat. 15161; s. XIV), fols. 2-51. DELISLE, *Inventaire* cit., 1869, p. 77.
- P<sup>5</sup>** (Paris, BnF, lat. 15162; dated 1456), fols. 1-55. DELISLE, *Inventaire* cit., 1869, p. 77.
- P<sup>6</sup>** (Paris, BnF, lat. 18569; s. XV), fols. 3-58. L. DELISLE, *Inventaire des manuscrits latins de Notre-Dame et d'autres fonds conservés à la Bibliothèque nationale sous les numéros 16719-18613*, Paris 1871, p. 103.
- T** (Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale 1685; s. XIV), fols. 1-60. *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements*, II, Paris 1855, p. 713.
- V** (Vendôme, Bibliothèque Municipale 151; s. XV), fols. 1-76v. *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France: départements*, III, Paris 1885, p. 442.

Based on MS **P<sup>2</sup>**.

### 1. *Text*

#### *Incipit Speculum Sacerdotum*

Ecclesie sancte regimen qui ducere sancte  
 Vis, hec metra lege de sancta condita lege  
 Que si perlegere bene vis et corde tenere,  
 Actu complere, poteris bona semper habere.  
 Hoc speculum clarum, curam monstrans animarum,  
 Condo tibi, carum plus quam sit gemma vel aurum,  
 Quo possis animas sacramentis reddere mundas,



Crimina vitare, virtutes multiplicare,  
 Ut bene vivendo, subjectis sancta docendo,  
 Tandem leteris in celis et speculeris 10  
 Adducendo gregem summum per secula regem,  
 Hec concedente domino bene cuncta regente.  
 Primo tamen dominum rogo trinum semper et unum  
 A quo cuncta bona manant ut det mihi dona  
 Cum quibus hoc speculum valeam complere novellum 15  
 Utile mundandis animabus et edificandis.

*De modo et forma huius libri*

De titulo pandam tibi primo commoda quedam;  
 Ut serves vitam post hec dicetur honestam  
 Que debes scire; faciam post ista subire 20  
 Hinc quod in ecclesia residentia sit facienda.  
 Que sunt officia tibi subiungam fugienda;  
 Post hec officia tibi debita pango novena,  
 Scilicet ut sacra digne tractes sacramenta.  
 Ut missas celebres devote postea cernes;  
 Postea monstratur quis quomodo confiteatur; 25  
 Quomodo doctrinam tradas populo tibi dicam,  
 Hinc bene quod dicas septem specialiter horas.  
 Post hoc concernes ut oves vigilando gubernes;  
 Ut deffendatur ius ecclesie referatur;  
 Quomodo distribui debent referam bona templi. 30  
 Fratres corrigere volo te post ista docere,  
 Inde sepulturas addisces, si bene curas.  
 Post istud thema tractabo quid est anathema.  
 Ex hinc peccata mortalia sunt referata;  
 Postea subcincte scribam peccamina lingue, 35  
 Hinc de peccato veniali pauca notabo;  
 Quo superanda modo temptacio sit sociabo.  
 Post hec virtutes animarum pando salutes;  
 Quomodo servetur virtus post hec referetur;  
 Tandem scribo tibi bene doctrinam moriendi. 40  
 Non tamen ad plenum tibi do super hiis documentum,  
 Sed solum posui que plus tibi commoda gnovi.  
 Si tamen attente studeas hec ponere mente,  
 Ipsa recordando, servando, notificando,  
 Premia multa feres domini finaliter heres, 45  
 Hoc tibi prestante, clementer cuncta creante.  
 Hec metrice scripsi placeant ut flore loquendi,

Ut brevius dici valeant, melius retineri.  
 Si quid in hoc opere videatur non bene dictum,  
 Non mox arguere studeas tamquam male pictum;  
 Primo consulere placeat tibi sepe peritum  
 Qui sciat instruere necnon distinguere scriptum.  
 ...

[*Conclusio*]

Rector rectorum, Deus, auctor summe bonorum, 3050  
 Personis trine, qui finis es et sine fine,  
 A quo procedunt bona cuncta, maligna recedunt,  
 Grates reddo tibi quia te donante peregi  
 Hoc opus inventum dare presbiteris documentum;  
 Te rogo proficiat multis, gratum tibi fiat. 3055  
 Explicit hoc speculum doctrine presbiterorum  
 Per B. compositum, qui fert cognomen Amorum,  
 Anno millesimo, C. tres, X. his quoque seno.  
 Sunt huic coniuncta speculo tria millia metra,  
 Istis adiuncta duo sunt et septuaginta. 3060

*Explicit Speculum Sacerdotum.*

## 2. Variants

*Title* Liber magistri Ademaris, Senonis archiepiscopus, vocatus Speculum sacerdotum P<sup>4</sup>.

Incipit Speculum Sacerdotum *om.* P<sup>4</sup>; Speculum ecclesie P<sup>6</sup>; Incipit speculum ecclesie *corrected to* sacerdotum T. 2 sancta] sacra P<sup>1</sup>. 3 vis bene P<sup>5</sup>. 5 monstrat P<sup>1</sup>. 6 Cundo P<sup>2</sup>, Condo P<sup>1</sup>P<sup>3</sup>P<sup>4</sup>P<sup>5</sup>P<sup>6</sup>TV. 7 possit V; sacramento P<sup>1</sup>P<sup>6</sup>; mundas] caras *i.* 9 sancta] facta P<sup>6</sup>. 12 Hoc P<sup>1</sup>P<sup>3</sup>P<sup>4</sup>P<sup>5</sup>P<sup>6</sup>TV. 14 bona cuncta P<sup>1</sup>; manent P<sup>1</sup>P<sup>4</sup>, procedunt P<sup>6</sup>; det] sit V. 16 mundanis P<sup>3</sup>P<sup>5</sup>; et *om.* P<sup>3</sup>P<sup>5</sup>.

16 *Rubric om.* V; De materia et forma huius libri rubrica P<sup>1</sup>, De modo et forma huius libri capitulum P<sup>4</sup>, De modo et forma huius libri P<sup>6</sup>. 17 pandem P<sup>1</sup>; tibi] *glossed* discipulo P<sup>2</sup>; primo tibi P<sup>6</sup>; comoda P<sup>1</sup>P<sup>5</sup>. 19 faciem P<sup>4</sup>; faciam post ista] post hec faciam P<sup>6</sup>. 20 in *om.* P<sup>5</sup>. 22 pango] iungo P<sup>1</sup>P<sup>3</sup>P<sup>4</sup>P<sup>5</sup>V, iunge P<sup>6</sup>. 24 cures P<sup>6</sup>, serues V. 25 quid P<sup>3</sup>P<sup>6</sup>. 26 tradas populo] populo trades P<sup>6</sup>; dicam] pandam V. 28 hec P<sup>4</sup>P<sup>6</sup>T, ea V; conserues P<sup>1</sup>P<sup>4</sup>P<sup>6</sup>V; vigillando P<sup>1</sup>. 29-30 *om.* P<sup>1</sup>. 29 defendatur P<sup>4</sup>T. 30 refferam P<sup>5</sup>, reseruari P<sup>6</sup>. 31 te *om.* P<sup>1</sup>. 32 adduces P<sup>3</sup>P<sup>4</sup>P<sup>5</sup>. 33 tractando P<sup>2</sup>P<sup>3</sup>P<sup>5</sup>T, tractabo P<sup>1</sup>P<sup>6</sup>V, tractans P<sup>4</sup>; sit P<sup>4</sup>; anathemama P<sup>3</sup>. 34 exinde P<sup>3</sup>P<sup>4</sup>P<sup>5</sup>; mortalia peccata P<sup>6</sup>; reserata P<sup>4</sup>. 34.1 Contra neupma sacrum peccatum scribo patatum V, *read* pācatum, «I write of how sin against the holy spirit is laid to rest». 35 succin- te P<sup>1</sup>, succincte P<sup>3</sup>P<sup>4</sup>, succinte P<sup>5</sup>P<sup>6</sup>V. 37 superando P<sup>1</sup>, superuanda V. 39 refferetur P<sup>5</sup>. 40 tandem P<sup>1</sup>; describo P<sup>4</sup>, scribam P<sup>6</sup>; doctrinam bene P<sup>1</sup>; bene *om.* P<sup>4</sup>. 41 tibi do super hiis] super hiis dono P<sup>6</sup>. 42 comoda P<sup>1</sup>T; novi P<sup>1</sup>P<sup>3</sup>P<sup>4</sup>P<sup>5</sup>TV. 43 hoc tenere P<sup>1</sup>. 44 notificando P<sup>1</sup>P<sup>5</sup>.

45 domino V; domini finaliter heres] deum finaliter habes P<sup>6</sup>. 46 clemente P<sup>3</sup>P<sup>5</sup>; creante] regente P<sup>6</sup>. 47 he P<sup>5</sup>, hoc V. 48 didisci P<sup>2</sup>P<sup>3</sup>P<sup>5</sup>, didici P<sup>4</sup>, disci P<sup>6</sup>; valeas P<sup>6</sup>; retinere P<sup>6</sup>. 49 quis P<sup>4</sup>. 50 dictum vel pictum P<sup>2</sup>T, pictum P<sup>1</sup>P<sup>3</sup>P<sup>4</sup>. 51 Primo] Immo V. 52 scit P<sup>3</sup>P<sup>4</sup>P<sup>5</sup>; necnon necnon T; scriptum] preceptum P<sup>6</sup>.

3050 rectorum] rerum P<sup>6</sup>; actor P<sup>1</sup>P<sup>3</sup>P<sup>4</sup>P<sup>5</sup>P<sup>6</sup>TV; bonitatis P<sup>6</sup>. 3051 et om. P<sup>5</sup>. 3052 maligna] malaque V. 3053 quo P<sup>6</sup>. 3054 da P<sup>3</sup>P<sup>5</sup>. 3055 rogo] ergo P<sup>1</sup>; proficias multum P<sup>6</sup>. 3057 per (*lacuna*) compositum P<sup>5</sup>; per (*lacuna*) confectum P<sup>6</sup>; B. om. P<sup>3</sup>T, te P<sup>4</sup>, P. V; cognomine morum P<sup>6</sup>; Amorum] duorum P<sup>3</sup>P<sup>5</sup>T, dominorum P<sup>4</sup>. 3058-3060 om. V. 3058 mileno centum tres bis x P<sup>1</sup>, m<sup>o</sup>. C ter bis P<sup>3</sup>P<sup>5</sup>, milleno P<sup>4</sup>P<sup>6</sup>; anno 1312 *in margin, later hand* P<sup>5</sup>. 3059 Huic sunt P<sup>3</sup>; huic om. P<sup>5</sup>; hec P<sup>1</sup>, hoc P<sup>4</sup>T; specula P<sup>3</sup>; milia P<sup>4</sup>T; mettra P<sup>3</sup>. 3059-3060 Sunt hec coniuncta duo sunt et septuaginta P<sup>6</sup>. Explicit Speculum Sacerdotum P<sup>2</sup>, om. P<sup>4</sup>, Explicit iste liber, scriptor sit crimine liber P<sup>3</sup>P<sup>5</sup>, Explicit P<sup>4</sup>TV, Deo gratias P<sup>6</sup>.

### 3. Translation

#### *Here Begins the Mirror of Priests*

You who wish to follow the regimen of holy church  
 In a holy way, read these measures founded on holy law;  
 If you read them thoroughly and well and keep them in your heart,  
 Carry them out in action, you will have good forever.  
 This bright mirror, showing the care of souls, 5  
 I make for you; more precious than gemstone or gold,  
 It will enable you to make souls clean with the sacraments,  
 Avoid crimes, multiply virtues,  
 So that by living well, teaching your subjects holy things,  
 At last you will rejoice in heaven and be reflected 10  
 Leading your flock to the highest king through the ages,  
 If the Lord grants who surely rules all things.  
 But first I pray the Lord, always three and one,  
 From whom all good things flow, to grant me the gifts  
 With which I may be able to complete this new mirror, 15  
 Useful for cleansing and edifying souls.

#### *On the Manner and Form of This Book*

First I shall tell you certain useful things about the title [of priest];  
 After that will be said what you must know  
 To lead an honest life; after that I shall bring up  
 Why you must make your residence in church. 20  
 I shall add what duties you must avoid;  
 After that I explain nine duties you must do,  
 That is, how you may worthily perform the holy sacraments.  
 Next you will see how to celebrate mass devoutly;

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Next will be shown how each person should be given confession; 25  
 I shall tell you how to give teaching to the people,  
 Especially how to say the seven hours well.  
 After that you will learn how to govern your flock watchfully;  
 How to defend the rights of the church will be told;  
 I shall tell how the goods of the church must be distributed. 30  
 After that I want to teach you to discipline monks,  
 Then you will learn about burial, if you pay attention.  
 After that subject I shall treat of what anathema is.  
 Then the mortal sins are discussed;  
 Afterwards I shall succinctly describe the sins of the tongue, 35  
 Then I shall note a few things about venial sin;  
 I shall add how temptation may be overcome.  
 After that I explain the virtues, salvation of souls;  
 After that, how to protect one's virtue will be explained;  
 Finally I shall write for you the doctrine of dying well. 40  
 But I do not give you a complete explanation of these things,  
 I have only put down what I knew would be most useful for you.  
 Finally, if you take care to put these things in your mind,  
 Remembering them, keeping them, taking good note,  
 You will carry off many prizes at the end as heir of the Lord, 45  
 As He grants you, who in his mercy creates all things.  
 I have written these things in verse so they may be pleasing with the flower of speech,  
 That they might be said in short and the better remembered.  
 If anything in this work seems not well said,  
 Do not be quick to show that it is badly painted; 50  
 Please consult someone first with long experience  
 Who knows how to teach and to explain what is written.  
 ....

[Conclusion]

Ruler of rulers, God, highest author of good, 3050  
 Three in persons, you who are the end without end,  
 From whom proceed all good things and the bad recede,  
 I give you thanks since by your grace I have finished  
 This work, intended to give instruction to priests;  
 I pray you that it profit many and be pleasing to you. 3055  
 Here ends this mirror of doctrine for priests  
 Composed by B., who bears the family name Amorum,  
 In the year one thousand, three hundred, twice ten and six.  
 To this mirror are joined three thousand lines,  
 Added to them are seventy-two. 3060

*Here Ends the Mirror of Priests*

4. *Parallels among the Speculum Sacerdotum, the Liber Proverbiorum, and the Notice in MS Riccardiana 2814*

SS 2 metra, 47 metricae; LP 1r1 metricae. SS 3 corde tenere, 48 retineri; LP 1r6 corde tenenda. SS 4 bona semper habere; LP 6v14 bonum quod habes. SS 6, 17, 40, 41, 42, 46 tibi; LP 1r1 tibi. SS 8 crimina vitare; LP 3v16 vitari mala. SS 13 dominum rogo, 3055 Te rogo; LP 2v24 Te rogo. SS 14 A quo cuncta bona manant ut det mihi dona; LP 2v19 A quo cuncta bona donantur et omnia dona. SS 15 complere; LP 2r2 complevit. SS 16 Utile mundandis animabus et edificandis; LP 1r7 perutilia sunt percipientibus ipsa. SS 40 scribo, 47 scripsi; LP 2v22 scripsi. SS 41, 3054 documentum; LP 2v23 documentum. SS 44 Ipsa recordando, servando, notificando; LP 3v17 Sepe rogare, rogata tenere, retenta docere. SS 45 premia; LP 5v5 premia. SS 46 clementer; LP 2v18 clemens. SS 48 Ut brevius dici valeant; LP 2r8 Non bene fit gratus sermo nisi sit breviatus. SS 49-50 Si quid in hoc opere videatur non bene dictum, / Non mox arguere studeas tamquam male pictum; *Riccardiana* (6-7) Si ben i trobs cors de penna en alcuna letra ... granz faillirs es d'ome qe sia fai emendador ... SS 3054 Grates reddo tibi; LP 2v20 Grates quas valeo tibi, non quas debeo, reddo. SS 3057 B. ... Amorum; LP 2r3 Amorosus Bernardus; *Notice* (1) Bernartz Amoros. SS 3058 Anno millesimo, C. tres, X. bis quoque seno; LP 2r1 Anno milleno ter centum ter quoque deno. SS 3059-60 Sunt huic coniuncta speculo tria millia metra, / Istis adiuncta duo sunt et septuaginta; LP 2r4-5 Librum presentem proverbialia mille tenentem / Milleque qui[ngento]s versus [h]is ordine junctos; *Notice* (10) E son en aqest libre chanzo e sirventes e descort e tenzon DCCV.

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