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Editores: Michael Plattig, O.Carm. et William J. Harry, O.Carm.

Bibliographia annualis: Jakub Walczak, O.Carm.

Cooperatores: Fernando Millán Romeral, O.Carm.; Charlò Camilleri, O.Carm.

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SUMMARIUM

MACARENA CRESPO ÁLVAREZ, El Carmine Maggiore en la Gaceta de Madrid 385

Juan de Goyeneche (1656-1735) fue un intelectual español del siglo XVIII que creó cerca de Madrid un pueblo (Nuevo Baztán) que seguía los criterios del colbertismo y que anticipaba en cierto modo los ideales ilustrados del siguiente siglo. Pero, además, Goyeneche desarrolló una amplia labor en el ámbito de la edición. En este sentido, cabe destacar que adquirió la llamada Gaceta de Madrid, una publicación de una fase primitiva del periodismo, que acabaría convirtiéndose en lo que hoy es el Boletín Oficial del Estado. En uno de los primeros números de la Gaceta (que ya contaba con corresponsales en diversas capitales europeas) se informa de las fiestas de la Virgen del Carmen celebradas en Nápoles y en las que participó el Rey Carlos VII (posteriormente Carlos III de España) y su familia. Este sencillo testimonio nos muestra la importancia que la fiesta del Carmen tenía ya entonces en la llamada città partenopea.

Juan de Goyeneche (1656-1735) was a Spanish intellectual of the 18th century who grew up in a pueblo (Nuevo Baztán) near Madrid. He followed the ideas of Colbertism which anticipated in some ways the enlightened ideals of the following century. In addition Goyeneche developed an extensive work in the field of publishing. In this sense it is worth mentioning that he acquired the so-called Gaceta de Madrid, a publication from an early phase of journalism which would eventually become what is today the Boletín Oficial del Estado, the official gazette of the Kingdom of Spain. One of the first issues of the Gaceta (which already had correspondents in various European capitals) reports on the festivities of Our Lady of Mount Carmel held in Naples and in which King Charles VII (later Charles III of Spain) and his family participated. This simple account shows us the importance that the feast of Carmel had already at that time in the so-called città partenopea.

OSMAR BALDACCHINO, Spiritual desolation according to St. Ignatius and Dark Night according to St. John of the Cross What's in a name? 399

Often the terms Spiritual Desolation and Dark Night are used interchangeably. In reality, they both refer to a spiritual experience where the believer experiences not only a certain heaviness in his faith but also what we have called a spiritual struggle in his faith journey. But are they the same?

The aim of this essay is first to explain the terms Spiritual Desolation and Dark Night, as St. Ignatius and St. John of the Cross intended in their writings, and secondly, to offer a short comparison of these two terms.

Spesso i termini desolazione spirituale e notte oscura vengono usati in modo intercambiabile. In realtà, entrambi si riferiscono a un'esperienza spirituale in cui il credente sperimenta non solo una certa pesantezza nella sua fede, ma anche quella che abbiamo definito una lotta spirituale nel suo cammino di fede. Ma sono la stessa cosa?

L'obiettivo di questo saggio è innanzitutto quello di spiegare i termini Desolazione spirituale e Notte oscura, così come li ha definiti sant'Ignazio e san Giovanni della Croce nei loro scritti, e in secondo luogo offrire un breve confronto tra questi due termini.

PAUL CHANDLER O.CARM., *De Corpore Christi: A Mystical Sermon on the Eucharist by Conrad of Saint George*, O.Carm. (d. ca. 1310)

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Die Wiederentdeckung von De corpore Christi, einer mystischen Predigt über die Eucharistie des Kölner Karmeliten Konrad von St. Georg (gest. ca. 1310), die früher als anonym galt oder fälschlicherweise dem heiligen Bonaventura zugeschrieben wurde, liefert uns das zweite von nur zwei bedeutenden Werken namentlich genannter karmelitischen Autoren aus dem 13. Jahrhundert (das andere ist die Ignea sagitta des Nikolaus von Frankreich). In lateinischer und mittelniederländischer Sprache überliefert wurde De corpore Christi jahrhundertlang in Nordeuropa geschätzt, insbesondere von den Anhängern von Ruusbroec und in den Kreisen der Devotio moderna. Es ist das erste erhaltene mystische Werk eines karmelitischen Autors und ein Klassiker der mittelalterlichen eucharistischen Frömmigkeit.

La riscoperta del De corpore Christi, un sermone mistico sull'Eucaristia del carmelitano di Colonia Corrado di San Giorgio (morto nel 1310 circa), in passato considerato anonimo o erroneamente attribuito a San Bonaventura, ci offre la seconda delle due sole opere sostanziali di autori carmelitani del XIII secolo (l'altra è l'Ignea sagitta di Nicolo Gallico). In latino e in olandese medio, De corpore Christi fu apprezzato per secoli nell'Europa settentrionale, soprattutto dai seguaci di Ruusbroec e nei circoli della Devotio moderna. È la prima opera mistica esistente di un autore carmelitano e un classico della devozione eucaristica medievale.

EDITORIALE

In this Volume of Carmelus (2/2020) we combined the publication of three articles with the Bibliographia Carmelitana Annualis 2019.

The articles refer to different areas of our Carmelite tradition and heritage.

The theme of the first article is the report on the festivities of Virgen del Carmen held in Naples and attended by King Charles VII (later Charles III of Spain) and his family in one of the first issues of the Gaceta de Madrid (founded 1697).

The second article is a comparison between two important spiritual traditions, the Ignatian and the Carmelite Spirituality, focused on the understanding of Spiritual Desolation and Dark Night, helping to understand similarities and differences among other things for Spiritual Directors today.

The third contribution is a critical edition of the very important text "De corpore Christi" of our early Carmelite tradition, to prepare the ground for further research.

As usual for volume 2 of every year we present the Bibliographia Carmelitana annualis.

The editorial staff

EL CARMINE MAGGIORE EN LA GACETA DE MADRID

MACARENA CRESPO ÁLVAREZ

Es interesante comprobar cómo se pueden encontrar menciones a la devoción de la Virgen del Carmen en los sitios más insospechados. En una excursión de un día a un pueblo cercano a Madrid (a 50 km al sudeste de la capital) llamado Nuevo Baztán, el conocido popularmente como “el primer polígono industrial de España”, la mención del Carmen surgió de forma inesperada en un documento del siglo XVIII: *La Gaceta de Madrid*. Esta gaceta, antecedente del *Boletín Oficial del Estado* actual y noticiario de la época, debemos relacionarla con una figura clave del siglo de las luces: don Juan de Goyeneche y Gastón quien, tras su construcción, ubicó su espacio de residencia en su proyecto industrial, el mencionado Nuevo Baztán.

La figura de Juan de Goyeneche y Gastón un hombre emprendedor

Nuevo Baztán, que recibe su nombre del homónimo valle navarro, fue una idea gestada y promovida en su construcción por don Juan de Goyeneche. De él se hace mención en el *Informe del arzobispo de Toledo* de 1772, donde se describe un sueño y un proyecto muy moderno para la época, imbuido de las ideas económicas llegadas desde el país vecino:

“...Don Juan de Goyeneche, Señor de la Villa de Olmeda de este Arzobispado, ha fundado a sus propias expensas un Lugar en un despoblado en el término y jurisdicción de la referida Villa de la Olmeda, llamado Nuevo Baztán, que tendrá ochenta casas, y más de quinientas personas, donde ha puesto fábricas de cristales, Sombreros, Pielés, y Telares de seda y lana, conduciendo Maestros Estrangeros [sic], que enseñen a los Naturales, con notable utilidad de aquella, tierra, y con crecidas expensas suyas, plantando en sus cercanías Olivas, y Viñas, y haciendo fructuoso el campo, que antes era inútil...”¹.

¹ Texto recogido en el folleto del Centro de interpretación de Nuevo Baztán, publicado por el ayuntamiento de la localidad: <https://turismo.ayto-nuevobaztan.es/wp-con>

Don Juan de Goyeneche y Gastón (Arizcun, Valle del Baztán 1656-Nuevo Baztán, 1735) fue la persona de referencia para un grupo de navarros residentes en la Corte española en un momento clave de la historia de España: el paso de la dinastía Habsburgo, con Carlos II como último monarca de la misma, y la llegada de la dinastía Borbón, de la mano de Felipe V, tras la guerra de Sucesión que terminó en 1713 con el Tratado de Utrecht. Don Juan y otros hombres de su entorno destacaron porque “no despreciaban el trabajo a pesar de su nobleza de sangre, eran innovadores en sus actividades económicas, y austeros, cultos y sinceramente religiosos en su vida privada”². La “casa” navarra estaba constituida por hombres procedentes del mismo lugar de origen ubicados en diversos espacios peninsulares importantes por sus negocios: bien en Cádiz, puerto hacia las Américas, bien en las Indias o bien en las rutas comerciales que les permitían, a través de sus contactos, mantener vivos unos negocios que –en el caso de nuestro protagonista– alcanzaron a inspirar la creación de una ciudad, confiando el proyecto al artista barroco Juan de Churriguera³.

Don Juan se había significado en su trayectoria por sus buenas relaciones con gentes de alto rango. Siendo el menor de seis hermanos y, por tanto, lejos del mayorazgo, fue enviado a Madrid a estudiar humanidades en el colegio Imperial propio de la Compañía de Jesús⁴. Mantuvo buenas relaciones con el IX Conde de Oropesa y, gracias a él y a su suegro Martín Balanza (oficial 2º en la Secretaría de Millones), fue el tesorero del gasto secreto de Carlos II de Habsburgo⁵ y Tesorero General de Milicias para encargarse en 1699 de la tesorería privada de Mariana de Neoburgo. Años más tarde ocuparía el mismo puesto al servicio de las reinas María Luisa de Saboya e Isabel de Farnesio⁶.

Fue un hombre que supo mantenerse en la corte durante el gobierno del *Hechizado*, pero también de su sucesor, pues en la guerra de Sucesión tomó partido por el futuro Felipe V, lo que le permitió conservar las tesorerías mencionadas desde donde podía mantener

tent/uploads/2019/06/folleto_centrointerpretacion_nuevo_baztan.espanol_0.pdf [Captura: 10/01/2022].

² Sigo de cerca la presentación de: FLORISTÁN IMIZCOZ, Alfredo, “Don Juan de Goyeneche: su memoria y su obra”, en *Juan de Goyeneche, el triunfo de los navarros en la monarquía hispánica del siglo XVIII*, coord. PÉREZ MIGUEL, Pedro, RECIO AGUADO, Rosa M., BARCHINO CANO, Beatriz, Navarra, 2005 (pp. 79-104), p. 80.

³ *Ibidem*.

⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 82.

⁵ Diccionario biográfico Real Academia de la Historia. <https://dbe.rah.es/biografias/14751/juan-de-goyeneche-y-gaston> [captura: 15/01/2022].

⁶ FLORISTÁN IMIZCOZ, Alfredo, “Don Juan...”, p. 83.

buenas relaciones con personas influyentes y conocer las novedades del reino.⁷

Goyeneche se interesó también por las Humanidades y algunos autores consideran que posiblemente fueron las tertulias y “academias” a las que solía asistir en casa del Conde de Oropesa y otros ámbitos las que le inclinaron a un interés editor⁸. De él decían intelectuales como el Padre Feijoo “*que todo entiende y a todo atiende*” y a quien “*las ciencias reconocen por protector, las artes por promotor*”⁹. Él mismo llegó a celebrar en su casa esas tertulias de intelectuales y humanistas tan del gusto del siglo XVIII ilustrado de las que el religioso benedictino da cuenta: “*la casa de V.S. [es] noble academia a donde concurren los más escogidos ingenios, no humilde tertulia donde se admiten míseros pedantes*”¹⁰. No en vano se habían conocido cuando el Padre Feijoo había acudido a Madrid en 1725 y el benedictino siempre mostró ser deudor de un hombre amable y generoso como Goyeneche, del que aseguraba: “*Todos para sí, Goyeneche para todos y para todo*”¹¹.

Llegó a publicar en 1685 su *Executoria de la nobleza, antigüedad y blasones del valle del Baztán que dedica a sus hijos y originarios*. Libro que brinda a “la patria” que lo vio nacer y a sus habitantes y en el que él mismo describe sus lazos con su tierra natal:

*“Nací, por beneficio del Cielo, en el Valle de Baztán, y contemplando los blasones de tan generosa Patria, reconozco la deuda de tan dichoso origen y à la luz de este conocimiento excito el noble deseo de pagarla tanto mas gustoso, quanto por ella me considero de la Fortuna mas fauorecido. Este debido reconocimiento viue hermanado con el amor de la Patria, que la naturaleza cuidadosa infunde en los corazones humanos, para que no quede expuesto à los desayres de la ingratitude vn bien tan superior a los demás, como el beneficio del ser”*¹².

De igual modo se implicó en la edición del libro *Mística Ciudad de Dios, Milagro de su Omnipotencia y abismo de la Gracia: Historia Divina y Vida de la Virgen Madre de Dios* de María de Jesús de Ágreda,

⁷ *Ibidem*.

⁸ *Ibid*, p. 86.

⁹ BONET CORREA, Antonio, “Juan de Goyeneche, su palacio y la Academia”, en: *Juan de Goyeneche, el triunfo...* (pp. 105-113), p. 109.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*.

¹¹ FLORISTÁN IMIZCOZ, Alfredo, “Don Juan...”, p. 89.

¹² GOYENECHÉ Y GASTÓN, Juan, *Executoria de la nobleza, antigüedad y blasones del valle del Baztán que dedica a sus hijos y originarios*, Madrid, 1685, en: https://proxy.europeana.eu/307/10357_40037_aggregation?view=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.euskalmemoria-digitala.eus%2Fapplet%2Flibros%2FJPG%2F018479%2F018479.pdf&disposition=in-line&api_url=https%3A%2F%2Fapi.europeana.eu%2Fapi [Captura: 28/01/2022].

monja conocida por su capacidad de bilocación, apareciendo en Nuevo México y Tejas animando a los indios a bautizarse en los conventos franciscanos de la zona y conocida en América como “La dama Azul de los Llanos”, aunque nunca abandonó su convento en Ágreda. Parece ser que su vínculo con la religiosa está relacionado con su mujer, María de Balanza, y la familia materna de la misma procedente de la zona soriana¹³. Además, costeó también la edición de *Varias poesías sagradas y profanas* de su amigo Antonio de Solís¹⁴.

Tuvo también Goyeneche participación en eventos religiosos vinculándose a la Real Congregación de San Fermín de los Navarros como celador de pobres¹⁵.

Como hombre de negocios destacó, en su papel de prestamista a la Corona. En 1710, de una flota con remesas de oro y plata llegadas de las Indias que contaban con 1.100.000 pesos, se anunciaba que 200.000 de ellos debían entregarse a Juan de Goyeneche¹⁶. También se encargó de aprovisionar de víveres y materiales a la armada y el ejército, además del arrendamiento de rentas reales¹⁷.

Pero el proyecto por el que ha destacado este intelectual del periodo absolutista ha sido por el mencionado Nuevo Baztán donde puso en práctica “*todas las ideas que habían sido el eje de su vida: ‘el servicio al rey, el abastecimiento del ejército, las ideas colbertistas¹⁸ de fomentar la industria y combatir la despoblación, así como promocionar el ascenso de su familia mediante la adquisición de derechos señoriales’*”. Se trata de una ciudad creada en unos terrenos comprados por el hidalgo¹⁹

¹³ Sobre María de Jesús de Ágreda, su experiencia espiritual y las ediciones de sus obras, cf., COLAHAN, Clark., *The visions of Sor María de Jesús de Ágreda*, Tucson, 1994; así como el estudio introductorio de Celestino Solaguren a la *Mística ciudad de Dios*, Madrid, 1992.

¹⁴ FLORISTÁN IMIZCOZ, Alfredo, “Don Juan...”, p. 88.

¹⁵ Diccionario biográfico Real Academia de la Historia. <https://dbe.rah.es/biografias/14751/juan-de-goyeneche-y-gaston> [Captura: 03/02/2022].

¹⁶ *Ibídem*

¹⁷ FLORISTÁN IMIZCOZ, Alfredo, “Don Juan...”, p. 93.

¹⁸ Colbert, ministro de Luis XIV de Francia y defensor del mercantilismo, doctrina política que planteaba la necesidad de abastecer al país produciendo en el mismo y evitando así las importaciones, pues el enriquecimiento de un reino debía hacerse con la recopilación de oro y plata del resto de las naciones por medio de la exportación, evitando la importación y siendo autosuficiente. Juan de Goyeneche creía firmemente en la capacidad del reino hispano de crear manufacturas tan válidas y lujosas como las que las casas nobles compraban en Italia, Flandes o Francia.

¹⁹ Los espacios pertenecían al marqués de Olmeda y al marqués de Almonacid, que en aquellos tiempos padecían penurias económicas. Diccionario biográfico Real Academia de la Historia. <https://dbe.rah.es/biografias/14751/juan-de-goyeneche-y-gaston>

donde planifica varios elementos: un palacio (su futura residencia), una iglesia dedicada a San Francisco Javier y tres plazas: una para mercado, otra donde se ubicaban los sistemas fabriles más importantes (la de la iglesia) y otra para fiestas. A partir de ahí, y siguiendo el modelo renacentista y barroco aplicado en las Américas, se establece un plano urbano ortogonal o en damero. En este espacio pretende fomentar el desarrollo industrial del reino y convertirlo en una potencia importante económicamente. Con este deseo de reducir las importaciones (pensamiento propio de Colbert) establecerá diversas fábricas de telas, sedas, vidrio, pieles, sombreros y uniformes del ejército (“*con los que abastecía en exclusividad al Almacén General de Vestuarios*”) y en la entonces conocida como Olmeda de la Cebolla dispondrá una primera fábrica de paños²⁰. Son ideas que no sólo aplicará Goyeneche, lo harán también otros hombres de su tiempo, como Pablo de Olavide en la feligresía de la Carolina²¹, en la que establecerá (siguiendo el proyecto de Campomanes) no sólo la repoblación de la región y el urbanismo de la zona, sino también las ideas propias de la Ilustración en la que la economía basada en la fisiocracia (es decir, más en la agricultura que en la industria) será lo predominante.

Pero de todos los negocios y propósitos alcanzados, planeados y fomentados por Don Juan de Goyeneche, el que aquí nos interesa más es el de *La Gaceta de Madrid* pues es en ella donde encontramos la mención al Carmen de Nápoles.

La Gaceta de Madrid. Noticiero del siglo XVIII

“Las gacetas nacieron en el siglo XVII con el fin de recoger los acontecimientos más llamativos de la comunidad, para fijarlos en las mentes de las personas y para que después, gracias al boca-boca, pudieran ser transmitidos muy lejos”²².

En el caso que nos ocupa, *La Gaceta de Madrid* fundada en 1661, llega a manos de don Juan de Goyeneche en 1697 tras comprar a la Junta de Patronos de los Hospitales de Madrid “*el privilegio de imprimir ‘gacetas’ a perpetuidad, a cambio de una renta anual de 400 ducados*”.

²⁰ *Ibidem*.

²¹ [https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nuevo_Baztán#Fundación del poblado](https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nuevo_Baztán#Fundaci3n_del_poblado) [Captura: 06/02/2022].

²² NÚÑEZ DE PRADO, Sara, “De la Gaceta de Madrid al Boletín Oficial del Estado”, *Historia y Comunicación Social*, vol. 7 (2002), (pp. 147-160), p. 148.

dos".²³ Por aquel entonces, el noticiario era conocido como *Gaceta Ordinaria de Madrid*²⁴. Don Juan de Goyeneche simplificó el nombre y dio regularidad a la publicación de la misma, saliendo el primer número el 26 de marzo del año de su adquisición²⁵.

Las gacetas, que en origen eran noticiarios que salían de forma irregular, dieron pie al conocimiento de las noticias más llamativas de la época. En principio estaban en manos privadas, pero la monarquía, dándose cuenta del poder que les concedía el control de la información, vigilaron siempre muy de cerca dichos *protoperiódicos*, pues era necesario un privilegio real de publicación. De dicho privilegio gozó Goyeneche a quien Felipe V renovó su privilegio exclusivo, aquel que había adquirido durante el reinado de Carlos II, asegurando de ese modo que las noticias no fueran "*tratadas con la indecencia que se ha experimentado en España hasta que ha estado este encargo a vuestro cuidado*"²⁶. Con esta afirmación, relacionada con un hombre defensor de los borbones en la Guerra de Sucesión, queda patente una de las funciones más importantes que las gacetas van adquiriendo poco a poco: servir a los intereses de la Corte y los monarcas. En dichos noticiarios se recogieron las nuevas relacionadas con asuntos exteriores y no tanto acontecimientos propios del reino, lo que también era una forma de desviar la atención de los interesados. Sólo cuando convenía, se analizaba lo ocurrido en el interior²⁷. Estas cuartillas muestran, además, el deseo de las gentes de informarse de los acontecimientos del momento, de ahí el interés del control de la información por parte de los poderes establecidos.

La *Gaceta* adquirida por Goyeneche estaba formada por cuatro páginas o pliegos de un cuarto de folio. El propietario de los derechos sobre la misma, dispuso la imprenta en la calle Alcalá, lugar frecuentado por Goyeneche, pues allí se encontraba uno de sus palacios en lo que es hoy la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando. Don Juan hizo de ella una publicación periódica (semanal), con corresponsales y suscriptores. Recogía noticias de la Corona española y territo-

²³ FLORISTÁN IMIZCOZ, Alfredo, "Don Juan...", p. 89.

²⁴ BONET CORREA, Antonio, "Juan...", p. 112. El origen de la misma, sin embargo, se relaciona con Juan José de Austria, hermanastro de Felipe IV, quien la publicó en 1661 con el nombre "Relación o gaceta de algunos casos particulares, así políticos como militares sucedidos en la mayor parte del mundo hasta fin de diciembre de 1660". NÚÑEZ DE PRADO, Sara, "De la Gaceta...", p. 149.

²⁵ FLORISTÁN IMIZCOZ, Alfredo, "Don Juan...", p. 89.

²⁶ *Ibidem*.

²⁷ NÚÑEZ DE PRADO, Sara, "De la Gaceta...", p. 148.

rio africano²⁸. En el caso que nos ocupa, la *Gaceta* hace mención de una visita del rey de Nápoles, el entonces Carlos VII, futuro Carlos III de España, a la iglesia del Carmen (*il Carmine maggiore*).

La *Gaceta de Madrid* fue uno de los negocios más rentables de Juan de Goyeneche, pero sus herederos no supieron gestionar la publicación como lo había hecho don Juan, pues en 1762 Carlos III estableció que la *Gaceta* dependiese directamente de la Corona y ya en 1837 con una Real Orden se convirtió en el *Boletín Oficial del Estado*²⁹.

Fue en estos pliegos donde se dio anuncio de la muerte de su editor el 19 de abril de 1735:

*“El día 12 del corriente falleció en su lugar del Nuevo Baztán, de edad de 77 años y cinco meses, don Juan de Goyeneche que sirvió el empleo de Tesorero de la Reyna nuestra señora por espacio de más de quarenta años, acreditando así en él, como en otros bastos encargos de la Monarquía, su desinterés, fidelidad, zelo al Real servicio y amor a la Patria”*³⁰.

Carlos VII de Nápoles y III de España.

Carlos III³¹ nació en el Alcázar de Madrid el 20 de enero de 1716. Tercer hijo de Felipe V y primogénito de Isabel de Farnesio, segunda esposa del monarca. Su llegada al mundo fue anunciada en la *Gaceta de Madrid* un día después. Fue educado por diversos hombres de letras procedentes de Francia como Joseph Arnaud y otros de la Corona Hispánica como el padre Ignacio Laubrusel o el padre Saverio de la Conca en sus primeros años de formación. Alcanzó a hablar francés, además de español, algo de alemán y tres dialectos italianos: florentino, lombardo y napolitano, e incluso supo escribir en latín³².

Por los vínculos de su madre con las casas italianas, tras fallecer Cosme III, Gran Duque de la Toscana, Carlos será reconocido como heredero, al menos de forma temporal de dicho ducado. La razón estaba vinculada a la Cuádruple Alianza, acuerdos establecidos entre Gran Bretaña, Francia, Sacro Imperio Romano Germano y Holanda que tenían las aspiraciones territoriales de Felipe V en Italia tras el Tratado de Utrecht de 1713.

²⁸ BONET CORREA, Antonio, “Juan...”, p. 109.

²⁹ NÚÑEZ DE PRADO, Sara, “De la Gaceta...”, p. 151 y 154.

³⁰ FLORISTÁN IMIZCOZ, Alfredo, “Don Juan...”, p. 103.

³¹ Sobre las acciones de Carlos III de España en Nápoles consultar: SCHIPA, Michelangelo, *Il regno di Napoli al tempo di Carlo di Borbone*, Nápoles, 1904.

³² <https://dbe.rah.es/biografias/10734/carlos-iii> [Captura: 13/02/2022].

En 1729 se reconocieron los derechos sucesorios de Carlos a los ducados de Parma y Plasencia por parte de Inglaterra, Francia, Holanda y España³³. En 1731 muere el duque de Parma, Antonio de Farnesio, y Carlos deberá viajar a Italia a recoger el testigo de su pariente. Estando en territorio itálico se produjo en Europa un nuevo acontecimiento con connotaciones internacionales: la Guerra de Sucesión en Polonia (1733-1738). Dos posibles candidatos tras la muerte de Augusto II: de un lado Estanislao Leszczyński, apoyado por Luis XV de Francia, España (en virtud del primer pacto de familia), Ducado de Saboya, Baviera, el Ducado de Parma y el reino de Cerdeña, y, del otro, Federico Augusto II, elector de Polonia, en este caso apoyado por el Sacro Imperio Romano Germano con el archiducado de Austria y Sajonia, el Imperio ruso y el reino de Prusia³⁴. O lo que es lo mismo, la repetición de lo ocurrido durante la Guerra de Sucesión española: Habsburgo contra Borbones.

En el caso de dicha guerra, que llevó a un enfrentamiento en territorio italiano por las posesiones que los borbones españoles habían perdido en favor de Austria en el Tratado de Utrecht, supondrá la entrada de Carlos en Nápoles y la recepción de las llaves de la ciudad de mano del príncipe de Centola. Carlos entregó el reino a su padre que, a su vez, se lo cedió, convirtiéndolo en monarca de Nápoles primero, el 30 de abril de 1734 y del Reino de las Dos Sicilias (tras la toma de la isla en 1735) el 3 de julio de 1735³⁵. Sólo tenía 19 años y en su persona se unían los derechos de la Corona Aragonesa del rey Fernando el Católico y de la Corona Francesa de Luis XII, monarcas que lucharon por la conquista de *Il Regno* a finales del siglo XV y principios del XVI.

Durante su estancia en Nápoles, el nuevo monarca desarrolló su carácter. Pasó 25 años allí y llevó a cabo reformas varias que modernizaron Nápoles, sin dejar de lado Sicilia. Concedió protección a los comerciantes sicilianos, mejoró la seguridad del puerto en la ciudad del sur, acabó con los excesos eclesiásticos, llevó a cabo una importante labor urbanística con la creación de palacios como el de Caserta, Portici y Capodimonte³⁶. Ejerció como monarca del Despotismo Ilustrado y una de sus mayores aportaciones al conocimiento fue el inicio

³³ *Ibidem*.

³⁴ <https://www.omniamutantur.es/wp-content/uploads/GUERRA-DE-SUCESION-DE-POLONIA.pdf> y https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guerra_de_sucesion_polaca [captura: 13/02/2022].

³⁵ De este hecho hay noticia en el Archivo Histórico Nacional, AHN//ESTADO, 3402, Exp. 11.

³⁶ <https://dbe.rah.es/biografias/10734/carlos-iii> [Captura: 13/02/2022].

de las excavaciones de las ciudades romanas de Pompeya, Herculano y Estabia. Dichos trabajos se coronaron con el descubrimiento, no sólo de las ciudades en sí, sino también con el rescate de todas las pinturas y piezas desenterradas de la lava y las cenizas que fueron llevadas al palacio de Portici, sede del museo Herculanoense.

Los descubrimientos, especialmente de bronce y pinturas, fueron recogidos y editados por orden del propio monarca en el libro *Le antichità di Ercolano Esposte*, obra en la que se recogían grabados de dichos descubrimientos realizados en las villas romanas y que la Corte regalaba a nobles, intelectuales, artistas y a las diferentes universidades de Europa³⁷. Los originales se quedaron en Italia, pero el monarca, una vez llegado a España como sucesor de Felipe V, solicitó a Bernardo Tanucci, que después sería regente de su hijo Fernando en el Reino de las Dos Sicilias, copias en yeso de las esculturas. Dichas obras, en origen se ubicaron en el Palacio del Buen Retiro, pero el monarca, en su deseo de formación y, siguiendo los planteamientos ilustrados, las donó a la Real Academia de las Tres Nobles Artes, espacio muy del gusto del XVIII, en el que arquitectos, pintores y escultores recibían su formación. Hoy se encuentran precisamente en el que fuera palacio de don Juan de Goyeneche, en la Real Academia de San Fernando. Y no solo en lo que fue la Academia se conservan dichas copias, el mismo rey envió en 1780 un importante número de vaciados en yeso de las que se habían traído de Italia a Méjico, con motivo de la fundación de la Academia de San Carlos en la ciudad azteca³⁸. De modo que, como era propio del Imperio español donde lo que sucedía en las Coronas hispanas era lo mismo que sucedía en sus Provincias de Ultramar, el saber de las villas de Pompeya, Herculano y Estabia alcanzaron el nuevo continente.

Los trabajos arqueológicos realizados por iniciativa del que fuera Carlos VII de Nápoles influyeron en el movimiento artístico mundial conocido con el nombre de Neoclasicismo. Las excavaciones condujeron a la recuperación del mundo grecolatino que llevaría al fin del Rococó de formas recargadas y curvilíneas dando paso a la pureza de la línea propia de edificios como el Observatorio Astronómico de Madrid.

No sería hasta 1759 que Carlos VII de Nápoles y V de Sicilia se convirtió en Carlos III de España cediendo el gobierno del Reino de las Dos Sicilias a su hijo Fernando³⁹. Durante su gobierno en tierras ita-

³⁷ <https://www.realacademiabellasartessanfernando.com/es/actividades/exposiciones/carlos-iii-y-la-difusion-de-la-antiguedad> [Captura: 15/02/2022].

³⁸ *Ibidem*.

lianas, el rey, entre las muchas actividades que le tenían ocupado, acudió a la iglesia del Carmen, posiblemente de manera habitual por lo que desliza el texto de la *La Gaceta de Madrid* que presentamos.

***Il Carmine Maggiore* de Nápoles**

Uno de los lugares más típicos de la historia de Nápoles es la Iglesia del *Carmine Maggiore* que se encuentra junto a la popular *Piazza Mercato*, cerca del puerto de la ciudad partenopea. En el siglo XIII (cuando llegaron los carmelitas), se trataba de una zona irregular y casi sin edificar, conocida como el “*campo del moricino*” ubicada junto a las murallas que protegían la ciudad. El Carmen se encuentra presente en muchos de los principales acontecimientos de la rica historia napolitana⁴⁰. Los orígenes de la iglesia y de la presencia carmelita se pierden entre la historia y la leyenda, pero, en cualquier caso, está ya atestiguada antes de 1268. La primera etapa de su historia está muy vinculada a la figura de Corradino el último de los Hohenstaufen que fue decapitado junto a su primo Federico de Austria en 1268.

Una leyenda popular señala que la madre de Corradino, Isabel de Baviera, se trasladó a la ciudad partenopea para rescatar a su hijo, pero al encontrarlo muerto decidió emplear ese dinero en una fundación de misas que los carmelitas dirían de forma casi perpetua por la salvación de su alma. Sin entrar en la veracidad de la leyenda, resulta curioso que todavía en el siglo XVI se celebrará una misa diaria en el altar mayor en sufragio del *Imperador Corradino*. La estatua en cuyo pedestal se conservan las cenizas de Corradino fue diseñada por el gran escultor neoclásico danés Albert Bertel Thorvaldsen⁴¹. En la Segunda Guerra Mundial, cuando las tropas alemanas volvían de retirada hacia el norte, algunos testigos señalan que buscaron, llevados por su fervor nacionalista, los restos de Corradino para trasladarlos a Alemania, pero no los encontraron.

³⁹ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁰ Véase la estupenda síntesis de: Boaga, Emanuele, *La “Bruna” e il Carmine di Napoli*, Napoli 1988; así como: MONACO, Gabriele, *Piazza Mercato. Sette secoli di storia*, Napoli 1970; así como las múltiples referencias al *Carmine Maggiore* en la magna obra de: SMET, Johachim, *Los Carmelitas I-V*, Madrid 1987-1995.

⁴¹ La estatua fue realizada por Pietro Schoeps, aunque había sido diseñada por Thorvaldsen, uno de los artistas más representativos del neoclasicismo. Pese a ser protestante, trabajó mucho para instituciones católicas, incluida su estatua para la tumba del Papa Pío VII en el Vaticano.

La historia del *Carmine Maggiore* está íntimamente ligada al célebre icono de *la Bruna*, venerado por los napolitanos con gran fervor. Una piadosa tradición señala que el icono habría venido con los primeros carmelitas que llegaron desde Tierra Santa, aunque algunos estudiosos la atribuyen más bien a la escuela toscana del siglo XIII. Muchos son los hechos y anécdotas que se podrían contar del icono de *la Bruna*. Destacaremos solamente el hecho de que, en el Jubileo del año 1500, convocado por el papa Alejandro VI, el célebre papa Borgia, el icono despertó tal fervor popular en la ciudad eterna que el mismo papa habría invitado a los napolitanos a que se lo llevaran de nuevo a su ciudad, ya que en cierto modo le hacía competencia (en cuestión de limosnas) al mismo San Pedro. La vuelta del icono a Nápoles fue también multitudinaria⁴².

Otro hecho importantísimo de la historia de Nápoles unido a la iglesia del Carmen fue la famosa revuelta de *Massaniello* (Tommaso Aniello d'Amalfi) de 1648. Al parecer la revuelta no solamente tuvo lugar en torno al Carmen, sino que se habría fraguado en el ambiente del convento como recuerda una lápida que se encuentra en uno de los ángulos del mismo. Aquella revuelta popular (¡que coincidió prácticamente con las festividades del Carmen!) quedó muy grabada en la memoria de los napolitanos y en la historia de la ciudad y le supuso a los carmelitas la pérdida temporal del convento.

También hay que destacar en la historia del *Carmine* la solemne coronación canónica de la imagen que tuvo lugar el 11 de julio de 1875. En un período más bien convulso de la historia de la Iglesia, la multitudinaria coronación de *la Bruna* fue bastante significativa por su carácter popular y fue acompañada de numerosos fastos, funciones religiosas y civiles, fuegos artificiales seguidos desde toda la bahía, y numerosas muestras espontáneas de devoción.

Por último, y a nivel quizá anecdótico, quisiera destacar que en esta iglesia del Carmen tuvo lugar el funeral del célebre cómico napolitano Totò en abril de 1967. Según las crónicas, acudieron al mismo más de 200.000 personas que invadieron, no solamente la iglesia, sino

⁴² Aunque E. Boaga señala que dejó constancia de ello, mucho más tarde, el pintor Luca Giordano, en un cuadro que se encontraría en el museo de *San Lorenzo Maggiore* de Nápoles (BOAGA, Emanuele, *La "Bruna" e il Carmine*, 3-6), dicho cuadro se atribuye más bien a un discípulo suyo, Giovanni Tommaso Fasano y representa la protección de *la Bruna* en tiempos de peste (1656). Estaba acompañado, en una capilla dedicada a la Virgen del Carmen en la iglesia de *Donnaregina nuova*, de otra tela del mismo autor que representaría la entrega del escapulario a Simon Stock. Cf., DE DOMINICI, Bernardo, *Vite de' pittori, scultori ed architetti napoletani*, III, Napoli 1743, pp. 446 y ss.

también la plaza adyacente. De este modo, *il Carmine* se ligaba de nuevo al alma napolitana a través de una de sus figuras más queridas y populares, el Príncipe Antonio de Curtis.

En nuestros tiempos las fiestas del Carmen se siguen celebrando con gran fervor y, año tras año, *l' incendio del Campanile*⁴³ recuerda, no solamente a la ciudad, sino a gran parte de la bahía de Nápoles la festividad del Carmen.

El texto

El texto que recoge el número 34 de *La Gaceta de Madrid* del martes 20 de agosto de 1737, se caracteriza porque da noticia en las Coronas españolas de los acontecimientos que ocurren en el vecino reino de las Dos Sicilias, gobernado en 1737 por Carlos VII. Pese a su brevedad y al carácter anecdótico del mismo, no deja de resultar significativo del eco, incluso internacional, del que gozaban las fiestas del Carmen en Nápoles. Téngase en cuenta que el texto que presentamos se escribió casi 22 años antes de que *Carlo di Borbone* pasase a ser rey de España con el nombre de Carlos III. Aunque había nacido en Madrid y vivido allí unos años (lo que quizás provocase cierto interés por su figura), era solamente un miembro de la familia real que reinaba en Nápoles⁴⁴. No obstante, la *Gaceta de Madrid* se hace eco de su participación en las fiestas del Carmen y, más aún, ni siquiera las presenta o las explica al lector, lo que indica que da por supuesto que dichas fiestas son conocidas.

En definitiva, nos encontramos ante un curioso testimonio. Entre otras cosas (la primera ilustración incipiente en España, el nacimiento de ciertos medios de comunicación, el idealismo y el entusiasmo por el progreso de los primeros ilustrados, etc), el texto muestra la fama de las fiestas del *Carmine* en la ciudad partenopea. En él se recoge lo siguiente:

“Nápoles, 23 de julio de 1737. El Rey fue el Domingo por la tarde a la Iglesia de Nuestra Señora del Carmen a sus acostumbradas devociones, y después pasó S. M. al Banco público de San Eligio, y de su principal balcón,

⁴³ Por ejemplo en el video: <https://youtu.be/envxUnUQ5Tg> [captura: 20/3/2022].

⁴⁴ Boaga señala que el *Carmine Maggiore* siempre estuvo ligado a los grandes acontecimientos del virreinato, así como de la familia real y fueron frecuentes, en diversas etapas de su historia, las misas de acción de gracias y los Tedeum para agradecer la curación de un miembro de la familia real o una victoria militar, e incluye un curioso grabado en el que Ferdinando II y los miembros de la familia real reciben el escapulario del Carmen. Cf. BOAGA, Emanuele, *La “Bruna” e il Carmine*, 32-33.

que cae a la gran Plaza del Mercado, gozó de la diversión de los muchos Fuegos de Artificio de rara idea que se quemaron en honor de Nuestra Señora del Carmen, según se practica de todos los años en la Octava de su Festividad. El Rey se ha dignado hacer merced de Título de Marqués, con la denominación de San Carlos, a don Antonio Abatirre, Gentil Hombre de su Real Casa, y Boca, y al mismo tiempo le ha honrado con el Empleo de Sub-Conductor de Embaxadores, en atención a su calidad, y al zelo, y amor con que le ha servido”.

SPIRITUAL DESOLATION ACCORDING TO ST. IGNATIUS
AND DARK NIGHT ACCORDING TO ST. JOHN OF THE CROSS...
WHAT'S IN A NAME?

OSMAR BALDACCHINO

1. Introduction

Faith is a journey, in which the believer gradually moves towards the One, in whom he believes. This is not an easy or straightforward journey, and it continuously calls for deeper knowledge and conversion of one's own heart. Enzo Bianchi in his book *Lessico Della Vita Interiore*, shows how this conversion of heart is a struggle:

“In Christianity, this is not merely ‘discernment and psychological adjustment’; this is what St. Paul calls the ‘struggle of faith’ (1 Tim 6,12), the only struggle that can be definitely ‘good’.”¹

In the entire Scripture, this struggle is seen as an essential element for spiritual growth. Along the course of time, various spiritual authors addressed the topic of spiritual growth and the struggle of faith such as Origen, Augustine, John Cassian, Catherine of Siena, and Lorenzo Scupoli.² Amongst these spiritual authors stand out two 16th century Spanish authors: St. Ignatius of Loyola and St. John of the Cross, who as a result of their rich and profound interior life, characterised by their high spiritual awareness, they left us writings that shaped the understanding of spiritual struggle for the following centuries. Both St. Ignatius and St. John were instrumental

¹ “Tutto questo, nel cristianesimo, non è affatto semplicemente un movimento di «discernimento e di aggiustamento psicologico»: questa, dice Paolo, è «la lotta della fede» (1 Timoteo 6,12), l'unica lottache può essere definita «buona», Enzo Bianchi, *Lessico Della Vita Interiore: Le parole della Spiritualità* (Milano: BUR Saggi, 2004), 35–36.

² Timothy M. Gallagher, *The Discernment of Spirits: An Ignatian Guide for Everyday Living* (New York: Crossroad Pub. Co, 2005), 2.

for the flowering of mysticism in Spain during the sixteenth century. Charles J. Healy SJ notes that this mysticism was in continuity with that of the Middle Ages, one of the most vibrant periods of Christian spirituality.³

In his Rules for the Discernment of Spirits (I), Ignatius devised a set of rules to help the retreatant, especially during the first week of the Spiritual Exercises, to be aware, understand, and eventually accept or reject spiritual movements. Ignatius calls these movements as spiritual consolation and spiritual desolation. On the other hand, St. John of the Cross, is mostly known for the term “Dark Night” which is divided into two nights, the active and the passive, and each night is subdivided again into the night of the senses and the night of the soul.

2. Spiritual desolation (St. Ignatius)

2.1 St. Ignatius

Ignatius’ insight on the spiritual movements and discernment of the spirit happened almost concurrently with his religious conversion.⁴ There were two essential events in his life that were instrumental for a deepening of his spiritual insight. First the experience at the Cardoner River in Manresa, where in his Autobiography, we find that “his eyes of understanding began to be opened”.⁵ Secondly, the visions that he had in the chapel at La Storta, which Egan interprets as an experience that “confirmed Ignatius Trinitarian, Christ-centred service and ecclesial mysticism.”⁶

However, all goes back to, Ignatius, a wounded soldier, who after his unfortunate battle of Pamplona found himself in his native Loyola, on a bed. After two operations on his leg, Ignatius asked for some books in order to pass time. However he was given two books: on the life of the Saints and of Christ. Although at first unaware of it, Ignatius experienced delight when he thought on worldly things, but afterwards he was discontented and dry. On the other hand, when he thought on spiritual things such as the project of imitating saints, he

³ J. Healey, *Christian Spirituality: An Introduction to the Heritage* (New England Province: Alba House, 1999), 246.

⁴ Gallagher, *The Discernment of Spirits: An Ignatian Guide for Everyday Living*, xiv.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 14.

⁶ *Ibid.*, xiv.

found that he was not only consoled at the time of the thought, but after he “remained content and happy”.⁷

This spiritual unawareness persisted, until a particular graceful moment:

“This difference he did not notice or value, until one day the eyes of his soul were opened and he began to inquire the reason of the difference. He learned by experience that one train of thought left him sad, the other joyful. This was his first reasoning on spiritual matters. Afterward, when he began the Spiritual Exercises, he was enlightened, and understood what he afterward taught his children about the discernment of spirits. When gradually he recognized the different spirits by which he was moved, one, the spirit of God, the other, the devil”.⁸

We can take this graceful moment in St Ignatius life as the birth of his experience and eventually his teaching on the discernment of spirits.

2.2 The rules for discernment

In the Rules for the Discernment of Spirits, Ignatius speaks on two spiritual movements, spiritual consolation and desolation. According to Gallagher “these rules are the clearest and most concrete teaching on discernment of spirits contained in our spiritual tradition.”⁹ Thomas H. Green SJ emphasises that “even today these rules, written 450 years ago, are the church’s canonical locus on discernment.”¹⁰ There are two sets of rules which serve as a guide to the retreatant during the Spiritual Exercises. In this essay, the focus will be on the first set of the rules.

Gallagher points out that from the preface of these rules, one can note the threefold paradigm that Ignatius uses in his discernment of spirit:

- (1) Be Aware,
- (2) Understand,
- (3) Take action (Accept/Reject).

⁷ S.J. J. F. X. O’CONOR, ed., *The Autobiography of Saint Ignatius Loyola*, chap. I, accessed November 26, 2017, http://www.saintsbooks.net/books/St_Ignatius_of_Loyola_-_The_Autobiography_of.pdf.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Gallagher, *The Discernment of Spirits: An Ignatian Guide for Everyday Living*, chap. 3.

¹⁰ Thomas H. Green, *Weeds among the Wheat: Discernment, Where Prayer & Action Meet*, 4th ed. (Indiana: Ave Maria Press, 1990), 14.

Moreover, Gallagher notes that the style and aim of these rules are different from other developed spiritual treatises. “Ignatius, is not composing a developed spiritual treatises such as those written, for example, by Francis de Sales, John of the Cross, or others.”¹¹ Rather the aim is to instruct the retreatant on these spiritual movements and to provide norms for the corresponding practical action.

The first two Rules give the backdrop unto which the following Rules must be understood. They indicate that the first step in the discernment of spirits is to ask whether the person is moving away from God and towards sin or growing closer to God and away from sin. Ignatius presupposes that the retreatant at the beginning of the Spiritual Exercises, desires to move towards God. Hence from Rule 2 onwards, as Gallagher puts it, Ignatius is “describing the experience of all faithful persons.”¹²

2.3 *Spiritual Desolation*

2.3.1 Rule 4

In Rule 4, Ignatius defines spiritual desolation, as “contrary to the previous rule”¹³, i.e. spiritual consolation. Like spiritual consolation, desolation can be experienced both on the spiritual and the nonspiritual level, and is often a result of the conflict between these two levels. Frequently, a nonspiritual desolation triggers a spiritual desolation.¹⁴

This rule is made up of two parts, in the first section Ignatius gives the seven forms of spiritual desolation whilst in the second section he focuses on the subsequent thoughts. As already noted above, the aim of Ignatius was not that of a spiritual treatises, and as such these seven forms are there to assist us in discerning a spiritual desolation.¹⁵ These seven forms are:

1. “Darkness of Soul” - Contrary to Rule 2 where the good spirit gives inspiration, the enemy instils darkness and thus the

¹¹ Gallagher, *The Discernment of Spirits: An Ignatian Guide for Everyday Living*, 16.

¹² *Ibid.*, 39.

¹³ of Loyola Ignatius, *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius*, ed. Avery. Dulles (Chicago: Vintage Books, 2015), 115.

¹⁴ Gallagher, *The Discernment of Spirits: An Ignatian Guide for Everyday Living*, 61.

¹⁵ Gallagher notes that Ignatius uses the words “to some extent” in the introduction of these rules. This means that whilst these rules are “a uniquely valuable instrument toward making a spiritual sense of the movements of our heart... they do not exhaust Ignatius’ thinking on discernment of spirits.” *Ibid.*, 16.

person is in a kind of darkness that makes him unable to comprehend his Soul.

2. "Disturbance in it" - An experience of lack of peace and rest in the soul.
3. "Movement to low and earthly things".
4. "Disquiet from various agitations and temptations".
5. "Movement to Lack of Confidence, without Hope, without Love."
6. "Finding Oneself Totally Slothful, Tepid, and Sad." Gallagher notes that 'totally' here points to the complete state of heart that lacks any spiritual energy.
7. "And, as if Separated from one's Creator" - Ignatius' words "as if" point to the fact that there is an incoherence between what the person is feeling and what he is passing through. It is for this reason that following the Ignatian threefold paradigm of being aware, understanding and taking action, the person must reject the spiritual desolation. Gallagher concludes that "Subject to God's grace, much will depend on whether the person is aware of, understands and works to reject the desolation, that is to say, on whether this is a person of discernment."¹⁶

The second part of this rule shows how the thoughts that flow from a spiritual desolation are completely opposite to those in a spiritual consolation.

2.3.2 Rule 5

In this rule, Ignatius points to the guiding force in both the spiritual consolation and desolation. Whereas during a "consolation the good spirit guides and counsels us, so in a desolation the evil spirit guides and counsels." Hence, whilst thoughts springing from a consolation are to be accepted, those from a desolation are to be rejected. Consequently, Ignatius advises that no change should be made during a state of spiritual desolation.

2.3.3 Rule 6

In this Rule, Ignatius after reaffirming that no change should be made in a desolation, he urges the retreatant to act against by

¹⁶ Ibid., 67.

“intensifying our activity against the desolation.”¹⁷ Ignatius suggests more meditation, prayer, penance, and finally more self-examination.

Toner in his commentary writes that when one reflects on his state of desolation one moves from “myself-in-desolation” to “myself-reflecting-on-myself-in-desolation”.¹⁸ As a result, Toner argues, one focuses his faculties to destroy or weaken the sources of desolation. This is why the examination of consciousness, as ongoing daily practice, is a central theme in Ignatian Spirituality.

2.3.4 Rule 7 and 8

These two rules, although different both emphasise on resistance and perseverance during a spiritual desolation. In Rule 7, Ignatius emphasises that the person can always resist a desolation with God’s help, even though one may not always experience it. In Rule 8, Ignatius calls for “perseverance in patience... that consolation must soon return.”¹⁹ Hence according to Ignatius, the spiritual life consists of an ongoing normal alteration between consolation and desolation.

As it will be explained further in this essay, when compared with the Dark Night, a spiritual desolation is intended to be a period, or to use Ignatius’ term a movement in the heart, and not a state. Gallagher concludes “the more they become people of discernment... the greater will be the fruit of spiritual consolation in their hearts and the less will be the duration, intensity and harm of spiritual desolation in their lives.”²⁰

2.3.5 Rule 9

This rule is very straight forward, and it explicates three principal causes of spiritual desolation. The word ‘causes’ or ‘reasons’ is not to be understood as “the origin (the causing agent) but rather finality, the purpose for which the desolation is permitted to occur.”²¹

1. “Because we have been tepid and slothful or negligent in our exercises of piety and so through our own fault spiritual

¹⁷ Gallagher notes that the original text means to change intensely (el intense mudarse); Ignatius, *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius*, 116.

¹⁸ Jules J. Toner, *A Commentary on Saint Ignatius’ Rules for the Discernment of Spirits: A Guide to the Principles and Practice* (Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1982), 151.

¹⁹ Ignatius, *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius*, 116.

²⁰ Gallagher, *The Discernment of Spirits: An Ignatian Guide for Everyday Living*, 112.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 115.

consolation has been taken away from us.”²² The desolation here serves to point to our fault and to prompt the gift of conversion.

2. The second reason is because God wishes to try us, and thus it serves as a gift of learning. Toner concludes that without desolation we “would likely remain spiritual children.”²³
3. The third reason or cause is so that “God gives us a true knowledge and understanding of ourselves”, i.e. an awareness that we are poor and thus the gift here is that of a humble heart.²⁴

3. Dark night (St. John of the Cross)

3.1 *St John of the Cross*

Juan, born to a poor family at Fontiveros in Spain in 1542 is mostly known for his difficult and profound writing on the Dark Night. After his Carmelite profession he pondered the thought of joining the Carthusian order, in order to live a life of greater prayer and solitude. However, after meeting Teresa of Avila, who was planning to extend the Primitive Rule to Carmelite Friars, she managed to persuade him in this Reform.²⁵

The reform within the Carmelites was not plain sailing at all, in fact he ended up in the middle of tensions between two groups of Carmelites, and the situation aggravated due to political and ecclesial reasons. Eventually he was even imprisoned and kidnapped at Toledo in 1577 by the Calced Carmelites. It is worth noting that some of his poems were written during this period, and thus one can understand the emphasis on darkness.²⁶

As such his writings were a result of his active participation in the Carmelite Reform and the renewal of religious life. However, they were also the result of “a heart that was focused entirely on a loving union with God in the midst of these labours.”²⁷ Kavanaugh and

²² Ignatius, *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius*, 117.

²³ Toner, *A Commentary on Saint Ignatius' Rules for the Discernment of Spirits: A Guide to the Principles and Practice*, 188.

²⁴ Ignatius, *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius*, 117.

²⁵ Healey, *Christian Spirituality: An Introduction to the Heritage*, 268.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 270.

Rodriguez, even note that his work is composed as a result of his personal journey of the passive and active.²⁸

In the Introduction of his Collected Works, it is noted that “his deepest concern was for those who in their spiritual life were suffering.”²⁹ It is this sensitivity towards the interior struggles of the soul that led him to focus on this dark night in his writings. The three major works are *The Ascent of the Mountain and Dark night*, *The Spiritual Canticle*, and *The Living Flame of Love*. His mystical writings can also be divided into two levels: the poems and the prose commentaries with the aim of explaining the poems.

In his writings, John follows the classical three ways of Christian Spirituality: the purgative, illuminative and unitive. The earliest occurrence of these terms go back to Pseudo-Dionysius, who according to him they are “thearchic (i.e. divine) and hierarchic (i.e. ordered) ways to mystical union.”³⁰

Since the aim is to compare the Ignatian Spiritual Desolation with the Sanjuanist Dark Night, the focus will be on his work *The Ascent of Mount Carmel* (hereafter referred to as *The Ascent*) and *Dark Night*.

3.2 The Ascent of Mount Carmel and the Dark Night

The former two writings, are generally considered together because they are both a commentary on the first two stanzas of John’s famous poem *Dark Night* (*Noche Oscura*). Probably John started writing *The Ascent* when he was in El Calvario and finished it in Granada where he also wrote the *Dark Night*. At the beginning of *The Ascent*, John sketched *The Mount* which is a graphical representation of the central idea of this work—the path leading to unity with God, i.e. the purgative path of the dark night of the senses and the soul. Whilst in *The Ascent*, John focuses on the active purification, in the *Dark Night* the passive night or the infused aspect of this purgative journey is described.

²⁸ Saint John of the Cross, Kieran Kavanaugh, and Otilio. Rodriguez, “Introduction,” in *The Collected Works of Saint John of the Cross* (Washington, D.C.: ICS Publications, 1991), 45.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 29.

³⁰ Ernest E. Larkin, “The Three Spiritual Ways,” 434, accessed November 21, 2017, <http://carmelnet.org/larkin/larkin092.pdf>.

3.3 Active and passive Dark Nights

John distinguishes between two nights: the active and the passive, and each night is further subdivided into the night of the senses and that of the spirit. Basically this work can be divided as follows:

- Active Night of the Senses-The Ascent, Book I
- Active Night of the Spirit-The Ascent, Book II-III
- Passive Night of the Senses-Dark Night, Book I
- Passive night of the Spirit-Dark Night, Book II.

From the very beginning John indicates the aim of his spiritual treaties is an explanation to reach “high state of perfection.”³¹ The differences between the night of the senses and of the soul is that in the former there is a mortification and letting go of all the sense faculties so that one is subject to the spirit, whilst in the latter, through a journey of faith, the spiritual faculties are centred toward God, and God alone.

3.3.1 Active Nights

St John calls these nights ‘active’ because the human person is active in his cooperation with God and he outlines three reasons why they are called a dark night, basically the “terminus ad quo, the means and the terminus ad quem.”³²

1. To be deprived of what one desires, i.e. a privation of one’s senses through self-denial,
2. The communication of God to us, which although it enlightens the soul it gives a deeper the realization of the incomprehensibility of God,
3. The union to God through faith and to the human intellect, this is darkness and abandonment.

The experience of the active night or active purification is painful as one acts against his inclinations such as egoism and sensuality. The active night is a “voluntary discipline and self-submission on the part

³¹ Saint John of the Cross, Kieran Kavanaugh, and Otilio. Rodriguez, “The Ascent Of Mount Carmel,” in *The Collected Works of Saint John of the Cross* (Washington, D.C.: ICS Publications, 1991), 68.

³² *Ibid.*, 47.

of the believer”³³ where one learns to struggle with his sinful nature and also detach from spiritual temptations and earthly satisfactions. This does not mean that it necessarily leads to spiritual desolation. On the contrary, “the experience of struggle and pain in active purification may be full of spiritual consolation, exhilaration, and joy in conquering self by God’s grace for love of him, and for his glory.”³⁴

In the First book of *The Ascent*, we find an emphasis on the mortification of the appetites. In fact, at the beginning John explains why such a mortification is a night, because as the night is the privation of light, the mortification is a privation of the appetites’ gratification.³⁵ For John, the word appetite is multifaceted in its meaning. It refers to the love for creations, i.e. worldly attachment. Moreover these appetites involve mortal or venial sins. Every appetite “even one that is but slightly imperfect, stains and defiles the soul.”³⁶ Finally, John points out that he is referring to a mortification not of scattered appetites, but of habitual appetites.³⁷ At the end of Book 1, John specifies that the real mortification of the appetites consists in the renunciation of all inclinations that go against to the love of God.

Another reason for calling this purgative path a night is because it involves a road of faith, and faith in itself is obscure. According to him, faith “brings us to believe truths revealed by God which transcend every natural light and infinitely exceed all human understanding.”³⁸ This involves an active purification of the sense faculties. John summarizes this night as ‘Faith causes darkness and a void of understanding in the intellect, hope begets an emptiness of possessions in the memory, and charity produces the nakedness and emptiness of affection and joy in all that is not God.’³⁹ In Books II and III, through the active purification of the spirit, one turns aside from the particular knowledge of faith to faith in the infused loving knowledge of God.⁴⁰

³³ Alister E. McGrath, *Christian Spirituality, An Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1999), 106.

³⁴ Toner, *A Commentary on Saint Ignatius’ Rules for the Discernment of Spirits: A Guide to the Principles and Practice*, 272.

³⁵ John of the Cross, Kavanaugh, and Rodriguez, “*The Ascent Of Mount Carmel*,” bk. I,3,1.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, bk. I,9,7.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, bk. I,11,3.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, bk. II,3,1.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, bk. II,6,2.

⁴⁰ John of the Cross, Kavanaugh, and Rodriguez, “Introduction,” 54.

3.3.2 Passive nights

In passive nights, the purification and unification are achieved by God's action. It is God's divine infusion/light that causes this purification as it encounters our sinfulness and weakness. Toner concludes that the "human efforts...which are necessary in the active night only interfere with God's work in the passive night."⁴¹ The reason that John calls this night passive in *The Dark Night* is that God is communicating himself to the soul, expressed in words as "infusion", "manifestation", "inflow", "illumination", "illustration". The passive night of the spirit is more profound and intense than that of the senses.

In Book II, 5 John gives the twofold reason why he calls this passive purgation a night. "First because the height of the divine wisdom which exceeds the capacity of the soul. Second, because of the soul's baseness and impurity; and on this account it is painful, afflictive, and also dark."⁴² With the light of this knowledge, the soul finds itself abandoned both by the creatures and by the Creator himself, such that it cannot find satisfaction in anything.

It is in this state of forsakenness, which John compares it to being imprisoned in a dark dungeon, where the soul is liberated from its imperfect inclinations. Although the soul is walking in emptiness and darkness, it walks securely. "By walking in darkness the soul not only avoids going astray but advances rapidly, because it thus gains virtues."⁴³ This however happens in great torment, because the soul which so longs for the Lord feels abandoned by him. The reason is that God during this night is purifying the soul by privation, however, there is never a complete privation, even though this may at times be felt on the part of the believer.⁴⁴

It is essentially important in understanding the Dark Night, to keep in mind the purpose and destination of the Ascent-Night, "the spiritual road which leads to the perfect union with God through love, insofar as it is attainable in this life."⁴⁵

⁴¹ Toner, *A Commentary on Saint Ignatius' Rules for the Discernment of Spirits: A Guide to the Principles and Practice*, 273.

⁴² Saint John of the Cross, Kieran Kavanaugh, and Otilio Rodriguez, "The Dark Night," in *The Collected Works of Saint John of the Cross* (ICS Publications, 1991), bk. II,5,2.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, bk. XI,16,3.

⁴⁴ John of the Cross, Kavanaugh, and Rodriguez, "Introduction," 59.

⁴⁵ John of the Cross, Kavanaugh, and Rodriguez, "The Dark Night," 295.

4. Comparison

As we have seen, Ignatius' Rules are there to provide an indication of the discernment of spirit, yet in all their richness they do not exhaust all the teaching on this discernment. In fact Ignatius notes in the prologue that the rules assist "to some extent" in the discernment of spirits.⁴⁶ According to Toner "there is an experience of desolation in the maturing Christian to which Ignatius does not advert his rules but which should be taken note of if we are not to misuse his rules."⁴⁷

The dark night in terms of spirituality is an experience in a fuller sense and it is never caused or dependant on the agency of evil, rather it is from and directed to God. It is a fuller spiritual experience insofar as it happens at a more advance stage in spiritual life and very few people experience the desolation of the dark night in its most painful forms. Nonetheless even though few experience the dark night in its fullest form, Toner insists that it is frequent in less intense forms.

4.1 *Parallelism*

There is a strong parallelism in Ignatius' Spiritual Exercises⁴⁸ and what John says in *The Ascent*, Book I Chap.13 explaining "the manner and method of entering this night."⁴⁹ It is very evident that both saints aim for the purification of the theological virtues in order to receive God. Whilst on one hand both St Ignatius (Rule I:2) and St John (*Ascent* I,13,7) expects consolations for the one who progresses in this active night, they also expect desolations arising both from what Ignatius calls "inclination to what is lowly" (Rule 4) or the concupisence (*Ascent* 1,13,8).⁵⁰

However, when it comes to the passive night, one finds a spiritual desolation that is radically different in its nature, content and consequence than the one described by Ignatius. Toner concludes, "It is in the passive dark night that we find a spiritual desolation different

⁴⁶ Gallagher, *The Discernment of Spirits: An Ignatian Guide for Everyday Living*, 16.

⁴⁷ Toner, *A Commentary on Saint Ignatius' Rules for the Discernment of Spirits: A Guide to the Principles and Practice*, 271.

⁴⁸ The contemplations of Jesus, the meditation of the Two Standards, the Three Kinds of Humility, and ultimately The Principle and Foundation.

⁴⁹ John of the Cross, Kavanaugh, and Rodriguez, "The Ascent Of Mount Carmel," bk. I,13.

⁵⁰ Toner, *A Commentary on Saint Ignatius' Rules for the Discernment of Spirits: A Guide to the Principles and Practice*, 272-73.

from the one Ignatius deals with in the rules for discernment of spirits.”⁵¹

4.2 Comparison

In this section the major factors of a spiritual desolation and of a passive dark night are compared. For this reason, the two passive nights (senses, and spirit) are considered together, even though at times a reference is made to a particular night.

4.2.1 Spiritual and Anti-Spiritual Motions

A proper spiritual desolation is both an anti-spiritual and a spiritual experience, wherein these two elements are in conflict. In turn, this conflict leads to desolate feelings.⁵² Although desolate feelings are experienced in the passive dark night, the sole cause is the infusion of divine light and God's self-communication. It is not only prior to any human cooperation but even independent of it. It is what St John in *The Dark Night*, II,5,1 calls an “inflow of God”, “an infused contemplation” and a “secret wisdom” that purges the soul.

Consequently, John of the Cross explains that this night causes an “affliction and a torment to the soul”⁵³. Even though this affliction is at face value very similar to the spiritual desolation Ignatius speaks of, nonetheless they are radically different. Through this purification, the recipient becomes capable of receiving God deeper. Since this night is purgative of the imperfections and darkness of our soul, St John emphasises that there are “immense benefits and goods the soul is acquiring in this happy night of contemplation.”⁵⁴

4.2.2 Faith Experience

In the *Spiritual Exercises*, the spiritual desolation is experienced by those who “earnestly strive to cleanse their souls from sin and who see to rise in the service of God our Lord to greater perfection.”⁵⁵ (Rule 2). Hence the spiritual desolation presupposes a living faith and as a result a desire to strive forward in this journey. This is also required in the passive night, however the presupposition is more

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 273.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 141.

⁵³ John of the Cross, Kavanaugh, and Rodriguez, “*The Dark Night*,” 335.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 360.

⁵⁵ Ignatius, *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius*, 116.

than ordinary faith, hope and charity, i.e. it presupposes that the theological virtues have already been purified and led through the active night of both the senses and the spirit.

4.2.3 Desolate Feelings

At first glance, Ignatius' Rules of Discernment and John's Dark Night, contain many similarities in feelings and thoughts. These include temptations against the theological virtues, painful thoughts of a separation from God, discouragement, sadness, and confusion. But there are essential differences not only in the source but also in their aim.

1. Primarily, the reason why one cannot use imagination, thought and knowledge in the dark night is not because of anti-spiritual disturbances but because the soul is receiving the divine infused light. In the passive night, it is not that God is not being experienced but rather that God is experienced beyond knowledge, thought and imagination. The night is dark not because of the absence of light but because of being excessively communicated.
2. In Rule I:6 where St Ignatius urges an intensification of activity against desolation can be in Toner's terms "useless or even harmful to the one in desolation."⁵⁶ Contrary to Rule I:6, St John advises one to wait in the darkness of pure faith. "At this time a person's own efforts are of no avail, but an obstacle to the interior peace and work God is producing in the spirit through the dryness of sense."⁵⁷
3. In the passive night, the reason that one feels that his faith, hope and charity are dwindling is not because of disturbances and confusion in his spiritual life due to anti-spiritual motions. Contrariwise, the theological virtues are growing deeper and more focused on God himself. According to Toner "No matter how it appears to the recipient of that light, living faith is not really under attack as it is in the desolation Ignatius describes. It is rather, more secure than ever before."⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Toner, *A Commentary on Saint Ignatius' Rules for the Discernment of Spirits: A Guide to the Principles and Practice*, 277.

⁵⁷ John of the Cross, Kavanaugh, and Rodriguez, "The Dark Night," bk. I,7.

⁵⁸ Toner, *A Commentary on Saint Ignatius' Rules for the Discernment of Spirits: A Guide to the Principles and Practice*, 277.

4. In spiritual desolations, one experiences turmoil of spirit and inclination to earthly and lowly things. On the other hand, in the passive dark night whilst one is not experiencing satisfaction in God, at the same time, one cannot find satisfaction in anything else other than God.⁵⁹ In fact in Book I chapter 9 of the Dark Night, John gives three criteria for discerning whether a soul is passing through the purgation of the dark night or else dryness from other defects:
 - a. "The first is that as these souls do not get satisfaction or consolation from God, they do not get any out of creatures either.
 - b. The second sign for discernment of this purgation is that memory ordinarily turns to God solicitously and with painful care, and the soul thinks it is not serving God but turning back, because it is aware of this distaste for the things of God.
 - c. The third sign whereby this purgation of sense may be recognized is that the soul can no longer meditate or reflect in the imaginative sphere of sense as it was wont, however much it may of itself endeavour to do so."
5. Whereas during a spiritual desolation one is inclined to earthly things, the one in a passive dark night experiences a desolation because of his deeper awareness of his sinfulness (habitual/innate tendency to sin).
6. Further to this deeper realisation of one's own sinfulness, is the recognition of one's frailty which cannot bear the divine light. In Book II chapters 5 and 6 of the Dark Night, John goes on to say that the sufferer feels crushed and rejected by God himself (St. John even makes a reference to David in Psalm 87 and to Job). However, if the sufferer acknowledges and understands the source of these sufferings, then the experience will be completely different. When one realises the source and the reason of the night, even though the pain persists, one ceases to experience a spiritual desolation to the point that amidst all the sufferings, he can even experience great spiritual consolation. John writes in Chapter 13 of Book II of The Dark Night that when one acknowledges that all this is coming from God

⁵⁹ Ibid., 278.

and is purgative, “his love of esteem of God is so intense, even though obscure and imperceptible, that he would be happy not only to suffer these things but even die many times in order to please Him.”⁶⁰ It is important for the one who is passing through a dark night, to keep in mind what is happening and why. First of all, the infused divine light, which is in itself illuminating, is being received in a feeble and sinful spirit and as a such it is experienced as desolating, painful and dark. Secondly, the goal of this dark night is a deeper union with God. By this the soul will come to the knowledge that this night is purgative and beneficial for her.

4.2.4 Evil Spirit

Another factor of a spiritual desolation is the evil spirit. For Ignatius, the evil spirit, alongside man’s sinfulness and the sinful world in which we live, is ordinarily active in a spiritual desolation. For St. John, the evil spirit is an important factor in the active dark night, because one, due to his sinfulness and temptations from the evil spirit, experiences spiritual desolation. However in the passive night, most especially of the spirit, the evil spirit is almost insignificant for the desolation experienced in this night. The evil spirit may only be the cause of “contingent accretion to or aggravation of the desolation resulting from the impact of the infused light on the ordinary sinfulness and natural frailty of human nature.”⁶¹ Failure to acknowledge the source of two distinct, although seemingly the same, kinds of desolation might lead one to struggle and resist the divine infused light.

The evil spirit will try to intrude again in the passive dark night, but with a completely opposite tactic. After the painful purification the person starts to experience peaceful communion with God that is a result of true and simple knowledge communicated by God himself, the evil one will intrude by a false consolation, i.e. with “good knowledge and satisfaction.”⁶² This was also emphasised by Ignatius in Rule II:5 which advises us to discern the whole course of our

⁶⁰ John of the Cross, Kavanaugh, and Rodriguez, “The Dark Night,” bk. II,13.

⁶¹ Toner, *A Commentary on Saint Ignatius’ Rules for the Discernment of Spirits: A Guide to the Principles and Practice*, 281.

⁶² Saint John of the Cross, Kieran Kavanaugh, and Otilio. Rodriguez, “The Living Flame of Love,” in *The Collected Works of Saint John of the Cross* (Washington, D.C.: ICS Publications, 1991), bk. III,34.

thought to observe whether it is coming from the good spirit or the evil spirit. The latter may start with a false consolation, and end up with something which is harmful to the soul.

Finally during the later stages of the passive night, the evil spirit will try to intrude again and violently try to steal the communion and peace solitude in God. However this desolation, or what St John explains as “spiritual horror” is different from a spiritual desolation because it is a refinement of the soul so that through this spiritual vigil, God prepares the soul for some “great feast and spiritual favour which God... desires to give.”⁶³

4.3 A different approach

Green in his book *Weeds Among the Wheat*, adds a different nuance to this comparison. Although he acknowledges that the cause of the dark-night is the infusion of the all-Holy God to the still sinful soul, he rejects that God is the cause of such desolation. In fact according to Green, “the dark night of John is desolation not because of the painful presence of the Living-Flame of Love to the untransformed soul but because the devil and self-pity insinuate themselves and take advantage of the soul’s vulnerability.”⁶⁴ Green goes on to conclude that the desolation and the misery felt in the dark night, ‘would be an instance par excellence, of Ignatian desolation.’

Although, this is an interesting approach in reconciling the spiritual desolation with the dark night, it runs short of delving into the proper nature of the dark night, and specifically the passive dark night, where God is purging the soul for a greater union. It is pertinent here to recall John’s twofold explanation of why he calls the passive purgation not only a dark night but also an affliction and torment to the soul: because of the height of divine wisdom exceeds the capacity of the soul and because of the soul’s impurity and baseness.

Thus the real desolation in the dark night, is a direct consequence not of the devil or self-pity, but because of the tension that there is between the “height of divine wisdom” and the “baseness of the soul”. As outlined in the previous section, the desolation caused by the devil is a “contingent accretion to or aggravation” of the already-present desolation.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Green, *Weeds among the Wheat*, Discernment, Where Prayer & Action Meet, 126.

5. What's in a name?

After the explanation of what the terms, Spiritual Desolation and Dark Night meant for St. Ignatius and St. John of the Cross respectively, and after a brief comparison between these terms, three assertions can be made.

1. Primarily, that the Dark Night is a Spiritual experience in a more mature, intense and complete experience of faith than the Spiritual Desolation,
2. Secondly, that the Dark Night differs from Spiritual Desolation in its source, content and consequence,
3. Finally, that whilst a spiritual desolation is a movement in the heart that consists of an ongoing alteration between consolation and desolation, a Dark Night is a purgative path which continuously leads to a perfect union with God.

A good and well-prepared spiritual director must know this difference. The counsel that Ignatius gives for those in a spiritual desolation, primarily to resist this period and consider that consolation is soon to return, is completely opposite to John, who calls for greater patience and perseverance in the dark night since any human efforts prove to be an obstacle.

Indeed St John of the Cross has very stern words to those spiritual directors who by their ignorance, limit or cause unnecessary pain to those passing through the dark night:

The soul, then, should advert that God is the principal agent in this matter. He acts as guide of the blind, leading it by the hand to the place it knows not how to reach (to supernatural things of which neither its intellect nor will nor memory can know the nature). It should use all its principal care in watching so as not to place any obstacle in the way of God, its guide on this road ordained for it by him according to the perfection of his law and of the faith, as we said. It can cause this obstacle by allowing itself to be led by another blind guide. There are three blind guides who can draw it off the road: the spiritual director, the devil, and the soul itself.⁶⁵

⁶⁵ John of the Cross, Kavanaugh, and Rodriguez, "The Living Flame of Love," 620.

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DE CORPORE CHRISTI:
A MYSTICAL SERMON ON THE EUCHARIST
BY CONRAD OF SAINT GEORGE, O.CARM. (D. CA. 1310)*

PAUL CHANDLER O.CARM.

One of the great frustrations for the historian of the early Carmelites is the almost total lack of surviving documents from the first century of the Order's existence. We have Constitutions from 1281 and 1294, edited in the 1950s by Ludovico Saggi.¹ These early Constitutions include the *Rubrica prima*, the oldest written text produced by Carmelites about themselves, probably dating from the 1240s,² for centuries a core statement of Carmelite origin and identity

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¹ LUDOVICO SAGGI, ed., "Constitutiones capituli Londinensis anni 1281," *Analecta Ordinis Carmelitarum* 15 (1950): 205–45; LUDOVICO SAGGI, ed., "Constitutiones capituli Burdigalensis anni 1294," *Analecta Ordinis Carmelitarum* 18 (1953): 123–85; reprinted in *Corpus Constitutionum Ordinis Fratrum Beatissimae Virginis Mariae de Monte Carmelo*. Volume Primo, 1281–1456, ed. EDISON R.L. TINAMBUNAM and EMANUELE BOAGA, *Corpus Constitutionum Carmelitarum*, vol. 1 (Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 2011), 57–82, 83–117.

² There is now broad agreement that the *Rubrica prima* dates from the 1240s or a little earlier: LUDOVICO SAGGI, "Agiografia carmelitana," in *Santi del Carmelo: biografie da vari dizionari*, ed. Ludovico Saggi (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1972), 23–91; ADRIANUS STARING, *Medieval Carmelite Heritage: Early Reflections on the Nature of the Order*, *Textus et Studia Historica Carmelitana*, vol. 16 (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1989), 33–37; CARLO CICCONE, *La Regola del Carmelo: origine, natura, significato*, 2a ed. rivista e aggiornata, *Textus et Studia Historica Carmelitana*, vol. 12 (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 2018), 180–187. In dissent RICHARD COPSEY, "Approaches to the Rule in the Early Centuries," in *The Carmelite Rule 1207–2007: Proceedings of the Lisieux Conference, 4–7 July 2005*, ed. Evaldo Xavier Gomes, et al., *Textus et Studia Historica Carmelitana*, vol. 28 (Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 2008), 388–391, followed by PATRICK MULLINS, *The Carmelites and St Albert of Jerusalem: Origins and Identity*, *Textus et Studia Historica Carmelitana*, vol. 38 (Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 2015), 57, have argued for a late date in the 1270s, but in my opinion have been convincingly refuted by Cicconetti, *ibid.*

and the ur-text of Carmelite attachment to the Prophet Elijah as the founder of the Order.³ A brief letter of the prior general Pierre de Millau to King Edward I of England dates from 1282.⁴ The anonymous chronicle *Universis Christifidelibus* is perhaps from 1289.⁵ However, the only substantial text by a named Carmelite author from the 13th century which has been known to date is the circular letter *Ignea sagitta* of the prior general Nicholas of France in 1271, “the only major Carmelite text which has survived from this period”.⁶

However, we now have access to another major Carmelite spiritual text from the 13th century or shortly after, a lengthy allegorical sermon on the Eucharist by the Cologne Carmelite, Conrad of Saint George.⁷ Hein Blommestijn—leaving aside Nicholas—calls him “the oldest spiritual writer of Carmel”,⁸ and he should perhaps be considered the first mystical writer of the Order.

Little is known of Conrad, and the sources are often late and contradictory.⁹ He was from a Cologne family from the parish of Saint George, from which he takes his name. The Carmelite house, which

³ For the various redactions of the text to 1369, cf. STARING, *MCH*, 33-43.

⁴ STARING, *MCH*, 44-48.

⁵ STARING, *MCH*, 71-90.

⁶ RICHARD COPSEY, “The *Ignea Sagitta* and Its Readership: A Re-Evaluation,” *Carmelus* 46 (1999): 164-73. For the text see ADRIANUS STARING, ed., “Nicolai prioris generalis Ordinis Carmelitarum Ignea sagitta,” *Carmelus* 9 (1962): 237-307. The best treatment is by ANDREW JOTISCHKY, *The Carmelites and Antiquity: Mendicants and Their Pasts in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 79-104.

⁷ Conrad’s sermon is one of the surprisingly few examples of medieval Carmelite preaching to have survived before the late 14th century: see PAUL CHANDLER, “The Lamentation of the Virgin: A *Planctus Mariae* Sermon by Michael Aiguani of Bologna, O.Carm.,” in *The Land of Carmel: Essays in Honor of Joachim Smet* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1991), 209-10, n. 3. Recently RALF LÜTZELSCHWAB reports finding about 160, mostly unknown, surviving Carmelite sermons from the late 14th and 15th centuries, which dramatically opens up the field of Carmelite preaching to further study; however, he thought that none survive from the 13th or early 14th: “At Home in a New World? Carmelite Preaching and the Loss of Religious Identity,” in *Preaching and New Worlds: Sermons as Mirrors or Realms Near and Far*, ed. TIMOTHY JOHNSON, KATHERINE SHELBY, and JOHN YOUNG, Routledge Studies in Medieval Religion and Culture, vol. 13 (London: Routledge, 2020), 101-19, esp. 107, 110.

⁸ HEIN BLOMMESTIJN, “De Eucharistie in de vroege Karmelitaanse spiritualiteit,” in *De lengte en de breedte, de hoogte en de diepte: peilingen in de theologie van de sacramenten*, ed. A.H.C. VAN ELK and H.W.M. RIKHOF (Zoetemeer: Meinema, 1996), 39-73, at 73.

⁹ Biographical details are mainly drawn from ANDREAS H. SCHOLTEN, “Want dit cloestere is een paradijs Gods...: Spätmittelalterliche Predigten von Jan Pascha und Gielis de Leeuw zu Einkleidungs- und Professfeiern im Karmelittinnenkloster Vilvoorde bei Brüssel,” Ph.D. thesis. 3 vols (Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität zu Münster, 2010), 1:23-28; <https://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:hbz:6-04389561112> (retrieved 18 June 2021).

had been founded in 1255/56, was in the same parish.¹⁰ Several sons joined the Carmelites, Conrad at some time before 1280. He appears to have been among the first German Carmelites to be sent to Paris for university studies, perhaps in 1281.¹¹ From sometime after 1295 to sometime before 1305 he was prior provincial of the Lower German Province (the dates are uncertain);¹² he served as prior of the convent in Cologne from 1305, perhaps until 1310.¹³ He seems to have been particularly remembered for his intervention, with his successor as provincial Gotfridus Wallraef, in the turbulence which had been provoked in the English province by the bitterly and long contested separation of the Irish and Scottish houses, reasserted by the general chapter of Narbonne in 1303. After much resistance, an unsuccessful intervention by the prior general, and appeals to the King and Pope Benedict XI, Cardinal Gentile da Montefiore sent Conrad and Wallraef to preside at a provincial chapter in London in 1305, where they enforced a drastic resolution by the deposition and banishment of the provincial, William Ludlyngton, and the dispersal to *studia* on the Continent of the leaders of the opposition.¹⁴

¹⁰ EDELTRAUD KLEUTING, "Köln, Waidmarkt", in EDELTRAUD KLEUTING, STEPHAN PANZER, and ANDREAS H. SCHOLTEN, *Monasticon Carmelitanum: Kloster des Karmeliterordens (O.Carm.) von den Anfängen bis in die Gegenwart*, *Monastica Carmelitana*, vol. 2 (Münster: Aschendorff, 2012), 386.

¹¹ FRANZ-BERNARD LICKTEIG, *The German Carmelites at the Medieval Universities*, *Textus et Studia Historica Carmelitana*, vol. 13 (Roma: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1981), 118-119, 367, 425.

¹² SCHOLTEN, "Want dit cloestere is een paradijs Gods," 24. RICHARD COPSEY, *Biographical Register of Carmelites in England and Wales 1240-1540* (Faversham: St Albert's Press, 2020), 23, following LICKTEIG, *The German Carmelites at the Medieval Universities*, 367, thinks he was provincial only between 1298 and 1299/1300. See also BARTOLOMÉ MARÍA XIBERTA, *De scriptoribus scholasticis saeculi XIV ex ordine Carmelitarum*, *Bibliothèque de la Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, fasc. 6 (Louvain: Bureaux de la Revue, 1931), 113-14, n. 2, who gives 1298-1303; IRENAEUS ROSIER, *Biografisch en bibliografisch overzicht van de vroomheid in de Nederlandse Carmel van 1235 tot het midden der achttiende eeuw*, *Studien en tekstuutgaven van Ons geestelijk erf*, vol. 10 (Tiel: Lanoo, 1950), 23, gives 1295-1303; and cf. H.H. KOCH, *Die Karmelitenklöster der Niederdeutschen Provinz 13. bis 16. Jahrhundert*, (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herdersche Verlagshandlung, 1896), 28, where the sequence of priors provincial lists Conrad from 1296 and Wallraef from 1303.

¹³ KLEUTING, PANZER, AND SCHOLTEN, *Monasticon Carmelitanum*, 411.

¹⁴ The incident is known from an account preserved by John Bale: XIBERTA, *De Script.*, 113; JOACHIM SMET, *The Carmelites: A History of the Brothers of Our Lady of Mount Carmel*, 4 vols in 5 (Darren, IL: Carmelite Spiritual Center, 1976-88), 1:44-45; *Monumenta Historica Carmelitana*, ed. BENEDICT ZIMMERMAN (Lérins: Ex typis abbatiae, 1905-7), 225-227; KEITH J. EGAN, "The Establishment and Early Development of the Carmelite Order in England," Ph.D. thesis (University of Cambridge, 1965), 306-11; I

Conrad would have been a contemporary of the first generation of Carmelite masters and theological writers in the first quarter of the 14th century, perhaps slightly older than most: Gerard of Bologna, the Order's first known master of theology, Simon of Corbie, the second, Peter Swanington, Robert Walsingham, Gui Terreni, and Sibert de Beek, the last also from the convent of Cologne. Their theological production starts after 1300. However, Conrad is the only one to have left a substantial spiritual work.¹⁵

It is not known with certainty when Conrad died. Although 1305 was commonly given as the year of his death, it was perhaps as late as 1316 or '17.¹⁶

The bibliographers of the Order knew Conrad as an author. Cosmas de Villiers' *Bibliotheca Carmelitana*, the 1752 bio-bibliographical encyclopedia of Carmelite authors which has been a principal reference until the present, lists three works by him, of which he knew no surviving manuscripts or editions. De Villiers' entry is:

Conrad of Saint George, of the German nation, Carmelite, doctor and professor of Sacred Theology. He was the *socius* of Gobelinus [Gotfridus Wallraef], who were sent to England by Boniface VIII [probably Benedict XI] about the year 1302 [1305] to put an end to a certain schism among the Carmelites, some supporting the division of the province and others opposing it. Our Conrad was provincial of Lower Germany, and wrote:

1. *De Eucharistia Sacramento*. Lib. I.
2. *Quaestiones varias*. Lib. I.
3. *Lecturas Theologicas*. Lib. I.

By way of a note De Villiers gives as his sources Josias Simmler's edition of Conrad Gessner's monumental *Bibliotheca Universalis*,

am grateful to Dr Egan for making these pages of his thesis available. See also RICHARD COPSEY, "The Scottish Carmelite Province and Its Provincials", in PAUL CHANDLER and KEITH J. EGAN, eds., *The Land of Carmel: Essays in Honor of Joachim Smet* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1991), 189–208; cf. COPSEY, *Biographical Register*, 23–24, 52–53.

¹⁵ XIBERTA, *De Script.*, *passim*; CHRISTOPHER SCHABEL, "Carmelite *Quodlibeta*," in *Theological Quodlibeta in the Middle Ages. Vol. 2: The Fourteenth Century*, ed. CHRISTOPHER SCHABEL, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition, vol. 7 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 493–541. A young Sibert is possibly the author of *Universis christifidelibus* around 1289: STARING, *MCH*, 79–80; John Baconthorpe, another early master, begins his spiritual writing about the Order only after 1317: STARING, *MCH*, 176–77.

¹⁶ SCHOLTEN, "Want dit cloestere is een paradijs Gods," 23, n. 47.

which had first appeared in 1545, Paulus Segeri, Louis Jacob, and the *Speculum Carmelitanum* of Daniel of the Virgin Mary.¹⁷

Conrad's name was absent from the first edition of Simmler's version of Gessner in 1555,¹⁸ but was included in the edition of 1574, with the asterisk indicating that it is a new entry.¹⁹ It already contains what remain the basic known facts of Conrad's biography, except that what Simmler lists as two works become three in De Villiers:

* Conrad of Saint George, German, Carmelite, with the German Gobelini a commissioner to the English to settle a certain schism. He wrote *De Eucharistia Sacramento* lib. 1, and *Quaestiones & lecturas* lib. 1. He died in 1305.²⁰

Conrad's works were all thought to be lost. However, in 1993 the present author noticed a reference to Conrad's work on the Eucharist in Middle Dutch translation in a miscellany manuscript in Vienna, which had been first described in detail by Albert Ampe as part of his

¹⁷ COSMÉ DE SAINT ETIENNE DE VILLIERS, *Bibliotheca Carmelitana, notis criticis et dissertationibus illustrata*, ed. GABRIEL WESSELS (Orléans, 1752; repr. Rome: in aedibus Collegii S. Alberti, 1927), I, col. 352: "Conradus de S. Georgio, natione Germanus, Carmelita, sacrae Theologiae Doctor ac Professor. Is socius fuit Gobelini Teutonici, à Bonfacio VIII. in Angliam missi circa annum 1302 pro secundo quodam schismate inter Carmelitas orto, Provinciae subdivisionem alios postulantes, alios e contra negantes. Conradus noster Provincialis fuit Germaniae inferioris, & scripsit:

1. *De Eucharistia Sacramento*. Lib. I.
2. *Quaestiones varias*. Lib. I
3. *Lecturas Theologicas*. Lib. I.

Ita Josias Simmlerus, in *Epitome Gesneriana*. Et de illo mentionem facit Paulus Segeri, *Lib. de Viris illustribus Ordinis Carmelitani*: quem secuti sunt Ludovicus Jacob, in *Bibliotheca Carmelitana* Ms. pag. 64. Daniel à Virgine Maria, tom. 2. *Speculi Carmelitani*, pag. 1096, num. 3875."

¹⁸ JOSIAS SIMMLER, *Epitome Bibliothecae Conradi Gesneri conscripta primum à Conrado Lycosthene Rubeaquensi: nunc denuo recognita & plus quàm bis mille authorum accessione (qui omnes asterisco signati sunt) locupletata per Iosiam Simlervm Tigvrvnm* (Zürich: Froshauer, 1555).

¹⁹ JOSIAS SIMMLER and CONRAD GESSNER, *Bibliotheca instituta et collecta primum a Conrado Gesnero, deinde [a Conrado Lycosthene] in epitomen redacta & novorum librorum accessione locupletata, jam vero postremo recognita, & in duplum post priores editiones aucta, per Josiam Simlervm...* (Zürich: apud Christophorum Froshoverum, 1574), 136.

²⁰ "*Conradus de S. Georgio, Germanus, Carmelita, cum Gobelino Alemanno, pro sedando quodam schismate commisarius ad Anglos, scripsit *De Eucharistia Sacramento*, lib.1. *Quaestiones & lecturas* lib.1. Claruit anno D. 1305."; SIMMLER and GESSNER, *Bibliotheca instituta et collecta*, 136.

work on Ruusbroec.²¹ This manuscript, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, cod. 15419, originally from the Convent of St Elisabeth auf dem Berg Sion in Brussels, seems to have been compiled around 1490. The first section (ff. 1r-58r) is a collection of texts in Middle Dutch on the Trinity and the Sacraments from Albert the Great, Ruusbroec, Jacques de Vitry, and the *Imitation of Christ*, and includes, still with the Latin incipit *Confiteantur Domino* (Psalm 106:31), “a glorious sermon on the Blessed Sacrament by Brother Conrad of Saint George, born in Cologne, of the Order of Our Blessed Lady”.²²

Hein Blommestijn, O.Carm., worked further on the Middle Dutch versions of Conrad’s work, including two further manuscripts which had been identified by Ampe:²³ Tilburg University, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ms. UB I, 20 (KHS 20, *olim* PGNB 647), ff. 20v-52v: *Een seer devoet sermoen vanden werden heijligen sacrament*;²⁴ and The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 73 H 30 (K 40), ff. 106v-122v: *Dat van den heiligen sacrament*.²⁵ However, none of these Middle Dutch manuscripts represents the whole text. Conrad divided his sermon into six parts: Tilburg has parts two and three; The Hague part three; and the Vienna manuscript is a summary text of the whole. Blommestijn notes that part three shows many textual variations between the versions in the Tilburg and The Hague manuscripts, and suspects that

²¹ ALBERT AMPE, “Kritisch onderzoek van enkele aan Ruusbroec toegeschreven teksten,” in *Dr. L. Reyens-Album. Opstellen aangeboden aan Prof. Dr. L. Reyens s.j. ter gelegenheid van zijn tachtigste verjaardag op 26 februari 1964* (Antwerpen: Ruusbroec-Genootschap, 1964), 23–30, 31–34. The 19th-century catalog included Conrad’s work under the generic phrase “et aliorum plurium”; *Tabulae codicum manu scriptorum praeter graecos et orientales in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi asservatorum*, 8 vols, ed. Academia Caesarea Vindobonensis (Vienna: Gerold, 1864–99), 8:160–61. A fuller description in 1961 attracted little attention: HERMANN MENHART, *Verzeichnis der altdeutschen literarischen Handschriften der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, 13 vols, Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin: Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für deutsche Sprache und Literatur (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1961), 3:1423–24. Ampe noted in 1964 that this important miscellany manuscript was unknown and unexploited; AMPE, “Kritisch Onderzoek,” 23.

²² “Hier beghint een glorioes sermo vanden heyleghen sacramente, dat maecte broeder coenraet van sent iorys geboren van cuelen der ordenen onser liever vrouwen”; MENHART, *Verzeichnis*, 3:1423–24.

²³ BLOMMESTIJN, “De Eucharistie”, esp. 41–45.

²⁴ For the catalog description see JEROEN M.M. VAN DE VEN, *Over Brabant geschreven: handschriften en archivalische bronnen in de Tilburgse Universiteitsbibliotheek (deel 1)*, *Miscellanea Neerlandica*, vol. 8 (Leuven: Peeters, 1994), 118–26.

²⁵ A catalog description is at <https://opc-kb.oclc.org/DB=1/XMLPRS=Y/PPN?PPN=310829666> (accessed 7 July 2021).

they may be two different translations “of a thus far unknown Latin original”.²⁶ It is this Latin original which is now presented below.

The manuscript in the Royal Library in The Hague dates from around 1460, and belonged to the Regular Canonesses of the Saint Agnes convent in Maaseik. It contains Ruusbroec’s *Spiegel der ewiger salicheit* (*Speculum salutis aeternae*) and some other treatises and sermons on the Eucharist. The manuscript in Tilburg, dated to the first quarter of the 16th century, is a collection of meditations and prayers probably from the circle of the author of the highly influential mystical text *Evangelische Peerle* (now thought to be Reinalda van Eymeren of the Saint Agnes convent in Arnhem).²⁷ Among the authors are Augustine, Anselm, John of Fécamp, and Thomas a Kempis. Together with the Vienna manuscript, the circulation of Conrad’s work in vernacular versions under his name in collections of well-known mystical writers shows that his sermon was esteemed for centuries in devout circles of the Low Countries, in general associated with Rhineland mysticism and the affective piety of the *Devotio moderna*.

The Latin text

The “lost” Latin original was hiding in plain sight, either circulated anonymously or misattributed to Saint Bonaventure.²⁸ It was the distinguished Bonaventure scholar Jacques Guy Bougerol, OFM, who enabled its reattribution to Conrad of Saint George by noticing his identification as author in manuscript 987 of the Bibliothèque Mazarine in Paris.²⁹ Bougerol, it seems, was not aware of the Middle

²⁶ “Maar het is ook goed mogelijk dat beide afhankelijk zijn van een dusver onbekend Latijns origineel, waarvan we twee Middelnederlandse vertalingen/bewerkingen bezitten”; BLOMMESTIJN, “De Eucharistie,” 44.

²⁷ On the mystical movement associated with the convent of Saint Agnes, see INEKE CORNET, *The Arnhem Mystical Sermons: Preaching Liturgical Mysticism in the Context of Catholic Reform*, Brill’s Series in Church History, vol. 77 (Leiden: Brill, 2018).

²⁸ It is the third of five “Sermones de rebus theologis” in vol. 5 of the Quaracchi edition of Bonaventure’s complete works; “Sermo III,” in *Doctoris seraphici S. Bonaventurae... opera omnia. Vol. V: Opuscula varia theologica* (Quaracchi: ex typographia Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1891), 553–56.

²⁹ JACQUES GUY BOUGEROL, “Le manuscrit Paris Mazarine 987 et le sermon ‘Confiteantur’ faussement attribué à Saint Bonaventure,” *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 86 (1993): 3–17; cf. idem, SAINT BONAVENTURE, *Sermons de Diversis*, ed. JACQUES GUY BOUGEROL (Paris: Editions Franciscaines, 1993), 50. The catalogue record for ms. 987 is at <http://www.calames.abes.fr/pub/mazarine.aspx#details?id=MAZA14199> (accessed 1 July 2021).

Dutch translations, which provide independent evidence of Conrad's authorship.

Bougerol lists thirty-six manuscripts of the sermon "Confiteantur", saying that the list is not exhaustive. Of these, eight are attributed to Bonaventure, and only the Mazarine manuscript to Conrad. The remainder appear to be anonymous. Titles vary, with "De corpore Christi" being common (the traditional and most common title, which I suggest should continue to be used), with "De sacramento altaris" in the incipit of the Mazarine manuscript, and "De corpore Christi" in the explicit.

The manuscripts listed by Bougerol, with the exception of Mazarine 987 (from Brabant), are from Austria and Bavaria, with one each also from Poland and Moravia in today's Czech Republic; twelve are from the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, formerly from religious houses in Bavaria.³⁰ The preponderance of German-language areas in this distribution puzzled Bonaventure's Franciscan editors, who theorised that the sermon must have been given during Bonaventure's travels in Germany in 1259 or in the winter of 1270/71, while others speculatively linked it to Orvieto in 1264 in the context of the introduction of the feast of Corpus Christi by Urban IV.³¹

Bougerol's list, dependent for sixteen manuscripts on the 1891 work of the Quaracchi editors, has at least one error,³² and even a cursory search finds nine additional manuscripts, which would have to be taken into account for an eventual critical edition.³³ Further

³⁰ BOUGEROL, "Le manuscrit Paris Mazarine 987," 4.

³¹ *Doctoris Seraphici s. Bonaventurae. Opera Theologica Selecta: Editio Minor*, 5 vols (Quaracchi: Ex typographia Collegio S. Bonaventura, 1934), 18*; BALDUINUS DISTELBRINK, *Bonaventurae scripta: authentica, dubia vel spuria critice recensita*, Subsidia Scientifica Franciscalia, vol. 5 (Roma: Istituto Storico Cappuccini, 1975), 81–82; FRANCISCO CHAVERO BLANCO, "El catálogo de las obras de san Buenaventura: estado actual de la cuestión," *Carthaginensia: Revista de estudios e investigación* 14 (1998): 65.

³² Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Clm 3737, Bougerol's no. 16 and Quaracchi's no. 11, is not a 15th-century ms. containing Conrad's work but a 12th-century ms. of the Commentary of the Venerable Bede on the Gospel of Mark; cf. KARL FELIX HALM, et al., *Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis. 1,2: Codices num. 2501–5250 complectens*, ed. altera emendatior (Munich: Bibliotheca Regia, 1894), 129. There is a newer description at <http://www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/#/5> (retrieved 24 June 2021).

³³ Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, fol. cod. 273, ff. 163r-166v; Brno, Státní Oblastní Arch., Cerr II, c.198; Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, ms. 1128, ff. 35v-46r; Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, ms. 426, ff. 273–276; Lüneberg, Ratsbucherei, ms. theol. quart. 57, ff. 329v-337v; Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14294, ff. 27v-126r; Munich, Universitätsbibliothek, ms. fol. 1437, ff. 120v-126r; Olomouc, V deká knihovna, M I 302; Ottobeuren, Kloster Ottobeuren, ms. O.42, ff. 262r-276r.

work is likely to show that Conrad's sermon was quite popular and widely diffused, both under the prestigious name of Bonaventure and more often as an anonymous work. It was already highly regarded in the 14th century (in the Mazarine manuscript it is called "a glorious sermon").³⁴

How did it come to be included among the works of Saint Bonaventure? It seems that the work was already being occasionally attributed to Bonaventure by the last quarter of the 14th century (Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. 251 is perhaps from the 1370s).³⁵ The sermon was not known to the editors of the Vatican edition of 1588–96 or those immediately succeeding,³⁶ and from the 17th century onwards there has been long-lasting debate about the authenticity of many works attributed to Bonaventure.³⁷ In the modern history of Bonaventure's works Conrad's sermon was first published in Benedetto Bonelli's 1774 edition of the *Opera Omnia*. He used a transcription made in 1765 by the Benedictine Urbanus Schaukegl from a 15th-century manuscript in the Abbey of Göttweig in Austria.³⁸ In effect, then, the first modern attribution of Conrad's sermon to Bonaventure was based on a single manuscript.

In 1767, in preparation for his edition, Bonelli had addressed issues of authenticity in his *Prodromus ad opera omnia S. Bonaventurae*. He lists the sermon *De corpore Christi* among the unedited works of the saint, arguing for its authenticity on purely internal grounds, "because it everywhere breathes devotion, charity, love of the

³⁴ *Explicit gloriosus sermo de corpore Christi*, f. 57r.

³⁵ FRANZ LACKNER, *Katalog der Handschriften des Augustiner Chorherrenstiftes Klosterneuburg, Teil 3: Cod. 201-300*, (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse, Denkschriften 434 = Veröffentlichungen zum Schrift- und Buchwesen des Mittelalters II,2,3). Wien 2012; https://manuscripta.at/hs_detail.php?ID=410 (retrieved 16 June 2021).

³⁶ *Sancti Bonaventurae S.R.E. Cardinalis... Opera...* 7 vols, (Rome: ex typographia Vaticana, 1588–96). See also the chart of editions in PIETRO MARANESI, "The *Opera Omnia* of Saint Bonaventure: History and Present Situation," in *A Companion to Bonaventure*, ed. JAY HAMMOND, WAYNE HELLMANN, and JARED GOFF, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition, vol. 48 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 67–68.

³⁷ JACQUES GUY BOUGEROL, *Introduction à Saint Bonaventure*, A la Recherche de la Verité (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1988); MARANESI, "The *Opera Omnia* of Saint Bonaventure," 61–68.

³⁸ BENEDETTO BONELLI, *Sancti Bonaventurae ex Ordine Minorum... Operum Omnium... Supplementum in tria volumina distributum* (Trent: ex typographia episcopali Joannis Baptistae Monauni, 1774), 3:952–84; "Prolegomena in sermones selectos de rebus theologicis," in *Opuscula varia theologica*, vol. 5, *Doctoris Seraphici S. Bonaventurae S.R.E. Episc. Card. Opera Omnia* (Quaracchi: ex typographia Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1891), xlvi.

Cross, and contempt of the world; everywhere it bubbles with the mystical sense of the sacred Scriptures; it has quotations from Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory, Isidore, Bernard, and the Gloss; and it has many affinities with things that are taught by Bonaventure elsewhere..."³⁹ Once the sermon had thus entered into the Bonaventuran corpus, his editors were reluctant to let it go, mainly arguing for his authorship from its theological quality and profundity, which they were confident must indicate Bonaventure's authorship.

The 19th-century Quaracchi editors acknowledged that many of the miscellaneous theological sermons attributed to Bonaventure in the Vatican edition were spurious, and they retained only five. While admitting that authenticity remained an "arduous issue", they argued for Bonaventuran authorship of this and another sermon on the grounds that "they so abound in richness of doctrine and so reveal the genius of the author that no hesitation could arise about giving them a place here", and this remained more or less the standard opinion.⁴⁰ The apparatus of the 1891 edition is full of references to parallel passages in Bonaventure's works as detailed argument for his putative authorship. *De corpore Christi* was included in the *editio minor* with a note justifying its inclusion because of "both its abundant and profound teaching... and also its limpid style and charming eloquence".⁴¹ Franz Xaver Kattum called the sermon "the masterpiece of Eucharistic mysticism".⁴² Ephrem Longpré called it "the admirable

³⁹ *Prodromus ad opera omnia S. Bonaventurae... agens de ejus vita, doctrina et scriptis editis ac ineditis, recensque inter vetustos codices manuscriptos inventis in libros octo tributus* (Bassano: sumptibus Remondini Veneti, 1767), col. 748: "Fuisse autem Doctorem Devotum ac Seraphicum Bonaventuram, vel inde conjici posse, quia talis Sermo ubique spirat devotionem, caritatem, crucis amorem, ac saeculi contemptum: scatet ubique mystico divinarum Scripturarum sensu: allegationes insertas habet Ambrosii, Augustini, Gregorii, Isidoris, Bernardi, et Glossae; pluraque continet affinia illis quae alibi a D. Bonaventurae docentur..."

⁴⁰ "Prolegomena in sermones selectos"; *Doctoris seraphici S. Bonaventurae... opera omnia. Vol. V: Opuscula varia theologica* (Quaracchi: ex typographia Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1891), xlv: "Sermo igitur secundus de regno Dei et tertius de Ss. Corpore Christi adeo doctrinae copia abundans et ingenium auctoris manifestans, ut de loco ipsis hic concedendo nulla potuerit oriri haesitatio."

⁴¹ SAINT BONAVENTURE, *Opera Theologica Selecta*, 5:17-18: "Mereretur hunc titulum tum propter copiosam et profundam doctrinam his propositam tum propter stilum limpidum et facundiam amoenam". The later edition of 1964 admitted that "it cannot be denied" that there were also reasons to doubt its authenticity; quoted in BOUGEROL, "Le manuscrit Paris Mazarine 987," 7.

⁴² *Die Eucharistielehre des heil. Bonaventura* (München-Freising: Datterer, 1920), 2; quoted in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, s.v. "Bonaventure, Saint" (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1937), vol. 9, cols 755-769.

conference”, and drew on it extensively for his treatment of Bonaventure’s spirituality and Mariology in the entry on the saint in the *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*.⁴³ Oscar Righi calls this “great sermon” the proof that Bonaventure was closely involved in the movement of eucharistic devotion which marked the last months of the pontificate of Urban IV in 1264.⁴⁴ Although Ignatius Brady’s suspicions had been aroused by the distribution of the manuscripts and the lack of attribution to Bonaventure,⁴⁵ as recently as 1975 Balduinus Distelbrink declared for its authenticity in his important evaluation of the works in the Bonaventuran corpus, calling it “this sublime and rich sermon, most certainly authentic... replete with profound theological teaching and shining splendidly with seraphic ardor”.⁴⁶ However, Bougerol’s study and now the link with vernacular translations mean that authorship must be reassigned from Bonaventure to Conrad.⁴⁷

What was the context of Conrad’s sermon? It was evidently addressed to religious (§25–27: “one must flee the consolation of this world and enter religious life”), but of what kind is not clear. Ann Astell suggested it should be understood in the context of Franciscan efforts to portray Saint Francis as a new Elijah, but this was when it was still attributed to Bonaventure.⁴⁸ Charles Caspers has suggested placing in it in the context of the interest in biblical prefigurations of the Eucharist sparked by the new forms of eucharistic piety in the late 13th century, anticipated by Caesarius of Heisterbach and Thomas Aquinas, and it would be interesting to consider how Conrad fits

⁴³ *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, s.v. “Bonaventure, Saint”, (Paris: Beauchesne, 1932), vol. 1, col. 1771.

⁴⁴ *Il pensiero e l’opera di San Bonaventura da Bagnoregio* (Firenze: Le Monnier, 1932), 261–274.

⁴⁵ IGNATIUS BRADY, “The Opera Omnia of St. Bonaventure Revisited,” *Proceedings of the American Catholic Philosophical Association* 48 (1974): 299.

⁴⁶ BALDUINUS DISTELBRINK, *Bonaventurae scripta: authentica, dubia vel spuria critica recensita*, Subsidia Scientifica Franciscalia, vol. 5 (Roma: Istituto Storico Cappuccini, 1975), 81–82: “Iste sermo sublimis et copiosus, satis certe authenticus... profunda doctrina theologica refertus ac ardore seraphico luculenter enitens”.

⁴⁷ Cf. MARANESI, “The Opera Omnia of Saint Bonaventure,” 78.

⁴⁸ ANN W. ASTELL, *Eating Beauty: The Eucharist and the Spiritual Arts of the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006), 131–135. On the comparison of Elijah and St Francis see also JOHN V. FLEMING, *From Bonaventure to Bellini: An Essay in Franciscan Exegesis* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 64–74; and MARIANNE SCHLOSSER, “‘Princeps noster Elias’: der Prophet Elija als Vorbild monastischen Lebens,” *Edith-Stein-Jahrbuch* 8 (2002): 48–64.

within these developments.⁴⁹ Hein Blommestijn has suggested a connection with the mystical piety of women in the period, certainly worth exploring.⁵⁰

Conrad writes in the tradition of affective mystical devotion which has long been associated with the Cistercians, Franciscans, and late medieval female piety, and his debt to Bernard of Clairvaux is evident. However, Lauren Mancía has now traced affective piety—as “a process of human intentionality and self-presence”—to earlier monastic sources, especially John of Fécamp (†1079), and Robert Davis has argued for a rethinking of the whole traditional narrative of affective piety.⁵¹ Conrad shares the Christocentric affectivity of this long tradition: his Jesus is all sweetness, the encounter with him a source of delight. Conrad is particularly interested in the reshaping of the self: the “stretching of the soul” (§14) through charity, devotion, the habit of gratitude, integrity of intention, commitment to personal growth, attention to the Passion of Christ, the cultivation and discipline of desire, the habit of prayer, devotion to the Virgin, an eye on eternal life. Although he is relatively unsystematic, he proposes such “technologies of the self” in service of spiritual rebirth through grace.⁵²

Theologically, Conrad reflects the developing eucharistic theology of his period, with its more precise definition of substance and accidents in the sacrament, its emphasis on bringing the believer into an increasingly intense spiritual relationship with Christ, and the

⁴⁹ CHARLES CASPERS, “Wandering Between Transubstantiation and Transfiguration: Images of the Prophet Elijah in Western Christianity, 1200–1500 CE,” in *Saints and Role Models in Judaism and Christianity*, ed. M. BASIL PENNINGTON, JOSHUA SCHWARTZ, and MARCEL POORTHUIS, Jewish and Christian Perspectives Series, vol. 7 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 335–54.

⁵⁰ BLOMMESTIJN, “De Eucharistie,” 73. See also, for example, BARBARA R. WALTERS, ed., *The Feast of Corpus Christi* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006).

⁵¹ LAUREN MANCÍA, *Emotional Monasticism: Affective Piety in the Eleventh-Century Monastery of John of Fécamp*, Artes Liberales (Manchester: UK Manchester University Press, 2019), esp. 195, where she is quoting BERNARD MCGINN, “Mystical Consciousness: A Modest Proposal,” *Spiritus* 8 (2008): 46; ROBERT GLENN DAVIS, *The Weight of Love: Affect, Ecstasy, and Union in the Theology of Bonaventure* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2017), 1–28.

⁵² LUTHER H. MARTIN, et al., *Technologies of the Self: A Seminar with Michel Foucault* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988); and for the antiquity of this tradition in Christian monasticism see especially INBAR GRAIVER, *Asceticism of the Mind: Forms of Attention and Self-Transformation in Late Antique Monasticism*, Studies and Texts, vol. 213 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2018).

conviction of its effect in the growth of an active life of faith and charity.⁵³

The content of the sermon

The contemplative reading of scripture was at the heart of Carmelite life: the Rule required “meditating on the Law of the Lord day and night” (par. 10).⁵⁴ In their approach to pondering scripture medieval religious had at their disposal the elaborate system of interpretation known as the “four senses of sacred scripture”, which derives from the Alexandrian school, Origen, John Cassian, and Augustine.⁵⁵ A famous mnemonic verse, apparently from Conrad’s near contemporary Augustine of Dacia, OP, summed it up: *Littera gesta docet, quid credas allegoria, / Moralis quid agas, quid speres anagogia* (“The literal reading teaches what happened, the allegorical what you ought to believe, the moral what you should do, and the anagogical what you should hope for”), though the last three were often collapsed into a less differentiated “spiritual” or “mystical” sense.⁵⁶

Conrad’s sermon is fundamentally concerned with Christian conversion and mystical transformation and so especially with the moral sense, but his method is firmly allegorical, even flamboyantly

⁵³ For a summary see especially GARY MACY, “Theology of the Eucharist in the High Middle Ages,” in *A Companion to the Eucharist in the Middle Ages*, ed. IAN CHRISTOPHER LEVY, GARY MACY, and KRISTEN VAN AUSDALL, Brill’s Companions to the Christian Tradition, vol. 26 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 365–97.

⁵⁴ On *lectio divina* in the Rule see, for example, CICONETTI, *La Regola*, 665–71 and the index. The text of the Rule from the bull *Que honorem Conditoris* of Innocent IV (1 October 1247) is in EVALDO XAVIER GOMES, et al., ed., *The Carmelite Rule 1207–2007: Proceedings of the Lisieux Conference, 4–7 July 2005*, Textus et Studia Historica Carmelitana, vol. 28 (Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 2008), 625–28 and elsewhere. The most accessible text of the Rule in English is at <https://ocarm.org/en/item/5438-the-carmelite-rule-text> (retrieved 29 June 2021).

⁵⁵ The standard study is HENRI DE LUBAC, *Exegèse médiévale: les quatre sens de l’écriture*, 4 vols (Paris: Aubier, 1959–64); three volumes have been translated into English: *Medieval Exegesis: The Four Senses of Scripture*, 3 vols, Ressourcement (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans, 1998–2009).

⁵⁶ KURT VILLADS JENSEN, “Augustinus de Dacia”, in STEPHAN BORGEHAMMAR et al., ed., *Medieval Nordic Literature in Latin: A Website of Authors and Anonymous Works c. 1100–1530*, https://wiki.uib.no/medieval/index.php/Augustinus_de_Dacia (accessed 7 July 2021). The last line is usually given in a variant form as *quo tendas anagogia* “the anagogical where you are heading”.

so.⁵⁷ The smallest details of the biblical text become the foundation for complex structures of meaning, in ways that the modern reader may find perplexing. Even in Conrad's own time there was unease about the extravagance of some allegorical readings, for example from the famous Franciscan biblicist Nicholas of Lyra.⁵⁸ In recent decades, however, especially under the influence of postmodern literary criticism, there has been a renewed appreciation of allegorical modes of interpretation. Mark Burrows, writing on Saint Bernard of Clairvaux's allegorical method, says that "it seeks to unfold not what the text *meant* but what it *means* for present readers". Allegory becomes "a kind of fiction", "a carefully calculated subversion of the text's plain meaning", not so much "as a separate *sense* but as a particular way of *reading*" which seeks to create a new meaning from the text which serves the construction of the converted monastic self, its purpose "not so much to explain words as to move hearts".⁵⁹

Delight arises from the apparently infinite variety and complexity of exploratory paths, and the reader's enjoyment depends upon the difficulty encountered and the exertion this calls forth. The text as labyrinth for the dream-like experience of monastic reading provides a locus for wandering, a maze for searching, which as a journey into the mysterious darkness of one's own interior is itself a discovery... Understood in this manner, allegory is the formal expression of an unending search, a seemingly boundless quest undertaken within the bounded textual world of scripture. As an interior journey, the search functioned as an existential mode of reading based upon patterns of meaning crucial for the experience of attaining monastic conversion... These patterns were to be discovered primarily in the *interpreter*, and only secondarily as rules applied to the text.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ On the renewed appreciation of pre-modern exegesis, see for example: DAVIS C. STEINMETZ, "The Superiority of Pre-Critical Exegesis," *Theology Today* 37.1 (1980): 27–38; MARIE ANN MAYESKI, "Quaestio Disputata: Catholic Theology and the History of Exegesis," *Theological Studies* 62 (2001): 140–53; DANIEL BOYARIN, "Origen as Theorist of Allegory: Alexandrian Contexts," in *Cambridge Companion to Allegory*, ed. RITA COPELAND and PETER T. STRUCK, Cambridge Companions to Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 39–54; WILLIAM M. WRIGHT, "Patristic Exegetical Theory and Practice in De Lubac and Congar," *New Blackfriars* 96.1061 (2015): 61–73.

⁵⁸ DENYS TURNER, "Allegory in Christian Late Antiquity," in *Cambridge Companion to Allegory*, 71–82.

⁵⁹ MARK S. BURROWS, "Hunters, Hounds, and Allegorical Readers: The Body of the Text and the Text of the Body in Bernard of Clairvaux's *Sermons on the Song of Songs*," *Studies in Spirituality* 14 (2004): 114–15, 127–28, 137.

⁶⁰ BURROWS, "Hunters, Hounds, and Allegorical Readers," 123–24.

Conrad's text is generally called a sermon (*sermo*), though it has few signs of orality, and as many sermons did, overlaps with the genre of a treatise (*tractatus*).⁶¹ It does not strictly follow the prescriptions of the *Artes praedicandi*,⁶² and it lacks the exempla which were such a prominent and colourful part of popular preaching.⁶³ Conrad begins with the biblical *thema*, *Confiteantur Domino...* from Psalm 106:8–10 (which will be repeated to mark the end of each section): "Let the mercies of the Lord give glory to him, and his wonderful works to the children of men. For he has satisfied the empty soul, and filled the hungry soul with good things, those who sat in darkness and in the shadow of death, bound in want and in iron". He omits the usual protheme, a profession of humility or a request for a prayer for the preacher, and passes rather to the *divisio thematis*,⁶⁴ an introduction which sets the context for the sermon, whose theme is the need for openness to the action of grace on the "multiple shortcomings of our unhappy condition", of which there are six according to the Psalm: humankind is empty, without the Spirit of God; hungry, lacking spiritual food; in darkness, without divine knowledge; in the shadow of death, destined for damnation; in poverty, unable to act with virtue; iron-bound, obstinate in heart. These conditions will be remedied by six works of grace of the self-giving God: emptiness by the divine indwelling; hunger by spiritual food; darkness by illumination of hearts; the shadow of death by the offering of reconciliation; poverty by the work of virtue; obstinacy by the softening of hearts. These will be the six sections of Conrad's sermon, each developed through the allegorical interpretation of a biblical text.

Conrad's overarching metaphorical structure is grounded in the concrete realities of food and digestion, nourishment and assimilation. He will quote (§12) the famous line from Augustine's *Confessions* where Christ says, "You will not change me into yourself like bodily

⁶¹ BEVERLY MAYNE KIENZLE, ed., *The Sermon*, Typologie des sources du Moyen Age occidental, fasc. 81–83 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 161, 168–71.

⁶² MARIANNE G. BRISCOE and BARBARA H. JAYE, 'Artes praedicandi' et 'Artes orandi', Typologie des Sources du Moyen Age Occidental, vol. 61 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1992); SIEGFRIED WENZEL, *Medieval Artes Praedicandi: A Synthesis of Scholastic Sermon Structure* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015), esp. 47–86.

⁶³ Cf. JEAN-CLAUDE SCHMITT, *Prêcher d'exemples: récits de prédicateurs du Moyen Age* (Paris: Stock, 1985); CARLO DELCORNO, *Exemplum e letteratura: tra Medioevo e Rinascimento* (Bologna: Mulino, 1989); Wenzel, *Medieval Artes Praedicandi*, 111–12.

⁶⁴ WENZEL, *Medieval Artes Praedicandi*, 65–75.

food, you will be changed into me”.⁶⁵ As Miri Rubin has noted about the eucharistic piety of the 13th century, “The eucharist developed into something good to eat, it could be experienced directly and assimilated into one’s body. The gift of food was the most satisfying of offerings, directly experienced and lovingly given...”, a sacrament of transformation and incorporation.⁶⁶

Conrad proceeds with the introduction of the six “figures” (or symbols, or images) (*figurae*) by which the Body of Christ is prefigured in the Hebrew scriptures. These six figures—fat, bread, honey, the paschal lamb, heavenly treasure, manna—each interpreted allegorically, will structure the sermon, which will be further developed by series of cascading subdivisions, almost always in groups of four.⁶⁷

The central part of the sermon takes up each of the six figures in turn. The first figure is “fat” (*pinguedo*), taken from a reference in Genesis 49:20, “Asher’s food shall be fat, and he shall provide delicacies to kings”. From this apparently unlikely text Conrad builds a case that the Body of Christ is given to preserve divine fervour in the heart, which is preserved in three ways: through delight within oneself, through love of neighbour, and through devotion to God. The fact that fat makes food delicious signifies that the Body of Christ takes away four afflictions: ignorance, weakness, malice, and concupiscence. Asher’s bread prefigures the Bread which transforms a person into Christ. As fat enables leather to stretch, so the Eucharist extends the receiver in love of neighbour. As it causes a fire to flare up, so the Body of Christ excites the soul to devotion in four ways: rightness of intention, the habit of prayer, the devotion of communion, and the habit of giving thanks.

The second figure is bread, and is developed through a consideration of the Prophet Elijah—at this time considered the

⁶⁵ 7.16.10; SAINT AUGUSTINE, *The Confessions*, trans. Maria Boulding (New York: New City Press, 1997), 127.

⁶⁶ MIRI RUBIN, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 27–28.

⁶⁷ Conrad himself notes that four is the number of the gospels (§31), but in medieval number symbolism it also stood for the winds, elements, seasons, stages of life, corners of the world, rivers of paradise, and more; cf. ISIDORE OF SEVILLE, *Liber numerorum quae in sanctis scripturis occurrunt* 5, PL 83:183A-184A. Hopper adds that four stands for the extremities of the cross, and that it represents the earth and solidity; VINCENT HOPPER, *Medieval Number Symbolism: Its Meaning and Influence on Thought and Expression*, Columbia University Studies in English and Comparative Literature, no. 132 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938), 84, 11, 35.

founder of the Carmelites⁶⁸—who receives bread baked under hot ashes⁶⁹ and a jug of water from an angel to sustain him in his journey to Horeb (1 Kings 19:6).⁷⁰ The eucharistic Body of Christ is truly “under ashes” since it is concealed under the accidents of bread; the water signifies the blood of Christ; the angel signifies that the Eucharist is attended by the choirs of angels. Elijah has to do four things before consuming this bread: send away his servant, enter the desert, sit under a juniper tree, and have an angel as his consoler. These signify that four things are necessary to approach the sacrament worthily: to flee the delights of the world, to enter religious life, to live under a superior, and to receive the grace of God. There are four effects: to be encouraged to action in the spirit of the commandments (the walk to Horeb), to be lifted up to contemplation which enlightens the intellect and inflames the affections (as Moses met God on the mountain), to be disposed to the revelation of divine mysteries in peace of conscience (as Elijah on Horeb), to prefer heavenly to worldly goods (as Elijah covered his face with his cloak when he saw the immensity of the divine beauty).

The third figure is honey.⁷¹ After some references to Jesus as honey and sweetness from the hymn *Iesu dulcis memoria* and to the Virgin Mary as a bee, Conrad takes up the story of Jonathan finding honey and eating it in 1 Samuel 14:27: “He put forth the end of the staff which he had in his hand, and dipped it in a honeycomb; and he carried his hand to his mouth, and his eyes were enlightened”. Jonathan did four things before he tasted the honey: he climbed laboriously on his hands and feet, made the army of the Philistines

⁶⁸ From the large literature see esp. SAGGI, “Agiografia carmelitana” in LUDOVICO SAGGI, ed., *Santi del Carmelo: biografie da vari dizionari* (Roma: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1972), 23-91; and TARCISIO STRAMARE, et al., “Elia Profeta”, *ibid.*, 136-153.

⁶⁹ As is often the case, modern translations from the Hebrew—“baked on hot coals”, “baked on hot stones”—will mislead the reader of medieval interpretations based on the Vulgate. Here *subcinericius* (“under hot ashes”) is a crucial element of Conrad’s interpretation.

⁷⁰ HEIN BLOMMESTIJN has written two interpretive essays on the Elijah section of Conrad’s sermon from the Hague ms.: “De Eucharistie”, 39-73; “De reis naar de bron: Koenraad van St. Joris,” in *Gaan waar geen weg meer is: verkenningen in de mystiek*, ed. HEIN BLOMMESTIJN (Zoetermeer: Meinema, 2002), 9-27. Cf. also Astell, *Eating Beauty*, 131-32.

⁷¹ An extensive analysis of this figure from the Tilburg ms. is by JOS HULS, “Conrad’s Allegorical Reading of 1 Samuel 14: An Analysis of a Sermon by Conrad of Saint George on the Worthy Reception of the Blessed Sacrament,” *Acta Theologica* Suppl. 15 (2011): 200-219. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.4314/actat.v31i1S.12> (retrieved 5 June 2021).

flee, held his staff in his hand, and raised his hand to his mouth. So must the worthy recipient of the Body of Christ do four things: have a great desire to grow into virtue by daily spiritual practice, put temptation to flight, have the patronage of the Blessed Virgin Mary who bore for us the body of the Lord, and labour in good works. The effects of grace are fourfold: by frequenting the eucharist daily the mind is enlightened to know the supreme truth (Jonathan's eyes were enlightened); the experience of divine sweetness turns desire from the earthly to the divine and increases the capacity for it (he tastes the honey); the battle against evil is strengthened (he chases the Philistines as far as Aijalon); and the mortification of the outer self vivifies the inner self and extinguishes earthly desire (he says, Behold, I must die).

It is in this section that Conrad makes reference to the role of the Virgin Mary in the Christian life. Jesus is the honey produced by Mary, the bee: he is the fruit of her womb, who is the humblest among the saints. She is symbolised also by Jonathan's supporting staff, for she who bore the Lord in her body assists whoever receives the same Lord in the Eucharist. Although brief, these mentions of Mary are significant in the way that Miri Rubin has illustrated, by bringing two large contemporary theological themes into connection: "The overarching symbol of salvation, the Eucharist, was combined with another source of comfort, solace and healing, Mary, in an intersection of discourses".⁷²

The fourth figure is the paschal lamb of Exodus 12 (and also the lamb of Isaiah 16:1 and John 1:29), which signifies how the Christian must be before, during, and after reception of the Body of Christ. Before it, four things are necessary: respect for the whole community of the Church (*universitas*); a suitable disposition; charity; and integrity of faith. Four more qualities are required in one approaching the sacrament: bodily continence, purity of feeling, the memory of Christ's passion, and a desire for eternal life—each supported by allegorical interpretations of biblical verses. And there are four fruits of the sacrament: it sends consolation (God passes over Egypt); it reduces the kindling of the vices (God strikes the first-born of the Egyptians); it removes the love of the world (God judges the gods of Egypt); it makes safe in the day of judgement (the blood on your houses is a safeguard).

⁷² RUBIN, *Corpus Christi*, 140.

The fifth figure is heavenly treasure, the “hidden treasures” of Isaiah 45:3, which are hidden indeed in the sacrament. There are four of them: essence, wisdom, grace, and glory, all realised in Christ. These treasures are hidden in the bread and wine for four reasons: for the merit of faith (for eucharistic belief is opposed by the five senses, the imagination, and reason); the involvement of digestion (the horror of eating flesh); the imperfection of our senses (for as Moses could not see the face of God, so Christ is veiled in the sacrament); and the exclusion of non-believers (for the unworthy may not approach).

The sixth and final figure is the manna of Exodus 16 and the “food of angels” of Wisdom 16:20, in which we see that the sacrament of the Body of Christ is most noble in kind, sweetest in taste, most worthy in content, and marvellous in efficacy. It is the most noble food, cooked by the Trinity in the oven of the Virgin Mary by the fire of the Spirit; the sweetest, because it attracts the desire of both angels and humans; the most worthy in content, for it contains the whole of the Trinity (the Son by incarnation, and Father and Holy Spirit by the indivisibility of their substance); and marvellous in its efficacy, for the one who approaches the sacrament with an unworthy heart is only hardened in its fire, but the one who comes with charity of heart is melted. Four more commitments are required: to leave the darkness of vice (the Hebrews fled Egypt); to grow the fruit of penitence (to cross the Red Sea); to forsake earthly things—the love of possessions, the desires of the flesh, the greed for prestige—(to enter the desert); to delight in the bitterness of one’s cross and have in mind the Lord’s passion (the bitter waters of Marah, sweetened by wood).

The sermon concludes with a summary addressed directly to the listener or reader:

If you feel that you are empty, seek your fill in this sacrament under the figure of fat; if you feel hungry, seek your refreshment in this sacrament under the figure of bread; if you feel that you are sitting in darkness, seek your enlightenment in this sacrament under the figure of honey; if you see yourself lying in the shadow of death, seek your reconciliation in this sacrament under the figure of the paschal lamb; if you know yourself destitute and poor, seek your enrichment in this sacrament under the figure of heavenly treasure; if you experience yourself as having a heart of iron, seek your softening in this sacrament under the figure of manna. May Christ deign to grant it, who with the Father and the Holy Spirit lives and reigns for ever and ever. Amen.

Among others Conrad explicitly quotes Bernard of Clairvaux, Augustine, and Gregory the Great, and Jerome and Isidore for

etymologies, with implicit quotations, as it seems, from Bonaventure, Peter Lombard, Hugh of Saint Victor, Thomas of Perseigne, Thomas Aquinas, and others. However, for the most part his work reveals an original and creative mind not highly dependent on the works of others, no doubt part of the reason it was so long attributed to Bonaventure.

Hein Blommestijn has addressed the issue of whether Conrad's sermon may be called a mystical text, since he does not describe extraordinary mystical experiences nor suggest an itinerary of the mystical way.⁷³ I think that Blommestijn perhaps underestimates the mystical language in Conrad's sermon, even in the Elijah section on which he has commented: for example, the prefigured eucharistic bread which Elijah receives from the angel "lifts him up to divine contemplation" and to "the revelation of divine mysteries", and sustains him in the journey to Horeb, where he must cover his face before "the immensity of beauty and the infinity of the divine Godhead" (§32-34). In addition there are the dynamics of desire in the section on Jonathan's honey (§44). Nevertheless, his main point remains valid:

[Conrad] speaks of the "ordinary" Christian experience, which in the communion with Scripture and Eucharist arrives at the encounter with God. For him, the regular reception of the sacrament in the Eucharist is unmistakably a mystical event for the human being who opens himself fully to the love of God... The Carmelite tradition has never regarded mysticism as a "special experience" intended only for a small elite of "specialists", but always as the breakthrough of the perspective of divine love into the daily reality of every Christian who opens himself to it... Thus monasticism and lay spirituality merge into a mysticism of ordinary life... Conrad of Saint George, by means of a biblical paraphrase, interpreted the reception of the Eucharist as a mystical journey that transforms us in God's love. This gave him the opportunity to interpret the original spirituality of Carmel in a creative way in the new context of Western Europe. The contact with Eucharistic mysticism

⁷³ For critique of William James' experientialism, which has so dominated the modern conception of mysticism, see, for example, EDWARD HOWELLS, "Mystical Theology and Human Experience," in *Oxford Handbook of Mystical Theology*, ed. EDWARD HOWELLS and MARK A. MCINTOSH (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 45–64, with further bibliography; JONATHAN GARB, "Mystics' Critiques of Mystical Experience," *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 221/223 (2004): 293–325; RALPH NORMAN, "Rediscovery of Mysticism," in *The Blackwell Companion to Modern Theology*, ed. GARETH JONES, Blackwell Companions to Religion (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), 449–65.

from the thirteenth century, which was characteristic of the Northern European women's movement, will certainly not have been a stranger to this.⁷⁴

All in all, then, Conrad's sermon may be considered the first known mystical work by a Carmelite author.

The present edition

The Quaracchi editors knew sixteen manuscripts, and used five in their edition, all of them from the Bavarian State Library. None bears Conrad's name; seven of the sixteen are attributed to Bonaventure. A critical edition would no doubt be a valuable undertaking, but I must leave it to another. It would be a fairly large task, as there are some forty-five known manuscripts, and no doubt others to be discovered. The presence of the work in late medieval miscellany manuscripts, which are not always fully catalogued, is likely to complicate the manuscript survey, as is the possibility that the work was transmitted in various partial forms. A comparison with the vernacular versions would also be of value.

In the meantime, it seems worthwhile to present Conrad's sermon in a transcription from the Paris manuscript, Bibliothèque Mazarine, ms. 987, ff. 46v-57r, the only known version of the Latin text to bear his name. This manuscript is a miscellany, dated 1397, of different documents on the Eucharist, containing four sermons, ten exempla, and twenty-three small treatises or chapters of treatises, written in two hands.⁷⁵ It was copied at the priory of Augustinian canons at Groenendaal in the forest of Zonien in Flemish Brabant, which had been founded in 1343 by John Ruusbroec and two others, and is further evidence for the long-lasting interest in Conrad's sermon among followers of Ruusbroec.⁷⁶ In the Mazarine manuscript the work is under the title *Sermo fratris Conradi*⁷⁷ *de sancto Georgio*,

⁷⁴ BLOMMESTIJN, "De Eucharistie," 72-73.

⁷⁵ BOUGEROL, "Le manuscrit Paris Mazarine 987," 7-8.

⁷⁶ A note on a flyleaf reads: "Liber cenobii Sancti Pauli in Zonia, quod communiter vocatur Roodendale, dirigatur illac." On the Groenendaal priory cf. JOHN ARBLASTER and ROB FAESEN, "John of Ruusbroec's Life and Works," in *A Companion to John of Ruusbroec*, ed. JOHN ARBLASTER and ROB FAESEN, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition, vol. 51 (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 47-81.

⁷⁷ Not "Corradi", as transcribed by BOUGEROL in "Le manuscrit Paris Mazarine 987," 6; and SAINT BONAVENTURE, *Sermons de Diversis*, 50.

nacione Coloniensi, ordinis fratrum beate Marie de Monte Carmelo, de sacramento altaris, but the more common title *De corpore Christi* in used in the explicit. The latter seems to better reflect Conrad's characteristic vocabulary,⁷⁸ and I have continued to use it as the title of the sermon.

Bougerol has given a meticulous analysis of the contents of the manuscript, which it is not necessary to repeat here.⁷⁹ The large majority of the constitutive elements, some very brief, are by unidentified authors, but there are extracts from Bonaventure's *Breviloquium*, Thomas of Cantimpré's *De apibus*, Henry Suso's *Horologium sapientiae*, Albert the Great's *Summa de corpore Domini*, and the bull of Urban IV establishing the feast of Corpus Christi, along with a number of *exempla* of the kind used in preaching.

I have collated the text with that of the Quaracchi edition, which in turn collated five Bavarian manuscripts with the 1774 edition of Bonelli.⁸⁰ This is admittedly not an ideal procedure, since the variants in the *apparatus criticus* below are not drawn from manuscripts but rather from the 1891 edition, which itself is not ideal.⁸¹ Moreover, the discursive 19th-century Quaracchi apparatus makes it difficult to disentangle the manuscripts from which particular readings are taken—a disentangling which I have not attempted. In addition, it seems that the Franciscan editors have introduced unsupported readings in an attempt to correct the medieval Latin to a more classical standard, and have regularly conformed biblical quotations to the Vulgate. This collation is nevertheless presented as a worthwhile interim measure, to draw attention to the existence of this important early Carmelite text in a particular manuscript, while enabling some corrections to the far-from-perfect Mazarine text and especially the supplying of some omissions. A more thorough job can be done if there is an eventual critical edition which takes account of the other surviving manuscripts.

⁷⁸ Apart from the scribal title *De sacramento altaris*, variants of *sacramentum altaris* are only found four times in the text, while variants of *corpus Christi* occur twenty-nine times.

⁷⁹ BOUGEROL, "Le manuscrit Paris Mazarine 987," 8–17.

⁸⁰ The mss. are: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 9612, 9598, 2657, 7012, 9617; "Prolegomena", xlvi.

⁸¹ For some critical comments on the Quaracchi edition see BRADY, "The Opera Omnia of St. Bonaventure Revisited"; JACQUES GUY BOUGEROL, "Pour des 'Prolegomena postquam' de l'édition critique de s. Bonaventure Quaracchi 1882–1902," in *The Editing of Theological and Philosophical Texts from the Middle Ages*, ed. MÓNICA ASZTALOS, *Studia Latina Stockholmiensia*, vol. 30 (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1986), 121–35.

I have worked from a digital copy provided by the Bibliothèque Mazarine. Bougerol makes a somewhat strange comment that the texts of the Mazarine manuscript and the edition in Bonaventure's *opera* are exactly the same "de la première lettre à la dernière",⁸² though there are in fact a large number of variants, including some omissions from the former. *M* indicates the Mazarine manuscript, and *q* the Quaracchi edition. I have preserved the text of *M* as far as possible, except where it is clearly incorrect or lacking. Emendations and additions in the text (almost always from *q*) are indicated by angle brackets <>; other variants are in the apparatus. I have preserved the orthography of the manuscript, regularising u and v to u, and capitalising, punctuating and paragraphing according to the sense. I have consistently written the soft or assibilated -t- as -c-, as is the scribe's usual practice, even if occasionally it seems it may have been written as -t-. I have not recorded trivial variants (is/ille/iste, iuxta/secundum, aut/sive, presence or absence of et, etc., or simple inversions of word order). To avoid very frequent repetition I have not generally indicated that variants in biblical quotations often result from the Quaracchi practice of conforming such quotations to the standard Vulgate text; this can be presumed.⁸³ Folio changes in *M* are indicated [f. 47r] and page changes in *q* [p. 555] and so on.

M has been lightly corrected by the original scribe and occasionally by a later hand, e.g. on f. 47r, where an incorrect rubric has been corrected in black ink. There are occasional *nota* annotations in the margins, which have been recorded in the apparatus, and some annotations of structural elements (1°, 2°, etc.), also recorded, although some have apparently been lost through later trimming.

The Quaracchi editors divided this 7000-word sermon into 42 numbered sections, but a more granular division seems useful, so for ease of reference I have indicated the six main sections I-VI, and numbered the paragraphs 1-90.

An English translation is in preparation.

PAUL CHANDLER, O.Carm.
Australian Catholic University, Brisbane

⁸² BOUGEROL, "Le manuscrit Paris Mazarine 987," 6.

⁸³ I have used the Clementine Vulgate, which, though published in 1592, closely corresponds to the 13th-century Paris text commonly used throughout the Middle Ages; cf. JEAN LONGÈRE, *La prédication médiévale* (Paris: Etudes Augustiennes, 1983), 180; *Biblia sacra iuxta Vulgatam Clementinam*, 6th ed., ed. A. COLUNGA and L. TURRADO, Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos (Madrid: La Editoriál Católica, 1982).

SIGLA

- M* Paris, Bibliotheque Mazarine, Ms 987, ff. 46v-57r
q St Bonaventure, *Doctoris seraphici S. Bonaventurae ... opera omnia*, tomus V, Opuscula varia theologica, Quaracchi: ex typographia Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1891, 553-566.

Sermo fratris Conradi de Sancto Georgio natione coloniensi ordinis fratrum beate marie de monte carmeli. De sacramento altaris.¹ [p. 554]

1. *Confiteantur Domino misericordie eius, et mirabilia eius filiis hominum; quia saciavit animam inanem atque animam esurientem saciavit bonis, sedentem in tenebris et umbra mortis, vinctum² in mendicitate et ferro.^a* Istud verbum scribit David Propheta, in quo uerbo³ excitat nos ad gratiarum acciones, cum dicit: *Confiteantur*,⁴ et cetera,⁵ et ad rationem gratiarum accionis, cum subdit:⁶ *Quia saciavit animam inanem*,⁷ et cetera.

2. Volens ergo Propheta corda nostra excitare ad gratiarum acciones, ostendit multiplices nostre miserie defectus;⁸ ostendit⁹ hic eiam multiplices effectus diuine misericordie. Dicit enim hic, quia homo inanis erat, homo esuriebat, homo in tenebris sedebat, in umbra mortis iacebat, uinctus in mendicitate et ferro. Inanis erat anima,¹⁰ quia non habebat spiritum Dei¹¹ in se per inhabitationem. Esuriebat, quia non habebat spiritualem refeccionem. In tenebris sedebat, quia

¹ Sermo... altaris] *rub. M* : De sanctissimo corpore Christi *q*

² sedentem; vinctum] sedentes; vinctos *ut Vulg. q*

³ uerbo] *om. q*

⁴ Confiteantur] *add. Domino q*

⁵ ecc.] *add. M sup. l.*

⁶ et ad... subdit] Subiungit rationem cum dicit *q*

⁷ animam inanem] *om. q*

⁸ ostendit multiplices... effectus] ostendit in hoc verbo defectus nostrae miseriae, nihilominus multiplices effectus *q*

⁹ Ostendit] Dicit enim *q*

¹⁰ anima] *om. q*

¹¹ spiritum Dei] Deum *q*

^a Confiteantur... ferro] Ps. 106, 8-10.

non habebat diuinam cognicionem. In umbra mortis iacebat, quia iudicata erat in dampnacionem. Vinctus erat in mendicitate, quia non habebat virtuosam operacionem. Vinctus erat ferro, quia habebat cordis obstinacionem.

3. *Confiteantur ergo Domino misericordie eius*, et cetera, quia¹² repleuit inanem, saciauit esurientem, illuminauit in tenebris sedentem, reconciliauit in umbra mortis iacentem, ditauit mendicantem, mellificauit¹³ ferreum cor habentem.

4. Homo erat inanis, et ipse se dedit ei per inhabitationem. Homo esuriebat, et ipse se dedit ei per refeccionem. In tenebris sedebat, et ipse dedit ei se in cordis illuminacionem. In umbra mortis iacebat, et ipse dedit se ei per¹⁴ reconciliacionis oblacionem. Homo [f. 47r] vinctus erat in mendicitate, et ipse se dedit ei in uirtuosam operacionem. Vinctus erat ferro, id est corde obstinato, et ipse se dedit ei in cordis mollificacionem. *Confiteantur Domino misericordie eius*, etc., quia replecio est¹⁵ inanium, refeccio esurientium, lumen in tenebris sedentium, reconciliacio in umbra mortis iacencium, ditacio mendicantium, et mollificacio ferreorum cordium. Hec omnia tanguntur in uerbis thematis, sicut patet.

5. Et propter hec sex sub sex figuris prefiguratur¹⁶ corpus Christi in scripturis, videlicet sub figura adipis,¹⁷ sub figura panis, sub figura mellis, sub figura agni paschalis, sub figura thesauri celestis, et sub figura manatis.

6. Quia ergo pinguedo est quid penetratiuum, ideo ualet ad replecionem inanium, quoad primum. Quia panis est quid fortificatiuum, ideo ualet ad refeccionem esurientium, quoad secundum. Quia mel oculorum est purificatiuum, ideo ualet ad illuminacionem in tenebris sedencium, quoad tertium. Quia agnus¹⁸ est aliquid immolatiuum, ideo ualet ad reconciliacionem in umbra mortis iacencium, quoad quartum. Quia thesaurus est quid desideratiuum, ideo ualet ad ditacionem mendicantium, quoad quintum. Quia ergo¹⁹ manna est quid liquefactiuum, ideo ualet ad mollificacionem ferreorum cordium, quoad sextum.²⁰

¹² quia] *add.* ipse *q*

¹³ mellicauit] mollivit *q*

¹⁴ per] in *q*

¹⁵ est] ipse est *q*

¹⁶ prefiguratur] praefiguratum est *q*

¹⁷ adipis] *add.* sive pinguedinis *q*

¹⁸ agnus] *add.* paschalis *q*

¹⁹ ergo] *om.* *q*

²⁰ post sextum] *add. et canc. rub.* De sacramento sermo et *add. in marg. manu altera* De figura pinguedinis *M : om. q*

<I.> *De figura pinguedinis*

7. *Confiteantur domino misericordie eius et mirabilia eius filiis hominum*, quia¹ prefiguravit² nobis corpus suum³ sanctissimum sub figura pinguedinis, et hoc recte. Corpus enim Christi datum est nobis ad conseruandum diuinum feruorem in corde; qui conseruatur tripliciter: scilicet,⁴ per delectacionem intra semetipsum, per dileccionem ad proximum, et per deuocionem ad Deum.

8. Delectacio autem intra semetipsum non habetur nisi per uiaticum refeccionis; dileccio ad proximum habetur per sacramentum communionis; deuocio ad Deum⁵ per sacrificium oblacionis. Et ideo ad hec tria datum est corpus Christi, uidelicet in uiaticum refeccionis, ut conseruet delectacionem intra semetipsum; in sacramentum communionis, ut conseruet dileccionem ad proximum; et in sacrificium oblacionis, ut conseruet deuocionem ad Deum. Et hec tria facit pinguedo:⁶ delectabiles [p. 555] enim reddit quos [f. 47v] infundit cibos,⁷ quoad primum; dilatat pellem quam perungit, quoad secundum; flammam subleuat quam attingit, quoad tertium.

9. Quia ergo pinguedo delectabiles reddit cibos, figurat⁸ corpus Christi, quod et magnam delectacionem homini facit intra semetipsum, qui illud deuote comedit. Sed⁹ hoc figuratum est Genesis penultimo: *Aser, pinguis panis eius, delicias prebens*¹⁰ *regibus*.^a Iste panis magnas delicias homini infundit, quia tollit omne quod affligit.

10. Quatuor sunt enim que affligunt hominem in hac uita, scilicet ignorancia, impotencia, malicia¹¹ et concupiscencia; et hec quatuor inflictas sunt homini propter originale peccatum. Unde Psalmi-

¹ Quia] *praem.* Primo *q*

² prefiguravit] *praefiguratur q*

³ suum] Christi *q*

⁴ scilicet] *om. q*

⁵ Deum] *add.* habetur *q*

⁶ pinguedo] *add.* sub figura *M*

⁷ reddit... cibos] facit cibos quos infundit *q*

⁸ figurat] significat *q*

⁹ Sed] *Et q*

¹⁰ prebens] *et praebebit q*

¹¹ malicia] *add. in marg. altera manu M*

^a Gen. 49, 20

sta,¹² *Afflictus sum et humiliatus sum nimis*, et statim subiungit:¹³ *Dereliquit me uirtus mea*, quantum ad impotenciam; *et lumen oculorum meorum non est mecum*, quantum <ad>¹⁴ ignoranciam; *amici mei et proximi mei aduersum me appropinquauerunt*,^{15b} quantum ad¹⁶ concupiscenciam. Amicos enim et proximos uocat carnem cum concupiscenciis, et tamen eos patitur¹⁷ aduersarios, quia *caro concupiscit aduersus spiritum*,^{18c} *et qui iuxta me erant de longe steterunt*,^d id est angeli,¹⁹ <quoad>²⁰ maliciam.

11. Contra hec quatuor in premissis uerbo datur corpus Christi sub figura panis.

12. *Aser*, <panis>²¹ *pinguis, delicias prebens*, et panis regum dicitur. Panis regum dicitur quia, confortando reges, facit contra impotenciam, ut scilicet *rex*, id est ratio recta, *sedens in solio*,²² id est in gubernaculo²³ anime,ⁱ *dissipet enim omne malum intuitu suo*.^{24e} Dicitur etiam corpus Christi panis pinguis, quia illuminat contra ignoranciam. Pinguedo enim in testa posita vel infusa lampadi dat usum luminis. Dicitur etiam panis *delicias prebens* contra carnis concupiscencias. Iste enim est panis *habens in se*²⁵ *omne delectamentum et omnis saporis*

¹² Psalmista] Psalmus *q*

¹³ subiungit] *add. causam dicens q*

¹⁴ ad] *add. ex q : om. M*

¹⁵ appropinquauerunt] *add. et steterunt q*

¹⁶ quantum ad] quoad *q*

¹⁷ patitur] *om. q*

¹⁸ spiritum] *add. ad Galatos quinto q*

¹⁹ id est angeli] *om. q*

²⁰ quoad] *corr. ex q : propter M*

²¹ panis] *add. ex q : om. M*

²² solio] *add. iudicii q*

²³ gubernaculo] gubernatione recta *q*

²⁴ intuitu suo] *add. sicut dicitur in Proverbiis q*

²⁵ in se] *om. q*

^b Afflictus... appropinquauerunt] cfr Ps. 37, 9, 11-12

^c caro... spiritum] Gal. 5, 17

^d et qui... steterunt] Ps 37, 12

^e rex... suo] cfr Prov. 20, 8

ⁱ gubernaculo anime] cfr AMBROSIIUS MEDIOLANENSIS, *Expositio psalmi CXVIII* 4.7.2; ed. Petschenig, CSEL 62:70; PL 15:1243A

suauitatem.^{26f} Dicitur eciam *panis Aser*, qui interpretatur 'beatitudo',ⁱⁱ quia totum hominem beatificat contra²⁷ maliciam. Virtus enim huius panis est, ut transmutet hominem in Christum, qui summe beatus est per essenciam, beatificans alios per gratiam. Unde Dominus²⁸ ad beatum Augustinum: 'Non tu mutabis me in te, sicut cibum carnis tue, sed tu mutaberis in me'.ⁱⁱⁱ

13. Secundo, datum est corpus Christi in sacramentum communionis ad conseruandam dileccionem ad proximum; et ideo bene significatur per pinguedinem. Sicut enim pinguedo dilatat pellem, quam perungit, sic corpus Christi dilatat [f. 48r] animam, que ipsum deuote sumit.²⁹ Dilatat autem ad omnem partem posicionis, uidelicet supra et infra, ad dexteram et sinistram, ante et retro; et propter hoc dicitur Iheremie trigesimo sexto: *Inebriabo animas*³⁰ *sacerdotum pinguedine*.^g

14. Pinguedinem, qua animas³¹ sacerdotum inebriat, uocat hic sacramentum altaris, quo animas esuriencium digne <sumencium>³² ad caritatem inflammat, que animam uehementer ad omnem posicionem dilatat; et propter hoc subiungit,³³ *Et populus meus bonis meis adimplebitur*.^h Populum hic uocat totam ecclesiam, tam militantem quam triumphantem.

15. Postquam³⁴ anima sacerdotis enim fuerit inebriata³⁵ ex huius sacramenti uirtute dileccionis³⁶ pinguedine, statim replet totam eccle-

²⁶ *suauitatem]* *add.* Sapientiae decimo sexto *q*

²⁷ *contra]* *add.* omnem *q*

²⁸ *Dominus]* *add.* dixit *q*

²⁹ *sumit]* comedit *q*

³⁰ *animas]* animam *q*

³¹ *animas]* animam *bis q*

³² *sumencium]* *add.* *ex q* : *om.* *M*

³³ *subiungit]* subiungitur *q*

³⁴ *Postquam]* *add in marg.* nota *M*

³⁵ *inebriata]* *add. in marg.* nota *M*

³⁶ *ex...* dileccionis] ex huius uisione Sacramenti *q*

^f *omne... suauitatem]* cfr Sap. 16, 20

^g *inebriabo... pinguedine]* Ier. 31, 14

^h *Et... implebitur]* Ier. 31, 14

ⁱⁱ *qui... beatitudo]* RABANUS MAURUS, *Commentaria in librum Iudicum* 1.13; PL 108:1147A

ⁱⁱⁱ *non tu... in me]* AUGUSTINUS HIPPONENSIS, *Confessiones* 7.10.16; ed. Verheijen, CCSL 27:103–104; PL 32:742.

siam bonis, quia³⁷ ex habundancia caritatis dilatatur supra³⁸ in celum, offerendo ad honorem regnancium;³⁹ dilatatur infra usque ad purgatorium, quia offert pro redempcione ibidem existencium; dilatatur ad <dexteram>,⁴⁰ quia offertur⁴¹ pro salute amicorum et benefactorum; dilatatur ad sinistram, quia offertur pro salute inimicorum et persecutorum; dilatatur retro, quia offert pro salute antecessorum suorum; dilatatur⁴² ante, quia offert pro salute omnium predestinatorum usque ad diem iudicii futurorum.

16. Tercio eciam datum est nobis corpus Christi in sacrificium oblacionis, ut conseruet deuocionem ad Deum; et ideo figuratum⁴³ est bene in pinguedine, [p. 556] quia sicut pinguedo igni superfusa subleuat flammam in altum, sic diuinissima eucharistia, a deuoto corde percepta,⁴⁴ rapit ipsum per deuocionem ad Deum. Et propter hoc in psalmo dicitur, *In nomine tuo levabo manus meas. Sicut adipe et pinguedine repleatur anima mea, et labiis exsultacionis laudabit os meum.*ⁱ Sicut enim uas repletum adipe et pinguedine, non ualet se⁴⁵ continere interius, nisi desudat⁴⁶ exterius, sic corpus Christi, cum animam repleuerit interius⁴⁷ pinguedine deuocionis, eructat exterius in labiis exsultacionis.

17. Tanguntur autem quatuor in isto verbo,⁴⁸ que solent conseruare deuocionem ad Deum, uidelicet rectitudo intencionis, consuetudo oracionis, deuocio communionis, et consuetudo⁴⁹ graciaram accionis. Et ista ita ordinate debent fieri, quod primo homo⁵⁰ preparet rectam intencionem, postea se ipsum [f. 48v] excitet per oracionem, ac

³⁷ quia] *om. q*

³⁸ supra] usque *q*

³⁹ offerendo... regnancium] offerendo Deo ad honorem Sanctorum in caelo regnantium *q*

⁴⁰ dexteram] *corr. ex q* : proximum *M*

⁴¹ offertur] offert *bis q*

⁴² dilatur] *om. q*

⁴³ figuratum] significatum *q*

⁴⁴ percepta] suscepta *q*

⁴⁵ ualet se] valens *q*

⁴⁶ nisi desudat] redundat *q*

⁴⁷ interius] *om. q*

⁴⁸ uerbo] *add. in marg. nota M*

⁴⁹ consuetudo] consecutio *q*

⁵⁰ ita...homo] et istud debet ita ordinare homo, quod primo *q*

ⁱ In nomine... meum] Ps. 62, 5-6.

postea⁵¹ deuote accedat ad communionem, et tunc exultatio⁵² resoluat os ad graciaram accionem.

18. Primo enim debet habere intencionem rectam,⁵³ quia non debet offerre⁵⁴ sacrificium hoc propter fauorem humanum et⁵⁵ propter carnale commodum aut propter lucrum temporalium, sed⁵⁶ propter honorem diuinum, propter utilitatem proximorum, et augmentum suorum meritorum. Et propter hoc dicitur, *In nomine tuo, iuxta illud Apostoli, quidquid facitis siue in uerbo siue in opere, omnia in nomine Domini nostri Iesu Christi facite.*^j

19. Debet etiam accedens ad hoc sacramentum excitatus ad deuotionem esse.⁵⁷ Et propter hoc dicitur: *Leuabo manus meas,*^k uide licet per deuotam⁵⁸ oracionem, iuxta illud Apostoli ad Tymotheum: *Volo uiros in omni loco orare, leuantes puras manus*^l ad Deum.⁵⁹ Et sic contritus ac⁶⁰ deuotus debet accedere ad communionem; et propter hoc⁶¹ subditur: *Sicut adype et pinguedine repleatur anima mea.*^m

20. Et⁶² impinguatus per deuotionem et inflammatus per dilectionem, debet erumpere in graciaram accionem. Et propter hoc⁶³ subiungitur: *Et labiis exultacionis laudabit os meum.*ⁿ

21. *Confiteantur Domino misericordie eius* et cetera, quia prefigurauit nobis sanctissimum⁶⁴ corpus suum in figura pinguedinis.

Explicit de pinguedine.

⁵¹ ac postea] et ex tunc q

⁵² tunc exultatio] ultimo q

⁵³ rectam] *add. in marg. nota M*

⁵⁴ offerre] *add. homo q*

⁵⁵ humanum et] hominum vel q

⁵⁶ sed] *add. pure q*

⁵⁷ esse] *om., et add. non enim tepido corde debet aliquis accedere, quia sic mereri posset obstinationem q*

⁵⁸ deuotam] *om. q*

⁵⁹ ad Deum] scilicet ad Dominum q

⁶⁰ contritus ac] tertio q

⁶¹ et... hoc] unde q

⁶² Et] *add. ultimo q*

⁶³ et... hoc] ideo q

⁶⁴ sanctissimum] primo q

^j Quidquid... facite] cfr Col. 3, 17.

^k Leuabo... meas] Ps. 62, 5.

^l Volo... Deum] 1 Tim. 2, 8

^m sicut adype... mea] Ps. 62, 6.

ⁿ et labiis... os meum] Ps. 62, 6.

<II.> *Incipit de figura panis*¹

22. Secundo prefiguravit nobis hoc sacratissimum corpus suum sub figura² panis. Iste est panis de quo dicitur,³ *Ego sum panis uiuus*,^a et cetera.⁴ Item ibidem: *Panis quem ego dedero*,⁵ *caro mea est*,^b et cetera.⁶

23. Iste est panis, quem attulit angelus Helye, sicut dicitur tercii Regum xviii:⁷ *Surrexit*⁸ *Elias, et ecce ad caput eius subcinericius panis et uas aque*.^c Panis subcinericius est corpus Christi, qui bene dicitur subcinericius, quia uelatur accidentibus. Per cineres enim significantur accidentia, et sub illis accidentibus cinerum⁹ latet refeccio nostrarum mencium. Quod autem dicitur, erat ibi *uas aque*, hoc additur propter sanguinis Christi mysterium.

24. Quod autem iste panis allatus est per angelicum ministerium, significat cum conficitur hoc sacramentum, ibi¹⁰ adest magnus exercitus angelorum. Unde¹¹ Gregorius¹² [f. 49r]: 'Cui fidelium dubium est, ipsa immolacionis hora ad uocem¹³ sacerdotis celos aperiri, yma summis sociari, siue coequari,¹⁴ terrestria¹⁵ celestibus iungi, unumque ex uisibilibus inuisibiliter¹⁶ fieri? Sed cum hoc¹⁷ agimus, necesse est, ut prius coram Deo¹⁸ in compuncione in cordis ara¹⁹ mactemus.'¹

¹ explicit... panis] *rub. M : om. q*

² sub figura] in forma *q*

³ Iste... dicitur] De quo ipse dicit Ioannis sexto *q*

⁴ et cetera] qui de caelo descendi *q*.

⁵ dedero] dabo *q*

⁶ et cetera] pro mundi vita *q*

⁷ xviii] decimo nono *recte q*

⁸ Surrexit] Respexit *ut Vulg. q*

⁹ accidentibus cinerum] cineribus accidentium *q*

¹⁰ ibi] *fort. ubi M*

¹¹ Unde] *om. q*

¹² Gregorius] *add. in Dialogo q*

¹³ uocem] *add. in marg. nota M*

¹⁴ siue coequari] *om. q*

¹⁵ terrestria] *terrena q*

¹⁶ inuisibiliter] atque inuisibilibus *q*

¹⁷ hoc] *haec q*

¹⁸ deo] *add. nosmetipsos Deo q*

¹⁹ in cordis ara] *cordis in ara q*

^a ego... uiuus] Ioh. 6, 51

^b panis... mea est] Ioh. 6, 52.

ⁱ Cui... mactemus] GREGORIUS MAGNUS, *Libri dialogorum*, 4.58-59; PL 77:428A.

25. Sed priusquam iste Helyas uenit²⁰ ad huius panis refeccionem, quatuor legitur fecisse: primo²¹ quia reliquit puerum, uenit in desertum, sedit subtus unam²² iuniperum, et habuit suscitatore[m] angelum, ad significandum quod quatuor debet habere qui digne uult²³ ad hoc sacramentum accedere. Primo²⁴ debet mundi fugere consolacionem; et debet intrare religionem; et ibi debet habere²⁵ prelati subieccionem ac [p. 557] Dei deuocionem,²⁶ et hec sunt ista quatuor que supra diximus.

26. Primo ergo debet fugere mundi consolacionem. Cum enim in hoc sacramento sit plenitudo consolacionis spiritualis, et talis 'non datur²⁷ admittentibus alienam',²⁸ sicut dicit Bernardus;ⁱⁱ ideo necesse est,²⁹ qui uult attingere spiritualem consolacionem ut dimitterat carnalem delectacionem. Et hoc est quod hic dicitur, <quod *cum venisset in Bersabee, reliquit ibi puerum suum*>.^{d30} Bersabee interpretatur 'fons sacietatis'ⁱⁱⁱ et significat Christum, in quo est omnis plenitudo gratiarum. Hanc plenitudinem qui attingit omnem consolacionem³¹ mundi relinquit: et hoc est quod subiungitur:³² *Reliquit ibi puerum suum*. Quid per puerum nisi carnalem delectacionem siue oblectacionem intelligimus, quod reuera puerile est?³³ Hunc³⁴ puerum nos relinquere Aposto-

²⁰ iste Helyas uenit] Elias venerat *q*

²¹ primo] *om. q*

²² unam] *om. q*

²³ uult] *add. in marg. nota M*

²⁴ Primo] *add. in marg. 1° M*

²⁵ habere] *add. respectu q*

²⁶ ac Dei deuocionem] debet habere ad Deum deuotionem *q*

²⁷ datur] *detur q*

²⁸ alienam] *add. consolacionem q*

²⁹ est] *add. ut q*

³⁰ quod cum venisset... puerum suum] *add. ex q : om. M*

³¹ consolacionem] delectacionem *q*

³² subiungitur] *subditur q*

³³ siue... puerile est] *accipimus q*

³⁴ Hunc] *Quem q*

^c surrexit... aque] III Reg. 19, 6.

^d cum venisset... puerum suum] III Reg. 19, 3.

ⁱⁱ et talis... alienam] GAUFRIDUS CLARAEVALLENSIS, *De colloquio Simonis cum Iesu ex sermonibus Bernardi* 55.66; PL 184:472A.

ⁱⁱⁱ fons sacietatis] cfr HIERONYMUS STRIDONENSIS, *Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum* s.v. Bersabee, ed. Lagarde CCSL 72:62, 103; PL 23: 813A

lus docet,³⁵ cum dicebat: *Nolite pueri effici sensibus, sed malicia parvuli estote.*^e Ille ergo *relinquit puerum*, qui relinquit puerilem modum uiuendi.³⁶

27. Secundo³⁷ qui digne uult accedere ad hoc sacramentum debet se componere ad uitam honeste religionis.³⁸ Et hoc est quod dicitur hic, quod Elias *perrexit in desertum.*^f Desertum significat statum religiosum,^{iv} quia dicitur a deserendo:^v quia³⁹ ibi deseruntur omnia temporalia. Deseruntur eciam⁴⁰ ibi diuicie per uotum paupertatis, delicie per uotum castitatis, honores dignitatis⁴¹ mundane per abnegacionem proprie uoluntatis. Et nichil < tam nociuum >⁴² est in mundo, quam⁴³ ista tria, sicut Iohannes in Canonica sua: *Omne quod est in mundo, aut est concupiscencia carnis, aut concupiscencia oculorum, aut superbia uite.*^g Et quia per hec tria animas peccatrices captiuat diabolus, eciam per hec tria animas religiosas impugnat: quod significatum est Deuteronomii octauo, ubi dicitur⁴⁴ quod in deserto *erat serpens flatu* [f. 49v] *adurens*, id est dyabolus temptans per superbiam; *et dypsas* siti interficiens,⁴⁵ id est dyabolus temptans per avariciam; *et scorpio* uultu blandiens et cauda pungens, id est dyabolus temptans per carnis concupiscenciam.^h

³⁵ apostolus docet] docebat Apostolus *q*

³⁶ modum uiuendi] mundi modum *q*

³⁷ Secundo] *add. in marg. 2^o M*

³⁸ uitam honeste religionis] uitae honestae religionem *q*

³⁹ quia] et *q*

⁴⁰ etiam] enim *q*

⁴¹ dignitatis] et dignitates *q*

⁴² tam nociuum] *add. ex q : om. M*

⁴³ quam] sicut *q*

⁴⁴ ubi dicitur] *om. q*

⁴⁵ interficiens] deficiens *M*

^e Nolite... estote] I Cor. 14, 20.

^f perrexit in desertum] III Reg. 19, 4.

^g Omne... uite] I Ioh. 2, 26.

^h erat serpens... scorpio] cfr Deut. 8, 15.

^{iv} Desertum... religiosum] cfr HUGO DE S. VICTORE, *De scripturis et scriptoribus sacris* 16; PL175: 23B.

^v dicitur a deserendo] cfr BEDA VENERABILIS, *In primam partem Samuhelis libri iu et Nomina locorum* 4:23, ed. Hurst, CCSL 119:220; PL 91:672C.

28. Tercio⁴⁶ debet habere respectu prelati subieccionem: et hoc est quod dicitur hic, quod Helyas *sedt subter unam iuniperum*. Iuniperus, sicut dicit Ysidorus, est arbor cuius cineres conservant ignem per totum annum.^{vi} Quid ergo significare possumus per iuniperum⁴⁷ nisi bonum prelatum? Cuius iuniperi cineres sunt⁴⁸ humilitas prelati, quae solet conseruare in pectoribus subditorum ignem mutue dileccionis et feruorem⁴⁹ ac calorem feruide deuocionis.

29. Quarto⁵⁰ debet habere respectu Dei deuocionem, et hoc est quod hic dicitur, quod angelus suscitauit eum. Quid <significatur>⁵¹ per angelum nisi diuine gracie donum? Angelus enim nuncius interpretatur.^{52vii} Tunc enim Deus ad nos quasi angelum⁵³ mittit, quando <graciam nobis immittit. Et iste angelus semel et iterum excitat, quia diuine gracie donum semper>⁵⁴ ad proficiendum nos in spiritu instigat.

30. Sed qui digne ad hoc sacramentum accedit, uacuuus non recedit. Et ideo⁵⁵ quatuor sunt,⁵⁶ que haurire solent in hoc sacramento qui digne accedunt. Hoc enim sacramentum confortat ad accionem, subleuat ad contemplacionem, disponit ad diuinorum reuelacionem, accendit⁵⁷ ad diuinorum et eternorum bonorum desideracionem.⁵⁸ Et ideo dicitur hic, quod Helyas *in fortitudine cibi illius ambulauit*,⁵⁹ ad [p. 558] *montem Dei peruenit*, secreta Dei⁶⁰ uidit, et *in ostio spelunce stetit*: et hec sunt illa quatuor.

⁴⁶ Tercio] *add. in marg. 3° M*

⁴⁷ per iuniperum] *praem. post ergo q*

⁴⁸ Cuius iuniperi cineres sunt] *Cinis iuniperi est q*

⁴⁹ feruorem ac] *om. q*

⁵⁰ Quarto] *add in marg. ut uid. 4° M*

⁵¹ significatur] *add. ex q : om. M*

⁵² nuncius interpretatur] *interpretatur nuntius q*

⁵³ ad nos quasi angelum] *quasi Angelum ad nos q*

⁵⁴ graciam nobis... semper] *add. q : om. M*

⁵⁵ ideo] *add. nota quod q*

⁵⁶ quatuor sunt] *add. in marg. nota M*

⁵⁷ accendit] *animat et accendit q*

⁵⁸ ad diuinorum... desideracionem] *ad mundi contemptum et ad caelestium aeternorumque bonorum desideracionem q*

⁵⁹ ambulauit] *add. usque q*

⁶⁰ Dei] *divina q*

^{vi} Iuniperus] *cfr ISIDORUS HISPALENSIS, Etymologiae 17.7.35; ed. Lindsay, p. 117.*

^{vii} angelus... interpretatur] *AUGUSTINUS HIPONENSIS, De ciuitate Dei 15.23; ed. Hoffman, CSEL 40.2:109; ISIDORUS HISPALENSIS, Eymologiae 6.2.43; ed. Lindsay, 72.*

31. Primum ergo quod hauritur⁶¹ in hoc sacramento quia anima deuota confortatur⁶² ad accionem, quia propter hoc⁶³ dicitur hic, *Ambulauit in fortitudine cibi illius quadraginta diebus*, et cetera.ⁱ Iste cibus significat corpus Christi, in cuius fortitudine homo laborat, dum in spirituali uita proficere⁶⁴ non cessat. *Ambulauit*⁶⁵ autem *quadraginta diebus*. In quadragenario est denarius numerus⁶⁶ per quaternarium ductus.^{viii} Per denarium significatur decalogus,^{ix} ad quem reducit totum uetus testamentum. Per quaternarium significantur quatuor Evangelia, ad quae reducit totum novum testamentum. Ambulare igitur in fortitudine cibi illius per quadraginta dies⁶⁷ est proficere in spirituali uita toto tempore nostro, quo regitur uita nostra per nouum et uetus testamentum.

32. Secundo,⁶⁸ subleuatur ad contemplacionem, et propter hoc⁶⁹ dicitur hic, quod *pervenit ad montem Dei*. Quid per montem significare possumus nisi mentis subleuacionem? Ad hunc montem perueniebat⁷⁰ Moyses,⁷¹ unde:⁷² *Moyses* [f. 50r] *pascebat oves*,^j et cetera. Ibi notatur exercitium accionis. Postea *minauit gregem ad interiora deserti*,^k in quo significatur⁷³ reduccio accionum omnium et affectionum ad inti-

⁶¹ hauritur] haurit q

⁶² quod hauritur... confortatur] quod haurit anima deuota in hoc Sacramento, est, quod confortatur q

⁶³ Quia propter hoc] Unde q

⁶⁴ proficere] *corr. interl. alia manu ex prospicere M*

⁶⁵ Ambulauit] Ambulat q

⁶⁶ numerus] *om. q*

⁶⁷ per... dies] quadraginta diebus q

⁶⁸ Secundo] *add. in marg. ut uid. 2^o M*

⁶⁹ et propter hoc] unde q

⁷⁰ perueniebat] pervenerat q

⁷¹ perueniebat Moyses] pervenerat Moyses q

⁷² unde] de quo legitur Exodi tertio q

⁷³ significatur] designatur q

ⁱ Ambulauit... diebus] III Reg. 19, 8.

^j pascebat oves] Ex. 3, 1.

^k minauit... deserti] Ex. 3, 1.

^{viii} denarius numerus] Cfr RABANUS MAURUS, *De universo* 18.3; PL 111:489B.

^{ix} Per denarium... decalogus] HIERONYMUS STRIDONENSIS, *In Hieremiam prophetam* 6.34.3; CSEL 59:419; cfr ANSELMUS LAUDUNENSIS, *Enarrationes in Matthaem* 18; PL 162:1409C.

ma cordis. Et peruenit *usque*⁷⁴ *ad montem Dei*, et in hoc⁷⁵ notatur sublevacio mentis ad celestia. Et ibi *apparuit ei Dominus*, quia extendatur⁷⁶ actus anime contemplantis. Apparuit autem ei in flamma ignis. Ignis habet calefacere et illuminare, ad significandum⁷⁷ quando <anima peruenit>⁷⁸ ad gratiam contemplacionis, et intellectus haurit lumen cognicionis et similiter⁷⁹ affectus incendium dileccionis.

33. Tercio,⁸ disponit⁸¹ ad diuinorum secretorum reuelacionem: et ideo dicitur hic, quod dixit Dominus⁸² Helie: *Egredere et sta in monte coram Domino*: et spiritus pertransiuit,⁸³ *et spiritus grandis et fortis subuertens montes et conterens petras ante Dominum: non in spiritu Dominus; <et post spiritum commocio: non in commocione Dominus: et post commocionem ignis, non in igne Dominus; et post ignem sybulus>*⁸⁴ *aure tenuis*,¹ et ibi Dominus. Ibi enim reuelatum est Helye,⁸⁵ quod Dominus non⁸⁶ in spiritu superbie, non in commocione impaciencie, non in igne cupiditatis siue carnalis concupiscencie, sed *in sybulo aure tenuis*, id est in tranquillitate pacate consciencie.⁸⁷ *In pace enim factus est locus eius.*^{m88}

34. Quarto,⁸⁹ animat⁹⁰ ad contemplacionem mundam,⁹¹ ideoque⁹² ad celestium bonorum desideracionem. Et hoc est quod dicitur,⁹³ Hel-

⁷⁴ usque] *om. q*

⁷⁵ et in hoc] in quo *q*

⁷⁶ extendatur... contemplantis] ex tunc datur anime actus contemplationis *q*

⁷⁷ significandum] *add. quod M*

⁷⁸ anima peruenit] *add. ex q : om. M*

⁷⁹ similiter] *om. q*

⁸⁰ Tercio] *add. in marg. 3° M*

⁸¹ disponit] *disponitur q*

⁸² dixit dominus] *Dominus dixerit q*

⁸³ et spiritus pertransiuit] et ecce, Dominis transit *q*

⁸⁴ et post spiritum commocio... post ignem sibilus] *add. ut Vulg. ex q : post sybulus M*

⁸⁵ Helye] *add. in marg. nota M*

⁸⁶ non] non est *q*

⁸⁷ consciencie] *add. Psalmus q*

⁸⁸ locus eius] *add. et habitacio eius in Sion ut Vulg. q*

⁸⁹ Quarto] *add. in marg. 4° M*

⁹⁰ animat] *animatur q*

⁹¹ contemplacionem mundam] *contemptum mundi q*

⁹² ideoque] et *q*

⁹³ dicitur] *add. hic, quod q*

¹ Egredere... tenuis] III Reg. 19, 11-12

^m In pace... Sion] Ps. 75, 3.

yas operuit⁹⁴ uultum suum pallio, et egressus stetit in ostio speluncae. Quando enim anima subleuatur ad uidendam illius pulchritudinis immensitatem <et uirtutis>⁹⁵ deitatis⁹⁶ diuine infinitatem, statim resilit in propriam paruitatem et cooperuit⁹⁷ uultum suum per profundam humilitatem, et egreditur <de>⁹⁸ mundi cupiditate,⁹⁹ et stat in ostio speluncae, id est, suspirat ad eternitatem. Per speluncam enim significatur corpus humanum, per ostium exeundi desiderium. Et propter hoc stat¹⁰⁰ quasi in ostio, quia exire desiderabat.

35. Confiteantur ergo *Domino nomine eius*, et cetera,¹⁰¹ quia¹⁰² praefigurauit nobis corpus suum sub¹⁰³ figura panis.

<III.> De figura mellis¹

36. Tercio praefigurauit nobis corpus suum reuerentissimum sub² figura mellis. Unde³ Proverbiorum uigesimo quarto: *Comede, fili mi,*⁴ *mel, quia bonum est et fauus dulcis gutturi tuo.*^{5a} Per fauum mellis significatur sacramentum dominici corporis; et bene per mel [f. 50v] significatur, quia mel delectat gustum, et secundum medicos purificare habet uisum.ⁱ Ita Christus delectat affectum, et illuminat intellectum. Unde⁶

⁹⁴ operuit] aperuit ut uid. M

⁹⁵ et uirtutis] add. ex q : om. M

⁹⁶ deitatis] om. q

⁹⁷ cooperuit] cooperit q

⁹⁸ de] add. ex q : om. M

⁹⁹ de mundi cupiditate] mundi cupiditatem M

¹⁰⁰ stat] stabat post ostio q

¹⁰¹ nomine eius, et cetera] om. q

¹⁰² quia] add. secundo q

¹⁰³ sub] sanctissimum in q

¹ De figura mellis] rub. M

² sub] in q

³ unde] Et propter hoc dicitur q

⁴ mi] om. q

⁵ tuo] meo q

⁶ Unde] om. q

^a Comede... tuo] Prov. 24, 13.

ⁱ purificare uisum] cfr. A. CORNELIUS CELSUS, *De medicina libri viii* 6.6; ed. Daremberg, 236; et PLINIUS MAIOR, *Naturalis historia* 11.38; ed. Mayhoff, 2:295.

Bernardus: 'Iesus, dulcedo cordium, fons uiuus, lumen mencium, excedit omne gaudium et omne desiderium'.ⁱⁱ Per hoc enim quomodo⁷ dicit, quod est dulcedo cordium, delectare habet affectum,⁸ per hoc autem quod dicit⁹ lumen mencium illuminare habet intellectum.

37. Quod autem Christus sit mel, dicit Bernardus super Cantica:¹⁰ 'Iesus mel¹¹ in ore, melos in aure, iubilus in corde'.ⁱⁱⁱ Et alibi: 'Iesus, decus angelicum, <in>¹² aure dulce canticum, in ore mel mirificum, in corde pigmentum celicum'.^{iv} Hoc mel produxit¹³ apis nostra, scilicet¹⁴ Virgo Maria, iuxta illud [p. 559] Ecclesiastici:¹⁵ *Breuis in uolatilibus apis et inicum dulcoris habet fructus eius*.^b Apis <est>¹⁶ beata Virgo, que breuis dicitur inter uolatilia,¹⁷ quia inter omnes sanctos humillima. Huius fructus habet inicum dulcoris, quia Dominus Iesus,¹⁸ qui fuit fructus uentris eius, non solum fuit dulcis sicut mel ymo *super mel et fauum*.^c Unde Bernardus: 'Super mel et omnia dulcis Iesu presencia'.^v Sicut ergo prefiguratur corpus Christi sub figura panis, et hoc ad refeccionem esuriencium, ita prefiguratum in¹⁹ figura mellis ad illuminationem in umbra mortis iacencium,²⁰ et hoc est quod dicitur

⁷ quomodo] quod *q*

⁸ affectum] *praem. et exp. intellectum M*

⁹ dicit] est *q*

¹⁰ Cantica] Canticum *q*

¹¹ mel] *add. est q*

¹² in] *add. ex q : om. M*

¹³ produxit] *add. nobis q*

¹⁴ scilicet] *om. q*

¹⁵ Ecclesiastici] *add. undecimo q*

¹⁶ est] *add. ex q : om. M*

¹⁷ inter uolatilia] *om. q*

¹⁸ Iesus] *add. Christus q*

¹⁹ in] est sub *q*

²⁰ iacencium] *sedentium q*

^b Breuis... eius] Eccli. 11, 3.

^c super... fauum] Eccli. 24, 27.

ⁱⁱ Iesus... desiderium] cfr AUCTORIS INCERTI Iubilus rhythmicus *Iesu dulcis memoria*; PL 184:1317.

ⁱⁱⁱ Iesus... corde] BERNARDUS CLARAEVALLENSIS, Sermones super Cantica Canticorum 15.6; ed. Leclercq, 1: 86; PL 183: 847A.

^{iv} Iesus... celicum] cfr *Iesu dulcis memoria*, ut supra.

^v Super... presencia] cfr *Iesu dulcis memoria*, ut supra.

primo Regum,²¹ Ionathas gustauit de melle, quando²² *illuminati sunt oculi eius*.^d

38. Sed hec²³ quatuor sunt homini necessaria accedenti digne ad hoc sacramentum. Ideo legitur Ionathas quatuor fecisse priusquam uenisset ad²⁴ favum mellis: ascendit enim ad²⁵ laboriosam uiam, conuertit totum exercitum Phylistinorum in fugam, tenens²⁶ in manu sua uirgam suam,²⁷ et ad os²⁸ applicuit manum suam, ad significandum quod digne accedens <ad hoc sacramentum>²⁹ debet habere conatum melioracionis, uictoriam temptacionis, patrociniū beate Virginis, et presidium illuminate operacionis.

39. Primo ergo debet habere conatum melioracionis: et propter hoc legitur etiam de Ionatha, quod *ascendit Ionathas*³⁰ *reptans manibus et pedibus*,^e ad significandum quod desiderium magnum debet semper habere proficiendi, crescendi et ascendendi de uirtute in uirtutem, iuxta illud <Psalmi>:³¹ *Beatus uir, cuius est auxilium abs te, ascensiones in corde suo disposuit* [f. 51r] *<in ualle lacrymarum, in loco, quem posuit. Etenim benedictionem dabit legislator: ibunt de uirtute in uirtute>*,³² *uidebitur Deus deorum in Syon*,^f et quia nullus ad hoc ydoneus est, nisi applicet sibi³³ ad hoc omnes uires anime et corporis, ideo dicitur Ionathas *reptasse manibus et pedibus*. Bernardus:³⁴ *Hec est cotidiana exercitatio mea: assidue scopo spiritum meum, et cum omnibus amabilibus meis*³⁵ quasi pedibus et manibus et totis uiribus innitens ascendo superius, et quanto magis tendo superius, tanto detrudor

²¹ Regum] *add.* decimo quarto quod *q*

²² quando] et *q*

²³ hec] quia *q*

²⁴ ad] *add.* gustandum *q*

²⁵ enim ad] *om.* *q*

²⁶ tenens] tenuit *q*

²⁷ suam] *om.* *q*

²⁸ os] *add.* suum *q*

²⁹ ad hoc sacramentum] *add.* *ex q* : *om.* *M*

³⁰ Ionathas] *om.* *q*

³¹ Psalmi] *add.* *ex q* : *om.* *M*

³² in ualle... uirtutem] *add.* *ut Vulg.* *ex q* : usquequo *M*

³³ applicet sibi] qui applicet *q*

³⁴ Bernardus] *add in marg.* nota bernardus *M*

³⁵ meis] tuis *expunc.* et *corr.* in *marg.* *M*

^d Ionathas... oculi eius] cfr I Reg. 14, 29

^e ascendit... pedibus] I Reg. 14, 13

^f Beatus... Sion] Ps. 83, 6-8

durius in memetipsum, et respiciens me factus sum mihi de memetipsum laboriosa questio'.^{36vi}

40. Secundo debet habere uictoriam temptacionis: et propter hoc legitur <de Ionatha>,³⁷ quod conuertit totum exercitum Phylistinorum³⁸ in fugam, ad significandum quod in omnibus temptacionibus suis³⁹ debet peruenire ad uictoriam qui <uult>⁴⁰ degustare dulcedinem huius mellis in sacramento altaris absconditum.⁴¹

41. Tercio debet habere patrociniū beate⁴² Virginis, qui cupit digne accedere ad sacramentum altaris.⁴³ Et propter hoc legitur Ionathas in manibus suis⁴⁴ tenuisse uirgam, priusquam uenisset⁴⁵ ad dulcedinem melleam. Per uirgam significatur Virgo Maria, iuxta⁴⁶ illud Ysaie:⁴⁷ *Egredietur uirga de radice Yesse*.^{48g} Ille ergo in manibus tenet uirgam, qui in omni operatione sua habet beate Virginis memoriam, cuius <extensione>⁴⁹ mel attingitur, quia non nisi patrociniis⁵⁰ beate⁵¹ Virginis ad uirtutem huius sacramenti peruenitur;⁵² sicut per eam istud sacratissimum corpus nobis est datum, ita per manus eius debet offerri, et per manus eius debet⁵³ accipi sub sacramento, quod nobis presti-

³⁶ ascendo... questio] sursum tendo ad te; sed quanto tendo fortius, tanto detrudor durius in terram, in memetipsum et sub memetipsum, et respiciens memetipsum, factus sum mihi ipsi de memetipso laboriosa et taediosa quaestio q

³⁷ de Ionatha] *add. ex q : om. M*

³⁸ Phylistinorum] *om. q*

³⁹ suis] *om. q*

⁴⁰ uult] *corr. ex q : deberet M*

⁴¹ degustare... absconditum] digne accedere ad Sacramentum altaris q

⁴² beate] *add. Mariae q*

⁴³ cupit... altaris] vult gustare huius mellis dulcedinem in Sacramento altaris absconditum q

⁴⁴ manibus suis] manu sua q

⁴⁵ uenisset] *ueniret q*

⁴⁶ Maria iuxta] *add. in scriptura secundum q*

⁴⁷ Ysaie] *add. undecimo q*

⁴⁸ Yesse] *add. et flos de radice eius ascendet ut Vulg. q*

⁴⁹ extensione] *corr. ex q : ascensionis M*

⁵⁰ patrociniis] *patricinio q*

⁵¹ beate] *add. Mariae q*

⁵² peruenitur] *add. Et propter hoc q*

⁵³ debet] *om. q*

^g Egredietur... Iesse] Is. 11, 1

^{vi} Hec est... questio] cfr GUILLELMUS ABBAS, *De contemplar Deo* 2.5; PL 184:369C.

tum est et natum ex eius utero. Bernardus: 'Quidquid est illud, quod offerre paras,⁵⁴ Marie manibus recommendare memento, ut in⁵⁵ eodem alueo gracia ad largitorem graciae refluat, quo influxit. Forte enim manus tue aut sanguine plene sunt,⁵⁶ aut infecte muneribus, eo quod eas ab omni opere⁵⁷ non excussisti'.^{vii}

42. Quarto debet habere presidium illuminate operacionis qui digne uult accedere ad [p. 560] corpus⁵⁸ Christi, sicut dicit Apostolus:⁵⁹ *Qui non laborat, non manducet.*^h Hoc perfectissime debet seruari circa manducacionem corporis Christi. Nullus enim ad huius sacramenti manducacionem⁶¹ est idoneus, nisi qui exercitatus est per [f. 51v] bonam operacionem. Et propter hoc dicitur quod Ionathas,⁶² *applicauit manum suam ad os,*ⁱ quia manibus operamus,⁶³ et ideo in scripturis per manus operacio significatur; ore uero quia manducamus, <ideo hoc nomine oris>⁶⁴ significatur actus manducacionis. *Manum ergo ad os applicauit*⁶⁵ qui ipsi manducacioni corporis Christi exhibet⁶⁶ exercitium bone operacionis.

43. Sed quia digne manducanti augmentari solet donum graciae, ideo quatuor bona legitur Ionathas accepisse in degustacione mellis, ad significandum quod quatuor effectus graciae in sacramento accipit, qui digne accedit. Ibi enim illuminatur oculi rationabiles⁶⁷ ad cogno-

⁵⁴ paras] *add.* beatae *q*

⁵⁵ in] *om.* *q*

⁵⁶ sunt] *om.* *q*

⁵⁷ opere] munere *q*

⁵⁸ corpus] mysterium corporis *q*

⁵⁹ Apostolus] *add.* ad Thessalonicenses *q*

⁶⁰ non... laborat] non uult operari, sive qui non laborat *q*

⁶¹ manducacionem] perceptionem *q*

⁶² quod Ionathas] de Ionatha quod *q*

⁶³ operamus et] laboramus *q*

⁶⁴ ideo... oris] *add.* *ex q* : *om.* *M*

⁶⁵ applicauit] applicat *q*

⁶⁶ exhibet] adhibet *q*

⁶⁷ oculi rationabiles] rationalis *q*

^h Qui... manducet] cfr 2 Thess. 3, 10

ⁱ applicuit... os] cfr I Reg. 14, 26

^{vii} Quidquid... excussisti] BERNARDUS CLARAEVALLENSIS, Sermo in Natiuitate Beatae Virginis Mariae 18; ed. Leclercq, 5: 28; PL 183:448A.

scendum summe⁶⁸ uerum; et ideo legitur, postquam⁶⁹ gustauit de melle,⁷⁰ *illuminati sunt oculi eius*.^j Qui enim frequentat hoc sacramentum cum feruore deuocionis de die in diem proficit in illuminatione mentis. Et propter hoc dicitur, *Vidistis*,⁷¹ *quia illuminati sunt oculi mei*, eo quod gustauerim *paululum de melle*.^{72k}

44. Secundo, ibi irritatur⁷³ concupiscibilitas⁷⁴ ad querendum summe⁷⁵ bonum. Qui enim digne accedit ad hoc sacramentum magis ac magis afficitur et in intimis suis delectatur. Et hoc est quod hic dicitur de Ionatha: *Gustans gustauit paululum de melle*.^{76l} Notabile est quod dicit: *Gustans gustauit*: cum enim illa dulcedo gustatur, concupiscibilitas⁷⁷ magis <ad gustandum irritatur,⁷⁸ et quasi ad> magis capiendum dilatatur.⁷⁹ Ideo, qui⁸⁰ gustando gustat, ex gustu⁸¹ semper desiderium ampliat. Unde Bernardus: ‘Gustus spiritualis incitamentum est amoris et irritamentum desiderii’.^{viii} Idem alibi:⁸² ‘Qui te gustant esuriunt, qui bibunt adhuc siciunt, desiderare nesciunt nisi Iesum, quem sensunt’.^{83ix} Et bene subiungit *paululum mellis*, quia, quantumcumque homini in

⁶⁸ summe] summum *q*

⁶⁹ postquam] *add.* Ionathas *q*

⁷⁰ de melle] mel *q*

⁷¹ Vidistis] *add.* ipsi *ut Vulg.* *q*

⁷² melle] *add.* isto *q*

⁷³ irritatur] incitatur *q*

⁷⁴ concupiscibilitas] concupiscibilis *q*

⁷⁵ summe] summum *q*

⁷⁶ de melle] mellis *ut Vulg.* *q*

⁷⁷ concupiscibilitas] concupiscibilis *q*

⁷⁸ magis... quasi ad] *om. per hom. M*

⁷⁹ et quasi... dilatatur] magis ad gustandum irritatur et magis dilatatur *q*

⁸⁰ qui] quia *q*

⁸¹ gustu] gusta *q*

⁸² alibi] *om. q*

⁸³ sensunt] diligunt *q*

^j illuminati... eius] I Reg. 14, 27

^k paululum... melle] cfr I Reg. 14, 43

^l gustans... melle] cfr I Reg. 14, 43

^{viii} gustus... desiderii] cfr BERNARDUS CLARAEVALLENSIS, *Sermones in festiuitate Omnium Sanctorum*, serm.1.10; ed. Leclercq, 5:336; PL 183:458D.

^{ix} qui te... diligunt] *Iesu dulcis memoria, ut supra*, PL 184:1317.

uita detur⁸⁴ ampla degustacio, tamen in comparacione illius plenitudinis⁸⁵ non est nisi quasi⁸⁶ *paululum mellis*.

45. Tercio, fortificatur irascibilitas⁸⁷ ad extirpandum omne malum. Et propter hoc legitur hic, quod Ionathas, confortatus de melle,⁸⁸ persecutus est Phylisteos usque Hailon. Phylistei interpretantur 'duplex ruina',^x et significant uicia, que ruere faciunt corpus et [f. 51v] animam morte eterna. Hailon interpretatur 'inquisicio uite',^{xi} et significat eternam uitam, quia⁸⁹ ibi perfecte⁹⁰ acquirimus uitam.⁹¹ Hec enim temporalis uita 'non est dicenda uita, sed potius mors'.^{92 xii} Ionathas,⁹³ confortatus de melle, id est uir sanctus roboratus Dei corpore,⁹⁴ persequitur Phylisteos usque Hailon, id est uicia exterminare non cessat, donec uitam eternam possideat.

46. Quarto, totus homo⁹⁵ mortificatur ad uiuendum secundum Deum. Unde postquam Ionathas dixisset,⁹⁶ *Gustans gustauit de melle*;⁹⁷ consequenter subiunxit: *Et ecce*⁹⁸ *morior*,^m ad significandum quod quemcumque dulcedo huius sacramenti perfuderit,⁹⁹ huic mundo funditus extinguitur.¹⁰⁰ Et hoc est desiderium sanctorum, unde Iob:

⁸⁴ in uita detur degustacio ampla] detur in hac uita ampla degustatio *q*

⁸⁵ plenitudinis] *add.* supernae *q*

⁸⁶ quasi] *om.* *q*

⁸⁷ irascibilitas] irascibilis *q*

⁸⁸ de melle] gustu mellis *q*

⁸⁹ quia] quam *q*

⁹⁰ perfecte] perfectissime *q*

⁹¹ acquirimus uitam] acquiramus *q*

⁹² mors] *add.* sicut dicit Gregorius *q*

⁹³ Ionathas] *add.* ergo *q*

⁹⁴ uir... corpore] uir factus de corpore Christi *q*

⁹⁵ totius homo] homo mundo *q*

⁹⁶ Unde... dixisset] Et hoc est quod dicitur hic de Ionatha. Postquam dixit *q*

⁹⁷ gustauit] *om.*, *et add.* uidelicet paululum de melle *q*

⁹⁸ et ecce] ecce, ego *q*

⁹⁹ perfuderit] perfundit *q*

¹⁰⁰ extinguitur] extinguit *q*

^m et... morior] I Reg. 14, 43

^x duplex ruina] HIERONYMUS STRIDONENSIS, *Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum* s.v. Filistiim; ed. de Lagarde, CCSL 72:66; PL 23:779B.

^{xi} inquisicio uite] *Fontem non inueni*

^{xii} potius mors] cfr AUGUSTINUS HIPPONENSIS, *De ciuitate Dei* 12.21; ed. Hoffman, CSEL 40.1:601; PL 41:369

*Suspendium elegit anima mea, et mortem ossa mea:*ⁿ huiusmodi enim hominis exterioris mortificacio est interioris summa uiuificacio. Unde dixit Dominus Moysi: *Non uidebit me homo et uiuet,*^o <quia non nisi>¹⁰¹ post istam mortificacionem uenitur¹⁰² ad Dei uisionem. Quia¹⁰³ ergo 'uisio Dei est tota nostra¹⁰⁴ merces', sicut docet¹⁰⁵ Augustinus,^{xiii} et non uenitur¹⁰⁶ ad uisionem Dei¹⁰⁷ nisi per mortificacionem. Ideo¹⁰⁸ Augustinus hanc mortificacionem desiderabat¹⁰⁹ dicens: 'Fac me, Domine, tuo desiderio et tuo amore huic mundo funditus exstingui, et omnium transeuncium rerum uanitatem obliuisci,¹¹⁰ ut pre magnitudine amoris tui nec¹¹¹ de temporalibus lugeam, nec gaudeam, nec blandimentis¹¹² corrumpar nec aduersis concutiar.'^{xiv}

47. *Confiteantur ergo Domino misericordie eius, et cetera, <quia prefigurauit nobis corpus suum sub figura mellis>.*¹¹³ [p. 561]

<IV.> *De figura agni*¹

48. Quarto prefigurauit nobis corpus suum sub figura agni paschalis. Unde Exodi duodecimo: *Tollat unusquisque agnum per domos et fami-*

¹⁰¹ quia non nisi] *corr. ex q : nisi enim M*

¹⁰² uenitur] *pervenitur q*

¹⁰³ quia] *om. q*

¹⁰⁴ tota] *om. nostra q*

¹⁰⁵ docet] *dixit q*

¹⁰⁶ uenitur] *pervenitur q*

¹⁰⁷ uisionem Dei] *Dei uisionem q*

¹⁰⁸ ideo] *add. beatus q*

¹⁰⁹ hanc mortificacionem desiderabat] *desiderabat hanc mortificacionem q*

¹¹⁰ obliuisci] *om. q*

¹¹¹ nec] *ut q*

¹¹² blandimentis] *blandis q*

¹¹³ quia... mellis] *add. ex q : om. M*

¹ De figura agni] *rub. M*

ⁿ suspendium... mea] *Iob 7, 15*

^o non... uiuet] *Ex. 33, 20*

^{xiii} uisio... merces] *AUGUSTINUS HIPPONENSIS, Enarrationes in Psalmos 90.2.13; ed. Dekkers, CCSL 39:1177; PL 37:1170.*

^{xiv} Fac me... concutiar] *ANSELMUS CANTUARIENSIS, Oratio 17; PL 158:896A; cfr PSEUDO-AUGUSTINUS HIPPONENSIS, Meditationes 35; PL 40:929.*

*lias*² *suas*.^a Est autem agnus *sine*³ *macula*.^{4b} Iste agnus preuisus fuit⁵ per prophetam Ysaie duodecimo:⁶ *Emitte agnum, Domine, dominatorem terre de petra deserti*.^{7c} Iste agnus fuit sine macula, qui⁸ uenerat tollere peccata mundi; unde Iohannis primo: *Ecce, agnus Dei*,⁹ *qui tollit peccata mundi*.^d

49. Et quia agnus iste significat sanctissimum¹⁰ corpus Christi, ideo determinatur nobis qualiter¹¹ [f. 52v] debeat esse homo, antequam accedat, et qualis in ipso accessu, et quid¹² fructus recipiat post ipsam assumptionem.¹³ Antequam¹⁴ accedat, debet homo habere quatuor. Debet enim habere respectum ad uniuersitatem, debet se disponere ad ydoneitatem, debet accendi ad caritatem, et debet uenire ad integritatem.¹⁵

50. Primo ergo debet accedens habere respectum ad uniuersitatem, non enim sacerdos in persona sui solius, sed in persona uniuersitatis debet offerre. Et hoc est quod hic dicitur: *Immolabit eum uniuersa multitudo filiorum Israel*.^e Per manus enim omnium uiuentium debet offerre pro redemptione in purgatorio existencium, et per manus uiuorum et mortuorum ad laudem et gloriam omnium electorum,¹⁶ angelorum et hominum, in uita eterna regnancium, et per manus uniuersitatis ad honorem et gloriam¹⁷ sancte Trinitatis.

51. Secundo debet se preparare ad ydoneitatem. Et hoc est quod subiungitur: *Et sument de sanguine eius, ac ponent super utrumque*

² domos et familias] familias et domos *q*

³ Est autem agnus sine] Agnus autem erit absque *q*

⁴ sine macula] Ex. 12, 5

⁵ fuit] fuerat *q*

⁶ per prophetam Ysaie duoecimo] unde Isaias *q*

⁷ de petra deserti] *om. q*

⁸ qui] quia *q*

⁹ Dei] *add. et ecce q*

¹⁰ et quia... sanctissimum] agnus iste paschalis significat corpus Christi *q*

¹¹ qualiter] hic, qualis *q*

¹² quid] quot *q*

¹³ assumptionem] accessum *q*

¹⁴ Antequam] Ante enim quam *q*

¹⁵ ad integritatem] ad fidei integritatem *q*

¹⁶ electorum] sanctorum *q*

¹⁷ et gloriam] *om. q*

^a Tollat... suas] Ex. 12, 3

^b sine macula] Leu. 9, 3; Deut. 12, 15

^c emitte... deserti] Is. 16, 1

^d ecce... mundi] Io. 1, 29

^e Immolabit... Israel] Ex. 12, 6

*postem, et in superliminaribus domorum <in quibus>*¹⁸ *comedent illum.*^f Per duos postes et superliminare, que faciunt ostium,¹⁹ significantur tria in anima, per que Deus in eam²⁰ ingreditur ad habitaculum cordis, uidelicet rationalis, per quam ingreditur Deus ut lumen uel²¹ claritas; concupiscibilitas,²² per quam ingreditur Deus ut dulcedo et bonitas; irascibilitas,²³ per quam ingreditur Deus²⁴ ut gloria et immensitas. Hec tria tinguntur in sanguine, quando circa passionem Christi occupantur. Rationalitas sanguine agni tingitur, quando huius²⁵ sacramenti rimatur uirtutem.²⁶ Concupiscibilitas²⁷ tingitur, quando cognita ueritate, patienti Christo²⁸ compaciens amaricatur.²⁹ Irascibilitas³⁰ tunc tingitur, quando cognito Christo passo ad imitationem animatur.

52. Tercio debet accendi³¹ ad caritatem, et hoc est quod additur: *Et edent carnes nocte illa assas igni.*^g Per ignem istum significatur caritas, quam iussit Dominus in ara cordis nostri³² semper ardere.ⁱ In hoc igne debent³³ carnes corporis Christi assari, quia non nisi in caritate debet³⁴ manducari. Ille crudas carnes comedit, qui ad sacramentum sine caritate accedit. Sed qui crudas carnes [f. 53r] comedit, uitam suam³⁵ in

¹⁸ in quibus] *add. ut Vulg. q : om. M*

¹⁹ ostium] *add. in domum q*

²⁰ in eam] *om. q*

²¹ lumen uel] *lux sive q*

²² concupiscibilitas] *conuscibilis q*

²³ irascibilitas] *irascibilis q*

²⁴ Deus] *om. q*

²⁵ huius] *om. q*

²⁶ rimatur uirtutem] *veritatem miratur q*

²⁷ Concupiscibilitas] *concupiscibilis q*

²⁸ patienti Christo] *Christo passo q*

²⁹ amaricatur] *amaritur ut uid. M*

³⁰ Irascibilitas] *irascibilis q*

³¹ accendi] *corr. ex attendi in marg. M*

³² nostri] *om. q*

³³ debent] *dicuntur q*

³⁴ debet] *debent q*

³⁵ suam] *om. q*

^f et sument... illum] Ex. 12, 7

^g Et edent... igni] Ex. 12, 8

ⁱ Per ignem... ardere] cfr RABANUS MAURUS, *Commentaria in libros IV Regum* 3.9; PL 109:192A

periculo ponit, ita manducans corpus Christi et non habens dilectionem meretur eternam dampnationem.

53. Quarto debet habere fidei integritatem, et hoc est quod iungitur,³⁶ *Caput cum pedibus eius et intestinis uorabitis*.^h Per caput signatur³⁷ deitas:³⁸ *<Caput enim Christi est Deus>*;³⁹ⁱ sicut dicit Apostolus, et per⁴⁰ pedes, humanitas. Deus enim ubique est et non potest moueri de loco ad⁴¹ locum: quasi ergo pedes diuinitas⁴² assumpsit, quando in assumpto homine de loco ad locum ambulauit. Hos pedes^j dum Thob-yas, id est Christus, lauit in flumine, id est, exposuit in cruce: piscem eosdem⁴³ absorbere uolentem, id est dyabolum, manifestando eius nequicias uicit. Intestina sunt circa hoc sacramentum inattingibilia; que omnia debet homo uorare, quia omnia fideliter debet credere, eciam que non potest intellectu attingere.ⁱⁱ Ibi eciam debet credere esse uerum corpus Christi, quod traxit de beata Virgine: est autem ibi per transsubstancionem: anima uero est ibi per naturalem colligacionem; diuinitas est ibi per insuperabilem⁴⁴ unionem. Sunt eciam ibi utriusque nature intestina, id est sacramenta inexplicabilia. Et ideo qui non potest alicuius⁴⁵ huius sacramenti⁴⁶ intellectu capere, debet hoc Spiritus sancti potestati committere. Et hoc est quod dicitur: *Si quid residuum fuerit, igne comburentis*.^k

³⁶ iungitur] adiungitur *q*

³⁷ signatur] significatur *q*

³⁸ deitas] Diuinitas *q*

³⁹ Caput... Deus] *add. ex q : om. M*

⁴⁰ et per] *om. q*

⁴¹ ad] *in q*

⁴² diuinitas] *om. q*

⁴³ eosdem] *eos post absorbere q*

⁴⁴ insuperabilem] inseparabilem *q*

⁴⁵ alicuius] *om. q*

⁴⁶ sacramenti] *add. altitudinem q*

^h caput... uorabitis] Ex. 12, 9

ⁱ caput... Deus] I Cor. 11, 3

^j Hos pedes] cfr Tob. 6, 2

^k si... comburentis] Ex. 12, 10

ⁱⁱ Hos pedes... attingere] cfr *Glossa ordinaria* in Tob. 6, 2; *Bibliorum sacrorum cum glossa ordinaria...*, tom. 2, Venice: [s.n.], 1603, cols 1523–1524.

54. Debet eciam homo habere quatuor⁴⁷ in ipso accessu, uidelicet⁴⁸ in carne continenciam, in affectu mundiciam, in animo passionis Christi memoriam, in desiderio uitam eternam.

55. Primo ergo debet habere in carne continenciam, unde dicitur hic,[p. 561] *Renes vestros accingetis*.¹ In renibus est sedes luxurie, et ideo renes accingit qui per continenciam fluxum libidinis restringit.

56. <Secundo>⁴⁹ debet eciam⁵⁰ in affectibus habere⁵¹ mundiciam, et hoc est quod additur: *Calciamenta habebitis in pedibus*.^m Pedes⁵² enim in Scriptura affectus significant,⁵³ⁱⁱⁱ quia sicut mouetur pedibus ipsum corpus,⁵⁴ sic anima mouetur suis affectibus; et hii pedes debent calciari, id est, ab omni terrenitate abstrahi. Sed quia nihil ita tenet affectus nostros mundos sicut meditacio Scripturarum, ideo hortatur nos Apostolus, ut simus *calciati in preparacione euangelii pacis*.ⁿ

57. Tercio debet accedens habere in animo suo passionis Christi memoriam, unde⁵⁵ dicitur hic, *Tenentes in manibus baculos*.^o Per baculum autem significatur crux Christi.⁵⁶ *In isto baculo* Iacob, id est Christus, *transiuit Iordanem*, id est mundi defluxum,⁵⁷ et reduxit secum *duas turmas*,^p id est multas animas ex [f. 53v] gentibus et Iudeis aggregatas.⁵⁸ Baculum ergo in manibus tenet qui passionem Christi in

⁴⁷ habere quatuor] quatuor habere *q*

⁴⁸ uidelicet] *add. primo q*

⁴⁹ Secundo] *add. ex q : om. M*

⁵⁰ Debet eciam] Secundo debet *q*

⁵¹ in affectibus habere] habere in affectu *q*

⁵² Pedes] Per pedes *q*

⁵³ significant] significantur *q*

⁵⁴ mouetur pedibus ipsum corpus] corpus mouetur pedibus *q*

⁵⁵ debet... Unde] *om. q*

⁵⁶ Christi] *om. q*

⁵⁷ mundi defluxum] fluxum mundi *q*

⁵⁸ aggregatas] congregatas *q*

¹ renes... accingetis] Ex. 12, 11

^m calciamenta... pedibus] Ex. 12, 11

ⁿ calceati... pacis] Eph. 6, 15

^o Tenentes... baculos] Ex. 12, 11

^p In isto baculo... turmas] cfr Gen. 32, 7-10

ⁱⁱⁱ Cfr ALEXANDER HALENSIS, *Glossa in quattuor libros Sententiarum: glossa in librum quartum*, dist. 24 (De ordinibus), n. 13a; ed. PP. Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 432.

memoriam habet;⁵⁹ et hoc iussit Dominus, cum sacramentum hoc instituit dicens: *Hoc facite, quociescumque sumitis, in meam commemorationem.*^q

58. Quarto debet habere in desiderio uitam eternam; et hoc est quod subiungitur: *Et <comedetis> festinantes.*^{60r} Hoc significat⁶¹ quod qui manducat hoc sacramentum debet festinare ad plenitudinis eius cumulum. Per huius enim dulcedinis gustum prouocatur ad gaudium plenum; et hoc est quod additur: *Est enim phase, id est transitus, Domini.*^s Unde iste agnus⁶² in figura datus fuit⁶³ filiis Israel in exitu de Egypto. Hoc significat,⁶⁴ quod qui deuote accipit hoc sacramentum, transit de hoc mundo ad Deum.

59. Quinto,⁶⁵ quatuor fructus percipit qui digne accedit ad hoc sacramentum. Et propter hoc post esum agni huius quatuor Dominus facit: per terram Egypti transit,⁶⁶ primogenita percutit, in diis Egypti iudicia⁶⁷ facit, et insignitos sanguine a plaga custodit, ad significandum quod digne communicantibus consolacionem immittit, fomitem immittit, amorem mundi tollit, et in die iudicii securos facit.⁶⁸

60. Primo ergo consolacionem immittit; et hoc est quod dicitur: *Et transibo per terram Egypti.*^t Egyptus 'tenebre' interpretatur,^{iv} et significat cor humanum nondum perfecte illuminatum. Hoc Dominus per-

⁵⁹ passionem Christi in memoriam habet] memoriam passionis Christi in animo tenet *q*

⁶⁰ comedetis festinantes] *corr. ex* comedentes festinantes *M* : comedetis festinanter *ut Vulg. q*

⁶¹ hoc significat] ad significandum *q*

⁶² agnus] datus est *q*

⁶³ datus fuit] *om. q*

⁶⁴ Hoc significat] ad significandum *q*

⁶⁵ Quinto] Tertio notandum quod *q*

⁶⁶ per... transit] terram Aegypti pertransit *q*

⁶⁷ iudicia] iudicium *q*

⁶⁸ facit] reddit *q*

^q Hoc... commemoracionem] Luc 22, 19; I Cor. 11, 25

^r comedentes festinantes] cfr Ex. 12, 11

^s Est... Domini] Ex. 12, 11

^t Et transibo... Egypti] Ex. 12, 12.

^{iv} tenebre interpretatur] HIERONYMUS STRIDONENSIS, *Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum*, s.v. Aegyptus; ed. de Lagarde, CCSL 72:66; PL 23:890.

transit, quando consolacionem immittit: et bene *pertransit*, quia *ibi*⁶⁹ mansionem non facit, quia ipsum habile ad hoc non inuenit.⁷⁰ Tamen tamdiu *pertransire* potest,⁷¹ quod ibidem poterit sibi habitaculum facere, iuxta illud quod dicitur in persona fidelis anime⁷² quarto Regum:⁷³ *Animaduerto, quod uir Dei iste sanctus est, qui transit per nos frequenter. Faciamus ergo ei cenaculum paruum*, id est, preparemus ei cordis habitaculum: *et ponamus <ei in eo>*⁷⁴ *candelabrum* proprie recognicionis,⁷⁵ *mensam* interne refeccionis, *cellam*⁷⁶ quiete mentis,⁷⁷ *lectulum* contemplacionis, *ut, cum uenerit*,⁷⁸ *maneant ibi*.^u

61. Secundo fomitem minuit, et hoc est quod additur:⁷⁹ *Percuciam omne primogenitum in terra Egypti*.^v Quid <sunt>⁸⁰ primogenita nisi carnis uicia,⁸¹ que sunt nobis ingenita a primis <parentibus>?⁸² Et hec Dominus percutit, quando fomitem carnis imminuit: imminuit, dico,⁸³ non omnino tollit, quia sicut dicit Bernardus, 'Quantumcumque in hac uita profeceris, erras, si carnem tuam credis emortuam.⁸⁴ Velis, nolis, Ihebuseus [f. 54r] habitat intra terminos tuos;^w subiugari potest, exterminari non potest.'^v

⁶⁹ *ibi*] *add. sup. l. M*

⁷⁰ non inuenit] inuenit *q*

⁷¹ Tamen tamdiu *pertransire* potest] Tamdiu tamen potest *pertransire q*

⁷² fidelis anime] fidelium *q*

⁷³ quarto Regum] quarti Regum quarto *q*

⁷⁴ *ei in eo*] *corr. ex q : in ea M*

⁷⁵ recognicionis] cognitionis *q*

⁷⁶ *cellam*] *sellam ut Vulg. q*

⁷⁷ mentis] mansionis et *q*

⁷⁸ *uenerit*] *add. ad nos q*

⁷⁹ *et... additur*] ideo additur *q*

⁸⁰ *sunt*] *corr. ex q : est M*

⁸¹ *uicia*] *uilia q*

⁸² *parentibus*] *add. ex q : om. M*

⁸³ *imminuit dico*] *dico q*

⁸⁴ *emortuam*] *add. non magis oppressam q*

^u *Animaduerto... maneant ibi*] cfr IV Reg. 4, 9-10

^v *Percuciam... Egypti*] Ex. 12, 12

^w *Ihebuseus*] cfr Josh. 15, 63

^v *Quantumcumque... potest*] BERNARDUS CLARAEVALLENSIS, *Sermones super Cantica canticorum* 58.10; ed. Leclercq, 2:133; PL 183:1060D.

62. Tercio amorem mundi tollit, et hoc est quod hic dicitur: *Et in cunctis diis Egypti faciam iudicia.*^x Quid enim <dii>⁸⁵ Egypti nisi amabilia mundi significat?⁸⁶ 'Quod quisque pre ceteris diligit, hoc illi Deus est', sicut dicit Ambrosius.^{vi} Unde de carnalibus⁸⁷ ad Phylippenses: *Quorum Deus uenter est et gloria in confusione eorum.*^y In <his>⁸⁸ ergo Dominus Deus⁸⁹ iudicia facit, quando contemptum huius mundi ingignit.⁹⁰

63. Quarto digne accedentes in die iudicii securos reddet,⁹¹ et hoc est quod adiungitur: *Erit uobis autem sanguis in signum in edibus, in quibus [p. 563] eritis: et uidebo sanguinem et pertransibo uos, nec erit in uobis plaga disperdens, cum percussero terram Egypti.*^z In quibuscumque enim in die iudicii uiderit sanguinem sue redemptionis, eos liberabit a plaga eterne percussio, quando scilicet *percutiet terram uirga oris sui et spiritu labiorum suorum interficiet impium.*^{aa}

64. *Confiteantur ergo <Domino>*⁹² *misericordie eius,*⁹³ quia prefigurauit nobis corpus suum sub⁹⁴ figura agni paschalis.

<V.> *De figura thesauri*¹

65. Quinto prefigurauit nobis corpus suum sub figura thesauri celestis. Et bene comparatur corpus Christi thesauro, quia² in thesauro

⁸⁵ dii] *add. ex q : om. M*

⁸⁶ Quid... significat] Dii Aegypti sunt amabilia mundi *q*

⁸⁷ carnalibus] *add. dicitur q*

⁸⁸ his] *add. ex q : om. M*

⁸⁹ dominus deus] *Deus q*

⁹⁰ contemptum... ingignit] contemptum mundi gignit *q*

⁹¹ reddet] *facit q*

⁹² Domino] *add. ex q : om. M*

⁹³ misericordie eius] Domino misericordior *q*

⁹⁴ sub] *in q*

¹ De figura thesauri] *rub. M : om. q*

² quia] *add. sicut q*

^x Et... iudicia] Ex. 12, 12

^y Quorum... eorum] Phil. 3, 19

^z Erit... Egypti] Ex. 12, 13

^{aa} percutiet... impium] Is. 11, 4

^{vi} Ambrosius] cfr PETRUS LOMBARDUS, *Commentaria in Psalmos* 80.8; PL 191:772D.

reponuntur queque³ desiderabilia rerum humanarum,⁴ sic et in <corpore>⁵ Christi reposita sunt omnia carismata graciaram: et hoc est, quod Pater,⁶ uolens⁷ sponsam filii sui,⁸ scilicet sanctam ecclesiam matrem <consolari>,⁹ ante aduentum¹⁰ promittebat¹¹ hos thesauros dicens: *Tibi dabo thesauros absconditos*.^{12a} Hii thesauri dicuntur bene *absconditi*, quia sunt in¹³ sacramento uisibili uelati. Et notabile est quod dicit: *Tibi dabo thesauros*, in plurali. Quatuor enim thesauri sunt in Christo sub uelamento sacramenti absconditi. In ipso enim est thesaurus omnis essencie, omnis sapiencie, omnis gracie, et omnis glorie.

66. Primo ergo in Christo Ihesu¹⁴ est thesaurus omnis essencie. Omnia enim que sunt, aut que fuerunt, uel¹⁵ que erunt, et¹⁶ que fieri possint,¹⁷ *ab ipso sunt*,¹⁸ *per ipsum sunt et in ipso sunt*.^b Cogita ergo, qualis est thesaurus iste, de quo *celum, terra, mare et omnia, que in eis sunt*,^c prodierunt. Unde de Christo¹⁹ dici potest²⁰ illud Matthei decimo tercio: *Qui profert de thesauro suo nova et uetera*.^d [f. 54v] Item²¹ illud Psalmi: *Qui profert*²² *uentos de thesauris suis*.^e

³ queque] *om. q*

⁴ rerum humanarum] *diuitiarum q*

⁵ corpore] *corr. ex q : corpus M*

⁶ Pater] *Deus Pater q*

⁷ uolens] *add. sacrificium M*

⁸ scilicet] *om. q*

⁹ consolari] *add. ex q : om. M*

¹⁰ aduentum] *add. Christi q*

¹¹ promittebat] *add. ei q*

¹² absconditos] *add. Isaie quadragesimo quinto q*

¹³ sunt in] *sub q*

¹⁴ Ihesu] *om. q*

¹⁵ uel] *om. q*

¹⁶ et] *vel q*

¹⁷ possunt] *potuerunt et possunt q*

¹⁸ sunt] *om. bis q*

¹⁹ Christo] *fort. ipso M*

²⁰ dici potest] *potest dici q*

²¹ Item] *add. uel iuxta sup. l. M : et q*

²² profert] *producit ut Vulg. M*

^a Tibi... absconditos] *Is. 45, 3*

^b ab ipso... in ipso sunt] *Rom. 11, 36*

^c celum... sunt] *Ps. 145, 6*

^d Qui... uetera] *Matth. 13, 52*

^e Qui... suis] *Ps. 134, 7 (LXX)*

67. Secundo,²³ <in Christo> est thesaurus omnis sapientie. Ipse enim cognoscit omnia, quecumque sunt, quecumque fuerunt,²⁴ quecumque fieri²⁵ potuerunt et possunt. Et non solum cognoscit res, sed etiam condiciones quas res habent uel habere possunt. Ipse enim est Deus, 'cui omne cor patet et omnis uoluntas loquitur, et quem nullum latet secretum'.ⁱ Non solum²⁶ ipse perfectissime cognoscit omnia, sed omnia que <cognoscuntur>,²⁷ ipse cognoscere facit. Ipse enim est lux, que illuminat omne lumen et conseruat in suo uigore. Iohannis octavo: *Ego sum lux mundi*.^f Item²⁸ de hoc thesauro <dicitur>²⁹ ad Colossenses: *In ipso³⁰ sunt omnes thesauri sapientie et scientie Dei absconditi*.^g

68. Tercio, est in Christo thesaurus omnis gratie. Ipse enim est *plenus gracia et ueritate*,^h de cuius plenitudine hauriunt angeli et homines. Ipse habet fontalem plenitudinem, *qui aperit manum suam et implet omne animal*³¹ *benediccionem*.ⁱ Et iste thesaurus graciarius est absconditus sub uelamine³² sacramenti altaris; Matthaei decimo tercio: *Simile est regnum celorum thesauro abscondito in agro*.^{33j} Quid hic significatur³⁴ per agrum nisi corporis Christi sacramentum, quod et de agro colligitur? In hoc agro habemus thesaurum absconditum, quia ibi latent omnia genera graciarius; *quem qui inuenit, pre gaudio illius uendit uniuersa*³⁵ *que habet, et emit agrum illum*;^k quia qui cognoscit huius

²³ Secundo in Christo] *add.* in Christo *M*

²⁴ fuerunt] *add.* quaecumque erunt *M*

²⁵ potuerunt et] *om.* *q*

²⁶ solum... cognoscit] solum autem res perfectissime ipse cognoscit *M*

²⁷ cognoscuntur] *corr.* *ex q* : cognoscunt *M*

²⁸ Item] *om.* *q*

²⁹ dicitur] *add.* *ex q* : *om.* *M*

³⁰ ipso] quo *q*

³¹ animal] *add.* rationale *q*

³² uelamine] uelamento *q*

³³ agro] *add.* et cetera *q*

³⁴ hic significatur] significatur hic *q*

³⁵ uendit uniuersa] vadit et vendit omnia *q*

^f Ego... mundi] Ioh. 8, 12

^g In... absconditi] Col. 2, 3

^h plenus... ueritate] Ioh. 1, 14

ⁱ qui... benediccionem] cfr Ps. 144, 16

^j Simile... agro] Matth. 13, 44

^k quem... illum] Matth. 13, 44

ⁱ cui... secretum] *Corpus Orationum*, ed. Moeller, CCSL 160A:131, n. 1135.

sacramenti plenitudinem, libentissime intermittit omnem³⁶ aliam operationem, ut se libere exerceat circa huius sacramenti³⁷ deuotionem, quia scit ibi se haurire uite eterne possessionem, teste Domino Iohannis sexto: *Qui manducat meam carnem et bibit meum sanguinem habet uitam eternam.*¹

69. Quarto, est in Christo thesaurus omnis glorie. Quidquid enim glorie habent angeli et homines, quicumque saluandi sunt usque ad³⁸ diem iudicii, de ipso quasi de thesauro omnia hec³⁹ hauriunt que pertineant ad gloriam corporis siue ad salutem anime.⁴⁰ Ipse enim est, qui *ponit in thesauris suis abyssos*,^m id est inexplicabiles illius glorie terminos. Et propter hoc iubebat⁴¹ nos Dominus⁴² ad hunc thesaurum properare, cum dicebat⁴³ Matthaei sexto: *Thesaurizate uobis thesauros in celo.*ⁿ Ad hos thesauros sancti peruenire desiderant:⁴⁴ et cum ad eos pertingere nequeant nisi per mortem,⁴⁵ *quasi effodientes thesauros gaudent uehementer, cum inuenerint sepulcrum.*^{46o}

70. Thesaurus autem iste graciarum <est>⁴⁷ absconditus [f. 55r] sub uelamento <panis et uini>⁴⁸ propter quatuor rationes; et [p. 564] propter hoc dicitur: *Tibi dabo thesauros absconditos*:^p primo, propter fidei meritum; secundo, propter crudelitatis attactum;⁴⁹ tercio, propter sensus nostri imperfectionem; quarto, propter exclusionem infidelium.

71. Primo ergo⁵⁰ absconditus est thesaurus iste propter meritum fidei. Magnum enim sibi meritum cumulat qui septem aduersarios for-

³⁶ omnem] *om. q*

³⁷ Sacramenti] *add. operationem vel q*

³⁸ ad] *in q*

³⁹ omnia hec] *om. q*

⁴⁰ que... ad gloriam] *sive pertineat ad stolam corporis, sive animae q*

⁴¹ iubebat... hunc] *iussit nos ad istum q*

⁴² dominus] *om. q*

⁴³ dicebat] *dicit q*

⁴⁴ peruenire desiderant] *uehementer desiderant peruenire q*

⁴⁵ nisi per mortem] *antepon. post pertingere q*

⁴⁶ sepulcrum] *add. Iob tertio q*

⁴⁷ est] *add. ex q : om. M*

⁴⁸ panis et uini] *add. ex q : om. M*

⁴⁹ attactum] *attractum ut vid. M*

⁵⁰ ergo absconditus] *absconsus q*

¹ Qui... eternam] Ioh. 6, 55

^m ponit... abyssos] Ps. 32, 7

ⁿ Thesaurizate... celo] Matth. 6, 20

^o quasi... sepulcrum] Iob 3, 21-22

^p Tibi... absconditos] Is. 45, 3

tissime credendo <ea que sunt Sacramenti superat>⁵¹ Isti aduersarii sunt quinque sensus, qui omnes sentiunt non ibi esse corpus Christi. Et ymaginacio similiter contraria est, que nullo modo ymaginari potest quod tam magnus homo, integer Christus, qui pependit in cruce, possit sub tam modica hostia abscondi. Contra enim omnem rationem est eciam, idem quod corpus simul et semel possit esse in diversis locis, sicut apparet in hoc sacramento, quod est perfectissime in celo, est perfectissime nichilominus in altari,⁵² et tamen⁵³ non plura, sed unum solum idemque corpus. Propter huiusmodi fidei meritum est corpus Christi uelatum. Gregorius: 'Fides non habet meritum, cui humana ratio prebit⁵⁴ experimentum',ⁱⁱ

72. Secundo autem uelatum est⁵⁵ propter cruditatis attackum.⁵⁶ Horror enim cruditatis posset multos arcere <ab hoc sacramento>,⁵⁷ si uiderent uiuum hominem comedi⁵⁸ et crudam carnem deuorari.⁵⁹ Et propter hoc sub figura illius et uelamento datum est hoc corpus, quod consuetum est manducari, uidelicet <sub accidentibus>⁶⁰ panis. Unde ipse Dominus se panem nostrum uocare dignatus est dicens:⁶¹ *Ego sum panis uiuus*,^q ut hoc⁶² comedendo ipsum⁶³ sub accidentibus <panis homo>⁶⁴ non haberet horrorem cruditatis.

73. Tercio uelatum hoc est corpus Christi propter sensus nostri imperfectionem. Si enim Christus⁶⁵ in gloria maiestatis⁶⁶ sue,

⁵¹ ea... superat] *add. ex q : om. M*

⁵² est... altari] cum nihilominus sit perfectissime cibus in ara *q*

⁵³ tamen] *om. q*

⁵⁴ prebit] *praebet q*

⁵⁵ est] *add. corpus Christi q*

⁵⁶ attackum] *attractum ut vid. M*

⁵⁷ ab hoc sacramento] *corr ex q : ad hoc sacramentum M*

⁵⁸ comedi] *comedere q*

⁵⁹ crudam carnem deuorari] *crudas carnes deuorare q*

⁶⁰ sub accidentibus] *add. ex q : om. M*

⁶¹ dicens] *add. Ioannis sexto q*

⁶² hoc] *om. q*

⁶³ ipsum] *add. Christum q*

⁶⁴ panis homo] *add. ex q : om. M*

⁶⁵ Christus] *om. q*

⁶⁶ maiestatis] *claritatis q*

^q Ego... uiuus] Ioh. 6, 51

ⁱⁱ Fides... experimentum] Gregorius I, *Homiliae in euangelia* 26.1; PL 76:1197C.

sicut⁶⁷ est, seipsum ostenderet nobis,⁶⁸ nullus mortalis tantam maiestatem et claritatem sustinere posset nec aspectum.⁶⁹ Sicut enim Moyses ex consorcio sermonis Domini tantum splendorem ac claritatem uultus sui conceperat,⁷⁰ quod oportebat eum uelare faciem suam⁷¹ cum loqueretur filiis Israel, eo quod non possint⁷² intendere in eum propter claritatem uultus eius,^r sic et hic Christus condescendens nostre infirmitati, superposuit uelamen⁷³ sue claritati.

74. Quarto uelatum est corpus Christi propter exclusionem infidelium. Ipse enim dixit, *Nolite sanctum dare canibus, et⁷⁴ margaritas ponere⁷⁵ ante porcos.*^s Quod uerbo dixit, hoc hic facto impleuit:⁷⁶ quia faciem suam in sacramento abscondit, et sic *canes et porcos*, id est omnes indignos, [f. 55v] a cognitione huius sacramenti exclusit.

75. *Confiteantur ergo Domino misericordie eius*, quia prefiguravit nobis suum nobilissimum⁷⁷ corpus sub figura thesauri celestis.

<VI.> *De figura manna siue mannatis*¹

76. Sexto prefigurauit nobis corpus suum sub figura manatis. Et hoc est quod hic dicitur,² *Dixit Dominus ad Moysen,*³ *Ego pluam uobis panes de celo; egredietur populus et colligat quae sufficiant per singulos dies. Quod cum audissent⁴ filii Israel, dixerunt ad inuicem: Mahu? quod significat: Quid est hoc? Appellauitque⁵ Israel nomen eius man.*^a De hoc

⁶⁷ sicut] *add.* ipse *q*

⁶⁸ nobis] *om.* *q*

⁶⁹ tantam... aspectum] tantam claritatem aspectus *q*

⁷⁰ tantum... conceperat] tantum splendorem conceperat et claritatem uultus sui *q*

⁷¹ suam] *om.* *q*

⁷² possint] potuissent *q*

⁷³ superposuit uelamen] uelamen superposuit *q*

⁷⁴ et] neque mittatis *q*

⁷⁵ ponere] uestras *q*

⁷⁶ hoc hic facto impleuit] facto adimpleuit *om.* *q*

⁷⁷ nobilissimum] *om.* *q*

¹ De... mannatis] *rub. M : om.* *q*

² dicitur] *add.* Exodi decimo sexto *q*

³ Moysen] *add.* Ecce *q*

⁴ audissent] uidissent *q*

^r Moyses... eius] cfr Ex. 34, 29

^s Nolite... porcos] Matth. 7, 6

^a Ego... man] Ex. 16, 4, 15, 31

cibo⁶ scriptum est⁷ Sapiencie <decimo> sexto:⁸ *Angelorum esca nutrii-
sti populum tuum, Domine,*⁹ *et preparatum*¹⁰ *panem de celo praestitisti*
eis sine labore, omne delectamentum in se habentem et omnis saporis
suauitatem. Substanciam enim tuam et dulcedinem tuam, quam habe-
*bas*¹¹ *in filios, ostendebas: et deseruiens uniuscuiusque uoluntati, ad*
quod quisque uolebat, conuertebatur.^b

77. Ecce, hic sub figura manatis describitur nobis corporis Christi sacramentum ut cibus genere nobilissimus, sapore suauius, continencia dignissimus, et efficacia mirabilissimus.

78. Primo ergo corpus Christi siue dominicum¹² est cibus in genere sue nobilissimus, quia a sanctissima Trinitate in clybano uteri uirginalis igne Spiritusⁱ sancti decoctus, et uirtute ipsius Trinitatis ille idem panis¹³ ex pane materiali est effectus. Et hoc est quod dicitur hic: *Paratum panem de celo praestitisti eis sine labore*: paratum quidem aliquando in utero Virginis,¹⁴ nunc autem residentem in celo et latentem [p. 565] sub sacramento. Est ergo nobilissimus, quia nobilissimam habet causam. Est nichilominus nobilissimus, quia nobilissimi, uidelicet Angeli, manducant illum¹⁵ panem sine furfure sacramenti, qui nobis peccatoribus datus est¹⁶ sub cortice uelamenti. Et propter hoc excitans nos gracia Spiritus sancti¹⁷ ad graciaram accionem proponit dicens: *Angelorum esca nutriiisti populum tuum.*

⁵ Appelavitque] *add. domus q*

⁶ de hoc cibo] *om. q*

⁷ est] *add. in libro q*

⁸ decimo sexto] *corr. ex q : om. M*

⁹ Domine] *om. q*

¹⁰ preparatum] *paratum q*

¹¹ habebas] *habes q*

¹² siue dominicum] *om. q*

¹³ panis] *om. q*

¹⁴ uirginis] *uirginali q*

¹⁵ manducant illum] *comedunt eum q*

¹⁶ datus est] *datur q*

¹⁷ gracia Spiritus sancti] *Spiritus sanctus q*

^b Angelorum... conuertebatur] Sap. 16, 20-21

ⁱ in clybano... sancti] cfr ANSELMUS LAUDUNENSIS, *Glossa super Iohannem* 6.35; ed. Andrée, CCCM 267:113; Thomas de Aquino, *Summa theologiae* 1a2ae, q. 102, art. 3, ad 12.

79. Secundo datum est¹⁸ corpus Christi sub figura mannatis et est in¹⁹ sapore suavissimus. Sapor enim huius panis attrahit desideria nobilium²⁰ angelorum non solum,²¹ sed etiam in hoc mundo odor licet tenuissimus²² excitat corda hominum ut in odore [f. 56r] eius²³ continue²⁴ ad brauium et ad plenitudinis eius cumulum²⁵ attrahit. Et hoc est quod dicebat beatus²⁶ Iohannes euangelista: 'Odor tuus in me concupiscentias suscitauit²⁷ eternas'.ⁱⁱ Et hoc est etiam quod dicitur hic de corpore Christi sub figura mannatis, quod habebat in se²⁸ *omne delectamentum et omnis saporis suauitatem*.

80. Tercio est iste cibus in continencia dignissimus. Continet enim totam sanctam²⁹ Trinitatem: et propter hoc dicitur etiam uas Trinitatis. Continet, dico, per presenciam et assistenciam non per circumscriptionem. Ipsa 'est enim intra omnia, non inclusa; extra omnia, non exclusa; supra omnia, non elata; infra omnia, non prostrata'.ⁱⁱⁱ Ibi enim est Filius per incarnationem, Pater et Spiritus sanctus cum eodem per indiuisibilem unius substancie communionem: et propter hoc dicitur ad Patrem, *Substanciam enim tuam et dulcedinem quam habebas ostendebas in filios*,^{30c} ac si dicet,³¹ O tu, Pater, substanciam

¹⁸ datum est] *om. q*

¹⁹ et est in] etiam est cibus *q*

²⁰ nobilium] millium *q*

²¹ non solum] *om. q*

²² odor hic tenuissimus] *om. q*

²³ eius] *add. curratur M*

²⁴ hominum... continue] nostra odor eius et quotidie *q*

²⁵ cumulum] *add. attrahit M*

²⁶ et... beatus] unde *q*

²⁷ in me... suscitauit] Domine, concupiscentias in me excitavit *q*

²⁸ in se] *om. q*

²⁹ sanctam] sanctissimam *q*

³⁰ quam... filios] quam in filios habebas *q*

³¹ dicet] diceret *q*

^c Substanciam... filios] cfr Sap. 16, 21

ⁱⁱ Odor... eterna] Cum falsa attributione Ioanni Evangelista, THOMAS CISTERCIENSIS, *Commentaria in Cantica canticorum* 3.2; PL 206:197D.

ⁱⁱⁱ est enim... non prostrata] BONAVENTURA, *Itinerarium mentis in Deum* 5.8; ed. Quaracchi, *Opera omnia*, 5:310 | est enim... exclusa] cfr ISIDORUS HISPALENSIS, *Sententiae* 1.2.3; PL 83:541A, et alii.

<tuam>,³² id est filium tuum. Totam enim substantiam suam dat Pater Filio, et dulcedinem tuam, id est Spiritum sanctum,³³ quam habebas ab eterno, ostendis presencialiter³⁴ in seculo illuminatis mentibus sub hoc sacramento.

81. Quarto est iste cibus sub figura mannatis in efficacia mirabilissimus. Et propter hoc dicitur hic,³⁵ *Deseruiens uniuscuiusque uoluntati, ad quod quisque uolebat, conuertebatur.*^d Secundum enim quantitatem bone uoluntatis et secundum magnitudinem uite et sanctitatis attingitur effectus utilitatis, sicut dicit³⁶ Bernardus: 'Quatenus in bonis Domini pedem fiducie fixeritis,³⁷ eatenus possidebitis'.^{38iv} Et hec est ratio quod sancti ad nobilissimos effectus huius sacramenti peruenerunt, quia in bonis eius altissime fiducie pedem fixerunt. Et propter hoc legitur de beata Clara, quod sic cernebat <Christum>³⁹ sub sacramento latentem sicut in dextera Patris sedentem, et propter hoc⁴⁰ quia altissimam ad Deum habuit⁴¹ fiduciam, ideo meruit audire sub sacramento existentis loquelam auribus carnalibus.^{42v}

82. Secundum ergo quod quilibet Christo⁴³ occurrit, secundum hoc eciam Christus cum muneribus gracie sue ei se exhibebit, utpote magnis magne gracie donum, mediocris medie, et paruis parue, et malis male dantur.⁴⁴ *Cum Sancto enim sanctus eris, et cum peruerso*

³² tuam] *add. ex q : om. M*

³³ sanctum] tuum *q*

³⁴ presencialiter] praesentem *q*

³⁵ hic] *add. quod q*

³⁶ dicit] *add. beatus q*

³⁷ fixeritis] fixeris *q*

³⁸ possidebitis] possidebis *q*

³⁹ cernebat Christum] Christum *supplevi* : cernebat *M* : timebat *q*

⁴⁰ propter hoc] *om. q*

⁴¹ habuit] habebat *q*

⁴² existentis... carnalibus] existentem carnalibus auribus loquentem *q*

⁴³ Christo] *add. sub hoc Sacramento q*

⁴⁴ gracie... parue] mediocribus mediocre, parvulis parvule, malis male *q*

^d deseruiens... conuertebatur] Sap. 16, 21

^{iv} Quatenus... fixeritis] BERNARDUS CLARAEVALLENSIS, *Sermones super Cantica Cantorum* 32.8; ed. Leclercq, 1:231; PL 183:950A

^v beata Clara] Cfr *Legenda sanctae Clarae virginis, tratta dal ms. 338 della Bibl. comunale di Assisi*, ed. F. Pennacchi (Assisi: Tip. Metastasio, 1910), 4.28, 3.22, pp. 40, 31. Et etiam in *Acta Sanctorum* II Aug. 12 (Antwerp: Plassche, 1735), 760E, 759D.

peruerteris;^e et propter hoc legitur [f. 56v] de hoc sacramento: *Quod ab igne exterminari non poterit,*⁴⁵ *ab exiguo solis radio calefactum tabescebat.*^{46f} Hoc⁴⁷ erat <materia mannatis>⁴⁸ quod ad calorem ignis indurabatur et ad calorem solis liquescebat, ad significandum quod qui accedit ad hoc sacramentum, habens in se ignem carnalis uoluptatis uel humane cupiditatis, meretur indurari; ad ignem enim hoc sacramentum indurabatur. Qui uero accedit habens in corde suo⁴⁹ calorem solis, id est feruorem caritatis, meretur liquefieri, id est, uehementioris caritatis igne purgari. Ad radium enim solis istud sacramentum liquescit,⁵⁰ id est, per effectum⁵¹ liquefacit animam, ut dicere possit:⁵² *Anima mea liquefacta est, ut dilectus locutus est.*^g Et sic impletur in hoc sacramento quod in figura dicitur⁵³ de mannate, quod *in omnia transfigurata omnium nutrici gracie*⁵⁴ *deseruebat ad uoluntatem eorum qui a Deo desiderati sunt.*^h

83. Sed quia⁵⁵ legitur, quod filii Israel non peruenerunt ad istum cibum,⁵⁶ nisi prius exierunt⁵⁷ Egyptum, transierunt⁵⁸ mare rubrum, intrauerunt in⁵⁹ desertum, dulcorauerunt [p. 566] amaram aquam per immissum lignum⁶⁰ ad significandum quod qui <uult>⁶¹ uenire ad nobilissimos effectus quos supra diximus per hoc sacramentum desiderat,⁶²

⁴⁵ poterit] poterat statim *q*

⁴⁶ tabescebat] *add.* id est, liquefiebat *q*

⁴⁷ Hoc] Haec enim *q*

⁴⁸ materia mannatis] *corr. ex q* : nisi mane *ut vid. M*

⁴⁹ in corde suo] *om. q*

⁵⁰]liquescit] liquifiebat *q*

⁵¹ effectum] affectum *q*

⁵² possit] *add.* illud Cantici *q*

⁵³ dicitur] dictum est *q*

⁵⁴ gracie] gratiae tuae *q*

⁵⁵ quia] *om. q*

⁵⁶ istum cibum] cibum mannatis *q*

⁵⁷ exierunt] exissent *q*

⁵⁸ transierunt] transissent *q*

⁵⁹ intrauerunt in] intrassent *q*

⁶⁰ dulcorauerunt... lignum] dulcorassent aquam per lignum immissum *q*

⁶¹ uult] *add. ex q* : *om. M*

⁶² per... desiderat] huius Sacramenti *q*

^e Cum sancto... peruerteris] cfr II Reg. 22, 27; Ps. 17, 27 (LXX)

^f Quod... tabescebat] Sap. 16, 27

^g Anima... locutus est] Cant. 5, 6

^h in omnia... desiderati sunt] Sap. 16, 25

debet quatuor facere. Debet enim exire tenebras⁶³ uiciorum; debet facere dignum penitencie fructum; debet contempnere omne terrenum; debet conuertere amaritudinem sue⁶⁴ crucis in oblectamentum.

84. Primo ergo debet exire⁵ tenebras uiciorum: et hoc est quod⁶⁶ filii Israel primo exierunt Egyptum, postea uenerunt ad istius⁶⁷ cibi gustum. Egyptus enim tenebre interpretatur.^{vi} Exeat ergo tenebras uiciorum qui festinat ad harum dulcedinem graciaram,⁶⁸ ut de eo possit dici illud Apostoli: *Fuistis⁶⁹ aliquando tenebre, nunc autem lux in Domino.*ⁱ

85. Secundo debet facere condignum⁷⁰ penitencie fructum: et hoc est⁷¹ quod filii Israel primo pertransierunt⁷² mare rubrum. Quid enim significatur per mare rubrum nisi amaritudo penitencie, in qua est *contricio magna uelud mare,*^j in quo mari submergatur rex Egypti cum exercitu suo, id est dyabolus cum omni conatu⁷³ suo?

86. Tercio debet deserere omne terrenum: et hoc est quod⁷⁴ filii Israel, antequam sumerent cibum istum, uenerunt in desertum, id est, deseruerunt omne terrenum. Et quia ista⁷⁵ tria sunt, per que quis⁷⁶ solet⁷⁷ alligari mundo, uidelicet amor possessionis, uoluptas carnis,

⁶³ tenebras] de tenebris *q*

⁶⁴ sue] *om. q*

⁶⁵ exire] deserere *q*

⁶⁶ quod] *add. dicitur q*

⁶⁷ istius] huius *q*

⁶⁸ dulcedinem graciaram] gratiarum dulcedinem *q*

⁶⁹ Fuistis] Eratis *q*

⁷⁰ condignum] dignum *q*

⁷¹ est] *add. quod dicitur q*

⁷² primo pertransierunt] post transierunt *q*

⁷³ conatu] ornatu *q*

⁷⁴ quod] *add. dicitur, quod q*

⁷⁵ ista] *om. q*

⁷⁶ quis] *om. q*

⁷⁷ solet] *add. homo q*

ⁱ Eratis... Domino] Eph. 5, 8

^j contricio... mare] Thren. 2, 13

^{vi} tenebre interpretatur] HIERONYMUS SRTIDONENSIS, *Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum* s.v. Aegyptus, ed. de Lagarde, CCSL 72:66; PL 23:890.

cupiditas honoris, iuxta illud⁷⁸ Iohannis:⁷⁹ *Quidquid*⁸⁰ *est in mundo, aut est concupiscencia carnis, aut concupiscencia oculorum, aut superbia uite.*^k Ideo dicebat Moyses: *Ibimus uiam trium dierum in [f. 57r] desertum.*^l Hoc significat⁸¹ quod per uiam unius diei deseritur amor possessionis: per uiam alterius diei⁸² deseritur uoluptas carnis; per uiam diei tercie deseritur cupiditas honoris.

87. Quarto debet⁸³ conuertere amaritudinem sue crucis in oblectamentum,⁸⁴ ut delectat⁸⁵ eum portacio sue crucis, quam necesse est portare eum qui uult animam⁸⁶ saluare. *Qui enim non accipit crucem suam, sicut dicit Dominus, et sequitur me, non est me dignus.*^m Si ergo uis amaritudinem crucis tue conuertere in oblectamentum dulcedinis, habeas⁸⁷ in corde tuo memoriam dominice passionis. 'Etenim non sentiet sua qui Christi uulnera intuebitur', dicit Bernardus.^{vii} Et hoc est quod legitur de filiis Israel, quod priusquam uenirent⁸⁸ ad cibum dulcissimum, uenerunt in Marath ad potum amarissimum, quem cum pre amaritudine bibere non possent. Iussit Dominus ut in eundem potum lignum, quod figurabat crucem, mitterent, et sic amaritudinem dulcorarent.ⁿ

88. *Confiteantur ergo Domino misericordie eius et mirabilia eius filiis hominum, quia saciauit animam inanem, et cetera.*⁸⁹

⁷⁸ illud] *add. prime q*

⁷⁹ Iohannis] *add. secundo q*

⁸⁰ Quidquid] *Omne, quod ut Vulg. q*

⁸¹ Hoc significat] *ad significandum q*

⁸² alterius diei] *diei alterius q*

⁸³ debet] *add. homo q*

⁸⁴ oblectamentum] *add. dulcedinis q*

⁸⁵ delectat] *uidelicet delectet q*

⁸⁶ animam] *add. suam q*

⁸⁷ habeas] *add. semper q*

⁸⁸ uenirent] *uenissent q*

⁸⁹ et cetera] *et animam esurientem satiavit bonis, sedentes in tenebris et umbra mortis, uinctos in mendicitate et ferro q*

^k Quidquid... uite] *cfr I Ioh. 2, 16*

^l Ibimus... desertum] *cfr Ex. 3, 18*

^m Qui enim... dignus] *Matth. 10, 38*

ⁿ uenerunt... dulcorarent] *cfr Ex. 15, 23-25*

^{vii} Etenim... intuebitur] *BERNARDUS CLARAEVALLENSIS, Sermones super Cantica Cantorum 61.8; ed. Leclercq 2:153; PL 183:1074B.*

89. Tu ergo si te⁹⁰ sentis inanem, quere tuam replecionem⁹¹ in hoc sacramento sub figura pinguedinis;⁹² si te sentis esurientem, quere tuam refeccionem in hoc sacramento⁹³ sub figura panis; si te sentis in tenebris sedentem,⁹⁴ quere tuam illuminacionem in hoc sacramento sub figura mellis; si te uides⁹⁵ in umbra mortis iacentem, quere tuam reconciliacionem in hoc sacramento sub figura agni paschalis; si te cognoscis egenum⁹⁶ et mendicantem, quere tuam ditacionem in hoc sacramento sub figura thesauri celestis; si te experiris ferreum cor habentem, quere tuam mollificacionem in hoc sacramento sub figura mannatis. Quod Christus⁹⁷ nobis prestare dignetur, qui cum Patre et Spiritu sancto uiuit et regnat in secula seculorum.⁹⁸ Amen.

90. Explicit gloriosus sermo de corpore Christi.⁹⁹

⁹⁰ Tu... te] Si ergo te *q*

⁹¹ replecionem] impletionem *q*

⁹² pinguedinis] adipis *q*

⁹³ in hoc sacramento] *om. q*

⁹⁴ in tenebris sedentem] caecutientem et sedentem in tenebris *q*

⁹⁵ uides] sentis *q*

⁹⁶ te conoscis egenum] egentem *q*

⁹⁷ Christus] Iesus Christus *leg. post* dignetur *q*

⁹⁸ qui... seculorum] beatissimae Mariae filius *q*

⁹⁹ gloriosus... Christi] *om. q*

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00193 ROMA

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C A R M E L U S

Direttore responsabile: Giovanni Grosso

Proprietà della Curia Generalizia dei Carmelitani dell'Antica Osservanza:

Via Giovanni Lanza, 138 - 00184 Roma, Italia

Direzione e Redazione: Via Sforza Pallavicini, 10 - 00193 Roma, Italia

Amministrazione: Edizioni Carmelitane, Via Sforza Pallavicini, 10 - 00193 Roma, Italia

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