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### Introduction

## Published by

Lawler, Traugott, et al.

 ${\it Jankyn's Book of Wikked Wyves: Seven Commentaries on Walter Map's "Dissuasio Valerii"}.$ 

First ed. University of Georgia Press, 2014.

Project MUSE. https://dx.doi.org/10.1353/book35444.



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# INTRODUCTION

#### JANKYN'S "BOOK OF WIKKED WYVES" COMMENTARIES

In this our second volume we present the seven commentaries on Walter Map's "Dissuasio Valerii" that we mention on pp. 7–8 and list on p. 261 of our Volume One. They fall into distinct classes, and we present them accordingly. (For fuller accounts of each commentary, see the individual headnotes. The short names we use here for each are used throughout this volume. The sigla in parentheses, C1 to C7, are those assigned in Volume One, p. 261, and are not used further in this volume.) The first class is humanist or classicizing commentaries, probably intended for school use, focusing on Map's allusive Latin and paying little or no attention to the issues of marriage and women. They are, in ascending order of scope and complexity:

*Grues*: the anonymous commentary beginning "Grues, ut dicitYsodorus," in five manuscripts. (C5)

Ridewall: the commentary ascribed to the English Franciscan John Ridewall (d. in or after 1340), in fifteen manuscripts. (C3)

Trivet: the commentary by the English Dominican Nicholas Trivet (c. 1260-c. 1334), in ten manuscripts. (C1)

The second class is Catholic/moral commentaries, intended directly or indirectly for preachers; these do confront Map's anti-feminism, each in its way; again we present them in ascending order of scope and complexity:

Parvus: the anonymous commentary beginning "Valerius qui dicitur parvus," in one manuscript. (C6)

Religiosos: the anonymous commentary beginning "Hoc contra malos religiosos," in two manuscripts. (C2)

Lambeth: the anonymous, very long commentary in Lambeth 330; we present excerpts only. (C4)

Finally there is "Eneas" (C7), the commentary of the Italian Dominican Eneas of Siena (c. 1285-1348), as reported from his lectures by Paul of Guastaferris (c. 1290-c. 1345), and extant mostly in the form of glosses. This too is a humanist commentary for use in schools, but we present it last because of its different status—with no English witnesses, and not quite amounting to a commentary—and form of survival, and because we present it only cursorily, from just two

manuscripts and without a translation.1

For the first five commentaries, we give a critical text edited from all the manuscript evidence with a report of variants (or, in the two cases where there is a single manuscript, a report of corrections to the text), translation, notes, and a headnote.<sup>2</sup> We give the same for the four excerpts from Lambeth. For the less complete treatment of Eneas, see its headnote. The first five are essentially the work of Lawler, the last two of Hanna, though each of us has given a full review to the work of the other, so that the entire book is the result of our joint efforts.<sup>3</sup> We admit to not feeling fully at ease with the reflection that what we offer here is scholarship feeding on itself, annotation of annotations; Lawler in particular confesses to being debilitated by that reflection for many years, as well as by the bewildering job of hunting down references. He is grateful for all the online search tools that enabled him to overcome his bewilderment; and he simply conquered his distaste for annotating annotation by remembering that in fact the project is full of cultural as well as literary interest. Meanwhile, he takes the blame for the long lapse of time since the first volume appeared (and the still longer lapse since Pratt passed the project on to us in 1981); he subscribes readily to Samuel Johnson's indulgent explanation of Pope's slow progress on his Iliad, "He that runs against Time has an antagonist not subject to casualties." We offer our work to Chaucerians as giving the fullest possible account of the contents of "books of wicked wives," but we hope too for a larger audience, since the classicizing commentaries by their silence, and the moralizing commentaries by their defenses of women (some tentative, some vigorous), extend significantly

- I. Lawler has twice offered general accounts of the commentaries, in 1985 and 1991; see the bibliography. In Lawler 1985 (originally a report on our research given at the Chaucer Society meeting at York in 1984), he counts as a commentary a text, "Lucinia avis est," in Harley 3724 that we now regard as a mere collection of glosses and have dropped from consideration. Lawler 1991, p. 98 speaks of a total of nine commentaries, a number reached by including not only Harley 3724 but the reworking of Trivet in University 61 (for which see the Trivet headnote below).
- 2. Our procedure where there are multiple witnesses (*Grues 5*, Ridewall 8 + 2 fragments, Trivet 9, *Religiosos 2*) has been in each case to study all, then choose one complete and apparently correct manuscript as a convenient base, but weighing all variations from it and emending it when the standard considerations sense, attestation, scribal usage, fidelity to sources, likely confusion between similar abbreviated forms, etc. seemed to call for emendation. That is, we follow the same eclectic procedure as we did for our text of the "Dissuasio" (Vol. 1, pp. 108–9), aiming always to deduce what the author wrote. Conjectural emendations are rare in Ridewall and Trivet, more frequent in *Religiosos*, with only two witnesses, and *Grues*, with five witnesses but just two families, both often clearly in error. We have also occasionally had to emend the single witness we have of *Parvus* and Lambeth to produce good sense.
- 3. Lawler has deposited his transcriptions and photostats, and some other materials, in the archives of the Yale University Library, Hanna his in the English Faculty Library at Oxford University.
- 4. As we note on page 7 of Volume One, the "Dissuasio" is accompanied by at least one commentary in about forty manuscripts, of which about sixty percent are of English origin.

our understanding of medieval attitudes toward women and marriage.

It was surely the multi-leveled literacy of Map's witty Latin that made the text so attractive to schools and to commentators. Of course the message of celibacy was attractive to the authorities, no doubt, and never too early, either: it is evident from the elementary nature of many of the glosses in the humanist commentaries that the "Dissuasio" was put in the hands of very young boys. In her "Letter from the God of Love," Christine de Pisan says that clerks compose works denigrating women, and give them as texts for study to beginners, to their raw young pupils (Si les baillent en matiere aux premiers,/A leurs nouveaulx et jeunes escolliers), indoctrinating them for life (En maniere d'exemple et de dottrine,/Pour retenir en age tel dottrine).<sup>5</sup> The humanist commentaries surprise one at first by not harping at all on the subjects of marriage and women; rather, they concentrate on spelling out the allusions, as if the primary use this text was put to in the schools was for teaching elegant Latin. But that is merely to say that they used it as effectively as they could, because subtly: if a boy learned elegant Latin, he was captured for the clerical life. Less cynically, one might merely say that these humanist commentaries show the same devotion to the literary and intellectual life that Valerius does.6

In Volume One, pp. 7 and 65-67, we spoke about the interest of the fraternal orders in Map's text. Of our three named commentators, one was a Franciscan and two were Dominicans; and we consider that *Religiosos* shows signs of Dominican authorship as well. Two general points can be made here in explanation of this interest. The first is that as confessors and preachers the friars took their mission to women seriously; they had many female adherents, as wills show, and as anti-fraternal satire shows, and as their too-stringent rules on interactions with women suggest.<sup>7</sup> It in fact seems to us, from reading rules such as the Franciscan stipulation that one may not be in conversation with a woman, or hear her confession, without being able to see and be seen by one's companion,<sup>8</sup> that the major reason why friars always traveled in pairs was to avoid the scandal of spending private time with women. Chaucer's friar, and the various friars in Boccaccio's *Decameron*, are sprightly people, and we think the Franciscans especially cultivated sprightliness in imitation of St Francis. Thomas

- 5. Lines 263-66, ed. Roy, 1891. We have added the comma at the end of line 263, following Fenster and Erler 1990, because like them we take "escolliers" in 264 to be in apposition with "premiers" 263.
  - 6. For further general discussion of the humanistic commentaries, see Lawler 1991.
- 7. There are good general remarks, as well as much specific information, on the subject in Coakley 1991.
- 8. Statutes 1260, AFH 34 (1941), p. 70: "Nullus frater pro confessione audienda seu quacumque alia de causa iuxta mulierem stet aut sedeat nisi ubi ipse et eius socius libere possint mutuo se videre." The original rule says more generally, "no one should speak to them [women] alone" (Franciscan Omnibus, p. 42).

of Celano in his Second Life of Francis, chapter 91, says, "So much did he love a man who was full of spiritual joy that he had these words written down as an admonition to all at a certain general chapter: 'Let the brothers beware lest they show themselves outwardly gloomy and sad hypocrites; but let them rather show themselves joyful in the Lord, cheerful and suitably gracious" (Franciscan Omnibus, p. 468). Presumably, though, they had to moderate their joy a little in the company of women. Making novices study the "Dissuasio Valerii" closely was perhaps meant to prepare them to do pastoral work with women safely. The second thing to remark is how closely Chaucer connects the Friar on the pilgrimage with the Wife. It is he who breaks in on her at the end of her prologue with the remark, "This is a long preamble of a tale," prompting the witty rejoinder at the start of her tale to the effect that women don't have to fear incubuses any more in the modern world—only friars: "In every bussh or under every tree/Ther is noon other incubus but he,/And he ne wol doon hem but dishonour." Any clerk would do, of course, but, as we suggested in Volume One (p. 7), her little skirmish with the friar may be Chaucer's oblique way of recognizing the special affinity the friars seem to have had for Map's text.

In the remainder of this brief introduction, we want to call attention to the matter of broadest general interest in this book, namely the objections to Map's satire on women voiced by the authors of our three moral commentaries. Here is the author of *Religiosos* confronting, tentatively but thoughtfully, Map's attitude to women:

But the question arises over which many men exercise themselves, whether it is all right to malign women on account of Eve. It seems not. For whatever evil was handed on by Eve was wiped clean by Mary's benediction. Therefore out of reverence for Mary who is the flower of women this should not be done. This author [that is, Map] takes the opposite stance. With all due respect to Mary, I say that it is with women as with angels and religious. An angel, if he is good, is very, very good; if he is bad he is a devil. So too with religious: witness Augustine who said, "Just as I have not found better men than those who have made progress in the religious life, I have not found worse men than those who have fallen away from the religious life." Women too: commonly, what they turn to, they turn to totally. And just as Michael is no worse, nor merits shame, because Lucifer was so bad, neither is one religious or one woman worse though another is as bad as can be. But on this topic one must always speak reverently for Mary's sake. And so to the basic question I say that it is all right to malign what Eve did because it was bad in itself, but Mary not only took the bad away but did it in such a way that it will not ultimately harm those who desire to live a good life. And yet what Eve did still does us certain harm. For clearly we must die, and clearly we suffer much bodily pain, but the bad was so taken away by Mary, and by Christ the fruit of her womb, that what remains of it will not ultimately harm

those who desire to follow them ... John Chrysostom, who of all the doctors of the Church blames bad women most ... nevertheless praises good women very much and says that many women are good. Where woman is condemned in sacred scripture, the word is to be taken as standing for sensuality, which is always prone to evil unless it is held in check by the man, that is, the reason. On this point there is very much to be said; but what is left out here may be found in the book of Melibeus.

In 1997, the same year that we published our first volume, Alcuin Blamires published *The Case for Women in Medieval Culture*, in which he shows that there is a long-standing medieval tradition in defense of women, framed in reply to the anti-feminist literature. (He did not know of our commentaries.) He lists (p. 9) the characteristics of the standard defense, as follows:

- 1. "It questions the motives and morality of misogynists";
- 2. "It denounces antagonistic generalization" (i.e., going from "one bad woman" to "all women are bad");
- 3. "It asserts that God showed signs of special favour to women at creation and subsequently";
- 4. "It revises the culpability of Eve";
- 5. "It witnesses women's powerful interventions throughout history (from the Virgin Mary and scriptural heroines to Amazons and modern notables)";
- 6. "It argues that women's moral capacities expose the relative tawdriness of men's"—that is, that women are actually better than men.

The author of *Religiosos* seems to belong at least in part to this tradition: he revises the culpability of Eve, he insists on the goodness of Mary, he resists generalization: "Just as Michael is no worse because Lucifer was so bad, neither is one religious or one woman worse though another is as bad as can be." And the generalization he does make about women—women commonly, what they turn to, they turn to totally—seems carefully worded to allow for a positive spin: they don't do things by halves. Granting that Chrysostom takes a harsh view of women and yet has a positive side is perhaps typical of his balance. The allegorical interpretation—where woman is condemned in scripture, the word stands for sensuality—is not an argument that Blamires cites. What perhaps puts the author most in the tradition Blamires outlines, though, and what tips his discussion finally in the direction of accepting women, is his closing it by reference to the book of Melibeus, that is, Albertano of Brescia's *Book of Consolation*, which

9. See also McKinley 2001: 57-61; she argues that commentators on Ovid show a complex interest in female psychology, rejecting a simple Eve/Mary dichotomy; and she surveys recent work by scholars such as Barbara Newman, Ralph Hexter, Sharon Farmer, and others giving evidence that medieval clerical thought was not as hidebound in its approach to women as is often thought.

Chaucer translated as "The Tale of Melibee," and which Blamires treats (22-26) as one of the most powerful and articulate of the medieval defenses of women. Our author is by no means perfect, though, as one can see, and on the very next page we find him quoting approvingly an infamous pseudo-Augustinian tract as follows: "In woman there is nothing except what will afflict those around her. Female beauty was made as a goad to sin." And yet he can recover from that winningly. A little farther on, he is talking about advice and brings up the case "when something cannot remain a secret for long, and unless the revelation is prepared for with good counsel, ruin threatens. For example, a woman knows she is pregnant from an adulterous union, of which she will eventually be convicted .... In such a case, since it cannot stay secret long, a safe counselor should be chosen to whom it can be laid bare before the time. For a good counselor knows what to advise in such cases, and how to solve the problem, although it might seem impossible to an unschooled person." The issue here is not women at all, it's advice; he is focused on that, and looking for a good common-sense example—and the example he gives of an illicit pregnancy is totally non-judgmental, and looks at a woman's problem completely from her point of view—he treats her as subject, as we say.

The author of the next commentary, in Lambeth Palace 330, is a most conscientious pedant, and yet can take his place as a defender of women. This too is a moral commentary, not humanist at all, ignoring mythology and the tracing of allusions in order to force moral material out of every nook and cranny of the text. The author's method was apparently in each new portion of text to search the key terms in a bible concordance, and then search for the most apt comments in Manipulus florum. He regularly seems to accept what Valerius says at face value. So it comes as quite a surprise when one has waded through all this to find that at the very end of his treatise, he faces the anti-feminism openly (see our Selection 4 below). First he seems to excuse Valerius: of course he has to condemn women, because he's trying the best he can to get his friend not to marry—if he were exhorting a woman not to marry, he'd speak of the vices of men. And then, he gives us paragraph after paragraph on the vices of men: they are suspicious, they seek discord, they get angry and give rebukes, they are impatient, cruel, and unrestrained in violence, they turn their own defects back on their wives, they are adulterous. There are more evil men than good, he says, and he aptly cites Jesus's remark to the Pharisees, "Let him who is without sin among you cast the first stone." "Many men who disparage women are not free of sins themselves, and they write much about the wickedness of women; in a similar vein women might write of the wickedness of men, whose number is as it were infinite." A good man is born maybe once in five hundred years. They are worse than animals. Therefore an instructor of women might write that it is better to abstain from marriage because of the wickedness of men, so that one might be a free woman, outstanding in virtue and devoted to God.

Then he writes, "To complete Valerius's work we may declare two things: first that marriage is good, and second that among the number of women many are good"—and he ends with a long and rather stirring survey of the role of women in the New Testament and the early history of the church. Mary, of course, the new Eve, gets four long paragraphs of praise. Then he starts listing the women in Jesus's life: those Luke mentions who followed Jesus on the path to Calvary, and those who followed his body to the grave; and Mary Magdalene and the other Mary who Matthew says stayed behind after the tomb was closed. And Martha had served him earlier. And women first saw the resurrected Jesus, and first announced the resurrection. Only the virgin Mary and these women kept the faith without doubt, and strengthened the apostles and other male disciples who had begun to hesitate in their faith. Finally Mary Magdalene leads him back to Mary the mother of Jesus, and he quotes St Bernard, who asserts, astutely, that she had to be the source of the early chapters of Luke on the Annunciation and Nativity: she is therefore "the apostle of apostles and evangelist of evangelists: through her the chief doctrine shone to these princes of the faith." That is, the princes of the faith are the apostles and evangelists, all men—but Mary was their teacher. Finally, "many good and most holy women have gone ahead [that is, in the long history of the church], and there are still a great many in the church ... so that the whole sex ought not to be reproached. Rather, the church of God is gathered together of diverse sorts." Noah gathered male and female, and "from such the church militant is gathered."

It is hard not to like this ending; the rhetoric is impressive, and the author's resourcefulness in finding apt quotations, exhibited throughout his commentary, does not fail him here. Actually, everything he says (except his insistence that marriage is good) is in line with the case for women as Blamires outlines it: the argument that men are even worse; the resistance to generalization; the argument that Mary more than makes up for Eve; and finally the instancing of scriptural heroines—though Blamires has not presented any one text that argues quite so fully as this one the importance of the women around Jesus, particularly Mary Magdalene. Still one would have to say that for all its surprise and vehemence, this departure from the implicit principles of the commentary, welcome though it is, does not finally break new ground, that is, does not transcend the conventions of the case for women as Blamires outlines them.

Parvus is a different story. We have it in only one manuscript, nearly illegible and with the end torn out, but it is a treasure. It is almost wholly taken up with casting scorn on the "Dissuasio." It begins by saying that the "Dissuasio" was written by "Valerius qui dicitur parvus," that is, "Little Valerius," to distin-

10. There is a truly eloquent celebration of Mary Magdalene, and of women in general, in the thirteenth-century Middle English poem "The Southern Passion" (mentioned by Blamires, p. 111 as "an indignant defense of women's moral reliability"). See our note to Lambeth 330, Selection 4.232–33.

guish him from Valerius Maximus. That sounds like a schoolboy nickname, and is surely a derisive one—the Valerius with the small mind, the Valerius of little (or no) account. The author says right away that Valerius's chief conclusion is that no man ought to get married, and our first and most important task is to destroy that conclusion. He cites Christ going to the wedding in Cana, he cites St Paul, Bede, Augustine, and Jerome on the goodness of marriage; he quotes Seneca on good, bad, and indifferent, and says that marriage is in the class of indifferent things—that is, it is what you make of it. He grants that it may not be as good as virginity, but he also says, ever so sensibly, that it can be better; "for a married man can be so deeply loving that he can outstrip the merits of a less loving virgin."

He makes fun of Valerius's bad logic, as if he said, "This man is running, that man is running, therefore every man is running." It only takes one negative example to destroy such an argument, he says, "and certainly there is not just one negative example but many." Granted that Ruffinus's fiancé is a Circe: it doesn't mean that all women are. So Eve sinned: she is trumped by Mary, and besides men are sons of Eve too, and equally guilty of original sin. Valerius singles out Lucretia and Penelope, but plenty of chaste wives nowadays are better than both. After all, Penelope would have married Alcinous if Odysseus hadn't finally turned up; lots of women nowadays know their husbands are dead but still stay unmarried. He instances Anna, Sara, and the eleven thousand virgins who died with St Ursula. He says that the male gods Valerius brings forth as victimized were simply adulterers, and he basically says he doesn't care about all the unhappy Roman husbands. "Cicero thought that a woman is an obstacle to intense study, because one must be interrupted from time to time on her account. But it doesn't make a woman bad, just because one must leave off studying for meals."

Clearly, his defense too is in the line of argument that Blamires describes: he attacks men, he attacks false generalization, he instances Mary and other good women. But he is much less churchy than the Lambeth 330 author, relying far more on common sense than on quoting the bible and other authorities. He is original in not idolizing Penelope or Lucretia, in standing up to Cicero and Cato, in the sharp remark that a deeply loving husband outstrips the merits of a less loving virgin. And he is utterly refreshing, utterly different from all the other commentators, in keeping the issues of marriage and women at the center of his focus, and giving no quarter to Map's position. His text deserves to be widely known, and we hope it will become so.

Meantime the humanist commentaries are full of interest for medievalists. The struggle the scribes of both Map's text and these commentaries had with proper names shows clearly how much need there was for the sort of acculturation they offer. A comparative overview of the three (excluding Eneas) can be found in Lawler 1991. *Grues* is the simplest, offering students illustrative facts and stories, and occasional verses; the unit annotated is always a single word, usually

a noun. Ridewall goes much deeper, elucidating Valerius's arguments, annotating sentences and paragraphs in addition to single words; we argued that he is teaching his students a method of very close reading, of accounting in interpretation for every detail; his commentary illustrates the devotion to the life of the mind that the "Dissuasio" fosters. Trivet makes a brief nod towards a moral reading, in which man is reason and woman is sensuality, but goes on to offer an extremely careful literal reading that is still of great value for any student of Map's text. He displays both far wider learning and a far finer perception than the other humanist commentators; we argued that he is so in tune with Map as to be a kind of rival for equal status. The authors of both *Parvus* and *Religiosos* show signs of acquaintance with Trivet's commentary; indeed the latter in both its manuscripts follows a text that has Trivet's commentary interspersed, and we do not discount the possibility that Trivet wrote it.<sup>11</sup>

Would Chaucer have known a book of wicked wives with a commentary on Map? We have already mentioned the many "books of wikked wyves" of English origin in which the "Dissuasio" is accompanied by a commentary, and suggested that Chaucer's choice of the Friar to cross swords with the Wife may imply that he knew, or at least knew about, the fraternal commentaries. And presumably not only Map and Jerome but the writers of most of the commentaries, e.g., Ridewall who swallows Valerius on women whole, are in Chaucer's mind when the Wife complains of clerks in their dotage who write that women cannot keep their marriage. Should we then think of Jankyn as owning a commented text, and imposing all its pedantry on his wife along with Map's stories? That is probably to go too far: nothing indicates that he does (the Wife's two citations come from the text, not the commentaries; see Volume One, pp. 69–70), and he perhaps would have thought their fussy scholarship an impertinent distraction from his pure devotion to vilifying wives. Jerome and Theophrastus, who were never commented on, were clearly his favorites anyway.<sup>12</sup>

11. See also the retractation at the end of ms. U of Trivet, quoted in our note to Trivet 1856-59. If it is indeed by Trivet, as we doubt, it is at least a gesture toward honoring women.

12. See further our discussion in *Sources and Analogues* 2.353 and n3. One should keep in mind that there were plenty of "books of wikked wyves" without any of the Valerius commentaries. In our list of 196 mss, there are actually just 8 with all three primary texts: Theophrastus, the Jerome selections, and the "Dissuasio." Of these, just three have commentaries (two are English: Bodley Add. A.44 has Trivet, Bodley Douce 147 has Ridewall and *Grues*). 24 more mss. have two of our three texts; of these only five have commentaries, and only two of those are English. Thus there are just four English manuscripts with at least two of our texts plus a commentary, and so, though we posit that Chaucer knew of the fraternal commentaries, he may well also have seen a "book of wikked wyves" with no commentary and no glosses. The gloss tradition, incidentally, stemming as it does from Eneas of Siena, survives entirely on the continent. Only one English ms., Harley 3724, has glosses (not from Eneas).

We take for granted throughout that anyone using this volume will also have immediate access to our Volume One, and in particular to our text and translation of the "Dissuasio." In our Latin texts, we italicize all verbatim quotations of Map's text, and have tried as far as possible in translating them to use the wording of our translation in Volume One, so that it will be easy for a reader who is using the English to find his place in Map's text. Occasionally that has not been possible. For example, in line 5 we translated the word *augur* as "prophet," but the comment in *Grues*, with its reference to birds, requires "augurer." Also, our usual practice is to identify the commentators' citations of other texts not in the notes but right in the text, in parentheses, at the end of the citation. When a commentator gives a partial identification, we complete it in parentheses. E.g.. *Religiosos* 152 cites Paralipomenon 20; we give "(2) Paralipomenon 20(.12)." Readers following the translation only can look across the page to identify citations.

Other matters of format are the same as described in Vol. 1, p. 118, except that here we do not use slant lines or crosses, and we have signaled conjectural emendations by attaching an asterisk to the lemma in the corpus of variants. For the use of braces in the text of Grues and Parvus, see their headnotes. Textual notes to Lambeth and Parvus, since both are in unique manuscripts, merely list places where we have corrected the text, without asterisks. For Eneas we give variants from just one manuscript, with occasional citations of a few others. For the other four commentaries we report variants from all other manuscripts (though for Religiosos there is only one other). For these, we cite all variations from the text printed except the following: variations in spelling, or in word order without change of sense; unique variants unless they seem significant, except that if one variant is cited for a reading, all, even unique variants, are cited; variation in the length of the lemma quoted from the "Dissuasio"; omission of pronouns where sense is not affected; variation between ergo/igitur/omission; iste/ille/ipse/is; quia/quod; nota quod/nota; ut/sicut; idest/scilicet/omission; etiam/ autem/enim/et/-que/omission; ad/in; hic/ibi/omission before or after a lemma. But whenever we emend our base text, we report what the other manuscripts have fully. Om.  $X^*=X$  omits as part of a longer omission.

#### APPENDIX

A Note on the Later English Transmission of the Text of "Dissuasio Valerii"

One can get some taste of what the later English transmission of the "Dissuasio" is like by looking at a single sample variant. This we have cited at Vol. 1, p. 91 as the second "disjunctive error" ("quod semper est ad malum prompta" [and variants] for Map's "quod semper est," 248-49) to indicate manuscripts

which could not have been Chaucer's source for Wife of Bath's Prologue D 756. At that time, we provided a rather antiseptic text, merely noting that "numerous second generation variants" were recorded in the corpus. We now display a full collation; we place those older manuscripts we have used to edit the "Dissuasio" first and separate their readings from those of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century English copies by a space (sigla are those we assigned at vol. 1, pp. 89-90):

**quod]** et BG ChDg³DoDu²FfMm; quia H Co³Dg¹Du¹. **semper est]** *trs* N; superest Co²Re. **est]** *om*. BGH ChDrDu²Mm; vult Ar; *add* ad malum prompta BGHT ChCo²Co³Dg¹DrDu¹Du²MmReT (et *add* T), *a blank (five or six letters only) with erasure* R; *add* prompta ad malum Dg³DoFf (prompta *precedes* est Dg³); *add* quia semper est ad malum prompta C1Co¹JLo (est *om*. Co¹Lo).

Many copies we used in editing the "Dissuasio" do not include this heavy-handed addition. It occurs in none of the beta copies (AA¹ArMNS; R may have begun to write the addition but was speedily corrected), and three of the more neutral alpha copies (CDRy) also ignore it. (The absence of D indicates why this variant has no continental manifestations: it was not in the archetype from which all those copies were drawn.)

Two matters about the later manuscripts are of interest. First, a very substantial number does not transmit the addition. We cite above sixteen fourteenth- and fifteenth-century copies with some version of "ad malum prompta"; in contrast, eight copies, AdBuDg<sup>4</sup>HmL<sup>1</sup>RdUW, lack it. The situation offers one more instance of the fallaciousness of the old saw, "recentiores, deteriores." Here nine copies (Ch+) happily and faithfully transmit, without degeneration, an error already part of the tradition in the twelfth century, and the eight just mentioned, with apparently equal fidelity, if in a better cause, offer a correct text presumably reflecting the authorial holograph of the 1170s. Only a third of the copies, the seven that embroider upon the addition (through transposition and dittography), are legitimately "deteriores."

The transmissional origin of the eight copies faithful to Map is worth pondering. The evidence does not seem to point to any very direct access to a form of beta archetype (although AdR dU may repay more detailed examination). On those six occasions (see Vol. 1, pp. 107–8) when beta errs, a substantial number of these copies usually agrees—but so, erratically, do a wide range of other manuscripts. And only in isolated instances do the texts carry over any of the eight hard readings virtually restricted to beta copies in early stages of transmission (see Vol. 1, p. 107, n. 184). Moreover, all these copies at other loci in the text (HmUW are perhaps most restrained) offer their own scribal renditions of Map.

Most probably, these copies originate from somewhere in the range of "neutral" alpha and beta manuscripts, books like A<sup>1</sup>DRyS. As we suggested in vol. 1

(p. 104), these texts are apt to have been the product of spot conflation, which neutralized any definitive ancestral connections; similar conflation of readings from various sources is apt to have continued in the later tradition, to the somewhat unpredictable improvement in individual lemmata of the copies affected.

A second important point about the collation above involves certain ironies. For we expect expositors to go to some pains to comment on a genuinely authorial version. But the variants in fact indicate the power of commentaries at recording—and then perpetuating—deviant forms of the text. The two readings we have identified as "deteriores" are of this type. Dg³DoFf share a commentary, a unique fusion of Ridewall with *Grues*. CIJLo (to which may be added the continental Erfurt fol. 71, in which the addition includes the conjunctive variant of Co¹Lo) offer versions of Trivet, and CIJ (with a different conjunctive variant) also provide the unique *Religiosos*. (Co¹ is a late fifteenth–century loose copy that seems to have come on this textual version by accident—and then to have reproduced it scrupulously.) In its more neutral form, "ad malum prompta," the variant is primarily attested from texts of English manufacture appended to Trivet (ChDrMm) and Ridewall (Co²Co³Du¹). And AdRd are worth citing here as well; they have preserved their beta readings along with *Grues*—and a host of scribalisms definitively their own.

# COMMENTARY TWO: JOHN RIDEWALL

Nor did he yield to the geese who were to save the Capitol with their watchful cries.

For among all the animals this bird is best at sensing the approach of a man from his smell, as Neckham says in the first book of *The Natures of Things*, chapter 68 (71); and he gets it from Pliny, book 10. Valerius means that just as the goose by honking out the truth did more for Rome than the song of swans, for all the delightful pleasure it calls up, and this because of the greater usefulness that followed—for the city of Rome was saved by the goose from *burning*, and from the plunder of its *treasuries*, and from the murder of its *senators*, and therefore the honking of the goose was more acceptable than the song of the swan would have been—so Rufinus should have placed more value on the friendly and useful, if simple, teaching of Valerius than on the glibness and pleasing eloquence of others who were advising him to marry, because that marriage was harmful for Rufinus. And yet Rufinus opposed him, like the fatheads who despise the cry of the goose and prefer the pleasant song of the swan. Note that *olor* in Greek is the same as *cignus* in Latin, and comes from *olon*, "whole". because the swan's feathers are wholly white, as Isidore says.

You are completely inflamed by your passion, etc. Once again Valerius corrects Rufinus for his lack of forethought about sexual pleasure and its consummation. Here he says that Rufinus is deceived because he only has eyes for the beginning and head of sexual pleasure and venereal delight, and not for the middle or the end, and so here he compares carnal delight to that monster of a Chimaera, of whom poets tell. For the Chimaera is a threefold monster, as poets feign, and Vergil suggests in Aeneid 6 that it is a monster from hell. It is supposed to be a lion in front, with a goat's belly

3° δJ, margin aliter libro 2° DgDo. 169 **vigili** vigilii FD; vigiliis Q. **Capitolia** om. M8\*η\*; capitolus F; capitolius Do; capitalia D; capitali M3; capitolii Q. 170 **Cederet** sederet DgF; sedet Do; tederet? D; om. t. 173 **sumit** similiter habetur D; similiter C2; om. J\*Q. **Plinio** plinius C2Q. 175 **Rome** romane M8DηQ; romanis vel urbi romane M3. **olorum** oloris Dη. 176 **propter** ipso δ; om. η\*. 178 **et**<sup>1</sup> om. DgFη\*Pe. 179 **strepitus** strepitum δ; om. η\*Q\*. **acceptus** acceptatus M8; acceptum δ; om. η\*Q\*. 180 **debuit** debet δ; om. Cη\*. 182 **delectabilem** et delectacionem δ; et inutilem Q; om. η\*. 187 **ut dicit Ysidorus** hic avis dicitur propriam mortem cantu delectabili (delectabili Pe) prenunciare t; δ inserts Cignus a canendo . . . ipsorum, Grues 83–90. 188 **tuo** tui γ. 190 **hic** om. M3ηQ. 191 **et**<sup>2</sup> om. C2M3η\*Q. 197 **caprino** caprina C3δ; capricorno C2; capre η; . . . a (in

Nec servaturis vigili Capitolia voce Cederet anseribus (2.538-39).

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Ista enim avis potissime inter omnia animalia adventum hominis percipit per odorem, ut dicit Alexander libro 1 De naturis rerum, capitulo 68 (1.71), et sumit a Plinio libro 10 (10.26.51). Vult ergo dicere Valerius quod sicud anser perstrependo veritatem plus profuit urbi Rome quam cantus olorum, id est, cingnorum inducencium delectacionis iocunditatem, et hoc propter maiorem utilitatem consequentem—nam urbs Rome fuit per anserem liberata ab incendio, et a spoliacione thesaurorum, et ab interfectione senatorum, et ideo strepitus anseris magis fuit acceptus quam fuisset cantus oloris—ita Rufinus plus debuit appreciari amicabilem et utilem licet simplicem doctrinam Valerii quam facundiam et eloquenciam delectabilem aliorum qui consulebant sibi nubere, quia nupcie ille erant Ruffino pestifere. Et tamen Rufinus oppositum fecit sicud fatui faciunt qui vocem anseris reprobant et delectabilem cigni cantum acceptant. Nota 'olor' Grece est idem quod 'cyngnus' [p. 353] Latine, et dicitur ab 'olon' quod est 'totum,' eo quod totus sit albus in plumis, ut dicit Ysidorus (12.7.18).

et cit

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ripit Ruffinum de sua inconsideracione circa voluptatem et eius consummacionem. Unde hic dicit Valerius Rufinum deceptum quia solum habet oculum ad principium et *capud* voluptatis et veneree delectacionis, et non ad medium nec ad finem; unde facit hic similitudinem inter delectacionem carnalem et *monstrum illud chimere*, de quo solent poete facere mencionem. Est enim chimera *monstrum triforme*, ut fingunt poete, et tangit Vergilius in 6 *Eneydos* (6.288) quomodo est monstrum infernale. Fingitur autem *leo* in

Ibi, Desiderio [tuo] totus inflammaris, etc., iterum Valerius cor-

and a serpent's *tail*, as in the verse, "A lion in the first part, a she-goat in the middle, a snake in the lowest part." And in the moral sense this monster stands figuratively for carnal delight and the sex act. For lust has ardor at the beginning, a rank smell in the performance of the act, and compunction in the end, for repentance and remorse of conscience always follow sexual pleasure, as Boethius says in his book *The Consolation*: "What", he says, "shall I say of sexual pleasures, the desire for which is full of anxiety, the fulfillment full of repentance? .... Anyone who will recall his lusts will understand that the last phase of sexual pleasure is sadness."

Ulysses was enchanted, etc. In order to instruct Rufinus to turn his mind to fleeing marriage, Valerius brings in the story of Ulysses and the deadly song of the Sirens. This is the story. When Ulysses, sailing home to Greece after the taking of Troy, saw that he was approaching where the Sirens were, he immediately had the ears of his companions stopped with pitch and wax, lest they hear their song, and be charmed by it, and thus charmed be taken in, and thus taken in be sunk or otherwise killed. He had himself tied to the mast lest he too, hearing the sweet melody, be enticed into soft-mindedness and thus carried off to his death. And so Ulysses is said here to have made himself strong and to have bound himself with the bonds of virtue, because the virtue of prudence as it were drove him to do what he did. Note that the word symphony here means "concord and harmonic consonance"; it is a compound of syn which is con and phonos, which is sonancia, and so "symphony" is as it were "consonance." Note also of the Sirens that according to Isidore's Etymologies, book 11, chapter 3, "There are supposed to have been three Sirens, partly maidens, partly birds, with wings and claws. One sang with her voice, one played the pipes, and one played

gutter) Pe. serpentina  $\delta$  inserts et comparatur . . . chimera, Grues 92-93. iuxta illud not repeated  $\delta$  (see previous entry). 198 capra caper  $\epsilon \iota Q$ . 199 Et . . . morali in quo  $\zeta$ ; moraliter  $\eta$ . 200 sub . . . monstri om.  $\zeta \eta \star$ . 202 voluptatem voluptacionem FDo. consequitur sequitur  $\delta M3\iota Q$ . 202-3 in consciencia consciencie  $\eta Q$ . 203 libro in libro M3Q. 204 loquar loquitur D; loquio M3; om. Q. quarum om.  $\epsilon Q$ . anxietatis anxietate D $\eta$ . 205 penitencie penitencia  $\zeta$ . voluptatum voluptatis  $\epsilon$ ; om.  $\eta \star Q \star$ . 206 volet valet M8M3; voluit D. intelliget  $\delta$  inserts extollit . . . parat, Grues 95-97. 208 ut ut scilicet C3 $\delta$ C2J. adducit inducit  $\delta$ ; adduxit  $\eta$ . 211 appropinquare propinquare D $\eta$ . 212 cantum canticum DgF; cantus C21. 213 deceptique decepti etiam C3C2 $\delta$ J; decepti Q; etiam decepit Pe; et DM3; om.  $\eta \star Q$ . submergerentur mergerentur M8Q; om.  $\eta \star$  vel et  $\delta$ ; om.  $\eta \star Q$ ; om. (gutter) Pe. 214 Seipsum add etiam C3 $\epsilon$ JPe; add autem  $\eta$ . navis add cum funibus  $\delta$ . 215 etiam om.  $\delta \eta \star$ JQ. 216 et . . . interitum om.  $\zeta \eta \star Q$  . interitum add traheretur C3 $\delta$ C2J; add raperetur M8; add duceretur Pe; others out. 217 virtus om.  $\gamma$ . 218 ita sic C3C2; om. Q. 220 quod² . . . sinphonia M8 only; quod est sonus DC2; sonus M3; om. all others ( $\eta$ JQ out). 222 Sirene syrenes  $\zeta$ . 224 canebat canebant  $\delta$ . illectos alectos M8M3Q; illectatos  $\delta$ ; illictos D; invectos Ca;

parte anteriori, cum ventre *caprino* et *cauda* serpentina, iuxta illud: Parte leo prima, media capra, anguis in yma. (Walther, *Vers.* 4473) Et in sensu morali delectacio carnis et actus venereus dantur intelligi sub figura huius monstri. Habet enim luxuria ardorem in principio, fetorem in actuali exercicio, et pungit in termino, quia semper voluptatem consequitur penitencia et remorsus in consciencia, dicente Boecio libro suo *De consolacione*. "Quid," inquid, "de voluptatibus loquar, quarum appetencia plena est anxietatis, sacietas vero plena penitencie? ....Tristes enim esse voluptatum exitus, quisquis reminisci libidinum suarum volet intelliget" (3.p7.1,3).

Ibi, Delectatus est Ulixes, etc., Valerius, ad Rufini informacionem, [ut] inclinet animum suum ad fugam nupciarum, adducit in medium historiam de Ulixe et cantu letifero Sirenarum. Hec est historia: Ulixes capta Troia rediens in Greciam per navigium et percipiens se ad loca appropinquare Sirenarum, statim pice et cera fecit aures obturari sociorum ne audirent cantum earum, et sic allicerentur, et allecti deciperentur, decepti[que] submergerentur vel modis aliis interficerentur. [Seipsum] fecit ligari ad malum navis, ne et ipse etiam, audita melodie dulcedine, in animo ad molliciem traheretur et sic ad [interitum]. Et ideo dicitur hic Ulixes sibi ipsi vim fecisse et seipsum virtutis vinculis astrinxisse, quia [virtus] prudencie eum quodamodo compulit [ita] facere. Nota symphonia stat hic pro concordia et consonancia armonica, unde componitur a 'syn' quod est 'con' et 'phonos' [quod est 'sonancia,' inde 'sinphonia'], quasi 'consonancia.' Nota etiam de Sirenis quomodo secundum Ysidorum Ethimologiarum libro 11, capitulo 3, "Sirene 3 finguntur fuisse ex parte virgines et ex parte volucres, habentes alas et ungulas; quarum una voce, altera tibiis, tercia lira canebat, que illectos

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the lyre. They would charm sailors with their song and entice them into shipwreck." And as Isidore says here this fable in truth describes the pernicious operation of lust; the Sirens were really whores and other women who brought men down to death and destruction. They have wings and claws because love, as Isidore says, both flies and wounds. Also the Sirens dwell in the waves of the sea because they bring down their own, that is, men given to the pleasure of fleshly lust, into the danger of spiritual drowning.

I, who have put my trust in the Lord, etc. Here he mentions one other story, of the philosopher Empedocles who, it is said, wanted to be buried in no other element but fire because fire is the noblest of all the elements, and so is said to have chosen Mount Aetna as his mausoleum, that is, as his tomb. Note that Aetna is a mountain in Sicily that vomits fire, and therefore this philosopher, preferring that his body be burned rather than that it be buried in the earth or another element, is said to have chosen Mount Aetna for his tomb. And note how he compares the heat of lechery and carnal lust to Mount Aetna, in which heat the lecherous man is said to be as if dead and buried, both because the act brings one closer to natural death and because it takes away the life of the spirit and of virtue, that is, the life of grace. The literal sense is therefore clear.

Isidore mentions Mount Aetna in book 14, chapter 8, where he says that "Mount Aetna is so called from fire (*igne*) and sulphur .... It is well known that this mountain has caves full of sulphur that lead all the way down to the sea; these caves draw in the waves, and this creates the motions of the winds, and that motion brings fire to birth from the sulphur; whence the burning we see." This mountain is in Sicily, as Isidore says in chapter 6 of the same book.

invictos P. 225 navigantes navigantis DgF. 226 veritatem\* add historie αβΙ; η out. 227 vel Sirene om.  $\eta$ J. 227-28 et om.  $\zeta \eta \star Q$ . et mulieres om.  $\eta$ J. 228 homines et homines  $\delta$ . mortem et om.  $\eta$ ]. perducentes trahentes et perducentes  $\delta$ ; ducentes C21; trahentes Q. Iste que  $\eta$ Q. 230 Sirene sirenes δ; om. M8t. maris marinis C3; variis D; maribus Pe; om. Q. 230-31 perducunt producunt DgDo; perdunt  $\eta$ . 232 **submersionis** subversionis  $\delta$ ; demersionis  $\eta$ ; ...sionis (edge cut) Pe. 234 philosopho qui om. δ but inserts volens sibi famam adquirere, Grues 105. alio om. C2Q. 235 ut dicitur ut fertur ζ; om. C2Q. 236 omnium om. ζQ. 237 elegisse eligisse C3. sepulcro δ inserts ut sic visus . . . insiluit, Grues 106-11. 237-45 Nota . . . litere follows 252 capitulo 6 αJ. 237 Nota Ethna nota de ethna quod D; nota ad ethna quod M3; nota quod ethna FDots. 238 Cicilia scilicia C3F; silicia ζQ. 239 combureretur comburaretur FDo; om. η\*. quod om. δη\*. 240 **Ethne** ethna αDJ; om. η\*Pe. 241 **Et** om. ζι\*Q\*. 242 **comparat** corrected from comparatur Dg; comparatur F. esse sicud om. δη\*; sicud M3Q; esse Pe. 244-45 spiritualem ...litere Q om. but adds Et sicut in igne tres sunt, scilicet flamma, fumus, et cinis, ita in actu luxurie est summus ardor, summus fetor, et in cinere summus amaritudinis sapor sive dolor, quia postquam incinerata fuerit caro luxuriosa, infinite amaritudini tradetur (?) anima. 246-47 ubi dicit om. Dn. 247 sulphure sulpure C3; om. Q\*. dictus add est ζ. 248 plenas plures M3η; om. Q\*. 249 in se om. εQ\*. fluctus add maris M3η. 250 creat creant M8C2; crescat Pe; om. PQ\*. agitatus agitati C2η. 251 Sicilia silicia, corrected later C3; silicia D; utili M3; om. 1\*Q\*. 253 Secuntur add lemma

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navigantes suo cantu in naufragia trahebant" (11.3.30-31). Et sicut ibi dicit Ysidorus, hec fabula secundum [veritatem] describit perniciem luxurie, unde iste Sirenes vel Sirene fuerunt meretrices et mulieres homines ad mortem et interitum perducentes. Iste habent alas et ungulas quia amor, ut dicit Ysidorus (11.3.31), et volat et vulnerat. Iste etiam Sirene morantur in maris fluctibus quia perducunt suos, id est, luxurie et carnis voluptati deditos, in periculum spiritualis submersionis.

Ibi, Ego autem in Domino sperans, etc., unius alterius historie facit mencionem, scilicet de Empedocle philosopho qui in nullo alio elemento voluit sepeliri, ut dicitur, nisi in igne, eo quod sit nobilissimum [p. 354] omnium elementorum, et ideo montem Ethne pro mausoleo sibi dicitur [elegisse], id est, pro sepulcro. Nota Ethna mons est in [Cicilia] ignem evomens, et ideo, quia iste philosophus maluit quod corpus suum combureretur quam quod in terra vel elemento alio conderetur, ideo dicitur elegisse montem [Ethne] pro sepulcro. Et nota quomodo ardorem luxurie et carnalis lascivie comparat monti Ethne, in quo ardore luxuriosus dicitur esse sicud mortuus et sepultus, tum quia ille actus disponit ad mortem naturalem, tum etiam quia aufert vitam spiritualem et virtuosam, vitam scilicet gratie. Patet ergo sensus litere.

De isto monte Ethna facit Ysidorus mencionem libro 14, ubi dicit capitulo 8 quod "mons Ethna ab igne et [sulphure] dictus.... Constat hunc montem habere speluncas plenas sulphure et usque ad mare deductas, que spelunce in se recipientes fluctus motus ventorum creat, qui agitatus ignem gignit ex sulphure, unde quasi videtur incendium" (14.8.14). Iste mons est in Sicilia, sicud patet per Ysidorum eodem libro capitulo 6 (14.6.32).

Other stories follow, which Valerius touches on for the moral formation of his friend Rufinus, and also to remove from him the chain of marriage. Of these some are taken from scripture and are familiar enough, like the story of Adam, in which he shows that a wise man should not take a wife because of the evil of disobedience, which is, as it were, one of the properties of any woman. The second story is of David and Bathsheba, where Valerius shows that a wise man should not take a wife because of the danger and calamity which this taking so often occasions, as Bathsheba was the incentive and occasion, not only of adultery, but of murder. The third story is of Solomon, from which he means to conclude that love of a woman brings the lover not only to bodily but to spiritual ruin, whence he says that the bewitchment, that is, enchantment, of women robbed Solomon of his wisdom and his renown, and Solomon finally was infected by such bewitchment with the sin of idolatry, because he knelt down and worshipped Baal. Literally, according to Isidore, Etymologies 8, chapter 11, Baal was an idol of the Moabites, whom the Latins call Priapus. Solomon worshiped this idol, not because he thought there was any divinity in idols, but because he was made a fool by the love of women and did not want to disappoint them, as Augustine says on Genesis 11. This is the Solomon who by reason of this worship of idols became a member of Zabulus, that is, of the devil, and this after he had been the ecclesiastes, that is, the speaker and preacher, of the Lord. Note that "Zabulus" means "contrary", and is one of the names of the devil, who is always contrary and inimical to us. Note that on account of the manner of teaching that Solomon employs in the book he wrote on contempt of the world he is called Ecclesiastes, that is, "orator" or "speaker" or "preacher", urging men to love God and despise worldly vanity.

Tandem validior est ignus tuus etc. δ. 253-63 quas ... Salamone de adam de david et salamone η. 254 informacionem instruccionem M8Q; instruccioni C2. declinacionem determinacionem  $\delta$ . 255 historiarum om. M8 $|\eta \star Q \star \rangle$ . sunt om. FDoQ $\star \rangle$ . assumpte sumpte  $\delta$ ; om. Q $\star \rangle$ . scriptura add sacra M8δPe; scripturis M3; om. Q\*. 257 quedam om. M8C2QPe. 258 mulieris mulierum δ. 259 **Bersabee** bethsabee C3; δ *inserts* qualiter David concubuit cum uxore Urie et propterea fecit virum suum occidi; εf. Judges 16. ostendit dicit εPe. 260-61 ductione dilectione  $\gamma\delta$ ; delectacione  $\epsilon Q$ ; ductione Pe. 261 saltem om.  $\zeta Q$ Pe. accidere accedere  $\delta$ Pe; occidere M3. Bersabee bethsabee C3. 263 Salamone add quare uxor non est ducenda C2. ex . . . quod ostendit quod uxor non est ducenda quia Q. mulieris muliebris C3DgDo; mulierum M3. 264 etiam om. DgDoQPe; et F. 265 fascinus fascinacio DgDo; festinatio F. 266 et² et in M8D. 267 peccato peccati C3DgF. flectebat flectabat FDoQ. 268 adoravit adorabat DJQ; om. η\*. 269 **Baal** Baalim α*J*; om. η\*. 270-81 **Istud . . . despectionem** om. η. 272 **xi** om. γDgDo; i D; 12 M3;  $2^{O}$  Q. 273 Genesi add ad literam  $\zeta$ . 274 factus factum  $\delta$ . 275 fuerat fuit  $\epsilon$ Q. id est add perorator idest (et C2, seu M3)  $\epsilon$ . **et** seu  $\epsilon$ ; om.  $\eta^{\star}$ . 276 **Nota** this sentence and the next reversed  $\epsilon$ . 277 nominatur vocatur ε; om. M8η\*Pe\*. 278 quem quod δ; om. t\*Q. 279 quem quod C3; om. 1\*Q\*. 280 et om. DgM8\*1\*Q\*; seu ζ. 279-80 id est perorator et concionator aliter id est portator et contemptator Dg margin; id est portator et contemptator F; id est perorator et con-

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Secuntur alie historie quas tangit Valerius ad amici sui Ruffini moralem informacionem, et etiam nupcialis vinculi declinacionem, quarum historiarum alique sunt assumpte de scriptura et sunt note satis, sicud de Adam, in qua historia ostendit quod uxor a sapiente non est ducenda propter malum inobediencie, que est quasi quedam proprietas mulieris cuiuscumque. Secunda historia est de David et [Bersabee], ubi ostendit Valerius quod uxor non est ducenda a sapiente propter periculum et infortunium quod ex tali [ductione] solet occasionaliter saltem accidere, sicud [Bersabee] fuit incentivum et occasio tam adulterii quam homicidii. Tercia historia est de Salamone, ex qua vult concludere quod amor [mulieris] inducit amantem non solum ad corporalem sed etiam ad spiritualem confusionem, unde dicit quod fascinus, id est, incantacio, mulierum privavit Salamonem sapiencia et fama sua, et postremo fuit ex tali fascinacione infectus [peccato] ydolatrie, quia flectebat genua et adoravit Baalim. Ad litteram secundum Ysidorum 8 Ethimologiarum, capitulo 11, [Baal] fuit ydolum Moabitarum quem Latini vocant Priapum (8.11.24). Istud ydolum Salamon adoravit non quia in ydolis aliquid numinis estimavit, sed quia mulierum amore infatuatus illas contristare noluit, sicud dicit Augustinus [xi] Super Genesi (11.42; PL 34.453). Iste est Salamon qui per istam ydolorum adoracionem membrum factus est Zabuli, id est diaboli, et hoc postquam fuerat ecclesiastes, id est, concionator et predicator, Domini. Nota "Zabulus" interpretatur "contrarius," et est unum nomen quo nominatur diabolus, qui nobis semper est contrarius et inimicus. Nota propter modum docendi quem Salamon exercet in illo libro [quem] fecit de contemptu mundi, ipse dicitur Ecclesiastes, id est, perorator et concionator seu predicator, hominibus persuadens Dei

So that he might appear to be thrust down a still greater precipice, etc. Here Valerius gives another story to show the gravity of the dangers men regularly fall into through the love of women and the alliance of marriage—mentioning Apollo the son of Jove, who is feigned by the pagans to be the god of wisdom. Apollo suffered a very great downfall indeed: on account of the love and affection he had for venereal pleasure, he was made the shepherd of a king called Admetus after enjoying the prestige of being the son of Jove, or Jupiter, who, in the fiction of the poets, was the chief god, above all the other gods. Note that many books have in Phaethon's fall and many, in Paeon's fall. If it is "of Phaethon," then two stories are touched on here; if "of Paeon," then only one story. The fables feign that Jove was angry with his son Apollo because Apollo had killed the Cyclopes, who are Jove's smiths who make the thunderbolts with which he kills men; the Cyclopes had killed Apollo's son Paeon, who is also called Aesculapius, with a thunderbolt. For the inordinate love Apollo had for his son Paeon who had perished by a thunderbolt, Jupiter took away Apollo's divinity and forced him, stripped of the prestige of godhead, to serve King Admetus. Valerius means that Solomon was forced into a still baser service because the love of women led him to serve the devil, which was worse than serving a mere man. If the reading is of Phaethon, then this is an allusion to the story of how Phebus, that is, the Sun or Apollo, gave his son Phaethon permission to drive the chariot of the sun, with the four horses that pull it, and Phaethon, who knew neither how to drive the chariot,

temptator Do; om. t\*Q\*J. 281 despectionem δ inserts Dalida . . . deputatus, Grues 112-13. 282 detrudi D only; om. Q\*; detendi M3. 283 gravitatem graviorem δ; om. η\*. 284 consueverunt solebant C2Q; om. η\*. dileccionem delectacionem M8JQ; consortium Pe. 284-85 et . . . confederacionem om. C2η\*Q. 286 paganos gigantes ζ. 289 pastor add gregis εtQ; add regis J. qui Pe out through ad 501 (missing leaf). Admetus add De Appolline [p. 355 C3] quomodo de filio iovis factus sit pastor Admeti (Admetis δ) regis loquitur Ovidius de transformatis libro secundo in fabula de othiroe (tthiroe M8; ethiroe Dg) α. 291 poetarum poeticam M8; paganorum εβ; poetas (om. ficcionem) η. 292 respectu om. Dη. aliorum om. ηQ. 293 Si autem nota si litera ζ. Si . . . Fetontis om. δ. 294 Peonis pereonis DgF; Peoum D. una vera ista DgF; una ista Do. 295 Unde ubi δ. deum om. DJ. 297 sunt finguntur M8; fuit frater C2; fuit η; fuerunt J. qui² quia C3δC2M3; et J; om. Q\*. 298 interficit infecit δ; interfecit Ca. interfecerant interfecerunt δ; interfecerat η. 299 Esculapius δ inserts Unde Theodolus . . . agendam, Grues 120-24. 300 deordinata inordinata ζ; om. Q\*. 302 divinitate dignitate ε. numinis om. ζ. 303 Admeti admetis δ; admethe M3. 304 mulierum om. C3C2η\*Q\*; solum mulierum solum M8. 306 hic om. M8η. 307 suo om. FDo. 308 solis om. C3; suum M8. 309 nec om. FDo. 311 est om. δ. id est et M8;

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dilectionem et vanitatis mundane despectionem.

Ibi, Ut aduc videatur maiori [detrudi] precipicio, etc., Valerius ostendit per aliam historiam huius periculi gravitatem in quam homines consueverunt incidere per mulierum dileccionem et nupciarum confederacionem, unde facit mencionem de Appolline filio Iovis, qui Appollo apud paganos deus fingitur sapiencie. Ipse enim Appollo ad tantam devenit deieccionem quod propter suam dileccionem et affeccionem quam habuit ad illam veneream delectacionem ipse factus est pastor unius regis qui vocabatur [Admetus] [p. 355], postquam fuerat in tanta dignitate quia fuit filius dei Iovis, qui Iubiter secundum ficcionem poetarum deus fuit principalis respectu omnium aliorum deorum. Nota plures libri habent in casu Fetontis et plures in casu Peonis. Si autem sit "Fetontis," tunc tanguntur hic due historie; si autem sit "Peonis," tunc est una historia. Unde notandum quomodo fabule fingunt deum Iovem fuisse offensum contra Appollinem filium suum eo quod Appollo interfecerat Ciclopes qui sunt fabri Iovis, qui faciunt fulmina quibus Iubiter interficit homines, quo fulmine Ciclopes isti interfecerant Peonem filium Appollinis, qui Peon alio nomine dicitur Esculapius. Pro ista ergo deordinata dileccione quam habuit Appollo ad filium suum Peonem qui fulmine interierat, Iubiter Appollinem privavit sua divinitate. Ipse autem privatus dignitate numinis cogebatur ad servicium Admeti regis. Et vult dicere Valerius quod ad vilius servicium fuit Salamon coactus quia amor [mulierum] duxit eum ad diaboli servicium, quod fuit peius quam servire puro homini. Nota si littera sit Fetontis, tunc hic fit mencio quomodo Phebus, id est, Sol vel Appollo, concessit Fetonti filio suo licenciam ducendi et regendi currum [solis], cum quatuor equis currum trahentibus, qui

nor how to rein in the horses, nor how to keep the sun on its due course, set fire to the whole earth and finally burned himself to ashes. This is *Phaethon's fall*, that is, the catastrophe he fell into; but his fall was his father Apollo's fall, because of the way Apollo is said to have grieved over his son's death, as Ovid tells in *Metamorphoses 2*. Valerius means that such catastrophes befall us from the undue love with which a man loves his wife, and the children she bears, and so a wise man should not take a wife but put himself far off from such an alliance.

The best woman, who is rarer than the phoenix, etc. Valerius makes a comparison for Rufinus's edification between a good woman and the bird phoenix, which is a unique bird, according to Isidore a bird of Arabia. It is engendered not of seed but of decay, and there is only one such bird in the world. Ambrose touches on the way it is engendered in his *Hexameron*. Valerius's meaning is clear. He is alluding here to the line in Juvenal where, speaking of a good and modest woman, he says that she is like a black swan:

a rare bird on earth and most like a black swan; for a black swan is not to be found. Likewise Valerius: a good woman cannot be found, because she is rarer than the bird phoenix. *Swarms* are groups of bees; everything else is clear.

The banners of chastity. Here Valerius turns to history once again to instruct Rufinus, touching on the stories of the Sabines, of Ulysses' wife Penelope, and of the Roman matron Lucretia, the wife of Collatinus, a citizen of Rome. His meaning is that even though they were chaste women, still, because there are no such women

et est C2Q; sive  $\eta$ . 313 **quam** add sol  $\epsilon \eta$ . **de** dei FDo. 314 **morte** moriente  $\delta$ . 315 **quia** om.  $\zeta \eta \star$ . 316 **dileccione** delectatione J; add et inordinata  $\delta$ . 318 **elongare** abstinere J;  $\delta$  inserts Fascinno . . . demones, Grues 125-29. 319 **femina** mulier  $\gamma$ C2M3 $\eta$ ; mulierum D. **ibi** om. M8 $\delta$ M3; hic agit D; hic J;  $\delta$  inserts Fenix . . . scribitur, Grues 130-34. 321 **avem** om. M3 $\eta$ . **fenix** om. M8 $\eta$ Q. 325 **hic** hinc D; huic M3. 326 **bona** hac ave  $\gamma \delta$ ; om.  $\eta \star$ Q. 329 **modo** add ait  $\zeta$ . 330 **inveniri** reperiri  $\delta \zeta$ ; om.  $\eta \star$ . **avis** ipsa M8C2; om. Q. 331 **Examina** . . . **collectiones**  $\delta$  only. **alia patent** om. M8 $\zeta J \eta \star$ ; que non est nisi unica Q. 335 **iste** ille C3. 336 **tales** om. C3Q $\star$ . 337-53 **Nota** . . .

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Pheton nesciens currum ducere nec equos cohibere nec viam solis debitam tenere, terras omnes incendit et seipsum tandem combussit et incineravit. Iste est ergo *casus Phetontis*, id est, infortunium in quod incidit; suus autem casus fuit casus patris sui Appollinis, propter luctum et tristiciam quam dicitur habuisse secundum fabulas de filii sui morte, sicut narrat Ovidius libro secundo *De transformatis* (2.311–31, 381–400). Vult igitur Valerius dicere quod quia talia infortunia accidunt ex indebita dileccione qua solet uxor diligi et proles que gingnitur ab ea, ideo sapiens uxorem non debet ducere sed potius se a tali federe elongare.

Ibi, Optima [femina] que rarior est fenice, ibi Valerius ad Rufini informacionem facit comparacionem inter mulierem bonam et avem fenicem, que fenix est avis unica et est, sicud dicit Ysidorus (12.7.22), avis Arabie; et non generatur ex semine sed ex putrefaccione, et non est nisi una avis talis in mundo. Modum autem quo generatur tangit Ambrosius in suo Exameron (5.23). Patet ergo quid Valerius vult dicere. Alludit enim hic versui poete Iuvenalis, qui loquens de [bona] et pudica muliere dicit quod similis est nigro cyngno:

Rara avis in terris nigroque simillima cyngno. (6.164) Niger enim cyngnus non potest inveniri. Et eodem modo Valerius: mulier bona non potest inveniri, ex quo est rarior quam avis fenix. [Examina sunt apum collecciones]; alia patent.

Ibi, Vexilla pudicicie, Valerius pro Rufini informacione facit mencionem alterius historie et tangit historiam de Sabinis, de Penolope que fuit uxor Ulixis, et de Lucrecia matrona Romana que fuit uxor Collatini civis Romani, et vult dicere quod licet [iste] fuerunt mulieres pudice, tamen quia nulle [tales] sunt modo, ideo omnes

nowadays, all are to be feared, none married. Note that Livy gives the story of the rape of the Sabines. When Romulus founded Rome, he made a sanctuary, that is, a place he called a place of refuge, in which all were taken in indiscriminately, however wicked they were, and therefore, on account of the bad reputation of these people, the men of Rome were unable to get themselves noble wives. So Romulus, as a trick, announced games in Rome, to which the Sabines came, along with their wives and daughters. Then Romulus and his men seized and carried off three hundred girls from the Sabines, and he paired them off with his men and their supporters. Later the Sabine fathers tried to invade the Romans to avenge the injury, but the girls who had been carried off and married by the Romans, along with the sons and daughters they had had by the Romans, begged their fathers for a truce and, to excite their pity further, made their sons and daughters cry. It is the faithfulness in love the Sabine women showed their husbands that Valerius calls to mind here, and he means that modern women are not like them and therefore should not be taken as wives.

On the story of Lucretia, note Augustine in the first book of *The City of God* and Livy again, who tells how she was raped by the son of the emperor Tarquin and as soon as she could sent a letter to her husband Collatinus and told him the story of the rape, then in order to express her hatred of the sin stabbed herself to death. Valerius brings up this matron and her chastity here.

Stories tell of Penelope, Ulysses' wife, and her chastity. Ulysses was ten years in the siege of Troy and ten more getting home, and Penelope kept herself chaste, faithful, and modest the whole time, where other women such as Agamemnon's

uxores follows 408 De Ponto Q. 338 Titus ticius DgF. Livius livus M8D. 339 vocabat vocabant M8DoM3Q. 341 erant essent M3η; om. Q\*. 342-43 optinere habere J; optinere vel habere D. 345 suis et sibi sibi et suis M8DQ; sibi et suis et sibi J. 346 Post postea vero M8; postea M3Q; deinde D. 347 fuerunt erant M8; fuerant DQ. 349 suos om. ηQ. 353 et . . . uxores om. M8; ducende uxores Dg; om. η; et ideo non ducende Q. uxores in uxores FDoD; δ inserts Nota quod Sabine fuerunt mulieres castissime, Grues 168. 354-57 Nota . . . oppressa J follows Trivet. 354 de . . . Lucrecie historiam de Lucrecia εQ. Augustinum\* Augustinus γC2Q; de qua augustinus tangit D; tangit Augustinus M3η. primo libro primo D; om. η. 355 Titum . . . Livium om. M8\*; om. etiam F; titus livus D; secundum tytun livium M3; titus livius η; etiam titus livius Q. narrat narrant DQ. 356 Tarquinii tarquii δ; tarquini ε; om. Q. fuerat fuit C2ηQ. 357 misit add pro εηQ. 359 cultello δ inserts Item narrat Martinus . . . Danielem, Grues 143-63. de² om. DJQ. 360 hic om. δ. 361 De tercio de γε (tercia M3) Q. 363 10 add annos DgFD; om. Do\*. 364 pudice δ inserts licet a multis . . . violari, Grues 166-67. sicud scilicet ηQ. Agamemnonis archemonis agamenonis

sunt timende et nulle ducende. Nota historiam de raptu Sabinarum tangit Titus Livius (1.8-13); Romulus enim quando primo Romam condidit asilum fecit, locum scilicet unum quem vocabat locum refugii, ad quem [p. 356] locum fuerunt omnes indifferenter recepti quantumcumque erant mali, et ideo propter infamiam talium personarum non poterant illi de Roma aliquas uxores nobiles optinere. Ad cautelam ergo Romulus in Roma ludos ordinavit ad quos venerunt Sabini et uxores et filie earum. Romulus ergo cum suis rapuit trecentas puellas de Sabinis et eas suis et sibi adherentibus copulavit. Post Sabini volentes iniuriam ulcisci Romanos ceperunt invadere, sed puelle que fuerunt a Romanis rapte et ab eis ducte exierunt, cum filiis suis et filiabus a Romanis genitis, et pacem et concordiam a parentibus pecierunt et filios suos et filias ad fletum compulerunt, ut sic Sabini cicius ad misericordiam traherentur. Istam ergo fidelitatem dileccionis quam Sabine ostenderunt suis maritis hic ad memoriam reducit Valerius, et vult dicere quod mulieres moderne non sunt tales et ideo non sunt ducende uxores.

Nota etiam de historia Lucrecie [Augustinum] I libro *De civitate Dei* (I.19.57-59) et Titum etiam Livium (I.58), qui narrat de ea quomodo a filio imperatoris Tarquinii fuerat violenter oppressa, que statim post nacta oportunitate misit marito suo nomine Collatino et sibi casum oppressionis narravit, et in detestacionem sceleris occidit seipsam cum cultello. De ista ergo matrona et de sua pudicicia facit hic Valerius mencionem.

[De] Penolope que fuit uxor Ulixis et de eius pudicicia narrant historie. Nam Ulixes per 10 annos fuit in obsidione Troie et per alios 10 fuit in redeundo, et semper Penolope se habuit caste, fideliter, et pudice ubi alie mulieres sicud uxor Agamemnonis et alie

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wife, and others, had been corrupted. Penelope and her chastity, and how she held off many suitors in the absence of her husband Ulysses, are treated by Ovid in his book *From Pontus*.

(Scylla and Myrrha) have advanced against the Sabine battle-lines. Here Valerius brings up two more stories, of Scylla the daughter of King Nisus and of Myrrha the daughter of King Cinyras, and he implies that all modern women deserve to be feared because they are all like Scylla and Myrrha, who according to their fables were shockingly wicked women. For Scylla loved King Minos, her father's enemy, so much that she took off her father's golden hair—and the paternal head as well—and brought them to King Minos. For the fables feign that King Nisus's hair was golden on account of the great treasure he had, which his daughter stole, every bit, and killed her own father, as Ovid tells in Metamorphoses 8, where he shows us Scylla speaking thus:

Take this purple lock as a pledge of love, and trust that I am giving you not a lock but my father's life.

Ovid also tells of Myrrha in *Metamorphoses* 10, how she was caught up in illicit love for her father Cinyras, and succeeded in sleeping with him through the deceptive maneuvering of her nurse. When the father realized the crime he had committed—for his daughter had been brought to his bed in the dark and he had slept with her without knowing it—he would have killed her with his sword, but she fled and escaped death. Valerius implies that the *battle-line*, that is, the great multitude, of such wicked women as Scylla the daughter of Nisus and Myrrha the daughter of Cinyras have penetrated the company of the Sabines, that is, of chaste women, and perverted

DgDo; arthemonis agamenonis F; athemonis η. 366 **refutavit** refutaverit C3JQ; recusaverit vel refutaverit Dg; recusaverit FDo; om. η\*. Ovidius add in M8ηQ. 367 Ponto epistolis aliter nominatur liber eroidum η. 369 scilicet om. C3Jη. filia om. C3. 370 Cinare sinaris Dg; cinaris FDo; canaris η; cocaris Q. dicere om. γη\*; dicere Valerius DJ; dicit (om. vult) Q. mulieres plures δ. 371 omnes om. M8Q. 372 et flagiciose om. C3; et flagicione M3. 372-82 Nam . . . capud J follows Trivet. 373 in om. γQ. Minoen mironem DgF; minonem ζη; minorem Q. regem om. DoM3. patris add sui DgηQ. 375 Minoen mironem DgF; minonem Dη; munitionem M3; minorem Q. **deportavit** portavit  $\zeta$ . 377 **sustulit** abstulit M8 $\eta$ Q. 378 **Scille** *add* ad Nisum  $\gamma \varepsilon$ ; *add* ad minonem  $\eta$ . 382 **crede** redde  $\delta$ ; trade M3 $\eta$ ; trado Q. **capud**  $\delta$  *inserts* Item alius expositor dicit Silla fuit filia ...aer, Grues 171-88. 383 **De Mirra etiam** lemma Mirra Cinare δ. 384 **quomodo** quod δη. 384-89 capta . . . occidisse  $\delta$  here weaves together Ridewall and Grues; text is Erat quidam . . . dat amarus amor, Grues 189-199, with these additions from Ridewall: consilium et cautelis et fraudibus (et cautelas et fraudes Dg, corrected in margin); vetule proprie nutricis in tenebris; interficere qui tamen fugit et per fugam mortem evasit. For other variants, see Grues variants. 384 deordinato inordinato M8Q; deordinata D;  $\delta$  out. 386 a om.  $\gamma$ Q;  $\delta$  out. 387 enim tamen C3; om. M8;  $\delta$  out. concubuerat concuberat M8M3; concubuit DC2;  $\delta$  out. 388 fuerat fuit DQ;  $\delta$  out. 389 occidisse interficere δM3; occidere η. 390 magna om. δη. 391 malarum om. εη\*Q. filia Nisi om. M8η\*Q. Mirra mirre C3; om.  $\eta^*$ . 391-92 filia Cynare om. M8 $\eta^*$ Q. 392 cetum tectum  $\delta$ . 393 et om. M8Dg $\eta^*$ ;

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fuerant adulterate. De ista Penolope et eius castitate et quomodo plures procos refutavit in absencia sui mariti Ulixis tangit Ovidius libro suo *De Ponto* (3.1.107).

Ibi, Ingresse sunt acies in Sabinas, Valerius facit mencionem de duabus aliis historiis, [scilicet] de Scilla [filia] Nisi regis et de Mirra filia Cinare regis, et vult [dicere] quod merito mulieres omnes moderne sunt timende quia omnes sunt similes Scille et Mirre, que secundum fabulas fuerunt mulieres male [et flagiciose]. Nam Scilla in tantum dilexit Minoen regem, hostem patris sui, quod ipsa crinem aureum patris una cum capite paterno abstulit et ad regem illum Minoen deportavit. Fingunt enim fabule quod capilli regis Nisi fuerunt aurei propter magnum thesaurum quem habuit, quem totum filia sua sustulit et patrem proprium interfecit, ut innuit Ovidius De transformatis libro 8 (8.1–151), ubi introducit verba Scille in hunc modum:

#### cape pignus amoris

Purpureum crinem, nec me nunc tradere crinem Sed patrium tibi crede capud. (8.92-94)

De Mirra etiam narrat Ovidius libro 10 *De transformatis* (10.298-502) quomodo capta fuit amore deordinato proprii patris qui vocabatur Cinaras, ad cuius concubitum tandem pervenit cautelis et fraudibus proprie nutricis. Sed pater postquam facinus [a] se perpetratum percepit—ignoranter [enim] cum propria filia concubuerat, que ad lectum suum in tenebris ducta fuerat—filiam suam cum gladio voluit occidisse, que tamen fugit et per fugam mortem evasit. Vult ergo dicere Valerius quod *acies*, id est, multitudo magna, talium mulierum malarum qualis fuit Cilla filia Nisi et [Mirra] filia Cynare intraverunt cetum Sabinarum, id est, castarum mulierum,

them, and drawn them into lust and incontinence, so that no modern women are like the Sabines or Lucretia or Penelope, and therefore are to be taken to wife by no wise man.

Jupiter, an earthly king. Valerius here brings up another story, of Jupiter, king of Crete, who loved Io, the daughter of Inachus, so much that poets feign that he changed himself into a bull. For his wife Juno, out of jealousy, had changed Io into a cow, and so Jupiter, in order to lie with her and fulfil his lust, transformed himself into a bull. And note how if taken in a moral sense such fables show how many evils come about from sexual pleasure and the vice of lust, which takes away the use of reason and judgment, not only from peasants and the middle range of men but also from the great, no matter how great they are, and from men whose virtue is so great that vis-à-vis other men they are as gods (whence even this Jupiter whom a woman transformed into a beast is put, in the poets' fiction, in the number of the gods). Note that this Io was later called Europa and so ended up with two names.

Phebus, who with the rays of his wisdom. Here he gives another story, of Apollo the god of wisdom, who is called Phoebus from Greek phos, which is lux, "light," in Latin, because the sun is a planet wholly made up of light, and poets equate the sun with the god of wisdom. This Phoebus, as Ovid tells in Metamorphoses 4, loved a girl named Leucothoe, daughter of king Orchanus, and was so taken with love for her that he transformed himself into the likeness of her mother in order to gain entrance into Leucothoe's bedroom, where he lay with her. Her father Orchanus so hated the crime that he buried her alive in the earth, and so killed her. Phoebus was so grieved at Leucothoe's death that he all but lost his light, and did not shine on the world in his usual way. Through this fable Valerius wants to show how much danger there

atque Q. et³ add ad DgM3. 394 nulle in nullo C2Q. 395 in uxorem in uxores M8; uxores ε; om. η\*Q. 397 Valerius aliam om. DgF. adducit inducit ηC2J; introducit Q. et om. ηQ. 398 Cretense cercensi DgF (circum se Dg margin); crentensi Do; cretensi ζ; cercense C2; cretensium η; terencie Q; om. J. Io iunonem Dg margin, M3Q. Inachi malchi Dg; machi FDoM3; mathi DC2. 400 ducta dicta C3FDoD; de ioue et io M8. mutaverat mutavit C2Q. Io iovem DC2Q; seipsam M3. 401-2 transformavit mutavit ζη. 402-6 Et nota . . . diis follows 463 commensalem η. 404 usu hominem visu δ; usum ε; om. η\*; homines Q. 405 et² add nobiles et δ; om. η\*. tales talis DgF; om. η\*. 406 virtutis virtutum ζ; om. η\*. 408 postea prius δ; post C2η; postmodum Q. 409 binomia δ inserts Item alius expositor dicit Europa . . . mundi, Grues 200-12. 410-18 Ibi . . . interfecit J follows Trivet. 410 qui et γC2M3; om. DQ\*. radiis radius γ; om. Doη\*Q\*. et est om. M8η; tangit Q. 412 luminosus illuminosus C3; luxmerosus M3; om. η\*. poetis poeta δ; om. η\*. 413 4 10 δ. 413 De transformatis om. ζ; methamorfosios Q. 415 raptus captus ηQ. amore in amorem δ. istius add puelle M8β. 417 quam quod ηQ. facinus om. ηQ. vivam add eam ζη. 418 Leucotoes om. M3ηQ. 420 ostendere intelligere C2Q; om. η\*. 421 amore amorem DgF;

et perverterunt [p. 357] eas, et ad luxuriam et incontinenciam traxerunt, ita quod moderne mulieres nulle sunt similes nec Sabinis nec Lucrecie nec Penolope et ideo a nullo sapiente sunt in uxorem ducende.

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Ibi, Jubiter rex terrenus, Valerius aliam adducit historiam, et est de Iove rege Cretense qui in tantum dilexit Io filiam Inachi quod poete fingunt Iovem seipsum mutasse in bovem. Nam Iuno uxor Iovis, [ducta] zelotipia, mutaverat Io in vaccam, et ideo Iupiter ut eam posset cognoscere et suam libidinem explere seipsum transformavit in bovem. Et nota quomodo tales fabule moraliter intellecte ostendunt quanta mala accidere solent ex voluptate et vicio luxurie, que privat usu racionis et discrecionis non solum homines simplices et mediocres sed etiam quantumcumque magnos et tales qui inter alios propter magnitudinem virtutis comparantur diis, unde et iste Iubiter quem femina transformavit in brutum ponitur in numero deorum secundum ficcionem poetarum. Nota ista Io postea fuit vocata Europa, unde fuit binomia.

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Ibi, *Phebus [qui] sapiencie sue radiis*, aliam ponit historiam et est de Appolline deo sapiencie, qui dicitur Phebus a 'phos' Grece quod est 'lux' Latine, quia sol est planeta totus luminosus qui a poetis vocatur sapientie deus. Iste Phebus, ut narrat Ovidius libro 4 *De transformatis* (190–255), dilexit puellam quandam nomine Leucotoe, que fuit filia regis Orcani, et tantum fuit raptus amore istius quod transformavit se in similitudinem matris puelle et intravit talamum Leucotoe et eam cognovit, quam pater suus Orcanus, detestans facinus, vivam in terram fodit et interfecit; de morte cuius Leucotoes Phebus doluit in tantum quod quasi lumen suum amisit, nec mundum more solito illustravit. Vult ergo per istam fabulam ostendere Valerius

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is in love of women, from which no less a being than the god of wisdom suffered the shame and infamy of so foolish and disordered a love. Note that Leucothoe is equivalent to "white goddess," from Greek leukos which is album (white) in Latin, and theos, god.

Mars, who ... god of warriors. Here he gives another story, of Mars the god of war. Ovid relates in Metamorphoses 4 that Venus, the goddess of lust, and Mars, the god of war, had been caught joined in illicit love by Phebus, that is, by the revolution of the sun. The sun revealed the adultery to Vulcan, who is feigned by the poets to be Venus's husband. Vulcan had the most subtle of chains made on the bed and around it, and when Mars was about to copulate with Venus, in an instant they were bound to each other so fast that they could not draw apart, and right away Vulcan had the whole company of the gods called. They came and found Mars and Venus joined in sin and bound to each other. Valerius brings in this fable to show how knights and soldiers cannot rely on military strength to ward off sexual desire and the shameful calamity of lust. Indeed, very many men who are honored for their physical prowess are scorned and ridiculed for giving way to their desires; and therefore the fable goes on to say that the assembled gods made fun of Mars and Venus for their filthy illicit congress.

Friend, please consider the chains. Here he applies this fable to the education of Rufinus, and, as you see, in the course of applying it mentions another fable. This one is of Vulcan and the goddess Pallas, or Minerva, who is said to be goddess of war and also of wisdom. Vulcan asked Jove for Pallas as his wife; Jove gave her to him—if he

om. η\*. talis tales ζ; om. η\*. 422 fuit om. C3η\*; est DgF. ignominiam ignoranciam M8M3; om. η\*. infamiam add tantam C2J. 423 idem est quod idem quod DgDo; id est DC2J; dicitur η. 424 deus δ inserts Item secundum alium expositorem Leucothoe . . . solis etc., Grues 213-218. 426 4 10 δ. 427 deordinato inordinato ηQ. 428 Phebum phebi γεQ; phebem η. revolucionem revelacionem γεηJQ. fuerunt om. C3Q\*; fuissent D. 432 sic mutuo adinvicem adinvicem sic mutuo C3; om. M8D; mutuo sic adinvicem C2Q; mutuo sic invicem J; mutuo adinvicem M3; mutuo η. 434 deorum om. γ. 435 deam om. DC2η. 438 ignominiosam ingnominosam C3; ignominosam M8FDo; ignominiam et D; ignominose C2Q; om. η\*. 441 cetum centum FC2; multitudinem D; om. η\*. 442 commixtionem δ inserts Alius expositor dicit Mars concubuit . . . luxuriosi sunt, Grues 219-30. 443 cathenas cathendi C3; etc. M8J; cathenarum δ; om. D . 444 patet add ipse DC2J; om. η\*Q\*. 446 scilicet add de dea D; add de M3; sive η; om. J\*Q\*. 448 Iupiter ipse

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quantum sit periculum in amore mulierum, ex quo talis qualis [fuit] iste deus *sapiencie* ignominiam et infamiam passus est ex tali amore fatuo et inordinato. Nota Leucotoe idem est quod 'alba dea,' a 'leucos' Grece quod est 'album' Latine, et 'theos,' 'deus.'

Ibi, Mars qui deus bellancium, ponit aliam historiam et est de Marte deo belli. Narrat enim Ovidius libro 4 De transformatis (4.171-89) quod Venus dea luxurie et Mars deus belli, deordinato amore coniuncti, per [Phebum], id est, solis [revolucionem, fuerunt] deprehensi. Post tamen sol revelavit adulterium istud Vulcano, qui Vulcanus fingitur a poetis maritus Veneris, qui Vulcanus fecit fieri subtilissima vincula in lecto et circa lectum, et quando debuit Mars cum Venere copulari, statim fuerunt [sic mutuo adinvicem] ligati quod non potuerunt abinvicem recedere, et statim fecit Vulcanus multitudinem [deorum] vocari, qui venientes invenerunt Martem et deam Venerem turpiter coniunctos et invicem colligatos. Istam autem fabulam introducit Valerius ad ostendendum quomodo viri militares non possunt per milicie strenuitatem carnis evadere voluptatem et luxurie [ignominiosam] calamitatem. Immo qui inter homines propter corporis probitatem honorantur plures propter voluptatem carnis contemptibiles et derisibiles iudicantur; et ideo in serie fabule dicitur cetum deorum derisisse deum Martem et deam Venerem propter istam fedam et deordinatam commixtionem.

Ibi, Amice, meditare saltem [cathenas], ibi ponit huius [p. 358] fabule applicacionem ad Rufini erudicionem, et, sicut patet, in fabule applicacione facit mencionem unius alterius fabule, scilicet de Vulcano et dea Pallade, scilicet Minerva, que dea dicitur belli et etiam sapiencie. Vulcanus enim peciit a deo Iove deam Palladem in uxorem, cui Iupiter eam concessit dummodo posset contra

could conquer her. But Pallas did not in the least want to consent to Vulcan, and as they struggled Vulcan's seed is said to have fallen to the ground (according to some; according to others it fell on the upper air). From that seed a boy, it is said, was born, named Erichthonius, which means "the son of strife and dissension"; for eris is Greek for Latin lis (struggle). The phrase nor a goddess (thought) worthy of her bed refers to Pallas's armed resistance. Note still another Vulcan fable that Valerius touches on here. Vulcan is feigned to be not only Jove's smith but his son, and the poets say he was born from the thigh of Jove's wife Juno. But he was improperly formed there and so born lame, whence, poets say, Jove threw him out of heaven, and they feign that he landed on an island called Lemnos, and therefore Vulcan is called Lemnian, from the island he landed on. He touches on this fable when he says whom (namely Vulcan) neither a god (namely Jupiter) thought worthy of (to have at) his table (that is, as a tablemate in heaven)—just as Pallas did not think him worthy to have as her husband.

Pallas was rejected by the false judge of the goddesses. Valerius touches here on another fable, of Alexander Paris, the son of King Priam of Troy, who stole Helen, the wife of King Menelaos of Greece. Paris was for a time a shepherd in a forest called Ida. It happened that the goddess of envy threw a golden apple among three other goddesses, Juno, Pallas, and Venus, in order to stir up a quarrel among them. On the apple it was written that the most beautiful of the three should have it. They agreed that Paris the shepherd should decide which of them was more beautiful than the others. Therefore Juno came to Paris and promised him riches if he decided for her, and Pallas promised him wisdom if he decided the apple should be hers. But Venus promised him, if the apple were given to her, the most beautiful woman as his wife,

 $\zeta$ . dummodo si  $\eta$ Q. 450 reluctacione colluctacione M8Q. Vulcani\*Vulcanus  $\alpha$ βJ. descidisse decidisse M8ε; emississe  $\eta$ ; effudisse JQ. 451 ethere ether C3; aere  $\eta$ ; om. Q\*. 452 semine om.  $\zeta$ . nomine om. C3C2; vocabatur  $\eta$ . Erictonius erutonius  $\delta$ C2; erutenius D; erictanius M3; eritonius  $\eta$ ; eritionius Q. 453 et idest DgF; om. Q\*. 454 reluctacione resuscitacione DgF; refutacione C2J; om.  $\eta$ \*. illud om. C2M3 $\eta$ \*Q\*. dignata JQ omly; all others dedignata (om.  $\eta$ \*). 456 et om. M8 $\zeta$  $\eta$ J\*Q\*. 458 claudus unde enim claudus C3 $\delta$ C2J; enim claudus ut M8; claudus  $\zeta$  $\eta$ ; idest claudus unde Q. 459 eiecisse eiecicisse C3; eiectum M8. 460 et om. DgF. 460-61 et . . . Lemnius om. DoC2M3 $\eta$ \*Q\*. 460 insula hac insula DJ. 461 Lemnius lenius M8; lempnus D1; lempnus Ca. 462 quando om. C3 $\eta$ \*Q\*; cum M8; quomodo  $\delta$ . quem quod  $\delta \zeta$ ; om.  $\eta$ \*Q\*. deus om.  $\eta$ \*Q\*. 464 nec om dea M3Q. coniugem om inserts Item alius expositor Vulcanus . . . deorum etc., Grues 231-36. 465 dearum om.  $\eta$ EJ $\eta$ . 468 silva insula C3 $\sigma$ Q. 469 Contigit contingit F $\eta$ . quoddam om. M8M3 $\eta$ ; unum Q. 471 fuit erat  $\sigma$ Q. 472 quod  $\sigma$ Q  $\sigma$ M8 $\sigma$ Q. earum vestrum M8; eorum F; illorum D0; illarum C2; omnium  $\sigma$ Q; istarum Q. trium haberet me habebit M8 $\sigma$ Q. 474-75 pro ea iudicaret sibi pomum adiudicaret D $\sigma$ Q. 475 sibi² pro ea C2Q. 476 daretur daret

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Palladem prevalere. Pallas autem Vulcano nullatenus voluit consentire, unde in illa reluctacione [Vulcani] dicitur semen descidisse, in terram secundum alicos, et secundum alios in [ethere], de quo semine natus dicitur puer [nomine] Erictonius, qui interpretatur 'filius litis et dissencionis'; 'eris' enim Grece 'lis' Latine. De ista Palladis reluctacione intelligitur illud, Dea nec [dignata] cubili. Nota etiam aliam fabulam quam tangit hic Valerius de Vulcano, qui fingitur faber Iovis et filius ipsius, unde et poete dicuntVulcanum natum et genitum de femore Iunonis que est uxor dei Iovis. Sed propter deformitatem fetus nascebatur [claudus; unde] poete dicunt Iovem Vulcanum [eiecisse] de celo, et eum fingunt cecidisse post eieccionem in quandam insulam que dicitur Lempnus, et ideo ab insula in quam cecidit Vulcanus dicitur Lemnius. Hanc fabulam tangit [quando] dicit quem (scilicet Vulcanum) nec [deus] (scilicet Iubiter) est dignatus (habere in) mensa, (id est, in celo commensalem), sicud nec Pallas dignabatur eum habere in coniugem.

Ibi, A falso [dearum] iudice reprobata est Pallas, Valerius aliam tangit fabulam et est de Alexandro Paride, filio Priami regis Troie, qui rapuit Helenam, uxorem Menelai regis Grecie. Iste pro tempore quodam fuit in [silva] quadam Ida nomine, pastoris habens officium. Contigit autem deam invidie proicere pomum quoddam aureum inter 3 deas alias ad faciendum discordiam inter eas, scilicet Iunonem, Palladem, et Venerem. In pomo autem fuit scriptum quod pulcrior earum trium haberet pomum; convenerunt ergo dee quod Paris, ille scilicet pastor, daret iudicium que earum esset pulcrior. Venit ergo Iuno ad Paridem et sibi promisit divicias si pro ea iudicaret; Pallas vero sibi promisit sapienciam si sibi pomum iudicaret. Sed Venus promisit sibi uxorem pulcherimam si sibi daretur

and Paris, being more eager to take his pleasure than to be rich or wise, awarded the apple to Venus. And therefore he is called *false judge* here, because he made his decision on the basis of lust. Valerius applies this fable to Rufinus as you see: he likens Rufinus to Paris because he *sneers at* Valerius's simple, unschooled way of speaking, even though what he is saying is true, and might be useful to Rufinus. And he says also that Rufinus loves *figures of speech*, that is, fancy and well-arranged words, even though they may be bad and pernicious for him.

Julius Caesar. Here Valerius touches on the story of Julius Caesar; he wants to show through him how useful it is to put your trust in your friend, however simple, and do what he advises. The story is this. On the day when Caesar was murdered in the Capitol, he was forewarned by a friend of his about the plot against him. A woman of this simple man's party brought the emperor a letter in which the plot was described. Caesar took the letter graciously, but instead of reading it kept it in his hand until he should have time. After the emperor was murdered the letter was found in his hand. Valerius mentions this story here, and implies that if Caesar had turned his mind, as he turned his ear, to the advice of this Tongillus, that is, if he had read the letter brought to him and, following its advice, gone out of the Capitol, he would have escaped that death by daggers. For Caesar was in fact stabbed to death with daggers, they say, and so Valerius brings in daggers here.

You ... to me who predict your daggers. Here Valerius, in order to correct his friend Rufinus, makes various comparisons: by means of certain similitudes he speaks obliquely of several shortcomings in virtue on Rufinus's part. Thus he compares Rufinus to an asp stopping its ears so as not to hear the words of the snake-charmer,

M8δD; iudicaret J; om. η\*. 477-78 ditari aut sapiens fieri sapiens fieri C3; sapiens esse M8; ditari aut FDo; vel sapiens fieri vel ditari ζ (esse M3) J; om. η\*Q. 481 simplicem simplicitatem ζ; om. η\*. loquendi om. ζη\*. 481-82 Valerii licet licet Valerius γδζQ; valerii licet Valerius J; om. η\*. 482 poterunt possint D; possunt M3J; possent Q; om. C2\*η\*. 483 id est et M3Q; om. C2\*η\*. 484 composita comperta D; compta M3Q; om. C2\*η\*. perniciem pernicionem δ; om. η\*; δ inserts Nota quod iste tres dee . . . celestia, Grues 237-59; see Headnote. 485 tangit hic tangit δ; om. η\*. 486 quam quantum ζ; om. η\*. 488 Iulius add Cesar δD. 490 litteris om. M8DηQ\*. 490-93 litteris . . . unde added in margin in different hand Ca. 492 perlegit elegit J; legit η. manu add sua δ. 493 fuerat fuit M8δη. 494 fuerunt fuerant ζ; sunt Q. invente add clause δ. 495 dicere add Valerius DQ. animum manum εQ; anime η. 496 Tongilii J only; congilii C3M3; om. M8\*η\*; consilii δD; congilli C2Q. sibi om. M8\*δη\*Q\*. 497 contentum add fecisset C3Dg; add fecisset et FDo; et D; M8η out. 498 illam suam Dg; om. FDoJ; illorum C2Q. stilorum δ inserts capitolium . . . cernentibus, Grues 268-71. 501 Tu tu vero δζηJ; om. Q\*. stilorum stilorum tuorum δε; om. Q\*; etc. ζ. amici sui sui amici C3D; om. Q\*. 502 Rufini om. FDoη\*; amici sui C2; Rufino Q. quasdam quas δεJ; om. η\*Q\*. 503 similitudines similaciones DgF; assimulaciones DoJ; om. η\*Q\*.

pomum. Paris ergo plus volens delectari quam [ditari aut] sapiens fieri, pomum adiudicavit Veneri, et ideo hic dicitur *falsus iudex* quia dedit iudicium secundum affeccionem. Istam autem fabulam applicat Valerius ad Rufinum sicud patet; dicit enim Rufinum similem Paridi quia *fastidit* simplicem et incultum modum loquendi [Valerii, licet] dicat veritatem et ea que cedere poterunt ad Rufini utilitatem. Et dicit etiam Rufinum diligere *scemata*, id est, ornata verba et composita, licet cedant sibi ad malum et perniciem.

Ibi, Iulius Cesar, tangit Valerius historiam de Iulio Cesare. volens per eum ostendere quam sit utile amico etiam simplici fidem adhibere et iuxta consilium suum facere, et est historia talis. Illo die quo Iulius in Capitolio fuit interfectus, ipse per quendam suum amicum fuit premunitus de insidiis sibi intentatis. Unde una mulier ex parte illius hominis simplicis portavit litteras imperatori, in quibus litteris fuerunt descripte ille insidie; quas litteras Iulius gra [p. 359] tanter accepit, sed eas non perlegit, sed in manu retinuit et tempus ad legendum expectavit—unde postquam fuerat interfectus ille littere fuerunt invente in manu imperatoris. De ista historia facit hic mencionem et vult dicere quod si Iulius applicuisset ita animum sicud fecit aurem ad consilium istius [Tongilii], hoc est, si litteras sibi missas ab eo legisset et iuxta consilium in eis [contentum] a Capitolio se subtraxisset, ipse evasisset mortem illam stilorum. Ad litteram enim, ut dicitur, Iulius stilis confossus interiit, et ideo Valerius facit hic mencionem stilorum.

Ibi, *Tu michi stilorum prenuncio*, Valerius ad Rufini [amici sui] correpcionem variam facit Rufini assimulacionem: per quasdam similitudines ipse circumloquitur in Rufino diversam virtutum defeccionem. Unde comparat Rufinum aspidi aures suas obturanti ne

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as Augustine teaches on the Psalm-verse, "Like the deaf asp that stoppeth her ears, etc.": "When the Marsian, that is, the snake-charmer, comes, the asp puts one ear to the ground and stops the others with its tail so that it cannot hear the charmer's words, and so deludes him and his charm." Valerius means that Rufinus acts the same way, closing his ears to Valerius's advice, the way the asp hears wizardries, that is, charms, according to the psalm-verse, "nor of the wizard that charmeth wisely."

You give me your attention as the boar does to the barking hounds. Here Valerius compares Rufinus to a boar. The more a boar is worried by dogs, the wilder and fiercer it gets; and Valerius makes this comparison because his words seemed rather to spur Valerius on to marry than to hold him back from marrying. Alternatively, it is said that the boar out of nobility of spirit is merely contemptuous of the hubbub of the barking dogs, and Rufinus likewise held in contempt Valerius's effort to educate him.

You are as well-filled as the thirsty serpent. Here Valerius compares Rufinus to the snake dipsas, a kind of asp, and implies that just as one who has been bitten by this snake is always thirsty—the thirst kindled in him lasts until he dies—so Rufinus is not held back from marrying by any dissuasion of Valerius's, but rather spurred on to marry like a man bitten and poisoned by the dipsas: a drink of water does not ease his thirst but intensifies it, as the poet says, "And while (Narcissus) seeks to ease his thirst, another thirst grows"; "The more the waters are drunk, the more they are thirsted after." Note he mentions the poison of the dipsas when the sun is in the sign of Cancer, for in that season the poison of that snake is stronger.

504 Rufinum eum M8PeQ. 505 docet add beatus  $\zeta$ ; om. η\*. 506 et obturantis aures om. M8M3Jt\*Q. aures add suas DoDC2. etc. om. DM3t\*Q. 507 incantantis incantacionis ε; incantante η. 508 aurem² om. M8Q; terram η. 509 caudam cauda M3Q; om. t\*. 511 claudit add a DC2. 512 venefici veneficus C3; veneficis δ; om. M3\*t\*Q\*. 513 sapienter δ inserts Item alius expositor seva attropos enim tres dicuntur . . . evellere, Grues 272-79. 515 eo add quod δM3; om. D; quo Q. et efficitur om. M8C2tQ. 520 et despicit om. M3J. latrancium vociferacionem vociferancium latratum M8; latratum et vociferancionem δ (F om. et); latracionem et latrancium vociferacionem D; om. η\*. 521 informacionem δ inserts Item secundum alium expositorem aper . . . defendit, Grues 283-86. 523 aspidis serpentis C2Q; om. η\*. 524 nec et ζQ. 525 mortem add non DC2Q. 526 retrahitur trahitur δ; detrahitur Pe. 530 pote poete M8F; potare M3; potate Q; om. η\*. 532-33 vehemencie maioris vehementissime maior δ (vehementitissime F); vehe-

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audiat verba incantatoris, sicud docet Augustinus super illud Psalmi, "Sicud aspidis surde et obturantis aures, etc." (Ps. 57.5): "Aspis, veniente Marso, id est, incantatore, ne ipsa verba incantantis valeat audire, unam aurem ponit ad terram et aliam aurem obturat per caudam suam, et sic deludit incantatorem et eius incantacionem" (cf. *PL* 36.679–80). Isto modo vult dicere Valerius quod Rufinus facit, qui aures suas claudit Valerii consiliis *sicud aspis veneficiis*, id est, incantacionibus, iuxta illud Psalmi, "et [venefici] incantantis sapienter" (Ps. 57.6).

Ibi, Animum adhibes ut aper latratibus, comparat Valerius Rufinum apro. Ad litteram, aper eo redditur et efficitur magis silvestris et magis crudelis quo magis per latratum infestatur a canibus; et quia Rufinus videbatur ex verbis Valerii pocius concitari ad nubendum quam a nupciis retrahi, ideo istam assimulacionem facit Valerius. Aliter tamen dicitur quod aper propter cordis elevacionem parvipendit et despicit canum latrancium vociferacionem, et sic Rufinus despiciebat in animo Valerii informacionem.

Ibi, *Placaris ut dipsas*, Valerius comparat Rufinum dipsadi serpenti, qui dipsas est genus aspidis, et vult dicere Valerius quod sicud ille qui morsus est ab isto serpente semper sitit, nec sitis in eo accensa citra mortem extinguitur, ita Rufinus per nullam dissuasionem Valerii a nupciis retrahitur, sed ad nubendum pocius concitatur, sicud intoxicatus seu vulneratus a dipsade—per potum aque sitis in eo non sedatur sed pocius augmentatur, iuxta illud poete: "Dumque sitim sedare cupit, sitis altera crescit" (Ovid, *Met.* 3.415); "Quo plus sunt pote, plus siciuntur aque" (Ovid, *Fasti* 1.216). Nota ipse facit mencionem de veneno dipsadis sole existente in signo Cancri, quia illo tempore venenum illius serpentis est vehemencie

You take care of yourself as Medea did when she was rejected. Here Valerius compares Rufinus's stubbornness to the famous woman Medea. Histories and fables alike tell that Medea killed her own sons out of a desire to avenge herself on her husband Jason. Thus,

What a woman can do (what evil, that is), the cruel house of Tereus knows, Medea knows: her own sons slaughtered by unspeakable murder.

It is on account of that foolish, mad deed that Valerius says Rufinus is like Medea in giving himself advice, because he is advising himself ruinously, just as she avenged herself ruinously when she killed her own children fathered by Jason, after Jason had left her and taken Creusa. Ovid speaks of Medea and the mad revenge she took on her own children in *Metamorphoses* 7:

Her sacrilegious sword is stained with the blood of her sons, and, having avenged herself badly, the mother flees Jason's weapons.

Phoroneus. Here Valerius mentions another story in order to bring Rufinus to detest marriage. The story is clear. This is the King Phoroneus whom the Master of Histories mentions, on Genesis, as a contemporary of the patriarch Isaac. He says, "at that time Phoroneus, the son of Inachus and Niobe, first gave laws to Greece, and instituted the trying of cases before judges, and called the place of judgment the forus, after his own name." For as Isidore says, "a forus is a place where quarrels are settled, from fando (speaking) or from Phoroneus, the king who first gave law to the Greeks." Therefore, because according to Aristotle only a wise man, indeed one who outstrips other wise men in wisdom, is fit to institute and ordain laws, Valerius brings in examples of such wise men that in this way too Rufinus may be rescued

mencius C2; vehementissimum Q; om. η\*. 535 qua add Medea C3δC2J. 536 se om. C3δC2. 538 Terei cerei γ; tarei D; terrei C2; teree M3; om. 1\*Q\*. 539 Scit sic DgDo; sicut F; sed DM3; om. 1\*Q\*. 541 consulendo consenciendo δ; consi (edge of page cut) Pe; om. η\*. 542 ipsa add medea δM3; om. D\*η\*Q\*. vindicavit vindicat ζ; om. η\*Q\*. 544 Creusam terreusam D; oreusam C2; orensam Q; om. η\*. 545 et et de C3J. quam . . . propria om. 1\*Q. 547 sanguine sanguinem δDt. perfunditur profuditur M8; profudit D; profunditur M3; perfudit η. impius ipsius αC2JQ. 548 Ultaque ulta D; ultam C2M3Q; vitam J. effugit effudit DgD; effuit FDo. arma δ inserts Alius expositor (dicit Do) Medea . . . occidit, Grues 291–302. 549 Phoroneus Ch changes from Trivet to Ridewall. unius om. ChJ. 550 et om. M8 J\*δη\*Q\*. 551 Iste est om. ChM8\*DgDo; iste ζ; iste enim Q. 552 dicens dicit ζ. 553 Inachi marchi δ; mathi C2; ymathi Q. Niobes om. ChM8η; niohes DgF; meos D; mohes C2; coiahes M3. Niobes add qui δεQ. 554 leges legem M8D. dedit condidit C2Q. instituit constituit ChM3ιQ. 556 forus forum Chζ\*; frons Pe; om. η\*. licium rerum δ; om. η\*. 557 Grecis grecie C3Q; om. η\*. dedit δ inserts Phoroneus . . . exponuntur, Grues 303–5. 558 et om. δη\* Pe. 559 et om. C3Ch\*η\*. 562–67 Ibi . . . historia J follows Trivet.

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maioris.

Ibi, *Tibi consulis ut spreta Medea*, Valerius assimulat Rufini pertinaciam ad illam mulierem Medeam, de [qua] narrant historie et fabule quod, volens [se] de marito suo Iasone vindicare, filios proprios occidit, iuxta illud:

Femina quid possit (mali scilicet) [Terei] domus aspera novit,

Scit Medea, suis infesta clade peremptis. (*Theoduli Ecloga* 271–2) Unde propter istud factum fa[p. 360]tuum et insensatum Valerius dicit Ruffinum similem Medee in sibi ipsi consulendo, quia consulit sibi ipsi perniciose sicud ipsa perniciose vindicavit seipsam quando interfecit prolem propriam quam de Iasone conceperat, postquam Iason eam repudiaverat et Creusam acceperat. De ista Medea et fatua sua vindicta quam accepit de prole propria loquitur Ovidius *De transformatis* libro 7 quando dicit,

Sanguine natorum perfunditur [impius] ensis,

Ultaque se mater male Iasonis effugit arma. (7.396-97)

Ibi, *Phoroneus*, Valerius unius alterius historie facit mencionem ut inducat Ruffinum ad nupciarum detestacionem, et est historia plana. Iste est rex Phoroneus cuius meminit Magister in Historiis super Genesim, dicens eum fuisse tempore Ysaac patriarche, unde dicit sic: "eo tempore Phoroneus, filius Inachi et Niobes, primus Grecie leges dedit et sub iudicibus causas agi instituit, locumque iudicii a nomine suo forum appellavit" (*PL* 198.1112). Est enim forus, ut dicitYsidorus, "exercendarum licium locus, a 'fando' dictus vel a 'Phoroneo' rege qui primus [Grecis] legem dedit" (15.2.27). Quia ergo secundum Aristotelem ad solum sapientem, et in sapiencia alios excellentem, pertinet instituere [et] ordinare leges, ideo exempla sapientium talium adducit Valerius in medium ut vel sic

from his plan to marry.

The emperor Valentius. He gives another example of another king, which is self-evident.

After Cicero had divorced Terentia. Here he gives another story, of the famous orator Tully, who was called Cicero because he had a face shaped and colored like a chick-pea (cicer), a kind of vegetable. The story is self-evident.

Canius of Cadiz (which Hercules built). Here he gives another example from the poets. He mentions a famous witty poet and gives his answer to a historiographer, that is, a writer of histories, who was called Livy and was Punic, that is, from Africa. All Africans are called Punic from the reddish color (puniceus) which is characteristic of members of the race. Thus a war between Rome and Africa is called a Punic War, as in Orosius and other writers on the Punic Wars—read Orosius's Ormesta. Note that Hercules' Cadiz (Gades) are statues that Hercules erected in the east and in the west as a sign that he had acquired dominion over the whole world, to its outer limits, east and west. As for the literal meaning, note that the historian Livy reprimanded the poet Canius for his incontinence with many women, saying bluntly, You cannot share our philosophy, that is, you cannot be fit for the study of wisdom, while you are shared by so many women with whom you are coupled in love. To back up this sally, Livy adduces the fable of Tityos and Juno, saying, Tityos does not love Juno with the liver. For the fables tell that Tityos, infatuated by Jove's wife Juno, tried to seduce

562 **Valencius** valentinus C3δC2Dζ; valerius vel quidem valentinus M3. **aliud** unum aliud M8C2; om. ζηChQ\*. 563 et patet et M8; om. ζQ\*; plana in littera η\*; quod pretermitto quia satis evidet Ch. 564 Terencie om. Ch, but adds Istud idem recitat ieronimus contra iovinianum libro primo capitulo ultimo Ch. **ponit** Valerius ponit  $\delta$ ; tangit Valerius ChPe; ponit unam  $\zeta$ ; om.  $\eta \star Q \star$ . 565 est om. η\*Q\*. 566 ciceris ceceris M8; citheronis δ; om. η\*Q\*. 568 Canius tacius C3C2M3H tacitus M8; canius caneus Dg; tanius F; sanius Do; caonius J; om. η\*Q\*. 569 et facit H begins (postea facit). 570 **suam** *om*. Ch $\zeta$ η\*θ. **responsionem** racionem Ch $\delta$ Pe; mencionem D; *om*. η\*. historico historiaco DgFD; historiographo DoQ; historie C2; historis M3; historiarum Ch; historiarum scriptori Pe; om.  $\eta^*$ ; historiagraphus H. 572 **Afri** affrici DCh $\zeta\theta$ ; om.  $\eta^*$ . **id est** quasi δε– θJCh; om. η\*. **Punici** puniti C2M3; punicidi Ch; pu . . . i Pe (edge cut); om. η\*. **colore** calore FM3; om. η\*. 575 et . . . Orosii om. M8M3η\*; et aliorum bella punica describencium Pe. 576 mundi  $\delta$  inserts Gadibus herculis. Nota hercules . . . poeta, Grues 308-11. 576-79 Nota . . . occidentali follows 610 distractus erat  $\epsilon$ ; follows 605 edax  $\theta$  (but 607-10 om.  $\theta$ ); om.  $\eta^*$ . 576 **Gades** gedes DgF; om. η\*Ch\*. Herculis add sicud (de quo C2) factum fuit (fuerat C2, est M3) superius gades ε. 578 adquisiverat exquisierat D; conquisierat C2; habuit J; quesierat Q; quesierunt H; om. M3\*η\*. 579 quam add ex parte ζ. 581 Canium stacium vel tacium C3δC2M3; stacium sive cacium M8D; staciium ζ\*QCh\*; Caonium J. 583 **potes** poteris εPeθ; om. η\*Ch\*. **studium** studendum vel ad studium Do; statum εθ; om. η\*Ch\*. 584 per amorem amore Dg3; amorem F; amori Do; om. t\*Ch. 585 adducens adducendum D; adducendo C2M3PeHChJ; om. η\*Q. 586 Ticius δ inserts Ticius (om. Do) amat (om. Do). Nota Ticius fuit . . . fibras, Grues 312-26. 587 fabule fabula M3H;

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Rufinus a nubendi proposito retrahatur.

Ibi, [Valencius] imperator, ponit aliud exemplum de uno alio rege, et patet.

Ibi, *Cisero post repudium Terencie*, ponit aliam historiam de oratore illo famoso Tullio, qui dictus [est] Cicero quia habuit faciem figuratam et coloratam ad similitudinem ciceris, quod est quoddam genus leguminis, et patet historia.

Ibi, [Canius] a Gadibus Herculis, ponit aliud exemplum sumptum a poetis et facit mencionem de quodam poeta famoso et facundo et ponit suam responsionem quam dedit uni historico, scriptori id est historiarum, qui vocabatur Livius et fuit Penus, id est, de Affrica. Omnes enim Afri dicuntur Peni, id est, Punici, a colore puniceo quo gens ista solet ut communiter colorari, et ideo bellum Romanorum cum Afris dicitur Punicum, sicud patet ex historia Horosii et aliorum bella Punica describencium; lege Orosii librum De ormesta mundi. Nota Gades Herculis sunt ymagines quas Hercules erexit in oriente et in occidente in signum quod usque ad illa loca adquisiverat dominium orbis tam ex parte orientali quam occidentali. Nota etiam pro intellectu littere quomodo iste historiographus qui vocabatur Livius reprehendit illum poetam [Canium] de incontinencia cum multis mulieribus, et ideo sibi dixit istud verbum reprehensorium, nostram philosophiam participare non poteris, id est, tu non potes esse habilis ad studium sapiencie, dum a tot mulieribus participaris, quibus scilicet per amorem copularis. Et probat Livius dictum suum adducens in medium fabulam de Ticio et Iunone quando dicit, Non eo iecore Iunonem amat Ticius. Narrant enim fabule quod Ticius, de Iunone uxore Iovis infatuatus, interpellavit eam de stupro et amore inordinate [p. 361], propter quod her, and was damned for his sin to hell, where he is tormented by vultures (who are birds) who gnaw his liver. For the liver is the seat of love and sexual desire, as in the popular couplet,

The heart discerns, the lungs speak, bile moves to anger, the spleen makes you laugh, the liver makes you love.

Thus Tityos was tortured in hell in the same member in which he sinned. Livy means that just as Tityos's liver, shredded by vultures, cannot drive him to keep up his wicked love for Juno, neither is the poet Canius, stretched thin by so many love affairs, at all fit for the study of wisdom. Note that Tityos is usually said to have been condemned to the torment of vultures gnawing his liver in hell for having proposed adultery to Latona, the mother of Apollo. The following couplet explains the moral sense of the fable of Tityos:

Tityos is the man who sweats over worldly things, and the vulture that gnaws his liver is the worry that eats at him.

Ovid mentions Tityos in *Metamorphoses* 3 when describing the punishments of hell:

Tityos was offering his liver to be shredded, and was stretched out over nine *jugera*.

Canius answered. Here he gives the poet Canius's answer, in which first he excuses himself for his sexual slips, saying that a fall makes one more careful in the future.

If I am smothered for a while. Here he proves with another example that this slip is good for him, just as a man who is pinned down and hindered in his breathing for a time, when he gets his breath back inhales the air with a keener pleasure.

historie tCh. 589 **peccatum** vicium δ; peccatu η. 591 **dileccionis** delectacionis η; delectaciones H. 593 **et** om. αεΡ. **iras** iram C2διH. 595 **ergo** om. C3; igitur DgDPeθ; om. η\*. 598 **Canius** Tacius γδε; Caonius J; Ticius Pe; ζηCh out. 599 **omnino** ideo δ; om. η\*θ\*Ch. 600 **Latonam** latonem C2M3Ch; om. η\*θ\*. 601 **quod** om. M8M3Peη\*θ\*J\*Ch. 607 **meminit** facit mencionem t; om. θ. 607-709 **describens** . . . **Thais** η out. 610 **Iugeribus** ingeribus M8D; iugelibus M3; om. t\*Ch\*. 611 **Canius** DgJ only; tacius γε; tantus F; cadmus Do; stacius θ; om. t\*. **responsionem** racionem δDC2Ch. **Canii** tacii γC2M3; ticii δD; Caonii J; cuius θ; om. PeCh. 612 **responsione** om. M8PeCh; racione DC2. 614-17 **Ibi** . . . **aerem** om. ζ. 614 **opprimor** opprimas αJ; opprimes

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peccatum dampnatus est Ticius ad infernum et ad tale tormentum in inferno. Sunt enim vultures, ille scilicet aves, iecur Ticii corrodentes; est enim in iecore sedes amoris et dileccionis veneree, iuxta illos versos vulgares:

Cor sapit [et] pulmo loquitur, fel commovet iras,

Splen ridere facit, cogit amare iecur. (Walther, *Spr.* 3428) In illo [ergo] membro in quo Ticius peccavit, in illo apud inferos punitus fuit. Vult ergo ille Livius dicere quod sicud iecur Ticii, per vultures dilaniatum, non potest esse causa amandi Iunonem per amorem deordinatum, sic nec [Canius] poeta, distractus tot amoribus mulierum, omnino ineptus est ad sapiencie studium. Nota communiter dicitur quod iste Ticius sollicitavit Latonam matrem Appollinis de stupro, et ideo quod sit dampnatus ad illud tormentum inferni quod vultures rodunt iecur Ticii. De isto Ticio sunt tales versus exponentes fabulam ad intellectum moralem:

Est Ticius sudans circa mundana, iecurque

Corrodens vultur cura refertur edax.

(Garland, Integ. Ov., 203-4)

De isto Ticio meminit Ovidius libro 3 *De transformatis* describens penas inferni:

Viscera prebebat Ticius lanianda, novemque

Iugeribus distractus erat. (4.457-8)

Ibi, *Cui* [*Canius*], ponit responsionem illius poete [Canii] in qua responsione primo se excusat de lapsu incontinencie, unde dicit quod casus est sibi occasio maioris cautele in posterum.

Ibi, *Si quando [opprimor*], per aliud exemplum probat quod iste lapsus est sibi ad comodum, sicud ille qui oppressus et diu impeditus ne trahat anelitum, post anelitus resumpcionem cum maiori

The changes that night brings. Here he gives another example to the same point, saying that the alternation and variation of days and nights is more pleasant for men than it would be if it were always night or always day, because, as Seneca says, "sameness breeds disgust," and therefore as this Canius said, constant darkness would be like hell.

Thus the lilies of spring. Here he gives another example to the same point, namely, to show that the variety of alternation preserves the pleasure of a happy experience. This example is from flowers in springtime, which depend on the variation of the winds Eurus, Nothus, and Zephirus to stay in bloom. Note that all three are side winds, not main winds. Eurus is an eastern side wind, whose chief wind is called Subsolanus, whence the verse, "Subsolanus, Vulturnus, and Eurus are of the dawn," that is, these three are the winds from the eastern quarter. Eous, -a, -um," of the dawn," is the equivalent of "eastern," and the literal meaning is that the east wind is a mild wind, and therefore good for flowers in springtime. Nothus is a southern side wind, whose chief wind is Auster, whence the verse, "And Nothus and Affricus stick to Auster at noon." But since south winds are moist, Nothus, which is a moist side wind to the south wind, because it is a side wind is good for the flowers of springtime. Zephyrus is a western side wind whose chief wind is Favonius, whence the verse, "Circius, Zephyrus, and Favonius blow from the sunset"; and Zephyrus is a mild wind that brings forth spring flowers. What Canius the poet means, then, is that just as the alternation of these winds makes spring flowers grow, then the sun comes on like lightning and they droop, because the uninterrupted heat of the sun makes spring flowers shrivel, so in the restless world of love amours with many

C2; labor resurgo forcior (caucius H)  $\theta$ . 618–22 **dicit** . . . **est** om. Ch. 618–22 **ad** . . . **est** et patet Pe. 619 **viscissitudo** add semper C2Q. **variacio** varietas D $\theta$ . 622 **Canius** tacius  $\gamma$ C2M3; ticius DgDo; cicius F; Caonius J; Stacius  $\theta$ ; om. D. 623 **ibi**<sup>2</sup> M3Ch only; ubi  $\alpha$ DC2J; om.  $\theta$ \*. 623–50 **ad** . . . **facit** quomodo (add scilicet Pe) flores delectantur varietate ventorum et patet PeCh. 623–24 **scilicet ad** om.  $\zeta$ \*. 626–40 **Euri** . . . **productivus** J follows Trivet, saying: De ventis vide supra. 630 **id est** om. M8Do; et D. **isti** om. C2 $\theta$ . 631 **Eurus** aurus C3; om. C2; orientalis  $\theta$ . 632 **temperatus** temperaneus DgF; temporaneus Do; temperans M3; tempestatus Q. 633 **ventus** om. D $\theta$ . 634 **heret** et  $\alpha$ J; erit M3. **Affricus** austricus  $\theta$ . **Austro** auster M8H. 635 **qui** quia C2M3. 636 **austri** australis DQ; auster M3. **collateralis**\* temperate  $\gamma$ DgF; temporate Do; et comparatur D; temperatus et H. 638 **cuius** cui  $\theta$ . **occasu**\* occasum  $\theta$ J. 639 **Zephirusque** zephirus  $\theta$ Q; ventusque C2. 640 **poeta Canius**\* tacius C3 $\theta$ C2M3; potanus M8; poeta stacius sive cacius D; poeta J $\theta$ ;  $\theta$  out. 642 **veniente** venti M8; oriente C2 $\theta$ . 643 **marcorem** marcessionem M8; marcionem  $\theta$ . 644 **ita** add

alacritate et leticia respirat et attrahit aerem.

Ibi, *Vices noctium*, aliud ponit exemplum ad idem, et dicit quod viscissitudo et variacio dierum et noctium est magis hominibus ad solacium quam foret si semper esset nox vel semper dies, quia, ut dicit Seneca, "ydemptitas parit fastidium," et ideo, sicud dixit ille [Canius], *tenebrarum perpetuitas instar inferni est*.

Ibi, Sic lilia primeva, [ibi] ponit aliud exemplum ad idem, scilicet ad ostendendum vicissitudinis varietatem continere leticie iocunditatem, et ponit exemplum de floribus temporis vernalis, ad quorum conservacionem valet plurimum viscissitudo ista ventorum Euri, Nothi, Zephiri. Nota isti sunt 3 venti collaterales, non cardinales; est enim Eurus ventus orientalis collateralis cuius ventus cardinalis dicitur Subsolanus, unde versus, "Sunt Subsolanus, Vulturnus, et Eurus Eoy," id est, isti 3 sunt venti orientalis plage. Eous, Eoa, Eoum idem est quod orientalis, et ad litteram ventus [Eurus] est ventus temperatus, et ideo valet floribus temporis vernalis. Nothus est ventus australis collateralis, cuius ventus cardinalis est Auster, unde versus, "Atque die medio Nothus [heret] Affricus Austro." Quia autem venti australes sunt humidi, ideo Nothus, qui est ventus austri [collateralis] humidus, eo quod est collateralis confert floribus verni temporis. Zephirus est ventus occidentalis collateralis cuius cardinalis ventus est Favonius, unde versus, "Circius [occasu] Zephirusque Favonius afflant"; et est Zephirus ventus temperatus et florum vernalium productivus. Vult ergo dicere iste poeta [Canius] quod sicud isti flores vernales vicissitudine [p. 362] istorum ventorum crescunt, et sole fulmineo veniente marcescunt, quia continuacio ardoris solaris causat marcorem in floribus temporis vernalis, ita in actibus et negociis amoris multarum mulierum amores sunt

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women are pleasant and solacing, but to love one woman on and on turns out to be boring. Note that in all these examples the poet has hoped to show that a life of incontinence, now having one woman, now another, rather than to marry one, is the lesser evil. Note he calls the sun *lightning-like* because of the effect of its heat, for the sun's heat burns, and kindles fire, just as lightning does.

Mars, having broken his cords. Here Canius the poet gives another example to prove his point, adducing the fable of Mars, the god of war. caught in adultery with Venus the wife of Vulcan and bound in invisible chains, which he calls cords. He means that it is axiomatic that of two evils one should choose the lesser, and that it is less evil to act incontinently here and there and now and then, and thus to satisfy the sexual appetite, than to marry a wife and be bound to her forever. For though Mars was bound by Vulcan's cords and mocked for a while by the gods, as was touched on earlier, and as Ovid touches on in Metamorphoses 4, nevertheless, once those cords and chains were broken, Mars was taken into the society of the gods, and made a fellow divinity, for he is god of soldiers and of war. But wedded Mulciber, Venus's husband, stays forever and ever an outsider to the fellowship of the gods because he stays thrown out, and restricted to the island of Lemnos; and this is the meaning of the words from the table of heaven, that is, of the gods, wedded Mulciber, that is, the husband Vulcan (for the poets feign that Vulcan is Venus's husband) is tied down with a thick rope of his own far from the feast, that is, is kept far off from the fellowship of the gods because of the chain of marriage.

Friend, (I approve the words) of both of these men. Here Valerius gives his verdict on the argument between Canius and Livy. He says that he disapproves of both

et DgM3; om. Do; sic D. amoris om. δ. 645 solaciosi consolaciosi δ; solaciose M3. continetur continuetur δJH. 649 solis solaris M8DgDo; eius Q. 651 ibi² om. M8DgPe; hic Q. Canius\* tacius αC2M3; stacius Dθ; om. J\*Pe; η out. 652 in medium om. ζPeθ. 653 cum add dea DgFPe; medea dea Do. 654 vocat add hic C2M3Pe. 655 signum est quod signum est M8; om. C2θ; dignum est quod J. 656 eligendum expunged C3; om. M8C2M3J. est et quod minus malum est\* est γFM3; om. DgDoC2; et dicit quod minus malum est D; potest autem minus malum Pe; of. C3 margin nota quod de duobus malis minus malum est permittendum. 658-63 cui . . . deus om. Pe (page cut). 659 ligatus alligatus C2θ. restibus resticulis DgM3H; reciculis C2. Vulcani vulcanis C3. 661-62 rumpebantur disrumpebantur Dg; dirumpebantur FDo. 663 quia . . . bellorum om. M8θ. 664 Mulcifer multifer γ; multiber FDoM3; multiphere C2; iste Q; ille H. 665 equaliter semper M8; essencialiter δ; om. Peθ. alienus alienatus M8; elongatus ζ. 667 Mulcifer multifer γ; multiphere C2; multiber M3; om. θ\*. 671, 673, 674 Canii\* tacii αC2M3; stacii Dθ; caonii J; Pe om.

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iocundi et solaciosi, et per oppositum amor unius si continetur, in tedium vertitur. Nota ille poeta per ista exempla voluit ostendere minus malum esse vivere incontinenter, modo habendo unam, modo aliam mulierem, quam unam ducere in uxorem. Nota vocat solem *fulmineum* propter caloris solaris effectum; nam calor solis urit et incendit eo modo quo fulmen facit.

Ibi, Mars ruptis resticulis, ibi poeta ille [Canius] ponit aliud exemplum ad probandum propositum suum at adducit in medium fabulam de Marte deo belli deprehenso in adulterio cum Venere uxore Vulcani et ligato vinculis invisibilibus que vincula vocat resticulas. Vult ergo dicere quod signum est quod de duobus malis minus malum [eligendum] est, [et quod minus malum est] pro loco et tempore incontinenter agere, et sic voluptati carnis satisfacere, quam uxorem ducere, cui semper oportet maritum alligari. Nam Mars licet fuerit ligatus illis restibus [Vulcani] et a diis derisus ad tempus sicut fuit tactum prius, et tangit Ovidius De transformatis libro 4 (4.171-89), tamen postquam ille restes et vincula rumpebantur, Mars in deorum collegium est assumptus, et conviva superum est effectus, quia est deus bellancium et bellorum. Sed uxorius [Mulcifer], id est, Vulcanus, qui ipsius Veneris est maritus, ipse semper a deorum consorcio manet equaliter alienus quia a celo manet eiectus et ad Lemnum insulam limitatus, et hoc est quod dicit a qua, scilicet mensa, superum, id est deorum, uxorius [Mulcifer], id est, Vulcanus uxoratus (fingunt enim poete quod Vulcanus est maritus Veneris) longe suo fune religatur, id est, propter matrimonii vinculum a consorcio superum elongatur.

Ibi, *Amice*, *utriusque istorum*, Valerius post [Canii] et Livii altercacionem suam ponit sentenciam et determinacionem, et dicit quod

Canius's life and of Livy's, but says that both men's words are good. Yet he favors Canius's opinions a little, and so goes on to say on its behalf that many occasional illnesses broken up by periods of health hurt the body less than a chronic incurable disease—and so it is with the man who slips at times out of incontinence and the man who is tied to a wife: one is sick as it were by turns, the other all the time. Note that this remark of Valerius's has its own literal sense, since it may be understood of bodily malaise and illness—for the married man is constantly bothered by a malaise of which the other man is free.

Pacuvius, in tears, etc. Here he gives another story, which is self-evident, just as at Sulpicius felt he gives yet another story to the same end of avoiding marriage, and it too is self-evident.

Cato of Utica said. Here Valerius, to prove his contention and to reinforce the advice he has given Rufinus, brings in a remark of Cato of Utica's on the harm women do. Cato of Utica was the one who committed suicide in the city of Utica because he had no desire to be taken prisoner by Julius Caesar after his victory over Pompey. This Cato in fact had a great contempt for sexual pleasure, as Augustine mentions in *Against Julian the Heretic*, book 4, where he cites Lucan's lines,

And pleasure for its own sake never crept into Cato's actions, never took a part in them (2.390-91).

The sense of this is that Cato of Utica never did anything out of prurience. And what he thought is obvious in his remark that our time would be spent with the gods if we were kept apart from women. A remark of Varro's supports this remark of Cato's. Varro, as the author of *Universum* tells it, used to say that a man who keeps

671, 673, Ticii 674; η out. 674 **Prefert** refert DC2; profert H. 675 **Canii**\* tacii α (added in margin C3)εJθ; eius Pe; η out. 677 **de** in Dgζ; om. F; illi θ. 679-80 **habet intellectum suum quia** om. JH. 680 **debet intelligi** om. ζQ\*. 682 **sicut ibi** δ only; sibi ibi C3; om. M8εPe\*θ\*. 682-84 **ibi** . . . **patet** J follows Trivet. 683 **Sensit Sulpicius**\* sulpicius cum ab amicis C3; sensit cum amicis DgF; surculos ab amicis D; supplicius cum amicis M3; om. DoPe\*θ\*. 685 **ibi** om. M8DgPeθ\*; idest F. 689 **triumphum** triumhum C3; victoriam Q. 690 **ad litteram** om. JQ. **multum** om. ζ. **detestabatur** add in tantum luxuriam et D; mulierum luxuriam et M3. 693 **in actus** inactus Dg; om. FDoPe\*. 694 **Surrepsit** surrexit M8M3; surripuit D; surrepit θ; om. Pe\*. 696 **iste** om. ζPeθ. 697 **fuerit** fuit D; fuerat C2θ. 699 **muliere** mulieribus εJQ; consorcio mulierum H; om. Pe\*. **illius** om. M8H; istius D; iste Pe. **Varronis** narracionis DQ; varro Pe; valerius H. 700 **qui** quia M8δD; que Q. **sicud** . . . **dicere** dicit θ; sicud om. F. **Universi** universis FDo; unde D. **servat** servaretur

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nec vitam approbat [Canii] nec etiam Livii; verba tamen utriusque dicit esse bona. Prefert tamen sentenciam [Canii] quoad aliquid, unde pro sententia [Canii] dicit quod minus ledunt corpus multi morbi qui habent interpollaciones suas et non sunt continui, quam langor continuus et incurabilis—et sic est de illo qui ad tempus per incontinenciam labitur et de illo qui uxori ligatur: unus quasi per vices infirmatur et alius continue. Nota ista sentencia Valerii habet intellectum suum, quia debet intelligi de tedio et morbo corporali; in tali enim tedio uxoratus continue vexatur, et non sic alius.

Ibi, *Pacuvius flens*, etc., ponit aliam historiam et patet, sicut ibi, [Sensit Sulpicius], ponit aliam historiam ad eandem conclusionem, scilicet ad matrimonii declinacionem, et patet.

Ibi, *Ait Cato Uticensis*, ibi Valerius ad sui propositi probacionem et consilii Rufino dati confirmacionem adducit in medium sentenciam Catonis Uticensis de nocumento mulierum. Nota Cato Uticensis fuit ille qui seipsum interfecit in Utica civitate quia nullo modo voluit capi a Iulio Cesare post [triumphum] habitum de Pompeyo [p. 363]. Iste Cato ad litteram multum detestabatur voluptatem, sicut tangit Augustinus libro 4 *Contra Iulianum Hereticum* (5.38; *PL* 44.807), ubi Augustinus adducit illos versus Lucani,

nullosque Catonis in actus

Surrepsit partemque tulit sibi nata voluptas.

(Pharsalia 2.390-91)

Sensus est quod Cato iste Uticensis numquam aliquid egit ex pruritu voluptatis. Que autem fuerit sentencia Catonis patet, quia ipse dixit quod hominum conversacio foret cum diis si foret elongacio a muliere. Et pro ista sentencia Catonis facit sentencia illius Varronis, qui, sicud auctor narrat *Universi*, consuevit dicere quod qui servat

himself pure, and unstained by the vices of lechery and gluttony, will enjoy the companionship of the gods while he is still alive, here in this world; there is also the example of Socrates who had a divinity as a friend, as Calcidius says, on account of his holy and chaste life.

Metellus answered Marius. Here Valerius gives another story to prove his main point, that a wise man should not marry. The proof here is the answer of a wise man named Metellus, once a Roman consul. Its meaning is self-evident.

Thais the Corinthian. Valerius gives another example, of the philosopher Demosthenes and the answer he gave Thais. This Thais was then a bad woman, but later she was converted to goodness by the holy abbot Paphnutius and did penance. Thais asked Demosthenes for a huge sum of money to sleep with her, and he answered that the act of sex is always followed by regret and sadness, and he did not want to buy so cheap a pleasure so dearly. Aulus Gellius writes of Thais in the Attic Nights. Note that here Valerius mentions Amphion, who, as poets feign, was a citharist who merely by playing his cithar drew stones from various places to build the city of Troy and its walls.

Livia killed her husband. Valerius gives still more stories, with the intention of showing Rufinus that he ought not marry because of the danger that threatens husbands whether their wives love them or hate them. For Livia hated her husband and so she killed him, but the other woman, Lucilia, loved her husband too much. Hoping to bewitch her husband to an excessive love like hers, she prepared a love-potion, which he calls aconite here—but the potion was poison and killed

DJ. 701 luxurie a Peterborough Cathedral Library seal is pasted over the page of Pe here through 777 duri; we mark words obscured by it with two asterisks. immaculatum iñ maculatum C3; in maculatum M3Q; immaculatus D. 702 fruetur frueretur εJ. ponitur ponit DgDoζH. 703 numen iuvenem δQ; murem M3. quoddam quendam Dg; quod DC2; om. M3. 706–7 uxorem non esse ducendam quod uxor non est ducenda D; uxor non esse ducenda M3. 707 responsionem racionem δD; om. PeQ\*. 709 Thais Lays η; om. Pe\*\*\*+0\*. ad propositum om. C3Dη\*\*Pe\*\*\*. 711 pro tunc male male fame M8; pro nunc manifeste δ; om. D\*\*η\*\*Pe\*\*\*; pro illo tempore male θ. 712 Panucium pannicium DgF; pannonium Do; om. D\*Pe\*\*\*, panuncium C2; pesuncium M3; pathuncium H. ad bonum om. M3η\*\*θPe\*\*\*. 714 posset possit δ; om. Pe\*\*\*. 715 consequitur sequitur M3H; om. η\*Pe\*\*\*. 717 Atticarum δ inserts Alius expositor Amphion conditor . . . vellet, Grues 338–44. hic facit habet δ; om. η\*Pe\*\*\*. 720 civitatis om. δθη\*. 721–38 Ibi . . . noverce δ out. 721 historias add ad propositum ζJQ; om. Pe\*\*\*H\*. 723 periculum pericula Jθ. 724 ideo om. ζPe\*\*H. 725 illa una M8; om. δM3Pe\*\*0\*. alia repeated C3. 726 ideo om. M3θ. suum om. γηθ. 727 unum om. δηPe\*\*\*θ; ad virum D; suum unum M3. 728 et latine C3; vel aconitum et M8. maritum

se mundum et [immaculatum] a viciis luxurie et gule vivens hic in mundo fruetur consorcio supernorum; et ponitur ibi exemplum de Socrate qui numen quoddam habuit in socium, ut refert Calcidius (p. 199.1, 263.21), propter suam sanctimoniam et pudicam vitam.

Ibi, *Metellus respondit Mario*, Valerius aliam ponit historiam ad probandum propositum principale, scilicet uxorem non esse ducendam a sapiente, et hoc probat per responsionem unius sapientis viri, consulis quondam Romani, nomine Metelli, et patet quid intelligit.

Ibi, *Thais Corinthia*, Valerius aliud exemplum [ad propositum] ponit de philosopho Demostene et eius responsione quam dedit Thaidi, scilicet illi mulieri pro tunc male; post enim Thais ista per sanctum abbatem Panucium conversa fuit ad bonum et penituit. Ista Thais petivit maximam summam pecunie a Demostene ut cum ea posset carnaliter commisceri, et ipse respondit quod, quia actum carnis consequitur semper dolor et displicencia, ideo noluit illam vilem delectacionem emere ita care. De ista Thaide loquitur Agellius libro *Noctium Atticarum* (1.8). Nota Valerius hic facit mencionem de Amphione qui, ut fingunt poete, fuit unus citharista et melodia cithare sue traxit lapides de diversis locis ad edificandum civitatem Troie et muros illius civitatis.

Ibi, *Livia virum suum*. Valerius iterum alias ponit historias et intendit ostendere quod Rufinus uxorem non debet ducere propter periculum quod solet accidere uxoratis, sive diligantur sive odiantur ab uxoribus. Nam Livia odivit virum suum et ideo interfecit eum; sed illa [alia] mulier, nomine Lucilia, nimis amavit virum suum, et ideo, quia voluit allicere virum [suum] ad consimilem amorem excessivum, ordinavit potum [unum] amatorium quem hic vocat *aconiton*, [et] ille potus fuit venenosus et intoxicavit maritum il-

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Lucilia's husband. Note that poets—for example, Ovid in *Metamorphoses* 7—feign that Hercules went down to hell and brought Cerberus, the three-headed dog of hell, back out with him. When Cerberus saw the earth he spat foam on the rocks, and these bits of foam were called aconite, as if *a cane et caute nata*, "born from dog and rock." And because the foam was poison, any poison is called aconite, and so Ovid in *Metamorphoses* 1, describing the wicked deeds of the first age of iron, and speaking of how stepmothers poison the sons of the first wife, says "Terrible stepmothers mix deadly aconites."

Deianira (clothed) the Tyrinthian. Here Valerius alludes to another story, of Hercules and his wife Deianira. Ovid gives this fable or story in Metamorphoses 9. Deianira was a beautiful girl whom Hercules married. He came with her to the river Evenus, and found it so swollen from the winter rains that it could hardly be crossed. Hercules was more worried about his bride Deianira than about his own safety. But as he stood there worrying, along came Nessus the centaur, who offered to bring Deianira across. He did so, and Hercules swam across. But when Nessus got to the other side he began to molest Deianira. She screamed; Hercules heard her and shot him to death with an arrow. Nessus, seeing he was dying, took off his undershirt or chemise and gave it to Deianira as a present, promising her that if Hercules ever stopped loving her she could revive his original love by getting him to put on the chemise.

virum C2θ. 729-39 Lucilie . . . Ibi Peθ out. 729-822 Nota . . . sapiente J follows Trivet. 735 quodcumque add venenosum et ζ; om. Peθ\*. 736 attemptata acceptata M8; accepta δDC2; om. Peθ\*. 737 prioris adds et C3; om. Peθ\*. 738 dicit et dicit δ; om. Peθ\*. noverce add versus est ζ; add versus C2. 739 Tirincium tiricium C3Dg; chiricium M8; tirencium F; terencium Do; terinthium D; tyrencium M3; om. η\*Pe. 741 vel om. M8η\*Peθ\*; et δ; super D; sive M3. 743 Deianira om. M8ηPeH; de iara Do; ianira ε. 744 Hebenum hebercium αJ; hobenum D; helenum M3; hebecium η; om. Pe\*\*Q. 745 de om. C3. transiri transire M8δC2Peθ. 746 pro¹ de C2M3 sua¹ om. M8ηPe\*\*. sua² om. M8ηQ\*H. 747 autem add sic M8; esset sic ζ; sic erat C2; esset ι. Nessus vessus M8M3; nephus Q; om. Pe\*\*. 748 portandum deportandum C3; petandum M3; om. Pe\*\*. 749 Nessus vessus M8; fessus M3; nefus Q; om. Pe\*\*. venit pervenit DgηQ; om. Pe\*\*. 752 Qui Nessus videns vidensque nessus ζ; om. Pe\*\*. mortem non posse se non posse mortem ζηH; quod mortem non posset Q; se mortem Pe. 754 contingeret contineret C3; contigeret M8. om. Pe\*\*. unquam numquam C3D; om. ηPe\*\*. 756 revocare δ inserts Nota quod Deianira fuit

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lius Lucilie. Nota isti poete, sicud patet per Ovidium libro 7 *De transformatis* (409–19), fingunt Herculem ad infernum descendisse et inde secum Cerberum, qui est canis inferni cum 3 capitibus, adduxisse. Iste autem Cerberus visa terra spumas emisit super cautes, id est, super lapides, que spume vocate sunt 'aconita,' quasi 'a cane et caute nata.' Et quia spume ille erant venenose, ideo aconitum solet dici quodcumque toxicum, unde Ovidius libro l *De transformatis* describens que fuerunt attemptata in primo seculo ferreo, et loquens de novercis quomodo dant venenum filiis [prioris] uxoris, dicit, "lurida terribiles miscent aconita noverce" (1.147).

Ibi, Deianira [Tirincium], [p. 364] Valerius alterius historie facit mencionem et est historia de Hercule et Deianira sua uxore, quam fabulam vel historiam ponit Ovidius libro 9 De transformatis (1-272), et est ista. Deianira fuit puella quedam pulcra ab Hercule ducta in uxorem; cum qua Deianira veniens Hercules ad fluvium [Hebenum], invenit fluvium ymbribus yemalibus augmentatum in tantum quod [de] difficili potuit transiri. Hercules tamen plus solicitabatur pro coniuge sua Deianira quam pro persona sua propria. Dum autem sollicitus, venit Nessus centaurus et optulit se ad [portandum] Deianiram ultra aquam, quod et fecit. Hercules autem natando transivit; sed Nessus postquam ad ripam venit, Deianiram opprimere voluit, sed ipsa reclamavit. Cuius clamor ad aures Herculis pervenit, qui Nessum cum sagitta ad mortem vulneravit. Qui Nessus, videns mortem non posse evadere, interulam suam, id est camisiam, deposuit et eam pro munere Deianire dedit, promittens Deianire quod si [contingeret] Herculem [unquam] a suo amore recedere quod per illam camisiam posset Herculem, si eam indueret, ad amorem pristinum revocare. Contigit autem

Later Hercules did fall in love with another woman, Iole. Deianira heard the rumor of it and was pained. In order to make Hercules love her again, she sent him the undershirt. He put it on, was poisoned by it, and died.

That is the story that Ovid gives, in much greater detail, in *Metamorphoses 9*. This, then, is what Valerius says: *Deianira gave the Tirynthian*, that is, Hercules, named for the mountain Tiryns, *an undershirt (interula) to wear*, that is, a chemise, so-called because it is worn on the inside, next to the body. Note that here Valerius calls Hercules *the hammer of monsters* because he subdued many monsters, such as Cerberus the three-headed dog of hell, Geryon the giant with three human bodies, and the giant Antaeus, and so on—Ovid enumerates them all in *Metamorphoses 9*.

Twelve superhuman labors. Here Valerius brings to mind the tasks of Hercules in order to show how much strength can be overcome by the malice of women. These labors of Hercules, called superhuman because they required more than merely human strength, are treated by Boethius in the Consolation of Philosophy and by Seneca in the first of his tragedies. The Boethius is book 4, meter 7, Bella bis quinis. He says in the meter, "Hercules is famous for his hard labors. He daunted the proud centaurs"; that was the first labor. "He took the spoils from the cruel lion"; that was the second labor. The centaurs were cross-breed monsters, half man, half horse. Also, in the Nemaean forest there was a very cruel lion; Hercules killed it and took away its skin—spoils, as it were. "He also smote the birds with his sure arrows"; that was the third labor. Hercules shot the Harpies, who were very rapacious birds. "He ravished apples from the waking dragon"; that was the fourth labor. Poets say that in the orchard of King

... Hercules, Grues 354. 757 fuisse om. δ; esset η; esse Pe. unius cuiusdam Pe; om. ηθ. 758 Ioles voles C2Q; volens M3; om. Pe\*\*; volees H. 760 ex ... induicione ad ... induicionem DgF; om. C2; induicione illius  $\theta$ . 763 **9** 8  $\alpha$ EPe; om.  $\eta^*\zeta^*$ . 764 **denominatum** denominat  $\gamma$ DgF; denotatum ζ. **Tyrincio** Tyrinnicio C3η; thyrinnico M8; Titicon DgF; tirinthio Do; tyricio D; tyrencio M3; tyrinco Q; om. Pe\*\*. 766 quomodo quod M3θ; om. Pe\*\*. hic om. ζθη\*Pe\*\*. 768 tricipitem tricapidem D; tricapitem  $\eta$ ; habentem tria capita  $\theta$ ; om. Pe\*\*. 770 **que** quos  $\delta\theta$ ; de quibus  $\eta$ ; om. Pe\*\*. 9 De transformatis suo de transformatis octavo  $\gamma$ ; 8 de transformatis  $\delta$ C2η $\zeta$ ; ubi prius  $\eta$ ; om. Pe\*\*. 771 reducit om.  $\delta \eta$ \*. 771-72 probitates probitatis  $\delta$ ; proprietates M3; om.  $\theta$ \*. 772 quantas vires quantas vires vel quantos vires, corrected to viros in later hand C3; quantos viros et quantas vires M8; quantas vires vel quantas res Dg; quantos viros vel quantas res F; quantos vires vel quantas res Do; quantis viris M3; om. θ\*Pe\*\*. 773 mulierum mulieris DC2ηθ; om. Pe\*\*. 775 consolacione add philosophie εθ. traiedia prima om. ζη\*Pe\*\*θ\*. 776 quinis qui vis δC2; quin vis  $\eta$ ; om. Pe\*\* $\theta$ \*. 777 sic om.  $\zeta$ Pe\*. 778 spolium spolia M3 $\theta$ . 779 ecce om. FDo. 780 ex om. δ. silva silva C3. 781 Nemea veiena M8; nemeta Do; neomea  $\zeta$ ; memea  $\iota$ ; om. Q; neomena H. 783 Arpias arpios vel arpias γ; arripios arripiastas Dg; aripios aripiastes F; aripios Do. rapacissime add certis sagittis, idest, non deflectentibus a certo ictu D. 784 rapuit om. C21Q; abstulit H.

postea Herculem amore captum fuisse unius mulieris alterius Ioles nomine, quod audiens Deianira, et de rumoribus dolens et Herculem ad amorem sui reducere volens, interulam predictam misit ad Herculem, qui eam induit, ex cuius induicione intoxicatus et mortuus fuit.

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Hec est historia quam tamen clarius et prolixius ponit Ovidius [9] libro *De transformatis* (101–238). Hoc est ergo quod Valerius dicit: *Deianira Tirincium*, id est, Herculem [denominatum] a Tyrincio monte, *vestivit interula*, id est, camisia que ideo sic vocatur quia interius corpori applicatur. Nota quomodo hic Valerius vocat Herculem *malleum monstrorum* quia ipse Hercules domuit multa monstra, sicud Cerberum canem inferni tricipitem, et Gerionem gigantem habentem tria corpora humana, et Anteum gigantem, et sic de aliis multis que enumerat Ovidius libro [9] *De transformatis* (182–98).

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Ibi, 12 inhumanos labores, Valerius ad memoriam reducit probitates Herculis ut ostendat quantas vires contigit obrui malicia mulierum. De istis laboribus Herculis, qui ideo dicuntur inhumani quia excedebant vires puri hominis, tractat Boecius libro suo De consolacione et Seneca in suis traiediis, traiedia prima; Boecius libro quarto metro 7, quod metrum incipit "Bella bis quinis." Unde dicit sic in metro, "Herculem duri celebrant labores,/ Ille centauros domuit superbos"; ecce labor primus. "Abstulit sevo spolium leoni"; ecce secundus labor. Centauri fuerunt monstra bigenera quia ex una parte homines et ex alia parte equi. Similiter in [silva] Nemea fuit sevissimus leo quem Hercules interfecit et pellem loco spolii secum tulit. "Fixit et certis volucres sagittis"; ecce tercius labor. Hercules enim sagittavit [Arpias] que erant aves rapacissime. "Poma cernenti rapuit draconi"; ecce quartus labor. In orto enim

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Atlas were trees that bore golden apples, and that were guarded by a sleepless, that is, ever-watchful, dragon, but Hercules stole the apples. "He dragged Cerberus by the triple chain"; that was the fifth labor, and Boethius means that Hercules went down to hell and bound and dragged back Cerberus, the three-headed dog of hell. On Cerberus, see the Master of the *Histories*, on Judges, the story of Ehud, where he says that Orcus, King of the Molossians, had a dog named Cerberus who ate men, even strong and brave ones. It is on account of such ferocity that he is feigned by poets to be the dog of hell. The sixth labor of Hercules was that he overcame King Diomede of Thrace, who used to feed his horses human meat. All guests who stopped there he put out for the horses to eat. But Hercules bound the king and put him out for his own horses, who ate him, then were killed by Hercules.

The seventh labor of Hercules was the fight he had with Hydra, the serpent of the Lernaean swamp. Hydra had several heads, and whenever one was cut off two new heads grew on. Hercules conquered Hydra by burning her after he failed to kill her with arrows. The eighth labor was Hercules' fight with the giant Achelous; Hercules fought with him and finally overcame him. The ninth labor was with the giant Antaeus, whom Hercules likewise felled and at last killed when he was down. The tenth labor was the one he had with Cacus, a monster who spat fire out his mouth. Cacus stole Hercules' cattle, but Hercules discovered the theft and killed the thief. Virgil mentions Cacus in *Aeneid* 8. The eleventh labor was the fight Hercules

786 quodam om. DH. 787 vigilante vigilanti δDPeθ. 788 et om. Dt. 790 scilicet om. M8Dt; om. θ\*. ligatum ligamen FDo. Cerbero add loquitur M8D; tractat t; narrat θ. 791 in Historiis in historia FDoM3η; historiarum C2. 791 librum om. C2θ; libro M3. in historia om. M3ηθ\*. 792 Magister om. Dηθ\*. 793 etiam om. δDC2θ. 794 feritatem severitatem M8; ferocitatem δQ; verocitatem M3. 795 Diomedem domedam FDo (repeated Do); deomedem η. 797 omnes homines DC2; om. M3Pe\* (bottom of page cut). 800 Herculis om. M8t; Hercules (om. labor) θ. pugna om. M8D. 801 Lernee larnee F; bernee DoC2H; herroe M3; hernee Q. 802 absciso succiso Dη. 803 ex quo quia tθ. 804 Acheleo atheloo C3; attheleo M8; atheleo δC2Pe; achillo M3; atheloe η; om. D\*θ\*. 806 quem Hercules habuit om. M8Peη\*θ\*. habuit add bellum ζ. 807 tandem etiam M8; om. δζι. 808 Caco cato γFPe; catho M3; catus θ. 809 Cacus D only; catus γC2Peθ; caco DgDo; cato F; cathus M3; qui η. 810 De et de ζ. Caco D only; cato αC2M3]; om. η\*Pe (page cut after the letter c) θ\*. 812 Arcadie archaide F; in archadia D; arabie C2M3; om.

regis Atlantis poete dicunt fuisse arbores poma aurea deferentes que custodiebantur a dracone quodam insompni, id est, semper vigilante; sed Hercules hec poma rapuit. "Cerberum traxit triplici cathena"; ecce quintus labor, et vult dicere Boecius quod Hercules ad infernum descendit et canem [p. 365] inferni nomine Cerberum, habentem scilicet tria capita, inde ligatum traxit. De Cerbero Magister in Historiis super librum Iudicum in historia de Aioth (*PL* 198.1275), ubi narrat Magister quod Orcus rex Molosorum habuit unum canem nomine Cerberum qui homines etiam fortes et robustos devoravit. Et ideo propter feritatem fingitur a poetis canis infernalis. Sextus labor Herculis fuit quod regem Tracie Diomedem nomine vicit; consuevit enim rex iste equos suos carnibus humanis pascere, unde hospites omnes ad se divertentes equis suis apposuit ad comedendum; sed Hercules ipsum regem ligatum propriis equis apposuit, qui eum commederunt, quos tandem Hercules interfecit.

Septimus labor Herculis fuit pugna quam habuit cum Ydra serpente paludis Lernee, qui serpens habuit plura capita et semper uno absciso succrescebant duo nova capita. De ista Ydra Hercules triumphavit comburendo, ex quo sagittis non potuit eam interficere. Octavus labor fuit pugna Herculis cum [Acheleo] gigante cum quo Hercules luctabatur et tandem finaliter vicit eum. Nonus labor fuit quem Hercules habuit cum gigante Antheo, quem Hercules similiter in lucta prostravit et prostratum tandem interfecit. Decimus labor fuit quem habuit cum [Caco] monstro quodam evomente ignem per os. Iste [Cacus] armenta Herculis furatus fuit, sed Hercules furtum deprehendit et furem interfecit. De isto [Caco] facit mencionem Virgilius libro 8 Eneydos (8.184–305). Undecimus labor Herculis fuit pugna quam habuit cum apro Arcadie qui omnes segetes vasta-

had with the boar of Arcady, who laid waste all the wheat fields in that land; Hercules killed the boar. The twelfth labor of Hercules was when he held up the sky for Atlas. For Ovid feigns in *Metamorphoses* 5 and 1 that the giant Atlas held up the sky on his shoulders, or it would have fallen. But he got tired and asked Hercules if he would like to help him hold up the sky, and Hercules said he would, put his shoulders to it, and held up the sky without budging. Valerius's point is that Hercules, who went through so many labors and came out unscathed, in his thirteenth labor, with a woman, succumbed and died—from which he is inclined to conclude that a wise man should not marry.

Gold broke through. Here Valerius touches on another familiar story or fable, of King Acrisius who had a very beautiful daughter named Danae. Acrisius her father was so afraid that she might be raped that he shut her up in a strong tower and assigned several guards to it. But Jupiter fell in love with her and changed himself into a golden raindrop and dripped, as it were, into her lap and in the end corrupted her, impregnated her, and begot Perseus on her. Ovid mentions Danae and how Jove raped her in the likeness of a golden rain in *Metamorphoses* 6 when, speaking of the web woven by Arachne, he says that she wove in the web how Jupiter "the golden" tricked Danae, and again in Book 3 Ovid says, "Perseus, whom Danae had conceived by a golden shower." And note that Valerius means that women are not only malicious but grasping and ambitious too: women deaf to wooing can be corrupted with bribes, as Danae was corrupted by gold placed in her lap.

Periccion, a virgin verging on old age. Here Valerius mentions another story, of the conception of the philosopher Plato. For Saint Jerome, Against Jovinian, book 1, chap-

η\*θ\*. 813 istum aprum quem M8M3; quem aprum Pe; om. η\*θ\*. 813-14 labor Herculis om. M8ηθ. 816 sed licet DgF. 817 quod ut εζη. iuvare adiuuare DgF; iuvaret ηθ. 818 annuit adiuuit δ; om. Q. supportavit δ inserts et sustinuit . . . superbum, Grues 363-71. 820 cum femina contra feminam DgF. 821 non om. C3. 828 quasi stillando constillando FDo. 829 et¹ add eam δ. corruptam om. ζη\*Q. 829-30 generavit δ inserts Unde theodolus . . . aurum, Grues 380-84. 830 ymbris imbri δQ; om. ι\*. 832 loquens loquitur Dtθ. texta sexta C3; texa M8; texata D. Arangne arranea DoJ; pragne η; apagne Pe. 833 aureus add vel amens C3δ. 833-34 etiam . . . auro om. tθ. 837 corrumpi corrupi DgF; om. η\*. corumpuntur coripiuntur DgFD; om. η\*. Dane Danes γDgFPe; Danies Do; Dana Q; om. η\*. 838 scilicet om. M8Doζη\*Peθ. 839 Periction Do only; perucio C3C2; peruca M8; pericton DgCa; penicio F; pyrcton D; pentheon M3; Pericio

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vit illius terre; istum aprum Hercules interfecit. Duodecimus labor Herculis fuit quando pro Atlante celum supportavit; fingit enim Ovidius libro 5 *De transformatis* et primo quod Atlas gigas celum supportavit humeris suis ne caderet; sed fatigatus ex onere rogavit Herculem quod vellet eum iuvare ad supportandum celum, qui annuit et humerum supposuit et celum inflexibiliter supportavit. Vult ergo dicere Valerius quod Hercules qui tot labores sustinuit et tamen evasit, in terciodecimo labore, quem habuit cum femina, succubuit et interiit, ex quo vult concludere uxorem [non] esse ducendam a sapiente.

Ibi, Irrupit aurum, Valerius tangit aliam historiam sive fabulam satis notam, de Accrisio rege qui habuit filiam pulcherimam nomine Danem, de cuius raptu seu violacione timens pater suus Acrisius eam in turri fortissima posuit et custodes plures adhibuit. Sed Iubiter captus amore virginis transformavit se in pluvie guttam auream et quasi stillando descendit in gremium virginis, et tandem illam corrupit et corruptam inpregnavit et ex ea Perseum generavit. De ista Dane et eius a Iove violacione in specie ymbris aurei facit Ovidius mencionem libro 6 De transformatis (6.113), quando loquens de tela [texta] ab Arangne dicit quod ipsa texerat in tela quomodo Iupiter [aureus] decepit Danem; etiam idem Ovidius libro 3, ubi dicit, "Persea, quem pluvio Dane conceperat auro" (4.611). Et nota quod Valerius vult dicere quod mulieres sicud sunt maliciose, ita sunt cupide [p. 366] et ambiciose. Unde que non possunt corrumpi prece corumpuntur mercede, quomodo ista [Dane] fuit corrupta, scilicet per aurum sibi oblatum et datum.

Ibi, [Periction], virgo vergens in senium, Valerius unius alterius historie facit mencionem, et est de Platonis philosophi generacione.

ter 29, says that "Speusippus, Plato's sister's son, and Clearchus, in his book in praise of Plato, and Anaxalides in his book of philosophy, all say that Plato's mother was overpowered by an apparition of Apollo," who the poets say is the god of wisdom. Note that Jerome calls Periccion a virgin. But Valerius introduces the story to show that few women stay chaste forever, for even if they manage to be continent when awake, still (or, *at last*) they are corrupted in their sleep—from which he wishes to conclude that a wise man should not marry, since along with a wife come so many dangers from every side.

I do not want you to become Venus's husband. Here Valerius expresses the wish that Rufinus will marry wisdom—for Pallas is the goddess of wisdom—and not be coupled with Venus, who is the goddess of sexual pleasure and licentiousness. And he immediately (at Apollo will grace the wedding) says why he wishes that: if Rufinus is married to Pallas, then he will have Apollo, the god of wisdom, as the bridesman, that is, the attendant of his espoused wife. And married Stilbon, that is, Mercury the god of eloquence who has taken Philology, that is, reason, as his wife, will teach and direct the fescennines, that is, lullabies. Thus here Valerius alludes to the story Martianus treats in his book The Marriage of Mercury and Philology. And note that Valerius hints that Rufinus will gain prestige should he wed discretion and retire from the pleasures of the flesh.

Jason heard. Here Valerius mentions another fable or story, of Jason, who, as poets tell, invented the ship and was the first to risk the danger of sailing. He heard a rumor that there was a golden fleece on the island of Colchos. He also heard that

Pe; om. θ\*. 841 beatus om. M8\*D\*η. 842 29 ii P; iii<sup>o</sup> Ca; 3 Pe; 39 H; om. D\*Q\*. Speusippus susspensus Dg; susspenpus F; psensippus Do; sponsippus C2H; sposiopus M3; peusippus J; sensippus Q. 843 Anaxilides anaxalides M3; amasilides D; athlantides η; acta vilides Pe; om. H\*. 845 deus om. DoD\*M3. 845-46 Nota . . . virginem follows 746 senium DC2; om. M3η\*Peθ. 846 Perictionem perucionem γDo; pernicionem D; periicionem M8; om. J\*1\*θ\*. 848 vel om. M8DC2Jη\*Peθ\*. tandem tamen M8C2θ; om. η\*. 852-76 ibi . . . reportavit J follows Trivet. 852 Rufino quod quod Ruffinus DηH. 853 sapiencie pallidi M8; palladi D; om. Ca. quod om. M31. 857 desponsate desponsate disponente facundia Dg; disponente E. 858 Fecenninas facun/minas C3; facunninas M8; fastem ninas F; fascenninas DoD; fascennas M3; fasconnonas Q; om. η\*. id est add cantilenas nimas id est Dg; add cantilenas vanas id est F; add cantus vel cantilenas minas id est Do. 859-60 uxori in om. δεζ\*ι; add in C2Q. 862 Philologie philogie M8δ; phisiologie M3; philosophie θ; om. η\*. accreset accrescit DgFPe; accressit Do; succrescet D; crescet C2; om. η\*. 863-64 se . . . delectacioni a se . . . delectacionem δ; se a . . . delectacione ε (om. se D) Peθ; om. η\*. 867 primo postea D; primus 1Q; om. M8. 869-70 Quia habuit transire sicut D; om. M3;

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Dicit enim beatus Ieronimus *Contra Iovinianum*, libro 1, capitulo 29, quod "Speusippus, filius sororis Platonis, et Clearchus, in libro quem fecit de laude Platonis, et Anaxilides in libro philosophie ferunt matrem Platonis oppressam fuisse fantasmate Apollinis" (1.42, *PL* 23.273), qui dicitur deus sapiencie a poetis. Nota Ieronimus vocat eam [Perictionem] virginem. Istam autem historiam introducit Valerius ad ostendendum quod mulieres pauce sunt finaliter caste, quia si contingat eas continere vigilando, adhuc (vel *tandem*) corrumpuntur in sompno, ex quo vult concludere uxorem non esse ducendam a sapiente, ex quo tot iminent pericula ex omni parte.

Ibi, Veneris nolo te sponsum fieri, Valerius optat Rufino quod maritetur sapiencie—est enim Pallas dea sapiencie—et quod non copuletur Veneri, que est dea voluptatis et lascivie. Et statim ibi, Hee nupcie gloriabuntur, dat causam quare sic optat, et dicit quod si Rufinus coniungatur Palladi, tunc habebit Appollinem, deum sapiencie, pro paranimpho, id est, custode uxoris sibi desponsate. [Fecenninas] autem, id est, cantus super cunabula, docebit et ordinabit Stilbon, id est, Mercurius deus eloquencie, uxoratus, id est, [uxori in] coniugio copulatus Philologie, id est, racioni. Unde hic facit Valerius mencionem de historia quam tractat Marcianus in libro suo De nupciis Mercurii et Philologie. Et nota Valerius innuit quod Rufino accreset honor si coniungat se discrecioni et subtrahat se carnis delectacioni.

Ibi, *audivit Iason*, facit Valerius mencionem alterius fabule vel historie et est de Iasone, qui, ut narrant poete, primus adinvenit navem et primo fuit ausus seipsum exponere navigii periculo. Iste audivit famam de aureo vellere in Colchos insula existente. Audivit it would be necessary to get through several perils to reach the fleece. He had to get past monstrous bulls belching fire and sulphur, which is why they are called *sulphur-breathing bulls*. And he had to get past that sleepless, ever-watchful dragon that guarded the golden apples of Atlas. And so Jason gave way to the counsel of the wise, though what they counseled was hard and difficult. But because Jason ruled himself by counsel, he obtained the treasure he longed for, and brought it back to his own country.

Valerius implies that Rufinus must act in the same way, that is, that he must be led not as the impetus of sexual desire moves him, but as the truth counsels, even though the truth seems as bitter as wormwood to him—as Jerome says in his *Dialogue between Atticus and Critobulus*. "A flatterer," he says, "is defined beautifully as a 'charming enemy.' Truth however, is bitter, her face wrinkled and sour, and she offends those she corrects." The end.

quia t; scilicet  $\theta$ . 873 **insompnem** vigilantem  $\zeta$ ; om.  $\iota^*$ . aureorum aurei et C3; auri et M8; aurei ortus et Q; ortus aureis et H. 874 sapiencium sapientum C2M8JPeH; sapientis ζQ. 875 seipsum sapientum  $\delta$ ; om. M3 $\eta^*$ ; se Pe $\theta$ . regulavit credidit  $\delta$ ; refutavit D; regulans J; om.  $\eta^*$ . 876 optimuit acquisivit ι. optentum om. M8 ιθ; optatum δ. 878 deberet debet ζ; om. Pe\*. 879 veritatis add et non voluptatis seu amoris inordinati (mordinacis Ca) etc. η; end η. veritas om. εθ\*. 880 Atticum actuum M8; tricobolum acutum  $\delta$ ; accinum D; acticum C2M3JQ. 881 **Critobulum** Pe *only*; critubulum C3; tricubulum M8; tercibulum DgF; tricocolum D; tritobolum C2J; recobolum M3; tricobolum θ. inquid om. ε[Peθ. definitur dissimulatur δ; depingitur Pe; dicitur θ. 882 autem Dg ends. offenditque ostendit FDo; ostenditque D; offendit C2θ. 883 correptos correptoris FDo; corruptos C2; correctos H. Explicit Explicit exposicio Ridewas F; Finit Do; Explicit epistola valerii ad rufinum de non ducendo uxorem cum sua exposicione quod stoctoun D; Explicit exposicio epistole valerii ad ruffinum de non ducenda uxore. Deo gracias C2; Explicit exposicio super epistolam valerii ad ruffinum M3; Explicit exposicio epistole valerii ad ruffinum socium suum ne ducat uxorem cuius textum reperies statim in sequenti quaterno statim. Finito libro sit laus et gloria christo die xv<sup>a</sup> mensis aprilis anno domini m.ccc.lxxix. post pascha (cuius . . . quaterno statim in new hand) Ca; Explicit . . . uxorem, as Ca, P; Explicit exposiscio etc. Pe; Explicit commentum epistole valerii ad rufinum de uxore non ducenda Q; Explicit epistola valerii ad ruffinum de uxore non ducenda cum exposicione eiusdem H.

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etiam de locis periculosis per que oportuit eum transire. Quia habuit transire per loca in quibus erant tauri monstruosi evomentes ex ore ignem cum sulphure (et ideo dicebantur tauri sulphurei). Similiter habuit transire per illum draconem nunquam dormientem sed semper insompnem qui fuit custos [aureorum] pomorum Atlantis. Et ideo Iason iste adquievit consiliis sapiencium licet duris et difficilibus; et quia Iason consilio seipsum regulavit, ideo thesaurum optatum optinuit, et optentum secum ad patriam reportavit. Isto modo vult Valerius dicere Rufinum debere facere, scilicet quod deberet duci non secundum motum et impetum voluptatis, sed secundum consilium veritatis, licet veritas ipsa reputetur amara sicud absincium, dicente Ieronimo in suo Dialogo inter Atticum et [Critobulum]. "Pulcre," inquid, "adulator definitur 'blandus inimicus.' Veritas autem amara est, rugose frontis et tristis, offenditque correptos" (PL 23.520). Explicit.