

# The Lamentation of the Virgin: A *Planctus Mariae* Sermon by Michael Aiguani of Bologna, O.Carm.

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Despite the enormous interest in recent decades in medieval preaching, no studies have yet been made of the preaching of the medieval Carmelites.<sup>1</sup> Given the paucity of literary remains from the first generations of the Order, it is not surprising that there are no extant sermons from the thirteenth century, although there is evidence that Carmelites preached in their earliest days in Europe and even in Palestine.<sup>2</sup> It does seem extraordinary, nonetheless, that so little of their preaching appears to have survived from the following century, by which time Carmelites had completed their transition from eremitical to mendicant life and were active in the universities. However, a survey of the field, which is much to be desired, has not yet been undertaken. It would certainly reveal the survival of more than the single sermon by a Carmelite recorded by Schneyer for the period to 1350.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> E. Boaga has studied internal preaching in the Order, s.v. *Predicazione*, in *Dizionario degli Istituti di Perfezione*, VII, Rome 1983, 524-527. B.P. Flood, Jr., has recently noted the importance of Carmelite preachers in England in the fourteenth century, but little of their output appears to have survived: see *The Carmelite Friars in the Medieval English Universities and Society, 1299-1430*, in *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale* 55 (1988) 154-183, esp. 164, 167.

<sup>2</sup> This was admitted even by Nicholas of France, prior general and partisan of the eremitical life, in his *Ignea sagitta* (1270), 6.45-48: '... aliquando, raro tamen, de eremo descendentes, quod in solitudinis falce contemplationis suaviter messuerant, excussis granis in tritura praedicationis largiflue seminarunt'; A. STARING, ed., *Nicolai prioris generalis ordinis Carmelitarum Ignea sagitta*, in *Carmelus* 9 (1962) 287-288. See also the study by C. Cicconetti of the effects of the bull *Quae honorem conditoris* (1 Oct. 1247) in his *La Regola del Carmelo. Origine, natura, significato*, Rome 1973, 200-298, esp. 272-281, 291-295.

<sup>3</sup> This is a Passion Sunday sermon before the pope and cardinals in 1333 by John de Clarano (d.1356), listed in J.B. SCHNEYER, *Repertorium der*

The text edited here, a Holy Saturday sermon on the Lamentation of the Virgin Mary by the Carmelite theologian and prior general, Michael Aiguani of Bologna (d. 1400), is therefore a step into largely unexplored territory. It should be of interest not only as an example of the popular preaching of a fourteenth-century Italian Carmelite, but also as an example of the adaptation of the genre of the *Planctus Mariae* for homiletic use.

### 1. Michael Aiguani: Life and writings

Michael Aiguani was among the most distinguished theologians that the Carmelite Order produced in the fourteenth century.<sup>4</sup> Born in Bologna around 1320, he received his doctor's degree in Paris in 1364 or '65, and returned to Bologna to teach in the recently founded Faculty of Theology. In 1372 he was definitor of his province, and in 1375 and 1379 prior provincial.<sup>5</sup> In 1381 Urban VI named him vicar general of the Order in place of Bernard Oller, who adhered to the Avignon obedience. He was confirmed in office as prior general by the general chapters of the Roman obedience in 1381 and 1385.<sup>6</sup> In 1386, for reasons that are not entirely clear, he was deposed by the same pope, whereupon

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*lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters für die Zeit von 1150-1350*, 9 vols, Münster 1969-80, III, 432. It has been edited by Marc Dykmans, "Jean XXII et les Carmes: La controverse de la Vision," in *Carmelus* 17 (1970) 151-192. Collections of sermons are presently known by the following fourteenth-century Carmelites: Guido [Terreni? (d.1342)], Pavia, Bibl. Univ., ms. 445 Fondo Aldini, and Vienna, Stadtsbibl., ms. 758; Petrus [de Casa? (d.1348)], Vienna, Schottenkloster, ms. 127; John de Gluel, (d.1349), Trier, Stadtsbibl., ms. 84; John Paschal (d.1361), London, British Library, ms. Reg. 7 B.1; Michael Aiguani (d.1400), Ravenna, Bibl. Classense, ms. 400; (Thomas Sixillat, Barcelona, Bibl. de Catalunya, ms. 477. Sermons in Munich, Staatsbibl., Clm 3554, have been attributed to John of Hildesheim (d.1375), but it is not clear that he is the author. I am grateful to Father Joachim Smet for his assistance in compiling this list.

<sup>4</sup> For Aiguani's biography and writings the fundamental work is B. M. XIBERTA, *De scriptoribus scholasticis saeculi XIV ex ordine Carmelitarum*, Louvain 1931, 324-393. Some additional details are found in *Bibl. Carm.*, II, 433-445; ANASTASE DE SAINT-PAUL, *Michel de Bologne*, in *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, X, Paris 1929, 1674-1677; this article was revised and expanded as *De Michaële Anguani de Bononia*, in *Analecta Ordinis Carmelitarum Discalceatorum* 4 (1929-30) 41-63, with an important bibliography; L. SAGGI, *Aiguani, Michele*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, I, Rome 1960, 522; A. COLANDREA, *Il 'Confessionale', guida alla confessione sacramentale di Michele di Bologna (†1400)*, unpublished doctoral dissertation, Università degli Studi di Bologna 1968; A. STARING, *Michel Aiguani de Bologne*, in *DSP*, X, Paris 1980, 1172-1173.

<sup>5</sup> ACG, I, 67, 73, 78.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 84, 93.

he returned to Bologna and dedicated himself to study, teaching and writing. He died on 16 November 1400.

Aiguani's immense literary output remains largely unedited. His theological works include a Commentary on the Sentences which was twice printed, in 1510 and 1622,<sup>7</sup> although attempts by general chapters to have it given a privileged place in Carmelite schools seem to have met with limited success.<sup>8</sup> He wrote a *Tractatus de conceptione gloriosae Virginis*, which continued to be quoted,<sup>9</sup> and was also the author of a guide to the sacrament of penance, *Tractatus cuiuslibet peccatoris confiteri volentis*,<sup>10</sup> of which there are also two versions in Italian.<sup>11</sup> Aiguani compiled a number of the searchable tools for the use of scholars and preachers which had begun to be developed in the previous century.<sup>12</sup> They include a *tabula*, or index, and *conclusiones* for the Sentences, which was widely diffused, and *tabulae* for the *Decretum* of Gratian, Valerius Maximus, the Ethics of Aristotle, and the *Moralia* of Gregory the Great; the last of these is explicitly a preacher's aid.<sup>13</sup>

The bulk of his work was scriptural commentary. The fourteenth century saw a significant flowering of biblical scholarship among Carmelites, and Aiguani was perhaps its most notable representative.<sup>14</sup> His expositions of Micah, Matthew, and Luke are

<sup>7</sup> Cfr. XIBERTA, *De script.*, 333-336.

<sup>8</sup> Cfr. ACG, I, 338, 344, 376, 429; and SMET, *Carmelites*, II, 175, 246.

<sup>9</sup> Cfr. *Bibl.Carm.*, II, 444.

<sup>10</sup> Xiberta thought this a spurious work (*De script.*, 339), but its authenticity has been established by padre Colandrea; *Il 'Confessionale'*, 57-71.

<sup>11</sup> On Aiguani's work as a theologian, Father Smet comments: 'As a theologian he was a good teacher rather than a profound thinker. He contributes no new insights. He belongs to no school and cites authorities without regard to their systems. He revives some early scholastic theories, rejected by subsequent thinkers... He reveals a sophistic and skeptical attitude toward evidence and certitude.' *Carmelites*, I, 52.

<sup>12</sup> See R.H. ROUSE and M.A. ROUSE, *Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons: Studies on the Manipulus florum of Thomas of Ireland*, Toronto 1979, 3-42.

<sup>13</sup> The explicit of the ms. in Paris, Bibl. Mazarin, ms. 668 reads: 'Scias quod prescripta tabula super *Moralia* beati Gregorii super Iob faciliter et expedite invenire docet quicquid in ipsis utile fuerit in quacumque materia circa quam vel de qua predicator aliquis loqui desiderat.' Quoted in XIBERTA, *De script.*, 355. For further details on Aiguani's writings see Anastase de Saint-Paul, in *Anal. O.C.D.* 4 (1929-30) 47-61; XIBERTA, *De script.*, 350-357; COLANDREA, 16-22; F. STEGMÜLLER, *Repertorium Biblicum Medii Aevi*, III, Madrid 1951, 565-572, §§ 5588-5615.

<sup>14</sup> There is some evidence that Carmelites at the universities chose to specialize in biblical studies, and perhaps continued to pursue more traditional monastic forms of biblical commentary, but the phenomenon has

extant but unedited. Lost works include expositions of John, Revelation, Romans and perhaps also the letter of James, as well as commentaries on the biblical canticles, the *Ave Maria*, and perhaps the *Pater noster*. He wrote two distinction collections: the *Alphabetum*, a dictionary of the moral sense of about 400 scriptural terms, and the *Dictionarium sacrum* – a prodigious undertaking which only arrived as far as the letter C – which aimed to be an encyclopaedia of the spiritual meanings of biblical names and terms.<sup>15</sup> His most famous work, the Commentary on the Psalms, concerns itself largely with the christological and moral senses of the texts. There were at least seventeen editions in the seventeenth century,<sup>16</sup> and in recent times both J.M. Neale and H. Denifle have considered it the best of the medieval psalm commentaries.<sup>17</sup>

## 2. The Ravenna Quadragesimale

Although Cosmas de Villiers lists four collections of Aiguani's sermons – cycles for Lent, Advent, Saints and Sundays<sup>18</sup> – only

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not yet received any study. Carmelites form an extraordinarily large percentage of the authors of biblical commentaries at Paris and Oxford in this period: see the table in J. VERGER, *L'exégèse de l'Université*, in P. RICHÉ and G. LOBRICHON, eds, *Le Moyen Age et la Bible*, (Bible de Tous les Temps 4), Paris 1984, 231. Verger thinks their work derivative and uninteresting (*ibid.*, 225), though it is perhaps too little known to allow of confident judgement. Certainly the survival rate of mss. of these works is very low, which indicates that they cannot have been much copied or read: of the ninety-one Carmelite authors listed in Stegmüller's *Repertorium*, extant mss. are known for a mere thirteen (14%). Popularity, however, is not an infallible indication of quality; and even if their works were indeed unoriginal or uninfluential, the preference of Carmelites for biblical studies may still indicate something of the spiritual character of the Order in this period, and is worthy of further consideration.

<sup>15</sup> The general chapter of 1620 decreed that the *Dictionarium* be printed and, if possible, continued, but nothing was done; ACG, II, 41. Some extracts, which indicate its form and style, were published by Father XIBERTA, *Textus mariales ex operibus mag. Michaelis Bononiensis extracti*, in AOC 8 (1932-36) 65-90.

<sup>16</sup> *Commentaria in psalmos davidicos*, Alcalà de Henares, 1524. A list of mss. and editions is given by XIBERTA, *De script.*, 340-344. The first editions were anonymous. Aiguani's authorship was first claimed by Basil Angussola, O.Carm., in his Preface to the Venice edition of 1600-1601, and is not now doubted.

<sup>17</sup> J.M. NEALE, *A Commentary on the Psalms*, London 1869, I, 81-82; H. DENIFLE, *Luther und Luthertum*, Mainz 1905, I.ii.198. Quoted in XIBERTA, *De script.*, 326.

<sup>18</sup> *Bibl. Carm.*, II, 444-445. Arnold Bostius, however, seems to have known only the Lenten collection, which he mentions in his *De viris*

the Lenten collection appears to be extant. It is preserved in ms. 400 of the Biblioteca Classense, Ravenna, a late fourteenth-century<sup>19</sup> codex on paper, 196 folios, 270 × 220 mm, written in a single column with thirty-eight to forty-two lines to a page. There are some corrections and occasional marginal notes by several later hands, and *exempla* have generally been indicated by a siglum in the margin. The manuscript was copied by a Carmelite, and ownership notes on the last folio show that it belonged to successive Carmelites of Bologna.<sup>20</sup> Although Aiguani's name is given only at f.148<sup>r</sup>, in the incipit of the Good Friday Passion sermon, there is no doubt that the collection as a whole can be attributed to him.<sup>21</sup>

The Quadragesimale gives sermons for all the Sundays and weekdays of Lent, as well as a lengthy Passion sermon for Good Friday (ff.148<sup>r</sup>-178<sup>r</sup>), two sermons on the sorrows of the Virgin Mary for Holy Saturday (ff.178<sup>r</sup>-185<sup>v</sup>),<sup>22</sup> two for Easter Sunday, and sermons for Monday and Tuesday of Easter week; there are also two sermons for Monday in Holy Week, marked for some reason as the second and third sermons respectively (ff.125<sup>v</sup>, 128<sup>r</sup>). The collection is provided with an index (11 unnumbered folios after f.139<sup>v</sup>) in three parts, the first a list of *principia* of the gospels preached on, the second a thematic index arranged alphabetically, and the third an alphabetical index of *exempla*. Ff.140<sup>r</sup>-147<sup>v</sup> contain a number of sermons without a definite liturgical context, apparently by another author and written in a

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*illustribus* (1475) as 'Sermones per Quadragesimam cum utili passione'; *Spec.* 1680, II, 894 § 3052.

<sup>19</sup> The cataloguer assigns it to the 15th century, but in 1402 it was already passing to its third owner: see below and f.196<sup>r</sup>; cfr. G. MAZZATINTI, *Inventari dei manoscritti delle biblioteche d'Italia*, IV, Forlì 1894, 230.

<sup>20</sup> The explicit reads: 'Explicit hoc opus scriptum per manum fratris Maphey condam Damiani de Veneciis ordinis carmelitarum...' (f.196<sup>r</sup>). Nothing is known of this friar. On the same folio is recorded: 'Iste liber est fratris Dominici de Bononia ordinis fratrum beate Dei genetricis Marie de monte Carmello, quem emit a fratre Paulini de Bononia eiusdem ordinis a.D. 1402 die XVI mensis aprilis tempore sue misse nove et de pecunia eiusdem misse duc. iii et in testimonium premissae manu propria subscripsi. Precii ducatus iii et dimidius.'

<sup>21</sup> Aiguani himself refers to the Quadragesimale in his commentary on Psalm 77; ed. Lyons 1588-89, I, 605A; quoted by ANASTASE DE SAINT-PAUL, *Anal. OCD*, 59.

<sup>22</sup> The second of these, the only sermon in the collection attributed to another author, is entitled *De planctu domine beati Bernardi*, but is in fact by the Franciscan Peter Aureoli (d.1322). It was published, in a somewhat different redaction, among the sermons of Saint Bonaventure, *Sermones aurei atque subtiles de tempore et de sanctis ... Sancti Bonaventure ...*, Basle 1502, ff.87<sup>v</sup>-90<sup>v</sup>.

different hand. They were probably inserted later to fill folios left blank for the indices but not needed for them.

Although it is sometimes difficult to be certain of the exact nature and purpose of collections of sermons and related materials,<sup>23</sup> it is clear enough that the present work is a model sermon collection for use by Carmelite preachers. The ample indices provide it with great flexibility and accessibility as a preacher's aid, and the marginal annotations indicate that it was actually used as such. There are occasional instructions to the preacher (e.g. 'Hic narra evangelium', f.189<sup>v</sup>), and the principal divisions and subdivisions of material are set out in a schematic way for ease of reference. The collection is undoubtedly destined for use by Carmelites, since it follows the lectionary of their rite, which differed at several points from the Roman lectionary. Interestingly enough, in more than half the cases where the two lectionaries diverge, a second sermon is given 'secundum evangelium romane curie'.<sup>24</sup> This arrangement would have made the Quadragesimale equally serviceable for at-home use and for missions which involved preaching in churches which followed the Roman rite.

Although Aiguani's Quadragesimale deserves more detailed study, it is possible to make some general comments. Like many such collections, this includes material of considerable diversity in form and content. Some sermons are little more than outlines; most are more fully elaborated. The intended audiences are also diverse. The sermon for Wednesday in Holy Week (ff.133<sup>v</sup>-136<sup>f</sup>), for example, is addressed to aristocratic listeners: they are addressed as 'domini mei' and all the *exempla* are calculated to appeal to a noble and wealthy audience. The sermon for Wednesday of the first week (ff.18<sup>v</sup>-21<sup>f</sup>) is directed to a fervent audience, perhaps religious or confraternity members, for it presumes a certain level of renunciation in the hearers and counsels against excessive penance.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Cfr. D.L. D'AVRAY, *The Preaching of the Friars: Sermons Diffused from Paris before 1300*, Oxford 1985, 105-106.

<sup>24</sup> Generally on the Thursdays: ff.47<sup>r</sup> (post dominicam secundam); 70<sup>v</sup> (post dominicam tertiam); 89<sup>v</sup> (post dominicam quartam). No alternative sermon is given, however, for Thursday of the first week or for Saturday in Passion week, when the readings also differed. On the significance of varying lectionaries see M. O'CARROLL, *The Lectionary for the Proper of the Year in the Dominican and Franciscan Rites of the Thirteenth Century*, in *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 49 (1979) 79-104.

<sup>25</sup> 'Si tu vis intrare civitatem paradysi, tu non debes corpus tuum nimis honorare penitencia et afflictione, set debes sibi imponere honus perseverancie quod est late humilitati et bona operatione ... quia pro certo isti qui honerant nimis corpora ieiuniis et afflictione cadunt prostrati in luto peccati ut asini vanagloria et desperatione' (f.20<sup>v</sup>). Caroline Bynum notes the moderation by preachers of penitential practices, especially of

The sermons generally follow the form prescribed by the *Artes praedicandi*.<sup>26</sup> First the theme (almost invariably from the gospel of the day), protheme (generally a mini-sermon on the Virgin Mary), invocation of the Virgin and recitation of the *Ave*, the reintroduction of the theme and *divisio thematis* with the support of appropriate authorities. Though the classic *Artes* counselled against overcomplex divisions, suggesting a limit of three or perhaps four members, Aiguani's divisions are often quite elaborate, running even to eight or nine members. Finally there is a brief summary of the main lessons to be found in the gospel. He uses the usual rhetorical-mnemonic devices, especially sequences of rhyming words.<sup>27</sup>

*Exempla* have generally attracted a great deal of attention in sermon studies. Aiguani's *exempla* tend to the abstract: typically he uses a story from a pagan author or a chronicle and interprets it allegorically. Augustine, Aristotle, Boethius, Gregory the Great, Cicero, Seneca, Peter Lombard, Varro, Caesar, Ovid, Vincent of Beauvais and Avicenna are just a few of the sources for these readily allegorized *exempla*. Aiguani also uses briefer, more concrete *exempla*, both with and without allegorization — women talking idly in church (f.87<sup>r-v</sup>), a doctor carefully considering his diagnosis (f.45<sup>r</sup>), a youth living negligently in religious life (f.91<sup>v</sup>), a stick seen as broken in the water (f.22<sup>r</sup>) — but for the most part they lack the color and social interest of the *exempla* of a Bernardino or a Giordano da Pisa.

### 3. The Planctus Mariae for Holy Saturday

The most striking and unusual of the sermons in this collection is the Holy Saturday sermon on the Lamentation of the Virgin Mary.<sup>28</sup>

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women: *Holy Fast and Holy Feast: The Religious Significance of Food to Religious Women*, Berkeley 1987, 46, 237-246.

<sup>26</sup> The classic work in the field is TH.-M. CHARLAND, *Artes praedicandi. Contribution à l'histoire rhétorique au moyen âge*, Paris and Ottawa 1936.

<sup>27</sup> See D.L. D'AVRAY, *The Wordlists in the 'Ars faciendi sermones' of Geraldus de Piscario*, in *Franciscan Studies* 38 (1978) 184-193; and CHARLAND, *Artes praedicandi*, 155-156.

<sup>28</sup> Two sermons with some similarities to Aiguani's have been recorded: Florence, Bibl. Riccardiana, ms. 3025 (olim 3192), ff.53<sup>v</sup>-54<sup>r</sup>, is similar only in its opening phrases; cfr. G.E. MOHAN, *Initia Operum Franciscalium*, New York 1975, 152\*. The other is a sermon 'De fletu Virginis feria sexta (in parasceve)', Paris, BN, ms. lat. 10699, ff.90<sup>rb</sup>-94<sup>ra</sup>, which in its opening paragraphs shows considerable resemblance to Aiguani's and probably drew from a similar model, but is otherwise entirely conventional in form, without dialogue or characters; cfr. B. HAURÉAU, *Initia*

The literary genre of the *Planctus Mariae*, which expresses the lamentation of the Virgin over the sufferings of her Son, was known in the East as early as the fifth century, but developed in the West mainly from the twelfth, as more affective forms of christocentric piety overflowed into meditations on the sufferings of the Virgin.<sup>29</sup> The *Planctus* produced a rich literary tradition which gradually passed from lyric to dialogical and dramatic forms and from Latin to the vernaculars. It has therefore been of interest not only for the history of spirituality but also for the history of European drama, and as a bridge between Latin and vernacular cultures.<sup>30</sup> However, there seems to have been little study of the existence of this genre as a quasi-dramatic homiletic form, and from this point of view Aiguani's Holy Saturday *Planctus* is of considerable interest.<sup>31</sup>

In literary form Aiguani's sermon does not correspond, except in its introduction, to the prescriptions of the *Artes praedicandi*, but after a conventional beginning is constructed as a series of dramatic dialogues.<sup>32</sup> The Virgin Mary, at the time Christ is on

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*operum scriptorum latinorum medii potissimum aevi ...*, II, Turnholt 1973, 294<sup>r</sup>. Interestingly, the same ms. contains a sermon 'De consolatione Virginis in sabbato sancto', ff.94<sup>ra</sup>-95<sup>ra</sup>.

<sup>29</sup> For orientation and bibliographical information see E. BERTAUD, *Douleurs, Notre-Dame des Sept*, in *DSp*, III, Paris 1957, 1686-1701; TH. KOEHLER, *Planctus Mariae*, in *ibid.*, XII, Paris 1985, 1795-1800; and especially the recent study of S. STICCA, *The Planctus Mariae in the Dramatic Tradition of the Middle Ages*, tr. J.R. Berrigan, Athens GA 1988. Also important are: A. WILMART, 'Prières de Compassion', in *Auteurs spirituels et textes dévots du Moyen Age latin. Études d'histoire littéraire*, Paris 1932, 505-536; K. YOUNG, *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, I, Oxford 1933, 492-539, which gathers some of the most significant texts; FIDÈLE DE ROS, *Le Planctus Mariae du Pseudo-Anselme à Suso et Louis de Grenade*, in *Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique* 25 (1949) 270-283; H. BARRÉ, *Le Planctus Mariae attribué à S. Bernard*, in *ibid.*, 28 (1952) 243-266. Useful for its thorough bibliography is J.R. SECOR, *Planctus Mariae: The Laments of Mary as Influenced by Courtly Literature*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1985.

<sup>30</sup> Cfr. STICCA, *Planctus Mariae*, xi.

<sup>31</sup> Still valid is G.R. Owst's remark of more than fifty years ago that while the role of the liturgy and of dialogue forms in the development of medieval drama has long been realized, 'the intermediary influence of the pulpit has ... been overlooked'; *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England*, Cambridge 1933, 537. See also the comment of L. BOLZONI: 'L'intreccio fra predica e teatro è motivo più ricorrente che approfondito nella critica'; *Oratoria e prediche*, in A. ASOR ROSA, ed., *Letteratura italiana*, 9 vols in 10, Torino 1982-88, III/2, 1041-1074 at 1043.

<sup>32</sup> For the ancestry of the dialogue-sermon, in which the preacher plays a number of quasi-dramatic roles, see Owst, 536-542, and L. BOURGAIN, *La chaire française au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris 1879, 211-216. Aiguani's



the cross, is searching in tears for her Son. Her weeping is counterpointed by references to the grief of the daughter of Zion in the book of Lamentations and the distress of the beloved searching for her lover in the Song of Songs, and by the repetition throughout the sermon of the words of the theme *Flebat igitur mater eius* from the book of Tobit, which functions as a refrain. Mary meets the women of Jerusalem, and then in turn the apostles and evangelists Andrew, Matthew, Mark, John and Luke: there is a poignant dialogue with each, in which the Virgin questions them for news of the fate of Jesus. The dialogue generally ends with the reluctance or inability of the disciple to give further details of his suffering, and the referral of the Virgin to another. Through her questioning and the disciples' responses the gospel story of Christ's arrest, trial and suffering is gradually pieced together. The quasi-dramatic form with its characters and dialogues allows the preacher scope for a more emotional presentation of the passion story than the rather spare evangelical narrative, and also allows him to impart considerable dramatic suspense to a familiar story.

The dialogues are punctuated by the grief-stricken laments of the Virgin and by reproaches reminiscent of the Good Friday *Improperia*, which provide moral reflections on the events of the passion. Judas is reproached not only as a traitor, but as a foolish merchant, who had no notion of the value of the Christ he sold for thirty pieces of silver. The soldiers are reproached for their stupidity in not recognizing his divine dignity; the apostles for abandoning him; the Jews for their ingratitude for his benefits and miracles; Pilate as a corrupt and unjust magistrate; and so on.

The moral points and the hearers' need for conversion are implied rather than stated: the sermon achieves its aim simply in expressing with pathos the suffering of the mother of Jesus, which is itself an invitation to the Christian soul to share the Virgin's sensitivity and her compassion with the sufferings of her Son. Underlying these reflections, I think, is a sense of the sacredness of social contracts: Peter, Judas, Pilate, the disciples and the Jews are alike in that they have betrayed their responsibilities and abandoned loyalties required of them, whether to their own word, or to the duty of gratitude, or to the obligations of office, or to

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sermon is perhaps as much influenced by vernacular forms of *Planctus* as by Latin ones, but the origins of this tradition seem to be only imperfectly known. On dialogue forms in Italian Passion narratives see, for example, O. SANTORO, '*Planctus Mariae*' e tradizione del Venerdì Santo in alcuni canti popolari del Tarentino, in *Studi di Storia Pugliese in onore di Giuseppe Chiarelli*, 6 vols, Congedo 1977, VI, 477-538.

their *pactum* with Christ.<sup>33</sup> Jesus, on the contrary, honours all his promises in his final bequests from the cross.

A dramatic high point is the arrival of a messenger to call Mary to Calvary, where Jesus, at the point of death, wants her to witness his last testament. The idea of Jesus' testamentary bequests is attributed to Saint Augustine, the only non-scriptural authority thus adduced in this sermon. These points are later expanded as part of the Virgin's last dialogue with her Son, in which, in response to her questions, Jesus gives his last gifts and faithfully fulfils all his promises. At the foot of the cross Mary's grief knows no bounds: I cannot go on living, she says, and am unable to die (l.348). She reproaches her Son for leaving her, and calls on the cross to allow her to touch him. In a final monologue, in a series of bitter contrasts, she calls on the angel Gabriel and Saint Elizabeth to witness how the blessings of her life with Christ have turned to grief, contrasting the glory of Jesus' birth with his cruel death.<sup>34</sup> The sermon ends on a note traditionally associated with the Virgin on Holy Saturday: though prostrate with grief, she alone after the crucifixion preserved faith in Christ's promise of resurrection.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> For the mendicant response to new spiritual needs arising from social and economic change in the new cities of late medieval Europe see, for example, LESTER K. LITTLE, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe*, London 1978, 173-217; and DANIEL R. LESNICK, *Preaching in Medieval Florence: The Social World of Franciscan and Dominican Spirituality*, Athens GA and London 1989.

<sup>34</sup> These are traditional motifs in Eastern *Planctus* as well as in the West; cfr. STICCA, 34-37. For a useful table of motifs see G.C. TAYLOR, *The English Planctus Mariae*, in *Modern Philology* 4 (1906-1907) 605-637 at 614-615.

<sup>35</sup> See, for example, ALAN OF LILLE, *Elucidatio in Cant.* 1: 'cum passionis tempore discipuli defecerunt a fide, Virgine a statu fidei non deficiente'; PL 210.58. Cfr. also E. BERTAUD in *DSP*, III, 1696; and S. Rosso, *Sabato*, in S. DE FIORES and S. MEO, eds, *Nuovo Dizionario di Mariologia*, Milan 1985, 1219. This tradition that it was the Virgin alone who represented the faith of the church between the crucifixion and the resurrection may perhaps explain the assigning of this sermon to Holy Saturday, when it must have been delivered before the celebration of the Easter Vigil, which took place after Sext (see R. LIPPE, ed., *Missale Romanum Mediolani 1474*, 2 vols, London 1899-1907, I, 174). There was passion preaching on Holy Saturday in the Middle Ages (see for example the two sermons of Saint Bonaventure in his *Opera omnia*, 11 vols, Quaracchi 1882-1902, IX, 1901, 267-272), but our evidence for dramatic *Planctus Mariae* suggests that they were more usually performed on Good Friday: cfr. STICCA, 126-137; YOUNG, *Drama of Medieval Church*, 503-513; A. D'ANCONA, *Origini del teatro italiano*, 2 vols, Turin 1891<sup>2</sup>, I, 184-206. See also n. 28 above.

For all its very considerable emotional and dramatic power, in some ways this sermon remains unpolished. There seems to have been no attempt to have the evangelists respond to questions in the words of their own gospels, and occasionally one evangelist is made to describe an incident not recounted in his version of the passion or to respond in the words of another evangelist: for example, Mark quotes John (ll.210-211), and Matthew quotes John (ll.118-120) and Mark (ll.189-190). Especially towards the end of the text there is a rather bewildering series of changes of voice between Mary and the narrator, which creates a certain confusion, perhaps the effect of unreconstructed borrowing from different sources.

There was, indeed, considerable borrowing within the *Planctus* genre, even verbally. The beginning of Aiguani's sermon (ll.1-40) shows similarities to a Franciscan sermon in a ms. now in Paris, as noted above;<sup>36</sup> both probably drew from a common source. From l.340 to the end, the sermon is very close to a lyrical *Planctus* from Italy, *Rogamus enim te*, perhaps slightly later than Aiguani, which has been edited by G. Cremaschi.<sup>37</sup> This *Planctus* also contains a testament of Christ, though the dispositions are not the same;<sup>38</sup> and moreover, Aiguani's sermon does not directly describe the passion of Christ as *Rogamus enim te* does. This, too, is probably a case of dependence on a common source.

In the transcription, made from microfilm, I have provided capitalization and punctuation, but otherwise have followed the orthography of the ms., emending only where necessary for sense.

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<sup>36</sup> See n. 28.

<sup>37</sup> '*Planctus Mariae*'. *Nuovi testi inediti*, in *Aevum* 29 (1955) 393-468. In its present form it dates from the late 14th or early 15th century. The correspondences are at pp. 441-443, ll.679-763.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 437, ll.523-536.

1            **⟨PLANCTUS B.V. MARIAE IN SABBATO SANCTO⟩**

*Ravenna, Biblioteca Classense, ms. 400, ff.178<sup>r</sup>-181<sup>r</sup>*

Incipit planctus Domine nostre in sabbato sancto.

5            *Flebat igitur mater eius inremediabilibus lacrimis atque dicebat, Heu, filli mi, ut quid te misimus peregrinari, lumen ocellorum nostrorum.*<sup>1</sup>  
Verba proposita scribuntur Thobiae 10<sup>o</sup> capitulo.

10            Naturalle est quod quanto res est carior, tanto eius presencia dellectabilior, et tanto ausencia dolorosior. Nam videmus si bona mulier, viri solacio destituta, patris auxillio desollata, germanorum conscillio orbata, et haberet unum fillium qui esset scilicet:

          potencia sublimatus,  
          sapiencia illustratus,  
          pulcritudine decoratus,  
          diviciis locupletatus,  
15            et virtutibus adornatus,

          creditus quod hec mulier de talli filio esset decorata auxillio, munita subsidio, hunc sollum pre omnibus dilligeret, hunc vellet videre, et in presencia tallis fillii elligeret cotidie iocundari. Et racio est ista: quia eius presencia est sibi carissima.

20            Set quando putatis tallem mulierem dolore repleti, si contingeret hunc karissimum fillium perdere; set si tallis fillius in matris presencia occideretur, quam duras creditis et quam inremediabiles lacrimas et amaras illius ocelli effunderet. Certe dicere non sufficio quem vehementissim(um)<sup>a</sup> huius matris dollorem existimo, set quia numquam fuit tallis mulier. Certe solum ex milibus reperi unam de qua dicitur Judith (II),<sup>b</sup> *Non est tallis mulier super terram,*<sup>2</sup> scilicet ut sit singulariter tribullata.

30            Hec mulier est virgo gloriosa, que etsi in concepcione, parturicione, nutricione, et continua sui fillii visione, si inextimabili repleta gaudio fuisset, an angustia et dolore plena, audiendo fillium suum esse captum, victum, traditum, venditum, derelictum, negatum, vellatum, percussum, nudatum, spinis coronatum, flagellatum, et a popullo clamatum, *Crucifige, crucifige,*<sup>3</sup> tunc morte adiudicatum, inter duos latrones scituatum, lanceatum, cruce ellevatum, acceto potatum, exprobatum, et eius spiritum exalatum. Certe tunc possimus dicere quod ista mater est plena omnibus doloribus.

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<sup>a</sup> vehementissima *ms.*

<sup>b</sup> 11] *supplevi pro spatio in ms.*

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<sup>1</sup> Tb 10:4.

<sup>2</sup> Idt 11:19.

<sup>3</sup> Io 19:6 et par.

Set propter istos dollores, quid facit ista mater? Certe ipsa plorat. Et hoc patet in verbis nostri thematis assumptis, videlicet *Flebat igitur mater eius inremediabilibus lacrimis atque dicebat, Heu filli mi, ut qui(d)*<sup>c</sup> *te misimus peregrinari, lumen ocellorum nostrorum.*

Nam consuetum est et quodammodo <sup>f.178v</sup> naturale est quod dollor lacrimis mittigetur. Set quid dicit beata virgo Maria, *Quis michi det, ut ego moriar pro te, fili?*<sup>4</sup>

Set dicas nobis, O domina, cur fles, quare ploras?<sup>5</sup>

Ad quod illa, Quia secundum consuetudinem feminarum accidit. Et quid a domina, Certe pro filio meo dilecto unico perditio.

O Domina, forte non perdidisti ut exstimas.

Heu! misera, attendite universsi, et consciderate *si est dollor sicut dollor meus*,<sup>6</sup> quoniam eum non perdidisti quem non invenio. O quid mirabile est, non peccavi et in amaritudinibus moratur ocellus meus, scilicet fillius meus Jesus Christus. *Quero quem dilligit anima mea*<sup>7</sup> *inter cognatos et notos et inter doctores*<sup>8</sup> ubi ipsum allias inveni, et modo non invenio. *Numquid quem dilligit anima mea vidistis?*<sup>9</sup> Heu me! Misera quesivi eum et non invenio, vocavi et non respondit michi. *Adiuro vos, fillie Yerusalem*,<sup>10</sup> quod si vidistis vel invenistis dilectum fillium meum, ut michi dicatis, quia dolore crucior.

Responderunt mulieres et dixerunt, O virgo gloriosa, mulierum sanctissima, *quallis est fillius tuus?*<sup>11</sup>

Respondit virgo beata, *Fillius meus est candidus, scilicet puritate, fillius meus est rubicundus, scilicet caritate, et ellectus in millibus, scilicet veritate et sanctitate.*<sup>12</sup>

Dixerunt mulieres, *Et quo habiit fillius tuus?*

Respondit virgo Maria, *Fillius meus descendit in ortum*<sup>13</sup> postquam cenavit cum discipulis suis, set nescio qui tulerunt fillium meum, dominum meum et sponsum meum, et nescio quid de eo fecerunt.<sup>14</sup> Ideo plorans plorabo. Et quod plus et peius est, quod non est qui michi compaciatur, qui michi consoletur ex omnibus caris meis de dilecto filio meo. Non invenio qui michi nova aliqua de filio meo refferat.

Et tunc beatus Andreas respondit, O domina, cum illo eram in orto quando traditus fuit.

<sup>c</sup> qui *ms.*

<sup>4</sup> Cfr. 2 Sm 18:33.

<sup>5</sup> Cfr. Io 20:13.

<sup>6</sup> Lam 1:12.

<sup>7</sup> Cant 3:1.

<sup>8</sup> Lc 2:44.

<sup>9</sup> Cant 3:3.

<sup>10</sup> Cant 3:5.

<sup>11</sup> Cant 5:9.

<sup>12</sup> Cfr. Cant 5:10.

<sup>13</sup> Cant 6:1.

<sup>14</sup> Cfr. Io 20:13.

Inquit domina, Et quis eum tradidit, frater mi? Dic, obsecro.

Inquit Andreas, O mater magistri mei, Judas fuit ille qui tradidit fillium tuum, magistrum meum.

Inquit domina, Et qualliter?

75 Inquit Andreas, Mallicia dyabolli excecatus, cupiditate ductus, fillium tuum, magistrum meum, tradidit.

Inquit domina, Et quanto precio?

Et de hoc inquit Andreas, Sanctissima mater, interroga Matheum, discipullum tuum, qui tibi dicet.

80 Inquit domina, Dic michi, Mathee, pro quanto precio tradidit Iudas fillium meum?

Inquit Matheus, O domina, pro triginta denariis.

Hec audiens mater eius flebat atque dicebat, O Iuda, quid fecisti? Quid mali a fillio meo recepisti? Fillius meus te in discipullum pacis  
85 assumpsit. Fillius meus in te sperabat. Fillius meus quodammodo te alliis  
preferabat, unde te dispensatorem fe(ce)rat<sup>d</sup>, te pascebat, tanta tibi pec-  
cata dimiserat. Quomodo eum prodebas, quomodo non tot beneficia at-  
tendebas? Et utinam eum vendidisses extraneis et ignotis, /f.179<sup>r</sup> set  
90 vendidisti<sup>e</sup> eum (a)trocissimis<sup>f</sup> et crudelissimis inimicis suis, qui eum ad  
mortem querebant.

O ville precium! O infelix pactum! O inauditum comercium! ut fillius  
meus, qui est summum bonum, tam villi precio venderetur! Qui(s)<sup>g</sup> um-  
quam audivit? Quis tallem merchatorem invenit? O Iuda, que stulticia fuit,  
95 ut tantum bonum venderes et tam parvum precium acciperes? Sepe enim  
unus equus consuevit vendi centum florenos, et tu fillium meum, mundi  
lucem, seculi vita(m),<sup>h</sup> prodidisti pro triginta denariis. Vere stultus mer-  
chator fuisti! O si a me conscillium requisisses, scire utique potuisses  
quod fillius meus precio exstimari non posset. Unde si divicias querebas,  
100 eum protervis vendere non debebas, quia cum eo sunt omnes divicie et  
omnis gloria.

Dic michi, O Mathee, si scis quid actum sit aliud de fillio meo.

Inquit Matheus, Domina, ut latro captus fuit et ligatus.

Inquit domina, Quomodo scis hec?

105 Inquit Matheus, Domina, audivi a tuo fillio dicente,<sup>i</sup> *Tamquam ad  
latronem existis cum gladiis et fustibus comprehendere me.*<sup>15</sup> Et uinctum et  
ligatum adduxerunt eum ad Annam, deinde ad Chaypham, postea Poncio  
Pyllato.

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<sup>d</sup> ferat *ms.*

<sup>e</sup> vendidistis *ms.*

<sup>f</sup> trocissimis *ms.*

<sup>g</sup> qui *ms.*

<sup>h</sup> vita *ms.*

<sup>i</sup> dicentem *ms.*

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<sup>15</sup> Mt 26:55.

Flebat igitur mater eius et dicebat, O crudelitas inmensa! O stulticia magna! O cecitas maxima! Exierunt ad comprehendendum fillium meum cum gladiis et fustibus, qui est ut *agnus mansuetus*.<sup>16</sup> 110

Inquit domina, Dic michi, Mathee, defendit se fillius meus?

Inquit Matheus, Domina, cum caperetur, unus ex discipullis eius accepit gladium et abscondit auricullam dextram uni servo illius pontificis. Et vidi tunc quod fillius tuus mandavit sibi ut gladium reponeret.<sup>17</sup>

Et ait domina, Dic michi, filli mi Mathee, quomodo se dedit fillius meus in manibus eorum? 115

Et ait Matheus, Cum Iudas veniret cum multitudine Iudeorum magna, ego vidi quod fillius tuus ivit obviam eis dicens, *Quem queritis? Illi autem dixerunt, Iesum Nazarenum. Ipse vero respondit eis, Ego sum. Si ergo me queritis, sinite hos abire, scilicet apostolos meos*.<sup>18</sup> Ecce, domina, defensio sua, et quomodo se dedit in manibus eorum. Et tunc illi peccatores iniqui ceperunt fillium tuum, et ligaverunt eum sicut ligantur latrones, et duxerunt eum ad Annam, deinde ad Chaypham, sicut iam dixi. 120

Flebat igitur mater eius dicens, Dic, filli mi Mathee, quid actum fuit de discipulis fillii mei? 125

Respondit Matheus, Domina, *relicto eo omnes fugerunt*.<sup>19</sup>

Et quid est de fratre suo germano et nepote meo?

Respondit Matheus, Domina, Marcus scit.

Inquit domina, Dic michi, Marce, quid nosti? 130

Respondit Marcus, Domina, *relicto syndone quo erat amictus super nudo, dum teneretur nudus auffugit*.<sup>20</sup>

Flebat igitur mater (eius)<sup>j</sup> atque dicebat, O discipulli, quomodo dimisistis magistrum vestrum? <sup>f.179v</sup> Ubi sunt verba que dicebatis, *Nos sumus parati mori pro te?*<sup>21</sup> O Thoma, ubi sunt verba tua que dicebas,<sup>k</sup> scilicet, *Eamus nos, et moriamur cum illo?*<sup>22</sup> Heu mi! Quam cito fregistis pactum fillio meo. O Iohanes, etsi omnes dimisissent eum, certe tu numquam debebas eum dimittere. Ipse enim sua secreta tibi revellaverat, super pectus suum requiescere te fecit, tibi proditorem<sup>l</sup> suum manifestavit. Et modo eo dimisso fugisti. Heu me, Marce! Quid est de Petro? 135

Respondit Marcus, Domina, Matheus et Iohanes sciunt. 140

Inquit domina, Mathee, et tu Iohanes, dicatis quid est de Petro?

<sup>j</sup> eum *ms.*

<sup>k</sup> dicebas] *add. et canc. nos ms.*

<sup>l</sup> prodictorem *ms.*

<sup>16</sup> Ier 11:19.

<sup>17</sup> Cfr. Mt 26:51-52.

<sup>18</sup> Cfr. Io 18:4.

<sup>19</sup> Mt 26:56.

<sup>20</sup> Cfr. Mc 14:51-52.

<sup>21</sup> Cfr. Mt 26:35.

<sup>22</sup> Io 11:16.

145 Aiunt ei quod cum iuramento firmavit se numquam vidisse fillium suum et ter negavit eum una voce ante galli cantum.

Febat igitur mater eius dicens, O Petre, quid fecisti? Nonne tu dixisti, *Etsi omnes scandalizati fuerint in te, ego numquam scandalizabor?*<sup>23</sup> Et verum, *Etsi opportuerit<sup>n</sup> me mori tecum, non te negabo.*<sup>24</sup> Nonne fillius meus eclesiam suam tibi recommendavit, te apostolorum principem fecerat? Nonne tibi in trasfiguracione sua secreta ostenderat? Et modo dicis, et cum iuramento affirmas, te numquam fillium meum vidisse.

Febat igitur mater eius dicens, O amantissime filli, quam indign(e)<sup>m</sup> pateris vultum tuum, in quem *desiderant angelli prospicere.*<sup>25</sup> Qui omnes cellos implet leticia, immundissimis sputis inquinaverunt, manibus sacrilegiis occiderunt, et vello <a>pperuerunt<sup>n</sup> in derisione. Heu me! filli mi, sic vellatus, rei suspendenda. Et non sic percuciantur, set homines eis alliquialiter compaciuntur. O inauditum scellus! O invisum spectaculum! quod in facie fillii Dei sputant, in facie decorata et gratiarum plena. Quid amplius factum est de fillio meo, O Mathee?

160 Ipse inquit, Domina interroga Lucam.

Inquit virgo, Dic michi, Lucas, quid scis de fillio meo.

Ipse inquit, Domina, illuditur, et a populo proclamatur, *Tolle, tolle, crucifige eum,*<sup>26</sup> sicut Matheus scit.

165 Inquit domina, O Mathee, est verum quod dicit Lucas?

Tunc Matheus ait, Millites congregaverunt ad eum univerrsam choortem, et exuerunt eum, et clamidem coccineam circumdederunt eum, et plectentes coronam de spinis imposuerunt capiti suo, et genu flexo ante eum dicebant ei, *Ave rex Iudeorum.*<sup>27</sup> Et accipientes arundinem percuciebant capud suum dicentes, *Prophetiza: quis est qui te percussit?*<sup>28</sup>

Febat igitur mater eius dicens, O Deus excelsus, honor mundi, gloria paradysi, sic illud eris. O quid inauditum! O quid stupidum! Fillius meus! Et eius beneficiis totus mundus induitur, ad fillium meum illudendum congregantur, quia videtur auxillio destitutum, illum de spinis coronatum, per quem omnia imperia regnant. O Iudey miseri! Nonne hic est fillius meus, cui accuristis cum palmis et floribus, et vestimenta in via spernistis, cui clamastis, *Benedictus qui<sup>/E.180r</sup> venit in nomine Domini?*<sup>29</sup> Iste quid malli fecit? Postea quid comisit? Obsecro omnes populli, nonne cecos illuminavit, mortuos suscitavit, infirmos curavit, leprosos mundavit, oppressos a demonibus liberavit?<sup>30</sup> Hec fuerunt opera fillii mei inter vos

<sup>m</sup> indigna *ms.*

<sup>n</sup> opperuerunt *ms.*

<sup>23</sup> Mt 26:33.

<sup>24</sup> Mt 26:35.

<sup>25</sup> 1 Pt 1:12.

<sup>26</sup> Io 19:15; cfr. Lc 23:21.

<sup>27</sup> Mt 27:28-29.

<sup>28</sup> Cfr. Mt 27:30 et Lc 22:65.

<sup>29</sup> Mt 21:9 et par.

<sup>30</sup> Cfr. Mt 11:5.



facta. Numquid pro istis beneficiis ei illudere debebatis, et pro tanto bono tantum redderetur ei mallum?

Flebat igitur mater eius dicens, Ecce fillius meus venditus est a proditore, qui pro peccato venditoris venit reddimere. Fillius meus, mansuetus ut agnus, capitur et ligatur, qui captivos et ligatos venit solvere. Heu mi! Quid est de filio meo dilectissimo? Dic michi, Mathee. 185

Inquit Matheus, Domina, summi sacerdotes et pontifices pro invidia tradiderunt eum Pyllato. Querentes contra eum falsum testimonium et non inveniētes, venerunt duo falsi testes qui dixerunt, Hic dixit, *Destruam templum hoc, et in tribus diebus rehedificabo illud.*<sup>31</sup> 190

Flebat igitur mater eius dicens, Quid, filli, contra te dixisti? O filli, falsi sunt testes, quia tu dixisti *de templo corporis tui.*<sup>32</sup> Set si dixisses de templo materiali, O filli, verum dixisses, quia in momento potuisses illud rehedificare. Set heu! mi filli, dato quod non posses reparare: que lex est hec, ut propter hoc debeas mori? Certe nulla. Ergo quomodo te acusabant, filli mi? Et quid ultra actum est de filio meo? 195

Inquit Matheus, Domina, a popullo datur ut crucifigatur.

Heu! filli mi, heu! Quare popullus clamabat dominum suum crucifigi? Domina, quere Marcum. 200

Domina inquit, Dic michi, Marce, quare popullus clamabat contra fillium meum?

Inquit Marcus, Principes sacerdotum et scribe videntes se in ratione deficere, quod non poterant invenire testimonium propter quod possent fillium tuum occidere, comoverunt popullum, ut peterent Barabam latronem, ut Pillatum eum dimitteret et fillium tuum crucifigeret, quia non ratione nec testibus poterant, set clamoribus populli impetrarent. Nam popullus ad Pyllatum instat dicens, *Tolle, tolle, crucifige eum.*<sup>33</sup> Et Pyllatus nititur eum dimittere, set non potest, quia popullus clamabat ac vociferabat ut fillius tuus crucifigeretur dicens, *Si hunc dimittis, non es amicus Cesaris.*<sup>34</sup> 205 210

Flebat igitur mater eius atque dicebat, Heu mi! *filli mi, quis michi det, ut ego moriar pro te, filli mi?*<sup>35</sup> O vos omnes qui transsitis per viam, attendite et videte si est dollor sicut dollor meus.<sup>36</sup> Videte, obsecro, maliciam Iudeorum, quia cum non possent fillium meum iuste occidere, concitaverunt popullum contra eum. O populle stulte! O turbe insipientes! quare clamatis contra fillium meum? Nonne iste est qui pavit vos quinque panibus, de quibus saturati sunt quinque millia hominum? Nonne ipse extraxerit vos de Egypto? Quare ergo stulti clamatis contra eum? O insenssati! Quis vos festinavit, ut diceretis Pyllato quod Barabam dimitteret et fillium meum crucifigeretur? Et quis est quid sciat qui postea, post clamorem populli, quid actum sit de filio meo? 215 220

Respondit Marcus, O domina, quare queris? Quare scire desideras illud quod te affliget diverssimode? <sup>ff.180v</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Cfr. Mc 14:58.

<sup>32</sup> Io 2:21.

<sup>33</sup> Io 19:15; cfr Mc 15:13,15.

<sup>34</sup> Io 19:12.

<sup>35</sup> Cfr. 2 Sm 18:33.

<sup>36</sup> Lam 1:12.

225 Dic michi, inquit domina. Obsecro cito ne differas michi dicere quid est de filio meo.

O domina, inquit Marcus, Pyllatus dimisit fillium tuum flagellatum ut crucifigeretur, sicut scit Lucas.

O Luca, est verum quod dicit Marcus?

230 Inquit Lucas, O domina, Pyllatus adiudicavit dimitti Barrabam, et fillium tuum dedit flagellatum voluntati eorum. Et duxerunt eum ad locum Calvarie, ubi fit iusticia, ut ubi fillius tuus crucifigatur et occidatur.

235 Flebat igitur mater eius dicens, O malicia! O perversitas! O crudelitas inaudita! qui condidit legem occidere sine lege. O Pyllate, quid enim fecisti? Si iudex eras ad alios iudicandos positus, quare non sedabas popullum acusantem iniustas tibi contra fillium meum factas. Vide, miser, quam iniustam, quam impiam, quam crudellem contra fillium meum tul-listi scentenciam. Sciebas enim quod per invidiam tradidissent eum tibi. Heu me! tu idem dicis, *Ego nullam causam invenio in eum.*<sup>37</sup> Tu igitur  
240 fillium meum spinis coronas, tu eum ligas et flagellas. Quare eum morti adiudicas? Heu mi! Certe mirum est quod non ex verbis, tam mittibus, tam dulcibus, tam planis, tam modeste prolatis. Heu mi! Nichil valluit eius mollis responssio, cum tamen scriptum sit, *Sermo mollis frangit iram.*<sup>38</sup>

245 O vos omnes qui transsitis per viam<sup>39</sup> et qui dilligitis me, obsecro quod inquiratis dilligenter de Iesu filio meo, et quomodo tractetur, et quid de eo agatur. Et cum sciveritis, rogo quod michi tristissime sue matri renunciatis, quia interriora mea dolore sunt plena.

250 Inquit Lucas, O domina, desine de filio tuo inquirere, quia si scires quid agitur modo de filio tuo, timeo ne dolore deficias.

Flebat igitur mater ei(us)<sup>o</sup> dicens, Dic michi, obsecro, quia induratum est cor meum pro dolore.

O domina, inquit Lucas, modo fillius tuus crucifigitur, et cum eo duo latrones.

255 Flebat igitur mater eius atque dicebat, O dulcissime filli, quid comisi ut sic suspendaris? Tam villiter socieris. Que societates fillii Dei cum filliis hominum, regis eterni cum filliis scelleratis?<sup>p</sup>

Hec dicente virgo benedicta, unus dixit, O domina, fillius tuus vocat te, quia vult condere testamentum.

260 Respondit domina, An nescitis, quia si videro fillium meum plagis plenum quod moriar ex dolore.

Nam de isto testamento loquitur beatus Augustinus sic: Auctor pietatis in cruce pendens, sollicitus in negociis pietatis, dic(a)bat<sup>q</sup> Patri spiritum, matri Iohannem in fillium, Iudeis corpus, apostolis pacem, discipullis per-

<sup>o</sup> ei *ms.*

<sup>p</sup> scelleratis] *add. et canc. fillius meus ms.*

<sup>q</sup> dicebat *ms.*

<sup>37</sup> Io 18:38; 19:4.

<sup>38</sup> Prv 15:1.

<sup>39</sup> Lam 1:12.

secucionem, latroni paradysum, peccatoribus infernum, iustis gratiam et gloriam.<sup>40</sup> 265

Ne tardas, domina, ne differas venire, quia iam est proximus morti et te expectat.

Inquit domina, Ecce venio, misera, omni sollacio destituta. Et viso filio meo incepti clamare et dicere, *O vos omnes qui transsitis per viam, attendite et videte si est dollor simillis sicut dolor meus,*<sup>41</sup> quasi dicat quando stabat iuxta crucem mat(er)<sup>r</sup> eius. 270

Dicebat sic, Heu! mi filli dilectissime, quare vis condere testamentum? Quid Patri tuo dimittis? Domina, spiritum, iuxta illud psalmi, *In manus tuas comendo spiritum meum.*<sup>42</sup> Quid Iudeis? Domina, corpus meum, iuxta illud propheticum, *Flagellatum percucientibus dedi corpus meum.*<sup>43</sup> Et quid discipullis, filli mi? Domina, persecucionem, iuxta illud evangelii, *Persequentur vos de civitate in civitatem.*<sup>44</sup> Quid <sup>f.181r</sup> apostolis, fili mi? Domina,<sup>s</sup> pacem, iuxta illud evangelii, *Pacem relinquo vobis.*<sup>45</sup> Quid latroni? Domina, paradysum, iuxta illud Christi dictum, *Amen, dico tibi, hodie mecum eris in paradyso.*<sup>46</sup> Quid peccatoribus? Domina, infernum, iuxta illud evangelii, *Ligatis manibus et pedibus et mittete eum in tenebras exteriores.*<sup>47</sup> Quid fidellibus tuis, filli mi? Domina, crucem, iuxta illud, *Qui vult post me venire, abneget semetipsum, et tollat crucem suam, et sequatur me.*<sup>48</sup> Quid ultimo miserime matri tue, plena angustiis, plena dolloribus. Heu mi! omnibus reliquistis, quid michi desolate<sup>t</sup> matri relinquis? 285

Tunc pius fillius suus pendens in cruce, audiens matrem plorantem, pectus et faciem percucientem, quasi de sompno evigillans, ait matri sue, Matri mea dulcissima, consollare: Ecce, hic est Iohanes tuus fillius et nepos, et frater meus, fillius quidem tuus per recommendacionem et nepos tuus secundum carnem.<sup>49</sup> Deinde dicit discipullo, scilicet Iohani, *Ecce mater tua.*<sup>50</sup> 290

<sup>r</sup> matri *ms.*

<sup>s</sup> domina] *add. et canc. persecucionem ms.*

<sup>t</sup> *fort. desolute ms.*

<sup>40</sup> *Haec non sunt S. Augustini verba, et fontem non inveni.*

<sup>41</sup> Lam 1:12.

<sup>42</sup> Ps 30:6.

<sup>43</sup> Is 50:6.

<sup>44</sup> Mt 23:34.

<sup>45</sup> Io 14:27.

<sup>46</sup> Lc 23:43.

<sup>47</sup> Mt 22:13.

<sup>48</sup> Mt 16:24.

<sup>49</sup> Nepos tuus: cfr. Nicolaus Lyranus super Mt 27:56: 'Ista [scil. Maria Iacobi] erat soror Mariae matris Christi et mater filiorum Zebedaei, scilicet Iacobi et Iohannis.' *Biblia Sacra cum Glossa interlineari, ordinaria, et Nicolai Lyrani Postilla*, V, Venice 1588, 86C.

<sup>50</sup> Io 19:27.

295 Ad hec verba gloriosa virgo Maria respondit, Heu me! filli mi dulcissime, quid dicis? Hunc non habeo fillium sed nepotem. Que consolacio est ista? Certe malla. *Recedite a me, recedite a me, quia amare flebo*,<sup>51</sup> donec pre nimio dolore moriar. Nollite me amplius consolari,<sup>52</sup> quia iam scinditur cor meum. Iam gladius dolloris<sup>53</sup> penetravit interiora mea. An nescis, filli dulcissime, quod te amisso consolari non possum? Si ego et  
300 pater tuus putativus, scilicet Yoseph, dolentes querebamus te, quid ergo nunc quando te video in cruce pendentem. Non obscurrari, non tangere te possum. Villi precio video te venditum, spinis coronatum, cruci affixum, lancea vulneratum, clavis perforatum. Te de cruce deponere non possum. Inter latrones sociatum, felle et aceto potatum, et a *planta pedis usque ad*  
305 *verticem*<sup>54</sup> te video implagatum. Heu me misera! quia tangere te non possum. Quomodo ergo recedam? Certe non possum, quia ad nichillum reddata est virtus corporis mei, et deficit in dolore anima mea, videns te deficere in cruce et mori, et clamare voce magna, et spiritum exallare. Heu me derelicta! Cur me deseris, filli benedicte?

310 Et respiciens crucem dicebam, O crudellis crux, quare fillium meum accepisti? quare fillium meum tenes? Redde fillium meum michi, et si ipsum michi non vis reddere, recipe me cum eo, ut ipsum tangere possim. Et sic dicendo brachia ellevabat ut fillium tangeret, set non poterat pre nimia altitudine. Et tunc dicebat, 'Flecte ramos, arbor alta, tenna  
315 lassa vissera',<sup>55</sup> ut superni menbra regis, fillii mei, tangere possim.

Et non vallens ipsum tangere, dicebam Iudeis voce qua poteram, O crudelissimi Iudey, fillium meum tradidistis et ipsum interfecistis; nolulistis michi reddere vivum, saltem illum mortuum michi (reddite),<sup>u</sup> quia ipsum audivi voce magna clamantem quando emisit spiritum.<sup>f.181v</sup>

320 Flebat autem mater eius atque dicebat, Heu me! filli mi! En! vivere non possum et mori non valleo. Plorans plorabo omnibus diebus vite mee. Quid faciam? quid dicam? quia sum omni auxilio destituta, omni dolore et amaritudine repleta.

325 Cum ergo sepultus esset fillius meus a Yoseph ab Arimathia et ego stabam<sup>v</sup> foras plorans, et suspirabam atque dicebam, O angelle Gabriel, cur me decepisti, quare dixisti michi, *Ave gracia plena?*<sup>56</sup> Et ecce sum omni dolore et amaritudine circumvallata. Tu michi dixisti, *Dominus tecum*.<sup>57</sup> Ecce fillius meus longe est factus a me, et ipsum videre et tangere non possum. O Helyzabeth, quare dixisti michi, *Benedictus fructus*

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<sup>u</sup> reddite *ms.*

<sup>v</sup> et ego stabam] *rep. et canc. ms.*

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<sup>51</sup> Cfr. Is 22:4.

<sup>52</sup> Cfr. Ier 31:15.

<sup>53</sup> Cfr. Lc 2:35.

<sup>54</sup> Is 1:6.

<sup>55</sup> Cfr. hymnus Venantii Fortunati 'Pange lingua gloriosi proelium certaminis', qui in ritu Feriae sextae in Parasceve iuxta utramque consuetudinem, romanam ac carmelitanam, inveniebatur.

<sup>56</sup> Lc 1:28.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

ventris tui? <sup>58</sup> Et ecce fillius meus benedictus iacet in sepulcro vulneribus 330  
 plenus. Quomodo ergo est benedictus? Heu me misera! Quid dicam? Si  
 in pariendo dollorem non senssi, in morte autem tua, filli dulcissime,  
 dolorem parturicionis portavi. In eius ortu auditus est cantus angellorum,  
 et in morte est factus planctus multorum. In eius ortu stella apparuit  
 noviter creata, modo ploro experta nova angustia. Ubi sunt pastores lau- 335  
 dantes Deum? Ubi reges de longinquis venientes adorare fillium? In sepulcro  
 ponitur gaudium meum, lux mundi, conditor seculli, salvator hu-  
 mani generis.

Cum autem sepultus esset, revertebatur virgo Maria plorans, et tantus 340  
 erat planctus quod omnes ad planctum invitabat. Fit rumor in civibus  
 audientes virginem Mariam plorantem. Curunt undique inquirentes et di-  
 centes, Que est ista, que sic amare plorat? Quibus illa voce qua potuit,  
 Ego sum mater tristissima Christi crucifixi, quem suspenderunt modo in  
 patibullo crudelissimi Iudey. De cello venerat ut homines redimeret, et qui 345  
 redimit hominem ab homine passus est. Illa revertebatur plorans, et quot-  
 quot videbant eam in planctum maximum convertebantur, nam ocelli eius  
 pre lacrimis quasi deficiebant.

Et cum reddisset in domum <sup>w</sup> Iohanes, quievit, iacens debillis et in- 350  
 firma. Et eam Iohanes consollari cupiebat, set minime poterat pre nimio  
 dolore, nisi per spem resurreccionis, quam firmiter ipsa mater expectabat.  
 Totus tunc mundus infidellis erat, nisi in solla virgine gloriosa fides nostra  
 tunc reclusa erat et servata.

Ad quam matrem virginem semper in nostris necessitatibus est recu- 355  
 rendum, ut ipsa pro nobis intercedat ad Dominum nostrum Iesum Chris-  
 tum fillium suum, qui vivit et regnat in secullorum seculla. Amen.

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<sup>w</sup> in domum] *rep. ms.*

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<sup>58</sup> Lc 1:42.