

The Cocharelli Fragments: edition of the text*

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ABSTRACT: *The aim of the present paper is to give the first complete critical edition of the text of the Cocharelli codex, the richly illuminated manuscript produced in Genoa for the Cocharelli family in the early fourteenth-century of which only 27 folios survive today. The manuscript transmits a Latin treatise on the vices and virtues written by an unidentified member of the Cocharelli family for the moral instruction of his children. For the description of vices and virtues the author relies on some very popular sources of the time (such as Guido Faba and Paulus Hungarus), while he derives the exempla included in his work (dealing mainly with the near-contemporary history of Genoa and of the Latin East) from the personal recollections of his grandfather Pellegrino Cocharelli. This text is remarkable not only for its original historical accounts and for the stunning illuminations that illustrate it, but also for the valuable information it provides on the Genoese and on the Mediterranean cultural context of the early Trecento. The introduction offers a brief survey on manuscripts, language and orthography, followed by a paragraph with the criteria which have been followed in establishing the text. The edition is completed by critical notes which discuss textual problems, offer comments on difficult passages, identify the sources and provide historical information; it is also accompanied by an appendix with the reproduction of the images of all surviving folios.*

KEYWORDS: *Cocharelli Codex – Moral Literature – Vices and Virtues – Genoa – Cyprus – Medieval History – Outremer – Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts – Medieval Latin Literature*

* Rose Faunce provided a first transcription of Booklets I and II; §§ 1, 3, 4, the critical edition of Booklets I-III and the endnotes are by Chiara Concina; § 2 is the result of the collaboration between the two authors.

[O]gni periodo, ogni riga, vorrei dire ogni parola, di un testo inedito è una scoperta: che essa sia più o meno importante, non conta: ciò che conta è che per la prima volta, dopo sette, otto, dieci secoli, ritorna alla luce una poesia, una commedia, una cronaca, un commento ai classici [...]: qualche cosa di sepolto, insomma, che dà al filologo la gioia dell'archeologo davanti alle colonne, alle statue, alle lapidi, emergenti a poco a poco dai suoi scavi con lo stupore attonito e quasi vivo di una resurrezione.

Ezio Franceschini, *Note di filologia latina medievale* (1938), p. 142

1. Introduction

The Cocharelli codex is an early fourteenth-century fragmentary illuminated manuscript containing a treatise on the vices and virtues,¹ of which only 27 folios survive today.² Over the last century, this manuscript has been studied mainly by art historians for its extraordinary illuminations,³ while very little attention has been paid to its text. Recent investigations have therefore proved that the work transmitted by this manuscript is, under many points of view, as worthy of attention as are its illuminations.⁴

¹ Bloomfield - Guyot *et al.* 1979, p. 492 (n. 5694), and Newhauser - Bejczy 2008, p. 323 (n. 5694).

² From an art historical perspective, the manuscript has been dated 1325/35 by Robert Gibbs (Gibbs 1992, p. 640, Gibbs 1999, p. 271, and Gibbs 2002); see also Fabbri *supra*, pp. 184-185. This dating is confirmed by the palaeographical analysis by Bassetti *supra*, in partic. pp. 350-362.

³ Bibliography on the miniatures is provided in Concina 2016, p. 192, note 10. Cfr. also Faunce 2016, and the papers by Blume, Fabbri, Müller and Bitsch collected in the present issue.

⁴ A transcription of the passage recounting the fall of Tripoli was among the autograph documents of the Count of Riant (see Vogüé 1893, p. 13), and has been reproduced by Röhrich (1894, pp. 57-58) in his essay on the fall of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. A defective transcription of MS Add. 28841, f. 6r, has been published in the collection of *facsimilia* issued by the Palaeographical Society, see Bond - Thompson - Warner (ed.) 1873-1883, pl. 149-150. Rose Faunce has provided a transcript of Booklets I and II and the English translation of a few passages of Booklet III in her unpublished Ph. D. dissertation (Faunce 2016). Some passages of the text have already been studied in Concina 2016 and 2019, Edbury 2020, Musarra 2022.

The Latin pamphlet on the vices and virtues (followed by a complementary section in verses), was possibly composed between 1317 and 1324⁵ by an unspecified member of the Cocharelli family for the moral education of his children, and in particular of his young son 'Johanninus'.⁶

The booklet on the vices is transmitted by 20 of the extant folios and is the better preserved one. The vices are presented in the order that was the most popular at the time, deriving from Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Job*. The descriptions of each vice and its different species are taken almost literally from Guido Faba's *Summa de vitiis et virtutibus* and from Paul of Hungary's *Summa de poenitentia*, and are followed by one or more uplifting *exempla* related to each vice.

The booklet on the virtues is almost completely lost, since it is preserved only by a single fragment cut containing a passage on Justice derived from Guido Faba's *Summa* and from Martin of Braga's *Formula vitae honestae*.

The extant six folios contain a section in verses and it is not clear if it was meant as a part of the booklet on the virtues or as an independent appendix (we have chosen to consider it as the latter).⁷ In the text of this section, moral sentences (taken from Jacopo of Benevento's *Proverbia*, from the Bible and from collections of *Florilegia*) are interwoven with an extensive historical account concerning the political events of the years 1300-1311 in which the leading character, described in a highly encomiastic tone and indicated as a shining example of virtuous man and wise ruler, is the Captain of the people and Admiral of Genoa Corrado Doria. The narrative (which might be thought of as 'Doria's Epic') and the moral dictates both stress the opposition between sin and virtue, providing a model of political, moral and spiritual leadership that links this booklet to the *speculum principis* genre. In addition to that, the last preserved part of this section skips back to prose and focuses chiefly on the virtues that are necessary to a good ruler by using a passage taken from the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Secretum Secretorum*, one of the most widespread books on the science of government of the Middle Ages. On this basis, we could

⁵ The text states that the king of Cyprus Henry II of Lusignan († 1324) is still alive, while the last datable historical fact mentioned by the treatise is his marriage to Constance, daughter of king Frederick III of Sicily (this dating was first suggested by the *The British Museum Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts, 1931-1935*, p. 317, and then confirmed by Edbury 2020). See also Musarra *supra*, pp. 109-110, and Fabbri *supra*, p. 220, note 117.

⁶ Cfr. also Concina - Fabbri *supra*.

⁷ In this section, the hexameters and the elegiac couplets taken from the sources are quite regular, while when the author seems to have composed himself the lines, a great number of metric irregularities can be detected. Further investigation on this topic will be necessary in the future.

infer that we are in the presence of a separate pamphlet, which was possibly conceived to summarize and to complete the teachings provided in the works on vices and virtues, as well as to show their practical use. Unlike the illustrations of the first two booklets, which are closely related to the narrative, the vibrant depictions of animals and insects on the illuminated borders of the third part are not directly connected to the text. As has already been remembered, they can be understood not merely as decoration, but rather as a handbook on the natural world.⁸

In the Prologue, the anonymous author affirms that he took many of the *exempla* included in his treatise from the memoirs of his grandfather Pellegrino Cocharelli, whose actual presence in Acre, Cyprus and Genoa is witnessed by a series of notarial deeds of the end of the thirteenth and of the beginning of the fourteenth centuries.⁹ Most of the *exempla* inserted in the three booklets do not rely on any known source and provide original pieces of information about some of the most important events of the recent history of the time, such as the turbulent facts concerning Lusignan Cyprus from the reign of Henry I (r. 1218-1253) to the restoration of Henry II (1310), the tragic downfall of Tripoli (1289) and Acre (1291) to the Mamluks, the trial and the suppression of the Templars and the death of Philip the Fair (1314), the dreadful years of the Genoese civil war at the beginning of the fourteenth century, the naval battle of Ponza and the capture of Corrado Doria (1300), the death of his son Pietro (1309) and the entrusting of the lordship of Genoa to the emperor Henry VII of Luxembourg (1311).¹⁰

Moreover, against the background of the macrohistory of Genoa and of the Mediterranean provided by the *exempla*, the microhistory of the Cocharelli family itself takes place through the account concerning its ancestor Pellegrino. Indeed, at the beginning of the chapter on *Superbia*, the author remembers how his grandfather, who was a citizen of Acre (where he possibly arrived from Provence, the country of origin of the Cocharelli), realizing that the city was corrupted and badly governed, decided to move to Genoa together with his whole family, carrying his great riches with him.¹¹

The codex is therefore a family book (produced for the family and written by one of its members), providing not only the basic moral and

⁸ On these miniatures cfr. Chelazzi Dini - Ciardi Dupré dal Poggetto [1972], pp. 373-375, Bitsch 2014, and Bitsch *supra*.

⁹ Cfr. Concina - Fabbri *supra*, pp. 24-28.

¹⁰ On the historical accounts see Musarra *supra*, and the notes to the present edition.

¹¹ Cfr. Concina 2023, pp. 67-71.

civil knowledge necessary to the wealthy members of the merchant class,¹² but also recording part of a family narrative inscribed, through the legacy of Pellegrino's memories, in the context of several of the most important events of the recent history of Genoa and of the Outremer. Enclosed as they are in the astonishing small format of a pocket-book, the text and images often work together in close relationship (in the booklets on vices and virtues), or in a complementary way (in the verse section, where images are unrelated to the text) as parts of an extremely accurate and sophisticated pedagogical project.

The edition of the text of the Cocharelli fragments, placed at the end of this monographic number of *Medioevi* entirely devoted to investigate the many topics (historical, artistic, cultural, scientific, palaeographical and codicological) related to this manuscript, should be considered not only as a necessary completion to the rich and commendable insights provided by the authors of this issue, but also as a starting point for further investigation along the multifaceted trails and the still hidden paths that this remarkable codex reveals before us.

2. *Manuscripts*

The Cocharelli codex has not been preserved as a complete manuscript, but as 27 fragmentary folios (10 closely trimmed leaves, 14 large, and three small cuttings), haphazardly bound in six different volumes, housed by three different institutions:¹³

¹² On the Genoese cultural context see Bampa *supra*.

¹³ The illuminated leaves of the Cocharelli have been reproduced in print and exhibited many times; all the Cocharelli leaves preserved at the British Library were available on the online Catalogue of Digitised Manuscripts of this institution; sadly, in October 2023 the British Library experienced an extensive cyber-attack and at the present moment the Digitised Collections are not available; the Cleveland folio is available on the website of the Cleveland Museum of Art: <http://www.clevelandart.org/art/1953.152> (MS n. 1953.152) [last access: 10/06/2022]. The leaves housed at the British Library are described in: *Catalogue de la bibliothèque de M. N. Yemeniz*, pp. xxxvii-xliv and 9-10 (Add. 27695); *Catalogue of the celebrated library of Baron Seymour Kirkup*, p. 97, n. 2170 (Add. 28841); *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the years 1854-1875*, II, p. 346 (Add. 27695), and p. 565 (Add. 28841); *The British Museum Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts, 1931-1935*, p. 317 (Eg. 3127); *The British Library Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts. New Series, 1966-1970*, I, n. Eg. 3781. The Bargello leaf is described in Rogers 1989, and the Cleveland leaf in *The International Style. The Arts in Europe around 1400*, pp. 74-75 (and pl. LXIV). A reconstruction of the way the fragments have been acquired by the different institutions in which they are preserved today is provided in Fabbri 2011, p. 289 and Nicolini 2016. See also Concina - Fabbri *supra*, pp. 21-24.

Library	Shelfmark	n. of folios
Cleveland, Museum of Art, Wade Fund	MS n. 1953.152	1
Firenze, Museo Nazionale del Bargello	MS inv. 2065 Carrand	1
London, British Library	MS Additional 27695	15
London, British Library	MS Additional 28441	7
London, British Library	MS Egerton 3127	2
London, British Library	MS Egerton 3781	1

As already mentioned, the text of the fragments can be ascribed to three different booklets (the third one is tentatively considered as an independent section):

- I. Booklet on the Vices
- II. Booklet on the Virtues
- III. Moral Dictates and ‘Doria’s Epic’ (verse section)

The text is written in two columns (writing area c. 128×90 mm; single column writing area c. 128×40 mm) by a single hand in *littera textualis* (to be dated around the 30s of the thirteenth century); the height of the writing does not exceed 2 mm. Illuminated initials painted in gold, or in gold and colour (from 1 to 6 ll.) mark the beginning of the chapters and of the different sections of the text; the titles of the chapters of Booklet I are lettered in gold (§§ I-IV), or in silver and in capitals (§§ VI, VII); in Booklet III each verse corresponds to a line of text, each opened by an initial in gold.

In the following tables the correct order of the folios is given;¹⁴ each folio is identified by its shelfmark and by the position it occupies in the actual pagination of each manuscript. For each folio, dimensions, contents (with the corresponding number of the booklet, chapter, pericopes/lines assigned in the edition of the text), the position occupied by the miniatures on each folio (full-page, half-page, border) and the reference to the corresponding plate are given.

Chapters I (*De superbia*) and III (*De invidia*) are possibly complete; chapters II (*De ira*), IV (*De accidia*) and VII (*De luxuria*) preserve part of

¹⁴ The reconstruction of the order follows the one established in Concina 2016 and in Faunce 2016.

the general description of each sin, but none of the *exempla*. Chapter v (*De avaritia*) should have originally been (as often occurs in Medieval treatises on the vices) one of the longest, but, unfortunately, the very beginning with the full-page miniature and part of the text with general description is missing, so we only have the second part of it as well as some passages of the *exempla*. Chapter vi (*De gula*) preserves an *exemplum*, but part of the general description is missing. The last chapter (vii *De luxuria*) is today preserved only by one folio, with part of the general description of this vice. The *exempla* of *Luxuria* as well as the remainder of this booklet are lost.

Only a fragment of Booklet II is preserved (with part of the description of Justice), while it is impossible to tell how much of Booklet III is lost.

I. BOOKLET ON THE VICIES

Shelfmark	mm.		Text	Miniatures	Plate	
1	Add. 27695	161×97	1r	<i>General Title</i> and <i>Prologus</i> , 1-6	Half-page	I
			1v	<i>De superbia</i> (I, Title)	Full-page	II
2	Add. 27695	161×98	2r	<i>De superbia</i> (I, 1-27)	Border	III
			2v	–	Full-page	IV
3	Add. 27695	161×99	3r	<i>De superbia</i> (I, 28-52)	Border	V
			3v	<i>De superbia</i> (I, 52-55) <i>De ira</i> (II, Title)	Full-page	VI
4	Add. 28841	170×108	1r	<i>De ira</i> (II, 1-38)	Border	VII
			1v	<i>De ira</i> (II, 39-50)	Right column and border	VIII
[II. At least one folio with exempla of <i>Ira</i> is missing]						
5	Add. 27695	165×103	4r	<i>De invidia</i> (III, Title)	Full-page	IX
			4v	<i>De invidia</i> (III, 1-37)	Border	X
6	Add. 27695	162×103	5r	–	Full-page	XI
			5v	<i>De invidia</i> (III, 38-59)	Border	XII
7	Barg. inv. 2065	161×101	1r	–	Full-page	XIII
			1v	<i>De invidia</i> (III, 60-79)	Border	XIV

Shelfmark	mm.		Text	Miniatures	Plate	
8	Clev. n. 1953.152	163×103	1r	<i>De invidia</i> (III, 79-80) <i>De accidia</i> (IV, Title)	Full-page	XV
			1v	<i>De accidia</i> (IV, 1-33)	Border	XVI
[IV. <i>At least on folio with exempla of Accidia is missing</i>] [V. <i>At least one folio with the Title and the beginning of the general description of Avaritia is missing</i>]						
9	Add. 27695	160×96	6r	<i>De avaritia</i> (v, 1-41)	Border	XVII
			6v	–	Full-page	XVIII
10	Add. 27695	59×101 (fragment cut)	7r	<i>De avaritia</i> (v, 42-49)	Border	XIX
			7v	–	Half-page	XX
11	Eg. 3127	170×105	1r	<i>De avaritia</i> (v, 50-77)	Border	XXI
			1v	<i>De avaritia</i> (v, 77-89)	Half-page and border	XXII
12	Add. 27695	161×100	8r	–	Full-page	XXIII
			8v	<i>De avaritia</i> (v, 90-106)	Border	XXIV
13	Add. 27695	158×98	9r	<i>De avaritia</i> (v, 106-129)	Border	XXV
			9v	<i>De avaritia</i> (v, 130)	Full-page	XXVI
14	Eg. 3127	170×105	2r	<i>De avaritia</i> (v, 131-153)	Border	XXVII
			2v	<i>De avaritia</i> (v, 154-170)	Border	XXVIII
15	Eg. 3781	169×108	1v	<i>De avaritia</i> (v, 170-187)	Border	XXIX
			1r	<i>De avaritia</i> (v, 187-196)	Half-page and border	XXX
16	Add. 27695	160×96	11r	<i>De avaritia</i> (v, 197-224)	Border	XXXI
			11v	–	Full-page	XXXII
17	Add. 27695	50×100 (fragment cut)	12r	–	Half-page	XXXIII
			12v	<i>De avaritia</i> (v, 225-239)	Border	XXXIV
18	Add. 27695	166×102	13r	<i>De avaritia</i> (v, 240-241) <i>De gula</i> (VI, Title)	Full-page	XXXV
			13v	<i>De gula</i> (VI, 1-26)	Half-page and border	XXXVI
[VI. <i>At least one folio with the description of the subspecies of Gula is missing</i>]						

	Shelfmark	mm.		Text	Miniatures	Plate
19	Add. 27695	162×103	14r	–	Full-page	XXXVII
			14v	<i>De gula</i> (VI, 27-47)	Border	XXXVIII
20	Add. 27695	153×99	15r	<i>De luxuria</i> (VII, Title)	Full-page	XXXIX
			15v	<i>De luxuria</i> (VII, 1-27)	Border	XL
[VII. Remainder of the text on Luxuria is missing, as well as the final section of Booklet I]						

II. BOOKLET ON THE VIRTUES

	mm.	Add. 27695	Text	Miniatures	Plate
(fragment cut)	114×55	10r	–	Half-page	XLI
		10v	(?) <i>De iustitia</i> (I, 1-13)	Border	XLII

III. MORAL DICTATES AND ‘DORIA’S EPIC’

	mm.	Add. 28841	Text	Miniatures	Plate
1	171×109	3r	1-68	Border	XLIII
		3v	69-133	Border	XLIV
2	171×108	5r	134-203	Border	XLV
		5v	204-270	Border	XLVI
3	170×109	2r	271-340	Border	XLVII
		2v	341-409	Border	XLVIII
4	169×108	7r	410-478	Border	XLIX
		7v	479-542	Border	L
5	169×110	6r	543-608	Border	LI
		6v	609-680	Border	LII
6	172×110	4r	681-750	Border	LIII
		4v	751-814	Border	LIV

3. Language

3.1. Orthography

Our text displays many of the common spelling tendencies of Medieval Latin of the time, which are resumed in the list below:

A) Vowels

- *a* is generally preserved, with the exception of: *balzemum* (I, v, 223) for *balsamum*, *erogancia* (I, i, 7, 12) for *arrogantia*, *reputabantur* (I, v, 101) for *reputabantur*;
- *o* for *e* in: *domonum* (I, vii, 3, *apparatus*) for *demonum*, *egone* (I, v, 110, *apparatus*) for *egene* (*aegenae*), *anteferendus* (I, v, 133, *apparatus*) for *anteferendus*;
- diphthongs *ae*, *oe* are always represented *e*, with a few exceptions possibly due to a misspelling: *ponam* (I, i, 55, *apparatus*) for *penam* (*poenam*), *pona* (I, vii, 6, *apparatus*) for *pena* (*poena*);
- exchange *i* for *e*: *diffinitiones* (I, Prol., 4) for *definitiones*, *infirnis* (I, vii, 8) for *infernis*, *religantur* (I, v, 126) for *relegantur*;
- exchange *y* for *i*: *choybere* (I, ii, 34), *dyaboli* (I, iii, 5; III, 701), *dytari* (I, v, 180), *dyu* (I, i, 32), *dyutissime* (I, ii, 21; I, iii, 61), *insydyosis* (I, i, 24), *obsydione* (I, v, 111), *yimaginem* (I, v, 56), *ymmo* (I, iii, 64; I, v, 137, 154, 163, 178; I, vi, 40), *zodyacum* (I, v, 85); and *i* for *y* in *presbiteri* (III, 711);
- exchange *o* for *u*: *demom* for *demum* (I, i, 48, *apparatus*).

B) Consonants

- exchange *ad-* for *ac-*: *adcisit* (I, iii, 54, *apparatus*) for *accidit*; and *a-* for *ab-*: *asolvitur* (I, v, 88);
- always *ka-* for *ca-* in *karissime*, *karitas*, *Karollus*;
- constant exchange between *-ti* -and *-ci-* followed by a vowel as, for instance, in *cicius*, *demencia*, *inpaciencia*, *malicia*, *nequicia*, *paciar*, etc.;
- exchange *ct* for *t*: *inductus* (I, vi, 29) for *indutus*; *prodicator* (I, v, 132) for *proditor*, *prolacta* (I, v, 219) for *prolata*;
- double consonants for single ones and vice versa: a) doubling: *cello* (vb. *celare*; III, 758), *dupplicem* (I, iii, 8), *ennarrabo* (I, iii, 59), *ennarrare* (I, v, 139), *evangelio* (I, v, 81), *exillarar* (I, iv, 4), *immitari* (II, i, 5), *immitaveris* (II, i, 12), *inannis* (I, v, 57), *ipssa* (I, ii, *Tit.*; I, iv, *Tit.*), *mellius* (I, Prol., *Tit.*), *negligencia* (I, iv, 12), *occulus* (I, iii, 2), *occuli* (III, 616), *occulis* (II, i, 4), *offerro* (III, 294, 762), *peccunia* (I, i, 38, 39; I, v, 42, 90, etc.), *peccunie* (I, v, 43, 47, 69, etc.), *peccuniam* (I, v, 43, 48, 50, 90, etc.), *propallatur* (III, 454), *refferro* (III, 452), *sanne* (I, v, 228); b) degemination: *alicis* (III, 808), *anuere* (III, 352), *anullatus* (I, iii, 57), *atende* (III, 549), *comiserant* (I, v,

- 189), *comitebant* (I, III, 67), *gesistis* (I, v, 78), *permitas* (I, v, 196; III, 343), *poluit* (I, VII, 9, 26), *porigitur* (I, v, 100);
- when not abbreviated, the nasal is sometimes assimilated in the compounds with *in-* before bilabial consonants: *inpaciencia* (I, II, 14, 32), *inperatori* (III, 756), *inpetuosum* (I, II, 32), *inpius* (II, I, 7), *inpii* (III, 665), *inpugnare* (I, I, 24);
 - *-t* for *-d*: *set* (I, I, 1; I, v, 159; III, 3, 27, 65, 156, etc.), but the spelling *sed* is mostly used; *-d* for *-t*: *capud* (III, 168, 284, 568);
 - *l* for *r*: *fulca* (III, 144) for *furca*;
 - *s*, *ss*, *sc* for *x*: *crucifiscere* (III, 64) for *crucifixere*, *eiessit* (I, I, 55) for *eiexit*, *iusta* (I, v, 70; III, 251, 263, 291, 295, 492) for *iuxta*, *retrasit* (III, 467) for *retraxit*;
 - insertion of an epenthetic letter in *mpn* for *mn*: *condempnata* (I, v, 78), *condempnatur* (I, v, 88), *condempnetur* (I, v, 76), *contempnit* (III, 812), *contempnetur* (III, 812), *dampnum* (I, II, 43; I, III, 65, etc.), *dampno* (I, II, 39; I, III, 32, etc.), *dampna* (I, I, 26; I, II, 37, etc.), *dampnis* (I, *Prol.*, 6), *dampnificat* (I, II, 38, 49), *sompno* (I, v, 184); we also find overcorrected spellings in words like *inobps* (I, VII, 8), *verumptamen* (I, v, 145);
 - *c* for *qu*, *q*: *comodo* (I, II, *Tit.*), *condam* (I, *Prol.*, 5; I, I, 27, 28, 37), *cuod* (III, 430, *apparatus*), *consecuntur* (I, *Prol.*, 6; I, I, 26; I, VI, 10), *qui* (I, v, 191, *apparatus*) for *cui*, *quilibet* (III, 43, *apparatus*) for *cuilibet*, *quicumque* (III, 181, *apparatus*) for *cuicumque*, and *secuntur* (I, IV, 8; I, VII, 13), without the double *u*, as happens also in *nequs* (I, II, 40) for *nequus*; *qu* for *c*: *quardinalibus* (I, *Prol.*, *Tit.*);
 - *z* for *s*: *balzemum* (I, v, 223), *doloze* (III, 313, 712), *luzores* (I, v, 227);
 - *c* for *s*: *cecunda* for *secunda* (I, VII, 15, *apparatus*; III, 5, *apparatus*), *cella* (III, 591, *apparatus*), but also *sellam* (III, 593), *cet* (III, 3, *apparatus*) for *sed*, *cic* (III, 87, 251, *apparatus*) for *sic*, *cicut* (III, 84, *apparatus*) for *sicut*, *Cicilie* (I, v, 192, *apparatus*) for *Sicilie*, *Nicocie* (I, v, 147, *apparatus*) for *Nicosie*;
 - *sc* for *s*, *ss*: *abscente* (I, v, 144), *conscensu* (I, v, 88), *consigliari* (III, 319), *consilium* (III, 317), *conscentit* (III, 349), *discipavit* (I, VI, 41), *discipatorem* (III, 551), *scitis* (vb. *esse*: III, 519; f. noun ‘thirst’: I, VII, 8) for *sitis*;
 - *ss* for *sc*: *enitessit* (I, *Prol.*, 1) for *enitescit*;
 - overcorrected spellings in *discebant* (I, v, 165, *apparatus*: corrected in *dicebant* by the scribe), *discere* (III, 323, *apparatus*) for *dicere*;
 - inconsistent use of *h*, overcorrected spellings in *hostendo* (III, 710), *bodium* (I, II, 9, 21), *bornat* (III, 691), *perhenne* (III, 377, *apparatus*); and loss of *h* in *pulcerrimo* (I, III, 48), *actenus* (I, v, 90);
 - metathesis of *r*: *strupum* (I, VI, 15, 21, 22) for *stuprum*, *illicrebas* (I, VII, 10) for *illicebras*; and epenthesis of *r* in *tregra* (I, III, 72, *apparatus*) for *trega*;
 - *gu* for *g*: *longuo* (III, 443) for *longo*, *prodigualitas* (I, VI, 19) for *prodigalitas*;

- *mibi, nihil* and *nihilum*, when not abbreviated, are always spelled *michi, nichil, nichilum*;
- *x* for *c*: *confextionibus* (I, v, 150), *potatrixem ... meretrixem* (I, vi, 46);
- *z-* for *di-* in *zabulo* (III, 60).

Interestingly, many spelling peculiarities of the Latin of the Cocharelli text are in most cases compatible with the habits of a Northern Italian (Genoese ?) scribe, as happens, for instance, for:

- i. the spellings: <sc> for [s] (as in *abscente*, I, v, 144; *conscensu*, I, v, 88, etc.); <ss> for [š] (*enitessit*, I, *Prol.*, 1);¹⁵ <o> for [u] in *demom* (I, i, 48, *apparatus*);¹⁶ <gu> for [ɣ] (*longuo*, III, 433; *prodigualitas*, I, vi, 19) and <qu> for [k] (*quardinalibus*, I, *Prol.*, *Tit.*);¹⁷
- ii. the doubling and degeminations of consonants;
- iii. the passage of tonic *a* in an open syllable to *e* – and of the suffix -ARIU(M) to -er – in *balzemum* (I, v, 223) and *usurerii* (I, v, 86);¹⁸
- iv. the metathesis of *r* (*strupum, illecrebas*) and the passage *r* > [l] in *furca* > *fulca* (III, 144);¹⁹
- v. the sonorization of intervocalic occlusive consonants in *salutare* (for *salutare*; I, v, 217), and, if not a scribal error, the form *apetiu* (for *appetitu*; I, vi, 35) with the lenition of the intervocalic consonant;²⁰
- vi. the sonorization of intervocalic -s- in *balzemum* (I, v, 223) for *balsamum*;²¹
- vii. the forms *meretrixem, potatrixem* (for *meretricem, potatricem*; I, vi, 46), if not overcorrected, display an -x- that could be the result of the assibilation of intervocalic [k] before a front vowel;²²
- viii. the form *mensionem* (I, vi, 32) for *mentionem*, with the passage of -ti- > [s] after *n*;²³
- ix. the form *baordando* (III, 455) for *bagordando* with the loss of intervocalic -g- before *o* (but we also find the form *bagordaret*, III, 444).²⁴

On the basis of the vernacular features that we can notice in the Latin of the Cocharelli, it is not easy to tell which of these peculiarities were

¹⁵ Cfr. AG *Rime e ritmi lat.*, p. CXXIV, n. 43.

¹⁶ The spelling <o> for [u] is witnessed, for instance, in the Latin and vernacular poems of the Anonimo Genovese, *ivi*, pp. CXLIV-CXLVIII, CLI-CLII, CLX, 481.

¹⁷ *Ivi*, pp. CXXXIII, CLIV.

¹⁸ Rohlfs, I, § 19.

¹⁹ *Ivi*, §§ 263, 322, and AG *Rime e ritmi lat.*, pp. CLIV, 482. See also Du Cange, III, col. 623c.

²⁰ Rohlfs, I, § 201.

²¹ *Ivi*, § 211.

²² *Ivi*, § 214.

²³ *Ivi*, § 291.

²⁴ *Ivi*, § 217.

already present in the original manuscript (and, consequently, can be ascribed to the linguistic system of the author) and which are instead due to the graphic and phonetic habits of the scribe. Furthermore, it is worth noting that spellings, such as *mensionem*, *erogancia* and *usurerii*,²⁵ can be admitted both in North-Italian and Gallo-romance *scriptae*, or that the forms *apetiu* and *baordando* can be North-Italian but could also be easily ascribed to Provençal.

Therefore, the spelling <c> for [s] listed above must be linked more likely to the graphic and phonetical habits of a French or Provençal scribe. Considering that the text has a few lexical Gallicisms (cfr. *infra*, § 3.4) that can be ascribed for certain to the author, we could imagine two situations: 1) the few (and questionable) Gallo-romance linguistic features were already in the original; they are the result of the well-known contacts of the Genoese cultural context with France and of the fact that the author's family was of Provençal origin; 2) the Gallo-romance features (mainly <c> for [s]) are due to the hesitation of a scribe from Provence working in an Italian context; this would fit with the similarities (pointed out by Massimiliano Bassetti) between the writing of the Cocharelli codex and that of a manuscript copied in the South of France (Avignon ?) in 1336, which contains an Occitan translation of the *La somme le roi* by Laurent d'Orléans.²⁶

3.2. Morphology

The type of Latin in which the booklets contained in the Cocharelli manuscript are written shows many morphological and syntactic deviations from classical rules that were very common in Late medieval Latin texts. We will record below only some examples of these peculiarities, with the awareness that the linguistic features of this work deserve to be investigated more thoroughly in the future.

3.2.1. Declension

Confusion in declension:

- the plural nominative *loca* (I, v, 94, 95) for *loci*;
- the plural nominative *baroni* (III, 657) instead of *barones*;²⁷

²⁵ In Italian the suffix *-iere* (*-iero*, *-iera*) is borrowed from French where *-ARIU(M) > -ier* (cfr. Castellani 2000, p. 102).

²⁶ See Bassetti *supra*, pp. 361-362.

²⁷ But Du Cange, I, 585c records the form *baronus*.

- *dies* is used both as a masculine and a feminine (e.g. *Quadam enim die*, I, v, 181; *una die*, III, 444);
- confusion of the ablatives ending in *-i* or in *-e* in the adjectives *maiori* (I, v, 110, 112; III, 755), *perherne* (III, 377, *apparatus*);
- the masc. relative pronoun *qui* used instead of the feminine *quae* (*uxor predicta, qui bona ... erat*, I, v, 237, *apparatus*); the masc. pronoun *eorum* is used instead of the feminine *earum* (I, *Prol.*, 2, *apparatus*);
- *fili* (I, I, 26, 33, 45, 53; I, II, 46, etc.) is always used as the vocative of *filius*;
- the neuter *os* in one case confused with the masculine: *Os qui mentitur* (I, v, 213, *apparatus*);
- inconsistent use of the forms of the anthroponyms: *Salomonem* (III, 108, *apparatus*), *Salomone* (III, 231, *apparatus*), possibly for the influence of the It. *Salomone*, instead of the nominative (nevertheless, the nominative *Salomon* is used correctly at III, 247); the genitive *Iohannis* (I, I, 33, *apparatus*) is possibly used instead of the accusative *Iohannem*.

3.2.2. Conjugation

Alterations of conjugation:

- deponent verbs used in an active form: *egredere* (I, v, 182) for *egredi*, *exequere* (I, IV, 29) for *exequi*, *transgredere* for *transgredi* (I, I, 35);
- sometimes passive forms are used as active: *commituntur* (I, v, 5) for *commitunt*, *temptarentur* (I, v, 162) for *temptarent*;
- periphrastic construction of the past tenses of the passive (or of deponents), future perfect indicative: *fuert usitatus* (I, VI, 40); perfect indicative: *fuit ... desolata* (I, I, 47), *fuit facta* (I, v, 156), *fuit capta* (I, III, 54), *fuit ... annullatus* (I, III, 57), *fuit deceptus* (I, v, 106), *mortuus fuit* (I, v, 151), *passus fuit* (I, v, 154), *fuit sepultus* (I, v, 186), *fuit ... datus* (III, 432), *fuit percussus* (III, 615); pluperfect indicative: *fuertant expulsus* (I, v, 178); pluperfect subjunctive: *fuisset ... deceptus* (III, 608);
- use of *fore* instead of *esse*: *ostendebant fore bonos* (I, v, 106), *fore amandum* (III, 165), *fore agendum* (III, 253), *te cognosco vere fore meum amicum* (III, 460), *proditores fore communi* (III, 769);
- use (if not a scribal error) of the perfect infinitive instead of the present infinitive: *potuisset unquam fecisse* (III, 715).

3.3. Syntax

3.3.1. Cases

A) Genitive

Some examples of the genitive of comparison, depending on a com-

parative: *bonorum omnium preciosior* (III, 24); of the genitive of quality: *mulier una sophie* (III, 364); of the genitive of origin: *Ianue gentilis et civis nobilis orta* (III, 447); of the genitive indicating the place: *in regione Surie* (I, III, 59), *principatum Tripolis* (I, III, 38), *Antioche comitatum* (I, III, 38). The genitive is also used in constructions such as: *sui regni tocius tutus maneret* (III, 199); *periculosum esse mei regni* (III, 330-331).

B) Accusative

The most important differences from the rules of classical Latin are in the use of the accusative with prepositions:

- in** *in praedicativum* in the clause: *in dominum maxime cupiebant* (I, v, 157);
- infra** used with the accusative instead of *intra*: *infra triduum* (I, v, 152);
- iuxta** used with the meaning of *secundum*: *iuxta suum posse* (I, v, 70), *iuxta presumere meum* (III, 251), *iuxta sensum suum* (III, 263);
- per** used to express the cause: *per invidiam malorum* (I, v, 108), *per gulam ... a paradiso exeruntur* (I, VI, 8);
used with passive verbs to express the agent: *per clericos et Tuscos, tota curia sua regebatur* (I, v, 44), *ne derabarentur per rectores* (I, v, 95), *Clare dici potest ... per Fredericum* (III, 328).

C) Ablative

With prepositions:

- cum** to mark the means: *cum verbis et facinori[bu]s* (I, III, 43), *cum quadam corrigia aurea* (I, v, 147), *cum quodam mucrone* (I, v, 181);
- de** to mark the cause: *credens de egritudine sua non mori* (I, v, 59), *de prosperitate ... dolet* (I, III, 7), *de hoc sustinet angustiam cordis* (I, IV, 22), *numquam de ebrietate ... ipsum corrigere voluerunt* (I, VI, 31), *gauderent de morte ipsorum* (I, v, 72);
in clauses in which it has a function similar to the genitive: *de accepto beneficio est oblitus* (I, III, 26), *aliquis de curia sua* (I, v, 43), *loco de lucro* (I, v, 94), *liberales et largi de bonis sui communis* (I, v, 115), *valentissimus de persona* (I, v, 157), *consilium hominum de terra* (I, v, 161), *illi de domo* (I, v, 184);
to indicate provenance or origin: *episcopus de Tortosa* (I, III, 48), *dominus de Su* (I, v, 158, 161, 169, etc.), *Petrus de Auria* (III, 579), *Antoniotum de Ricus* (III, 680), *Henricus de Luciburgo* (III, 752, 756);
- ex** to express the cause: *ex sui maioris contemptu* (I, I, 15), *ex antiquo rancore* (I, II, 22), *ex invidia* (I, III, 61, 79), *ex cupiditate* (I, v, 10, 12, 18, etc.), *ex obsydione civitatis* (I, v, 111), *ex rectoris defectu* (I, v, 162);

- in** used with the dative to indicate motion instead of *in* + acc.: *in ipsa ingressus est* (I, I, 33), *ia[c]tat ... in ore* (I, v, 99), *in predicta civitate ... aportabant* (I, III, 68), *venit in mundo* (III, 25), *levans in alto* (III, 588), but also *levando in altum* (III, 614);
to express limitation instead of the ablative alone: *in diviciis mag[n]us et potens in civilibus* (I, III, 38);
- pro** to express the cause: *pro anima dolet* (I, IV, 1), *pro filiis suis Deum offendit* (I, v, 79), *subiunxit ... periculo mortis pro navi Sarracenorum* (III, 552-553);
to express the purpose: *venerant pro ipsorum defensione* (I, III, 67), *Quod narro ... reffero pro vestro honore* (III, 452).

3.3.2. Pronouns

Personal pronouns are used in the majestic plural in direct speech: *cognosco quod regere regnum est vobis labor magnus* (I, v, 161), *vobis promitto faciatis quod vobis libet* (III, 282), *melior est vobis manifesta correctio mea* (III, 453), *ne vobis incurrat* (III, 456), etc.

The nominative singular (masculine and feminine) of *is* never appears in the text, but we find the neuter (nominative or accusative) *ea*; sometimes *is* can be used instead of the possessive *suus*: *usurerii ... fratres decipiunt et temptant eorum verbis et blandiciis* (I, v, 87), *predones et raptores palatii ... nunc habent eorum marsupia repleta* (I, v, 90), *Gentes Ianue ... vendiderunt eorum arnisia* (I, v, 110), *homines ... bibunt plus quam eorum viscera possint pati* (I, VI, 13).

Idem is rarely used instead of *ipse* or *ille*: *Petrus idem* (III, 444), *Qui finem respicit sapiens est idem habendus* (III, 338).

The use of pronoun *iste* prevails over *hic*; *ille* and *ipse* are both used very frequently.

Demonstratives pronouns are very often replaced by participles such as *predictus*, *nominatus*, *prefatus*.

Proprium is rarely used instead of the possessive *suus*: *bonum proprium* (I, I, 43), *comune proprium* (III, 238).

In a few cases the genitive of the personal pronoun is used instead of the possessive adjective, e.g.: *ad ymaginem sui* (I, v, 56).

The reflexive pronoun *sibi* is often used to refer to someone different from the subject of the clause: *Redeuntes autem predicti nuncii ad soldanum, sibi retulerunt omnia antedicta* (I, III, 74), *ut silet canis quando quis sibi ia[c]tat aliquod boleum in ore* (I, v, 99), *Quendam archiepiscopum Nicosie ... cum quadam corrigia aurea quam sibi sub forma muneris delegavit, proditorie interfecit* (I, v, 147), *Dominus docuit a falsis cavere profetis*

Apostolos suos qui sibi tunc dixerunt (III, 191-192), *dimittendo vitam sibi nosco periculosum* (III, 330).

Aliquis is sometimes used in negative clauses, or after *quando* and *si*: *neque aliquis Christianus* (I, III, 75), *si aliquis* (I, v, 15), *quando aliquis* (I, II, 37; I, v, 20; I, VII, 26).

Quisquis is never used, while *quicumque* is always used as an indefinite adjective or pronoun: *cuiuscumque ludentis* (I, v, 228), *quacumque hora* (I, v, 178), *bonitate quacumque* (III, 537), *Ostendebat clare quibuscumque* (III, 441), *a quocumque* (I, VI, 44; III, 236), *quodcumque bonum* (III, 53).

The adverb *invicem* (in the reinforced form with *ad*) is used twice to indicate reciprocity: *lepra que inficit adinvicem conversantes* (I, III, 58), *venter et genitalia adinvicem sunt coniuncta* (I, VI, 15).

3.3.3. Comparatives and Superlatives

Sometimes the comparative is used instead of the comparative superlative: *valentior et sapientior huius terre* (I, VI, 32), *nobiliores rabini* (III, 791).

We find also a few examples of the composite superlative with the adverbs *valde* or *maxime*: *valde invidiosa* (I, III, 40), *valde formosus* (I, v, 142), *familiaris valde* (I, v, 178), *sunt maxime odiosa* (I, v, 5).

3.3.4. Adverbs

Nimum is used with the meaning of ‘greatly’, ‘very’, in the following case: *nimum cupidus et avarus* (I, v, 159).

The adverb *ininnoxe* (III, 699) is a *hapax* meaning ‘dishonestly’ (from *in privativus* + adv. *innoxie*).

3.3.5. Conjunctions

A) Coordination

- In the verse section we sometimes find a pleonastic use of *-que*: *Interfectores ipsos carceri similiterque reduci* (III, 142), *Ex corona regni capud suumque ornando* (III, 168), *Qui plus proficuum suum dampnoque dilexit* (III, 214), *Clare dici potest regemque per Fredericum* (III, 328), *Ergo multis ipsa sufficitque bona voluntas* (III, 368), *Dampnum recepturi maximumque sic preliantes* (III, 488), *Iubens magistris denuo illamque fogari* (III, 527), *Ex quo ridebant ceteri taliaque videntes* (III, 600).

- *Vel* can be used as a copulative conjunction: *ipsi vel civitas predicta* (I, III, 65), *Crucifigatur Christus quia filium Dei se fecit vel quia dixit se esse regem* (I, v, 167).

B) Subordination

- *Cum* is always used with its two main functions to express cause and time.
- *Dum* is used in most cases to denote the temporal relation of two actions to each other with the meaning of ‘as long as’, ‘while’: *dum esuriit* (I, v, 122), *dum famescit* (I, v, 123), *dum rapiunt pecuniam* (I, v, 124), *dum capit amicum se fingit* (III, 203).
- *Quod* has a more extensive use than that of classical Latin as is common in late Latin texts; in particular, it is often used after the *verba dicendi*, *sentiendi* and *declarandi* e.g.: *dicentes ... quod* (I, III, 73), *responderunt quod* (I, v, 166), *dixerunt enim quod* (I, v, 165), *Dicebant enim ... quod* (I, III, 78), *Cogitavit ... quod* (I, III, 44; I, v, 172, 234), *cognoscens quod* (I, I, 29), *Cognoscimus ... quod* (I, v, 71), *opinans quod* (I, I, 33), *confidentes quod* (I, III, 68). *Quod* can have also causal and explicative function: *eo quod segregat* (I, II, 24), *mortuus fuit ... eo quod ipse volebat* (I, v, 151); or express the consequence: *ad tantum devenit quod* (I, III, 63), *tantum destructa quod* (I, I, 48), *Fecit tantum quod* (I, III, 77; I, v, 144, 150).
- *Quia* introduces almost always causal clauses: *Sibi precavere debet, quia ...* (I, I, 26), *dicitur strupum, quia ...* (I, VII, 21), *Frater ..., quia scio vos* (I, v, 161), *Dolebat enim quia amiserat comitatus* (I, III, 41), *Dolebant ... quia* (I, v, 175); it is used with explicative function in: *Deus ... novit clarissime veritatem, quia forsan ista omnia ex invidia erant dicta* (I, III, 79).
- *Quoniam* is used only twice, always with a causal function (I, v, 85; I, VII, 6).
- *Donec* is used one time with the meaning of ‘until’ (I, v, 100).
- *Qualiter* appears only in the exclamation: *Qualiter mansisti tanto viro desconsolata ...* (III, 799); and with relative function: *cogitavit ... qualiter posset* (I, VI, 35).
- *Ut* is used mainly in dependent clauses implying aim or end: *ut earum doctrina clarius patefiat* (I, Prol., 2), *ut ipse ... a predictis viciis precaveat* (I, Prol., 6), *ut magis secure possent civitatem ... custodire* (I, III, 66); introducing a temporal clause: *Rex ut audivit, legalem tenuit virum* (III, 306); after verbs denoting wish, request, pray or demand: *Rogo ut iustum iudicium* (II, I, 3), *Precor ut carius possum* (III, 271); in clauses of manner: *faciunt sicut canes, quia ut silet canis quando ...* (I, v, 99); in clauses expressing consequence: *se verberantes acriter ... ut gentes se confiderent* (I, v, 82).

3.3.6. Verbs

Regarding the use of verbal modes, there is generally significant fluctuation. This variation frequently deviates from classical norms, reflecting a broader syntactic freedom that closely aligns with vernacular usage.

One of the most relevant peculiarities is found in the wide use of the gerund ablative with a modal-instrumental function, e.g.: *vadant mendicando* (I, v, 71), *vivunt usurando* (I, v, 82), *robando robas et capiendo peccuniam* (I, v, 113), *ascendit volando* (I, v, 119), *adcomodando sibi* (III, 94), *gentem humanam salvando* (III, 304), *in pedibus stando* (III, 335), *optime barbotando* (III, 525), *adpropinquando navi* (III, 526), *stando in mari* (III, 541).

3.4. Vocabulary

It is to be noted that the author uses some words recorded for the Latin of Italy, as well as some others that could be considered Gallicisms, for instance:

- *rumarunt*, ‘to make noise’, in the sentence *alta voce rumarunt galee* (III, 486) when introducing a direct speech, the meaning seems to be ‘to answer in a loud voice’. Du Cange (VII, 235c) records *rumare* with the meaning of ‘to make noise’ or ‘to tell news’;
- *renominandus* (III, 667), possibly a *hapax*, from the It. *rinominare* (‘to remember’; cfr. *TLIO*, s.v.);
- *dotabat* (I, v, 146) for *dubitabat*, possibly from the It. *dottare*, or from the Old Fr. *douter*;
- the already mentioned *baordando* (III, 455) < vb. *bagordare*, recorded as a *vox Italica* by Du Cange (I, 521c);
- the ablative gerund *barbotando* (III, 525) < vb. *barbotare* (?), possibly derives from French with the meaning of ‘to sail’ (see note to III, 525).
- the noun *ramus* (i.e. *ramum*: ‘copper’, ‘bronze’; at I, v, 221, 222), corresponding to the It. *rame*, is used instead of *aes* or *aeramen*;
- *combatitores* (III, 491; ‘soldiers’, ‘warriors’) < It. *combattitori* < vb. *combattere* (*TLIO*, s.v. *combattitore*);
- *mercadancias* (I, v, 73; ‘merchandise’), corresponds to the It. *mercatanzia*, *mercadanzia*;
- the form *aver* (I, v, 90, 115; ‘resources’, ‘property’, ‘possession’) < Old Fr. *aveir* < HABERE, without final *-e*, is recorded in Du Cange (I, 474b) in medieval documents from France;
- the form *podere*, meaning ‘power’, from the Italian *podere*, *potere* (see note to III, 762);

- the noun *catram*, for *catranum* ('pitch'), is similar to the spelling of Ligurian vernacular *catrà*n (see note to III, 528);
- *sociardis* ('mercenaries' ?), with the suffix coming from French -ARDUS²⁸ is recorded in a text from the South of France (see note to I, VI, 37);

4. *Establishment of the text*

The arrangement of the text follows the proposed reconstruction (§ 2). Shelfmarks in the left margin and numbers and letters (a/b) within square brackets inserted in the transcription identify the fragments, the folios and the columns of each folio, respectively; a vertical line within a word indicates that the word is interrupted for the changing of column or folio (which is indicated immediately afterwards within square brackets). The chapter divisions and chapter numbers follow the text; short titles within square brackets have been added at the opening of each chapter in order to simplify the consultation of the edition even when the beginning of a chapter is lost. The text has been numbered according to pericopes in Booklets I and II (even when the text contains quotations in verses); numbering of Booklet III is given according to verses for the verse section and according to pericopes for the brief ending part in prose. Rubrics of the chapters are printed in italics. The reference to the plate corresponding to each folio of text is indicated on the right margin in Roman numerals.

Abbreviations have been silently expanded, punctuation and capitalisation edited according to modern practice. We have expanded the abbreviations for *mibi* and *nihil/nihilum* as *michi* and *nichil/nichilum* because this is how they are spelled when not abbreviated. We follow the classical rule for the transcription of the nasal consonants (e.g. *impaciens*, *imperator*, *impius*, *numquam*, *tamquam*) because when they are not abbreviated, the scribe uses both (*m* and *n*). It is to be noted that due to the small format of the writing and the fact that the scribe has sometimes used the abbreviation system in an unconventional way, the transcription of some passages is doubtful and is consequently discussed in the end-notes. All the Roman numerals have been maintained according to what we find in the manuscript.

We are well aware that different choices can be made when rendering the orthography of Medieval Latin texts. Since, in our case, we are in the presence of the only known copy (if not of the only copy ever produced)

²⁸ Cfr. Castellani 2000, p. 102.

of this work, and since the manuscript is possibly very close (in space and time) to the author's original, the general rule has been to preserve, as far as possible, the spellings described at § 3.1. Moreover, normalizing the significant number of unconventional spellings (some are undoubtedly due to the scribe, but others are possibly to be ascribed to the author) according to standard Medieval Latin orthography would convey a misleading idea about the actual linguistic skills of the author.

We have therefore distinguished *u* from *v*, and corrected some spellings when their meaning could have been misunderstood:

- we have corrected the spelling *c* for *s* (we render *secunda*, *sella*, *set*, *sic*, *sicut*, *Sicilie*, *Nicosie* whereas the ms. has *cecunda*, *cella*, *cet*, *cic*, *cicut*, *Cicilie*, *Nicocie*);
- we correct the misspellings *o* for *e*, *o* for *e* (= *oe*), and *o* for *u* (we render *demonum*, *egene*, *anteferendus*, *pena*, *penam*, *demum* whereas the ms. has *domonum*, *egone*, *anteferondus*, *pona*, *ponam*, *demom*);
- the forms *discebant* and *tregras* have been corrected in *dicebant* and *tregas* by the scribe; as a consequence, we also correct *discere* in *dicere* at III, 323, and *tregra* in *trega* at I, III, 72.

Anthroponyms, toponyms and words or syntagms clearly deriving from vernacular, which are sometimes difficult to interpret (e.g. *anota*, *acotumati*, *catram*, *contumas*, *contumi*, *tapetes*, *barbotando di popa*, *don Fredericum*), have been kept unchanged and are discussed in the end-notes.

Errors have been corrected and the rejected readings have been recorded in the critical apparatus. The critical apparatus records also scribal emendations, as well as other peculiarities like, for instance, the presence of conservation tape covering the text. In the apparatus, expanded abbreviations are given within round brackets. Passages borrowed from other works show that some spellings are the result of copying from a corrupt exemplar. In these cases the text has been amended, when necessary, following modern critical editions (where available) of the sources used by the author.

Text that is unclear or obfuscated and unreadable is indicated by as many dots as there are illegible letters within angle brackets: <...>.

Letters or words that, due to the state of preservation of the manuscript (dampstains, spots, conservation tape), are partially illegible and that are given in a hypothetical transcription appear within <angle brackets>.

Material that is added by the editor appears in [brackets];

A corrupt passage is indicated with crosses placed in the text, while dots within crosses indicate a gap within the text: †...†.

Three dots without brackets indicate that the remainder of the text is not preserved: ...

In the endnotes, the sources of citations are identified as far as possible, textual problems are discussed, difficult passages are commented and historical information is provided.

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I. BOOKLET ON THE VICES

[Prologus]

Add. 27695 [1r] *I*ncipiunt septem vicia propter que plurimum
falitur et decipitur omnis homo, et <.....> virtutibus
quardinalibus fuerit <.....> ad d<.....>
.....> virtutes quatuor cardinales
de quibus libellum quendam facere ordinavi [ut] earum
doctrina mellius et clarius patefiat. Pl. I

[1ra] ¹ Sicut ostensum est ab antiquis philosophis in
scienciis primitivis, ex notione unius contrarii alterius
cognitio clarius enitessit. ² Idcirco quia de quatuor
virtutibus cardinalibus seu principalibus aliqua vel
quedam dicere ordinavi, ut earum doctrina clarius
patefiat de viciis septem, que capitalia seu principalia
appellantur, volo in isto presenti opusculo pertractare.
³ Et uniuscuiusque ipsorum ponam descriptionem
suam, et ipsum in suas species dividam vel in aliis viciis
que supponuntur vel oriuntur ex quolibet predictorum.
⁴ Et istorum omnium ponam [1rb] diffinitiones vel
descriptiones, prout michi Deus melius ministrabit.
⁵ Intendo etiam super quolibet predictorum aducere
seu ponere exemplum vel exempla que notificata
michi et mee memorie comendata fuerunt ab avo meo
domino Pelegrino Cocharello condam. ⁶ Que omnia,
sicut et predicta que in antedicto opere recitavi, facio
et feci principaliter pro mei instructione et natorum
meorum, et specialiter pro Iohanino nato meo, ut
ipse sibi a predictis viciis precaveat et a dampnis et
periculis que ad predicta vicia consequuntur.

[I. De superbia]

[1v] *Capitulum primum de superbia et speciebus eius, et de difinitione uniuscuiusque et specierum eius, et un[de] ipsa dicitur primitus est dicendum.* Pl. II

[2ra] ¹ Lucifer angelus de celo corruit, quia non sibi humilitas set superbia habitavit. Pl. III

² A sede propria <.....> potentes, quia <.....> respicit Dominus et in terris.

³ Superb<.....> in altum tollitur <.....> puniatur.

⁴ Superbia est elatio viciosa <...> inferiores despice<.....>bus satagit dominari.

⁵ Superbia <.....>cie et <.....>le aliis bonor<.....>lle<.....>tit<...>pe<.....>...icitur<...> superbia, quia <.....> superbia <.....> ponuntur.

⁶ Primum est elatio.

⁷ Secundum est erogancia.

⁸ Tertium est insolentia.

⁹ Quartum est contemptio.

¹⁰ Elatio est non posse <.....>si prio<.....>modo <.....>.

¹¹ Dicitur enim proprie elatus qui non timet n<.....> sibi facere <.....>e a<.....>sa a maio<.....> priori suo.

¹² Erogancia est i<.....> aliis mostr<.....> in ipso <.....> existit. ¹³ Unde dicitur <.....> se ad iactandum <.....> non <.....>. ¹⁴ Arroga<.....>es vel in aliis quattuor viciis dividitur, scilicet contumaciam, presumptionem, inobedienciam, irreverenciam.

[2rb] ¹⁵ Contumacia est repugnare auctoritati seu mandato maioris ex sui maioris contemptu.

¹⁶ Contemptus enim ni[chil] aliud vult dicere nisi ea ad que tenemur negligenter facere vel ipsa imitare velle.

¹⁷ Presumptio est virtutes aliorum sibi apropiare velle.

¹⁸ Unde dicitur presumptiosus proprie qui alicuius virtuosí opera novit, et sine eo quod in ipso sit talis

i. 1 humilitas set superbia] s(upe)rbia set humilitas

vir, qui dicit se talia opera fecisse vel talis virtutis esse.

¹⁹ Inobediencia est nolle obedire mandatis domini vel magistri sui de hiis que sunt licita et honesta.

²⁰ Inreverencia est in se<.....>su et k<.....> mai<.....>gne<.....>ore <...> de<.....>.

²¹ Insolencia sic <.....>. ²² Insolencia <.....> cum aliquis <.....> mag<.....>, ita quod ipsa u<.....>a f<...>e magnitudinis <.....>us s<...> species. ²³ Vel aliter <.....> dici quod insolencia est despectu <.....>ere extra communem usum verbo, facto, habitu, loquela et gestu.

²⁴ Contemptio est velle inpugnare veritatem clamore et verbis insydyosis. ²⁵ Et istud tale vicium propter vanam gloriam exercetur.

²⁶ Fili karissime, audivistis descriptionem superbie et specierum eius a quibus, karissime, quilibet volens recte vivere sibi precavere debet, quia ex ipsa plura dampna et maxima consecuntur, sicut in exemplo sequenti palam et clarissime ostendetur. ²⁷ Volo etiam tibi dicere et narrare que avus meus condam michi retulit quadam vice.

[3ra] ²⁸ Accidit enim quod tempore illo, quo Acchon civitas que in regione Usirie ex[t]iterat situata, antequam solidanus ipsam caperet et vastaret, quod avus meus condam predicte civitatis erat habitator et civis. ²⁹ Qui sicut sapiens et discretus, cognoscens quod civitas predicta esset inepte a dominis et a rectoribus gubernata, et sibi <erat visum> quod propter malum regnum deberet illa civitas desolari, proposuit se ad aliam patriam permutare. ³⁰ Audiens enim Ianuensium famam esse magnam <...> civitatis opes et gentium discretionem, et locum esse dominabilem et securum, spacium vite sue ordinavit in Ianuam terminare. ³¹ Venit ergo Ianuam cum familia sua tota et diviciarum copia magna que sibi et tot<e> familie sue pro vita erant suffic<.....>a competenter. ³² Ipse enim in civitate Ianue

Pl. v

29 desolari] desolalr(er)i

dy perseveravit et vixit.³³ Post tamen magnum tempus, volens corrigere natum suum q<uendam> nomine Iohannem, me audiente, sibi protulit ista verba: «Fili karissime, dubito ne michi adveni<a>t sicut illi qui ex proposito vole<ns> evitare silvam et in ipsa ingressus est violenter, qua causa veniens de Achone propter sc<elera> que videbam, cogitans et opinans quod <necessarie> de ipsa accidit eveniret, elegi Ianuam civitatem michi esse locum tutissimum et securum, et dubito ne michi adveniat quod penitus volui evitare.³⁴ Video enim <quod> rectores et magnates Ianue civitatis a modic<o> tempore citra, propter civitatis et ipsorum posse magnum, inimicos despiciunt et amicos, populares etiam procurant facere illud idem.³⁵ Est enim istorum omnium superbia tanta quod nolunt neque credunt aliquos eis pares esse, et semper volunt aliorum transgredere methas plus quam eorum tanto exigen[te]s.³⁶ Video enim maiores [et] quemlibet ipsorum totius <...>e sibi dominium propriare, neque minores a maioribus in portamentis et gestu unus ab alio differentiam facere [3rb] manifestam.³⁷ Cum enim aliqui ex magnatibus aliqua diversa faciunt indumenta, idem volunt facere populares, ita quod unusquisque ut parem appareat nititur facere posse suum.³⁸ Ornant enim uxores suas et se ipsos ex pecunia aliorum, propter quod sepius cadunt et eorum facta in nichilum convertuntur.³⁹ Et sic oportet quod ipsi magnatibus se submittant, et sic eorum libertas in servitutem totaliter transmutatur, nolentes a maioribus et dignioribus honore et pecunia superari.⁴⁰ Et istud vicium michi videtur in magnatibus et maioribus civitatis ascendere violenter.⁴¹ Ipsi enim pares non sustinendo, multa comittunt scelera et diversa.⁴² Inimicos enim despiciunt, amicos odiunt, fidem usurpant, pauperibus et minoribus subtrahunt.⁴³ Diligunt enim bonum proprium non comune, et

33 Iohannem] Ioh(anni)s ~ Fili] Filii (*expunction mark under the first final i*) 37 parem] a m(a)iorib(us) *expunged by the scribe after par(em)* 41 pares] u(t) pares

istud non <fit> alia de <ausa> nisi quia volunt inordinato animo aliis omnibus prevalere, neque volunt habere pares». ⁴⁴ Est enim istorum superbia scelus.

⁴⁵ Quapropter, fili karissime, dubito ne de civitate ista accidat quod de Acchi, <Troy>a et Babilonia deserta accidit. ⁴⁶ Ab antiquo Babiloniam gubernantes proposuerunt edificare turrim per quam possint attingere celum et vivere sicut dii, quod Deus non <sust>inens <.....> deserta Babilonia nominatur; est ab omnibus derelicta <et> facta reptilium domus. ⁴⁷ Fuit etiam Troyanorum civitas propter superbiam desolata.

⁴⁸ Ipsa enim fuit quodam tempore civitatum plurium dominatrix et demum est ad nichilum permutata et tantum destructa quod a nullo tenetur custode. ⁴⁹ De Aga<rni>, oculata fide, possum, karissime, tibi dicere illud idem. ⁵⁰ Timeo ergo, karissime fili, ne propter Ianuensium superbia[m], ipsorum peccata et delicta, Ianue adveniat civitati sicut et civitatibus antedictis. ⁵¹ Et quia, karissime, cognosco vitam meam esse brevem, cum iam transierunt vite mee dies multi, si de ista civitate aliquod obliquum cognosceres vel sentires facias taliter sicut feci: inquire enim tibi locum in quo possis vivere cum quiete antequam pereas et tua bona vastentur, propter quod nati tui remaneant vel pereant indigentes.

⁵² Sicut ergo istud vicium destruit et suffocat civitates et regna, multo magis potest in hominibus vel in homine solo rationabiliter palliari: quod enim gregem inficit, multo plus potest [3va] inficere pecus unum».

⁵³ Quare, fili mi Iohanine, sicut patet ex antedictis propter superbiam regna destruuntur, civitates et castra, domus et alia habitacula desolantur, tibi consulo quod sis humilis et benignus. ⁵⁴ Deus enim semper humiles exaltat et superbos deprimit. ⁵⁵ Eiessit enim ipse Deus dyabolos de paradiso et eis iniunxit penam sempiternam, neque de salute speranto!

⁵⁶ Quare, fili mi Iohanine, sicut patet ex antedictis propter superbiam regna destruuntur, civitates et castra, domus et alia habitacula desolantur, tibi consulo quod sis humilis et benignus. ⁵⁷ Deus enim semper humiles exaltat et superbos deprimit. ⁵⁸ Eiessit enim ipse Deus dyabolos de paradiso et eis iniunxit penam sempiternam, neque de salute speranto!

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Pl. VI

48 demum] d(e)mo(m) ~ a nullo] analo 50 sicut et]

(et) added above 51 mee] m(er)e ~ quod] q(uod)d(am)

53 Iohanine] Janue ~ regna] regnat (expunction mark under t)

55 penam] pona(m)

[II. *De ira*]

[3vb] *Capitulum secundum de ira et speciebus eius, et unde ipsa dicitur, et comodo una specierum ab alia distingatur.*

- Add. 28841 [1ra] ¹ Ira est subita animi tempestas que, dum inordinate se concitat, cor hominis ad infamiam protrahit. ² Mansuetudo per iram amittitur, et dona celestis gratie auferuntur. ³ Cum ad irascendum curritur, evidenter demencia propalatur. ⁴ Ira impieta[ti]s mater dicitur, quia per eam misericordia denegatur. ⁵ Iracundia caucius evitetur que inimica virtutibus [et] ianua vitiorum habetur. ⁶ Ira est subitus animi motus quo quis contra alium maligne et malivole commovetur cum irrationabili mentis perturbatione. ⁷ Unde ira<.....> proprie dicitur cuius mens est impedi<.....>e<.....>gare possit <.....> ledit et alios ex consequen<.....>pit. ⁸ Istius enim vici<i> sunt <multe> species <.....>arum. ⁹ Prima est hodium. ¹⁰ Secunda discordia. ¹¹ Tercia rixa. ¹² Quarta iniuria. ¹³ Quinta contumelia. ¹⁴ Sexta impaciencia. ¹⁵ Septima protervitas. ¹⁶ Octava malicia. ¹⁷ Nona nequicia. ¹⁸ Decima malignitas. ¹⁹ Undecima furor. ²⁰ Duodecima homicidium. ²¹ Hodium est ira que dyutissime in corde alicuius latitavit, vel hodium est inveteratus animi rancor. ²² Dicitur enim proprie odiosus qui ex antiquo rancore

II. 1 subita] subiti ~ tempestas] cu(m) p(otes)tas
 2 gratie] gl(ori)e 3 evidenter] euite(n)t(er)
 18 Decima] Secima 19 Undecima] Indecima

vel ira non potest pati audire neque videre bonum illius contra quem movetur ad iram.

[1rb] ²³ Discordia est dissensio amicorum [quos] prius †...† di[s]cordia amiciciam precessisse. ²⁴ Unde [dicitur] di[scord]ia eo quod segregat illud quod in amicicia erat.

²⁵ Rixa est quidam motus ex discordia et ira ortus.

²⁶ Presupponit enim rixa precedere amicitiam, et motum malivolum et malignum contra proximum et amicum. ²⁷ Dicitur enim proprie rixa motus vel impetus irrationabilis et malignus qui fit inter proximos et amicos.

²⁸ Iniuria est alicui vel aliquibus inferre facto, opere et verbo que non sunt consona rationi. ²⁹ Unde omnia que contra iusticiam fiunt possunt totaliter iniuriosa dici.

³⁰ Contumelia est alicui in verbis et facto dedecus <et> obprobria propalare. ³¹ Dicitur enim contumeliosus qui indebite et mente mala facit <vel> dicit obprobria alicui.

³² Impaciencia <est non p>osse velle suum inpetuosum quod accidit ex animi indebito motu aliquatenus refrenare. ³³ Dicitur enim impaciens proprie qui alios vel aliorum dicta neque facta sibi displicibilia potest pati absque inordinato motu. ³⁴ Et dicitur impaciens qui non potest velle suum inordinatum aliquatenus choybere.

³⁵ Protervitas est subito verbis obprobriosis indebite respondere irato animi motu. ³⁶ Unde protervus proprie dicitur qui semper iratus, semper iniuriose respondet.

³⁷ Malicia est quando aliquis alicui dampna procurat absque debita ratione. ³⁸ Dicitur enim maliciosus proprie qui ex ira indebite dampnificat proximos et amicos.

[1va] ³⁹ Nequicia est ex nimia voluntate invadere illicita que non potest absque dampno. ⁴⁰ Dicitur enim proprie

Pl. VIII

23 dissensio] discet(i)o 25 motus] moto 26 et malignum] (et) *added above* 28 facto] (et) *expunged after facto* 33 sibi displicibilia] desit displicibib(us) 34 et] (et) *written on a previous abbreviation for (vel)* 38 maliciosus] malicia

nequs ille qui propter iram solus invadit plures, neque timet mortem.

⁴¹ Malignitas est hominis voluntas iniqua absque temperie. ⁴² Unde ille proprie dicitur malignus qui semper perseverat in iniquitate et malo.

⁴³ Furor est animi tempestas que ex rancore insurgit, prescribens et procurans alterius dampnum et mortem, neque vult acquiescere rationi. ⁴⁴ Furor enim proprie dicitur ex ira magna alicui velle inferre subito nocumentum.

⁴⁵ Homicidium est alicui irato animo <...> maligne et maliciose usur<.....>a et i<...> potest <.....>.

⁴⁶ Ergo, fili karissime, cave tibi ab ira, ex ipsa enim dampna infinitissima oriuntur. ⁴⁷ Ipsa enim mentem perturbat neque †... † sunt cognoscere <veri>tatem.

⁴⁸ Ire enim natura est velud ignis qui pabulum consumit totaliter et se ipsum. ⁴⁹ Iratus enim se ipsum plus et alios dampnificat ultra modum, quod declarabitur palam in exemplo sequenti. ⁵⁰ Volo enim enarrare tibi dampna et pericula que propter iram quibusdam magnatibus acciderunt.

... [remainder of ch. II is missing]

[III. De invidia]

Add. 27695 [4r] *Capitulum tercium de invidia et speciebus eius.* Pl. IX

[4va] ¹ Invidia est egritudo <animi ex f̄elicitate alterius proveniens, nocens naturaliter invidenti. Pl. X

² Invidus de alterius melioratione affligitur, quia prave mentis nequam oculus viciatur.

³ Invidi debent perpendere quod multe cecitatis noscuntur miserie subiace[re].

42 in iniquitate] i(n) *added above*

III. 2 nequam] n(eque) nequa(m) 3 cecitatis] necc(ess)itatis

⁴ Invidia sibi mendax proprii livoris [penas] exigit, quia medulitus extuat et animam suam perdit.

⁵ Invidia dyaboli mortem intulit quam Christi misericordia effugavit.

⁶ Invidia <est d>olor <qui ex> alterius felicitate nascitur.

⁷ Unde invidus proprie dicitur qui de prosperitate proximi sui dolet. ⁸ Invidus enim dupplicem passionem implicat in se ipso: cognoscit enim se esse talem qualem non vellet esse vel videt alium esse meliorem ipso, quod ex dolore magno nullatenus potest pati, quia similis aut maior illo esse [non] potest. ⁹ Sonat enim nomen invidi quasi se ipsum non videns. ¹⁰ Noscit enim aliorum bona et in suis propriis excecatur. ¹¹ Unde sub isto vicio alia multa vicia continentur.

¹² Primum est detractio.

¹³ Secundum est susurratio.

¹⁴ Tertium est [de]pravatio.

¹⁵ Quartum est ingratitude.

¹⁶ Quintum est mali inventio.

¹⁷ Sextum est bonum alicuius tacere et comp[er]ime[re].

¹⁸ Septimum est invidencia.

¹⁹ Detractio est alicui[us] famam, honorem, pecuniam et omnes alias virtutes maligne et indebite denigrare.

²⁰ Est enim ille detractor qui famam bonam vel alicuius virtutes audiens, conatur suo posse generare contrarium in animo auditorum.

[4vb] ²¹ Sussurratio est inter amicos malitiose discordiam seminare, et maxime cum verba que talem discordiam faciunt proferuntur sub specie bonitatis.

²² Non enim aliud est sussurratio quam ponere inter proximos discordiam verbis et operibus fraudulentis.

²³ Pravitas est tacere bona proximi et rememorari mala.

²⁴ Est ille pravus qui semper de malo proximi loquitur, de bono numquam.

²⁵ Ingratitude est beneficia non cognoscere vel non velle de beneficiis acceptis satisfacere, sed penitus oblivisci.

4 livoris] honoris ~ extuat et] extuat(ur) ~ perdit] p(er)det
19 Detractio] Betract(i)o

²⁶ Est enim ingratus qui beneficium non cognoscit, et ingratus qui beneficium reddere dedignatur, et omnium ingrattissimus qui de accepto beneficio est oblitus.

²⁷ Mali inventio est alicuius novi peccati imponere nomen aliquibus. ²⁸ Sunt enim aliqui, videntes aliquos prosperare, ymaginantes aliquid malum scelus, qui illud tribuuntur illi cui antea invidebant.

²⁹ Tacere vel comprimere alterius bonum est quando aliquis non potest loqui neque dicere quod posset exprimere debita ratione. ³⁰ Et istud peccatum in pluribus patet palam.

³¹ Invidencia est nolle videre alterius bonum, ita quod invidenti inferat penam magnam. ³² Est enim invidens ille qui non dolet de dampno suo multum, sed magis et maxime de prosperitate et bono proximi sui.

³³ Ergo, dilectissime fili, non sis invidus. ³⁴ Invidia enim omnibus non est aliud nisi pena, et omnes eius species sunt male et perniciose. ³⁵ Sit tibi igitur carum de proximis audire et intelligere bona nova. ³⁶ Audivi enim sepe dici quod propter invidiam civitates et regna plurima sunt deserta. ³⁷ Unde, fili mi, volo tibi dicere que avus meus condam, ut nati sui sibi ab invidia precaverent, me audiente, diversis vicibus eisdem tradidit in exemplum.

[5va] ³⁸ Erat enim iuvenis quidam nobili progenie, in diviciis mag[n]us et potens in civilibus, qui Antioche comitatum et principatum Tripolis gubernabat. ³⁹ Erat enim istorum omnium liquidus dominator. ⁴⁰ Habebat tamen iuvenis iste matrem suam quandam que valde invidiosa erat. ⁴¹ Dolebat enim quia amiserat comitatus et principatus nomen, quod filius suus et filii sui uxor plenarie obtinebant. ⁴² Ipsa enim cum ista uxore filii sui predicti continue maligne et malivole vexabatur. ⁴³ Fecit enim tantum istius principis mater cum verbis et facinori[bu]s quod princeps predictus ex uxore sua numquam potuit habere prolem. ⁴⁴ Cogitavit enim,

Pl. XII

42 filii] filie (*expunction mark under e and the second i inserted above*)

quod filius suus princeps ex uxore filios non haberet neque uxorem diligeret, quod ipsa cum filio suo principe esset principatus et tocius patrie gubernatrix. ⁴⁵ Accidit tamen quod ex voluntate Dei princeps iste, istius domine filius, de hoc seculo transmigravit, ita quod uxor sua desolata ad regionem unde ipsa venerat remeavit. ⁴⁶ Erat enim ista domina principis uxor regis Francorum neptis. ⁴⁷ Remansit ergo vetula maledicta et obtinuit quod volebat. ⁴⁸ Ipsa tamen capta erat amore illicito de quodam homine pulcherrimo qui erat episcopus de Tortosa, propter quod et ipsa oblita erat de morte principis antedicti. ⁴⁹ Volebat enim istum episcopum esse comitem et principem tocius terre predicti nati sui, et ordinavit posse suo quod tam milites quam populares iurarent et tenerent precepta episcopi antedicti, sic si esset princeps vel dominus tocius principatus.

[5vb] ⁵⁰ Fuerunt tamen ex militibus [et] ex aliis qui nullo modo episcopo predicto se subicere voluerunt; contenti tamen erant aliquid de principissa. ⁵¹ Et sic in terra illa orte fuerunt partes et discordia magna. ⁵² Que soldanus sciens et audiens, cum magno exercitu principatum invasit et cepit terram, interfecit gentes, destruxit habitacula et ab illo tempore citra nullus illam terram postea habitavit. ⁵³ Fuit enim propter invidiam facta destructio ista, divino Dei emergente iudicio fertur in viso per nonnullos. ⁵⁴ Et sic se habuit veritas predictorum, quod propter gravissimos defectus et delicta hominum civitatis Tripoli[s], quando predicta civitas fuit capta accidit quod mare arruit desiccando per totum usque in insulam civitatis, taliter quod Sarraceni cum toto exforcio acceserunt super eam per terram et ipsam violenter ceperunt. ⁵⁵ Et occiderunt omnes homines et feminas inductos senectute. ⁵⁶ Et ceteri inducti iuventute dicte civitatis – tam mares

48 antedicti] an(te)d(i)c(t)is (*expunction mark under s*)
 53 fertur] ferr(ur) 54 grauissimos] grassuissimos ~ accidit]
 adilsit 56 ceteri] cet(er)os ~ inducti iuventute] i(n)ductos
 i(n) iuue(ntu)te ~ mares] maros

quam mulieres – plenarie evaserunt.⁵⁷ Et sicut propter invidiam fuit principatus iste totaliter annullatus, sic regna et multe alie civitates propter invidiam sunt destructe.

⁵⁸ Istud enim vicium contagiosum existit velud lepra que inficit adinvicem conversantes, quia quod de principatu propter invidiam accidit, idem vel peius accidit de civitate quadam vicina illius principatus, que Achon civitas est vocata, propter idem scelus.⁵⁹ Erat enim civitas ista in regione Surie quasi secundum regnum, et illud quod de ipsa propter invidiam accidit vobis plenissime enarrabo.

Barg. inv. 2065

[1va]⁶⁰ Audivi enim ab avo meo qui predictae patrie erat civis, quod Achone [erant] due religiosorum domus ad quas quasi pertinebat regimen totius civitatis, ita quod illud quod ab ipsis preceptum erat, illud totum penitus erat factum.⁶¹ Erant enim antedicti Templi et Sancti Iohannis fratres, qui ex invidia dyutissime in discordia permanserunt.⁶² Erat enim scelus ipsorum invidia magna.⁶³ Bonum enim alterius ipsorum partis alteri parti erat maxima pena, propter quod illa civitas ad tantum devenit quod cives et mercatores ius suum libere non poterant obtinere.⁶⁴ Ymmo malandrini et gentium interfectores de ipsis habebant maximam potestatem, sicut consuetum est in qualibet civitate que non regitur sicut debet.⁶⁵ Et quia rectores istius civitatis predictae intellexerunt et audiverunt destructionem totius Tripolis civitatis principatus, miserunt ambaxatores ad papam et ad reges ad quos Christianorum regimen pertinebat quod ipsi vel civitas predicta in isto casu deberet omnimode adiuvari, et quod non paterentur Christianorum fieri talem dampnum.⁶⁶ Quare papa et reges predicti, deliberato consilio, predictis rectoribus maximam gentium copiam transmiserunt ut magis secure possent civitatem predictam absque periculo custodire.⁶⁷ Quelibet vero civitatis pars parcium ex

Pl. XIV

60 ab ipsis] ip(s)os 61 discordia] disco(r)dia(m)

illis gentibus qui venerant pro ipsorum defensione ut melius potuit partem ipsorum sibi propriavit, quapropter isti tales multa scelera comitebant, quia ipsi depredabant mercatores, interficiebant homines, stup[*r*]abant mulieres et multa alia faciebant que erant non licita neque iusta. ⁶⁸ Erant enim in civitate predicta Sarraceni [1vb] multi qui propter tregas et confidentes quod civitas in iustitia permaneret, in predicta civitate sua mercimonia aportabant. ⁶⁹ Isti tamen qui de novo venerant ipsos interficiebant. ⁷⁰ Fiebat enim omnia propter invidiam et discordiam illorum qui debebant regere civitatem. ⁷¹ Volebat enim una parcium partem aliam, sibi scandalum imponendo, totaliter annullare. ⁷² Cum tamen soldanus scivisset omnia supradicta, videlicet quod sub trega <et> malo modo essent sui homines interfecti, misit predictis rectoribus ambaxatores seu nuncios suos, ut ipse melius et clarius posset de predictis intellegere veritatem. ⁷³ Quibus predictae civitatis rectores breviter responderunt, sicut est religiosorum consuetudo qui proferentes verba dulcia ut plurimum nequissima operantur, dicentes nunciis seu ambaxatoribus antedictis quod isti qui de novo venerant non erant sub eorum dominio, neque super ipsos habebant aliquam potestatem: «Ite cum Deo et facite quod potestis». ⁷⁴ Redeuntes autem predicti nuncii ad soldanum, sibi retulerunt omnia antedicta. ⁷⁵ Soldanus vero iratus convocavit suarum gentium numerum infinitum et predictam civitatem invasit, destruxit ipsam, neque aliquis Christianus et Sarraceni paucissimi ipsam postea habitavit, quod satis omnibus patet palam. ⁷⁶ Quod autem inter illos duos ordines qui predictae civitatis erant rectores esset invidia et discordia antedicta patuit in processu. ⁷⁷ Procuravit enim una parcium et fecit tantum quod aliam penitus annullavit. ⁷⁸ Dicebant enim fratres Sancti Iohannis quod fratres Templi erant

67 ut] *inserted in the interline* 68 tregas] tregas (*expunction mark under the second r*) 72 trega] treg(r)a

Clev. n. 1953.152 pessimi Christiani et per ipsorum opera fides nostra erat malignissime usurpata. ⁷⁹ De quibus Deus, cui omnia patent, novit clarissime [1ra] veritatem, quia forsitan ista omnia ex invidia erant dicta. Pl. xv

⁸⁰ Ergo, fili mi Iohanine, a tali vilcio [1rb] tibi cave, quia propter tale vicium cicius homo quam civitas vel regnum posset incidere in ruinam.

[IV. *De accidia*]

[1r] *Capitulum quartum de accidia et speciebus eius, et unde ipsa dicitur, et quomodo conspectus ab alia distingatur.*

[1va] ¹ Accidia mortem inducit, cum homo non pro anima dolet sed pro infamia se affligit. Pl. xvi

² Sicut nullum malum gravius accidia queritur, ita cordis leticia nullum bonum gratius invenitur.

³ Accidia multos habet occidere et in ea non potest utilitas inveniri.

⁴ Letus animus faciem viventis exillarat et spiritus conturbatus ossa tristantis desiccat.

⁵ Accidia[m] habere non poterit qui bene vivere procurabit.

⁶ Accidia est querere tristitiam et sui ipsius tedium †... † neque vult complere bona que incepit neque potest. ⁷ Accidia est enim que facit fastidire omne bonum. ⁸ Sub isto enim vicio sunt species que secuntur.

⁹ Prima est desidia.

¹⁰ Secunda pigricia.

¹¹ Tercia pusillanimitas.

¹² Quarta negligencia.

iv. 1 affligit] affug(it) 2 Sicut] sic(us) ~ gratius] graui(us)
 3 non] nich(il) ~ inveniri] i(n)ue(n)ire 4 viventis]
 m(en)tis ~ conturbatus] (con)turbat(ur) ~ tristantis] t(rist)a(n)dis
 5 habere non] n(on) h(abe)re 6 ipsius] ip(s)i(us) | ip(s)i(us)
 9 Prima] Prima(m)

¹³ Quinta incircumspectio.

¹⁴ Sexta tepiditas.

¹⁵ Septima desperatio.

¹⁶ Octava ingnavia.

¹⁷ Desidia est segnicies qua quis fa[s]tidit facere bonum postquam ipsum facere inchoavit. ¹⁸ Dicitur enim proprie desidiosus qui vult animose aliquid bonum operari et illud incipit; ex ymaginatione tamen mala vel ex tristicia aliqua illud bonum inceptum fastidiose relinquit.

¹⁹ Pigricia est inhercia mentis qua quis fatigatur et bonum quod incepit consumat. ²⁰ Unde proprie dicitur piger qui consumat quod incepit v[e]l illud totaliter perdit, eo quod illud non prosequitur sicut [1vb] debet propter tepiditatem sue mentis.

²¹ Pusillanimitas est cordis et mentis angustia propter quam quis dubitat cadere in ruinam. ²² Dicitur enim pusilanimis qui non audet dicere neque facere pre timore aliquid negocium sibi placibile, et de hoc sustinet angustiam cordis et penam magnam.

²³ Negligencia est non esse diligens in exequendo vel expediendo quod debet. ²⁴ Unde dicitur negligens qui sua negocia inoperata vel incompleta dimittit sperans ipsa complere semper posse.

²⁵ Incircumspectio est se ipsum disponere ut non possit viciis repugnare. ²⁶ Dicitur enim incircumspectus qui propter su<i> inept<um> ordinem avariciam, luxuriam, prodigalitatem et cetera vicia vitare non potest.

²⁷ Tepiditas est qua quis fallit in executione illius rei quam facere debet. ²⁸ De qua tepiditate dicitur: utinam esses calidus vel frigidus! ²⁹ Unde tepiditas dicitur negocia exequere paulative que deberent fieri tempestive.

³⁰ Desperatio est in adversitatibus credere nullum remedium sibi esse, propter quod et talis desiderat et procurat sibi mortem. ³¹ Unde desperatus dicitur qui de nullo adiutorio seu consolatione aliqua sperat.

27 Tepiditas] Tepeditas (*the first i inserted above*)

³² Ignavia est cordis et mentis viciū, propter quod numquam quis adhibet neque adheret virtutibus, numquam enim talis de aliqua virtute curat.

³³ Cave ergo tibi, fili karissime, ab accidia et speciebus eius, quia si tali vicio esses

... [remainder of *cb. iv* is missing]

[v. *De avaritia*]

... [beginning of *cb. v* is missing]

Add. 27695 [6ra] ¹ propter cupiditatem pecunie talia largiantur indignis. ² Est enim sismoniacus ille qui non curat quocumque modo distribuatur reditus et bona ecclesie, solum quod inde possit pecuniam extorquere.

Pl. xvii

³ Usura est cupiditas recipiendi de eis que rationabiliter proximis subvenire debemus aliquid superadditum, ita quod de .x. acomodatis ex pacto vellit recipere .xv. vel viginti. ⁴ Et istud viciū diversi[s] modis committitur a diversis. ⁵ Sunt enim quidam qui usuram manifeste committuntur et alii qui ipsam palliare intendunt, que omnia Deo sunt maxime odiosa.

⁶ Latrocinium et furtum quasi eadem sunt, neque inter ea possit aliqua differentia assignari. ⁷ Possunt tamen sub una sola descriptione comprehendi. ⁸ Unde latroci[ni]um seu furtum est alienum latenter rapere, invito domino. ⁹ Est enim fur vel latro qui alterius bona capit sagaciter et latenter absque voluntate eius cuius bona sunt.

¹⁰ Periurium est ex cupiditate negligere iusiurandum.

¹¹ Unde periurium nichil aliud est quam mendacium quod sacramento false firmatur.

¹² Rapina est violenter ex cupiditate auferre alienum.

¹³ Est enim rapina proprie capere alterius bona que conservata [sunt] sub aliquali fiducia et violenter ab

v. 6 neque] l(icet) ~ aliqua] aliq(ua)ri

aliquo capiuntur, id est nolente illo cuius sunt talia bona.

¹⁴ Violencia est iniuriose cogere proximum vel amicum.

¹⁵ Dicitur enim proprie iniuria si aliquis alicui coacto auferat violenter bona sua.

¹⁶ Inquietudo est alium commovere ad iram maligne.

¹⁷ Unde inquietus dicitur [6rb] ille qui non potest pati alterius quietem, sed procurat sibi iram ut sibi melius possit subtrahere bona sua.

¹⁸ Iniustum iudicium est de aliquibus dare sententiam falsam ex cupiditate pecunie, ita quod ex falsa sententia velit premium acceptare.

¹⁹ Obstinatio est nil aliud nisi perti<.....>o in malo.

²⁰ Unde obstinatio est proprie quando aliquis non vult maledicta a<tque> malefacta mutare neque etiam curat bona <.....>re.

²¹ Dolus est aliquem vel aliquos decipere fraudulenter.

²² Ille enim comittit dolum qui sub specie amicitie et bonitatis decipit sibi proximum et amicum. ²³ Unde dolus idem quod proditio appellatur.

²⁴ Mendacium est fallendi intentio cum falsa vocis significatione. ²⁵ Qui enim mentitur vadit contra mentem suam.

²⁶ Ludus est cupiditas extorquendi bona alterius absque aliqua pietate, que quidem cupiditas cuidam fortune subiecta esse videtur. ²⁷ Ludus multa peccata implicat in se ipso.

²⁸ Primum est rapina.

²⁹ Secundum est prodicio.

³⁰ Tertium est immisericordia.

³¹ Quartum est usura.

³² Quintum afflictio.

³³ Sextum ecclesie contemptus.

³⁴ Septimum scandalum.

³⁵ Octavum bonorum obmissio.

19 perti<.....>o] *some letters covered by conservation tape* 20 <.....>re] *some letters covered by conservation tape*

33 contemptus] *p added above*

³⁶ Nonum periurium.

³⁷ Decimum fraus.

³⁸ Undecimum homicidium.

³⁹ Duodecimum est ydolatria. ⁴⁰ Lusor enim credit ludum esse dominum suum.

⁴¹ Iste ergo sunt species avaritiae a quibus, fili karissime, tu et quilibet sapiens se ultra modum precavere debet propter dampna et mala scandala que ad tale viciium consequitur, sicut exemplis manifestis declarabitur in processu.

[7ra] ⁴² Fuit quidam rex Francorum qui pulcherrimus hominum erat et finem suum posuit et ordinavit in peccunia et rebus civilibus acquirendis plus valde quam deceret regiam maiestatem. ⁴³ Ipse enim tantum peccuniam diligebat quod numquam aliquis de curia sua poterat sibi placibilis esse, nisi sciret sibi tradere modum per quem posset acquirere comitatus et regna vel magnam peccunie quantitatem. ⁴⁴ Et ideo per clericos et Tuscos, qui in talibus sunt subtiles, tota curia sua regebatur. ⁴⁵ Et tales ultra modum cum ipso magnifice dita

... [remainder of col. a is missing]

[7rb] ⁴⁶ dubium quod ipse potentissimus erat, etiam regnum suum excedebat alia Christianorum regna.

⁴⁷ Audivi enim quod ipse ex cupiditate destruxit ordinem quorundam religiosorum, eo quod ipse eis in maximo numero peccunie tenebatur, etiam et illi religiosi castra et dignitates in suo regno maximas possidebant. ⁴⁸ Retinuit enim post destructionem eorum peccuniam, castra et omnia antedicta, et fecit quod nullus de ordine illo in suo regno fuit ausus postea nominari. ⁴⁹ Accidit tamen Dei iudicio quod rex predictus iverat ad venandum ad quoddam nemus suum, qui volens percutere aprum <....> in <.o> ipse equitabat <....>

Pl. XIX

47 castra] cast(ra)|castra 49 aprum <....> in <.o> ipse equitabat <....>] conservation tape covers one line

Eg. 3127

... [remainder of col. b is missing]

[1ra] ⁵⁰ Fuerunt diversi feneratores et specialiter Ianuensis quidam subtilior in rapiendo peccuniam ceteris aliis, sic loquens: «Pocius in Dei miseria adopto esse quam hominum». ⁵¹ Qui vere non est bone opinionis.

⁵² Cum sic dicatur: crastinando transit tempus, nescit quando.

⁵³ Tempus expectans, tempus fugit.

⁵⁴ Ignorat homo hora[m] mortis.

⁵⁵ Deus temptari non potest, ex quo vir debet pocius Deum timere quam gentes. ⁵⁶ Creavit Deus ad ymaginem sui et homines non creaverunt eum, igitur omnis potestas a solo Deo est.

⁵⁷ Predicti usurarii consciencia inannis est et vacua, tamquam deceptus mundo ad ultimum sperat evadere.

⁵⁸ Unde non est sensus, credentia non est sapientia, et sic deceptus moritur subito et fertur ei[us] anima in Geennam. ⁵⁹ Hic est in perditione vite sempiternae: cogitat vivendo malum facere credens de egritudine sua non mori, et sic decipitur a demone. ⁶⁰ Unde melius est homini tute vivere quam claudicare et mortis periculo subiacere in vita sua stando cum tristitia et langore anime sue, personam suam etiam non valens liberare auxilio medicorum. ⁶¹ Usura totaliter displicet Deo.

⁶² Ius est istud, quod fenerator semper caret sui proximi pietate et eum penitet reddere usuram raptam, quam si non reddet et eum penitebit restituere puro cordis affectu, introybit infernum, sic quod nullo tempore misericordiam consequetur, sed cruciabitur in penis infernalibus.

⁶³ Mors amara, mors dura, numquam parcit, legem equam dat cunctis, perimit cum paupere regem.

⁶⁴ Credit homo vere securus sepe manere.

⁶⁵ Vita quid est hominis? ⁶⁶ Res durans tempore parvo.

Pl. XXI

⁵⁶ potestas] p^tas (with c corrected in t in the interline) ⁶² eum] eu(m) n(on) ⁶³ legem] ge(m) added above ⁶⁵ quid] q(ui)s (epunxion mark under s and d added above)

⁶⁷ Sunt quidam usurarii dicentes usuram non esse peccatum sed magna [1rb] merces ista de causa: diversi pauperes, tam mares quam femine, morte morirentur famis necessitate nisi subvenirentur ab eis mutuo. ⁶⁸ Certe falso loquuntur et male dicunt, quia Deus maledixit et interdixit eam sic dicendo: fratri tuo ne adderes ad usuram. ⁶⁹ Si vero mutuarentur ex dono pecunie vicinis et proximis esset elemosina, et dici posset veram amiciciam esse sine spe capiendi donum. ⁷⁰ Qui servicium capit illud recognoscere tenetur et remunerare si potest iusta suum posse, aliter si facit peccatum contra mandatum legis. ⁷¹ Sunt aliqui feneratoris sic loquentes: «Cognoscimus bene quod usura est peccatum, sed hoc facimus inducti pietate pro <.....>e filiorum mortuorum, ne pereant et vadant mendicando per mundum». ⁷² Unde sic est eis respondendum: quod sunt ceci Deum spernentes pro filiis suis qui non curant de morte patrum suorum, sed potius gaudent de morte ipsorum ad hoc ut possent esse sui domini. ⁷³ Certe melius est eis quod facerent mercimonia iuste et legaliter: multi possent facere bonitatem et vendere mercadancias et alia utilia pro eis ad opus anime si inquirerent et inquirere vellent, sed [non] curant inquirere. ⁷⁴ Et qui non querit non invenit. ⁷⁵ Scriptum est: querite et invenietis. ⁷⁶ Sic huiusmodi miseria ideo stet homo ante cum necessitate natos proprios relinquendo et permitendo ipsos ire mendicos per universum mundum priusquam pro eis anima sua cadat et condempnetur in ignem eternum. ⁷⁷ Fuit quidam rex Francorum inpiissimus, [qui] veniens ad mortem convocavit filium suum et ait illi: «Fili mi, declino ab hac vita; satis teneor dare ex delbito [1va] facto quam pluribus personis quibus respondere nequero, ex quo salvari non potero nisi prius de meo eis satisfactum fuerit et restituero aliena».

Pl. xxii

69 pecunie] p(e)cc(at)o 76 relinquendo] reli(n)q(en)dos (s expunged by the scribe) ~ permitendo] p(er)mite(n)dos
77 veniens] ue(n)iens ue(n)ie(n)s

⁷⁸ Quo audito, sic respondet filius patri: «Si male gesistis in vita vestra, imputetur vobis solum, et sit anima vestra potius condempnata quam mea si regnum vestrum eis satisfacere non poterit».

⁷⁹ Qui, responso accepto per patrem a filio, percussit se ambabus manibus suis in frontem pater et cepit amare flere, sic dicens: «Tristis est ille qui pro filiis suis Deum offendit!». ⁸⁰ Et sic subito ab hoc seculo emigravit.

⁸¹ Dominus nos docet in evangelio ore proprio: relinque patrem et matrem, uxorem et filios et omnia que habes et sequere me, et vitam possidebis eternam.

⁸² Sunt alii usurarii qui occulte vivunt usurando et ostendunt similes bonis esse se verberantes acriter in conspectu gentium, ut gentes se confiderent ad plenum de eis euntes cum indumentis ornatis et honestis. ⁸³ Tamen non possunt temptare Deum, cum in vestimentis talium non sit contritio mentis.

⁸⁴ Alii feneratorum sunt sic loquentes: quod homines vivunt per naturam [1vb] et alius mundus non est preter istum. ⁸⁵ Qui fatue loquuntur et menciuntur, quoniam assidue videmus solis, lune et stella[rum] mirabilia et movimenta, et omnia que sub celo sunt, que Dominus fecit et constituit in suis terminis, per zodiacum discurrendo et in suis terminis stando.

⁸⁶ Et sunt alii usurarii facientes contrarium predictorum, dicentes fratribus sic et tali modo quod fratres consentiunt eis et verbis ipsorum. ⁸⁷ Tamen si fratres decipiunt et temptant eorum verbis et blanditiis, Deum decipere et temptare non possunt. ⁸⁸ Proprio consensu et voluntate homo a peccatis absolvitur et condempnatur, et qui penas et detrimentum sui patitur, in capite centum annorum satis pro illo tempestive habetur.

⁸⁹ Est igitur precavendum sapienter ne quis in vita sua decipiatur a mundo, id est a dyabolo, cuius opera sunt mundana, et vere qui cum mundo est cum Deo non est.

82 ostendunt] ostendendo dunt (*expunction marks beneath* dendo) ~ bonis] bonos

Add. 27695 [8va] ⁹⁰ Quam plures tyranni palacii fuere rapientes communis sui bona, et tantam dicti communis rapuerunt peccuniam et bona quod id quod valebat in commune libras centum Ianue, reductum est ad valorem de libris .xxx.^a tribus Ianue, sic quod maior pars gentium facere habentium in commune est destructa et deserta, taliter quod predones et raptores palacii, nichil actenus possidentes, nunc habent eorum marsupia repleta peccunia et aver civium, viduarum et orphanorum Ianue, quam et quod habent in commune, taliter quod maior pars ipsarum gentium vadunt mendicando et pervenerunt ad paupertatem. ⁹¹ Multe ex ipsis facte sunt infames et meretrices, inducte neccessitate maxima propter guerram et gravem Ianuensium condicionem subortam, cum neccessitas legem non habet. ⁹² Heu animabus illorum guerram facientium et manutenencium! ⁹³ Raptores palacii devenerunt divites ex <.....> et pac<..>e <.....>to per eos viduarum et orphanorum Ianue. ⁹⁴ Loci qui sunt in commune pacis tempore valebant quilibet libras .cx. communi ex termino, nunc autem venduntur et dantur pro libris .xxxiii.^a, et talis locus ipsorum ad plus pro libris .x. Ianue, et plus et minus, secundum locorum condicionem et curssum, dabatur tempore pacis per commune seu officiales communis pro quolibet loco de lucro seu proventu ipsius, anno quolibet, libras .xi. Ianue, modo redditur solum libras duas per locum, unde vix possunt vivere et sustinere vitam habentes ipsa loca in commune, tamen est peccati punicio. ⁹⁵ Acotumati sunt homines propter guerram in maxima quantitate, nequeunt substinere anota, vendere oportuit eos loca ad parum precium ne derabarentur per rectores et exactores communis. ⁹⁶ Contumi [8vb] fuerunt magni, sic quod gentes ducebant mortem cum vita et langore. ⁹⁷ Nam dicti raptores et tyranni palacii pro denariis

Pl. xxiv

⁹³ <.....> et pac<..>e <.....>to] *conservation tape covers one line* ⁹⁴ Loci] locis ~ condicionem] (con)dic(i)onu(m) ~ per c.] p(ro) c.

omnia faciebant, diminuendo contumas illis qui plus tributabant.⁹⁸ Erant tamquam canes latrantes et mordentes quoscumque transeuntes coram eis.⁹⁹ Sic sunt et dici possunt tyranni palatii: volunt et capiunt quoscumque transeuntes coram ipsis, mordent capiendo de bonis eorum, nec latrare desinunt contra eos quousque capiunt ab eis et habent os repletum, et faciunt sicut canes, quia ut silet canis quando quis sibi ia[c]tat aliquod boleum in ore, ita faciunt ipsi tyranni.¹⁰⁰ Numquam tacent nec permittunt homines evadere a suis manibus, donec eis porigitur et datur aliquod tributum seu donum vel pecuniae.¹⁰¹ Quam plures cives reputabantur boni per evidenciam, sed tempore eorum dominationis habere facti sunt ut lupi rapaces.¹⁰² Impii feneratores, cursorii, tortores bonorum alienorum <.....>um sui communis, in guerra non valentes aliquam sustinere necessitatem, ut tenentur certe †...† qui bonam famam habet et non est dignus fame illius.¹⁰³ Ulla res habetur turpior illa, quia expedit omnibus modis quod ille penitus amittat gratiam suam, etiam erit in fine verecundatus.¹⁰⁴ Sane, si vir est bonus, non curat nomen habere bonum, sed tantum affectat esse bonum, solum procurat virtuosum esse in sui conscientia, neque prudentiam vult tantum, [sed] bonum solum per meritum bonitatis que est in eo.¹⁰⁵ Multociens videmus contingere quod unus vir habet bonum nomen non tantum per aliquam bonitatem que sit in eo, sed quod populus inde decipitur in eo, sicut contingit de falsis ypocritis qui hostendunt aliis viris esse quod non sunt.¹⁰⁶ Ecce quod plures magnates et populares in statu communi ostendebant fore bonos, sed [9ra] quam cicicus guerra suborta fuit inter Ianuenses et habuerunt

Pl. xxv

99 os repletum] eis repletu(m) ~ in ore] i(n) ore silet
 102 <.....>um] *conservation tape covers one line* ~ sui]
 suu(m) (*expunction mark under the last vertical stroke*) 103 ille]
 illa(m) ~ amittat] am(it)ta(m) ~ in] *one letter erased after i(n)*
 104 Sane] Sanut ~ procurat] procuret 105 viris] virib(us)

posse aliquod: facti fuerunt demones et tyranni, et ideo populus in eo fuit deceptus.¹⁰⁷ In statu vero communi fuerunt ypocrite[s], et ratio est quod male non fecerunt quod non valuerunt: cum ingenio et eorum cautela vivebant, ex quo verecundati sunt in eternum.

¹⁰⁸ Boni vero paciuntur malum nisi per invidiam malorum.

¹⁰⁹ Nullum malum impunitum et nullum bonum inremuneratum.

¹¹⁰ Gentes Ianue facte sunt egene: vendiderunt eorum arnisia pro maiori parte per tercium minus quam valebant in statu communi pro vivendo.¹¹¹ Caristia fuit magna ex obsydione civitatis.¹¹² Eorum divicie pro maiori parte reverse sunt etiam in perditione, ex quo facti erant odiosi Deo et gentibus.¹¹³ Eorum dominium erat destructio terre, intellectus eorum fuit et erat facere crudelitates et malicias, peccuniam capere alienam, quia sicut demones insatiantur rapere animas peccatorum, etiam si omnes haberent non contemptarentur, sic sunt eis similes tyranni palacii: dati sunt semper ad destruendum et delimandum eorum civitatem, robando robas et capiendo peccuniam et divicias omnium personarum sive per rectum sive per obliquum.¹¹⁴ Quibus actis altissimus sua misericordia providebit.¹¹⁵ Predicti tyranni sunt et habentur multum liberales et largi de bonis sui communis adversus suos parentes et amicos, videlicet de officiis exhibendis, sed de proprio eorum aver multum sunt avari et maledicti in retinendo, quia non de suo sed de alieno sunt liberales ad prebendum.¹¹⁶ Causa est quod impius per se ipsum facere non poterit, qua causa si habent maiorum gratiam, Dei gratiam obtinere nequeunt.

¹¹⁷ Malus homo ad gratum et comodum numquam vellet habere socium, [9rb] sed per se ipsum valere.

¹¹⁸ Convenit ergo quod socios fortes habeat.¹¹⁹ Tyranni palacii canes sunt similes aquile, prime super omne

110 egene] egone 113 insatiantur] i(n)sa(n)tiant(ur) ~ eorum] ear(um) ~ obliquum] *c inserted above q*

volatile, que ascendit volando tantum in altum quod cerni non potest, sed, sic volando, subito demergit ad terram. ¹²⁰ Sic sunt assimilandi tyranni qui sua superbia brevi tempore, accumulando male ablata, scandunt in altum, et noscitur hora qua cito veniunt ad declinum. ¹²¹ Alteram habet aquila naturam qua tyranni exemplo sunt tales. ¹²² Talis est aquila in capiendo predam dum esuriit, qua capta, partem retinet et se nutrit, et partim dat corvis et cornagiis sequentibus eam in volatu, ex eo quod assimilantur negridine sua filiis, credens suos esse pullos. ¹²³ Et si contingerit ipsam non capere predam seu aves aliquas, dum famescit capit ipsos corvos et cornagias et se inde nutrit. ¹²⁴ Et sic sunt tyranni aquile assimilandi: dum rapiunt pecuniam et res alienas stant bene ad unum, sed dum fallit eis usus capiendi aliena, tunc unus destruit alterum, et sic crescit odium ex peccatis eorum, et destructio finaliter inter eos.

¹²⁵ Totus mundus est submersus

Et in mari quasi mersus

In profundo vicii.

¹²⁶ Et virtutes religantur,

Super omnes honorantur

Thyranantes impii.

¹²⁷ Repelluntur ut raptores

Veritatis amatores

Qui a malis abstinent.

¹²⁸ Adulantes et loquaces,

Detractores et mendaces,

Principatum obtinent.

¹²⁹ Honorantur maculati,

Inerentes falsitati,

Et presunt in curiis.

[9va] ¹³⁰ Maior locus illis datur

Et sic urbs nostra desolatur

[9vb] Illorum consiliis.

Pl. xxvi

Eg. 3127

Pl. xxvii

[2ra] ¹³¹ Hoc ego te moneo fugias ut prodicionem:
 Vero turpius hoc omni crimine crimen adest.
¹³² Pudor et nullus proditor tibi coniungatur amore.
¹³³ Nec prece nec precio sis actor prodicionis:
 Est lucro semper antefendus honor.
¹³⁴ Iuda sit exemplum, qui lucri ductus amore
 Tradendo Christum morte perenni perit.
¹³⁵ Sicut superius est dictum, proditio seu dolus non est
 aliud nisi aliquem vel aliquos decipere fraudulenter.
¹³⁶ Istud enim vicium est tale, cum tanti excessus
 et tante malicie et pessimitatis existit, quod licet
 aliquociens proditio videatur aliquibus complacere vel
 esse grata. ¹³⁷ Numquam tamen ab aliquibus proditor
 est dilectus, ymmo quibuslibet displicet ultra modum.
¹³⁸ Etiam proditores ut plurimum male finiunt vitam
 suam, a Deo et mundo sepissime puniuntur. ¹³⁹ Propter
 quod, ut eorum finis malus pateat, volo enarrare
 exempli causa quedam que acciderunt in regno Cipri
 tempore avi mei.
¹⁴⁰ Erat enim quidam rex Cipri qui Enricus proprio
 nomine vocabatur. ¹⁴¹ Consanguineos quosdam habebat
 quarundam sororum matris sue, et quia carebat filiis
 ipsos intime diligebat, et non ut consanguineos, sed ut
 filios dilectissimos contractabat. ¹⁴² Inter istos tamen
 regis consanguineos fuit unus qui vocatur Ugus, qui
 valde formosus erat, qui complevisset etatem iuventutis
 sue. ¹⁴³ Motus regnandi cupiditate, maliciose et
 proditorie et sub amicie forma regem predictum, qui
 sibi fuerat plus quam pater, deceptorie toxicavit. ¹⁴⁴ Et
 quantumcumque regnum ad ipsum non perveniret
 de iure, abscente quodam sanguineo suo ad quem
 [2rb] regnum debite pertinebat, fecit tantum quod

131 fugias ut] fugias tu ~ turpius] iurpius ~ adest]
 idem 132 coniungatur] (con)iugatu et 133 Nec]
 Nam ~ antefendus] an(te)fero(n)d(us) 134 qui lucri] et
 lucrum ~ perenni perit] per ho(m)i(n)em perit 136 tale]
 talis ~ tanti] ta(n)tis 138 ut] ut (uel) (*expunction mark under*
 uel, ut *inserted above*)

fuit regni predicti plenissimus dominator, et vixit et rexit multis temporibus et diversis.¹⁴⁵ Verumptamen, quia ipse fuit cupidus et crudelis antequam dominium obtineret, sicut patuit ex premissis, deterius se habuit in processu.¹⁴⁶ Erant sibi vite hominum tediose, cum propter lucrum consequendum, cupiditate inductus, quemcumque interficere non dotabat.¹⁴⁷ Quendam archiepiscopum Nicosie, a quo decimam ecclesie requisivit maliciose, cum quadam corrigia aurea quam sibi sub forma muneris delegavit, proditorie interfecit.¹⁴⁸ Cum enim archiepiscopus antedictus sibi cinxit corrigiam antedictam, ventre tumefato continuo emigravit.¹⁴⁹ Deus enim, qui omnibus providet [et] nulla mala impunita relinquit, ex predictis et similibus que commiserat delictis sue vite ultimum diem clausit.¹⁵⁰ Accidit enim quadam vice quod iste rex Ugus cum tribus filiis suis de Su veniebat in Achon civitatem, et quia iste rex Ugus destruxerat domum Templi in Cyproy, magister Templi scivit et fecit tantum quod ipse regem predictum cibus et confextionibus toxicavit cum filiis suis predictis, de quibus solum evasit unus, qui vocatur Enricus, qui nunc dominatur regnum predictum, cui multa et diversa scandala evenerunt, sicut plane in sequentibus ostendetur.¹⁵¹ Fuit etiam regis predicti alter filius, qui vocabatur Iohannes, qui mortuus fuit mala morte, eo quod ipse volebat violare quandam magnam dominam regni sui, non iuvantibus precibus [et] interventi[bu]s ipsius domine propinquorum exponencium quod ipsis tantum dedecus non fieret, cum pro eo exponeret vitam suam.¹⁵² Qui scientes ipsum quodam die intrasse domum dicte domine, propterea non desistens, ipsum ceperunt et acriter verberaverunt taliter quod infra

146 inductus] induct(er) 147 archiepiscopum Nicosie]
 archiep(iscop)i nicocie 149 relinquit] relicco 150 quadam]
 quanda(m) 151 iuvantibus] iuua(n)te ~ exponeret]
 expone(n)te(m)

triduum exspiravit.¹⁵³ Post cuius mortem regnavit et rexit regnum predictum alter frater suus Henricus, qui nunc vivit, qui sustinuit diversa scandala ut i<...> periret ergo rex Ugus propter dolum et duo nati sui. [2va]¹⁵⁴ Et iste qui nunc regnat non est neque fuit a periculo et persecucionibus omnimode excusatus, ymmo passus fuit multa scandala et diversa.

Pl. xxviii

¹⁵⁵ Quare, fili mi, non presumas committere prodicionem seu dolum, quia tunc tibi posset deterius accidere quam regibus et magnatibus antedictis.¹⁵⁶ Neque de predicta prodicione fuit facta sufficiens vindicta, sicut videbimus in successu.

¹⁵⁷ Remanserunt etiam ex rege Ugone predicto filii alii plures preter regem Enricum et alios duos superius toxicatos, inter quos erat unus homo valentissimus de persona et sapientissimus a gentibus reputatus, quem etiam gentes totius regni in dominum maxime cupiebant.¹⁵⁸ Erat enim iste frater regis dominus de Su.¹⁵⁹ Et quia ille qui rex erat, erat nimium cupidus et avarus neque de bono communi set solum de proprio cogitat, gentes regni sui ipsum maxime odiebant.¹⁶⁰ Unde aliqui ex magnatibus et forte maiores cogitaverunt dominum de Su antedictum facere regem et dominum et alium deprimere et eycere extra regnum.¹⁶¹ Ivit enim iste dominus de Su cum quodam fratre suo, qui Conestabilus vocabatur, et cum princ[ip]e, qui cognatus erat antedicti regis, et aliis pluribus de curia ad regem fratrem suum et sibi protulit ista verba: «Frater karissime, quia scio vos non esse bene dispositum de persona et cognosco quod regere regnum est vobis labor magnus, est consilium hominum de terra ista, ne regnum pereat, quod aliquis nostrum sit loco vestrum gubernator tocius regni

159 et avarus] (us) auar(us) ~ bono] bonono 161 regere regnum] reg(er)e n(ost)r(u)m regnu(m) (*expunction mark under nostrum*) ~ sit loco vestrum gubernator] sit loco u(est)r(um) (et) q(uod) uos q(ui)escatis gub(er)nator (*underlining used by the scribe or by a later reader to expunge the passage*)

vestri et quod vos quiescatis usquequo ex egritudine fueritis plenarie liberatus».

¹⁶² Ante tamen quam isti propalassent aliquid de predictis, ut dolus seu proditio non esset sic apparens, cogitaverunt predicti habere consilia a quibusdam fratribus ordinum pauperitatis, [2vb] videlicet a fratribus minoribus et predicatoribus, si ipsi regem predictum, quia ipse infirmus erat, possent iuste deponere de regno et alium constituere absque velle suo, dicentes fratribus a quibus predicta consilia receperunt esse antedicti regis fratres, subditos et devotos, et quod si ista non possent fieri iusto modo quod ipsi predicta facere non temptarentur, quia ea que ipsi facere intendebant, volebant facere ne regnum ex rectoris defectu in nichilum verteretur. ¹⁶³ Et erat ipsorum ratio quod rex non erat graciosus gentibus suis neque sanus erat, ymmo crudelissimis egritudinibus vexabatur, et de quibus omnibus petebant consilia a predictis. ¹⁶⁴ Qui sine magna deliberatione, predictis magnatibus responderunt non quod iustum erat, sed ut magis satisfacerent voluntatibus predictorum.

¹⁶⁵ Dixerunt enim quod rex predictus non erat dignus regere tale regnum, et dicebant se invenisse scriptum quod nullus qui paciatur morbum caducum vel sit ex quibusdam malis egritudinibus molestatus non potest neque debet regis nomen debite obtinere. ¹⁶⁶ Quare ipsi breviter responderunt quod ipsum poterant deponere de regno absque aliquo crimine vel peccato, et quod antedicti magnates erant divina gratia aspirati.

¹⁶⁷ Dederunt de Deo dicentes: «Crucifigatur Christus, quia filium Dei se fecit vel quia dixit se esse regem».

¹⁶⁸ Talia enim sunt religiosorum consilia, etcetera.

¹⁶⁹ Adhibito ergo consilio, predicti magnates cum quibusdam aliis dixerunt regi omnia supradicta, et

162 antedicti] an(te)d(i)c(t)is ~ ex rectoris] (et) r(ec)toris ~ verteretur] deu(er)t(er)et(ur) (*expunction mark beneath de*) 165 dicebant] disceba(n)t (*expunction mark beneath s*) 167 se fecit] defecit

quod omnes de regno cupiebant et volebant quod iste dominus de Su modo predicto suppleret [ante] mortem antedicti regis et gubernaret et regeret sicut dominus totum regnum, et quod rex quiesceret et sibi procuraret que erant consona vite sue.

Eg. 3781

¹⁷⁰ Rex tamen, audiens et intelligens [1va] ista verba, respondit: «Ecce dico vobis quod malo mori antequam michi constituam aliquem michi dominum in vita mea».

Pl. XXIX

¹⁷¹ Unus tamen illorum, qui Aymericus suo proprio nomine vocabatur et erat predicti regis frater, breviter dixit regi: «Velitis aut nolitis, dominus de Su erit rector et gubernator tocius regni vestri, quia hoc est de consensu nostrorum omnium subditorum».

¹⁷² Quod audiens rex predictus doluit ultra modum, quia cogitavit quod verum erat, videlicet quod ipsi cupiebant regem predictum deponere de sede et potestate sua. ¹⁷³ Et sic stetit rex multis diebus sicut servus vel sicut ille qui suam amiserat libertatem.

¹⁷⁴ Post tamen paucos [dies], aliqui ex illis qui fuerant in concordia ut rex a suo dominio privaretur, videntes quod ipsi a domino de Su ea que volebant non poterant extorquere, et quod iste talis dominus erat sapiens et discretus et cognoscebat omnia vicia predictorum, regem predictum in suo dominio reducere procurabant.

¹⁷⁵ Dolebant enim quia non poterant facere consueta.

¹⁷⁶ Dominus tamen de Su, cognoscens ea que isti volebant facere, ipsos et regem expulit de regno et misit eos ad custodiendum regi Hermenie, qui erat cognatus istius domini antedicti.

¹⁷⁷ Deus tamen, qui omnibus providet et nullum malum impunitum permittit, sciens quod omnia supradicta essent facta cum prodicione et dolo, quantumcumque rex predictus non esset sufficiens regere tale regnum, quia ta[me]n istos non movebat karitas neque regni amor neque dilectio proximorum, sed solum volebant suam potenciam altius exaltare, [fecit quod] dominus

169 mortem] mors 177 regni] regnu(m)

de Su et alii qui istius doli fuerant participes ipsorum vitam pessime finierunt.

¹⁷⁸ Rex enim [1vb] predictus et illi qui cum ipso fuerant expulsi de regno ordinaverunt cum quodam milite qui domini de Su erat familiaris valde, ymmo tantum erat domesticus sibi quod, quacumque hora volebat, ipso dormiente, poterat intrare cameram domini antedicti, neque sibi camera seu palacium vetabantur. ¹⁷⁹ Promisit enim rex antedictus, et alii qui cum ipso erant promiserunt facere illud idem, isti militi antedicto quod, si ipse interficeret dominum de Su, ipsi sibi darent magnam pecunie quantitatem et semper cum ipsis viveret sicut frater. ¹⁸⁰ Iste tamen miles, sicut pessimus et crudelis, magna cupiditate motus, quia credebat dytari ex morte ipsius magni viri, procuravit comitere dolum.

¹⁸¹ Quadam enim die, dormiente domino de Su in lecto camere post prandium, intrante cameram prefato milite scelerato, se fingente cum eo loqui, dato omnibus astantibus co[ng]edio, cum quodam mucrone acutissimo ipsum interfecit gutture resecato et membra fracta deyciens in latrinam. ¹⁸² Quia tamen timuit non facere magnam moram, non potuit agere quod volebat et oportuit ipsum terra egredere festinanter. ¹⁸³ Ipse enim subito se transmavit ad aliam regionem.

¹⁸⁴ Cum autem illi de domo hora consueta vellent excitare dominum predictum a sompno, invenerunt eum interfectum. ¹⁸⁵ Ibi fuit clamor, planctus et dolor, ita quod omnibus de terra displicuit iste dolus. ¹⁸⁶ Fuit sepultus iste dominus in vigilia Penthecostes in ecclesia Sancte Sophye, et qui ortaverant ipsum ad regendum libentissime obtinuissent et supplevissent vices suas.

¹⁸⁷ Tamen quia in ipsis non erat karitas, noluit hoc pati [1ra] Deus.

Pl. xxx

179 quod, si] si added in the interline above 181 intrante] intrante i (expunction mark under i) ~ cum quodam] q cu(m) quoda(m) ~ latrinam] latrinar 186 Penthecostes] h inserted above t

¹⁸⁸ Gentes enim regni cum matre regis fecerunt quod rex Enricus rediit ad statum suum; et persecutus est illos qui erant participes in antedicto dolo. ¹⁸⁹ Fecit enim ex illis alios submergi, alios decolari et alios mori fame, ita quod omnes quasi qui predictum dolum comiserant fuerunt crudeliter interfecti. ¹⁹⁰ Neque rex Enricus propter peccata sua et suorum antecessorum solus complevit penitentiam quam debebat. ¹⁹¹ Fuit enim prefatus rex Enricus propter magistrum Templi, occasione destructionis facte per regem Ugum, sic artificialiter concibatus, u[]tra tosicacionem factam per eum de predictis patre et suis, medicacionis causa, quod filios procreare non poterit in futurum qua causa ut privaretur ab eo cui iniusta facere procuraret.

¹⁹² Rex ergo e facultatibus voluit regis Sicilie filiam accipere in consortem, non tamen confidens in viribus suis ut a[]d] tocius regni successionem ipsa cum filio aveniret, dedit enim sororem suam regi Aragoni ut si [1rb] desideret, nullo derelicto filio et herede, ad ipsius regis successionem totaliter pervenire.

¹⁹³ Non ergo, karissime fili, sis proditor neque commitas dolum, quia ex prodicione vel dolo insurgunt vel fiunt multa scandala deteriora istis. ¹⁹⁴ Si enim tale vicium in principibus et magnatibus remanet impunitum, multo plus decet minores et cives, si comitant tale scelus, affligi peioribus generibus tormentorum, et de talibus exempla quibuslibet patent clare. ¹⁹⁵ Videmus enim clare propter prodiciones trahitur decolari, submergi et comburi. ¹⁹⁶ Quare a tali vicio te capere non permitas.

Add. 27695 [11ra] ¹⁹⁷ Fide[m] qui perdit, nichil ultra perdere potest. ¹⁹⁸ Ledit famam lesio fidei et eternum dedecus inprimit menciendi.

¹⁹⁹ Diviciis multis melior bona fama videtur; Hanc tibi retineas, [si] bonus esse velis.

Pl. xxxi

191 medicacionis] me(n)dicacionis ~ cui] qui 192 e] (et) ~ Sicilie filiam] cicilie (et) filiam ~ in viribus] militibus ~ regi] aregi ~ desideret] desed(er)et ~ ad ipsius] at i(p)si(us) 193 fili] filii 198 dedecus] dedet(ur)

²⁰⁰ Quid tibi divicie, si honor non [est] tibi, prosunt?

²⁰¹ Ille beatus erit cui bona fama viget.

²⁰² Quam recipis aliqua ex natura maliciam, nec tempore coli poterit nec doctrina.

²⁰³ Mendacium est velle alium vel alios fallere cum falsa vocis significatione. ²⁰⁴ Unde dictum est supra quod mendax semper dicit ea que sunt contraria menti sue.

²⁰⁵ Est enim istud vicium indecens cuilibet sapienti <.....> aut raro creditur etiam si locutus fuerit veritatem, item si mendax fuerit. ²⁰⁶ Verborum malorum inventor et propalator multos bonos viros facit cadere in ruinam. ²⁰⁷ Mendax enim decipit quemcumque loquela sua falsa et numquam attendit que promittit.

²⁰⁸ Et multociens iactant se ut alios decipiant de eis que non habent neque possunt, et de eis de quibus facere servicia non intendunt.

²⁰⁹ Et quia mendaces semper intendunt gener[ar]e ea que sunt contraria veritati, istud vicium in magnatibus et divitibus pessimum existit, in mediocribus peius et in minoribus malum. ²¹⁰ Quanto enim aliquis est in altiori gradu, tanto plus a gentibus et a Deo erit deterior reputatus si utatur mendaciis vel fraudulentis verbis. ²¹¹ Etiam qui mendax est semper, est odibilis et [11rb] contrarius ipsi Deo, quia Deus veritas est, et qui contradicit veritati contrariatur Deo. ²¹² Video etiam sepe mendaces ducere malam vitam, quia postquam eorum falsa verba sapientibus pate[n]tur, ipsi et ipsorum verba a quibuslibet evitantur.

²¹³ Os quod mentitur occidit animam.

²¹⁴ Falsus adulator non est reputandus amicus.

²¹⁵ Quilibet inspiciat cui coniungatur amico.

²¹⁶ A quietis et a cautis tibi cave, quod peior est flumina quieta quam illa que currit.

200 prosunt] prosit 202 aliqua] aliquis 205 <.....>]
one line covered by conservation tape, partially illegible
 207 quemcumque] q(ui)cu(m)que 208 habent]
 habent(ur) (ur *expunged by the scribe*) 209 mediocribus]
 medioc(ri)tibus 211 odibilis et] odibilis etll(et) 213 quod]
 q(ui) 216 flumina] filii mina ~ que] q(ui)

²¹⁷ Baratariorum consortium est evitandum, nec debent homines ipsos [per] verba salutare.

²¹⁸ Eramen videmus doratum bene lucentem: illum qui emit ut aurum, perditum suum.

²¹⁹ Sic reputantur dictorum verba prolacta quorum lingua splendet, opus contrarium sepe.

²²⁰ Q<.....> te tangat.

²²¹ Aurum si erit vel ramus tunc cognoscetur.

²²² Est nigrum aurum aliquando melius ramo.

²²³ Serpens est unus †...†, balzemum qui capere vellet medium fert canonem illum dulcissime sonans, †...† cauda concludens aurem ne dormiat ipse. ²²⁴ Exemplo simili homines sic facere debent, non audientes verba demoniorum maligna.

... [beginning of col. a is missing]

[12va] ²²⁵ haunt famescere possunt. ²²⁶ Ex ludo homo sepe cadit in perditione, et quam plures homines ut desperati propter ludum se laqueos suspenderunt.

²²⁷ Luzores Deum et matrem suam et curiam celestem cecitate ludi sepissime blasphemiant, quod est peccatum mortale. ²²⁸ Ludus vocari potest turpe lucrum, quod iuste teneri non potest, sed debet reddi, cum cuiuscumque ludentis intentio sit sanne vincere, robare alienum et proximum suum. ²²⁹ Patres in correctione filiorum maximam habent culpam, non corrigendo ipsos dum sunt in tenera timoris etate. ²³⁰ Qui cum magni sine correctione efficiuntur, non timent eos verbo nec facto, et sic veniunt ad malam finem faciendo.

²³¹ Contra mandata Dei, non obediendo patri, etiam sunt diversi [qui], quando ex ludo perdunt suum, percuciant ut desperati Dei <.....>itatis fi<..>t p<...>de

Pl. xxxiv

218 Eramen] Ero(n) 220 Q<.....>] one line covered by conservation tape, partially illegible 222 nigrum] nig(er) q(ue)
224 demoniorum] do(m)erum 228 lucrum] lud(e)rum
(expunction mark beneath de and c inserted above) ~ teneri non potest] rene(r)i p(otes)t n(on) ~ cuiuscumque] c(uiusque) (the abbreviation for cum added in the interline) ~ intentio] inta(n)t(i)o

... [remainder of col. a and the beginning of col. b are missing]

[12vb] ²³² Accidit quadam vice in regno Cipri quod quidam miles ditissimus luzerat omnia que habebat. ²³³ Et habebat iste miles pulcherrimam dominam in uxorem, ex qua habuerat filios et filias plures. ²³⁴ Et cogitavit quod propter pulchritudinem uxoris sue ipsam posset ludere pro magna quantitate peccunie. ²³⁵ Et sicut cogitavit, sic fecit. ²³⁶ Ludit enim ipsam et ipsam amisit in ludendo. ²³⁷ Quando tamen ille qui ipsam luzerat voluit ducere ipsam ad domum suam, uxor predicta, que bona et sapiens erat, noluit ipsum sequi, quantumcumque suus maritus sibi preciperet quod ipsa deberet facere omnia que sibi preciperet ille qui ipsam lucrata fuerat marito. ²³⁸ Que videns, domina ivit ad curiam regis Cipri et dixit sicut dolens quomodo maritus ipsam luxerat illi viro, et quod ipsa cum illo nullo modo stare volebat, quia non erat neque poterat esse maritus suus. ²³⁹ Rex autem ... [remainder of col. b is missing]

[13ra] ²⁴⁰ aliis pateret in exemplum. ²⁴¹ Et sic per ea que dicta sunt patet quod ludus est fugiendus a quolibet [13rb] sapiente.

Pl. xxxv

[vi. De gula]

[13r] *Capitulum .vi. de gula e[t] speciebus eius.*

[13va] ¹ Ventris ingluvies est immoderata quorumcumque ciborum hyantis concupiscencie satisfactio et finibus non contenta.

Pl. xxxvi

² Cum saturitate venter extenditur, aculeus libidinis ex[c]itatur.

237 que] q(ui) 238 domina] d(omi)na(m)

vi. 1 quorumcumque] q(ua)r(um)cu(m)q(ue) ~ satisfactio] satisfatu(m) ~ non] ne(n) 2 venter] ue(n)tri ~ aculeus] aculeo

- ³ Quanto venter ciborum concupiscenciis adinpletur, tanto anima donis celestibus evacuatur.
- ⁴ Deo placere non poterunt qui carnis desideriiis acquiescunt.
- ⁵ Sic moderate quisque cibum assumat, ne peccatorum honore pregravetur.
- ⁶ Quia si spiritualia querimus hec mortalia fugiamus.
- ⁷ Venter et genitalia sibi subnexa taliter famulantur ut dum nimis unum reficitur aliud ad vicia excitatur.
- ⁸ Sicut per gulam primi parentes a paradiso exeruntur, ita per gule abstinenciam eorum filii ad eandem gloriam revertuntur.
- ⁹ <.....> omnibus refrenetur ne homo pereat et vita eterna amitatur.
- ¹⁰ Gula est nimius excessus rapiendi cibum et potum et aliorum omnium que consecuntur ad ipsam. ¹¹ Et istud tale viciu[m] crastimargia [13vb] a pluribus nominatur. ¹² Dicitur enim crastimargia a castris et margine. ¹³ In illis enim locis homines ibi habitantes ex moribus corruptis comedunt et bibunt plus quam eorum viscera possint pati. ¹⁴ Vel potest dici castrimargia quia castitatem mergit. ¹⁵ Ait enim Sanctus Gregorius: venter et genitalia adinvicem sunt coniuncta, dum enim venter sacietate extenditur, libidinis aculeus maxime excitatur.
- ¹⁶ Huic enim vicio multe et diverse species sunt anexe.
- ¹⁷ Prima est cibi gulositas.
- ¹⁸ Secunda est ebrietas.
- ¹⁹ Tercia est prodigalitas.
- ²⁰ Quarta est inabstinencia.
- ²¹ Quinta inmoderancia.
- ²² Sexta inverecundia.

6 hec] h(ic) 7 ut] Et 8 exeruntur] ex(er)tunt(ur)
 9 <.....>] *one line covered by conservation tape, partially illegible*
 10 Gula] Gugula ~ rapiendi] repie(n)di 11 crastimargia]
 acrastimargia 12 castris et margine] castris (et) mago
 13 illis] illilis 21 inmoderancia] i(n) *inserted in the interline*

²³ Septima vaniloquium.

²⁴ Octava imprudencia.

²⁵ Nona inhonestas.

²⁶ Decima inmodestia.

... [at least one folio is missing]

[14va] ²⁷ Erat quidam homo Ianue qui multum in diviciis habundabat et habebat filios plures quorum unus, propterea quod intime amabatur et quia pater ipsum corrigere non audebat propter amoris illiciti fervorem, iste filius male et pessime finit dies suos.

²⁸ Iste enim in sui puericia a patre solus filius vocabatur et nulla de aliis erat sibi cura. ²⁹ Iste enim comedebat cibaria delicata et bibebat vinum electum et dulce et erat egregie inductus. ³⁰ Erat enim tota cura patris et matris istum filium decorare, neque pati poterant fletum suum.

³¹ Etiam si comedisset et bibisset superflue, bonum et pulchrum predictis parentibus videbatur et numquam de ebrietate seu crapula ipsum corrigere voluerunt.

³² Et de aliis filiis pater neque mater faciebant aliquam mentionem, et semper dicebant de predicto: «Talis filius meus erit valentior et sapientior huius terre».

³³ Accidit tamen post magnum quod iste dives homo obiit de hac vita et dimisit isti filio plus quam aliis maximam pecunie quantitatem. ³⁴ Iste tamen iuvenis, quia male morigenatus et male correctus fuerat a suis parentibus, ante <.....>e neque bibere ordinate, et usus erat assumere cibaria delicata. ³⁵ De nullo alio cogitavit nisi qualiter posset componere cibaria, potum et salsamenta que suo satisfacerent appeti[t]u insaciabili et guloso. ³⁶ Et erat in istis tantum inordinatus quod ipse in vicio gule erat sufficientior Epicuro, neque curabat suam pecuniam in mercimoniis implicare, neque volebat acquirere divicias neque castra. ³⁷ Erat enim intentio sua sola acquirere vinum

Pl. xxxviii

³⁴ <.....>e] one line covered by conservation tape, almost entirely illegible

dulce et cibaria delicata, et stare cum meretricibus et sociardis. ³⁸ Parentes tamen sui, cognoscentes istum ducere malam vitam, sibi procuraverunt quandam puellam nobilem tradere in uxorem, ut ipse a predictis viciis abstineret. ³⁹ Nichil [14vb] tamen fuit, quia ipse vicium suum duplicavit et quia postea fecit peius.

⁴⁰ Est enim istud vicium ita tenax quod, postquam ab aliquo fuerit usitatum, numquam potest ab ipso aliquatenus removeri, ymmo efficitur totaliter naturale.

⁴¹ Vixit ergo iste iuvenis diu, ita quod, antiquatus et veteratus in vicio antedicto, discipavit et vastavit omnia que habebat. ⁴² Fuit enim propter gulam prodigus et imprudens, inabstinens et inmoderatus, inverecundus, inhonestus et inmodestus, et semper turpia proferebat, propter quod omnibus displicuit vita sua, nichil obtinens de hoc quod sibi dimiserat pater suus, et in fine mortuus est sicut canis.

⁴³ Ergo, fili Ianine, cave tibi a vicio gule, propterea que manifeste vides. ⁴⁴ Vides enim clare ebriosos et gulosos ab omnibus derelinqui et despici a quocumque. ⁴⁵ Istud enim vicium est in hominibus pravum et pravissimum in mulieribus. ⁴⁶ Mulier[em] enim potatrixem et gulosam oportet esse meretrixem fastidiosam hominibus et ingratham. ⁴⁷ Quare, fili mi, bibe et comede moderate, quia, teste Boecio, natura cuiuslibet hominis de modicis est contenta.

[VII. *De luxuria*]

[15r] *Capitulum .vi[i]. de lusuria e[t] speciebus eius.* Pl. xxxix

[15va] ¹ Luxuria est ex inmundis descendens desideriiis lubrica et effrenata mentis prostitutio. Pl. xl

40 usitatum] usiitat(us) (*expunction mark under the second i*) ~ naturale] naturalis 42 propter quod] p(ro)p(ter) q(ue)m ~ de hoc quod] de hoc q(ue) 43 fili] filii 46 potatrixem] potat(ri)xe(m) (*e added after x*) 47 fili] filii
VII. 1 inmundis] intimidis

² Sicut per mortem vita corporis tollitur, ita per luxuriam ab homine vita anime separatur.

³ Luxuria corpus coinquinat, mentem cecat et sensatos arguit, quia cibus est demonum et omnia mala trahit.

⁴ Fornicatio et [in]mundicia nullum eximit, sed clerum specialiter comprehendit.

⁵ Ocia convenit tollere qui vult luxuriam remove.

⁶ Quoniam licet fornicationis labilis sit voluptas, pena tamen non est momentanea sed eterna.

⁷ Luxuria est incontinnencia corporis ex pruritu libidinis nascens.

⁸ Potest enim dici de luxuria quod ipsa est langor incolumis, grata molestia, pondus leve, [in]saciata fames, ebria scitis, tristicia leta, dulce malum, mala dulcedo, quies <.....>, mobile manens, infirnis mulcebris, paradus tristis, carcer amenus, yems verna, prudens stulticia, audax timor, dives egestas, gloria vilis, inobps copia, discordia concors, concors pugna, furor blandus, dulce nephas.

⁹ Hec enim corpus poluit, animam necat, vim eripit, famam lacerat, oculorum lumina cecat, vocem acerbat.

¹⁰ Alanus enim in [Ante]claudiano suo ait:

Quas Venus, illecrebas, que tristia gaudia, tristes Leticia[s], mala dulcia, pocula fellea terris Offert et felle mellito compluit orbem.

¹¹ Cernit in archanis prudencia superum.

¹² Dicitur enim luxuria secundum eundem a luxu, quia ut plurimum luxuria nascitur a luxu cibi et potus inordinati. ¹³ Dividitur autem luxuria in [15vb] has species que secuntur.

¹⁴ Prima est fornicacio simplex.

2 vita] uita(m) 3 sensatos] desensatos ~ demonum]
 domo nu(m) ~ trahit] trahi(n)t 4 et] (est)
 6 voluptas] uolu(n)tas ~ pena tamen] pona cam(en)
 8 <.....>] *two lines missing, covered by
 conservation tape* ~ mulcebris] mutabil(is) 9 vocem] vir(um)
 10 ait] ait(ur) ~ tristia] i(us)ta ~ compluit] (com)pulit

¹⁵ Secunda strupum.

¹⁶ Tercia adulterium.

¹⁷ Quarta incestus.

¹⁸ Quinta raptus.

¹⁹ Sexta peccatum contra naturam.

²⁰ Fornicatio simplex nil aliud est nisi carnale commercium quod fit preter legitimum matrimonium in usu viduarum, concubinarum, vel meretricum que publice ad tale officium se comittunt.

²¹ Strupum est proprie virginum illicita defloratio.

²² Et dicitur strupum, quia [virgo] stupet virum ipsum carnaliter cognoscendo de novo, quia talia facere non est usa.

²³ Adulterium est alieni thori vel aliene uxoris violatio.

²⁴ Unde adulter proprie dicitur qui fallit vel violat uxorem proximi vel vicini.

²⁵ Raptus est rapere puellam cum voluntate puelle absque voluntate parentum, et ipsam capit vel accipit in uxorem.

²⁶ Peccatum contra naturam est quando aliquis extra locum ordinatum poluit vel emitit semen. ²⁷ Et istud tale vicium potest fieri multis modis.

... [remainder of Booklet I is missing]

15 Secunda] C(e)c(un)da ~ strupum] st(ru)urpum

17 incestus] i(n)cessus

20 comittunt] comittitur

21 Strupum] Etrupu(m) 24 *The sentence ends at the beginning of the line; two lines missing (possibly with illustrations of birds and no text), covered by conservation tape*

25 Raptus] Dapt(us)

26 Peccatum] C(e)cc(atu)m

II. BOOKLET ON THE VIRTUES

... [*beginning of Booklet II is missing*]

[I. (?) *De iustitia*]

... [*beginning of col. a is missing*]

Add. 27695

[10va] ¹ qui ius suum unicuique tribuent pro rebus temporalibus, sepe inter homines iniusticia et invidia nasceretur.

Pl. XLII

² Rectores in manu stateram teneant ut iuste sevant et cum expedit misericordiam non relinquunt.

³ Rogo ut iustum iudicium semper proferatur dicendo: de vultu tuo Domine iudicium meum, oculi tui videant equitates.

⁴ Deum pre oculis habere debemus in omnibus iudiciis atque factis.

⁵ Illum imitari debemus qui iudex est iustus, fortis et potens, tractabilis, pacificus et benignus, qui cuilibet secundum opera que facit tribuet in futurum.

⁶ Apud quem nulla personarum acceptio, ita iudicare tenemini parvulum sicut magnum, sciendo quod mensura qua messi erimus eadem remetietur nobis, cum de talento credito teneamur reddere rationem.

⁷ Si cadit iustus erigitur, sed inpius cum suo semine dispergitur.

⁸ Iusticia appellari non poterit quam amore vel timore aliquis violabit.

⁹ Iusticia est tacita nature conventio in adiutorium multorum inventa.

¹⁰ Iusticia non nostra constitutio animi, sed divina lex est et vinculum societatis humane. ¹¹ Qui hanc igitur sectari desiderat, time Deum prius et ama, ut ametur ab eo. ¹² Amabilis eris Deo, si in hoc illum immitaveris,

II 1. 2 sevant] s(er)uiant 3 oculi tui] tui oc(u)li tui
6 acceptio] except(i)o ~ eadem] ea demu(m) ~ remetietur]
rem(e)lierur 7 cadit] hodie

ut velis omnibus prodesse et nulli nocere.¹³ Iustus
 ut sis, non solum [non] nocebis, sed etiam nocentem
 prohibebis.

...

*[fragment cut, only the first letters of a part of col. b
 are preserved]*

[10vb]

li q...

non...

cont...

mi...

quar...

prod...

quitur...

tas...

tr...

is...

m...

tre...

cia...

ne...

semper ...

seq...

vir...

ram...

deret...

perm...

peri...

soci...

bil...

ren...

con...

sen...

huma...

D...

que...

uer...

... *[remainder of Booklet II is missing]*

III. MORAL DICTATES AND 'DORIA'S EPIC'

- ... [beginning of Booklet III is missing]
- Add. 28841
3ra
- Mandatisque suis flectere colla sacris. Pl. XLIII
 Impio potente fugam possemus habere,
 Set a manu Dei nemo evadere potest,
 Cum sit uni[*cu*]ique nostrum Deus evidens ip[s]e.
 5 Secunda vero sapientia sit honorandus,
 Subtilitate sua, qui mirabilia fecit
 Celo et in terra, impossibilia queque.
 Tercia vero quidem, quia bonus est diligendus.
 Non est in terra qui sine crimine vivat,
 10 Ipso excepto qui factus absque peccato,
 Omnibus completus virtutibus atque salute,
 Cui revera nulla est conp[ar]atio facta,
 Qui amorem suum voluit ostendere nobis,
 Subiciendo cruci pro humano genere nostro.
 15 Ex quo tenemur diligentiam sanctificare,
 Non parcendo pene etiam neque morti carnali;
 Cumque caro nostra tenaculis foret incisa,
 Daretur canibus bochonis sic comedenda,
 Non valeremus bonitati sufficere sue.
 20 Principium unquam habuit nec finem habebit.
 Pater amabilis ultra modum legalitate,
 Cum sit paratus regnum suum prebere bonis
 Ac eius gloriam que finis est sempiterna.
 Bonorum omnium preciosior, thesauro omni.
 25 Cum venit in mundo magnalia quoque contempsit,
 In totum spernens cum regibus associari,
 Set cum apostolis, qui grosso modo vivebant,
 Ut piscatores, bonitatem suam ostensit.
 Ad formicam vade viam eius considerando,
 30 Ne fame pereat estate colligit granum.

III. 2 Impio] impie 3 Set] Cet 4 sit] sic (t added above c) 5 Secunda] Cecu(n)da 10 factus] s(an)c(t)o
 15 diligentiam] dilig(er)a

- Sic faciat homo ne cadat plenus peccato,
 Cum postea nullum remedium inveniretur.
 Ex quo testatur bonitatem Domini tantam,
 Que non relinquit, relevando quemque confessum;
 3rb 35 Cum sit maior semper misericordia Christi
 Quam peccatoris aliqua miseria facta.
 Diviciis multis melior [bona] fama videtur;
 Hanc tibi detineas, si bonus esse velis.
 Quid tibi divicie, si honor non [est] tibi, prosunt?
 40 Ille beatus erit cui bona fama vigebit.
 Bonus qui videtur intus prudens et extra,
 A populo cuncto amatur et consolatur.
 Boni iustitia est quod cuilibet reddat
 Ius suum, diligens bonum comunisque sui,
 45 Die nocteque studens utilitati communis:
 Ex hac honorabitur iusticia cum morietur.
 Ergo non cognoscunt genus bene sicut deberent:
 Impius in dictis, nate, profecto dictis,
 In primis dictis, nate, profecto fides.
 50 Impius iusticiam frangit, tunc populus plorat
 Nostrum genitorem non vixisse diem solum
 Non cognoscendo, nobis miseris dicendo «Heu!».
 Unde propter malum cognoscitur quodcumque bonum.
 Ubi est bonitas, lux ibi et claritudo,
 55 Ubi malicia, prodicio et turpitude.
 Obscuritas quidem malo tibi iungatur amore.
 Nec prece nec precio sis auctor prodicionis.
 Homo pravus peior millies quam bestia nata;
 Cum se cognoscat ratione caveat ipsa,
 60 Ideo peior bestia zabuloque tenetur;

42 cuncto] cunctis 43 Boni iustitia] Doniuj ista ~ cuilibet]
 q(ui)libet 51 vixisse] vivisse ~ solum] solo 56 malo]
 mal(us) 57 Nec] Po(n) (*under the letter P, depicted in gold
 by the illuminator, it is possible to see an N written in ink by the
 scribe*) 58 Homo] No(n) (*under the letter N, depicted in gold by
 the illuminator, it is possible to see an H written in ink by the scribe*)

Privatur sepius iuribus inde omnibus suis.
 Demon nullum habet hominem possem temptandi,
 Et per contrarium homo possit temptare eum,
 Qui[a] demones cruce Christum non crucifiscere,
 65 Set res mortales eum indigne crucifixerunt.
 Ergo peiores habentur demone rei,
 In tantum quantum potenciores tenentur.
 Impii non cessant promptissime adesse nefas.
 3va Impius non cessat, nec in vita verecundatur. Pl. XLIV
 70 Ut meretrix via impii profecto habetur,
 Cuius primum verecundus videtur,
 Postquam cognovit, cum crimine crimen addidit.
 Bonus contrarium qui semper humiliatur,
 Quantum plus potest humiliari studetur,
 75 Parcit iniurias et minas undique factas.
 Vindictam facit quando potest invidiosus.
 Ve civitati per impium que gubernatur!
 Orfane et vidue misericordia carent,
 At mulieres vituperio sunt copiose.
 80 Gentes diviciis cotidie sunt spoliatae.
 Crescunt rapine, homicidia, crescit egestas,
 Amici impii sunt robatores quicumque.
 Impii revera talis habetur potestas,
 Sicut illius qui iactat totum in mare.
 85 Est talis impius ut homo cecus in terra,
 Qui carens luce, super terram serpere potest.
 Sic homo impius nescit quid faciat ipse.
 Vas boni semper odoris est addoratum,
 Sanum et plenum omni odore bono.
 90 Bonus vero diligit se, impius ipsum odit.

61 Privatur] Priua(n)t(ur) 71 verecundus]
 v(er)e(cun)dosu(m) 72 addidit] ad idem 73 humiliatur]
 hum(i)aliat(ur) (*expunction mark under the first a*) 75 factas]
 flf(a)c(t)as (*expunction mark under the first f*) 84 Sicut] Cicut
 87 Sic] Cic 89 Sanum] Samu(m) 90 impius] impiu(m)

Cur aliquis aliis bonus qui sibi placere nequit?
 Boni mendici nomen sit tibi notabile semper,
 Cunctarum rerum ut pater habetur ipse,
 Adcomodando sibi potius quam impio pleno,
 95 Quod si non habet sua fide salvatur ipse,
 Que comodantur sibi una hora non retinendo.
 Facit contrarium homo impius, nulli reddendo.
 Idropico similis numquam saciatur avarus;
 Anxius accumulatur, nescit cui, sibi non certe
 100 Eius congestas alter habebit opes.
 3vb Qui si cisternam haberet auro plenam,
 Non dignaretur unum solum obolum dare.
 Credit homo vere securus sepe manere.
 Confidunt gentes auro gemmisque preciosis.
 105 Mulieres etiam personis suis honorantur
 Tenentes se tute vita sua, semper vivendo
 Ut essent propriis domibus ipse suis.
 Impius haberet sapientiam ut Salomon,
 Gensque caveret sicut demones inferiores.
 110 Dicitur aperte voce clara iniuriati:
 Iniuriam passus, deceptus opere facto.
 Qui audivit dicit cogitando cordibus suis:
 Qui semel decepit, deciperet quemlibet nostrum.
 Et sic vitandus est ipse et relinquendus.
 115 Prudens Pelegrinus, Cocarellus cognomine dictus,
 Nos docuit clare fatuos evitare debere,
 A specie fructus omnis cognoscitur arbor,
 Propter pericula que currunt maliciosa.
 Qui boni dicuntur extra et intus [mali] tenentur
 120 Sunt vulpi similes que bene pelle nitentur.
 Nec est malicia sicut latens non appensata
 Impiorum fraude, certeque iubentur esse
 Que propter bonos fieri denegantur omnino,
 Quorum promissio melior tenetur quam carta.

91 aliquis] q(ui)s bo(n)is (q corrected into a, expunction marks
 under the first s, b and o) 99 certe] c(er)te(m) 100 congestas]
 egestas 108 Salomon] Salomo(n)e(m)

- 125 Penitus cavendus ultra modum est impius quisque,
 Tempus si viderit quo possit maliciari
 Non dissimulabit, aliter caute se abstinebit.
 Cuius fides impii est vere destructio boni,
 Ex verbis cuius fallitur omnis homo,
- 130 Quanto plus iurat tanto minus est adhibenda.
 Non frangas fidem nec impio associeris,
 Cum via impii teneatur ut via latronis.
 Omnibus est odio fur odioque Deo.
- 5ra Fur lupus ex merito, cum furat ante et retro Pl. XLV
- 135 Cum videt tempus, cunctis odiosus habetur.
 Sic exemplo simili via prudentis tenetur.
 Vidi in Anchona propter sapientiam falsam
 Sub fide boni mulieres deturpare mariti,
 In absconso loco homines occisos in lecto,
- 140 Divicias etiam specie bonitatis ablatas,
 Et raptores illos gratia creatoris torqueri,
 Interfectores ipsos carceri similiterque reduci.
 Quorum peccata tormento voce paterunt,
 Per que fuerunt suspensi publica fulca.
- 145 Melius est enim amicum bonum habere,
 Securitate cuius amicitia iungatur amore,
 Cum ipsa bonitas sit impio docto suprema.
 Quanto plus homo sapiencior ipse habetur,
 Tanto timendus erit, cum plus decipere possit.
- 150 Secunda vero symplex bonus est compertandus
 Simplicitate sua, cum possemus satis videre,
 Ante et retro inquirere et perscrutari;
 Sic bonum alium vix ne possemus habere.
 Sciamus igitur nobis retinere amicos,
- 155 Cum in acquirendo sit sapientia ulla,
 Set in retinendo sit sapientia maior.
 Est consanguineis et preponendus amicus,
 Qui cito currit quando necesse videt.

125 cavendus] tan(en)d(us) 127 abstinebit] *the first b added
 in the interline above* 130 iurat] i(n)trat 134 ex] e(st)
 151 videre] valdere

- Boni sunt pauci, impiis totus repletur mundus.
 160 Fidus in adversis cognoscitur rebus amicus.
 Qui foveam fodit proximo suo cadit in illam.
 Non amat impius bonitatem in semetipso;
 Diligit in alium bonitatem impius vere,
 Set sensum quoque cum malicia diligit ipse.
 165 Quarto probatur sapientem fore amandum.
 Honorandum esse iustum et bonum semper;
 Toto posse nostro sit dignus incoronari,
 5rb Ex corona regni capud suumque ornando;
 Cuius amicitia multiplicantur quicumque
 170 Diviciis etiam sapientia qua vivimus omnes.
 Acquiritur fides bonitate et gratia Christi.
 Qui cum sapiente graditur, sapiens semper erit.
 Melius est esse sapiens et rustici natus
 Quam stultus et vilis nobilis natus viri.
 175 Qui vult fiduciam alicuius in primis habere,
 Inquirat primo si bonam famam gerit.
 Aliter qui facit, confidit fortune [sue].
 †.....† servit,
 Perdit ipse suum et inimiciciam querit.
 180 Innumeras solvit falsa [in] preconia linguas.
 Non credas cuicumque, tibi fama revelet in annis.
 Aura quid levius? Fulmen. Quid fulmine? Fama.
 Quid fama? Mulier. Quid muliere? Nichil.
 Bonus ex paucis contentatur, impius numquam
 185 Si possideret celum totum et undique terram.
 Cuius loquela noscitur ipse vere loquendo:
 Si recte loquitur, bonus presumitur ille,
 Si dubiose, pro impio recognoscatur.
 Cordis habundancia os loquitur sepe,
 190 Set opere etiam melius dignoscitur quisque.
 Et Dominus docuit a falsis cavere profetis
 Apostolos suos qui sibi tunc dixerunt:

161 illam] illo 166 iustum] i(us)tu(m)que 180 solvit]
 seuit 181 cuicumque] q(ui)c(um)q(ue) 182 Fulmen]
 flum(en) ~ fulmine] flu(m)i(n)e 184 Bonus] Bo(n)is
 191 profetis] (pro)feris

- «Domine, cognosci quomodo poterimus eos?».
- Partito dato uni prudentissimo regi
- 195 Quem ante vellet pro amico suo habere
Impium †ani mundi† istius prudentiorem
Vel virum unum iustum atque fidelem bonum,
Ipse ante vellet bonitatem cernere semper
Quam sui regni tocius tutus maneret.
- 200 Impius odit bonum cum quis habet agere secum.
Absque osequio debe[m]us diligere bonum,
Cum ab extraneis etiam diligantur quicumque.
Impius ingratus dum capit amicum se fingit,
Et quando caret inimicus vester esse[t].
- 5va Pl. XLVI
- 205 Bonus cognoscit qui servit, mu[n]era reddit,
Et vult servitium ab amico cum nullo dampno,
Sustinens est aliter ad melius necessitatis.
Diligit impius tantum proficuum suum.
Corde bonus amat recteque impius lingua.
- 210 Igitur cognosceres bonitatem que res sit ipsa:
Carior ipsa esset auri montana suprema.
Bonus et rectus bonitatem suam non perdit
Necessitate ulla, labore sanctus tenetur.
Qui plus proficuum suum dampnoque dilexit
- 215 Amici sui, non tenetur rectus set falsus.
Civitas que bona est honorataque viro
Debemus velle et Deum concorde precari
Quod vir talis vivat quo ipsa multiplicatur.
Agere debemus posse toto nos operari
- 220 Ut vivant boni et laudem Dei acquirant,
Qui est in secula et gloria quoque perenni,
Ut bonitate nostra acquiratur gratia sua,
Gencium suarum que est victoria mundi,
Ut recto zelo et conscientia pura
- 225 Laudes reddamus omni tempore sicut tenemur,
Pocius repleti virtutum suavitate
Possimus iugiter cum eo semper letari,
Ad laudem suam et legencium comoditatem,

204 inimicus] inimicu(m) 217 precari] p(re)cati
221 secula] s(e)c(u)lo ~ perenni] p(er) om(n)i

- Qui est benedictus seculorum secula, amen.
- 230 Aurie Conradus pre cunctis illuminatus
Nobilitate, prole, sapientia ut Salomon,
Vir probus et constans civitatem suam gubernans
Vicinosque suos voluit coequari se ipso,
Dominium spernens, discordiam omnem extollens
- 235 Posse suo toto ut rectus gubernator et actor.
Ex quibus de merito a quocumque [debet] laudari
5vb Ut iudex iustus, legalis atque benignus,
Comune proprium deffendens et amans ut natum,
Dominari noluit capiendo bona communis
- 240 Ut alii faciunt magnates veri raptores,
Quorum est officium bonis spoliare commune,
Probando vere ipsum sanctum esse vocandum.
Largitate sua ut Alexander agebat.
Regiam virtutem in tantum Deus dilexit,
- 245 Principari voluit largitas virtutibus cunctis.
Vox quidem populi Dei est qua sunt confirmati,
Ut Salomon ait, sapientes ceteri nati.
Nullum habetur aurum super gratia bona.
Operibus propriis manifestatur quisque
- 250 Et visu etiam experientia docet.
Sic est veritas iusta presumere meum.
Ideo videtur cum sit rationabile michi,
Sic fore agendum ut sit memoria cunctis
Bonitatis sue qua modo Ianua caret.
- 255 Vere debemus ipsum depingere sanctum
Iusticieque patrem, ut regem incoronatum.
Ratione recta, cum sit bonitate supremus,
Et sensu simili cum regibus associandus,
Civibus pre ceteris Ianuensium est preferendus.
- 260 De Cocharellis vir nobilis, nomine dictus
Pelegrinus, dixit tres reges corone vidit,
Digniorem ullum esse regem sicut Conradum

231 Salomon] salomo(n)e 238 proprium] p(ro)p(ri)uum
(*expunction mark under the first u*) 251 Sic] Cic 258 sensu]
s(en)s(us) ~ associandus] associandu(m) 259 preferendus]
p(re)f(er)endu(m)

- Iusta sensum suum, tanta fulget nobilitate.
 Elapso tempore, fuit captus ipse Conradus:
 265 In armatam quadam regis Karolli, qui devincendo
 Hostes, quoscumque dominio suo ponendo,
 Sex de Grimaldis galee superiungentes
 Ceperunt eum ut impotens hora brevi.
 Et sic, captis galeis Sicilie regis,
 270 Rex Karollus iussit ante se venire Conradum.
 Qui rex tunc ait: «Precor ut carius possum, Pl. XLVII
 Conrade, placeat Sicilie linquere regem
 Et regni tocius mei te constituam magnum;
 Ut fratrem carum semper te retinebo amicum,
 275 Introitus mei habendo medietatem.
 Concede igitur que postulo animo claro
 Ut sis beatus, talem gratiam numquam possessus».
- Libe[n]t[er] Conradus sicut legalis respondet:
 «Rex, miserere Domine, nec velis irasci.
 280 Decet regem semper rationem rectam audire
 Atque veritatem puro diligere corde.
 Vobis promito faciatis quod vobis libet,
 Cum sim in vestra virtute subiectus homo;
 Quod iubeatis meum vestris incidere capud,
 285 Antequam paciar nomen sumere proditoris!
 Si morte moriar, solum unum mori fecistis.
 Et prius volo mori quam nomen ferre proditoris
 Erga meum dominum, quem patre[m] reputo michi.
 Que tua verba docent viam veritatis obscurent.
 290 Diligit ex toto omni tempore fidus amicus.
 Vicinus iusta melior est quam frater procul.
 Laudabilis digna iudicatur societas illa
 Quam non fraternitas coniunxit sed solus amor.
 Pro illo mortem offerro, me ferre peccatum paratum.
 295 Iusta promissa sibi prius volo accendere vocem,
 Ne sim ingratus beneficii sui recepti.
 Amicus fidelis homini protectio fortis,
 Qui illum reperit thesaurum invenit magnum.

Ut Christus in cruce clamans: o pater celestis,
 300 Non doleo mori si tali morior morte,
 Portans in pace secundum tua mandata,
 Sed doleo propter incognitos istos Iudeos,
 Qui eis datorum sunt ingrati serviciorum.
 Sic moriendo, gentem humanam salvando,
 2rb 305 Nullo modo igitur relinquam dominum meum».

Rex ut audivit, legalem tenuit virum,
 Nec tantum potuit suis ostendere verbis;
 Quod regem Sicilie unquam relinquere vellet,
 Constans stetit animo legalis et probus homo,
 310 Karollus rex vero cognoscens ipsum legalem,
 Quamvis Sicilie regis contrarius esset.
 Placebat enim prodicio non proditorem.
 Ut igitur factum doloze compellet suum,
 Rex vero miratus, cognoscens cupiditatem
 315 Civium magnatum Ianuensium qua ultra modum
 Affectantes inde proficuum quodlibet suum,
 Ut prudens iussit consilium suum vocari
 Suorum magnatum; prudencioribus regni
 Quibus proposui[t]: «O vos, consiliari recti,
 320 Unum proponam et vobis revera dicam:
 Aliquem tam fortem non vidi neque constantem
 Aurie Conradum, sui voti sic induratum.
 Dicere vere possum non esse Ianue ortum,
 Sed prolis regis Franchorum, cum ante velit
 325 Periculum mortis subire quam sacramentum
 Frangere, non curans sed necem ante petendo.
 Ianue magnates non habent stabilitatem,
 Clare dici potest regemque per Fredericum
 Ipsum habere pro amico virum legalem.
 330 Dimittendo vitam sibi nosco periculosum
 Esse mei regni, dum ergo nobis videtur
 Pro meliori nostro ut moriatur omnino».

314 vero] u (*with a half erased abbreviation mark and an unclear correction above*) 323 Dicere] Discere 326 petendo]
 pete(n)da

Miles unus surgens, Antonius qui nominatur
 Oddo cognomine, fuit Antichiochis natus,
 335 In pedibus stando, sic dicens et consulendo:
 «O bone rex, parce michi, queso, est honorandus!
 Quod moriatur magna iniuria esset.
 Qui finem respicit sapiens est idem habendus.
 Cum sit vir magnus et clarus nobilitate,
 340 A propinquis suis si posset vindicaretur.
 Non fiat igitur quod te peniteat inde: Pl. XLVIII
 Post factum nichil verba prodesse solent.
 Iurare iubeas illum, post ire permitas,
 Tali sacramento sibi corporaliter dato:
 345 Contra te et tua sua non veniet vita».

Regi prefato placuit consilium datum
 Militis prudentis, sic ore suo prolatum.
 Stulticie nomen non est fugiens quisquam
 Qui non conscentit amicorum consiliis iustis.
 350 Rex iubendo suis ante se conducere virum,
 Nobilem Conradum stabilitate ornatum,
 Dicens: «O Conrade, michi cur anuere spernis?
 Fac velle meum, relinque don Fredericum!
 Tibi dabo posse acquirendi urbes et regna,
 355 Ex quo magnus eris pre ceteris et preferendus.
 Est Fredericus pauper rex, vere sum ego dives.
 Fatuus est ille bona spernens legalitate».

Strenuus Conradus ad ea dedit responsum:
 «In furore tuo, domine, me arguas unquam
 360 Nec in ira tua, domine, corripere me velis.
 Si Fredericus pauper est, fui nec sum amicus
 Regis ipsius volendo capere suum.
 Imperator fuit magnus Deo offerens donum,
 Et mulier una sophie, obtulens unum
 365 Paupertatis sue obolum, grata Deo:
 Plus Deo placuit quam munus imperatoris,
 Ex quo sancta fuit mulier a Deo electa.

344 Tali] Eali 348 Stulticie] Etulticie ~ fugiens] fagiens (u
inserted in the interline above a) 361 fui nec] fuit n(on)

- Ergo multis ipsa sufficitque bona voluntas.
 Mille annis vivens, michi dares tocius mundi
 370 Plenam potestatem, sacramento non me movebo,
 Dampna sustinendo, ferendo adversitates.
 Illicitum lucrum credis fore criminis experts?
 Dedecus et crimen vilia lucra ferunt!
 Ante paupertatem copiosam legalitate
 2vb 375 Quam divitem esse, plenum omni prodicione.
 Iudas sit exemplum, qui lucri ductus amore
 Tradendo Christum morte perenni perit.
 Dum fueris iuvenis studeas acquirere tibi,
 Non tamen iniuste; turpia lucra fuge.
 380 Legalitas virum, mulierem ornat honestas.
 Legalitas sola est animum que moribus ornat.
 Et cum leticia melius est parum habere
 Quam multi fructus iniquitate collecti.
 Melior tenetur bucella cum gaudio sicca
 385 Quam domus plena victimis cum [i]urgio magno».
 Karollus rex ait risu falsoque probando:
 «Conrade, vere Frederici invictus amore,
 Unde michi iuras iuvamen prestare pro posse?
 Conrade, facies, dum tibi videris tempus!».
 390 Conradus probus, constans, ut sapiens dixit:
 «Si Frederici regis domini obtineo votum,
 Hoc iubet ratio tamquam meritatur ab eo,
 Cui posse meo teneor ad gratum servire.
 Et si persimile facerem libenter velle tuum,
 395 Priusquam abeo recepissem gratiam tuam;
 Quando habiturus, penitus tibi essem subiectus.
 Ergo sum suus amicitia sua potente.

372 credis] credo 374 legalitate] legalitate(m) 376 qui
 lucri] (et) lucru(m) 377 perenni] p(er)he(n)ne ~ perit] p(er)tit
 379 lucra] lucta 381 que] que(m) 383 iniquitate] iniquitare
 384 gaudio] gladio 387 amore] amori 389 Conrade]
 Conradu(m) 394 si] sic 396 Quando] Qua(m) 397 sua]
 su(p)ra *sign of insertion after su(p)ra, but no correction added*

- Amicus verus et suus esseque volo,
 Sed vobis iurare facere contrarium nolo;
 400 Interest hoc enim agere iniustis profectis.
 Passus verecundiam semper sacramentum custodit
 Potius quam velit vituperio dedecorari.
 Non tenetur homo veritate carens omnino.
 Fidem qui perdit, nichil ultra perdere potest.
 405 Bona que possideo mea non sunt sed aliena.
 Sum igitur liber, gaudens, contentus ex eo.
 Custodias igitur quali ratione fallis ere.
 Dives habetur qui se contentatur ex parvo.
 Ergo sum dives qui bono propago pauco.
 7ra 410 Est igitur pauper volens omnia neque contentus». Pl. XLIX
 Vincit maliciam sapientia, Salomon docet:
 Conradus vere superavit maliciam suam.
 Rege devicto Karollo sic omnibus dictis,
 Dixit: «Conrade, nolo te dimitere ire;
 415 Sacramento tuo te pocius habere volo,
 Quod per te ipsum, fratres et filios omnes
 Nec amicos tuos me contrafacies unquam».
- Prudens Conradus sic ore proprio dixit:
 «Mee persone sum dominus atque promitens,
 420 Sed aliorum potestatem non habeo ullam.
 Sunt multi multa odiosa et prava gerentes
 De quibus posse nullum habeo precipiendi.
 Et sic iusticiam videns cessare sum dolens,
 Quam facere nequeo, cum sint magnates ut ego.
 425 Cognosco recte conscientiam meam non suam».
- Qui rex iratus tunc aspera iussit loquela
 Ipsum iurare pro propria persona sua:
 «Contra nos et nostros non venies tempore tuo».
- 430 Constans Conradus ait: «Gratiam requiro tuam
 Quod sex dierum michi velis terminum dare
 In quibus possim hoc factum deliberare».

411 sapientia] sapi(ent)ia(m) ~ Salomon] salomonem
 421 odiosa] *after odiosa an unfinished p expunged by the scribe*
 430 Quod] C(uo)d

Quo audito, fuit a rege terminus datus.
 Et sic Conradus Frederico omnia misit,
 Et voluntate sua propria manuque iuravit
 435 Quod observaverit sacramentum. Ianuam venit,
 Sicilie regis admiratum statuens Petrum,
 Loco sui ponens, gratiosum et sapientem,
 Alexandro regi exemplo dignum equari,
 Liber atque largus, dono cuncta distribuendo.
 440 Erat formosus pulchritudine et bonitate,
 Ostendebat clare quibuscumque nobilitatem,
 Moribus et vita cum esset morigenatus
 Pre ceteris viris viventibus tempore longuo.
 Qui una die Petrus idem, cum bagordaret
 7rb 445 In quadam via, sue domine inamoratus
 Quam diligebat precunctis amore raptus,
 Ianue gentilis et civis nobilis orta,
 Quem cum videret homo parve condicionis
 Sic dominum Petrum eiusdem inamoratum,
 450 Ad ipsum ivit sic dicens: «O dulcis pater,
 Vos estis natus aliquis nobilissimo patre,
 Quod narro vobis refferro pro vestro honore.
 Melior est vobis manifesta correctio mea
 Amore ficto qui vobis non propallatur:
 455 In baordando ulterius vobis caveto
 Isto carubio, ne vobis incurrat fama
 Quam voletis esse virorum maiorum amore».
 Denuo respondet sic dicens dominus Petrus:
 «Dictum tuum approbo quoque grate refferro tibi,
 460 Quia te cognosco vere fore meum amicum.
 Quod faciebam ut iuvenis talia feci,
 Non cognoscendo fallaciam quam peragebam.
 Dicere vellitis, si placet, dominis istis
 Me fecisse penitet, deinceps non apparebo.
 465 Accipiar penam quam ipsi administrabunt».

435 observaverit] obseruabit (*expunction mark under b and the abbreviation for uer added above*) 437 Loco] Loto (*expunction mark under t and c added above*) 439 Liber] Libet 458 sic] sib 465 penam] pona(m)

Quibus dictis, voluit firmum postea esse tenendum
 Quod quidem retrahit propinquis sui mariti
 Et ipsius domine, faciendo per omnia idem,
 Qui benedixerunt et grati fuere ipsi
 470 Ex responso cuius fuit plena civitas tota,
 Eiusdem Petri prudentia sic approbata,
 Laudantes Petrum bonitatis tante ostense.
 Ut Salomon ait: derisorem arguere noli,
 Ne semper hodie cognoscaris inde ab eo.
 475 Prudentem vero argue, dilexeris ab illo.
 Exemplo proprio, cum se emendavit in verbo,
 Dilexit illum qui verbo redarguit eum.
 Ergo idem Petrus sapiens ex toto probatur.
 7va Habetur ut melior sapientie acquisitio clara Pl. L
 480 Quam puri auri negotiatio ulla.
 Invenit Petrus navim unam Sarracenorum:
 «Extra fidem Christi verissime cum habeantur,
 Totum posse vestrum facientes in devincendo,
 Ut per nos honor acquiratur [et] lau[s] a Deo,
 485 Gentibus a nostris gloriam mereamur habere».
 Quibus auditis, alta voce rumarunt galee:
 «Dominus Petrus vivat!», et eam preliaverunt.
 Dampnum recepturi maximumque sic preliantes
 Qui severari, Petrus fortissimus ipse
 490 Irato animo dixit: «Vos Siciliani,
 Combatitores mei, nolite inde turbari
 Si iusta solitum moriuntur gentes in bello.
 Dampnum quidem magnum sustineant atque iacturam!
 In hoc prelio fortissime est preliandum,
 495 Quia qui moritur recte vadit in paradysum.
 Igitur, vos probi, de bello non recedatis
 Pro dampno parvo, cum nobis fuerit pudor,
 Nobis et nostris qualibet parte tocius mundi.
 Si presciretur pro feminis reputaremur,
 500 Cum sicut captivi qui velint sic reputari,
 Ex verbis quarum fallitur omnis homo:

469 grati] gratu(m) ~ ipsi] ip(s)is 484 Ut] Tt
 485 Gentibus] Ce(n)tib(us)

Quanto plus iurat tanto credenda minus.
 Ad prelium ergo revertamur!». Sicilienses
 Respondent: «Nolumus, cum possemus esse deserti
 505 Ad vestrum gratum Ianuensium per consequentem».

Tunc iubet Petrus ex parte domini regis
 Frederici nostri ceteris potenter bellarent,
 Rogans pro Deo tantum dedecus esse vitandum,
 Cum militares plus adsumere non possent
 510 Qui nolueru[n]t pro verbis tunc preliari.
 Quo viso, surgens vigorosus et probus Petrus
 7vb Galeisque suis dixit: «O vos Ianuenses,
 Melius est nobis mori quam vivere vita[m],
 Cum inter ceteros Ianuenses sint nominati
 515 Nomine preclaro in mundo tamquam leones!
 Honor inde nullus est nobis ut recedamus
 Ab istis canibus sine prelio, quos devincemus
 Illius auxilio qui cuncta bona creavit.
 Scitis robusti acquirentes talem honorem
 520 Absque cumsociis, quem unquam habuit ullus.
 Tunc renderunt Ianuenses strenui viri:
 «Parati sumus obedire, si placet tibi,
 Ut nostro domino cui tenemur ex toto!».

Adsumens vires, remas cepit sue galee
 525 Atque tapetes, optime barbotando di popa,
 Adpropinquando navi, fortius subter intrans,
 Iubens magistris denuo illamque fogari
 Ignem ponendo buschis cum catram in eam.
 At p[ro]hicientes dicte navis lapides grossos,
 530 Se defendebant vigoroze viribus totis,
 Et sic agendo galea se dilattavit.
 Dato igne navi supravisoque accenso calore,
 Videntibus illis, nequiter suas mactabant uxores
 Et natos proprios, se ipsos mare iactando
 535 Sicut desperati: ante mori desiderabant
 Quam cum mercede reddere dicto maiori
 Domino Petro, bonitate quacumque pleno.

509 adsumere] assumere (d added above the first s) 521 Tunc]
 Tu(n)o ~ strenui] streniti

Quibus Sarracenis non evasit ultra tres centum,
 Inter quos erat unus pulcherrimus homo
 540 Cum mucrone uno viriliter seque tuendo
 Stando in mari, suum ensem manutenendo.
 Tunc constans Petrus, pietate qualibet motus,
 6ra Barchis suis iussit illum denuo facere capi. Pl. LI
 Vix labore magno potuere illum reduci,
 545 Cum strenuus strenuum diliget semper quisque.
 Et in Siciliam postquam reversi fuerunt.
 Illorum fuit miles unus Sicilianus
 In via ductus qui regi nunciavit
 Sic dicens: «Domine, o rex Frederice, atende
 550 Proditorem esse tui regni quem dilexistis
 Admiratum Petrum, tui boni discipatorem.
 Nam ipse Petrus tuas gentes subiunxit nuper
 Periculo mortis pro navi Sarracenorum».
 Tunc virtuosus rendet Petrus instanter:
 555 «O Frederice magne, intellexi dicere numquam
 Quod pro magnis minis homo liber scandat in altum!
 Nescio quid fieri gentili homini isto
 Qui me vocavit et tenet pro proditore.
 Pro mille marchis nollem ut gentes tenerent
 560 Me talem qualem dicto suo renunciavit.
 Eris honoratus semper fama bona levatus.
 Citrothecas ergo do vobis duelli fiendi
 Et probandi verum, quod iniuste loquitur ipse,
 Offerrens me promptum bello hostendere recte
 565 Quid loquitur falsum et, si victor fuero ego,
 Parcendo sibi regis corone amore.
 Et per contrarium, si ero ab eo devictus,
 Per pactum habeat meum abscindere capud».
 Se parans ad prelium ut miles, recta loquendo,
 570 Uncias auri dabat militibus Sicilianis,
 Idem faciendo miles Sicilianus eisdem,
 Qui magnus erat in curia et honoratus.
 Hoc peragendo, acquirebat sibi amicos.
 Ista de causa fuit Sicilia tota sub armis.

- 6rb
- 575 Cognoscente rege, prelium prohibuit illud.
Dicebatur clare per homine[s] Calabrienses
Atque P[u]llienses quod similem numquam viderunt,
Tantum fulgentem sapientia et probitate,
Ut prudens Petrus de Auria connominatus.
- 580 Qui ingenio suo plures acquisivit castellos
Karolli regis, tunc guerriando cum eo.
Probus et in armis mirabili modo agebat.
Iostrando iostris sepe devincebat quoscumque,
Fortissimus quidem ut miles incoronandus;
- 585 In torniamentis pre ceteris ut leo erat
Versus quoscumque contra ipsum arma ferentes.
Rex Fredericus ante ipsum iussit venire
Petrum predictum, qui elum levans in alto,
Inclinando regi, clamabant Siciliani
- 590 Voce pari omnes: «Approbandus Aurie miles!».
Ex levitate sua sui equi in sella stabat
Cum binis baculis in pedibus equo currendo,
Rectus manebat supra sellam pedibus iunctis,
Sic equitando pro libero ducendo equum.
- 595 Quibus v[i]sis, milites quasi omnes Siciliani
Facere volentes illud idem cadebant equo,
Dampnum ferentes et vulnera multa quoque
Sic facientes, set nullus potuit esse
In pari gradu sicut Petrus equitabatur.
- 600 Ex quo ridebant ceteri taliaque videntes.
Tempore quo fuit capitaneus vir Oppecinus
De Luculo Ianue, ipse regnando eam,
Aurie cum Spinollis, Bozani et Guersi stantes
Extra civitatem venerunt cum exercito magno.
- 605 Vir prefatus sciens, Oppecinus di Luculo dictus,
Contra inimicos exivit ut vigorosus,
Cum gente sua que sequebatur tunc eum.

578 Tantum] Tanta(m) 591 sella] cella 597 ferentes]
ferre(n)tes (*expunction mark under the second r*) 605 dictus]
duct(us) (*expunction mark under the first vertical stroke of u*)

6va

Qui cum fuisset per proditores deceptus,
 In Gavidum castrum cum fuga se recollegit.
 610 Tunc dominus Petrus quoscumque antecedebat,
 Ianuam accedens, stans seccus turim de Vachis,
 Ore aperto dixit: «Reddatis vos, turriani,
 Oppeci[n]us fugit et salvi eritis mecum!».
 Viseram propriam manibus levando in altum
 615 Inpedimento gravi, quarello fuit percussus
 In oculi signum, subiacens periculo mortis,
 Sed Deo placuit quod vixit tempore parvo.
 Et tanquam sapiens penitentia vere confessus,
 Ordinate dicens: «Mi Domine! Domine, parce
 620 Qui me percussit, cum sibi parcam libenter!».
 Levatis manibus et clamans «O miserere!»,
 Transivit spiritus sue finem vite claudendo.
 Si prescirentur que morte cunctis parantur,
 Multa timeret homo que sibi tuta putat.
 625 Ait Conradus genitor et flendo amare:
 «O pater celestis, dedistis et abstulistis
 Senectutis mee qui baculus esse debebat.
 Velle tuum fiat sicut erit voluntas tua».

Ut Iob paciens, omnia pacienter ferendo,
 630 Ipsius vindictam noluit facere unquam.
 Qui paciens erit, gubernabit prudentiam magnam.
 In morte filii Conradus paciens fuit,
 Igitur ut prudens probatur scientia multa.
 Discens gravata pati, patientia tollerat iram.
 635 Paciens si fueris, omnium victor eris.
 Morte cuius Petri dolorosa civitas fuit.
 Fuerunt plures sic propria voce dicentes:
 «Capere quis posset quarellum prohicientem?
 Dilacerandum esse et lupis administrandum!
 640 Honor quidem maximus inde esset communi nostro
 Qui proditorem talem unquam occidere posset,
 Iuvenis istius cum maius dampnum existat
 Quam civitatis magnates essent occisi,

Pl. LII

635 si] fi (*expunction mark under f and s added above*)

- Ad numerum magnum non esset tantusque dolor».
- 645 Cuius mortis nova Sicilie dicta fuere.
Rex, sciendo illud, amare incepit flere
6vb Sic dicens suis: «Valerosus decessit Petrus,
Eius sit tristis anima qui eum percussit.
Si fuerit homo qui bonitatem cognoscat,
650 Portare debet pre ceteris mag[n]um dolorem,
Quando sui causa tanta est malicia facta,
Cum sit defunctus vir iuuenis unus
Probitate, sensu precellens Sicilanis
Ac Ianuensibus sapientia docente sua».
- 655 Auro quid melius? Iaspis. Quid iaspide? Sensus.
Quid sensu? Ratio. Quid ratio[ne]? Nichil.
Lugebant milites [et] baroni sic dolorose,
Regni Sicilie per consequens civitas tota,
Qui ultra modum clamabant ut contristati.
660 Ex cuius morte remanserunt sic desolati
Ut filii remanent morte[m] gustando patris,
Sicut civitates et regna sunt conturbate
Quando rectore morte privantur bono.
Capitulo .x.º legitur ut memoria iusti
- 665 Cum laudibus, ipsa inpii putrescet ut aqua.
Qui dominus Petrus, cum iustus inde haberetur,
Est in eternum perpetuo renominandus.
Vir bone fame recte vadit in paradisum,
Cum moritur ipse luce perpetuo lucet.
- 670 Iterum revertar ad nominatum Conradum.
Quadam vice Luculi Oppecinus vir nominatus
Suam coniunxit matrimonio filiam unam
De Portonariis Franceschino. Tempore ritu,
Stando magnates [et] populares eam altando
- 675 Ac honorantes illam velud eos decebat,
Conradus idem iuvabat dominam ipsam,
Ac illa hora accessit pro visitando
De Luculo unum Oppecinum prenominatum.

644 Ad] Dd 654 Ac] At 673 ritu] Rido

- 4ra 680 Qui cum respiceret, tunc unum puerum vidit,
 Antoniotum de Ricus, equo cadentem,
 Equo currente pede in streva retento. Pl. LIII
 Quam nullus vivit bonitate tanta repletus,
 Nobile excepto prefato dicto Conrado!
 Guantis detractis quos sua manu tenebat,
 685 Dimisit dominam currens equum accipiendo,
 Pro freno retinens, extrahendo de streva pedem,
 Facto completo ad dominam revertens cito.
 Qui se humiliat, prudencia exaltabitur multa.
 Ubi humilitas, ibi sapientia magna.
 690 Ecce fuit humilis, sapiencie stetit possessor.
 Sapientis lingua semper scientiam hornat,
 Et fatuorum lingua stulticiam ebulit ipsa.
 Quam vires melior sapientia semper habetur,
 Vir prudens forcio[r] quocumque viro tenetur.
 695 Orbis terrarum sanitas multitudo eorum.
 Est sapientia preciozior sole lucente.
 Cives fuerunt Ianue infamando quam plures
 Dominum Conradum sua mala impietate,
 Innocxe ut Iudas, invidia ducti,
 700 Modis diversis nullaque ratione docente.
 Intulit invidia mortem dyaboli ipsa
 Quam effugavit misericordia Christi.
 Ideo dimittitur scribere ulterius plura.
 Qui potens noscitur, impiis odiosus tenetur,
 705 Cum potens impius invidiam omnibus ferat.
 Sic ergo contingit persimile de sapiente:
 Quando devenit impium sapientem haberi
 Sine prudencia, sapienti invidet semper.
 Sic igitur facit ceteris virtutibus ipse.
 710 Hostendo vere exemplo rationali:
 Antiquo tempore presbiteri et Farizei
 Doloze Christum invidia crucifixere,
 Nulla reperta causa nec ratione iubente.

682 Quam] Que(m) 684 manu] manus (*expunction mark under s*) 696 preciozior] p(re)siozio (*c inserted above s by the scribe*) 701 dyaboli] dyabolo

- Miracula multa voluit ostendere Deus
 715 Que nullus vivens potuisset unquam fecisse.
 Si ullus hominum aliis gratus stetit,
 Fuisset Deus omnibus pre ceteris ipse.
 4rb Non est mirandum igitur si impii cives
 Prenominati sunt impii ut Farizei.
 720 Invidia ducti, oderunt prenommatum.
 Heu, illorum anime qui scandala creant!
 Set veritas virtus, res est sic levis et constans,
 Vincit mendaciumque, omne suffocat malum.
 Qui bonis affligitur alienis invidus erit.
 725 Est qui tristatur in bono[rum] prosperitate.
 Invidiam fugias, morsusque sororis inique.
 Invidiam nimio cultu vitare memento.
 Cumque civitates alie Sicilie regem
 Tradidissent illum libenter invidia, plenius
 730 Debemus igitur hominem diligere talem
 Et honorare eum qui ceteris est preferendus.
 Cuius nomen prevalet valimento melius illo
 Civitatis Ianue, nullo precio appreciate.
 Tenemur quasi ut sanctum sanctificare:
 735 Dignum et iustum sit nobis ipsum habere
 Atque conferre reverencia[m] magno honore.
 Est honorandus patrie paterque vocandus
 Communis proprii rectus gubernator et actor.
 Propter dignitates homines non sunt honorandi,
 740 Sunt honorandi virtutum gratia Christi.
 Non igitur pater dignitate est honorandus,
 Sed propter virtutem bonitatis supremam sue.
 Amico fideli nulla fit comparatio auri,
 Illum qui invenit thezauro est comparandus,
 745 Bonitate sua cum diligat tempore omni.
 Ergo fuit ipse amicus fidelis et iustus
 Prenominati regis Frederici Sicilie ducis.
 Cui Fredericus recta ratione si foret
 Quem deberet esse, sua legalitate poscente
 750 Regnum partiret suum, satisfacere non posset ei

726 inique] iniqu(ua)s

4va

Pl. LIV

- De hiis que meruit recolendus vir nominatus.
 Quidam imperator Henricus de Luciburgo,
 Quadam die fecit congregari consilium maius
 In quo fuerunt civitatis Ianue cives,
 755 Pro maiori parte liberaliter Ianuam dantes
 Imperatori prefato de Luciburgo.
 Quibus peractis, potens surrexit Conradus
 Sapiens qui dixit: «Imperator, non tibi cello
 Ianue magnates vobis de fumo dederunt.
 760 Eorum verba nolite habere sed corda,
 Quorum si habebis, tibi civitas libera erit.
 Et vobis offerro meum podere et dabo,
 Set suum nullo michi vicinorum consencio dari,
 Cum non sit iustum alienum promitere vobis.
 765 Possidentes suum si vobis concedere velint,
 Contentor maxime. Rex, veritatem decerne!».
 Imperator magnus intendens, novit Conradum
 Iustum, amabilem erga Ianue commune suum
 Et ceteros quidem proditores fore communis.
 770 Audivi etiam vice quadam ab imperatore:
 «Plures recognovi Ianue meo tempore cives,
 Numquam vero vidi, ut Conradum sic sapientem
 Aurie, tam bonum civem bonitate repletum».
 Idem in se tenet duas bonas proprietates
 775 Que ultra modum b[en]e videntur.
 Quarum est prima sapientia, video suam,
 Qua bono a male omni cognoscitur hora,
 Cum nulla sit vere sapientia dolo laudanda.
 Secunda vero cum sit bonus ceteris viris.
 780 Bonorum omnium est radix bonitas ipsa,
 Super quam ex[c]edens nulla est comparatio dicta.
 Interpretandum nomen est Conradus ut comes
 Et modo simili Auria ut aurum interpretanda,
 Quod suum est nomen proprium et rationale.
 785 Vir bene induttus pro vestibus quoque politus.

760 Eorum] Cor(um) 779 Secunda] Ec(un)da

785 induttus] i(n)ducc(us) ~ politus] pulic(us)

Sicut honoratur sic ille est honorandus,
 Qui bonitate, sapientia, patientia fulget.
 Princeps Robertus designatum vidit Conradum
 4vb In parvo papiro iuridici, qui sic ait:
 790 «Hec est figura sapientis viri depincta!».
 Ibi tres erant nobiliores rabini
 Qui renderunt: «Magne rex, est iste Conradus
 Aurie, vir prudens rectusque suo communi.
 Et vobis dicimus si cives alii essent
 795 Tales ut ipse, non esset discordia tanta
 Inter concivesque Ianue nec guerra ulla».
 O civitas Ianue, sic nobilis et preciosa,
 Teneris omnium civitatum splendida rosa!
 Qualiter mansisti tanto viro desconsolata,
 800 Patre tuo bono plenoque virtute magna,
 Aurie Conrado tutissime prenominato!
 In qua numquam fuit par ei asimilandus,
 Sic utilis, clarus, communi profectuosus.
 Communis bona acrescere semper studebat,
 805 Ut pater proprius, plenus omni legalitate,
 Per quam vocari debet filiaque teneri,
 Ac laudem debet <...>re confanoni corone.
 O patrie natalis amor, sic alicis omnes.
 Sola tamen revocat patrie dulcedo volentes.
⁸¹⁰ Convenit igitur principaliter regi ut fama sui nominis
 divulgetur in laudabili sapientia et iusticia, et quod
 [cum] suis hominibus ratiocinetur sapienter et de
 levi potest sciri in rege an sapientia vel insipientia
 dominetur, et quisque rex qui subponit regnum
 suum divine legi dignus est regnare. ⁸¹¹ Qui vero in
 servitutum redigit et legem suam subiciens suo regno
 et imperio, transgressor est veritatis et contemptor
 sue legis. ⁸¹² Qui vero contempnit suam legem, ab
 omnibus contempnetur. ⁸¹³ Decet regiam maiestatem
 obtemperare se in legibus institutis et non in ficta
 apparencia sed in facti evidencia, ut omnes cognoscant
 ipsum timere Deum. ⁸¹⁴ Et sic ad plenum dici potest

789 iuridici] iugitici 790 Hec] Eec 808 amor] amica

de predicto domino, modo domino rege A., de quo fertur publice, et dici audiui a maioribus meis quod est dominus sapiens et iustus et timens Deum, verbo et opere semper subiciens se et regnum suum divine legi ex quo dig

... [*remainder of Booklet III is missing*]

NOTES

I. BOOKLET ON THE VICES

Prologus

1. *scienciis primitivis*: the elementary instruction in grammar, logic and rhetoric – *ex notione ... enitessit*: see for instance Thomas Aquinas's commentary on Aristotle's *Metaphysics*: «cognitio unius oppositi non tollitur per cognitionem alterius, sed magis iuvatur» (Aquinas *Comm. Ar.*, 1405).
- 2-4. *Idcirco ... ministrabit*: «In hoc uero opusculo talis obseruatur ordo et modus attenditur, quoniam omnium principalium uitiorum diffinitiones uel descriptiones inuenies primo loco [...]», *Faba Svv*, I, I, 17; «fecimus mentionem de vitiis et virtutibus tractandis. Idcirco tractatum subiciemus de ipsis. Ponendo principalia vitia. Descriptiones eorum. et que ex ipsis oriuntur, et species cuiuslibet vitiis capitalis. VII. Enim dicuntur capitalia vitia. sive principalia. ut gregorius ait super exodum [...]», *PH Summa*, p. 202.
5. *Pelegrino Cocharello condam*: the author's grandfather (Concina 2016, p. 190, and 2019, pp. 114-115; Concina - Fabbri *supra*, pp. 24-28). Pellegrino's name is mentioned again at III, 115 and 260-261.
6. *Iohanino*: possibly the author's youngest son.

I. *De superbia*

1. *Lucifer ... habitavit*: «Lucifer angelus de celo corruit, quia non sibi humilitas sed superbia habitauit», *Faba Svv*, I, III, 1. The text shares the error *superbia set humilitas* (instead of *humilitas sed superbia*) with eight of the fifteen manuscripts, and the variant reading *ibi* instead of *sibi* with nine manuscripts of Guido's *Summa* (these manuscripts belong to both of the two families identified in Pini's edition; *ivi*, p. 65, *apparatus*).
2. *A sede ... terris*: «A sede propria seculi spoliantur potentes, quoniam in celis humilia Dominus respicit et in terris», *Faba Svv*, I, III, 2.
3. *Superb<.....> ... puniatur*: «Superbus quasi super uentum in altum tollitur, ut lapsu graviori debite puniatur», *Faba Svv*, I, III, 3.
4. *Superbia ... dominari*: «Superbia est elatio uiciosa que, inferiores despiciens, superioribus et paribus satagit dominari», *Faba Svv*, I, II, 1.
- 5-9. *Superbia ... contemptio*: «Hee autem species ad inanem gloriam spectant; elatio, superbia, arrogantia, insolentia, contentio, contumelia, contu-

macia, contemptus, presumptio, inobedientia, irreuerentia», Alanus *De vitiis*, p. 41; «Hec sunt species eius que ad inanem gloriam pertinent. elatio. superbia. arrogantia. insolentia. contemptio. contumacia. contumelia. contemptus. presumptio. inobedientia. irreuerentia», PH *Summa*, p. 202. With the exception of *superbia* and *contumelia*, the author lists the same number of subspecies for this vice as Alanus and Paulus Hungarus, but considers *contumacia*, *presumptio*, *inobedientia* and *irreuerentia* as deriving from *arrogantia*; he describes in this group also *contemptus* ('scorn'; cfr. *infra*, 16), but without mentioning it in the initial list of the four subspecies of *arrogantia* (*in aliis quatuor viciis dividitur*).

10-11. *Elatio ... suo*: «Elatio est animi tumor quos quis non vult pati priorem uel parem», Alanus *De vitiis*, p. 41; «Elatio est animi tumor quo non vult quis pati maiorem vel parem», PH *Summa*, p. 202.

12. *Erogancia ... existit*: «Arrogantia est animi motus quo quis mouetur ad iactandum se habere quod non habet», Alanus *De vitiis*, p. 41; «Arrogantia est animi motus quo quis movetur ad iactandum se habere quod non habet», PH *Summa*, p. 202.

15. *Contumacia ... contemptu*: «Contumacia est auctoritati maioris ex contemptu obuiare», Alanus *De vitiis*, p. 41; «Contumacia est auctoritati maioris ex contemptu oviare vel resistere», PH *Summa*, p. 202.

16. *Contemptus ... velle*: «Contemptus est ad quod homo tenetur negligenter obuiare», Alanus *De vitiis*, p. 41; «Contemptus est ad quod tenetur. vel facere negligenter vel committere», PH *Summa*, p. 202.

17. *Presumptio ... velle*: «Presumere est quod aliorum est sibi specialiter ascribere», Alanus *De vitiis*, p. 41; «Presumptio quod aliquorum est. sibi presentialiter ascribere vel notare», PH *Summa*, pp. 202-203.

19. *Inobediencia ... honesta*: «Inobedientia est suo prelato in iniunctis non obedire», Alanus *De vitiis*, p. 41; «Inobedientia est suo prelato in iniunctis non obedire», PH *Summa*, p. 203.

20. *Inreuerencia ... de<.....>*: «Irreuerentia est debitam reuerentiam maioribus denegare», Alanus *De vitiis*, p. 41; «Irreuerentia est debitam reuerentiam maioribus denegare», PH *Summa*, p. 203.

21-23. *Insolencia ... gestu*: «Insolentia est extra communem omium usum quasi ceteris despectis uerba, facta gestus habitusque specificare», Alanus *De vitiis*, p. 41; «Insolentia est extra comunem omnium usum quasi ceteris despectis. verba. facta. gesta. habitumque significare. vel specificare», PH *Summa*, p. 202.

24-25. *Contemptio ... exercetur*: «Contentio est impugnatio ueritatis per

confidentiam clamoris; hec ad inanem gloriam refertur, quia spe inanis glorie exercetur», Alanus *De vitiis*, p. 41; «Contentio est in pugnatio veritatis per confidentiam clamoris. et hoc ad inanem gloriam refertur. quia spe inanis glorie exercetur», PH *Summa*, p. 202.

28. *Accidit ... civis*: the text refers to the fact that Pellegrino Cocharelli moved from Acre to Genoa before the fall of the city in 1291.

30. *dominabilem et securum*: these two adjectives are also found in the 1312 dedicatory inscription in the cathedral of San Lorenzo in Genoa; this text celebrates the noble Trojan named Janus who, searching for safety, came to Genoa (the city previously founded by the first Janus, king of Italy and great-grandson of Noah): «Janus princeps Troianus astrologia peritus navigando ad habitandum locum querens sanum dominabilem et securum Januam iam fundatam a Iano rege Ytalie pronepote Noe venit et eam cernens mare et montibus tutissimam ampliavit nomine posse», Silva (ed.) 1987, p. 17, n. 26 (see also Concina 2023, pp. 67-71; Bampa *supra*, p. 150 and note 104).

33. *q<endam> nomine Iobannem*: the parchment is heavily dampstained, we hypothetically transcribe *quendam*, and correct the genitive *Iobannis* in *Iobannem*. – *quod <necessarie> de ipsa*: the word between *quod* and *de ipsa* is difficult to decipher because the whole leaf is heavily dampstained; thus, the first letters of the almost illegible word seem to be *ncc* with a *titulus*, to be possibly transcribed either with *necessarie* (as suggested) or *necessitate*.

34. *magnates ... populares*: the text refers to the two groups that played an active role in the political life of this period: the *magnates*, a class that is different from the nobility and is distinguished by its great wealth, and the *populares*, that is, the members of the ‘popular party’ (composed mainly of merchants who were not members of the nobility, and of artisans) who were led by a ‘capitano del popolo’ (on these two groups see Petti Balbi 1997). Cfr. also *infra* I, v, 106.

45. *Acchi, <Troya et Babilonia>*: the unusual form *Acchi* (‘Acre’) is maintained, considering that mistakes and misreadings of toponyms are very common. The corruption of Genoa is compared to the one that led to the fall of some of the most important historical, biblical and mythological cities, interpreted as God’s punishment. The responsibility for the fall of Acre and the loss of the Holy Land, in particular, was seen as having been caused by the sinful habits and the corruption of Acre’s and Christendom’s citizens (Schein 1991, pp. 112-139; Schein 1998).

48. *a nullo*: the emendation *a nullo* is proposed on the basis of a similar passage in Lucan lamenting the destruction caused by the civil war: «saxa iacent nulloque domus tenetur custode», Lucanus *Bc*, I, 26.

49. *Agar<ni>*: the last letters of this toponym are half erased; it is clear that the author is referring to the city of Acre, thus the original spelling of this word is doubtful. In fact, the letter after the second 'a' seems to bear a sign of expunction, while the last letter, possibly an 'i', has two vertical strokes above it. Consequently, it is impossible to say if we are in the presence of an unusual form of the name of the city, or if the word is referred to its inhabitants (i.e. *de Agarnis*; as was the case for the *Trojanorum* in the preceding passage) and mentions them by using the term that usually designates Saracens: *Agareni*, *Agarni* or *Agaraei*.

52. *quod enim gregem ... pecus unum*: see the proverb «Unica prava pecus inficit omne pecus», Steiner 1944, p. 63, n. 250a.

II. *De ira*

1. *Ira ... protrahit*: «Ira est subita animi tempestas quo quis aduersus alium commouetur», Alanus *De vitiis*, p. 41; «Ira est subdita animi tempestas que, dum inordinate se concutit, cor hominis ad infamiam protrahit», Faba *Svv*, I, II, 2; «Ira est subita animi tempestas. qua quis aduersus alium commouetur», PH *Summa*, p. 203. The Cocharelli text has *cum potestas* for *tempestas*; we find the misreading *potestas* also in ms. C of Guido's *Summa* (Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia, 281 X). It is not difficult to see how *cum potestas*, if abbreviated (*tpestas*), could be expanded incorrectly.

2. *Mansuetudo ... auferuntur*: «Mansuetudo per iram amittitur, et dona celestis gratie auferuntur», Faba *Svv*, I, v, 1. The Cocharelli shares the reading *glorie* for *gratie* with two of Guido's manuscripts (*ivi*, p. 71, *apparatus*).

3. *Cum ... propalatur*: «Cum ad irascendum curritur, euidenter dementia comprobatur», Faba *Svv*, I, v, 2. The Cocharelli text has *propalatur* for *comprobatur*, this variant is also witnessed by a group of manuscripts of Guido's *Summa* (*ivi*, p. 71, *apparatus*).

4. *Ira ... denegatur*: «Ira impietatis mater dicitur, quia per eam misericordia denegatur», Faba *Svv*, I, v, 4.

5. *Iracundia ... habetur*: «Iracundia cautius evitetur que inimica virtutibus et ianua vitiorum habetur», Faba *Svv*, I, v, 6.

9-20. *Prima ... homicidium*: «Hec diuiditur in has species: in odium, discordiam, rixam, iniuriam, contumeliam, impatientiam, proteruitatem, malitiam, nequitiam, malignitatem, furorem, homicidium», Alanus *De vitiis*, p. 41; «et dividitur in has species. in hodium. discordiam. rixam. iniuriam. contumeliam. impatientiam. proteruitatem. malitiam. nequitiam. malignitatem. furorem. homicidium», PH *Summa*, p. 203.

- 21.** *Hodium ... rancor*: «Odium est inueteratus animi rancor; unde odium solet dici inueterata ira», Alanus *De vitiis*, p. 41; «Hodium est inveteratus animi rancor. unde et odium solet dici inveterata animi ira », PH *Summa*, p. 203.
- 23.** *Discordia ... precessisse*: «Discordia est dissentio aliquorum quos prius amoris uinculum colligauit», Alanus *De vitiis*, p. 41; «Discordia est aliquorum dissensio. quos prius amoris vinculum colligavit», PH *Summa*, p. 203. According to the definition given in Alanus and Paul, we choose to correct *discetio* with *dissensio*; thus, we could also interpret *discetio* as a misreading for *discessio*, which has a similar meaning ('separation'). – *prius †... †*: it is possible that a part of the text after *prius* is missing.
- 25.** *Rixa ... ortus*: «Rixa est ire motus in facti iniuriam», Alanus *De vitiis*, p. 41; «Rixa est ire motus in discordia factus», PH *Summa*, p. 203.
- 28.** *Iniuria ... rationi*: «Iniuria est uerbo uel facto cum aliquo iniuste agere», Alanus *De vitiis*, p. 42; «Iniuria est uerbo. uel facto cum aliquo iniuste agere», PH *Summa*, p. 203.
- 30.** *Contumelia ... propalare*: «Contumelia est iniuria in uerbis», Alanus *De vitiis*, p. 42; «Contumelia est iniuria in uerbis facta», PH *Summa*, p. 203.
- 32.** *Inpaciencia ... refrenare*: «Impatientia est impetuosum animi motum non refrenare», Alanus *De vitiis*, p. 42; «Impacientia est impetuosum animi motum non refrenare», PH *Summa*, p. 203.
- 33.** *sibi displicibilia*: the correction is based on similar passages at I, iv, 22 (*sibi placibile*) and I, v, 43 (*sibi placibilis*).
- 35.** *Proteruitas ... motu*: «Proteruitas est subitaneo motu in inhonesta uerba prorumpere», Alanus *De vitiis*, p. 42; «Proteruitas est subitaneo motu. in uerba obiecta prorumpere. cum impetu», PH *Summa*, p. 203.
- 37.** *Malicia ... ratione*: «Malitia est quando aliquis dampnum molitur alicui», Alanus *De vitiis*, p. 42; «Malitia est qua aliquis dampnum alicui molitur», PH *Summa*, p. 203.
- 39-41.** *Nequicia ... temperie*: the definitions of *nequitia* and *malignitas* do not derive from Alanus or Paulus Hungarus.
- 43.** *Furor ... rationi*: «Furor est inueterata animi tempestas rationem pro-scribens», Alanus *De vitiis*, p. 42; «Furor est inveterata animi tempestas rationem prohibens», PH *Summa*, p. 203.
- 45.** *Homicidium ...*: the preserved text does not correspond to what we read about *homicidium* in Alanus or in Paulus Hungarus.
- 47.** *neque ... <veritatem>*: this passage is problematic because the meaning of the sentence is unclear; we have hypothesized a missing passage after *neque*, but an erroneous transcription of the sequence *neq(ue) sunt* is conceivable as well.

III. *De invidia*

1. *Invidia ... invidenti*: «Invidia est egritudo animi ex felicitate alterius proveniens, naturaliter nocens invidenti», *Faba Svv*, I, II, 4.

2. *Invidus ... viciatur*: «Invidus de alterius melioratione affligitur, quia prae mentis nequam oculus uitiatur», *Faba Svv*, I, VI, 1.

3. *Invidi ... subiace[re]*: «Invidi debent perpendere quod multe cecitatis noscuntur miserie subiacerere», *Faba Svv*, I, VI, 2.

4. *Invidia ... perdit*: «Invidia sibi mendax liuoris proprii penas exigit, quia medulitus extuat et animam suam perdit», *Faba Svv*, I, VI, 5.

5. *Invidia ... effugavit*: «Invidia diaboli mortem intulit quam Christi misericordia effugavit», *Faba Svv*, I, VI, 6; «invidia autem diaboli mors introivit in orbem terrarum», Sap 2:24 (see also *infra* III, 701-702).

6. *Invidia ... nascitur*: «Invidia est dolor ex aliena felicitate nascens», Alanus *De vitiis*, p. 42; «Invidia est dolor ex aliqua felicitate nascens. animum torquens», *PH Summa*, p. 203.

7-8. *Unde ... potest*: «Invidus enim dicitur qui alterius felicitate torquetur, et sic inducitur in duplicem passionem, cum aut quod alium esse non vult, aut uidens alium esse meliorem dolet se non esse consimilem. Unde invidia dicitur ab in et uidere; quia ille qui alii invidet eius bona uidere non potest», Alanus *De vitiis*, p. 42; «Invidus autem dicitur. qui alterius felicitate torquetur. et sic inducitur in duplicem passionem animi. aut quod ipse alium esse non vult. aut videns alium meliorem esse. dolet se non esse consimilem. unde invidia dicitur ab invidere. quia ille qui invidet alii bona videre non potest», *PH Summa*, p. 203.

11-18. *Unde ... invidencia*: «Diuiditur autem in has species: detractio, susurrum, deprecationem, ingratitude, mali inuentionem, boni compressionem, inuidenciam», Alanus *De vitiis*, p. 42; «Dividitur autem in has species. detractio. susurrum. depravationem. ingratitude. mali inuentionem. boni compressionem. inuidenciam», *PH Summa*, p. 203. The Cocharelli text follows Paulus Hungarus's list more closely because it has [*de*]pravatio instead of Alanus' *deprecatio* (at I, III, 23 he refers to the same vice as *pravitas*).

19. *Detractio ... denigrare*: «Detractio est aliorum bona negare», Alanus *De vitiis*, p. 42; «Detractio est bonitatem aliorum denigrare», *PH Summa*, p. 203.

21. *Sussurratio ... seminare*: «Susurrum est inter amicos discordiam seminare», Alanus *De vitiis*, p. 42; «Susurrum est inter amicos discordiam seminare», *PH Summa*, p. 203.

23. *Pravitas ... mala*: «Deprecatio est alterius inuertere uel mala memorare», Alanus *De vitiis*, p. 42; «Depravatio est bona alterius inuertere. vel mala memorare», PH *Summa*, p. 203.
25. *Ingratitudo ... oblivisci*: «Ingratitudo est de beneficiis gratiam non referre», Alanus *De vitiis*, p. 42; «Ingratitudo est. de beneficiis gratias deo non agere», PH *Summa*, p. 203.
27. *Mali inventio ... aliquibus*: «Inuentio mali est alii imponere nouum genus peccati», Alanus *De vitiis*, p. 42; «Inuentio mali est alii imponere nouum genus peccati», PH *Summa*, p. 203.
29. *Tacere ... bonum*: «Boni compressio est alterius bonum tacere», Alanus *De vitiis*, p. 42; «Compressio alterius bonum tacere», PH *Summa*, p. 203.
31. *Inuidencia ... bonum*: «Inuidencia est bonos successus alterius nolle uidere», Alanus *De vitiis*, p. 42; «Inuidencia est alterius bonos succexus nolle uidere», PH *Summa*, p. 203.
38. *Erat enim iuuenis ... gubernabat*: Bohemond VII (1261-1287), from 1275 onwards count of Tripoli and titular prince in exile of Antioch. The text has the titles in reverse. On this historical section, providing the accounts of the fall of Tripoli and Acre, see also Concina 2019.
39. *liquidus dominator*: in this context, the meaning of *liquidus* seems to be 'apparent', 'evident', 'certain' (cfr. *DLD*, s.v.).
40. *matrem suam*: Sibylla of Armenia (c. 1240-1290), daughter of Het'um I, king of Cilician Armenia and second wife to Bohemond VI of Antioch.
41. *Dolebat enim quia ... nomen*: when her husband Bohemond VI died in 1275, Sibylla assumed the regency until her son reached the age of majority in 1277. – *filiis sui uxor*: Bohemond VII's wife was Marguerite of Brienne Beaumont (c. 1263-1328), daughter of Louis of Brienne, viscount of Beaumont († 1297) and Agnès of Beaumont, and granddaughter of John of Brienne (c. 1170-1237), king of Jerusalem (r. 1210-1225) and Latin emperor of Costantinople (r. 1229-1237). Marguerite was raised at the court of Charles I of Anjou and then sent by him to the Outremer in 1278 to marry Bohemond (Dunbabin 2011, p. 142).
42. *Ipsa ... vexabatur*: the meaning of the sentence is clear ('She, i.e. Sibylla, at all times tormented in an evil and malevolent way her son's wife'); therefore, the construction does not respect the classical rule, with *cum* + ablative (here meaning 'towards someone'), and the verb *vexo* here used as an intransitive deponent.
43. *ex uxore ... prolem*: Bohemond VII and Marguerite of Brienne's marriage was actually childless.

45. *uxor ... remeavit*: it is not clear if Marguerite of Brienne returned to the West at some time before the fall of Tripoli or if she went back to France after 1289 (the *Chronicle of the Templar of Tyre* says that Marguerite escaped together with Lucia of Tripoli and Marguerite of Antioch just before the fall of the city, cfr. *CTT*, § 241, 5). We know that by 1299 she lived at Tonnerre with Marguerite de Bourgogne, the widow of the king of Naples Charles I of Anjou, until the queen's death in 1309, when she possibly retired in the Cistercian nunnery of Maubuisson, where she was buried in 1328 (Parsons Lillich 1998, pp. 121-123; Perry 2018, p. 115).

46. *Erat ... regis Francorum neptis*: Marguerite of Brienne was the great-grandniece of king Louis VIII of France. Her grandfather, John I of Brienne, married Berenguela of Castile, whose mother – the wife of Alfonso IX, Berenguela the Great (1180-1246) – was sister of the queen of France Blanca of Castile, wife of Louis VIII. Marguerite's father, Louis of Brienne, was himself a grand-nephew of Blanca and Louis VIII, and a second cousin of king Louis IX of France and of the king of Naples, Charles I of Anjou (Perry 2018, p. [xxv]; Martínez 2021, p. [xiii]). The information given in this passage is rather accurate (the affirmation in Concina 2019, p. 99, must be corrected).

48. *episcopus de Tortosa*: Barthélémy, possibly belonging to the great Antiochene family of the Mansel, who became bishop of Tortosa before 1275. At the death of Bohemond VI, in 1275, when the dowager princess Sibylla of Armenia assumed the regency, she appointed the bishop of Tortosa as her bailie (Runciman 1951-1954, III, p. 343; De Collenberg 1983, p. 325). See also the account given in *CTT*, § 149, 2-3. None of the known contemporary sources mention an illicit love affair between Sibylla of Armenia and the bishop of Tortosa.

49-51. *Volebat ... magna*: after Bohemond VII's death in 1287, Sibylla of Armenia tried unsuccessfully to appoint the bishop as her *bailli* for the second time. The decision was rejected by Tripolitan nobility who dethroned the dynasty and established a sovereign commune led by Bartolomeo Embriaco until the arrival of Bohemond's sister Lucia of Tripoli, the legitimate heir, from Southern Italy, when a compromise was achieved and she became countess of Tripoli (for further bibliography cfr. Concina 2019, p. 98). See also *CTT*, §§ 230-238.

52. *Que soldanus ... habitavit*: the sack of Tripoli in 1289 led by Qalāwūn (r. 1279-1290).

53. *emergente ... inuiso*: the transcription of both *emergente* and *inuiso* is doubtful (the *s* ascender of *inuiso* is only a faint trace). The meaning of

this passage should possibly be interpreted as: ‘This destruction was done because of envy, for the emerging of the invisible divine judgement of God, as some say’.

54. *accidit quod mare ... et ipsam violenter ceperunt*: the text refers to the terrible carnage of Tripoli’s citizens, some of whom took shelter on the *insulam civitatis*, i.e. Saint Thomas’s island (one of Tripoli’s offshore islands, today called Baqar). The same information is given in the *ATS*, p. 460, and by the Arab historian Abu l-Fidā (*Arab Hist.*, p. 342). Both these sources report that the Saracens swam with their horses to the island, while the text of the Cocharelli affirms that they were able to reach it because of a sudden ebbing of the sea that allowed an isthmus of dry land to emerge, connecting Tripoli’s coast to the island of Saint Thomas (cfr. also Concina 2019).

55-56. *inductos ... inducti*: the passage has been corrected hypothesizing that the author has in mind an opposition between old (killed by the Saracens) and young (managed to escape) men and women; compare also to the similar passage «tam mares quam femine» at I, v, 67.

59. *secundum regnum*: the transcription is uncertain: the abbreviation sign for 9 = *cun* is hardly visible. We could infer that the author is referring to the fact that after the surrender of Jerusalem to Saladin in 1187, in 1191 the capital of the kingdom was moved to Acre, which became the main city of the so-called Second Kingdom of Jerusalem (or Kingdom of Acre) until 1291.

62. *Erat ... invidia magna*: to blame the corruption and vicious behavior of the military orders, and to attribute to them the responsibility for the fall of Acre, was a common attitude in texts, chronicles and *de recuperatione* treatises of the time, especially in those written after the loss of the city (Concina 2016, pp. 210-211; Concina 2019, pp. 105-107).

65. *miserunt ... ad papam*: in September 1289, Henry II of Lusignan, the king of Cyprus and Jerusalem, sent a delegation led by John of Grailly to the Pope Nicholas IV (r. 1288-1292), asking for help (see at least Runciman 1969, pp. 593-594, and Musarra 2017, pp. 156-169).

67. *Quelibet ... iusta*: John of Grailly’s embassy to the pope, and the subsequent appeal of Nicholas IV to the crusade did not get the desired results. The army (about 1.500-3.000 men), which arrived in Acre from the West in August 1290, was formed not only of professional warriors from Central and Northern Italy who were in the pay of the pope, but also of a «rabble of peasants and unemployed townsfolk» (Runciman 1969, p. 594) who would play an active role in providing the *casus belli* for the Mamluk attack on Acre (see Musarra 2017, pp. 171-173).

68. *Sarraceni ... propter tregas*: in 1289, after the fall of Tripoli, Henry II and Qalāwūn signed a new ten-year truce, which allowed Muslim merchants and peasants to trade and to travel safely within the city of Acre.

69. *Isti ... interficiebant*: the truce was possibly broken by the Italian crusaders who, left idle and inactive, killed some Muslim merchants (the sources provide different versions of what happened, but they all agree on the fact that one or more Muslims were killed by Christians, cfr. Musarra 2017, pp. 176-179).

72. *soldanus ... nuncios suos*: Qalāwūn sent his ambassadors to Acre, asking to hand over to him those who were guilty of the massacre in order to punish them, but he found no satisfaction (Runciman 1969, p. 594). The Cocharelli text emphasizes here, beyond the reality of facts, the negative role played by the military orders, with the aim of putting them in a bad light.

75. *Soldanus ... palam*: Sultan Qalāwūn initiated preparations for the siege but died before it took place, so his son and successor Sultan Khalil al-Ashraf (r. 1290-1293) carried out the offensive. The siege of Acre began on March 6, 1291 and ended in May. After Acre, al-Ashraf also conquered Sidon, Beirut, Haifa and Tortosa, and ordered the destruction of all the coastal castles of the Franks (Musarra 2017, pp. 185-207).

IV. *De accidia*

1. *Accidia ... affligit*: «Tristitia mortem inducit, cum homo non pro anima dolet set pro infamia se affligit», Faba *Svv*, I, VII, 1.

2. *Sicut ... invenitur*: «Sicut nullum malum grauius tristitia queritur, ita cordis letitia nullum bonum gratius inuenitur», Faba *Svv*, I, VII, 2. Of the manuscripts analysed by Pini, three have *grauius*, the others *gratius* (*ivi*, p. 76, *apparatus*).

3. *Accidia ... inueniri*: «Tristitia multos habet occidere et in ea non potest utilitas inueniri», Faba *Svv*, I, VII, 3. Based on Sir 30:25 «multos enim occidit tristitia et non est utilitas in illa». The sentence quoted in the Cocharelli text has the corrupted readings *nichil* for *non* (like in five manuscripts Pini examined), and *inuenire* for *inueniri* (like in three of the mss. used by Pini; *ivi*, p. 76, *apparatus*).

4. *Letus ... desiccat*: «Letus animus faciem uiuentis exilarat et spiritus conturbatus ossa tristantis desiccat», Faba *Svv*, I, VII, 4.

5. *Accidia[m] ... procurabit*: «Tristitiam habere non poterit qui bene uiuere procurabit», Faba *Svv*, I, VII, 5.

6. *Accidia ... potest*: the scribe forgot to copy the final part of this sentence,

as well as the beginning of the following one (which was possibly similar to what we find in the chapters devoted to the other vices: *Unde dicitur accidiosus proprie qui*, etc.).

7. *Accidia ... bonum*: this sentence seems to be a summarised version of what we find in Alain de Lille and Paul of Hungary: «Accidia est animi torpor quo quis aut bona negligit inchoare aut fastidit perficere», Alanus *De vitiis*, p. 42; «Accidia est torpor. quo quis aut bona negligit inchoare. aut inchoata fastidit perficere», PH *Summa*, p. 203.

8-16. *Sub isto ... ingnavia*: «Diuiditur autem in has species: desidiam, pigritiam, pusillanimitatem, negligentiam, improuidentiam, incircumspectionem, tepiditatem, ignauiam», Alanus *De vitiis*, p. 42; «Diuiditur autem in has species. desidiam. pigritiam. pusillanimitatem. negligentiam. imprudentiam. incircumspectionem. tepiditatem et ignauiam», PH *Summa*, p. 203. The sub-vice of *desperatio* (which we find in the Cocharelli text) is absent from the list provided by both Alain and Paul (they have in its place *imprudencia*). According to Gregory the Great, *desperatio* proceeds from *tristitia* (i.e. *accidia*): «De tristitia, malitia, rancor, pusillanimitas, desperatio, torpor circa praecepta, uagatio mentis erga illicita nascitur», GM *Mor. in Iob*, XLV, 28-30 (the same sentence is also in *Faba Svv*, I, 1, 13).

17. *Desidia ... inchoavit*: the Cocharelli text follows here the general description of *accidia* given by Alain and Paul (see *supra* note to I, IV, 7), rather than the specific definition of *desidia* given by these two authors: «Desidia est segnities animi qua quis bonum aggredi fomidat», Alanus *De vitiis*, p. 42; «Desidia est segnities animi qua quis bonum agredi fomidat», PH *Summa*, p. 203.

19. *Pigricia ... consumat*: «Pigritia est mentis inertia uel animi fatigatio qua quis bonum inchoatum consummare fastidit», Alanus *De vitiis*, p. 42; «Pigritia est mentis inertia. vel animi fatigatio. qua quis bonum inchoatum consummare fastidit», PH *Summa*, pp. 203-204.

21. *Pusillanimitas ... ruinam*: the definition is rather different from the one given in the usual sources: «Pusillanimitas est mentis angustia qua timet aggredi magna», Alanus *De vitiis*, p. 42; «Pusillanimitas est mentis angustia qua quis timet agredi magna», PH *Summa*, p. 204.

23. *Negligencia ... debet*: «Negligentia est animi torpor quo quis minus diligens est in exsequendo quod debet», Alanus *De vitiis*, p. 42; «Negligentia est animi torpor quo quis minus diligens est in exsequendo quod deberet exequi», PH *Summa*, p. 204.

25. *Incircumspectio ... repugnare*: the definition of *incircumspectio* differs

from what we read in Alain and Paul: «Incircumspectio est animi uitium quo quis minus caute discernit contrarietatem uitiorum, ut si quis ita uitat auaritiam quod incidat in prodigalitatem», Alanus *De vitiis*, p. 42; «Incircumspectio animi est vitium quo quis minus caute discernit contrarietatem vitiorum ut si quis nitet ad auaritiam incidunt in prodigalitatem», PH *Summa*, p. 204.

27-28. Tepiditas ... frigidus!: «Tepiditas est torpor animi quo quis torpet in illius executione in quo deberet feruere. De qua tepiditate legitur in apocalipsi: utinam esses calidus aut frigidus, sed quia tepidus es, euomam te ab ore meo», Alanus *De vitiis*, p. 42; «Tepidus animi rancor qua quis torpet. in illius rei executione de qua debet fervere. de qua tepiditate in apocalipsi. Utinam esses calidus aut frigidus. set quia tepidus es evomam te ab ore meo», PH *Summa*, p. 204. It is to be noted that the Cocharelli text reworks his source and does not quote the reference to Apc 3:15-16, and that only the first part of the quotation is preserved (*utinam ... frigidus*).

30. Desperatio ... mortem: the definition of *desperatio* is not to be found in the usual sources of the Cocharelli text (see *supra* note to I, IV, 8-16).

32. Ignavia ... curat: here too the text does not rely on Alanus or Paulus Hungarus: «Ignauia est animi uitium quo quis in nullo opere debitam adhibet discretionem», Alanus *De vitiis*, p. 42; «Ignavia est animi vitium. quo quis in nullo opere debitam adhibet discretionem», PH *Summa*, p. 204.

v. *De avaritia*

3. Usura ... viginti: «Usura est studiosa cupiditas recipiendi aliquid supra sortem, ut si quis hoc pacto accomodat decem ut recipiat uiginti», Alanus *De vitiis*, p. 43; «Usura est studiosa cupiditas recipiendi aliquid supra sortem. ut si quis alicui hoc peccato .x. solidos accomodavit ut .xx. accipiat. set quia infinitis modis variatur usura. idcirco ad presens tacemus. vel ut dicit canon. usura est ubi amplius recipitur quam datur. verbi gratia si soldos .x. dederis et amplius quesieris. vel dederis frumenti modium unum. et supra aliquid exegeris ut .xiii. q. .iii. cap. ultimo», PH *Summa*, p. 204.

8. Unde ... domino: «Latrocinium est uiolenta aliene rei usurpatio, inuito domino», Alanus *De vitiis*, p. 43; «Furtum est usurpatio latens et hoc rei aliene invito domino», PH *Summa*, p. 205.

10-11. Periurium ... firmatur: «Periurium est mendacium iuramento firmatum», Alanus *De vitiis*, p. 43; «Periurium autem spectat ad avaritiam. teste Augustino. si quis avarus negligit iusiurandum. Periurium est mendacium. cum iuramento firmatum», PH *Summa*, p. 205.

12. *Rapina ... alienum*: «Rapina est uiolenta depredatio aliene rei», Alanus *De vitiis*, p. 44; «Rapina est violenta depravatio rei aliene», PH *Summa*, p. 206.

14-15. *Violencia ... sua*: «Violentia est iniuriosa coactio, ut quando quis alium iniuste ad aliquid cogit ut aliquid emungat», Alanus *De vitiis*, p. 44; «Violencia est iniuria coacta, ut si quis iniuste alium cohegit. vel aliquid ei auferat», PH *Summa*, p. 206.

16. *Inquietudo ... maligne*: «Inquietare est alium iniuriose commouere», Alanus *De vitiis*, p. 44; «Inquietare est alium iniuste movere», PH *Summa*, p. 206.

18. *Iniustum ... acceptare*: «Iniustum iudicium est iniusta sententie latio ex amore uel timore uel pecunie cupiditate promulgata», Alanus *De vitiis*, p. 44; «Iniustum iudicium est iniuste sententie latio. ex timore vel cupiditate pecunie promulgate», PH *Summa*, p. 206.

19. *Obstinatio ... malo*: «Obstinatio est pertinacia in malo», Alanus *De vitiis*, p. 44; «Obstinatio est pertinatia in malo», PH *Summa*, p. 206.

21. *Dolus ... fraudulenter*: «Dolus est fraudulenta deceptio», Alanus *De vitiis*, p. 44; «Dolus est fraudulenta deceptio», PH *Summa*, p. 206.

24. *Mendacium ... significatione*: «Mendacium est falsa significatio uocis cum intentione fallendi», Alanus *De vitiis*, p. 43; «Mendacium est falsa vocis significatio cum intentione fallendi», PH *Summa*, p. 205. A similar definition is given *infra* I, v, 205.

26-39. *Ludus ... ydolatria*: *ludus* is not recorded among the types of *auaritia*, neither in Alanus nor in Paulus Hungarus. Here the listed species correspond in name and order with eleven of the fifteen sins associated with *ludus* in the chapter *De auaritia* of Guillelmus Peraldus' *Summa de vitiis* (c. 1236): «rapina, proditio, immisericordia, usura, afflictio Dei patri, contemptus Ecclesiae, scandalum proximi, omissio bonorum, peccatum fraudis, peccatum irae, peccatum conuitiationis, peccatum verberis, fractio solemnitatum, homicidium, idolatria» (Peraldus *Svv*, II, pp. 153-154).

42. *rex Francorum*: Philip IV (r. 1285-1314). – *pulcherrimus*: an allusion to the sobriquet 'the Fair', associated with the king.

44. *per clericos et Tuscos*: the fact that Philip the Fair relied on Tuscan bankers and merchants for loans and financial transactions is well documented. The Florentines Biccio and Musciatto Franzesi were the king's bankers and for a while also his treasurers (Strayer 1969 and 1980, pp. 142-190; Poloni 2018).

47. *ex cupiditate destruxit ordinem*: Philip IV's avarice, which brought him to arrest all the knight Templars throughout France, is a well-known motif

and it is remembered, for instance, in Hugh Capet's prophecy in Dante *Pg* xx, 91-93 (on this topic and on the related miniature in our codex, see Musarra 2022).

49. *Accidit ... aprum*: according to a very common opinion of the time, Philip the Fair's cupidity was punished by making him perish after a wild boar hunt; compare at least to the description given in Ventura *Mem.*, col. 738: «Philippus rex Franciae horribili morte mortuus est [...], qui dum iret ad venationem, quidam aper irruens ad pedes equi sui, ipsum cum equo ad terram proiecit, ex quo casu ita extitit vulneratus et contusus, quod infra diem octavum mortuus est». On the death of Philip the Fair see Funck-Brentano 1844 and Musarra 2022, pp. 14-17.

52-54. *Cum ... mortis*: this passage bears some similarities with an epigram often copied in medieval manuscripts: «Sunt tria que vere . me faciunt sepe dolere; | Est primum durum . quia scio me moriturum; | Secundum dando . quia tempus nescio quando; | Tercium dolebo . quia nescio ubi manebo. | Est homo res fragilis . et durans tempore parvo, | Et merito similis . qui crescit in arvo», *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae*, n. 64, col. 330, 12; cfr. also *Carmina medii aevi*, p. 43 (slightly different version); Walther *Init.*, n. 18886; Walther *Prov.*, n. 30847.

63. *Mors ... regem*: this sentence recasts the very popular metrical epitaph by Alain de Lille (see I «*dictamina*» del *Codice Fitalia*, p. 328), and is to be compared against the version given in the *Glossae in Alexandreida* «435 QVI TAM NOBILIBVS VNDE ILLUD “Mors fera, mors nequam, mors nulli parcit, et equam cunctis dat legem, perimit cum paupere regem” [...]», *GdC Alexandreis*, p. 486; and in *BdC Anticerberus*, III, 101: «Fac bene dum vivis, post mortem vivere si vis; | Sors fera, mors nequam que nulli parcit equam | Dat cunctis legem, miscens cum paupere regem». Cfr. also Walther *Init.*, n. 11246; Walther *Prov.*, nn. 15151, 15155, 15181, 15183.

64. *Credit ... manere*: «Credit homo vere securus manere: | ex insperato protinus ipse cadit», *JB Proverbia*, 693-694. This line is repeated at III, 103.

65-66. *Vita ... parvo*: see the note at I, v, 52-54.

68. *Deus ... usuram*: the point is clearly articulated in Dt 23:19-20: «non fenerabis fratri tuo ad usuram pecuniam nec fruges nec quamlibet aliam rem sed alieno fratri autem tuo absque usura id quod indiget commodabis». Cfr. also Ex 22:25 and Lv 25:35-37.

75. *Scriptum ... inuenietis*: «Petite et dabitur vobis; quaerite et inuenietis; pulsate, et aperietur vobis. Omnis enim qui petit, accipit; et, qui quaerit, inuenit; et pulsanti aperietur», Mt 7:7-8.

77. *Fuit ... rex Francorum*: it is difficult to say to which king the author is referring to, given that the association of the sin of avarice with the house of France was a common motif at the time.

81. *Dominus ... eternam*: «Et omnis qui reliquit domum vel fratres aut sorores aut patrem aut matrem aut uxorem aut filios aut agros propter nomen meum centuplum accipiet et vitam aeternam possidebit», Mt 19:29.

90. *tyranni palacii*: reference to the *palacium communis* or Palazzo Comunale. This passage possibly evokes the years of civil war between the Guelfs and the Ghibellines that broke out in 1306 which, in the following years, caused many grave financial consequences. – *aver*: ‘properties’, ‘assets’, ‘money’, this form is recorded in Du Cange (I, 474b), together with *averium*, *averum*, *avere*, *avera* (cfr. also *supra*, § 3.4).

91. *neccessitas legem non habet*: compare to the proverb «Necessitas non habet legem», Steiner 1944, p. 63, n. 249b.

94. *Loci ... libras .CX.*: the text thoroughly describes the economic crisis that led, during the so-called ‘assedio di Genova’ (Petti Balbi 2007b, pp. 9-10; see also *infra* note to I, v, 111), in the 1320s, to the depreciation of the *loca*, i.e. the shares of the *compere*, that were the «public loans, divided into shares, against which the commune committed future tax income. The *compere* thus became a kind of purchase of public income or investment in public debt», Beneš (ed.) 2018, p. XXI (for an outline of Genoese financial history in the Middle Ages see Taviani 2018). Each *locum* was nominally worth around 100 *lire* (110 in the text) and, according to the author, was depreciated to a third of its value (33 *lire*), as well as the annual returns (*proventu*) deriving from each *locum*, which are said to have collapsed from around 10% to around 2%. For the Genoese financial crisis of the beginning of the Trecento see Sieveking 1905-1906, pp. 55, 91-92; Felloni 1984, pp. 161-163; Petti Balbi 2007a, pp. 141-144. On this passage cfr. also Musarra *supra*, pp. 105-106.

95-96. *Acotumati ...*: the forms *acotumare*, *acotumatorem* (witnessed in fourteenth-century Latin documents from Liguria) are recorded in Aprosio (I/1, pp. 55-56): «acotumare vb. “stimare, valutare ai fini di tassazione”», «acotumatorem sm. “ufficiale preposto alle valutazioni a fine di tassazione”». The verb *acotumari* or *acotumare* as well as the noun *cotumi* are found in a Genoese inscription on stone dated 1283, with the meanings ‘to be fined’ and ‘pecuniary penalty’, respectively (Remondini 1891, p. 473). In our text we should possibly interpret *acotumati* as ‘to be taxed’ and the forms at 96 *contumi* (for *cotumi* ?) and at 97 *contumas* (for *cotumos* ?) as ‘taxes’. – *anota*: the meaning is doubtful. Du Cange (I, 260a) records *annota*

explaining it as ‘*praestaria annua*’; but we could also infer that *anota* is a misspelling for *avota*, a word recorded for the first time in 1260 in Tuscan documents dealing with commerce and accounting, which can take, among others, the meaning of ‘amount of money received on loan’ (cfr. *TLIO*, s.v. *avuta*).

99. *nec latrare desinunt ... boleum in ore*: see the proverb: «Ubi (canes) mordere non possunt, latrare non cessant», Steiner 1944, p. 63, n. 248.

101. *habere*: to be considered here as the neuter noun *avere*, *aver* (see I, v, 90 and note). – *lupi rapaces*: the comparison of the members of the ruling class to ‘rapacious wolves’ was common in Italy between the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century and was almost always used by the members of the popular party (who, on the contrary, called themselves *agni mansueti*, ‘meek lambs’) in their political propaganda against the *magnates* (Raveggi 1994, p. 473; Ricciardelli 2011).

106. *magnates et populares*: see note at I, i, 34. – *guerra suborta fuit*: as well as many city-states of the Italian peninsula and the Kingdoms of Sicily and Naples, Genoa was caught up in almost two decades of civil war. Cfr. also Musarra *supra*, pp. 97-101.

109. *Nullum ... inremuneratum*: the wording of this sentence is exactly paralleled in PH *Summa*, p. 201; the dictum is said to derive from the ideas expressed in Boethius, *PhC*, iv, pr. 3; it is also to be found, for instance, in the *De contemptu mundi* by Lotario dei conti di Segni: «Ipse est iudex iustus [...]. nullum malum praeterit impunitum, nullum bonum irremuneratum relinquit» (LdS *Il disprezzo*, 3, xviii, 4), and in *Auct. Aristotelis*, p. 291.

110. *egene*: i.e. *aegenae* ‘destitute of any thing’. – *arnisia*, ‘goods’, ‘assets’ (Du Cange, i, 397b).

111. *Caristia fuit magna*: civil war led to hard times of famines, especially in 1320 and in 1331. – *ex obsydione*: in 1317 the Ghibellines, led by the leaders of the Spinola and of the Doria families (the *extrinseci*), went into exile and besieged the Genoese Guelfs who remained in Genoa (the *intrinseci*). This conflict involved Genoese colonies and external political forces as well, and it lasted until 2 September 1331, when the ‘truce of Naples’ was ratified (Petti Balbi 2007b).

115. *aver*: see the note at I, v, 90.

119. *Tyranni ... sunt similes aquile*: this characterisation is at odds with the gracious dignity often ascribed to the eagle in medieval symbolism. Nevertheless, allusions to a negative interpretation of the eagle are suggested in bestiaries, such as in the ‘B version’ of the Latin *Physiologus*: «Similiter

et leo et aquila immunda sunt ed ille ferarum rex est, et ille uolatilium; secundum ergo regnum Christo assimilata sunt, secundum rapacitatem uero diabolo», *Bestiari tard. e med.*, p. 218. References to the rapacious attitude of the eagle can be found, for instance, in the *Epistle of Barnabas* in the passage commenting Lv 11:13-16: «“And do not eat the eagle, the hawk, the kite, or the crow.” “You must not,” he says, “cling to such people or be like them, people who do not know how to procure food for themselves through toil and sweat, but their lawless behavior seize food that belongs to others. And they are always on the watch, strolling about with ostensible innocence, but looking to see what they can plunder because of their greed.” For these are the only birds that do not procure their own food, but sit idly, waiting to see how they might devour the flesh procured by others, being pestilent in their evil», *Epist. of Barnabas*, 10, 4. Other references to the evil nature of the bird are in Origen’s *Homilies on Leviticus* (7, 7) and in St Ambrose’s *Hexameron* (14, 46).

125-130. *Totus mundus ... consiliis*: these lines are based on the anonymous poem *De malitia temporum* (Chevalier 1892-1921, n. 20520). Compared against the version of the poem in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Canon. Misc 523 (15th c.): «Totus mundus est subversus | Et in mari gravi mersus | In profundo vitii; | Nunc virtutes relaxantur, | Super omnes honorantur | Deceptores impii. | Pertrahuntur ut raptores | Veritatis amatores, | Qui a malis abstinent; | Adulaces et loquaces, | Detractores et mendaces | Principatum obtinent. | Adorantur maculati, | Adhaerentes falsitati, | Et praesunt in curiis, | Maior locus illis datur, | Et sic mundus desolatur | Eorum consiliis», *Pia Dictamina*, n. 318 (cfr. also *Scritti del Petrarca*, p. 114; Pastore Stocchi 1978, p. 175; Del Popolo 2018, p. 92).

131. *Hoc ... adest*: «Hoc ego te moneo fugias ut proditionem: | turpius hoc omni crimine crimen adest», *JB Proverbia*, 95-96.

132. *Pudor ... amore*: «Proditor et nullus tibi coniungatur amore. | Sepe sub amicitia mors inimica datur», *JB Proverbia*, 97-98.

133. *Non ... honor*: «Nec prece nec pretio sis auctor proditionis: | et lucro semper antefendus honor», *JB Proverbia*, 101-102; the first line is repeated at III, 57.

134. *Iuda ... perit*: «Iuda sit exemplum, qui lucri ductus amore | tradendo Christum morte perenni perit», *JB Proverbia*, 103-104. These lines are repeated at III, 376-377.

135. *Sicut superius ... fraudulententer*: see I, v, 21-23.

140. *rex Cipri qui Enricus ... vocabatur*: Henry I, king of Cyprus and titular

regent of Jerusalem (r. 1218-1253). On the whole account given by our text see Edbury 2020.

141. *carebat filiis*: the author, or his source, seems to have been confused. Henry I had a son, Hugh II (r. 1253-1267), by his third marriage in 1250 to Plaisance of Antioch. Henry's prior marriages in 1229, at age eleven, to Alix de Montferrat (1210-1233) and in 1237/8 to Stephanie of Lampron (c.1220-1249) produced no issue. Hugh II succeeded his father when he was still an infant and died in 1267, at the age of fourteen. During his reign the regency of the kingdom was first appointed to his mother Plaisance, and then from her death, in 1261, to his cousin Hugh of Antioch-Lusignan.

142. *Ugus*: Henry's nephew Hugh III of Antioch-Lusignan (son of his younger sister Isabella and Henry of Antioch) became king of Cyprus (r. 1267-1284) on Hugh's II death and titular regent of Jerusalem (from 1268).

143. *deceptorie toxicavit*: according to the narrative, Hugh III poisoned his predecessor Hugh II, here possibly confused with his father Henry I. As noted by Edbury (2020, p. 550), we have no evidence for Hugh II having died from poison.

144. *absente quodam sanguineo suo ... debite pertinebat*: Hugh de Brienne (c. 1240-1296), the first-born son of Henry's eldest sister Maria and Walter de Brienne, who at the time of Hugh's II death was not in Cyprus but in Cilician Armenia in search of new alliances; he left the Latin East for the West soon after Hugh III became king of Cyprus. The text seems to refer to the fact that in previous years Hugh de Brienne had claimed without success the regency and the right of succession to the throne of Cyprus (Perry 2018, pp. 99-102; Edbury 2020, p. 550).

146. *dotabat*: the verb is a gallicism, corresponding to the French *douter* (< DUBITARE). This verb is also witnessed in Italian from the twelfth century (*dottare* < Fr. *douter*). Consequently *non dotabat* means here 'did not hesitate'.

147. *Quendam archiepiscopum ... proditorie interfecit*: we have no evidence that Hugh III murdered the archbishop of Nicosia with a poisoned belt (Edbury 2020, p. 551). Thus, it is well-known that Hugh of Fasano, who was appointed archbishop of Nicosia in 1251, had difficult relations with Henry I, then with Plaisance and with Hugh III of Antioch-Lusignan, because of their misappropriation of ecclesiastical tithes and revenues. The conflict with Henry I led Hugh of Fasano to leave Cyprus for Italy, from 1251 to 1253, when he came back to the island after the king's death (Ceccarelli-Lemut - Sodi 2017, p. 97; Amadi, p. 202). In 1263, Hugh of Fasano returned to Italy for good; he died there in 1267. In the same year Gilles of Nicosia (Gilles d'Amigny) was elected as his successor, but he died around

1270 without ever reaching Cyprus. The early death of Gilles was followed by a period of crisis regarding the election of the new archbishop of Nicosia due to dissensions within the Nicosia chapter and the death of the several candidates who passed away shortly after their election (Claverie 2002). Finally, by the end of 1274, archbishop Ranulph was elected and confirmed by pope Nicholas III (Coureas 1997, pp. 69-71). The next elected archbishop, Henri of Gibelet, did not obtain papal confirmation and was then replaced by John of Ancona, elected in 1288, but at this time Hugh III had already died (Schabel 2004, pp. 77-91).

150. *Accidit enim ... in Achon civitatem:* in 1283 Hugh III made his second attempt to regain power on Acre and on the mainland. He left Cyprus and reached first Beirut and then Tyre. Some sources (e.g. Florio Bustron, the *Chronicle of Amadi*) say that he brought with him three of his sons (Bohemond, John and Henry), while according to the *Chronicle of the Templar of Tyre*, there were only two sons because John remained at Cyprus. In the same year, while in Tyre, Bohemond, Hugh's favorite son, died. Hugh himself died at Tyre soon after, on 4 March 1284, and was succeeded by his eldest surviving son, John, who unfortunately died in Cyprus the following year (cfr. Amadi, pp. 215-216; Bustron, p. 116; *CTT*, § 183; Runciman 1951-1954, III, pp. 393-394; Runciman 1969, pp. 588-589; Grousset 2006, pp. 670-671; Edbury 2020, p. 551). – *rex Ugus destruxerat domum Templi in Cyproy:* the passage refers to the facts that followed the first attempt of Hugh III to regain control of Syria. In 1279 he landed in Tyre with his army, waiting for the right moment to reach Acre. Hugh's plan failed because of the firm opposition of the Grand Master of the Temple, Guillaume de Beaujeu, and the king was forced to go back to Cyprus. Once on the island, he took revenge of the hostility of the Templars by destroying their fortifications, their houses at Limassol and Paphos, and by confiscating their properties (Edbury 1991, pp. 95-96; Coureas 1997, pp. 128-129). – *magister Templi ... toxicavit cum filiis suis predictis:* Hugh III and his sons, Bohemond and John, died in a short period of time, but we have no other source relating that they were poisoned by the Grand Master of the Temple and this detail must be considered as fictional. – *de quibus ... Enricus, qui nunc dominatur:* after John's death, the reign went to his brother Henry II (r. 1285-1324). The *Lignages d'Outre* (p. 90) name «Johan, Beymont, Henri, Amauri, Gui et Heimeri» and «Marie, Marguerite, Aalis et Helvis» (Mas Latrie 1881, p. 317, records a fifth daughter, named Isabella) as the six sons and four (or five) daughters of Hugh III and Isabella of Ibelin (c. 1241/42-1324). This passage (as well as the statement at I, v, 154: *iste qui nunc regnat*) allows us to fix the year of Henry II's death (1324) as the *terminus ante quem* for the composition of the Cocharelli treatise.

151-152. *Iohannes ... exspiravit*: John, king of Cyprus and titular king of Jerusalem (r. 1284-1285), died aged seventeen, after only one year of reign; none of the known sources give details on the circumstances of his death. Here again the account concerning John's violent death is an example used to underline the effects caused by wicked behaviour. Moreover, it is not clear if the author contradicts himself after saying that two of the three sons, who were in Tyre with Hugh III, died by poison, or if we must infer that one of the sons who died in Tyre was not John but another unrecorded son (at least Henry, Amaury and Aimery are mentioned as being alive in the subsequent passages of this section).

154. *iste qui nunc regnat*: see the note to I, v, 150.

158. *dominus de Su*: Amaury II of Lusignan (c. 1272-1316), lord of Tyre, one of Henry II's younger brothers.

159-160. *Et quia ... eycere extra regnum*: on 26 April 1306, Amaury II and the baronage deposed Henry II and Amaury seized the lordship over Cyprus. He ruled until his murder, in 1310 (see the account given *infra* at I, v, 178-186). This episode is well-known and has been recorded in the detail by all the main narrative sources dealing with Cypriot history (*CTT*, §§ 425-431; Makhairas, I, §§ 42-49, Amadi, pp. 241-253; Bustron, pp. 135-141). In addition, a series of original documents in Latin and in French from the years 1306-1307 have been preserved. These charters contain a justification of the coup d'état directed at Henry II and the financial arrangements accorded to the deposed king and other members of the royal family (see Schabel - Minervini 2008 for further discussion and for the complete edition of these texts).

161. *Conestabilus*: Aimery, who succeeded his brother Guy (c. 1275/80-1305) as Constable of Cyprus in 1305; he was son of Hugh III and Isabella of Ibelin, and one of the brothers of Amaury II and Henry II (see also *infra*, I, v, 171). – *cognatus*: Balian of Ibelin, Prince of Galilee († 1316), who married Alice of Lusignan, daughter to Hugh III of Cyprus and Isabella of Ibelin, and one of Henry's, Aimery's, and Amaury's sisters. Leontios Makhairas (I, § 44) records that Aimery and Balian of Ibelin were with Amaury when he summoned the knights in Nicosia and made them swear allegiance to him. – *Frater karissime ... plenarie liberatus*: according to the sources, the official speech addressed to Henry II, explaining the causes of the general discontent with his government and the justification for his deposition, was actually read for Amaury by Hugh of Ibelin (Edbury 1991, p. 113), while here Amaury himself addresses the king personally.

162. *cogitaverunt ... habere consilia*: no other source records this interven-

tion of the Franciscans and of the Dominicans in giving their advice regarding the deposition of the king. Therefore, the May 1306 and the January 1307 official charters record, among the witnesses, the names of the main prelates in the East, including representatives both of the Dominicans and the Franciscans (Schabel - Minervini 2008, p. 86). Here too the anonymous author possibly wishes to blame religious orders for their corrupted behaviour, as also happens for the Hospitallers and the Templars in the account of the downfall of Acre in the chapter *De invidia* (I, III, 60-79).

165. *morbum caducum*: ‘falling sickness’, i.e. epilepsy. Henry’s ill-health is pointed out as one of the reasons for his lack of adequate leadership and is reported by all major sources, including contemporary official charters (Schabel - Minervini 2008, pp. 79, 92). It was a common belief that he was an epileptic, but we have little proof. Amadi (p. 248) and Domenico Malipiero (Malipiero *Annali*, II, p. 593) also mention the «mal caduco» of the king.

167. *Crucifigatur... regem*: the reference is here to the Gospel of John (Io 19:15), but the text seems even closer to the Gospel of Nicodemus: «Dicit omnes: Crucifigatur. Iterum dixerunt Iudaei: Non es amicus Caesaris si hunc dimittis, quia dixit se filium dei esse et regem: ni forte vis hunc esse regem et non Caesarem», *Ev. apocr.*, p. 358. On the diffusion of the Gospel of Nicodemus in the Middle Ages, see the summary given in Collura 2015, pp. 9-31.

170. *Ecce dico vobis ... vita mea*: in almost all the accounts, Henry vigorously refuses to accept Amaury’s seizure of power. Here his words are similar to the ones recorded in Bustron (p. 138): «Se Almerico desidera farsi patron del mio, in vita mia non sara, ne anche dopo la mia morte».

171. *Aymericus*: Aimery († 1316) brother of Henry II and Amaury II (mentioned as Constable *supra*, I, v, 161) The king appointed Aimery as Constable of Cyprus after the death of their brother Guy, and then imprisoned him in 1310, after the death of Amaury (of which he was a supporter), and his restoration to the throne. – *rector et gubernator*: in his speech, Aimery uses here the same titles that we find in the contemporary Latin official charters («gubernator noster et rector», Schabel - Minervini 2008, p. 108).

173. *Et sic stetit ... libertatem*: his opposition to Amaury’s coup d’état led to Henry II being held under house arrest.

176. *Dominus tamen ... antedicti*: in February 1310, Henry II was sent as a prisoner in exile to Cilicia, under the custody of king Oshin (r. 1307-1320), the brother of Amaury’s wife Isabella of Armenia (c. 1276/77-1323); cfr. Edbury 1991, pp. 115-124.

178-180. *Rex enim ... comitere dolum*: the text refers here to the conspiracy led by Henry's exiled supporters, who charged one of his closest household knights to murder Amaury. It is interesting to note that the *Chronicle of Amadi* (Amadi, pp. 329-333), our most detailed source on Amaury's killing, describes the murderer, named Simon de Montolif, as acting alone. According to Edbury (1991, p. 126) «the conspiracy theory is at best unproven», because references to the fact that the murder was the result of a conspiracy can be found only in two fourteenth-century sources: the poorly informed Jean Dardel's *Chronique d'Arménie* («les seigneurs de Cypre mirent à mort le dit Emerry fausement», Dardel *Chron.*, p. 23), and the more reliable *Songe du Vieil Pelerin* by Philippe de Mézières, according to which: «le dessusdit chevalier s'accorda avec la chevalerie de Chipre et occist son seigneur, luy estant son chambrelenc es chambres des aiseimens» (PhMéz *Songe*, II, pp. 958-959). The author of the Cocharelli treatise also seems to be well informed about the fact that the murderer was very close to his lord, to the point that he was allowed to enter the chamber of his master whenever he wanted and that no room in the palace was forbidden to him (very similar information is recorded again in Amadi, p. 330). On this episode see also Hill 2010, pp. 245-247 and Edbury 2020, p. 552.

181. *Quadam ... die*: Amaury was murdered on June 5th, 1310. – *post prandium*: Amadi (p. 330) says that the murder took place after dinner. – *guttur resecato et membra fracta deyciens in latrinam*: in Amadi (*ibidem*) Amaury's head is cut off and his corpse is hidden under a staircase. Only Philippe de Mézières (see *supra*, note to I, v, 178-180) and Makhairas (I, § 63; and II, pp. 80-81, for further discussion on this point) agree on the fact that Amaury was killed in the privy.

182. *non potuit agere quod volebat*: what exactly the murderer wished to do but was not able to do is not explained. We should possibly infer that the author alludes to the fact that, as described in Amadi (p. 330), the assassin had the aim of taking Amaury's head with him, but was unable to do so because he was afraid of leaving behind him a trace of blood and to be discovered while passing the palace gates, consequently he ended up by cutting off Amaury's right hand for him to carry.

183. *Ipsa ... ad aliam regionem*: Simon de Montolif totally disappears after the murder (Amadi, p. 332). According to Hill (2010, p. 247, note 1) he was thought to have succeeded in escaping on a ship (see also Coureas 1997, p. 190).

186. *Fuit sepultus ... in vigilia Penthecostes in ecclesia Sancte Sophye*: Amaury was buried in the cathedral of St Sophia in Nicosia beside the altar, near

his father Hugh, on June 6th, 1310. Here again the anonymous author of the treatise seems to be very well-informed about these events, which are also recorded in Amadi, p. 333. – *supplevissent vices suas*: after Amaury's death, his younger brother Aimery was appointed by the Council to be governor of the kingdom.

188. *Gentes ... ad statum suum*: Henry II was released in exchange for Amaury's wife Isabella of Armenia, who was king Oshin's sister. Negotiations were complicated and delicate, they were carried out by the Hospitallers, by the king's party and by the queen-mother; Henry reached Famagusta on 27 August 1310 and was restored to the throne of Cyprus (Edbury 1991, pp. 126-130; Hill 2010, pp. 250-260).

189. *Fecit ... interfecti*: in the years following the return of Henry II from his exile in Armenia, several members of the rebel party were killed, exiled or imprisoned (Edbury 1991, pp. 129-131; Hill 2010, pp. 262-269).

191-192. *Fuit enim ... regis Sicilie filiam*: in 1317 Henry II married Constance (c. 1303/7-1344), eldest daughter of king Frederick III of Sicily (r. 1295-1337) and Eleonore of Anjou (1289-1341). Their marriage was childless. According to the sources Henry was impotent (Edbury 1991, pp. 38, 139; Hill 2010, pp. 283-284), but there is no mention of the fact that his sterility was a consequence of trying to heal him from the poisoning attempted by the Master of the Templars. – *dedit sororem suam regi Aragoni*: in 1315 Henry arranged for his eldest sister and heir Maria (c.1273-1322) to wed the widowed James II of Aragon (r. 1291-1327) to assure an Aragonese succession to the kingdom of Cyprus. Maria and James' marriage was childless, and at his death, on 31 March 1324, Henry was succeeded by his nephew Hugh IV (r. 1324-1359), who was the son of his brother Guy (c. 1275/80-1305) and Eschiva of Ibelin (1253-1312).

197. *Fide[m] ... potest*: dictum attributed to Publilius Syrus: «Fidem qui perdit, perdere ultra nihil potest» (*Minor Lat. Poets*, p. 40; Walther *Prov.*, n. 9449); it is repeated at III, 404.

199-201. *Divitiis ... viget*: these distichs are from the preamble of the *Proverbia* by Jacopo da Benevento «Hec facito, famam si tu cupis immaculatam | conservare tuam, dum tibi vita comes. | Divitiis multis melior bona fama videtur; | hanc tibi conserves, si bonus esse cupis. | Quid tibi divitie, si non honor est tibi, prosunt? | Ille beatus erit cui bona fama viget», JB *Proverbia*, 13-18. They are cited again at III, 37-40.

203-204. *Mendacium ... menti sue*: similar to summary definition provided for *mendacium* at I, v, 24-25.

213. *Os ... animan*: «os autem quod mentitur occidit animam», Sap 1:11.
- 214-215. *Falsus adulator ... amico*: passages collected from the version in distichs (12th c.) of the *Facetus "Moribus et vita"*: «Falsus adulator non est reputandus amicus, | Proficit in nullo tempore fictus amor», «Quilibet inspiciat cui jungatur amico», *Facetus*, 391-392, and 397; see also Walther *Prov.*, n. 8810.
216. *flumina*: we correct the misreading of the ms. with *flumina*, used as a feminine noun of the I declension; but it could be also be interpreted as a misspelling for *fluminia*, -ae, recorded by Forcellini (in *DLD*, s.v.).
218. *Eramen*: we correct the form *Ero(n)*, hypothesizing a misreading for *eramen* (*aeramen*), the late form for *aes*, here used with the meaning of 'copper'.
- 223-224. *Serpens est unus †...†*: the meaning of the whole passage is clear, but it seems that something is missing in the logical and syntactic sequence of the sentence. By comparing the initial passage to the one we find, for instance, in the *Occitan Bestiary* (see *infra*), we could imagine that the original text was similar to it. – *medium ... canonem*: the *medius canon* (*micanon* in French, *medio caño* in Castilian, *mezzo canone* in Italian) was a kind of psalter. This zither-like instrument, imported in Europe from the Persian-Arabic world, is derived from the Egyptian *qānūm*, from which it takes its name. It is mentioned, for instance, in the *Ars Musica* of the Franciscan Johannes Aegidius de Zamora (JdZ *Ars Musica*, p. 103), in Guillaume de Machaut's *La Prise d'Alexandrie* (Machaut *Prise*, 1151-1154), in Adenet le Roi's *Cleomadés* (I, 7251, 17290) and is represented among the illustrations of the codex E₁ (El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio, MS B.I.2, f. 71v) of Alfonso X of Castile's *Cantigas de Santa María* (Álvarez 1987, p. 73 and pl. II.6). – *†...† cauda concludens aurem*: here too a part of the text has possibly been omitted. The passage is to be compared to: «sicut aspidis surdae et obturantis aureas suas, quae non exaudiet vocem incantantium», Ps 57:5-6. The tale of the asp avoiding enchantment by blocking its ears belongs to the tradition of Latin and vernacular Medieval Bestiaries (from the *Physiologus* onwards). Usually the asp blocking its ears is compared to people who turn an ear towards earthly desires and block the other with sin so as not to ear the voice of the Lord. In the version given by the Cocharelli text we have a serpent guarding the tree of balm that, in order to avoid being robbed by the person seeking the balm and trying to charm him by playing an instrument, blocks one ear with its tail. It is important to note that the detail of the asp protecting the tree of balm is typical of later French bestiaries (McCulloch 1959), as happens, for example, in Richard of Fournival's *Bestiaire*

d'amours (half of the 13th c.) and in the the long version of the *Bestiaire* (after 1246) ascribed to Pierre of Beauvais, possibly based on Richard's text (cfr. *Bestiari tard. e med.*, pp. 1700-1170). The same version is in the *Occitan Bestiary* (*Aiso son las naturas*, 13th c.), where we read: «Aspis es la serp que guarda lo basme; e cant vol aver del basme, hom lo adormis ab esturmens, e pren hom del basme; e can ve que es enganatz el se clau la-i aurelha ab la coa e freta tan l'autra per terra, tro que tota l'a clauza, per son que non auia los esturmens, e velha» (*Bestiari tard. e med.*, p. 2012). The mention of the serpent's enchanter is also included in the *Libro della natura degli animali* (*Bestiario tosc.*, p. 299), the first moralized bestiary in Italian prose (last quarter of the 13th. c.), which relies on both Latin and French sources (Checchi 2017). In our text, the asp is remembered as a positive example, because it symbolizes the man who plugs his ears in order not to listen to words that could lead him into sin. The asp is used with the same positive meaning in two fifteenth-century texts deriving from a common lost source: the *Waldesian Bestiary*, in Occitan, and the *Libellum de natura animalium*, in Latin («Enaysi deo far chascun home lo cal es regi cun lo fren de la raçon, qu'el non auva ço que po soçar l'arma e lo cors e tegner-la de malhas e de peccas»; «Ita debet facere quilibet homo qui frenis regitur rationis, quod non debet audire illud quod possit corpus et animam maculare et denigrare maculis et peccatis» (*ivi*, pp. 2012, 2172-2173, 2096). The serpent is remembered as an example of *prudentia* in Guido Faba's treatise: «Serpens suum caput prudenter conseruat, et homo Christo suo capiti reuerenter obediat. Inde est quod serpentis tibi conuenit sequi prudentiam, et in hoc naturam angelicam imitari», Faba *Svv*, II, VI, 2-2'.

226. *ut desperati ... se laqueos suspenderunt*: in his *Dialogus miraculorum* (c. 1240), Caesarius von Heisterbach narrates the tale of a young man in Cologne who hanged himself after he had lost all of his clothes in gambling (CvH *Dialogus miraculorum*, IV, 44). Warnings against gambling were common in thirteenth-century popular sermons, and often included references to the despair that could lead the gambler to commit suicide. In the *Bonum universale de apibus* (1256/63), Thomas of Cantimpré says «Ex tesserarum autem ludo desperatissimi homines fiunt, sicut fures, raptores et homicidæ» (TdC *Bonum univ.*, II, 51, 9). Almost two centuries later, Bernardino da Siena, while preaching in Florence in 1424, spoke about the sin of gaming and pointed out how people fell into despair and consequently hanged themselves by the neck because of gambling (BdS *Pred. volg.*, I, pp. 425-443). See also Murray 1998, pp. 309-310 and Classen 2019, p. 22.

232. *luzerat*: possibly a form of the verb LUSARE ('to play'), used here with

the meaning 'to loose in gambling', while at I, v, 237, the same form seems to mean 'to win in gambling'.

VI. *De gula*

1. *Ventris ... non contenta*: «Ventris ingluuies est immoderata qualicumque ciborum hiantis concupiscentie satisfactio et finibus non contenta», *Faba Svv*, I, II, 7.

2. *Cum saturitate*: «Cum satietate uenter extenditur, oculi libidinis excitantur», *Faba Svv*, I, IX, 1. The manuscript München, BSB, lat. 21565, also has *saturitate* (cfr. *ibidem*, *apparatus*). – *aculeus libidinis*: of the manuscripts analysed by Pini, twelve have *libidinis oculi* and four have the similarly sounding *aculei libidinis* (Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. lat. 5107 and Chig. I.IV.106; München, BSB, lat. 21565; Paris, BnF, lat. 8652 A), both are appropriate. Alanus de Insulis refers to the metaphor «Dum satietate uenter extenditur, aculeus libidinis excitatur» in his *Summa de arte praedicandi* (PL, CCX, 121).

3. *Quanto ... evacuatur*: «Quanto uenter ciborum concupiscentiis adimpletur, tanto anima donis celestibus minoratur», *Faba Svv*, I, IX, 2.

4. *Deo ... acquiescunt*: «Deo placere non poterunt qui carnis desiderii acquiescunt», *Faba Svv*, I, IX, 3.

5. *Sic ... pregravetur*: «Jnde est quod moderate quis cibum assumat, ne peccatorum honore pregrauetur», *Faba Svv*, I, IX, 1'.

6. *Quia ... fugiamus*: «Proinde est quod si spiritualia querimus hec mortalia fugiamus», *Faba Svv*, I, IX, 2'.

7. *Venter ... excitatur*: «Venter et genitalia sibi subnixa taliter famulantur ut dum nimis unum reficitur aliud ad uitia excitatur», *Faba Svv*, I, IX, 4.

8. *Sicut ... revertuntur*: «Sicut per gulam primi parentes paradiso eiciuntur, ita per gule abstinentiam eorum filii ad eandem gloriam reuocantur», *Faba Svv*, I, IX, 5.

9. <.....> ... *amittatur*: the beginning of this sentence should have been similar to «Gulositas ab omnibus refrenetur ne homo pereat et uite meritum amittat», *Faba Svv*, I, IX, 6.

12-13. *Dicitur ... possint pati*: «Et dicitur gastrimargia a castris et margine, quia in locis talibus homines ex moribus corruptis hinc inde magis prodigi solent existere», Alanus *De vitiis*, p. 44; «et dicitur castrimargia a castris et marge quia in talibus locis homines magis prodigaliter vivere. ex corruptis moribus contingit», PH *Summa*, p. 206.

14-15. *Vel potest dici ... excitatur*: the source of this passage was possibly close to the variant reading of MS Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia, 799 B, provided in the footnote of Paul's edition (which is a transcription of MS Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia, 184): «vel dicitur castrimargia quasi castitatem mergens quia ut ait beatus gregorius. Venter et genitalia sibi sunt cognata. dum venter satietate extenditur. aculeus libidinis excitatur», PH *Summa*, p. 206, note 7. The reference to Gregory draws on *Moralia in Iob*: «Sed cunctis liquet quod de ventris ingluvie luxuria nascitur, dum ipsa distributione membrorum ventri genitalia subnexa videatur (GM *Mor. in Iob*, xxxi, 45, 89). See also Isidorus Hispalensis, *Sententiae*, II, 42, 4 (PL, LXXXIII, 647): «In ordine namque membrorum genitalia ventri junguntur. Dumque unum ex his immoderate reficitur, aliud ad luxuriam excitatur».

17-26. *Prima est ...*: the ten types of this vice are listed in the same order in Alanus *De vitiis*, pp. 44-45 and in PH *Summa*, p. 206. – *imprudencia*: among the eight sub-VICES related to gluttony, Alanus lists *impudicitia* and Paulus Hungarus list *impudentia*, meaning 'shamelessness', 'impudence'; we do not correct the text leaving *imprudencia* ('inconsiderateness', 'imprudence') because the meaning fits too, and because in the related *exemplum* (I, VI, 42), the author, while referring to all the sub-VICES recorded in the general description of gluttony, again uses the word *imprudens* instead of *impudens*.

37. *sociardis*: this noun is not recorded in Medieval Latin dictionaries. It is found twice in the text of the manuscript of the late fourteenth century containing the account of 73 miracles performed between 1378 and 1388 thanks to the intercession of St Martial of Limoges. In his edition, Arbellot (1882, p. 446) records the word *sociardus* in the Appendix and explains it as «*socius in malam partem* ?», or as deriving from the French *soudard*, 'mercenary' (cfr. also Lemaître 1975, p. 132).

47. *teste Boecio ... contenta*: «Paucis enim minimisque natura contenta est», Boethius *PhC*, II, pr. 5, 15.

VII. *De luxuria*

1. *Luxuria ... prostitutio*: «Luxuria est ex immundis descendens desideriiis lubrica et effrenata mentis prostitutio», Faba *Svv*, I, II, 8.

2. *Sicut ... separatur*: «Sicut per mortem uita corporis tollitur, ita per luxuriam ab homine Deus et uita anime separatur», Faba *Svv*, I, X, 1.

3. *Luxuria ... trahit*: «Luxuria corpus inquinat, mentem cecat et sensatos arguit, quia cibus est demonum et omnia mala tractat», Faba *Svv*, I, X, 2.

The Cocharelli text has *trahit* for *tractat* as do four of the manuscripts examined by Pini (Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. Lat. 5107, Chig. I.IV.106 and Pal. Lat. 1611; München, BSB, lat. 21565; *ivi*, p. 83, *apparatus*).

4. *Fornicatio ... comprehendit*: «Fornicatio et inmunditia generali probatione nullum eximit, set clerum specialiter comprehendit», Faba *Svv*, I, x, 3.

5. *Ocia ... remove*: «Ocia condecet tollere qui vult luxuriam remove», Faba *Svv*, I, x, 6. The Cocharelli text has *convenit* for *condecet*, as do three of the manuscripts examined by Pini (Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. lat. 5107 and Pal. lat. 1611; Paris, BnF, lat. 8652 A; *ivi*, p. 85, *apparatus*).

6. *Quoniam ... eterna*: «[...] quoniam licet fornicationis labilis sit uoluptas, pena tamen non est momentanea set eterna», Faba *Svv*, I, x, 6'. The Cocharelli text shares the misreading of *voluntas* for *voluptas*, with five of the manuscripts examined by Pini (Città del Vaticano, BAV, Ottob. lat. 448; Einsiedeln, Klosterbibliothek, 331; London, BL, Add. 33221; Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia, 281 X; Wien, ÖNB, 585; *ivi*, p. 85, *apparatus*).

7-8. *Luxuria ... nascens*: «Luxuria est corporalis incontinentia ex pruritu libidinis nascens», Alanus *De vitiis*, p. 45. – *langor incolumis ... dulce nephas*: the word pairings are copied from those listed in Paulus Hungarus's *Summa de poenitentia*, derived, in turn, from Alanus's *De planctu naturae* (the passage, recorded in Paul's edition footnotes, is taken from the variant reading of MS Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia, lat. 799 B): «Luxuria est incontinentia corporis, ex pruritu libidinis nascens. Hec est: Languor incolumis. Grata caribdis. Pondus leve. Insatiata fames. Sacies esuriens. Ebria sitis. Tristities leta. Dulce malum. Mala dulcedo. Quies egra. Labor gratus. Pena levis. Lues delitiosa. Nox lucida. Lux tenebrosa. Mors vivens. Vita moriens. Malum suave. Pena iocosa. Facinus pium. Ludus instabilis. Lusio stabilis. Robur infirmans. Firmum mobile. firma movens. Infernus mulcebris. Paradisus tristis. Carcer amenus. Hyemps verna. Prudens stultitia. Audax timor. Dives egestas. Vilis gula. Inops copia. Discors concordia. Concors pugna. Furor blandus. Dulce nephas», PH *Summa*, p. 207. See also Alanus de Insulis, *Liber de planctu naturae* (PL, CCX, 455): «Est amor, et mistus cum ratione furor | Naufragium dulce, pondus leve, grata Charibdis, | Incolumis languor, et satiata fames. | Esuries satiens, sitis ebria, falsa voluptas, | Tristities laeta, gaudia plena malis. | Dulce malum, mala dulcedo, sibi dulcor amarus, | Cujus odor sapidus, insipidusque sapor. | Tempestas grata, nox lucida, lux tenebrosa, | Mors vivens, moriens vita, suave malum. | Peccatum veniae, venialis culpa, jocosa, | Poena, pium facinus, imo, suave scelus. | Instabilis ludus, stabilis delusio, robur | Infirum, firmum mobile, firma movens. | Insipiens ratio, demens prudentia, tristis

| Prosperitas, risus flebilis, aegra quies. | Mulcebris infernus, tristis paradisus, amoenus | Carcer, hiems verna, ver hiemale, malum. | Mentis atrox tinea, quam regis purpura sentit, | Sed nec mendici praeterit illa togam».

9. *Hec enim ... acerbat*: «Hec corpus polluit. Opes annichilat. Mentem predatur. Animam necat. Vim eripit. Famam lacerat. Lumina oculorum orbat», PH *Summa*, p. 207. The proverb (and mnemonic) is included in the mid-thirteenth century Albertano da Brescia's *De amore et dilectione Dei et proximi*: «Nam luxus sive luxuria corpus destruit, opes annichilat, animam necat, vim eripit, lumina orbat, vocem acerbat. Unde versus, "Luxus, corpus, opes, animam, vim, lumina, vocem | Destruit, anichilat, necat, eripit, orbat, acerbat"» (Albertanus *Dad*, VIII, 4).

10. *Alanus ... orbem*: this passage from *Anticlaudianus* is recorded in Paulus Hungarus as well: «De hoc Alanus vir litteratissimus in suo ait Ante claudiano. Quas venus illecebra que tristia gaudia tristes. | Letitias, mala dulcia. pocula fellea terris. | Offert. et felle mellito compluit orbem. | Cernit in archanis superum prudentia», PH *Summa*, p. 207. Cfr. also «Quas Venus, illecebras, que tristia gaudia, tristes | Letitias, mala dulcia, pocula fellea terris | Offert et felle mellito cumpluit orbem», Alanus *Anticlaudianus*, II, 122-124.

11. *Cernit ... superum*: the line, also included in Paulus Hungarus (see *supra* note to I, VII, 10), is adapted from a preceding verse in Alanus' *Anticlaudianus* (II, 107-108): «Diuino fonte madescens, | Cernit in archanis superum quis conditor orbis».

12. *Dicitur ... inordinati*: «Dicitur autem luxuria, quia solet ex luxu nasci cibi uel potus uel alterius rei provenire», Alanus *De vitiis*, p. 45; «Dicitur autem a luxu. quia solet a luxu cibi nasci vel alterius rei», PH *Summa*, p. 207.

14-19. *Prima ... naturam*: Paulus Hungarus (PH *Summa*, p. 207) lists the same six sub-species of lust but in a different order, while Alanus (*De vitiis*, p. 45) records only four of them, omitting *stuprum* and *raptus*.

20. *Fornicatio simplex ... se comittunt*: «Simplex fornicatio est carnale commercium preter legitimum coitum, citra adulterium, incestum, peccatum contra naturam constitutum», Alanus *De vitiis*, p. 45; «Fornicatio simplex est carnale commercium. preter legitimum coytum citra adulterium. uel aliter. fornicatio autem licet uideatur esse genus cuiuslibet illiciti coytus qui fit extra uxorem legitimam. tamen specialiter in usu intelligitur viduarum. et meretriculis concubinarum», PH *Summa*, p. 207 (variant reading from MS Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia, lat. 799 B, provided *ibidem* in the *apparatus*: «intelligitur in usu viduarum et meretricum, vel concubinarum»).

21-22. *Strupum ... virum*: «Stuprum proprie est virginum illicita defloratio», PH *Summa*, p. 207 (an extension of the definition, taken from MS Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia, lat. 799 B, is noted *ibidem* in the *apparatus*: «et dicitur a stupro quia virgo stupet virum»).

23. *Adulterium ... violatio*: «Adulterium est quando maritus cognoscit alienam uel uxor cognoscitur ab extraneo», Alanus *De vitiis*, p. 45; «Adulterium est alieni thori violatio. Unde adulterium dicitur. quasi ad alterius thori accessio», PH *Summa*, p. 207.

25. *Raptus ... in uxorem*: «Raptus admittitur cum puella. a domo patris violenter abducta. ut corrupta in uxorem habeatur», PH *Summa*, p. 207.

26. *Peccatum ... semen*: «Peccatum contra naturam est quando extra locum ad hoc deputatum funditur semen», Alanus *De vitiis*, p. 45; «Vitium sive peccatum contra naturam est. quando aliquis extra locum. ad hoc deputatum. effudit semen», PH *Summa*, p. 207.

27. *Et istud ... multis modis*: the text of the first booklet ends here; if its pattern had been similar to the one of the other chapters, at least an *exemplum* should have followed.

II. BOOKLET ON THE VIRTUES

[I. (?) *De iustitia*]

1. *qui ... nasceretur*: «Nisi adesset iusticia que unicuique ius suum tribuit pro rebus temporalibus, sepe inter homines seditio et iniuria oriretur», Faba *Svv*, II, III, 3. This fragment of the Booklet on the Virtues describes *iustitia* according to Guido Faba's treatise. It is difficult to say whether the author followed the same order as Faba's (placing Justice as the first of the cardinal virtues) or if he relied on Paulus Hungarus (who places Justice at the second place, after *prudentia*).

2. *Rectores ... relinquunt*: «Rectores in manu stateram teneant ut iuste sevant et cum expedit misericordiam non relinquunt», Faba *Svv*, II, III, 4.

3. *Rogo ... equitates*: «Inde est quod vos rogo et conforto et vestre dilectioni suadeo ut iustum semper iudicium proferatis dicentes de vultu tuo Domine iudicium meum prodeat et oculi tui videant equitatem», Faba *Svv*, II, III, 1'. Based on the Prayer of David Ps 16:2.

4. *Deum ... factis*: «Rogamus itaque tuam discretionem ut Deum pre oculis habere debeas in omnibus iudiciis atque factis», Faba *Svv*, II, III, 2'.

5. *Illum ... futurum*: «Proinde est quod illum imitari debemus qui iudex iustus est, fortis et paciens, tractabilis, pacificus et benignus qui cuilibet secundum opera que fecerit tribuet in futurum», Faba *Svv*, II, III, 3’.
6. *Apud ... rationem*: «Quare cum apud Dominum nulla sit acceptio personarum, ita iudicare tenemini parvulum sicut magnum, sciendo quod quali mensura messi fuerimus eadem remetietur nobis, cum et de talento credito teneamur reddere rationem», Faba *Svv*, II, III, 4’. Compare also to Mc 4:24; Lc 6:38; Act 10:34.
7. *Si cadit ... dispergitur*: «Si cadit iustus erigitur, set impius cum suo semine dispergetur», Faba *Svv*, II, III, 5.
8. *Iusticia ... violabit*: «Iusticia appellari non poterit quam amore uel timore aliquis uiolabit», Faba *Svv*, II, III, 6.
- 9-13. *Iusticia ... prohibebis*: this passage partially derives from the sixth-century *Formula vitae honestae*, attributed to Martin of Braga: «Iustitiae post haec virtus est. Quid est autem iustitia nisi naturae tacita conventio, in adiutorium multorum inventa? Et quid est iustitia nisi nostra constitutio, sed divina lex, et vinculum societatis humanae? [...] Quisquis ergo hanc sectari desideras, time prius deum et ama deum, ut ameris a deo. Amabis enim deum, si illum in hoc imitaberis, ut velis omnibus prodesse, nulli nocere et tunc te iustum virum appellabunt omnes, sequentur, venerabuntur et diligent. Iustus enim ut sis, non solum non nocebis, sed etiam nocentes prohibebis», MB *Formula vitae hon.*, p. 246. On this definition of Justice see Kuttner 1976 and Bejczy 2011, pp. 55-56.

III. MORAL DICTATES AND ‘DORIA’S EPIC’

1. *Mandatisque ... sacris*: «Corde timere deum sapientia prima videtur | mandatisque suis flectere colla sacris», JB *Proverbia*, 33-34.
5. *Secunda ... honorandus*: the habit of associating general moral virtues, such as happens here with *sapientia* and *bonitas* (l. 8), with God, but almost always with Christ, is frequent in the Later Middle Ages (Bejczy 2011, pp. 278-280).
6. *qui mirabilia fecit*: «benedictus Dominus Deus Deus Israhel qui facit mirabilia solus», Ps 71:18; «Cantate Domino canticum novum quoniam mirabilia fecit», Ps 97:1.
12. *comp[ar]atio*: we could also transcribe *compatio* or *compacio*, possibly as *compassio* (‘compassion’), with reference to the crucifixion of Jesus men-

tioned in the following lines. The word is rare; it is recorded only once by Blaise (*DLD*, s.v. *compatio*), while in Italian we have the form *compatione* (*TLIO*, s.v. *compassione*)

18. *bochonis*: to be possibly interpreted with the meaning of ‘pieces’, ‘bites’; Du Cange (I, 684c) records the form *boccone* as a «vox italica».

29. *Ad formicam ... considerando*: «vade ad formicam o piger et considera vias eius et disce sapientiam», Prv 6:6; Faba *Sd*, p. 371 (here and *infra* most of the biblical quotations are the same included in Guido Faba’s *Summa dictaminis*).

35-36. *Cum sit ... miseria facta*: a similar passage is found in a *libellus precum* copied at the beginning of the twelfth century at the abbey of Farfa (Roma, BNC, Farfa 4): «Maior est misericordia tua quam miseria mea» (Boynton 2008, p. 300).

37-40. *Diviciis ... vigebit*: the same distichs from Jacopo da Benevento’s *Proverbia* are recorded in the first booklet, cfr. I, v, 199-201 and note.

43-44. *Boni ... sui*: the first two words of l. 43 have no meaning, the proposed reconstruction (*Boni iustitia*) is uncertain and it is based on the definitions of justice given by Paulus Hungarus and Guido Faba: «Iustitia est virtus ius suum cuique tribuens comuni utilitate servata», PH *Summa*, p. 211; «Iustitia est constans et perpetua animi uoluntas ius suum unicuique tribuens», Faba *Svv*, II, II, 1. This definition of justice was widespread from the Antiquity onwards and goes back to the third-century Roman jurist Ulpian who defines justice as a constant and perpetual will to render each their *ius* (i.e. ‘right’ or ‘desert’): «Iustitia est constans et perpetua voluntas ius suum cuique tribuendi», from Book I of the *Libri Regularum*, preserved in Justinian’s *Digest* (D.1.1.10pr.).

48-49. *Impius ... fides*: the distich is modelled as a proverbial sentence and is based on the one referred to women in Jacopo da Benevento: «Insi-piens aderit quisquis confidit in illa, | ex verbis cuius fallitur omnis homo. | Quanto plus iurat tanto minus est adhibenda | ipsius dictis, nate, profecto fides», JB *Proverbia*, 461-464 (see also *infra* III, 129-130 and 501-502). The meaning here seems to be that the impious man is actually impious with his words, and that trust is actually built on the first words.

50-52. *Impius ... «Heu!»*: the meaning of the sentence is unclear, possibly due to scribal errors. It is uncertain if these lines are to be considered as a sentence introduced by *populus plorat*, while *vivisse* could be an unusual form for *vixisse*, and *solo* a misreading for *solum*. In this case the meaning could be ‘The impious violates justice, so the people cry (saying that) our

progenitor (Adam ?) did not leave a day without knowing it, saying to us miserable people: Alas!'.
 57. *Non ... prodicionis*: cfr. I, v, 133 and note.

60. *zabuloque*: i.e. *zabulus*, 'diabolus' (Du Cange, VIII, 425c).

72. *cum crimine crimen addidit*: we interpret the form *adidem* of the manuscript as a misspelling of the verb *addere*, being aware of unconventional construction with *cum* + abl. (possibly with the meaning of 'to add crime to crime'). See for instance «Facta iuventutis deberes tu modo flere; | Crimini-bus crimen addere gestis, anus», JB *De uxore cerdonis*, 147-148.

77-82. *Ve civitati ... quicumque*: the reference is here to Genoa's civil war and economic crisis, described at I, v, 90-107.

88. *boni ... odoris*: «quia Christi bonus odor sumus Deo in his qui salvi fiunt et in his qui pereunt aliis quidem odor ex morte in mortem aliis autem odor ex vita in vitam», II Cor 2:15-16.

90. *impium ... odit*: «Dominus interrogat iustum et impium qui autem diligit iniquitatem odit animam suam», Ps 10:6.

92-93. *Boni mendici ... pater habetur ipse*: the sentence is the opposite of «Nomen avaritiae tibi sit vitabile semper: | cunctorum scelerum mater habetur ea», JB *Proverbia*, 115-116.

98-100. *Idropico ... opes*: «Hidropico similis numquam satiatur avarus; | notis, ignotis, omnibus ipse rapit, | Anxius accumulatur, nescit cui, non sibi certe | Eius congestas alter habebit opes», JB *Proverbia*, 117-120. See also St Augustine on avarice «Volendo dives esse, desiderat aestuat, sitit; et tamquam hydropisis morbo, plus bibendo, plus sitit. Mira ista similitudo est in corporis morbo, omnino avarus in corde hydrops est. Nam hydrops in carne, humore plenus est, humore periclitatur, et humore non satiatur: sic hydrops in corde, quanto plus habet, plus eget (*De Scripturis, Sermo CLXXVII*, 6, in *PL*, XXXVIII, 956). In Medieval texts, the sin of greed is very often likened to dropsy, because the hydroptic is said to get thirstier the more he drinks (cfr. Newhauser 1986).

103. *Credit ... manere*: see I, v, 64 and note.

115. *Pelegrinus, Cocarellus ...*: see I, *Prologus*, 5 and note.

117. *A specie ... arbor*: «A specie fructus omnis cognoscitur arbor», JB *Proverbia*, 147; see also «unaquaeque enim arbor de fructu suo cognoscitur», Lc 6:44.

119-120. *Qui boni ... nitet*: «Qui bonus apparet foris et malus intus habetur | est vulpi similis que bene pelle nitet», JB *Proverbia*, 149-150.

129-130. *Ex verbis ... adhibenda*: see *supra* III, 48-49 and note.

131-135. *Non frangas ... habetur*: these lines recast Jacopo da Benevento: «Non facias furta nec furibus associaris: | omnibus est odio fur odioque deo | fur lupus ex merito cunctis odiosus habetur; | privatur vita saepius inde sua», JB *Proverbia*, 91-94.

137. *Anchona*: possibly a mistake for Acre. A similar spelling (*Anchona*, *Ancona* for *Achon*, 'Acre') is also found in the Venetian version (V) of Marco Polo's *Description of the World*; cfr. MP *Milione*, p. CLXXVII, and MP *Devisement (redaz. V)*, pp. 42-43.

157-158. *Est ... videt*: «vicino melius nil, credo, fore bono; | Est consanguineis et preponendus amicis | qui cito succurrit quando necesse videt», JB *Proverbia*, 126-128.

160. *Fidus ... amicus*: «Fidus in adversis ostenditur omnis amicus», *Facetus*, 395.

161. *Qui ... in illam*: «qui fodit foveam incidet in eam», Ecl 27:29; cfr. also Prv 26:27.

166. *iustum*: the ms. has *iustu(m)* followed by the abbreviation 3 for *-que* or *-um*; in this case we correct *iustumque* in *iustum* because the scribe has possibly duplicated the abbreviation for *-um*.

172. *Qui ... erit*: «qui cum sapientibus graditur sapiens erit amicus stultorum efficietur similis», Prv 13:20; Faba *Sd*, p. 372.

177-178. *confidit ... servit*: the sentence *confidit fortune servit* of the manuscript has no meaning: we hypothesize that the scribe has omitted at least one line.

180. *Innumeras ... linguas*: «Innumeras soluit falsa in praeconia linguas», Lucanus *Bc*, I, 472.

182-183. *Aura ... Nihil*: this misogynist dictum is known in many versions and is often quoted in Medieval *Florilegia*: «Vento quid levius? fulmen; quid fulmine? fama; Fama quid? mulier; quid muliere? nihil!», *Anth. vet. lat.*, n. 133. See also Walther *Init.*, nn. 15828-30, 20118; Albertanus *Lcc*, p. 18; *Carmina medii aevi*, p. 24; Werner 1912, nn. 151-152; Antolín 1910-1923, III, p. 361; Zamuner 1998, p. 933; CdG *Versos prov.*, p. 184 (translated into Provençal). This distich is often found together with the one given at III, 655-656.

189. *Cordis ... sepe*: «ex abundantia enim cordis os loquitur», Mt 12:34.

191. *docuit ... profetis*: «Adtendite a falsis prophetis qui veniunt ad vos in vestimentis ovium intrinsecus autem sunt lupi rapaces», Mt 7:15.

194. *Partito dato ... regi:* here *partitum* means ‘choice’, ‘decision’ (Du Cange, VI, 188a). The meaning of the sentence is consequently: ‘Entrusted to a very wise king the decision whether he preferred to have as his friend, etc.’.

196. *†ani mundi† ... prudentiorem:* the passage is possibly the result of an erroneous transcription; we could also interpret the sequence *ani mundi* as *animandi* (‘wiser/more experienced in exhorting’).

224-227. *Ut ... letari:* «ut recto celo et pura conscientia decorati ei laudes reddamus omni tempore quas tenemur et repleti suavitate uirtutum iugiter possimus in suis mirabilibus delectari», *Faba Svv*, II, 1, 1.

228. *Ad laudem ... et legentium comoditatem:* «Et quoniam Ordinem Praedicatorum Dei sum miseratione professus, ideo ad beati Dominici postulanda suffragia, devotus assurgo, ut ipse apud Dei misericordiam exorare dignetur, et ad legentium utilitatem convertat, et mihi ad meritum provenire concedat», *Voragine Serm.*, p. 2. On the *topos* of the *legentium utilitas* in the prologues of works by the Dominicans, cfr. Nadeau 1997 and Montefusco 2024, pp. 189-192.

230. *Aurie Conradus:* the second and longer part of the preserved verse section is occupied by an account focusing on Corrado Doria, the well-known Captain of the people and Admiral of Genoa, who performed an important political and military role in Italian history from the last decades of the thirteenth century to the beginning of the fourteenth century. His father, Oberto, successfully led the Genoese fleet to defeat the Pisans in 1284, at the battle of the Meloria, while Corrado himself took and destroyed the Porto Pisano in 1290. He resigned in 1297 from his position as Captain of the people and went to Sicily, where king Frederick III of Aragon appointed him as Admiral of his fleet. Corrado Doria took part in the last acts of the Angevin-Aragonese war of the Sicilian Vespers (1295-1302), and possibly remained at Frederick III’s court until his death in c. 1321/23 (Göbbels 1992).

246. *Vox quidem populi Dei est:* this line recasts the proverb «Vox populi vox Dei», *Walther Prov.*, n. 34182.

248. *Nullum ... bona:* «melius est nomen bonum quam divitiae multae super argentum et aurum gratia bona», *Prv* 22:1.

261. *Pelegrinus ... tres reges corone vidit:* it is difficult to determine the identity of the three kings seen by Pellegrino. Frederick III of Aragon and Charles II of Anjou are mentioned *infra* (ll. 328 *et seq.*, and 265 *et seq.*), and Philip the Fair of France is evoked in one of the *exempla* in the Booklet

on the Vices (I, v, 42-49), but we have no proof that Pellegrino ever met them in person. At ll. 752 and 756, Henry VII of Luxembourg is referred to with the title of emperor (*imperator*) and not as king (*rex*). Maybe two of the kings could have been Henry II of Cyprus and his brother Amaury of Tyre, who usurped his brother's throne for a few years (the account concerning these events is given *supra* at I, v, 153-194). As for the third king, even if our treatise makes no mention of him, we know from a letter (written between 1278 and 1284) that Pellegrino was appointed by the Hospitaller Master Nicholas Lorgne to recover a debt from king Edward I of England and that he consequently could have met him on this occasion (Concina 2019, p. 114; Concina - Fabbri *supra*, pp. 24-25).

264. *Elapso ... ipse Conradus*: the reference here is to the naval battle of Ponza, held in 1300 between the Sicilian fleet led by Corrado Doria and Charles II of Anjou's fleet (*regis Karolli*, l. 265), led by Ruggero Lauria. During this battle, the Sicilians were defeated, Doria was taken as a prisoner and released only subsequently.

267-268. *Sex de Grimaldis galee ... Ceperunt eum*: during the naval combat of Ponza Corrado Doria's fleet was outnumbered by Ruggero Lauria's one, and the situation got even worse when a dozen of Apulian galleys, with another seven Guelf galleys of the Grimaldi Genoese family (who were long-standing enemies of the Doria), joined the Angevin forces (Assini 1988b). On 14 June 1300 twenty Sicilian galleys were captured, including Doria's flagship, and Corrado was taken as a prisoner (see Amari 1969, II, pp. 247-250; Caro 1974-1975, II, p. 265; De Stefano 1956, pp. 111-112; Galasso 1992). According to the fifteenth-century historian Niccolò Speciale, Grimaldi's ships were seven (and not six as in our text), see Specialis *Hist.*, pp. 428-432.

271. *Qui rex tunc ait*: the imprisonment of Corrado Doria is followed by his vivid dialogue with king Charles II of Anjou, who tries unsuccessfully to convince him to betray king Frederick III and to be on his side against the Aragonese.

272. *Sicilie ... regem*: king Frederick III of Aragon (c. 1273/74-1337), who was first appointed regent of the Kingdom of Sicily (r. 1291-1295), and then king of Sicily, from 1295 until his death.

290. *Diligit ... amicus*: «Omni tempore diligit qui amicus est», Prv 17:17; Faba *Sd.*, p. 373.

291. *Vicinus ... procul*: «amicum tuum et amicum patris tui ne dimiseris et domum fratris tui ne ingrediaris in die afflictionis tuae melior est vicinus iuxta quam frater procul», Prv 26:10; Faba *Sd.*, p. 374.

297-298. *Amicus ... magnum*: «amicus fidelis protectio fortis qui autem invenit illum invenit thesaurum», Ecl 6:14; *Faba Sd*, p. 376.

312. *Placebat ... proditorem*: this motto ascribed to Augustus is recorded in Plutarch's *Vita Romoli* (xvii, 7) and enjoyed longlasting fortune (Tosi 2017, n. 341). cfr. Walther *Prov.*, 980a («Amo proditorem, odi proditorem») and 22571a («proditionem amo, sed proditorem non laudo»).

333-334. *Antonius ... Oddo*: as far as we know, the name of this soldier is not recorded elsewhere.

344. *Tali sacramento ... corporaliter dato*: cfr. Du Cange, II, 577b: «*Corporaliter jurare pro Corporale juramentum*».

353. *don Fredericum*: the honorific title is in vernacular; Lat. DŌMĪNUS > It. *donno* > *don*.

359-360. *In furore ... me velis*: «Domine ne in furore tuo arguas me neque in ira tua corripas me», Ps 6:2.

363. *Imperator ... donum*: the passage possibly alludes to the episode of the widow's mite, recorded in the Gospels (Mc 12:41-44; Lc 21:1-4).

364. *Et mulier una sophie*: *sophie* must be considered here as a genitive of quality with the function of an adjective ('and a wise woman, etc.'): cfr. Blaise 1955, p. 82; Cremaschi 1959, p. 77; Harrington (ed.) 1997, p. 17.

372. *Illicitum ... expers?*: «Illicitum lucrum credes fore criminis, plenum | dedecus et crimen vilia lucra ferunt», *JB Proverbia*, 153-154. Compare also to the text published in *JB Proverbia* (ed. Altamura), 151-152, with the emendations by Franceschini 1954, p. 558: «Illicitum lucrum credis fore criminis expers? | Dedecus et crimen vilia lucra ferunt!».

376-377. *Iudas ... perit*: see I, v, 134 and note.

378-379. *Dum ... fuge*: «Cum fueris iuvenis studeas acquirere, fili, | non tamen iniuste; turpia lucra fuge», *JB Proverbia*, 151-152. Cfr. also «Justiciam querat, fugiat turpissima lucra», *Facetus*, 451.

380. *Legalitas virum ... honestas*: the same motto is recorded by a hand of the early fifteenth century on the first folio of the miscellaneous manuscript Eichstätt, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. St. 266 (Hilg 1994, p. 230).

381. *Legalitas ... ornat*: «Nobilitas sola est animum que moribus ornat», *GdC Alexandreis*, I, 104. This line (inspired by Juvenal's satire VIII, 20) enjoyed great success in the Middle Ages and has also been inserted in Guilielmus Peraldus' *Summa vitiorum* (*Svv*, II, p. 292) and Peraldus *De erudit. principum* (I, 5), in Hildebert de Lavardin's *Moralis philosophia de honesto et utili* (PL, CLXXI, 1045) and, in French, in Brunetto Latini's *Li Livres dou Tresor* (BL *Tresor*, II, 114). See also Walther *Prov.*, n. 17030.

382-383. *Et cum ... collecti*: «melius est parum cum iustitia quam multi fructus cum iniquitate», Prv 16:8; Faba *Sd*, p. 373.

384-385. *Melior ... magno*: «melior est buccella sicca cum gaudio quam domus plena victimis cum iurgio», Prv 17:1; Faba *Sd*, p. 373.

387-389. *Conrade ... tempus*: we have chosen to correct the text, whose meaning is problematic, interpreting the accusative *Conradum* (l. 389, *apparatus*) as a misreading for the vocative, and the whole sentence as ‘Corrado, truly unconquered for the love of Federico, so you swear to help me as much as you can? You will do it, Corrado, when it seems appropriate to you!’.

401. *Passus verecundiam*: «Passus itaque verecundiam in conspectu populi, abscessit de templo dei plorans et non est reversus ad domum suam [...]», *Lib. de nat. Mariae*, pp. 286-323.

404. *Fidem ... potest*: see I, v, 197 and note.

411. *Vincit maliciam sapientia*: «sapientiam autem non vincit malitia», Sap 7:30.

436. *admiratum ... Petrum*: according to the text, Pietro Doria, Corrado’s son, was appointed admiral of Sicily after the battle of Ponza and his father’s liberation. This event is not recorded elsewhere. We know little about Pietro Doria: we learn from the deeds of the Aragonese court that in 1306 he appears as a witness in a document drawn up in Messina between Frederick III and Ferdinand of Majorca («Ego Petrus Aurie, filius magnifici domini Conradi Aurie, regii amirati, testor [...]»), Muntaner - Desclot, p. 1165), and that, in the same year, while in Sicily, he was planning to attack Genoa, thus in the end the project was not brought to a successful conclusion. Gorla 1962, p. 259, note 15, mentions a letter written from Barcelona by Berenguer de Entença to the Aragonese king, in which it is reported that Pietro is preparing the attack: «Encara signific, senyor, a la vostra senyoria que misser Peri d’Oria, fill de misser Corral, almiral de Sicilia, ab misser Pelegri de Paci avien armades a Massina .vi. galeas per venir e entrar en Genoba [...]» (the letter is edited in Rubió i Lluch 1947, p. 32, n. xxvii).

444. *bagordaret*: (see also *baordando* at l. 455) from *bagordare*, ‘to carouse’ («Vox Italica, hastis ludicris ex equis pugnare», Du Cange, I, 521c). The Old Italian form *bagordare*, *bagordar*, *bigordare* (*TLIO*, s.v. *bigordare*) derives from the Old French *beborder*, while the form *baordar* is recorded in Old Provençal together with *beordar*, *biordar* (*FEW*, xv/1, 106-108; Castellan 2000, p. 109).

453-454. *Melior ... amore ficto*: «melior est manifesta correptio quam amor absconditus», Prv 27:5; Faba *Sd*, p. 374.

456. *carubio*: from *carubius* < QUADRUVIUM < QUADRIVIUM (Du Cange, II, 197a; *REW*, 6922; Apro시오, 1/1, p. 233), meaning the narrow street typical of the cities and towns of the Ligurian coast.

473-475. *derisorem ... dilexeris ab illo*: «noli arguere derisorem ne oderit te argue sapientem et diligit te», Prv 9:8; *Faba Sd*, p. 371.

479-480. *Habetur ... negociatio ulla*: «melior est adquisitio eius negotiatione argenti et auro», Prv 3:14; *Faba Sd*, p. 371.

481. *Invenit ... Sarracenorum*: this episode is not recorded elsewhere.

489. *severari*: «severare, pro servare» (Du Cange, VII, col. 461a); the verb is possibly to be interpreted as an historical infinitive with the meaning of 'to save' (themselves from the battle), or 'to keep away' (from the battle).

501. *quarum*: to be referred to *feminis* at 499.

502. *Quanto plus iurat ... credenda minus*: see *supra* III, 48-49 and note.

505. *Ad vestrum gratum*: based on the vernacular forms: Old French *a vostre gré* ('to someone's convenience', *FEW*, IV, 250a), It. *a grado* ('to please someone', *TLIO*, s.v. *grado* 2).

519. *Scitis*: i.e. *sitis* (vb. *esse*).

525. *tapetes*: the word is a nautical term; Apro시오, II/2, pp. 597-598, records the entry *trapa*, *trappa*, *trapeta* (if we choose to read *trapetes* instead of *tapetes*) dated 1532, with the meaning 'rod or iron rod'; Cornagliotti 2016, pp. 318 and 346, records the word *trape* in a Ligurian vernacular document dated 1403-1405, and interprets it as 'nautical cable' («cavo impiegato per abbattere trasversalmente in carena un'imbarcazione»); Jal 1848, p. 1476, records *trapo*, possibly used to designate the sail). Apro시오, II/2 p. 570, records also the entry *tapera* (for *tappiera*), dated 1512, which is a nautical term used to indicate the «trave disposta per lungo, che unisce i gioghi sulla galea, e porta i sostegni dei remi» (in this case we should imagine a misreading of *tapetes* for *taperes*); cfr. also Jal 1848, p. 1428. The meaning is here that Corrado Doria grabs the tools (the oars and the cables/ropes ?) necessary to lead the ship. – *barbotando*: the verb seems to mean 'to sail' (or even 'to sail fast'), but it is not recorded elsewhere in Latin texts; it possibly derives from the Old French *barboter*, ('s'agiter dans l'eau en la troublant', recorded from the 13th c.; *FEW*, I, 443b). In Italian we find the noun *barbotta*, indicating a war vessel with a spur (cfr. *TLIO*, s.v. *barbotta*, recorded for the first time in a Venetian document dated 1362; cfr. Jal 1848, p. 242), and the verb *barbottare*, *imbarbottare*, meaning 'to cover a ship with the arched vault used for the *barbotte*' (*LEI*, IV, 1225-1226). – *di popa*: meaning that the ship is sailing downwind. The

preposition *di* is Italian instead of the Lat. *de*; *popa*, from *puppis*, ‘stern of the ship’ (recorded in Du Cange, vi, 410a).

528. *buschis cum catram*: *buschis* ‘wood’, ‘firewood’; *catram* (It. *catrame*; Ligurian vernacular *catrà*n, ‘pitch’, Apro시오, II/1, p. 278) for *catranum*, ‘tar coated torch’ (DLD, s.v. *catranum*). A similar situation is described in Bartolomeo Scriba’s *Annales Ianuenses* (AG, III, p. 120): «tunc parata fuit in ciuitate quedam bricola in nauī una, et plura ligna impleta fuerunt bruschis et catrano, ut nostri galeas illas destruerent et cremarent».

591-594. *Ex levitate ... equum*: acrobacies performed by riders on the back of horses are known from ancient times all over the world, from East to West. One of the earliest known descriptions of such exercises in Medieval Europe is the one recorded in Aubri de Trois-Fontaines’s *Chronicon* (p. 941), in the passage describing the wedding of Robert of Artois (1227): «Et illi qui dicuntur ministrelli, in spectaculo vanitatis multa ibi fecerunt, sicut ille, qui in equo super cordem in aere equitavit». Therefore, it is to be noted that the exercise performed by Pietro Doria, standing up on the saddle of his horse, holding a stick in each hand, is very similar to one of the horseback acrobatics which were part of the Arabic art of hosemanship, or *furūsiyya*, i.e. the basic education in the various forms of warfare, where a prominent relevance was given to theoretical and practical equestrian knowledge, including hippology and the care of horses and farriery (Douillet - Ayalon 1991). This art, dating back to the pre-Islamic period, enjoyed a particular development during the Mamluk era. A large number of technical treatises dedicated to the *furūsiyya* survive today. They furnish, among other details, much information on the exercises that were part of the training of Mamluk horsemen. The lance exercises in particular occupied an important place in the *Mahmil* procession, which was introduced by sultan Baybars in the thirteenth century to celebrate the departure of the pilgrim caravan to the Mecca. One of the exercises performed on this occasion by the younger riders chosen amongst the Royal Mamluks consisted in standing on a structure composed of swords and wooden eggs mounted on the horse’s saddle, twirling two lances (Ayalon 1961, p. 49). This exercise is often represented in the drawings illustrating *furūsiyya*’s treatises, and the images are strikingly similar to the description of Pietro Doria’s acrobatics (the lances resemble long sticks and sometimes the riders are just standing on the horseback, without the structure of swords and wooden eggs). An example of such illustrations can be found in MS Paris, BnF, ar. 2824 (15th c.), f. 17r, available online: (<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8422958j/f39.item> [last access: 10/06/2022]). See also the plates reproduced in Digard (dir.) 2002, pp. 78, 105, 107.

601-602. *Oppecinus De Luculo Ianue*: in the summer of 1308, Opizzino Spinola of Lucoli proclaimed himself the only captain of Genoa by deposing and imprisoning Bernabò Doria, who was his co-ruler in the traditional diarchy established for the government of the city. Following this coup d'état, many leaders of the Ghibelline families of the Doria (including Corrado and his son Pietro) and of the Spinola of San Luca, and of the Guelf families of the Grimaldi and the Fieschi, were forced to escape the city. In June 1309, those exiled families set aside their old antagonism, joined forces, and defeated Opizzino and his army at Sestri Ponente, forcing him to take shelter in the castle of Gavi (Goria 1962; Pavoni 2008, pp. 50-51, and note 20).

603-604. *Aurie cum Spinollis, Bozani et Guersi ... Extra civitatem*: the text refers to some of the exiled families. The Doria and the Spinola are well known, but no other source mentions the family names *Bozani* and *Guersi* in relation to this episode. *Guersi* is possibly to be referred to the 'Guerci' (recorded in the Genoese *Libri Iurium* of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as *Guercius*, *Guersius*, *Guersus*, *Guercius*, *Guerço*), a well-known Guelf Genoese family mentioned several times also in the *Annales Ianuenses* (AG, IV, pp. LXXII-LXXV and 65-72). The name *Bozanus* is quoted in a document dated 2 October 1317, drawn up between Corrado Doria and the commune of Genoa (*Libri Iurium*, 1/8, n. 1256), but seems less widespread.

608-609. *Qui cum fuisset ... In Gavidum castrum*: the betrayal of Opizzino and his escape to the castle of Gavi is also mentioned in the *Continuatio* of Jacopo of Varazze's *Chronicle*: «Illi vero de Auria cum pluribus nobilibus tam spinullis quam aliis etiam popularibus quibus non placebat dominium domini opicini exiverunt de Janua et in sasello preparaverunt exercitum et vertebant versus Januam. MCCCVIII die X iunii dictus dominus opizinus exiens de Janua obviam eis invenit se inter aliquos proditores et ideo fuge se se missit et reduxit se in Gavio. Dicti de Auria cum aliquibus de spinullis grimaldis et aliis multos populares destruentes Januam intraverunt et ordinaverunt statum gubernatorum quod statum comune appellavarunt» (*Cont. JdV*, p. 501). The detail is not recorded in other ancient sources on this episode, such as the *Annales Ianuenses* (*Georgii et Iohannis Stellae AG*, p. 75), or Giovanni Villani's *Chronicle* (Villani NC, IX, cxiv, p. 465).

611. *Ianuam accedens ... turim de Vachis*: on the same day of June 1309, the Guelf and Ghibelline exiles entered Genoa, apparently without great losses.

615. *quarello fuit percussus*: the only other known source mentioning that Pietro Doria was killed by an arrow at the entrance to the city, beside the

Gate of the Vacca, is Guglielmo Ventura, in chapter XVIII (entitled *Divisio Ianuensium*) of his chronicle, where he records what follows: «Opecinus Spinola haec audiens venit ad Sextrum cum maiori quantitate militum et peditum, quam forenses praedicti essent, et praeliantes simul afflictus est Opecinus, et fugit in Gavium, et ex gentibus suis mortui fuerunt ibi plusquam ducenti, inter quos mortui fuerunt potestas Ianuae et Ansaldus Balbus de Castello. Eadem hora forenses praedicti Ianuam intraverunt, et non fuit qui eis resisteret, salvo quod Petrinus filius Corradi Auriae ex uno quadrello mortuus fuit ad Portam Vacharum», Ventura *Mem.*, col. 726 (see also Gorla 1962, p. 278, note 89, for the list of the ancient sources on this subject, and Musarra *supra*, p. 103). The Gate of the Vacca (also known as the 'Porta di Santa Fede') is still standing; it was built in the twelfth century, but has been modified many times since then (Cervetto 1903).

623-624. *Si prescirentur ... putat:* «Si presciremus, que cunctis morte parantur, | multa timeret homo, que sibi tuta putat», Hilka 1911, p. 71. These lines are taken from an epitaph related to the death of Alexander the Great, in which a series of comments on the inevitability of death are gathered. According to a Jewish tradition «when Alexander was dead and buried in his golden sarcophagus, a number of philosophers collected round the tomb, and produced each in turn sententious comments upon the futility of man in face of death. Wherever this episode appears it is a copy or an abridgement of the Oriental version and its earliest appearance in Europe is in the *Bocados de Oro*, the *Disciplina Clericalis*, and the P^o *Historia de Preliis* interpolations. From the *Disciplina Clericalis*, this episode passed into books of *exempla* [...] and proved itself very attractive. The later books of *exempla* tended to abbreviate these comments upon the inevitability of death, perhaps because the compilers and the preachers knew them too well to be reminded of them all in their memoranda» (Cary 1956, pp. 151-152). Cfr. also Necchi 1992, p. 171.

631. *Qui paciens ... magnam:* «qui paciens est multa gubernatur prudentia», Prv 14:29.

635. *Paciens ... eris:* a similar motto is recorded in a fourteenth-century schoolbook, «Si paciens fueris cetera victor eris» (Internullo 2020, p. 152).

655-656. *Auro ... Nichil:* «Auro quid melius? iaspis. quid iaspide? sensus. quid sensu? ratio. quid ratione? deus», *Anth. vet. lat.*, p. 48, n. 133; «Quid melius auro, iaspis, quid iaspide sensus. | Quid sensu ratio. quid ratione nichil», Zamuner 1998, p. 933. See also Walther *Init.*, n. 1848, and Werner 1912, p. 6, nn. 140-141. This distich is often found together with the one at ll. 182-183 above (see the note to these lines for further bibliography).

664-665. *Capitulo ... aqua:* «memoria iusti cum laudibus et nomen impiorum putrescet», Prv 10:7.

672-673. *filiam unam De Portonariis Franceschino:* in 1306 Opizzino married his daughter Argentina to Theodorus Paleologus, son of the emperor Andronicus II, who became marquis of Monferrato (Deza 1694, p. 186; Caro 1974-1975, II, p. 332; Toniolo - Podestà 1991, p. 55). At the current state of research there is no evidence of the existence of a second daughter that Opizzino would have married to Franceschino de' Portonari. However, we have proof of the presence of a 'Portinari/Portonari/Portonaro' family in Genoa. MS coll. 2229/II/44 (18th c.) of the Biblioteca della Società Economica of Chiavari containing Carlo Garibaldi's *Delle famiglie di Genova antiche e moderne estinte e viventi, nobili e popolari*, records in 1308 a «Francesco Portinaro Abate del popolo in Genova» (III, pp. 2144-2145). Poggi (1900, p. 215) records the same Francesco Portinaro as 'abate del popolo' in Genoa, but in the year 1332 (see also Rao 2006, p. 281).

680. *Antoniotum de Ricus:* the family name 'Ricci, Rissi' or 'del Risso', is known in Genoa since the twelfth century, although the name 'Antoniotus' is not recorded anywhere (cfr. Genoa, Biblioteca civica Berio, MS X.2.167/169: Stefano Agostino Della Cella, *Famiglie di Genova antiche e moderne, estinte e viventi, nobili e popolari*, III, pp. 350-356).

688. *Qui ... multa:* «Quia omnis qui se exaltat humiliabitur et qui se humiliat exaltabitur», Lc 14:11.

689. *Ubi ... magna:* «ubi autem humilitas ibi et sapientia», Prv 11:2; Faba *Sd*, p. 372.

691-692. *Sapientis ... ebullit ipsa:* «lingua sapientium ornat scientiam os fatuorum ebullit stultitiam», Prv 15:2; Faba *Sd*, p. 373.

693-694. *Quam vires ... tenetur:* «melior est sapientia quam vires et vir prudens magis quam fortis», Sap 6:1; Faba *Sd*, p. 371. Cfr. Silvestre 1962, p. 256, note 4.

695. *Orbis ... eorum:* «multitudo autem sapientium sanitas est orbis terrarum et rex sapiens populi stabilimentum est», Sap 6:26; Faba *Sd*, p. 371.

696. *Est sapientia ... lucente:* «enim haec [sapientia] est speciosior sole et super omnem stellarum dispositionem luci comparata invenitur prior», Sap 7:29; Faba *Sd*, p. 371.

701-702. *Intulit ... Christi:* see I, III, 5 and note.

724. *Qui bonis ... erit:* «Invidus est qui alienis affligitur bonis; sapiens autem bonis non affligitur alienis», Boethius, *De differentiis topicis* (PL, LXIV, 1185).

725. *Est ... prosperitate*: «Invidus est qui tristatur de prosperitate bonorum», *Auct. Aristotelis*, p. 323.

726. *Invidiam ... iniquos*: «Invidiam fugias, morsusque sororis iniquae», *AdS Elegia*, IV, 169 (as explained by Fossati, *sororis* should be interpreted as 'slander', *ivi*, p. 95).

727. *Invidiam ... memento*: «Invidiam nimio cultu vitare memento: quae si non laedit, tamen hanc sufferre molestum est», *Disticha Cat.*, II, 13.

743-744. *Amico ... comparandus*: «amicus fidelis protectio fortis qui autem invenit illum invenit thesaurum amico fideli nulla est comparatio et non est digna ponderatio auri et argenti contra bonitatem fidei illius», *Sir* 6:14-15; the first sentence is also recorded in *Faba Sd*, p. 376.

752. *imperator Henricus de Luciburgo*: the text evokes the arrival of the emperor Henry VII of Luxembourg (c. 1273-1313) in Genoa in 1311, after having been crowned king of Italy in Milan and having received the oath of fealty from Lombard communes (Bowsky 1960, pp. 132-153; Assini 1988a). «Il re entrò in città il 21 ottobre 1311, con seicento cavalieri [...] e i genovesi lo accolsero riservandogli grandi onori» (Guasco 2015, p. 128). The lordship of Genoa was officially entrusted to the emperor on 22 November 1311 (Cognasso 1973, pp. 234-235; Petti Balbi 2014).

759. *de fumo dederunt*: the expression has the same meaning as *fumum vendere* 'to sell smoke', i.e. 'to make empty promises' (Baldwin 1985; Linderski 1987; Tosi 2017, n. 348).

762. *podere*: neuter noun, recorded by Blaise (in *DLD*, s.v.) as a *vox Italica* meaning 'power'.

780. *Bonorum ... ipsa*: «Quomodo radix omnium malorum est cupiditas, sic radix omnium bonorum est caritas», Augustinus *Enarr. in Psal.*, CX, 8.

785. *Vir ... politus*: recasting of the sentence «Vir bene vestitus pro vestibus esse peritus | Creditur ex mille, quamvis idiota sit ille», Walther *Prov.*, n. 33505; cfr. also Walther *Init.*, n. 20386.

788. *Princeps Robertus*: Robert of Anjou (1277-1343), who will become king of Naples in 1309, after his father's death.

791. *tres ... nobiliores rabini*: it is well known that Robert of Anjou was a patron to Jewish philosophers and Jewish translators of theological or philosophical texts, such as Calonymus ben Calonimos ben Meir (1287-post 1328), Shemaryah ben Elia from Creta (c. 1275-1355), or Jehudah Romano (c. 1292-1330). Cfr. Sirat 1983, pp. 363-365; Sirat 1989, pp. 175-176; Zonta 1996, pp. 76-88, 229-232, 239-245; Kelly 2003, pp. 28-29.

808. *O patrie ... omnes:* «O patriae natalis amor, sic allicis omnes», GdC *Alexandreis*, I, 365.

809. *Sola ... volentes:* «Sola tamen reuocat patriae dulcedo uolentes», GdC *Alexandreis*, I, 370.

810-814. *Conuenit ... Deum:* this passage closely follows the beginning of ch. 9 (*De regis sapientia et religione, et intecione finali quam debet habere*) of the *Secretum secretorum*: «Primo et principaliter conuenit regi quantum ad seipsum, ut fama sui nominis divulgetur in laudabili sapientia, et quod cum suis hominibus raciocinetur sapienter, quia inde laudatur et honoratur, inde timetur ab hominibus, quando vident eum in sua sapientia eloquentem esse, et in operibus prudenter agentem. Porro de leui potest sciri, et per cetera signa apprehendi, an in rege sapientia vel insipientia dominetur, quia quicumque rex supponit regnum suum diuine legi dignus est regnare et honorifice dominari. Qui verum in seruitutem redigit Dei legem, subiciens eam suo regno et imperio, transgressor est veritatis et contemptor diuine legis. Qui vero contempnit legem, ab hominibus qui sunt in lege contempnetur, quia condempnatus est in lege. *De Regis religione.* Dico iterum quod sapientes philosophi et diuinitus loquentes dixerunt quod imprimis deceat regiam maiestatem obtemperare se legalibus institutis, non in ficta apparencia set in firma et vera facti evidencia, ut cognoscant omnes ipsum Deum timere excelsum, et esse subjectum diuine potencie. Tunc enim solent homines reuereri et timere regem quando vident ipsum timere et reuereri Deum», *SS*, p. 47. Cfr. also *SS* (ed. Möller), p. 32. – *domino rege A.*: the capital letter could be referred to the already mentioned Henry VII of Luxembourg (A[rrigus], i.e. Henricus), but, since the identification is uncertain, we keep the text as it is in the manuscript.

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