

## Gilbert of Airvau's Verses on the Holy Eucharist

Attention was first drawn to this poem by Philippe Labbe who reported that he had learned of its existence « ex Petaviano Indice<sup>1</sup> », an index or catalogue of the collection of Alexander Petau, most of which found its way into the Queen of Sweden's collection now at the Vatican. The alphabetical index of Petau's collection, made in 1645, was printed by Montfaucon, and it includes the entry : « Gisleberti Aureae-Vallis Abbatis Carmen de Eucharistia<sup>2</sup> ». The poem was printed by Hauréau in 1849, but, as shall be shown, the MS from which he drew his text was inaccurate to the point of absurdity.

### *The Author :*

The correct identification of the author of the poem was long postponed by Labbe's statement that Gilbert, the abbot of Aurea-Vallis, was a Cistercian. He was doubtless brought to this assumption because he identified Aurea-Vallis with the Cistercian abbey of Orval<sup>4</sup>. That Labbe might be in error was suggested by de Visch who pointed out that the name Gislebertus is not found in the list of the abbots of Orval<sup>5</sup>. It remained for Hauréau finally to set aside Labbe's incorrect description

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1. P. LABBE, *Nova Bibliotheca MSS. Librorum*, Paris, 1653, p. 59.

2. B. DE MONTFAUCON, *Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum Manuscriptorum Nova*, I, Paris, 1739, p. 64. For the identification and date of the catalogue printed by Montfaucon see J. BIGNAMI-ODIER, *Le Fonds de la Reine à la Bibliothèque vaticane*, coll. *Studi e Testi* 219, p. 181, n. 1.

3. B. HAURÉAU, *Versus Gisleberti, abbatis Aureae Vallis, de Eucharistia*, in *Bulletin du comité historique des monuments écrits de l'histoire de France* I (1849), pp. 281-284.

4. See L.H. COTTINEAU, *Répertoire topo-bibliographique des abbayes et prieurés*, II, Mâcon, 1937, cc. 2148-2149.

5. C. DE VISCH, ed., *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis*, 2nd ed., Cologne, 1655, p. 128.

of Gilbert and to establish the identity of the author of this poem with reasonable probability. Hauréau indicated that the Latin name Aurea-Vallis served also for the abbey of Airvau at which Augustinian canons had been established in 1084<sup>6</sup>. As Hauréau pointed out, the name of Gislebertus occurs second in the list of abbots of Airvau in *Gallia Christiana*<sup>7</sup>, and he was the recipient of a confirmation of the abbey's privileges and lands by Paschal II in 1112<sup>8</sup>. Labbe's error has, however, been perpetuated by Fabricius<sup>9</sup>, in spite of de Visch's warning, and by Chevalier<sup>10</sup>, though he cites Hauréau's article in his bibliographical entry. The most complete treatment of the author of this poem, Gilbert, abbot of the Augustinian abbey of Airvau, is that by Hauréau in the *Nouvelle biographie générale*<sup>11</sup>.

#### *Manuscripts :*

Hauréau printed Gilbert's poem from a 17th-century copy :

« ...c'est une copie des dernières années du xvii<sup>e</sup> siècle. Adressée par un bénédictin inconnu à dom Mabillon, elle se trouve à la Bibliothèque nationale, dans le paquet 48 du résidu de Saint-Germain<sup>12</sup> ». M. Vezin of the Bibliothèque nationale reports to me that *paquet* 48 has been dispersed among MSS latins 11584, 11585, 11586, 12580, and MS français 18540. A search through these considerable volumes seems not worthwhile since the exemplar of this copy is quite available. For it can be shown that the copy at Hauréau's disposal was made from Bibliotheca Vaticana MS Reg. lat. 598, f. 5. Mabillon's correspondent reported that his copy was made from a MS in the Queen of Sweden's collection<sup>13</sup>, and the extraordinary errors in this copy prove that it was derived from MS 598. The version of the poem in MS 598 is written with two succeeding verses per line ; thus reading from left to right one finds in the first line of f. 5<sup>r</sup> vv. 1 and 2, on the second line vv. 3 and 4, *etc.* Mabillon's correspondent seems to have thought that the page had been given a columnar arrangement and copied from f. 5<sup>r</sup> in the order vv. 1-3-5-7, *etc.*, and so on through v. 61, and then vv. 2-4-6-8, and so on until the end of f. 5<sup>r</sup> at v. 62. The copyist did not repeat his error in copying f. 5<sup>v</sup> and vv. 63-98 appear in Hauréau's text in the proper order. Why this error was not detected before Hauréau's time or by Hauréau himself cannot be guessed. The reprinting of the poem seems thus well justified.

6. *Op. cit.*, p. 281. For Airvau (or Airvault) see Cottineau, *op. cit.*, I, c. 39.  
7. 2nd ed., II, Paris, 1874, c. 1387.

8. *Gallia Christiana*, II, cc. 1387-88 = Jaffé, 2nd ed., 6333 = PL 163, 308-10.

9. J.A. FABRICIUS, *Bibliotheca Latina Mediae et Infimae Aetatis*, ed. J.D. MANSI, III, Florence, 1858, p. 53.

10. U. CHEVALIER, *Répertoire des sources historiques du moyen âge*, 2nd ed., I, Paris, 1905, p. 1775.

11. T. XX, Paris, 1857, cc. 751-752.

12. HAURÉAU, *Versus Gisleberti...*, p. 282.

13. *Ibid.*

The sources of the text are :

R = Reg. lat. 598, f. 5, a single folium written s. XII<sup>2</sup>. F. 5 no doubt became a part of MS 598 when its constituent *membra disiecta* were gathered together while in the possession of Paul Petau<sup>14</sup>. When he published the text of the poem Hauréau was unable to determine which of the Reginenses was the source of the copy available to him, for he reports that he was unable to discover notice of it in Montfaucon's catalogue of the Reginenses, though he did discover it in the index of the Petau collection printed by Montfaucon<sup>15</sup>. The poem is listed in the catalogue of MSS purchased by Queen Christina from A. Petau by Isaac Vossius<sup>16</sup>, and in the modern handwritten index and inventory of the *Reginenses latini*. Hauréau ultimately learned of the presence of the poem in MS 598 from a report by P. Ewald<sup>17</sup>, for he cites Ewald's report in the entry of the poem in his handwritten list of incipits preserved at the Bibliothèque nationale.

L = Bundesstaatliche Studienbibliothek, Linz, MS 308, f. 103, written s. XII<sup>2</sup>. Attention was brought to this text by J. Huemer who incorrectly reported that the poem occupied four folia and that its title gave the author as « Gisleberti clarae vallis abbatis<sup>18</sup> ». K. Schiffmann accurately described the MS in his typewritten catalogue of the MSS of the Studienbibliothek<sup>19</sup>. Dr. G. Winkler of the Studienbibliothek, who graciously provided me with a photo-copy of the poem, reports that the MS came to that collection from the monastery of Baumgartenberg<sup>20</sup>.

MS Vat. lat. 1972, f. 186<sup>r</sup> (s. XII *ex.*) contains diagrams accompanying Petrus Comestor's *Historia Scholastica*. At the bottom of this page only the first two verses of the poem are found. The catalogue containing the entry describing Vat. lat. 1972 lists the first verse of the poem in its list of incipits, incorrectly referring the reader to MS 1872<sup>21</sup>. No mention of these verses is made in the description of MS 1972<sup>22</sup>.

14. É. PELLEGRIN, « Membra Disiecta Floriacensia », *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* CXVII (1959), p. 55.

15. HAURÉAU, *Versus Gisleberti...*, p. 282. It is puzzling that Hauréau apparently failed to identify the Petau collection with the Reginenses. In the preface to his printing of the index of the Petau collection Montfaucon wrote : « Horum MSS. Codicum pars maxima in Bibliotheca Reginae Sueciae, cujus Catalogus praemittitur, habentur. Sed quia hic Catalogus accuratius concinnatus fuit, quam ille quae [*sic*] praecedit, et multa hic exprimitur, quae illic non component, multaque etiam clarius explicantur, hic apponere visum est. » (*Op. cit.*, p. 61).

16. Vat. lat. MS 8171, f. 17 (of the Antwerp Collection of MSS).

17. P. EWALD, *Reise nach Italien im Winter von 1876 auf 1877*, *Neues Archiv* III (1878), p. 153.

18. J. HUEMER, *Iter Austriacum I*, in *Wiener Studien* IX (1887), p. 75.

19. *Die Handschriften der öffentlichen Studienbibliothek in Linz*, 1935, p. 40. A microfilm of this catalogue is available in the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

20. See COTTINEAU, *op. cit.*, c. 284-285.

21. B. NOGARA, ed., *Codices Vaticani Latini* II, Rome, 1912, p. 466.

22. I am indebted to Professor B. Marti for locating these verses.

Another modern copy was reported by Hauréau in « volume MS 50 c des Blancs-Manteaux<sup>23</sup> » (now MS latin 17196 in the B.N.). Gilbert's poem is found on ff. 231-232, where it is reported that it was copied « Ex eodem ms. cod. [sc. Reg. lat. 1382, the former number of 598] 12<sup>o</sup> seculo exarato ». The second line of the version in this copy is v. 3, after v. 62 the lines are found in the correct order<sup>24</sup>. Thus the same error was made in the production of this copy as in the production of Hauréau's exemplar.

*The contents of the poem and its date :*

A brief synopsis of the poem will show that it is a summary exposition of the orthodox doctrine on the Eucharist which developed from the Berengarian controversy<sup>25</sup>. The reader is referred to the notes accompanying the poem for a sampling of possible sources and analogues to the poem's contents.

- vv. 1-10 : Introduction ;
- vv. 11-18 : the unity of the body of Christ in the Eucharist ;
- vv. 19-26 : the identity of Christ's eucharistic body with His historical body ;
- vv. 27-30 : Lanfranc's *ipsum / non ipsum* formula ;
- vv. 31-34 : Berengar's *sacramentum / res sacramenti* distinction ;
- vv. 35-44 : the efficacy of consecration independent of the merits of the celebrant ;
- vv. 45-56 : reception of the entire reality of Christ's body in the Eucharist not dependent on the dispositions of the recipient ;
- vv. 57-62 : the body of Christ received entire in the Eucharist ;
- vv. 63-70 : this foreshadowed by the manna of *Exod.* 16. 18 ;
- vv. 71-84 : condemnation of unorthodox views on the Eucharist ; exhortation to adherence to traditional, orthodox doctrine ;
- vv. 85-98 : hortatory conclusion.

The poem does not appear to be an epitome of any particular treatise arising from the eucharistic controversy, nor can a point by point dependency on any of the treatises be demonstrated. Yet the relationship of the poem to these prose works is a matter of more than passing interest in that the determination of the relationship may contribute to a more precise dating of the poem's composition.

A dependency (direct or indirect) on Lanfranc's *Liber de corpore et sanguine Domini* (c. 1059-62) is quite evident (see notes on vv. 27-30,

23. In *Nouvelle biographie générale* XX, c. 752.

24. I am indebted to M. Vezin for this information.

25. On this controversy see J. DE MONTCLOS, *Lanfranc et Bérenger : La controverse eucharistique du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Louvain, 1971 (extensive bibliography on pp. XXI-XLIII).

35-44). The insistence, however, on the complete presence of Christ in each particle of the eucharistic species (vv. 57-70) is regarded as a special contribution of Guitmund of Aversa in his *De corporis et sanguinis Domini veritate* (1075-78)<sup>26</sup>. Likewise, the special emphasis on the independence of the eucharistic reality of the dispositions of the celebrant (vv. 31-34) or of the recipient (vv. 45-46) recalls the considerable emphasis given these matters by Guitmund and Alger of Liège (*De sacramentis corporis et sanguinis dominici* [1110-1121]), though Lanfranc does deal briefly with the second of these items. The passage from Eusebius « Gallicanus » on *Exod.* 16. 18, the basis of vv. 63-70, is found in Guitmund and Alger, but not in Lanfranc. Dependence on Alger alone is not evident. Given, at least, a dependence on Guitmund's work, the poem must have been written sometime after its completion, 1075-78. If dependence on Alger's work were to be shown, the date of the poem, would have to be advanced accordingly.

The poem exhibits a considerable variety of rhymed hexameter verses. There are thirty-six *versus leonini*, seventeen sets of *versus caudati* thirteen sets of *versus collaterales*, and one set of *versus unisoni*. The reader will observe, however, that some of the rhymes are of one syllable only or somewhat imprecise in accent. The prosody of the poem is regular by later classical standards, the exception being *catholicorum* of v. 7. An element of dissonance is found in many of the hexameters due to the clash of ictus and accent in the fifth foot. This is often due to the termination of the verse with two dissyllabic words. Gilbert's verses cannot bear comparison to St. Thomas Aquinas' expository liturgical verses for Corpus Christi, neither for depth of feeling nor for precision and concision of exposition. Still, the poem is, in many respects, neatly made and it is of interest as a poetical counterpart to the prose pieces of the later orthodox polemic against the Berengarian teachings.

#### *The text of the poem :*

The text is that of L, with the orthography of the MS retained. Select variants from R are given in the apparatus. Since the punctuation of the text in both L, and R is inconsistent and therefore potentially misleading, modern punctuation has been introduced into the text. The grouping of the verses in the text follows that found in L, and R. In the notes to the text references to Lanfranc's *Liber de corpore et sanguine Domini* are to the version in PL 150, 407-442 (on editions of Lanfranc's work and the state of the text see de Montclos, pp. 249-261, 540-545); references to Guitmund's *De corporis et sanguinis Domini veritate* are to the version in PL 149, 1427-1494; references to Alger's *De sacramentis corporis et sanguinis dominici* are to the version in PL 180, 739-854. The editions from which passages from other works are derived will be given in the individual citations.

26. See DE MONTCLOS, pp. 462-463.

VERSUS DE CORPORE ET SANGUINE DOMINI A GISLEBERTO  
AUREAE VALLIS ABBATE CONPOSITI

- f. 103<sup>ra</sup> Agnus mactatus populi licet ore uoratus,  
Integer et uiuus regnat super ethera diuus.  
Iussu diuino dum missa pie celebratur,  
Sanguis de uino, corpus de pane craeatur.  
Constans est sanis quia fit christi caro panis, 5  
Vinum fit sanguis per quem uictus iacet anguis.  
Ista sacerdotum celebratio catholicorum  
Mortem commemorat qua nos deus in cruce saluat.  
Christus uiuendo patitur, uiuit patiando ;  
Et cum mactatur mors illi non dominatur. 10
- Altaris munus licet a multis capiatur,  
Est tamen est unus christus qui sacrificatur.  
Quamuis presbyteris comedatur ab omnibus agnus,  
Ipse tamen superis dominatur in ethere magnus.  
Quando percipitur christi cum corpore sanguis, 15  
Peccatum tegitur, teritur quoque lubricus anguis.  
Per sacramentum non corpora multa sed unum  
Fit, licet in toto fiat celebratio mundo.

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tit. VERSVS GISLEBERTI ABBATIS AVREE VALLIS R

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16 territur R

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vv. 1-2 : « Integer et uiuus... » : this phrase is found in Paschasius Radbertus (C.C. *Cont. Med.* XVI) II. 77 and runs throughout the literature of the Eucharistic controversy ; it is based on a statement attributed to St. Andrew in the apocryphal *Passio S. Andreae* (s. V) : « ...agnus qui sacrificatus est integer perseuerat et uiuus et cum uere sanguis eius sit bibitus' tamen ut dixi integer permanet et immaculatus et uiuus. » (*Passio S. Andreae Apostoli* ed. M. Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha* II 1 pp. 13-14). Attribution of this statement to St. Andrew is found in Lanfranc (421 C) and in Wolfelm of Brauweiler *Ep. de sacramento Eucharistiae* (PL 154 414 BC). Cf. Alger (784 C).

vv. 7-10 : Cf. Guitmund (1455 BD) : « Nam cum dicimus in celebratione Dominici corporis *Christus immolatur* nemo carnaliter haec secundum litteram debet accipere. *Christus enim semel mortuus jam non moritur, mors ei ultra non dominabitur* (Rom. VI). Sed dum passionem ejus missas celebrando memoramus, pro nobis olim mortuus designatur. Denique si quis dicat : Celebratio Dominici corporis est Dominica passio tanquam carnaliter sentiens a nobis repellitur. Non est enim celebratio ipsa Dominica passio sed Dominicae passionis jam peractae significativa commemoratio. »

vv. 11-18 : Guitmund (1435 A) : « Nam cum simul mille celebrentur missae, et sicut isti [sc. Berengariani] consentiunt, in omni missa est totum corpus Christi (dividi enim posse corpus Domini et ipsi negant) aut mille tunc erunt Christi corpora, aut fatebuntur nobiscum, uno eodemque tempore, mille in locis unum idemque Christi corpus totum et indivisum posse haberi. » ; Alger (785 AB) : « Quod igitur, ut sancti testantur, diversis locis, diversisque temporibus sacrificatur : non multa tamen corpora sed ubique unum Christi corpus est, quod a diversis sumitur, et unum idemque corpus integrum est,... ».

- Carnem non aliam constat peperisse mariam  
 f. 103<sup>r2</sup> Quam que mactatur per nos et sanctificatur. 20  
 Non aliud sed idem corpus fuit in cruce pridem  
 Quod nos mactamus, quod nos modo sacrificamus.  
 Idem potatur cruor a nobisque litatur,  
 Qui fuit in clara dudum fusus cruor ara.  
 Sic est credendum, sic toto corde tenendum, 25  
 Quod cruor est idem, corpusque quod in cruce pridem.  
 Hoc quod in altari iussit dominus celebrari  
 Apte non ipsum nos esse fatemur et ipsum ;  
 Non ipsum, speciem si cernimus exteriorem,  
 Ipsum, cum carnem nos credimus atque cruorem. 30  
 Hoc quod libamus binis constare probamus :  
 Re sacramenti sacramentoque patenti.  
 Est sacramentum uinum cum pane uocatum,  
 Res sacramenti pius est cruor et caro christi.

## 22 sacrificamur R

vv. 19-26 : St. Augustine, Sermo « De sacramentis in die Paschae », (ed. G. MORIN, *Misc. Agostiniana* I, Rome, 1930, p. 19, 7-9) : « Hoc agnoscite in pane, quod pependit de cruce : hoc in calice, quod manavit ex latere. » ; Paschasius, *Ep. ad Fredugardum* (CC, *Cont. Med.* XVI) 22 sqq. : « ...non aliam puto insinuasse carnem quam propriam et quae nata est de Maria uirgine et pependit in cruce, neque sanguinem alium quam qui fusus est in cruce et tunc erat in proprio corpore. » ; Lanfranc (411 BC) quotes one of Berengar's confessions of faith : « ...et post consecrationem esse verum corpus Christi, quod natum est de Virgine, et quod pro salute mundi oblatum in cruce pependit, et quod sedet ad dextram Patris ; et verum sanguinem Christi, qui de latere ejus effusus est... ».

vv. 27-30 : Lanfranc (430 C) : « ut vere dici possit, et ipsum corpus quod de Virgine sumptum est, nos sumere, et tamen non ipsum. Ipsum quidem quantum ad essentiam veraeque naturae proprietatem, atque virtutem ; non ipsum si spectes panis, viniue speciem... ». Later, 434 A, Lanfranc uses the same formula ; on his *ipsum/non ipsum* formulation see de Montclos, p. 450. The second use of this formula occurs after a series of quotations from St. Augustine, the last being from *Enarr. in Ps.* XCVIII, ending : « Non hoc corpus quod videtis manducaturi estis, et bibituri illum sanguinem quem fusuri qui me crucifigent. » (CC 39, pt. 2, p. 1386, 57-59). Alger (769 BC) quotes Augustine : « ...in epistola ad Irenaeum ita ait : ' Non hoc corpus...crucifigent. Ipsum quidem et non ipsum. Ipsum invisibiliter, non ipsum visibiliter.' ». Concerning Alger's incorrect attribution to Augustine of materials derived from Lanfranc see N.M. HARING, *A Study in the Sacramentology of Alger of Liège*, in *Mediaeval Studies* 20 (1958), pp. 52 sqq.

vv. 31-34 : Lanfranc (421 A) quotes Berengar's lost treatise (named by de Montclos *Scriptum contra Synodum*) : « Sacrificium Ecclesiae duobus constat, duobus conficitur, visibili et invisibili, sacramento et re sacramenti ; quae tamen res, id est Christi corpus... ». Lanfranc (421 BC) takes this up : « Hoc est namque quod dicimus, hoc modis omnibus contra te ac sequaces tuos approbare contendimus, sacrificium scilicet Ecclesiae duobus confici, duobus constare, visibili elementorum specie, et invisibili Domini Jesu Christi carne et sanguine, sacramento, et re sacramenti ; quae res (ut verbis tuis utar) est corpus Christi... » ; this distinction is found in Alger (753 A) worked into a quotation from Augustine.

Hoc sacramentum nunquam liquet esse sinistrum,	35
Etsi per prauum celebratur sepe ministrum.	
Sicut deterius non fit pro deteriori,	
Sic non fit melius pro presbytero meliori.	
In uerbis christi pendet benedictio tota,	
Qui presens offert se patri nostraque uota.	40
Idem mirifice benedicitur et benedicit	
Christus qui zabulum dependens in cruce uicit.	
Idem sacrificat per nos et sacrificatur,	
Secreto patitur licet in se non moriatur.	
Hoc sacramento nichil amplius aut minus ulli ;	45
Eque suscipiunt grandes homines et homulli.	
Non est peiori minus aut maius meliori ;	
Tantum peiores capiunt quantum meliores.	
Suscipiunt inquam sibi uerum corpus utrique	
Illius domini qui diuus regnat ubique.	50
Sed numquam prodest nisi iustis atque beatis	
Quos a peccatis fons exhonerat pietatis.	
Sicut perfectis ita uera datur caro prauis,	
Sed celos illis non pandit celica clauis.	
Et sicut doctis ita uera datur caro brutis,	55
Quamuis effectu careant fructuque salutis.	

vv. 35-44 : See Augustine, *Enarr. in Ps. CXLII*, 16, 28-29 : « Non malum est quod datur, sed bonum malo in iudicium datur. » Guitmund (1493 CD) : « Si autem propter indignum presbyterum nihil de pane et uino mutatum est, praevaluit igitur (quod absit !) iniquitas sacerdotis uerbis Domini Salvatoris, falsa est etiam fides Ecclesiae, quae et per bonos et per malos ministros uerba Domini credit aequaliter operari. » Alger complains of a current error (740 C) : « Alii autem gratiae Dei derogantes, dicunt sacerdotum malis meritis ita invocationem diuini nominis annullari, ut eorum indigna consecratione non debeat panis in Christi carnem uertere. » and states (802 B) : « ...non esse nobis noxium, si a nobis uel nobiscum mali male sumant sacramenta, cum Judas ab ipso Christo cum caeteris apostolis acceperit, nec etiam a prauis minus uere confici ipsa sacramenta, cum ipse proditor tanti officii ministerium a summo pontifice accipiens cum caeteris, *Hoc facite in meam commemorationem* audierit. »

v. 39 : cf. St. Ambrose, *De sacramentis* (IV. IV. 14, ed. Botte, *Sources chrétiennes* N° 25) : « ...ubi uenitur ut conficiatur uenerabile sacramentum, iam non suis sermonibus utitur sacerdos, sed utitur sermonibus Christi. Ergo sermo Christi hoc conficit sacramentum. »

vv. 45-56 : Against the opinion of Berengar found in the fragment of his *Epistola purgatoria* (ed. de Montclos, pp. 531-538), 47-51 : « Hoc Patres publice praeconantur, aliudque esse corpus et sanguinem, aliud corporis et sanguinis sacramenta non tacent ; et utrumque a piis, uisibiliter sacramentum, rem sacramenti inuisibiliter, accipi, ab impiis autem tantum sacramentum commendant... », Lanfranc wrote (436 D) : « Est quidem etiam peccatoribus, et indigne sumentibus uera Christi caro, uerusque sanguis, sed essentia, non salubri efficientia. » Alger (740 C) complains of the currency of this sort of error at his time : « Alii uero mutari quidem in carnem Christi, sed malis meritis sumentium non permanere carnem Christi, sed iterum reuerti in purum sacramentum panis et uini... » ; Guitmund (1491 B-1494 C) deals with this question at length, as does Alger (798 B-805 B).



Sanguine potati, carnisque cibo satiati,  
 Quod christum totum nos suminus est bene notum.  
 Partes non facimus, christumque secare nequimus ;  
 Totum suscipimus, totum super ethera scimus. 60  
 Corpus sacratum totum datur atque uoratur,  
 Quamuis distribui per particulas uideatur.

Hoc autem manna iam dudum significauit,  
 Quo dominus longuo iudeos tempore pauit.  
 Legis enim ueteris scriptura docet manifeste 65  
 Qua per multa noue legis fruimur loca teste.  
 Nullus habundabat qui plus gomor capiebat ;  
 Qui modicum quantum qui plus capiebat habebat.  
 Sic debet firme de uiuo pane teneri

f. 103<sup>v</sup> Quod minor aut maior pars non credatur haberi. 70

Hec homines multi sic se mirantur habere,  
 Et quia sunt stulti nituntur falsa docere.  
 Quando conspiciunt spetiem tantummodo panis  
 Nobis obitiunt quod nostra fides sit inanis.  
 Panem uisibilem contempnentes quasi uilem, 75  
 Corpus non credunt et ab hoc ut ab hoste recedunt.  
 Sed nos credentes, prauos homines fugientes,  
 Firmemus mentes, sanctorum dicta sequentes.  
 In norma fidei non discordemus ab illis,  
 Sed secreta dei reseremus clausa sigillis. 80  
 Omnes damnandos et in eternum cruciandos  
 Credamus uere qui nolunt ista tenere.

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79. norma *corr. ex normis* (is *expunx.* a *add. s. lin.*) L

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vv. 57-62 : Cf. Guitmund (1433 *sqq.*) and Alger (783 A-786 A) ; Guitmund (1434 AB) : « Possumus quoque dicere tantumdem esse in una quasi portiuncula, quantum erat in hostia tota. Sicut de manna legitur, quia nec qui plus collegerat, habuit amplius, nec qui minus collegerat habuit minus (*Exod. XVI*). Ita ergo tota hostia est corpus Christi. Nec tamen tres particulae separatae, sunt tria corpora, sed unum corpus... ».

vv. 63-70 : Cf. Eusebius « Gallicanus », XVII, 88-94 (CC 101, pp. 200-201) : « De quo pane, vetus narrat historia [Ex. 16, 18] *Nec qui plus collegerat habuit amplius nec qui minus parauerat repperit minus*, eo quod eucharistiae sacra perceptio non in quantitate, sed in uirtute consistat-quod corpus, sacerdote dispensante : tantum est in exiguo, quantum esse constat in toto ; quod cum ecclesia fidelium sumit : sicut plenum in uersis, ita integrum esse probatur in singulis *etc.* » ; quoted by Guitmund (1434 CD) and Alger (783 D-784 A).

vv. 71 *sqq.* : cf. harangues against the « Berengariani » *passim* in the orthodox works emanating from the eucharistic controversy. Alger (740 CD) declares that he will refute the current heresies « ...non humana quidem ratione, quae ad hoc non suppetit, sed ipsius Christi sanctorumque testimoniis, quibus Ecclesia roborata consistit, a quibus quo firmius ueram obtinet fidem, eo certius aeternam assequitur salutem... Videtur enim stultum, sed stultis, Christum in specie panis et uini, brutae scilicet rei, praesentem nobis corporaliter fieri... ».

Numquam saluus erit quisquis contrarius isti  
Cedere noluerit fidei de corpore christi.

Ergo si cupimus saluari sic teneamus,	85
Ne si negligimus cum damnandis peraeamus.	
Cum manibus nostris ad christum corda leuemus,	
Vt ueniam tribuat crebris precibus rogiemus.	
Ilius aduentu nos dignos efficiamus,	
Vt cum sanctorum regnare choris ualeamus.	90
Fructus perfectos uenia dignos operemur,	
Sicut preceptis diuinis sepe monemur.	
Corpore de christi predicta fides teneatur,	
Vt peccatorum pondus graue diminuatur.	
Ad tantum pignus non accedat nisi dignus,	95
Ne cumulet penam, requiem ne perdat amenam.	
Per corpus nati quicumque sumus satiati,	
Et pater et flamen sanctum nos protegat AMEN.	

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*post v. 98 add. man. alt.* Finis adest operis. mercedem posco laboris. L

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