



LEARNING AND PREACHING IN CENTRAL EUROPE: THE EVIDENCE OF A LATE MEDIEVAL RHYMING DECALOGUE¹

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Vernacular preaching was an essential element in the medieval culture of Central Europe, but it left few traces in written evidence. Besides analyzing medieval sermon and exempla collections scholars need to find other paths to this hidden field of orality. The analysis of preparatory school texts for preachers can also provide new evidence in the search for elements of orality behind the written material. The rhyming Decalogue, a preparatory school text for preachers, shows promise in this investigation for two reasons. First, it was used and transmitted with different commentaries over a large area of Central Europe (Bohemia, Germany, Hungary, and Poland).² Second, the Decalogue was used as the basic text for preparing for obligatory and regular confessions from the middle of the thirteenth century because the Ten Commandments provided a good framework for summarizing the moral teachings of the Church on the virtues and vices. In this context, the rhyming Decalogue can show the dissemination process of moral theology in Central Europe, the basis of the later Reformation, and the framework of the first expansion of vernacular literacy, which is otherwise difficult to follow in the sources. In spite of the potential of the rhyming Decalogue and its commentaries, these texts have not been published and have escaped scholarly attention so far. This article aims to show the dissemination function of the text and to follow three steps of this process: first, how a medieval student studied the school material in Esztergom, Hungary, in 1463; next, the role of universities and schools in disseminating knowledge via school texts; and finally, the possible recycling of knowledge on the basis of the extant copies of the Decalogue text, which took place usually via

¹ This study summarizes the social aspects of my MA thesis: Andras Németh, “A Latin Rhyming Decalogue in Fifteenth-century Central Europe: Textual Analysis in an Intellectual Context,” (Central European University, 2004) (hereafter: Németh). I would like to thank all those who helped me during my work, especially my external mentor Edit Madas and my supervisor László Veszprémy. I also acknowledge the generous help of CEU Tănasă Fund and *Pro Renovanda Cultura Hungariae* Student Science Foundation for funding my research in Cracow and Munich, and all the libraries for permitting me to use and publish their material.

² For a list of the extant manuscripts see *Appendix 1*.



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vernacular preaching. Before addressing these questions, it is necessary to make an overview of the significance of the Decalogue in the late medieval period.³

Although the Church Fathers and several authors of the early Middle Ages wrote influential passages on the Ten Commandments,⁴ the flourishing period of the Decalogue literature set in after 1215. After this date the Fourth Lateran Ecumenical Council obliged every Christian to confess his or her sins annually and receive the sacrament of the Eucharist at least once a year, at Easter (canon 21).⁵ Thereafter, the Ten Commandments served as a basis for preaching and teaching the virtues and vices. In the liturgy, Lent was the period for teaching catechetical knowledge, originally to prepare new converts for baptism, later to prepare laymen for their obligatory confession at Easter.⁶ Since this task required well qualified preachers, the Fourth Lateran Council accepted two other canons. Canon 10 ordered that a trained preacher should replace the bishop who had previously been responsible for preaching; canon 11 ordered that every cathedral school should have a qualified theologian and should provide free education for poor students, which was a significant step in the history of theological education of secular priests.⁷ The rhyming text functioned

³ On the late medieval Decalogue and catechetical literature, see Johannes Geffcken, *Der Bilderkatechismus des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts und die catechetischen Hauptstücke in dieser Zeit bis auf Luther. 1. Die zehn Gebote, mit 12 Bildtafeln nach Cod. Heidelb. 438* (Leipzig: T. O. Weigel, 1855) (hereafter: Geffcken); Eginio P. Weidenhiller, *Untersuchungen zur deutschsprachigen katechetischen Literatur des späten Mittelalters. Nach den Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek* (Munich: C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1965) (hereafter: Weidenhiller); Karin Baumann, *Aberglaube für Laien. Zur Programmatik und Überlieferung spätmittelalterlicher Superstitionenkritik*, Quellen und Forschungen zur Europäischen Ethnologie, vol. 6, 1–2 (Würzburg: Königshausen und Neumann, 1989), 11–99, 832–865; Miguel Lluch-Baixaül, *Formación y evolución del tratado escolástico sobre el decálogo (1115–1230)*, Université de Louvain, Bibliothèque de la Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique 80 (Louvain-La-Neuve: Collège Érasme Bureau de la Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, 1997) (hereafter: Lluch-Baixaül).

⁴ These works are collected in Lluch-Baixaül, 37–41.

⁵ “Concilium Lateranense IV a. 1215,” in *Conciliorum Oeconomicorum Decreta*, ed. J. Alberigo, J. A. Dossetti, P. P. Joannou, C. Leonardi, P. Prodi (Bologna: Edizioni Dehoniane, 1973), 230–271.

⁶ The Decalogue is emphasized in the Lenten liturgy in the Lection (Ex 20,12–24) and the pericope (Mt 15,1–20) of the mass in the middle of Lent (*quadagesima media*). Xavér Ferenc Szunyogh, OSB, *Latin–Magyar Missale* (Latin–Hungarian Missal) (Budapest, 1933), 507–543.

⁷ On the education of the secular priests see László Mezey, *Deákiség és Európa: Irodalmi műveltségünk alapvetésének vázlatja* (Literacy and Europe: the foundations of Hungarian literary culture) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1979), 175–193.



as a textbook for these students, who learned the techniques of preparing for vernacular preaching and later used this skill as priests.

The rhyming Decalogue from Esztergom, according to its commentaries, was composed by the rector of the Cracow chapter school, probably to teach future secular priests an expanded version of the catechetical Decalogue.⁸ The length of the poem is surprising, because other Latin Decalogue poems in the codices of medieval Hungary,⁹ in Walther's and Bloomfield's collections,¹⁰ and in most of the other collections elsewhere in Europe are short summaries of the

⁸ See the commentary in K₂ M₁ M₂ W: *Sed causa efficiens ultima fuit quidam doctor rector scole in castro cracovie qui hunc libellum compilauit librum M₁ (277^r) libellum K₂ (286^r) M₂ (213^r) W (57^r) metricè add. K₂ (286^r). K₁ (154^{ra}) gives *magister Florianus Cracoviensis Rector scole in castro*, who may be identified with Bishop Florian Mokrski, first rector of Cracow University, housed in Wawel Castle after its foundation. Zofia Budkowa, "Mokrski Florian," in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny, Mieroszewski Sobiesław-Morsztyn Władysław* (Polish biographical lexicon), vol. 21 (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy Imienia Ossolińskich Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1976), 600–602. *Slanoborius*, preserved in P₂ (1^v), does not seem to be more than the name of a teacher lecturing on this text.*

⁹ The first versified Decalogue preserved in Hungary occurs in the Pray codex, Budapest, National Széchényi Library, MNy. 1,16^v. I am grateful to László Veszprémy for mentioning the reference: Menyhért Zalán, "A Pray-kódex forrásaihoz" (The sources of the Pray codex), *Magyar Könyvszemle* 33 (1926): 260. This text is attributed to Petrus de Riga (d.1209), and treated as an excerpt from his *Aurora*, which was a popular versified version of the Bible; see it in Gustav Meyer and Max Burckhardt, *Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Basel. Beschreibendes Verzeichnis. Abteilung B: Theologische Pergamenthandschriften*, vol. 2 (Basel: Verlag der Universitätsbibliothek, 1966), 206–207; Morton W. Bloomfield, Bertrand-Georges Guyot, Donald R. Howard, and Thyra B. Kabealo. *Incipit of Latin Works on the Virtues and Vices, 1100–1500 A.D. Including a Section of Incipits of Works on the Pater Noster* (Cambridge, MA: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1979) (hereafter: Bloomfield), no. 5797–5798. The other rhyming Decalogue occurs in a codex, later used by the parish priest in Trencsén (Trenčín) (Upper Hungary) after 1440. Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Clm 379, 48^r–85^r. This text was finished by a certain Michael on 23 September, 1440. The codex is described by Emma Bartoniek, *Codices manu scripti Latini*, vol. 1, *Codices Latini mediæ ævi* (Budapest: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 1940) (hereafter: Bartoniek), 333–335; and Július Sopko, *Stredoveké latinské kódexy u slovenských knižniciach. Codices Latini mediæ ævi qui olim in bibliothecis Slovaciæ asservantur*, vol. 2 (Matica Slovenská, 1982), 64–65.

¹⁰ Hans Walther and Alfons Hilka, *Initia carminum ac versuum Mediæ ævi posterioris Latinorum: Alphabetisches Verzeichnis der Versanfänge mittellateinischer Dichtungen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Rupprecht, 1959) (hereafter: Walther), no. 18425, 4145, 4527, 5873, 5874; Bloomfield, no. 5784.



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Ten Commandments in four or five lines. Only vernacular poems and vernacular and Latin mixed didactic poems tended to be longer.¹¹

The Interaction of the Schoolmaster and Students in Esztergom

The Esztergom copy of the text (B) is a valuable document of how teenaged students preparing for the profession of secular priest studied a text in the cathedral school of the Hungarian archbishopric centre in 1463. This text, similarly to most of the other commentaries (P₁, P₂, K₂, M₁, M₂, W), consists of two parts: an explanation of the main text (with the glosses previously written above the lines of the main text) and a textual commentary, which sometimes became independent from the text it comments on. In this case the first part preserves a certain element of the oral work in medieval schools which is usually totally lost in school texts. Besides the valuable evidence of school activity that the Esztergom copy preserves, it may also exemplify the everyday life behind other copies because a description in the *Canonica visitatio* of 1397 provides detailed information on how the cathedral school of the archbishopric centre functioned.¹² This document says that the canon *sublector*, originally the assistant of the canon *lector*, was the leader of the cathedral school. With a few exceptions, he was obliged to give three lectures to the students each day. He was responsible for discipline, which could not have been easy judging from the rules of the school, which had special regulations for misbehaving students. The canon *succentor*, originally the assistant of the canon *cantor*, was responsible for preparing the students for liturgical singing. On these days, the canon *sublector* was exempted from giving lectures and keeping an eye on misbehaving students. He was obliged, however, to bring them to the main mass and vespers in the cathedral each day. What happened in the *sublector's* lesson when he lectured on the Decalogue?

The rhyming Decalogue belonged to the higher, so-called *schola maior*, level of the cathedral school where older students studied canon law, texts on the tasks of a parish priest, *computus*-astrology, and moral works of Classics or Aristotle, as was the practice in the Faculty of Arts at a university. At this level, the schoolmaster was free to choose the texts to be studied. Previously, in the *schola minor*, the students had already reached quite an advanced level of Latin and had some knowledge of *logica*, as an analogy with the school rules of Vienna

¹¹ See the German rhyming Decalogue texts in Geffcken, 149, 175–196, and Weidenhiller, 192–200.

¹² “Visitatio capituli E. M. Strigoniensis anno 1397,” ed. Ferenc Kollányi, *Történelmi Tár* 2. no. 1 (1901): 71–106, 239–272, (hereafter: *Visitatio*).



in 1446 exemplifies.¹³ A commentary attached to the popular *Doctrinale* of Alexander de Villa Dei explains how a schoolmaster should teach a versified text (printed in Buda, 1519):

It is worth mentioning that a good school rector should teach his students in the following way. First, they should learn to read the passage of the school text to be studied. Next, he should present and explain the grammatical structure of the verses, and then he should illustrate the meaning of the verses by clear words according to the capacity of the students so that they can bear new fruits of knowledge. Finally, they should explain the meaning of the words in German according to the wish of Alexander.¹⁴

Lines 21–22, as preserved in B (see *Fig. 1*), illustrate the process the *sublector* and the students used to work on the text. First, the students copied the main text from the sample copy of their teacher, probably together with most of the Latin glosses. They copied the commentary later, after having discussed the text in the schoolroom. The process of copying the subsequent parts corresponded to the learning activity: the irregular relationship between the location of the commentary and the text in the codex illustrates that the rhythm of copying the main text did not follow the rhythm of copying the commentary. The vernacular glosses (line 21: *meg aggjad awag meg wssed*: you should give; line 22: *mel dichwuer*: how gloriously),¹⁵ written with a sharp-nibbed pen, were attached to the text during the class when the master or the students explained the meaning of the particular word in vernacular Hungarian. Among these explanations, the vernacular gloss in line 22 preserved the first occurrence (1463) of word *discő*

¹³ About the structure of the cathedral schools, see István Mészáros, *Az iskolaiügy története Magyarországon 996–1777 között* (A history of education in Hungary between 996 and 1777) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1981) (hereafter: Mészáros), 109–128. The history of medieval education in Hungary is summarised generally by Remig Békefi, *A népoktatás története Magyarországon 1540-ig* (A history of the public education in Hungary until 1540) (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1906). See also his other book on cathedral schools in id., *A káptalani iskolák története Magyarországon 1540-ig* (A history of the chapter schools in Hungary until 1540) (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1910).

¹⁴ The passage is quoted from the book of Orbán Keym, Buda, 1519 (Esztergom, Cathedral Library Inc. II. 127. XVI). The reference is taken from Mészáros, 159.

¹⁵ These glosses were edited by Emil Jakubovich, “Két magyar glosszás bécsi kódex” (Two codices from Vienna with Hungarian glosses), *Magyar Nyelv* 23 (1927): 35–36 (henceafter: Jakubovich).

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B: 131r: Main Text (Fourth Commandment: lines 21-22)

bona tu refundas parenti existas ablatu aspectu dei
ut non
meg aggiad awag
meg wssed

[21] **Ista** (3) **rependas** (1) **ei** (2) **ne** (4) **sis** (5) **subtractus** (6) **facie** **Christi**

quam gloriose filio dei adiungeris uteris precepto
mel dichwuen

[22] **Quam** (1) **clare** (2) **Christo** (4) **socieris** (3) **si** (5) **frueris** **isto**

Ista bona tu
puer rependas id est refundas ei ne sis subtractor facie
id est aspectu Christi. Demum facit exclamacionem dicens: O quam clare id es
quam gloriose socieris Christo si tu frueris in isto precepto dei.

B: 130v: commentary

Fig. 1. Main text and commentary, B: 130v–131r



(glorious) in the Hungarian language.¹⁶ This custom fulfilled the requirement of improving both Latin and the vernacular, which was essential for preparing for later preaching. As a next step, the students tried to construct the meaning of the sentence. They attached numbers to the confusing word order of the verses, which follow the order of the explanation in the commentary, for instance, in line 22 but do not so in line 21. Consequently, almost all glosses occur in the commentary, demonstrating a strong connection between the commentary and the text.

The changing proportion of the length of the poem and the two types of commentaries are surprising. Commandments one to five have a relatively detailed commentary besides the strict textual explanation; commandments six to eight, however, have only short explanations, while commandments nine to ten completely lack the second type of additional commentary. From the fifth commandment onwards, where the prohibitive commandments begin, the main text ceases to have Latin and vernacular glosses, which coincided with shortening and omitting the detailed commentary after the textual explanation. Probably the master did not finish lecturing on the whole text. After leaving the cathedral school, most students went into the region to become parish priests, where they could profit from the rhyming Decalogue previously studied, or continued their studies at a university.

The Role of Universities and Schools in Disseminating Knowledge

Medieval students—like students nowadays—usually threw their school material away after leaving school. Even if they preserved these quires for later use, the educational material could hardly escape destruction. It was a rare occasion when school texts preserved or transmitted some traces of their former existence, as Porpáczy's letter¹⁷ and a few fragments¹⁸ from fifteenth-century Hungary exemplify.

¹⁶ *Régi Magyar Glosszárium. szótárak, szójegyzékek és glosszáék egyesített szótára* (Old Hungarian Glossary, A unified dictionary of vocabularies, word-lists, and glosses), ed. Jolán Berrár and Sándor Károly (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1984), 158.

¹⁷ In 1441, Lukács Porpáczy deposited twelve school books among his goods in a signed sack after receiving a position as a scribe in the royal chancellery in Buda. His letter of request (Budapest, National Archives of Hungary, Dl. 44318) is published in *Magyar Könyvszemle* (1888): 86–87. See its facsimile in *Kódexek a középkori Magyarországon: Kiállítás az Országos Széchényi Könyvtárban* (Codices in medieval Hungary: exhibition in the National Széchényi Library), ed. András Vizkelety, (Budapest: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 1985) (hereafter: *Kódexek*), 129–130, table 66.



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Medieval schoolbooks were usually preserved in a few paper quires sewn together with string and protected by a cheap paper binding. Later, the schoolbook, if it turned out to be useful, was bound together with other texts in a miscellany. Two extant codices of this kind, the only evidence for the medieval Esztergom cathedral school, demonstrate an intense intellectual life at this leading educational institution of medieval Hungary.¹⁹ One of them is a miscellany containing didactic poems by different authors with Latin and vernacular Hungarian glosses.²⁰ The colophons, dated between 1419 and 1423, give the name of one *magister* (Tamás Zákáni) who studied at Vienna University

¹⁸ The binding of a wine-tithe register from Sopron (1447) preserved a paper fragment of a medieval textbook, now in Sopron, Municipal Archives, Dl. 3325. It has been studied in detail by Károly Mollay, “Többsnyelvűség a középkori Sopronban. II. A latin nyelv (1352–1450)” (Multi-lingualism in medieval Sopron. II. The Latin language [1352–1450]), *Soproni Szemle* 21 (1967): 326–332. Another wine-tithe register (1435) preserved a parchment fragment of the Latin grammar of Aelius Donatus, now kept in Budapest, Hungarian National Archives, Dl. 35029, and discussed by Géza Érszegi, “Aelius Donatus latin nyelvtanának töredéke” (A fragment of the Latin Grammar by Aelius Donatus), in *A magyar iskola első évszázadai (996–1526), Az ‘1000 Éves a Magyar Iskola’ Országos Program győri kiállítása* (The first centuries of the Hungarian School (996–1996), The exhibition of the Project ‘Hungarian schooling is 1000 thousand years old’ in Győr, ed. Katalin Szende (Győr, 1996), 166, catalogue no. 72.

¹⁹ Although scholars refer to four codices as produced in the Esztergom cathedral school, only two of them seem to have definitely originated in Esztergom: Vienna, Schottenstift, Cod. Lat. 305, and Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Clm 410. There is no evidence that a third codex (Esztergom, Cathedral Library, MS. III. 184.) containing a treatise by Rupert of Deutz and a *Tractatus in Cantica Cantorum* copied around the 1160s–1170s, had ever been in Esztergom before Archbishop János Scitovszky purchased it in the middle of the nineteenth century. See Előd Nemerkenyi, “Cathedral Libraries in Medieval Hungary,” *Library History* 20, no. 1 (2004): 9–10. Another codex (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Lyell 70.), does not have certain evidence of its origin, although it is usually treated as a product of the Esztergom cathedral school. For a summary of the hypotheses on the origin of this codex see Előd Nemerkenyi, “Medieval Hungarian Glosses in MS. Lyell 70,” *Bodleian Library Record* 16, no. 6 (1999): 503–508.

²⁰ Vienna, Schottenstift, Cod. Lat. 305. Edit Madas, the editor of the Hungarian glosses in this text, separates six hands in the main text and at least four hands in the glosses. This codex is discussed in detail by Edit Madas, “Bécsi Glosszák” (The Vienna Glosses), *Magyar Nyelv* 77, no. 4 (1981): 506–510, and Edit Madas, “Esztergomi iskoláskönyv a XV. század első negyedéből” (An Esztergom schoolbook from the first quarter of the fifteenth century), in *Művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok a magyar középkorról* (Studies in the cultural history of medieval Hungary), ed. Erik Fügedi (Budapest: Gondolat, 1986) (hereafter: Madas), 159–175, 334–339.



in the 1410s and the names of four scribes who came from the Zagreb diocese and eastern Transylvania (Székelyföld). These distant places illustrate the attraction of the Esztergom cathedral school. The owner of the codex, Jakab Bélai, came from Szepesbéla (Spišská Belá, Slovakia) to Esztergom and was later registered at Vienna University in 1436. He brought his collection of schoolbooks with him and bequeathed the codex to the Scottish Monastery (Schottenstift), where it is housed now.²¹ This wide geographical distribution of students studying the text probably also applies to the other fifteenth-century schoolbook of Esztergom which preserved the Decalogue text to be discussed in this article.

This miscellaneous paper codex (B) consists of four separate units that were bound together, but not in the temporal order of copying.²² The rhyming Decalogue text and its commentary are a separate unit (VI^{127–138}) in the third part (127^r–151^v). According to its colophon, this school text was finished in Esztergom in 1463 (138^r).²³ The four separate parts were bound together after 1476 and the miscellany was presumably used until the early sixteenth century as a sample copy by the *sublector* in the teaching process described above. This conclusion is based on two texts in the codex. One of them is a weekday sermon (162^r–162^v) composed for the great feast when the antiphon “O sapientia” is sung (17 December). On this day, the *sublector* had the duty to preach in the cathedral in front of the clerics.²⁴ The other text is a sequence on Saint Adalbert,²⁵ the patron saint of Esztergom Cathedral, with special musical notations (224^r–224^v), written at the turn of the fifteenth century.²⁶ The vernacular Hungarian glosses of the codex, mainly preserved between the lines of the rhyming Decalogue text, strengthen the intellectual value of the

²¹ Vienna, Schottenstift, Cod. Lat. 305. Madas, 162–163.

²² Bartoniek, 370–376. She omitted a description of the quire structure of the manuscripts and an examination of the watermarks of the codex. The structure of the codex is analyzed in Németh, 33–35, 107.

²³ B 138^r: *Expliciunt decem precepta domini in scola strigoniensi M^o quaturcentesimo sexagesimo tercio etc.*

²⁴ *Visitatio*, 91–96.

²⁵ Budapest, Széchényi National Library, Clm 410. f. 224^r–224^v: *Corona sanctitatis et immortalitatis*. See the text in Ulysse Chevalier, *Repertorium Hymnologicum. Catalogue des Chants, Hymnes, Proses, Séquences, tropes en Usage dans l'Église Latine depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours*. (Louvain: Imprimerie François Centrick, 1892–1920) nr. 3931.

²⁶ Janka Szendrei, *A magyar középkor hangjegyes forrásai* (The musical sources of medieval Hungary), *Műhelytanulmányok a magyar zenetörténethez*, vol. 1, ed. Gábor Albert (Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Zenetudományi Intézete, 1981), 103, nr. F 327.



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manuscript.²⁷ The codex was kept in the Austrian National Library until 1932, when it was moved to Budapest.²⁸

The two extant schoolbooks of medieval Esztergom and that of László Szalkai, the chancellor of Hungary and archbishop of Esztergom (1524–1526), demonstrate that the universities of Central Europe played an essential role in the dissemination of school texts.²⁹ The evidence of the manuscripts suggests that the same texts were used at faculties of arts at universities, as well as in monastic, cathedral, and town schools. This may explain how a rarely used school text could spread over a large distance within a relatively short period, as happened with the rhyming Decalogue. A university student brought his or others' former schoolbooks to university, as Jakab Bélai did in Vienna. In vivid intellectual circles, not only ideas but also books were exchanged. The huge number of students from the region visiting different universities gave an opportunity for a text to be exchanged over hundreds of kilometres within a few years. Kinga Körmendy³⁰ and József Köblös³¹ agree that in the second half of

²⁷ These glosses are edited by Jakubovich, 35–36. The significance of the codex was discovered by János Csontos, "A bécsi udvari könyvtár hazai vonatkozású kéziratai" (Manuscripts related to Hungary in the Royal Library in Vienna), *Magyar Könyvszemle* 9 (1884): 157–158. The codex was exhibited among the most important manuscripts of medieval Hungary in 1986, see *Kódexek*, 156–157.

²⁸ A huge quantity of valuable codices relating to Hungarian history was moved from Vienna to Hungary according to the Venice Cultural Agreement in 1932. The difficult question of when this manuscript was moved from Hungary to Vienna is discussed by Kinga Körmendy, *A Knauz-hagyatékek kódextöredékei és az esztergomi egyház középkori könyvtárának sorsa* (Codex fragments of the Knauz bequest and the history of the medieval library of the Esztergom cathedral) (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtára, 1979), 29–33 and Csaba Csapodi, *A budai királyi palotában 1686-ban talált kódexek és nyomtatott könyvek* (Codices and printed books found in Buda Royal Palace in 1686), (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtára, 1984), 5–9, 54–57.

²⁹ Szalkai's school teacher, János Kisvárday, was registered in 1481 as a student in the Faculty of Arts in Cracow University and obtained a baccalaureate in 1484. In five years, he was already the teacher of the future archbishop in Sárospatak. This codex is discussed by István Mészáros, *A Szalkai-kódex és a XV. század végi sárospataki iskola* (The Szalkai Codex and the school of Sárospatak at the end of the fifteenth century) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1972).

³⁰ Kinga Körmendy, "Literátusok, magiszterek, doktorok az esztergomi káptalanban" (Literates, masters, and doctors in the Esztergom chapter), in *Művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok a magyar középkorról* (Studies in the cultural history of medieval Hungary), ed. Erik Fügedi (Budapest: Gondolat Könyvkiadó, 1986), 176–202.

³¹ József Köblös, *Az egyházi középréteg Mátyás és a Jagellók korában, a budai, fehérvári, győri és pozsonyi káptalan adattárával* (The middle class clergy in the period of King Matthias and



fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries the universities of Vienna, Cracow, and northern Italy were the most frequented by Hungarian students, whereas evidence for attendance at Prague University is lacking in this period.

The Possible Recycling of the Rhyming Decalogue

Although most of the copies of the rhyming Decalogue have been destroyed, some internal and external evidence of the surviving copies may help reconstruct the recycling and impact of this important school material. As internal evidence, the content of the rhyming Decalogue (see *Appendix 2*) and the commentaries offer valuable information. As external evidence, the structure of the codices can show why this text was important enough to be bound together and preserved with other texts.

The juxtaposition of *sapiens* and *rudis* in the introduction indicates a dialogue structure (line 3), the usual form of later catechisms, which is repeated at the end of the poem (lines 127–128). The central part of the text (lines 4–118) is divided into ten parts according to the commandments. The distribution of the passages of the text in manuscripts usually follows this division. At the end of the poem there is a concluding part (119–129). The commandments are explained by a “smart” speaker, a priest, as indicated in line 53 (*Sum fur, divino si quos in officio alienos foveo*). The whole text is a dialogue between this smart priest and the members of various groups of society,³² as expected from a catechism. The role of a preaching priest occurs in the preaching elements on the ninth commandment, especially in lines 90–112. First, the priest should refer to the Holy Scripture (line 90) and then he is informed how to teach the women proper prayers against vanities (90–95), like contemporary Franciscan and Dominican observant preachers.³³ The most interesting element of the poem is the exemplum of the lover nobleman (lines 99–112) who sold his soul to the

the Jagiellonian kings, database of the chapters Buda, Fehérvár, Győr, and Pozsony), *Társadalom- és művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok*, vol. 12 (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történettudományi Intézete, 1994).

³² The poem addresses several groups of society, specified especially when explaining the seventh commandment (lines 39–58): (a) servant, maidservant; (b) farmer; (c) craftsman, mechanic, clergyman; (d) priest; (e) judges, merchants, princes, knights.

³³ Margit Szlancsok, “A ferences és a domonkos obszervánsok luxuskritikája a XV. században” (Criticism of the observant Franciscans and Dominicans against luxury in the fifteenth century), PhD dissertation (Budapest: Eötvös Lóránd Tudományegyetem, 2002).



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devil to obtain a woman and was damned as a consequence.³⁴ The exempla were the usual elements of both didactic literature and preaching.³⁵ Besides referring to Canon 21 of the Fourth Lateran Council in lines 52–55, as another catechetical characteristic the poem incorporates several references to the seven virtues³⁶ and seven vices.³⁷ In addition, the divisions refer to other literary genres like sermons and treatises,³⁸ since they supported human memory and commentary composition.

A passage from the Esztergom commentary (B 127^v) on the third commandment, which seems to be different and independent from the others, is quoted here as good example of the purpose of the Esztergom commentary on the rhyming text:

³⁴ This exemplum does not occur in other sources but combines the elements of the popular legend of Theophilus, love magic with the help of the devil, and some other details of medieval religious tales. See Frederic C. Tubach, *Index Exemplorum: A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales*, (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia, 1969) (hereafter: Tubach), nr. 3566 and nr. 3572. Interestingly enough, the commentaries have different understandings of this exemplum: M₁ (291^v–292^r), M₂ (224^{r-v}), W (67^{r-v}) has the same understanding, F (186^{va}–187^{ra}) is similar to this group, K₁ (157^{rb}–158^{va}) is peculiar, B, K₂, P₁, P₂ have not preserved this part of the commentary, and Wo has not been consulted.

³⁵ Jean Thiébaud Welter, *L'exemplum dans la littérature religieuse et didactique du Moyen Age*, Bibliothèque d'histoire ecclésiastique de France, (Paris: E.-H. Guitard, 1927); Jacques Berlioz and Marie-Anne Polo de Beaulieu, eds., *Les 'exempla' médiévaux. Introduction à la recherche suivi des tables critiques de l'Index exemplorum' de Frederic C. Tubach*, (Carcassonne: GARAE/Hesiodé, 1992).

³⁶ Although the verse does not include the names of *invidia* and *ira*, the content refers to them (lines 67–70), only *acedia* is neglected. The poem does not speak of virtues directly except *fides* (lines 4, 34) and *iustitia* (lines 29, 30, 32), but refers to some of them indirectly: *caritas* (fourth to tenth commandments, especially the fourth), *prudentia* (lines 63–66), *temperantia* (lines 63–66), only *spes* and *fortitudo* are neglected.

³⁷ The vices are mentioned several times: *superbia* (line 82), *avaritia* (lines 43, 116), *luxuria* (lines 37, 103, 79–98), *gula* (lines 6, 47). See the medieval practice in John Bossy, “Moral Arithmetic: Seven Sins into Ten Commandments.” In *Conscience and Casuistry in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Edmund Leites (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 214–234; Carla Casagrande and Silvana Vecchio, “La classificazione dei peccati tra settenario e decalogo (secoli XIII–XV),” *Documenti e studi sulla tradizione filosofica medievale* 5 (1994): 331–395.

³⁸ *Primum, secundum, tertium* etc. Line 23: *Iste parens quadruplex...*; line 26: *occisio... bina*; line 31: *occisio... triplex*; line 33: *tribus modis*; line 36: *sensibus...: auditu, tactu, visu*; line 63: *sex fingas...*; lines 119, 129: *decem*.



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Idcirco qui iam paucissime seruare curant inter christianos decem precepta Dei, ideo dominus punit eos diuersimode: nunc per tempestatem, nunc per siccitatem, nunc per grandinem, per uredinem, nunc per pestilenciam, nunc per primum consilium, nunc per finem, nunc per dumosum, nunc per incendium, nunc per spoliū, nunc per latrinium, nunc per captatorem, per infirmitatem, per orbatorem puerorum uel amicorum uel populū nostrum. Hec omina veniunt, quod dei precepta seruare non curant.

Independent from the main text and also from the commentaries in the other copies of the rhyming Decalogue, it addresses peasants, the largest social group of fifteenth-century Hungary. At that point, the Esztergom commentary obviously prepared students for vernacular preaching. A deeper investigation and analysis of all the commentaries on the rhyming Decalogue text may reveal much more about the purpose and possible recycling of these pieces of writing.

As external evidence, the codices are valuable narrators of the real recycling of extant copies. Only a few of them are the remains of real schoolwork; most of them are later transcriptions of former school copies. The Esztergom copy (B) and one Cracow copy (K₂) are the only examples of recycling a real school text. In codex B, the vernacular Hungarian glosses and the position of the Decalogue in the codex indicate that this passage was a result of real schoolwork. K₂ preserves some early sixteenth-century corrections of missing lines of the original text (290^v), which document the re-use of the text in Cracow.³⁹ K₁ preserves the traces of former schoolwork; here the Decalogue commentary was originally produced in a Polish school, as a previously undiscovered vernacular Polish word (K₁, 154^{ra}: *non mechaberis volgariter nȳ/Źnycȳ/ŹŹ/Ź*) suggests, which is among the earliest occurrences of this form in mid-fifteenth century.⁴⁰ Some other copies also preserve characteristics of previous schoolwork: interlinear glosses (in all copies but usually not throughout the entire text), the numbers rearranging the word order of verses (B, M₁), and the independent position in a codex (B, F, K₂, P₂, W). All the other copies besides B and K₂ have some characteristics indicating that the existing copy is not the result of learning activity. They do not have all the criteria mentioned above: K₁ with its vernacular Polish gloss and M₁ with its rearranging numbers are not independent units in the codices; without a codicological examination of codices F, P₁, and W, it is impossible to decide whether they are school texts or

³⁹ See the description of the codex in Németh, 38–40, 108–109.

⁴⁰ I am grateful to Dagmara Wójcik for deciphering the vernacular Polish gloss. “Nieczyścić” (Fornication), in *Słownik Staropolski, (Na-Naportliny)* (Old Polish Dictionary), vol. 5, ed. Stanisław Urbańczyk (Wrocław, Warszawa and Cracow: Polska Akademia Nauk, 1965), 168–169.



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later copies of a school text. Wo is a surprising recycling of the commentary; this copy omits the main text, which shows that the commentary was much more useful later than the rhyming text itself.

Some extant codices also reveal the circumstances of recycling a Decalogue text. B was used as a school text in the Esztergom Chapter school and K₂ was used in Cracow at the turn of the fifteenth century. M₂ is a copy by Johannes Hune, finished on 22 June, 1464 (225^v). He was the abbot of Prüfening (1468–1482),⁴¹ a Benedictine monastery near Regensburg, having been an active copyist before his abbotship (1452 to 1468).⁴² According to the hagiographical text of K₁, the Decalogue here was probably used as teaching material in a Dominican friary. In most cases, the codex preserving the Decalogue contains some sermons as well. It is probable that F belonged to Johannes Hune, parish priest of Büchold, who copied another catechetical sermon on the seven sacraments into the same quire containing the rhyming Decalogue.⁴³

Conclusion

Medieval education, although criticised for the opposite, did prepare students in many ways for their later tasks in life. This was the function of the rhyming Decalogue. The cooperation of the teacher and the students in studying this schoolbook served a threefold purpose: teaching the content of the commandments (a combination of the Decalogue with the virtues and vices), improving linguistic skills (both Latin and vernacular), and developing the skills of sermon composition. This practice provided a solid background for broadening and deepening the awareness of Christian faith in society. Thus, the rhyming Decalogue spread and reached much wider audiences than the small circle of a classroom.

⁴¹ Laurent Henri Cottineau, OSB, *Répertoire Topo-Bibliographique des Abbayes et Prieurés*, vol. 2 (Maçon, 1939; reprint: Turnhout: Brepols, 1995), 2369–2370.

⁴² Munich, *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*, Clm 12027, 12028, 12029, 14553, 27423, 12030, 13080. See Kopp's codices in Christine Elisabeth Ineichen-Eder, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, vol. 4. no. 1: *Die Bistümer Passau und Regensburg* (Munich: Beck, 1977), 127, 411; Bernard Bischoff, "Studien zur Geschichte des Klosters St. Emmeram im Spätmittelalter (1324–1525)," in Bernard Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien. Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte*, vol. 2 (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersmann, 1967), 115–155.

⁴³ Regina Hausmann, *Die Handschriften der Hessischen Landesbibliothek Fulda*, vol. 1. *Die Theologische Handschriften der Hessischen Landesbibliothek Fulda bis zum Jahr 1600, Codices Bonifatiani 1–3, Aa 1–145a*, (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1992) (hereafter: Hausmann), 220–224.



Appendix 1: The extant manuscripts of the Decalogue text

- B = Budapest, National Széchényi Library. Clm 410. fols 127^r–138^r; see its description in Bartoniek, 370–376. The text was copied in the Esztergom Chapter school in 1463.
- P₁ = Prague, National Library. I. E. 29 (214) fols 1^r–31^r; see its description in Josephus Truhlař, *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum Latinorum qui in C. R. Bibliotheca Publica atque Universitatis Pragensis asservantur, vol. 1* (Prague: Sumptibus Regiæ societatis scientiarum Bohemicæ, 1905), 81–82, and *Memoriæ Mundi Series Bohemica*. [<http://database.aipberoun.cz/engine/memoria.cgi>], 2001, accessed 25 September 2003.
- P₂ = Prague, The Archive of the Metropolitan Chapter. O 43 (1627) fols. 1^r–13^r; see its description in Antonín Podlaha, *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum, qui in archivo capituli metropolitani Pragensis asservantur* (Prague, 1923), 513–514.
- F = Fulda, Hessische Landesbibliothek, Aa 112. f. 178^{ra}–187^{vb}; see its description in Hausmann, 220–224.
- M₁ = Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. Cgm. 690. fols. 277^r–293^v; see its description in Karin Schneider, *Die deutschen Handschriften der bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München*, vol. 5, no. 4, Cgm 501–690, Codicos Germanicos 501–690 complectens (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1978), 421–432.
- M₂ = Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. Clm 14553. fols. 213^r–225^v; see its description in Carolus Halm, Fridericus Keinz, Gulielmus Meyer, and Georgius Thomas, *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecæ Regiæ Monacensis*, vol. 4, no. 2 (Munich: Bibliotheca Regia, 1876; reprinted: Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1968), 191–192.
- K₁ = Cracow, Bibliotheca Jagellonica. 554. fols. 154^r–158^r; see its description in Maria Kowalczyk, Anna Kozłowska, Mieczysław Markowski, Zofia Włodek, Jerzy Zathay, and Marian Zwiercan, *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum mediæ aevi latinorum qui in Bibliotheca Jagellonica Cracoviæ asservantur*, vol. 3 (Wrocław: Institutum Ossolinianum officina Editoria Academiae Scientiarum Polonae, 1984), 356–374.
- K₂ = Cracow, Bibliotheca Jagellonica. 2141. BB VI 14. fols. 286^r–290^v; see its description in Władysław Wisłocki, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecæ Universitatis Jagellonicae Cracoviensis*, vol. 2 (Cracow: Typis Universitatis Jagellonicae, 1877–1881), 516–517.
- W = Wrocław, University Library. IV. Q. 104. fols. 57^r–68^v; see its description in Willi Göber, *Katalog rękopisów biblioteki uniwersyteckiej we Wrocławiu* (Manuscript Catalogue of University Wrocław), T. 21, Photocopy.



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Wo = Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, 35. 1. Aug. Qu. (3409) fols. 68^r–82^v; see its description in Otto von Heinemann, *Die Handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel, Zweite Abteilung, Die Augusteischen Handschriften*, vol. 5 (Wolfenbüttel: Verlag von Julius Zwißler, 1903), 4–5.

Appendix 2: The Text of the Rhyming Decalogue⁴⁴

	Qui non transcendit mandata Dei, bene tendit, Et nisi perpendit ea quis bene, se male vendit. Que si pretendit sapiens, rudis hec cito prendit.	P ₁ 2 ^r
I	Idola non cures sumptaque fide bene dures.	P ₁ 2 ^v
5	Vive Deo soli, quid amat caro, querere noli. Istud non servat gula, sculpta colensque cupido.	
II	Per Dominum vendens consueto sermoneque iurans, Confirmo falsum si Christi sanguine cas[s]um, Sic facio †que sequens† sum[m]endo nomen inane.	P ₁ 3 ^v
III 10	Tercium mandatum: sabbataque quod celebremus. Sabbata mutantur, dominice dum celebrantur. Hoc si servatur, Deus ista die rogitatur. Mandatum triplex hoc violat populus:	P ₁ 5 ^r
15	Hic manuale parat, sordibus ille vacat, Hic coreis servit et per mala verba protervit.	P ₁ 5 ^v

4: Walther, nr. 8661, nr. 18425 (*Idola non cures*)

4–5: *Ex* 20,2–5; *Dt* 5,7–11; *Dt* 6,4.13–14; *Io* 13,34; *Lc* 4,8; *Lc* 16,13; *Mt* 4,10; *Mt* 6,24; *Mt* 22,37; *Mc* 12,29–31

6: *Phil* 3:19 (*quorum deus venter est*); *Dt* 4,15–16

7–9: *Ex* 20,7; *Dt* 5,11; *Dt* 6,13; 6; *Mt* 5,33–34.37;

10: *Ex* 20,8–11; *Ex* 31,15; *Dt* 5,12–15; *Gn* 2,2; *Ps* 118,24; *Mc* 2,27–28

⁴⁴ According to the detailed analysis of the variant readings of the manuscripts, P₁ gives the earliest, the most consistent, and the most understandable version of the rhyming Decalogue. Since this text has not been published so far, this redaction will serve as a sample to aid the reader to identify the references of the article. The text follows the spelling of the manuscript. I gave all variant readings and their detailed analysis in Németh, 53–83.



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- IV** Quartum preceptum, fieri quod cernitur artum: P₁ 7^r
Hos non turbabis, quorum puer esse probaris,
Ymmo focolabis, valeas quousque, iuvabis.
Qui bona contul[er]it et mala protul[er]it ampla fovendo:
- 20** Pavit, nutrit, custodivit, bona dedit,
Ista rependas ei, ne subtractus faciei
Aspectu Cristi, sociaris diroque hosti.
Iste parens quadruplex, cui est venerancia danda:
Christus, carnalis, baptizans, spiritualis.
- V** **25** Non occidamus, quintum iussum teneamus. P₁ 8^v
Factis et lingwis est hys occisio bina.
Occisor lingwa fit consilio sive iussu:
Consilio Cayphas suo te, Christe, necavit,
Iussu perverso multi multos cruciantur.
- 30** Sic fecit David, Uriam quando necavit.
Est triplex facto, quod nunc tibi tradere tracto:
Iudicio prawi fit, auxilio, propria vi. P₁ 9^r
Spiritus inde modis tribus istis ecce necatur:
Usuras faciens, mortale scelus, male credens.
- VI** **35** Sexto mandatur, ne quis mechus efficiatur. P₁ 11^r
Illicite tangens mea membra vel tua mechor,
Mente tenens luxum vel tractans sensibus ipsum:
Auditu, tactu, visu mechabor et actu.

17: *Ex* 20,12; *Dt* 5,16; *Eph* 6,1–3

18: *Eccli* 3,3–7.14–15.18

19–20: *Prv* 6,20–22

21: *Eccli* 7,28–30 – 25: *Ex* 20,13; *Mt* 5,21–22; *Gn* 9,5–6

28: Augustinus, “Epistolae, 36,13,” in *CSEL* 34.2, 60

25: *Ex* 20,13; *Dt* 5,17; *Mt* 5,21–22; *Rom* 13,8–10

30: *2 Sm* 12,9

35: *Ex* 20,14; *Dt* 5,18; *Mt* 5,27–28; *Rom* 13,8–10; *1 Cor* 5,1.3–5

36: Augustinus, “Contra Iulianum opus imperfectum,” in *PL* 45, 1453

37: *Mt* 5,27–28



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- VII** Cum quidquam rapio non volente possessore, P₁ 14^r
40 Tunc furtum facio, parum rapio sive multum.
Res inventa facit furtum, nisi restituatur,
Ast ignoratur, cuius si est, tribuatur
Pauperibus, quod consilio fac presbiterali.
Servus et ancilla dominis furantur inique:
45 Si quid eis rapiant, non sibi pertineant.
Sive cibum sumant, hoc cum moderamine fiat. P₁ 14^v
Si escas sumes avide, venialiter peccas.
Furta, colone, facis, si non iuste decimabis.
Artifices, vel mechanici, sive spirituales,
50 fraudem miscetis operi, si furta fovetis.
Quoque modo fratres fraudes, fur esse probaris.
Et furta facis, si non tuus est, cui tu fatearis.
Sum fur, divino si quos in officio alienos
Foveo, hinc fructus rapio quibus pereo simul.
55 “Est ubi grex, ubi lex?” – Deus a me requirit ista.
Lusor furatur, si quidquam ludendo lucratur.
Iudex, mercator, princeps, miles: spoliator,
Quilibet istorum male est torquens dona suorum.
- VIII** Nulla tuos falsa socios tu contra loquaris. P₁ 18^r
60 Peccas, si casse graviterque testificaris.
Numquam sunt sine ve, sint ioca, seria vel ne,
Qui dicunt false non considerando necesse.
Sex fingas in te, quod formes verba perite, P₁ 18^v
Non dic mendacia, sed dicenda premediteris,
65 Non dubiumque, loqui pro certo multa cavebis,
Attende tempus et loca dumque loqueris.
Non odium, lucrum nec amor sit causa iurandi,
Nonque tuis verbis aliquis privetur honore.
Non veniam capiam culpe de fraude maligna.

39–40: *Ex* 20,15; *Dt* 5,19; *Mt* 19,18; *Rom* 13,8–10

42–43: *Mt* 10,8 (*Mt* 5,42; *Io* 12,8; *Lc* 11,41; *Lc* 3,11; *Iac* 5,1–6; *Dt* 15,11; *Iac* 2,15–16)

52: “Concilium Lateranense IV a. 1215, canon 21,” In *Conciliorum Oeconomicorum Decreta*, ed. J. Alberigo, J. A. Dossetti, P. P. Joannou, C. Leonardi, P. Prodi (Bologna: Edizioni Dehoniane, 1973), 230–271.

58: *Ex* 20,16; *Dt* 5,20; *Mt* 5,33; *Rom* 13,8–10



- 70 Qui me fraudatur, numquam laudi restituatur.
Non periurabis ergo, que tu falsa putabis,
Lingwa privaris, ut Lucidarius inquit.
“Despicitur cunctis falsus testis.” – ait Augustinus.
- IX Non sis alterius uxoris tuque amator, P₁ 22^r
- 75 Et eciam alium virum tua ne petat uxor.
Hoc violat iussum thorum querens alienum,
Sed iactu lapidis obruit hunc populus
Ex iussu Moysi, ex lege Dei veteri.
Non sic orneris, ex hoc prave quod ameris.
- 80 Non cupiunt aliqui, sed gaudent, si cupiantur.
Lingwa sive manu, visu, gressu patet illud:
Alloquitur, loquitur, circumspicit itque superbe.
Ut pulcre pateant, faciem coloribus aptant.
Multi non cupiunt, sed faciunt alios.
- 85 Corporis ornatu peccant, peccare docentque.
Et sic peccantes hy bis peccare videntur:
Al<l>iciunt alios, hec faciendo docent.
Qui discunt ab eis, hys non prosunt bona facta:
Orant, ieiunant seque reos faciunt. P₁ 22^v
- 90 Ut pompam fugiant, tuque, presbiter, dic illis.
Scripta prius possunt hys addi convenienter:
Ornato vultu iaciunt vincendo virosque.
Hys induc Sampsonem cum David et Salomonem.
Hys orare iube dicendo “Deus pater alme,
- 95 O factor vite, ne permittas velle prophana,
Me nec extollas, oculos nec gliscere vana.”
Sicque potest dici: “Non fias amator amici
Coniugis, incantans, manu premendo pudica.”

73: *Prov* 19:8 (*testis falsus non erit impunitus*); Augustinus, “Speculum, 7” in *CSEL* 12, 63.

76: Augustinus, “Quaestiones in Heptateuchum 2, 70,” in *CSEL* 28,2, 135; (*Ex* 20,17; *Dt* 5,21)

77–78: *Dt* 22,24; *Ez* 16,40 – 82: the last verse preserved in P₂.



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- 100 <Exemplum multis de milite flebile dicam,> M₁ 290^v
<Demone qui raptus hic est ad tartara tractus.>
<Non est res ficta, verum per scripta relicta.>
[<Rem credo veram, quam breviter referam.>]
<Baro virilis erat deditus luxurie.>
<Dum machinatur vicini frangere lectum,>
105 <Abnegat inde Deum se faciendo reum.>
<In tornamenti dum cadit, en moritur.>
<Fit dolor hinc cunctis, strepitusque per aera iunctus>
<Fletibus horrendis “Quo miser” – inquit – “eo?”>
<Ve michi, ve misero, quia iam nunc misere pereo.>
110 <Mundi dulcedo facto finitur amaro.”> M₁ 291^r
<Qui dicebat: “Amor,” melius dixisset: “Amarum.>
<Non amet uxorem socii, qui querit honorem.”>
- X 113 Consulo sincere, si vis de morte cavere, P₁ 25^v
114 Ne subeas penas, res contempnas alienas:
116 Usurarius hoc non complet, nec avarus.
117 Aufers si michi res, sive velis, reus es.
118 Factum complesti, si corde tuo voluisti.
- 119 Hec servare decem quisque tenetur homo, <...>
123 Est his congestum quodque salutiferum.
124 Quisquis ea frangit, vix ad celestia scandit,
125 Immo dampnatur transgressor quilibet uno,
Ac si contemnerit omnia ista simul.
Si non subtili, placeant hec carmina vili,
Non pravo vili, sed placeant humili.
Sunt precepta decem totam servancia legem.

99–112: missing in P₁; the text is damaged, I give a reconstructed version on the basis of M₁; K₁ (157th) commentary: *Hic auctor ponit quoddam exemplum de milite ubi notatur quod beatus Augustinus in expositione exemplorum ponit istud exemplum*; see Tubach, nr. 3566 and nr. 3572.

102: missing in M₁ – 114: *Ex* 20,17; *Dt* 5,21; *Rom* 13,8–10 – 116: *Eccle* 5,9 – 115: missing in K₂ M₁ M₂ W P₁ – 118: *Mt* 5,28; *Mt* 15,19 – 120–122: missing in K₂ M₁ M₂ W P₁ – 128: Walther, nr. 5874.