

John the Deacon

The Life of St. Nicholas of Myra

BHL 6104-6113, 6123

Edited and Translated
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Introduction

The earliest Latin “Life of St Nicholas” was composed around 880 AD in Naples by John the Deacon.² All subsequent Latin “Lives” derive from it. His main source was the Greek encomium, the “Methodius ad Theodorum” by Methodius, patriarch of Constantinople³. The last two chapters of John’s text consist of a translation of the “Stratilates” legend, the “Three Generals”. The manuscripts then often follow this with a number of miracle stories, all plainly composed at a later date, but not included here.

It seemed useful to make the Latin material about St Nicholas better known, and there is no English translation of this “Life of St Nicholas.” This file contains such a translation, together with a Latin text, accompanied by a collation of the manuscripts. It also contains a translation, text, and collation for two extra chapters found in the early editions, which are spurious; and finally the same again for a different recension of the “Stratilates” legend, found in one manuscript and one edition.

It is hoped that the material in this file will be of use to the general reader seeking to learn the sources for our legends about St Nicholas. Perhaps any researchers who seek to explore this fascinating but neglected area of scholarship in future may also find something of use.

For the many historical issues around this text, the reader is referred to G. Cioffari’s *S. Nicola nella critica storica*, Bari (1987).

About the Latin Text

There was no intention originally to create an edition of the Latin text. But all of the printed editions of the Latin text are badly defective. In particular the widely used Falconius edition must be avoided, because it is full of arbitrary editorial changes to the text. There is a definite consensus in the manuscripts of the 10th-11th century, which is reflected in early editions, but not by Falconius.

The edition given here was made by collating the earliest manuscripts accessible to me, and selecting those readings that best explained the existence of the others. The Latin text resulting is appended. A collation of the manuscripts examined has been included, with some limited notes about the text tradition.

A modern Latin text and Italian translation by Pasquale Corsi exists, but is nearly impossible to access outside of Italy. This arrived at a very late stage, and was included in the collation, and the translation was consulted at a number of places.

Translation Issues

John writes a very odd Latin. He is quite prone to hide the subject and the main verb of a sentence somewhere unusual, down at the end of a long sentence. The word order is often quite misleading, and it is often straightened out somewhat in later copies. Possibly John was showing off.

There are a few useful fingerprints that John leaves on his text. The strange word order is one such. Another is the use of untranslated Greek terms like “eparch” for prefect and, even more unusual, “hero” for a military officer, in chapters 8 and 12. These fingerprints can help identify the authentic text where there is doubt.

² G. Cioffari, *San Nicola nella critica storica*, Bari (1987).

³ BHG 1352y.

The Falconius edition of chapters 12 and 13 does not display either of these fingerprint features. To take a single example, the presence of the Greek word “hero” in chapter 8, and its appearance in chapter 12 in the Mombritius version – but not in Falconius –, suggests that it is Mombritius, and not Falconius, who preserves the authentic text for chapters 12 and 13.

Another feature of the text is that the opening chapters, after the prologue, all consist of a short portion of the legend, followed by a moral reflection upon it. The manuscript edited by Mai omitted this.

At the very end of this project, a copy of the Italian translation came into my hands. This was made by P. Corsi from his own transcription of the Berlin manuscript. It is a very fluent translation, from which I profited greatly. As the translation was published separately from the text, Dr. Corsi rightly chose to prefer ease of reading over a very literal translation. At points it drops into paraphrase. But it is a very useful guide to the text. He places the moral reflections in italics. I have done likewise.

Chapter Divisions

The divisions followed in this text are those of the Falconius edition, with one modification. In Falconius the numeral for chapter five appears several sentences later than the sense division indicates that it should. This was corrected by Corsi.

Falconius appends several miracle stories to his text, and these are given chapter numbers also. Unfortunately the numbering in the Falconius edition was done so carelessly that there are two chapters with the number “21”. It is hard to believe that Falconius’ own manuscript was so numbered, for surely he would have noticed this. It is easier to suppose that Falconius marked the divisions, but did not number them. Instead he left this to the typesetter, whose carelessness we see. No doubt the same typesetter forgot to add the number “5” at the right place, and carried on typesetting; and then simply shoved it in, rather than re-typeset the page.

The medieval manuscripts are not always divided into chapters. Some of the manuscripts, such as C, have divisions into numbered readings, identified as “Lectio” or “L.” plus a Roman numeral. But these are different in every case. The most complete example that I have seen is in BNF. lat. 196 (12th century), where there are numbered chapters, with a rubricated chapter title, and even a list of titles at the beginning.

However there is more consistency in the position of initial letters, which often correspond to some of the Falconius chapter divisions.

About the Miracle Stories

In the manuscripts and editions, the text composed by John the Deacon is followed by a selection of miracle stories. It is possible that many of the shorter pieces in the cycle of miracle stories were composed by one man, who also created the two pieces edited here: “chapter 14” as a prologue, and “chapter 15” as an epilogue. Pseudo-John’s Latin is simpler, and his grasp of history and chronology even worse. Indeed Falconius in his footnotes expresses his contempt for this “sausage maker” rather freely. Pseudo-John clearly had access to material from the “Life of St. Nicholas of Sion,” from which he drew material which he attributes to Nicholas of Myra.

Acknowledgements

My sincere thanks to Dr Gerardo Cioffari of the *Centro Studi Nicolaini* who very kindly supplied me with a copy of Dr Corsi's translation. I would like to acknowledge my debt to Dr Corsi's pioneering translation. At one or two points I would never have found my way through the text without it. At the same time I hope that I have improved upon it in a number of places.

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Ipswich
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The Life of St Nicholas, Bishop of Myra, by John, Deacon of the Church of St Januarius.

1. Prologue.⁴

Just as any material construction built by an inexperienced craftsman is condemned not only to inelegance, but even to structural shortcomings, so a series of written words, if arranged by an uneducated man with a quick verbosity, will fall down, not only in charm of speech but also in depth of understanding.⁵ I, John, an unworthy deacon, a servant of St. Januarius, was carefully avoiding this, and when you very often were asking me, Brother Athanasius, I used to place in opposition the obstacle of my rustic simplicity. But when in frequent requests you thrust upon me the apostolic words: "Love overcomes all things", at length I gave my assent, on account of the devotion towards the most holy servant of God, Nicholas, which you were proud to have from your ancestors, to set forth in Latin words his birth, his life, and the miracles which the Lord did through him. But since I know that I am of ineffectual speech, in the opinion of the most liberal teachers, I therefore implore all who shall come to be earnest readers of this work, not to rush into too easy criticism and begin to judge me as uneducated and incompetent. Let them, please, make allowance for my age and to my nature. For indeed, as I am not yet twenty-five years old,⁶ and weaker by nature, I was eager more to learn than to write anything. However we have tried to extract, summarily and briefly, the origin of this saint and the life, out of the eulogy which the Patriarch Methodius composed⁷ about him in the Argolian style⁸ to a certain Primicerius⁹ named Theodorus, who was asking him to. I have also brought in his other miracles, taking from other teachers more the sense than the exact words.¹⁰ If this our abbreviated narration displeases anyone, I send him to the flowery commentaries of the Greeks, which, the more extensively they speak about him, the more they repeat themselves¹¹ in both content and language.¹² But I did not write about his departure, how the saint passed from this world, for this reason, because I could not find that anywhere. But why is his ending so obstinately inquired about, since deeds of such power show that he has flown to heaven, released from the bonds of the flesh and the house of clay, and on a heavenly throne triumphs eternally with Christ?

So, having said this, we ask you, O monk of God, to exhort the whole community, so that, pouring out your prayers together you may obtain from God that He may bestow on my inexperienced self

⁴ The headings have been added by the translator.

⁵ There are several double-meanings here. "materia", material object, can also mean "subject matter, theme". *construere* can also mean "collected". *deformitas* can mean "lack of good taste".

⁶ Lit. "still running through my fifth lustrum." A "lustrum" is a period of time, usually five years. From this we learn that John is not yet 25 years old.

⁷ "prosequor". DMLBS 6: "c to pursue (a subject in discourse or writing), to (go on to) describe; d (absol.) to go on (about a subject), discuss (as follows), continue." I.e. compose.

⁸ I.e. in Greek.

⁹ A high-ranking Byzantine imperial or church official.

¹⁰ This sentence is perhaps a gloss, justifying the addition of extra material on the end. Falconius note b adds that these "miracles taken from other teachers" are not genuine; and that they were added later, by those who divided the text into lections.

¹¹ Lit. "agree, coincide."

¹² Falconius places this sentence in square brackets and adds a note, "d) In Lipomano semper desunt, quae hic, et inferius, edimus uncinata. sic []" = "In Lippomano's edition there are often things missing which, here and below, we give in brackets, thus []."

the ability to write. Who when he wishes, not only does he make the tongues of infants eloquent, but also those of brute animals, and opens their mouths¹³ to speak words. You then, my brother, in particular, may you not stop praying for the protection of this saint for us, so that the things which I presume to write about him may be approved, not by human but by divine judgement. And just as we read that many rejoiced at his protection, so may we rejoice in his merits, having been rescued from the ancient enemy, and protected from our enemies.

2. Birth of St Nicholas.

Nicholas, therefore, born into an illustrious family, was a citizen of the city of Patara, one of the most noble cities of the province of Lycia, which once glittered, being¹⁴ as famous as it was also crowded from the accession of many people. But lately because of its sins¹⁵, reduced to the likeness of a tiny town, it is lived in by few inhabitants.

Concerning this – because the opportunity has presented itself, although we may seem to make a digression at the beginning, yet, because I think that it is beneficial to many – we are arranging to transmit to posterity a kind of great prodigy, just as the report came down to us through a series of persons in succession. For there is in the vicinity of the same city, a certain area of the plain, which is so completely covered with most frequent fissures¹⁶, just like the tears in an old garment, and out of the gaping channels it emits a foul vapour during the day; but during the night, like a blacksmith's furnace, it emits a burning flame. It is said that its nature is that, if anyone, for the sake of experience, places his hands quite close, he does indeed feel the heat, but suffers no burns.¹⁷

O the wonderful goodness of the Lord, the wonderful mercy! Who, although He is almighty, to Whom no one dares say, "Why are you doing this?", He does not instantly strike down the wicked nor destroy them in mid-crime, but sometimes He coaxes them with paternal affection, sometimes He thunders terrible threats; often he even terrifies them with visible signs, so that they may at last repent of their wrongdoings, and not pay the penalties due by a just verdict. So in just this way formerly, when the sons of God were uniting with the daughters of men, contrary to His will, He commanded Noah to construct the ark, in order that, at least terrified by fear, they would desist from unlawful intercourse. But because they did not restrain themselves in any way, by a judgement of water, the whole world perished. Indeed he endured the Gomorrahites and the Sodomites with such patience that he deigned to come down and see whether or not they had filled up the full number of those actions.¹⁸ Meeting him, Abraham asked him in friendly conversatio, not to destroy everyone if there were ten righteous men there¹⁹. What then? Did the Truth deceive Abraham? God forbid. But when no righteous man was found there, except Lot, and when he himself was removed from the

¹³ "resolvere", DMLBS d., open mouths.

¹⁴ "being" added for English readability.

¹⁵ A famous phrase in the crusading era, when failures were attributed "peccatis nostris exigentibus." E.g. P. Valentin, "God Wills It! Supplementary Divine Purposes for the Crusades according to Crusade Propaganda," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 70 (2019), 472-486.

¹⁶ This is the reading of the manuscripts and most editions. Unusually the Mombricitus edition is different: "which is thus completely destroyed by the most frequent floods of stagnant flame".

¹⁷ John ends each chapter with a moral reflection, which have been placed in italics, following Corsi's translation.

¹⁸ "actio" can also mean sexual activity. Cf. Gen. 18:21. "Descendam, et videbo utrum clamorem qui venit ad me, opere compleverint; an non est ita, ut sciam." – "I will go down and see whether they have done according to the cry that is come to me: or whether it be not so, that I may know."

¹⁹ Lit. "for the sake of ten righteous men".

midst of them, He condemned the rest by the judgement of brimstone. And rightly so, so that those who had spread the stink of their action far and wide might be destroyed with a fitting stench.

See now, the luckless inhabitants of the aforementioned city, having pursued every luxury, and devoted themselves to every pleasure of the flesh, mercifully, in order to correct them, have also received a sign of tremendous vengeance. Concerning them, it must be understood that, if they had rebuked themselves with any penitence, by no means would they have been punished with horrible extermination.

Alas, alas, O wicked plague!²⁰ Such are your rewards, such are your gifts, that those, whom you entice in a bad way, you also cause to perish in a bad way. It will come, believe me, that day will come, when both you²¹ and your author, the devil, will be condemned to eternal fire. The fire of the aforesaid city has a similarity to this, which burns, and does not burn away.

Let it be a burden to no-one, that I have briefly summarised these things. Now let us put together what we have started concerning the holy man.

3. His Parents and Upbringing.

Now the aforesaid city was still crowded with many of the best sort²² of people, and his parents, the more they were celebrated with great honour among the ranks of the powerful, the more they sought the glory rather of heavenly than of earthly honour, afire with the desire of a heavenly homeland. For in fact, although they were very rich, they did not want any insignia of public office, nor to control the reins of power²³ of any position of the highest rank, but, binding themselves with all zeal to a rule of continence, they strove to practise a celibate life.

And in an admirable way, when in the first flower of youth they had begotten this only son, they renounced²⁴ all pleasures of the flesh, and in their prayers, which they frequently poured out in the temple of the Lord, they asked that this sole descendant, should be the heir not so much of their riches as also of their morals. God, looking down from on high on their wishes, did not disregard their petition.

He²⁵ deigned to reveal clearly what kind of boy, in himself, he was going to be, so to speak, from the very beginning of his birth. In fact while he was still being fed with his mother's milk, he began, twice a week, namely on the fourth and sixth day, to drink from the breasts only once, and so he remained satisfied with this amount all day long.

Who, O God, immeasurable king, who of mortals ever dares to argue with²⁶ the works of your omnipotence? Who does not tremble at your magnificence, who call upon things which are not as if

²⁰ Luxury, whom he addresses as if a person in the next lines.

²¹ Luxury.

²² "generositate", the high born, the nobility.

²³ Cf. Claudian, *de Consulatu Stilichonis*, iii. 150-173; l. 164: "Assyrio, Medoque tulit moderamina Perses"; "moderamina" = the reins of power; lit. a means of managing.

²⁴ Lit. "removed themselves from all pleasures of the flesh."

²⁵ The Lord; some mss. have a gloss "dominus" here.

²⁶ Possibly: "speak about".

they are? Behold the son of a new Zechariah the prophet, of a second Elizabeth!²⁷ The former was filled with the Holy Spirit in his childhood,²⁸ and even in his mother's womb; the latter, wrapped in a swaddling band, likewise built a temple of the Holy Spirit at whatever expense he could. The former, born of an elderly parent, precedes Christ as a sign; the latter, born of a young mother, followed Christ from childhood. God forbid, however, that we, although this saint was of ineffable merit before God, should put him on a level with the blessed John. As the Lord says: "Among those born of women, there has not arisen a greater than John the Baptist."²⁹ But we, as we are able, weak in so much, and with what words we are able, praise the great works of God. For who hears that a little child drinks from his mother's nipples once a day, and no more, and easily believes it? Who is not astounded, struck by hearing such a thing? But if we pay attention to the Lord speaking in the gospel, "My Father works until now, and I work;"³⁰ all unbelief departs, and every objection is put to sleep.

4. His Way of Life.³¹

So having passed his boyhood years with simplicity at home, like the patriarch Jacob, he began to be a young man of good character, and he did not, as is customary at that age, embrace the license of the world. But sometimes accompanied, in the footsteps of his parents, sometimes alone, he trod the thresholds of the churches, and there, not forgetful, he stored in the cabinet of his heart what he was listening to,³² with open ears, concerning the Scriptures.

Then when he was deprived of both parents, he often put before the eyes of his mind that gospel saying, "Unless a man renounce all that he possesses, he cannot be my disciple,"³³ and when he was out of breath trying to bring about what he was turning over in his pious heart, dread began to shake his youthful mind, for fear that a puff of applause should ruin whatever he was determined to do for the sake of Christ. Then in private, drawing back every veil of his longings before God, he prayed that He who has all knowledge would deign to inspire him, in order that he might so arrange things concerning the great wealth which had been left to him, that he might be approved in the divine presence with no human praise.

5. The Three Virgins – The First Dowry.³⁴

While he was considering such things, it happened that one of his overwealthy fellow-citizens fell into such poverty that he did not even have the necessities of life. What more can I say? With his hunger increasing, he decided to prostitute his three virgin daughters, whose hands in marriage even

²⁷ John the Baptist was the son of Zechariah and Elizabeth.

²⁸ Lit. "in his tender limbs".

²⁹ Mt.11:11; Lk.7:28.

³⁰ John 5:17.

³¹ BNF lat. 196 has a capitulum: De sancta conversatione et de cogitatione renuntandi sancto.

³² Lit. was attentive to.

³³ Luke 14:33.

³⁴ Lipp. and Corsi begin chapter 5 here. Falconius starts chapter 5 later with "Inventa ergo", part way through the story, but this is probably simply a mistake during the printing process: Falconius is so careless with the chapter numbering that he has two chapters both labelled "XVII"! BNF lat. 196: "qualiter trium puellarum execrabilem redemit infamiam" – "how he redeems the execrable infamy of the three girls".

humble men were spurning, so that by their infamous trade he might at least carry on his unhappy life. Shame on him! Immediately the report of such an evil – nothing else spreads faster than that, or with more rapidity, – demoralised the whole city, and it filled people with much talk. When the holy man discovered this, he sympathised with that most miserable man, and, deploring the defilement of the virgins, he decided to replenish completely their poverty out of his abundance, so that the nobly-born girls should not be defiled by the infamy of the brothel. But as he was unwilling to have any observer of his own deed other than Christ, he began to explore the different times at which this might be done in such a way,³⁵ as to also be unknown to those for whom it was being done.

Hurry, O servant of God! Relieve the father from poverty, release the daughters from prostitution!³⁶ Let the soil of your mind, hitherto cultivated with a holy ploughshare, suddenly burst forth into twin fruit, so that from one, the mouth of the hungry is satisfied, and from the other, the unchastity of the virgins is bought off. Do not hide the fruits sown by Christ, which are free from weeds. Open up your treasury, so that the royal treasures of godliness result.³⁷ Don't be dismayed at the crackling³⁸ of adulation, because the flame of the vices does not burn up the riches which Christ approves. That building does not fear eternal fire which is built by the supreme craftsman. Break through every delay, complete the good deed, so that men may see, indeed feel, and glorify your Father who is in heaven.³⁹

So when the hour of a certain night arrived, he took not a little gold, and wrapping it in a cloth, he went to the man's house; he secretly threw the gold inside, through a window which seemed appropriate, after looking from all sides, and secretly departed.

O, the cunning of the new Jacob!⁴⁰ The former made preparation, with Laban, to avoid losing wages, but the latter did so to avoid being deprived of heavenly rewards. The former⁴¹ placed the peeled rods in the watering-troughs, so that each animal might receive⁴² vari-coloured offspring; the latter, so that he might be able to obtain⁴³ the many joys of Elysium⁴⁴, threw a bag⁴⁵ inside the confines of the building. The latter, O good Teacher⁴⁶, is your not inattentive listener, who, in obedience to Your

³⁵ Mom. and Lipp. read instead: "as to be unknown to those to whom he did a service; and turning over such things in his mind he said to himself:".

³⁶ Lit. "Banish the poverty of the father, banish the prostitution of the daughters". Translated following Corsi, "libera dalla povertà il padre, sottrai dal meretricio le figlie!"

³⁷ The sense is "use your gold to buy heavenly riches".

³⁸ Lit. tinder, woodchips. The sense is the irrelevant noise that these make when lit.

³⁹ Beginning of chapter 5 in the Falconius edition..

⁴⁰ John the Deacon appears to have in mind a passage in Jerome's "Hebrew Questions on Genesis": "Itaque Jacob novam stropham commentus est, et contra naturam albi et nigri pecoris, naturali arte pugnavit" (Jerome *Quaest. Heb. Ad Gen.* 30.32-3) "Jacob therefore invented a new trick, and by natural art fought against the nature of the white and black cattle". John the Deacon seems to have written "novi Jacobi strophā", but the Vulgate version has influenced the text. The reference is to Gen. 30 in the Vulgate.

⁴¹ Jacob.

⁴² Or "conceive" (Falconius). Summarising Gen. 30:37-39.

⁴³ Mom. "be able to obtain", Fal.: "succeed in obtaining", Corsi: "strive to obtain".

⁴⁴ i.e. Heaven.

⁴⁵ "bag"; A gloss "aurum" in ms. A indicates "bag of fine gold".

⁴⁶ i.e. Jesus.

commands, has fulfilled two commandments: he has both taken pity on the beggar, and also he has completed the work in such a way, that the left hand had no knowledge of the right hand.⁴⁷

In the morning, therefore, when the man had arisen, and had discovered that gold, he at first stood frozen⁴⁸, and then he exulted with so much joy, and he gave such great thanks to God; if anyone wanted to, they could realise this from his flowing tears which the magnitude of his joy had poured out.⁴⁹

Now,⁵⁰ just for a moment, we must ask that man⁵¹ about his unexpected rejoicing.⁵² Tell me, I ask you, O man, why do you rejoice with such a dance? For until now you showed a gloomy face; now I see you cheerful. “Truly, I say, you see me rejoicing, because the merciful Lord, I don’t know through whom, has provided help to my life, so that I can be free from the infamy which I was running into unwillingly.” To whom then do you ascribe this extraordinary kindness to yourself? Perhaps to your faith? “Absolutely to that.” O reckless tongue of man! A little while ago, you showed yourself of such great unbelief, that, when tempted, you did not seek grace⁵³, but you decided to prostitute the temple of the Holy Spirit; and now you claim that you are worthy of it? What do you call “the temple of God”, you say? Do you want to know what? Listen to the “chosen vessel”⁵⁴, how clearly he describes this. “Everyone,” he says, “who lives chastely, is the temple of God and the dwelling-place of the Holy Spirit.”⁵⁵ If it is so – or rather, because it is so – why did you order that your daughters be prostituted? Because you were overcome by starvation. And why did you not labour with your own hands, just as the apostles did, who are attested to have laboured, not only for themselves, but also in order to have the means from which they might relieve the needs of those suffering?⁵⁶ “My rank as a nobleman did not permit me to carry out any labour.” You wretch, if you considered yourself noble, why did you choose that girls, born from you, should be degraded in the tawdry⁵⁷ service of pimps? Learn, then, you wretched man, learn not to attribute to your “faith” something that deserves the verdict of the apostle, saying, “He who violates the temple of God, him shall the Lord

⁴⁷ Cf. Mt.6:3.

⁴⁸ Understanding “dirigescere” as “derigescere”, become stiff with fear or amazement.

⁴⁹ Mai stops following the text here, and instead ends the chapter with: “Tradidit itaque per providentiam sanctissimi viri marito priorem filiam, quam antea conatus tradere voluit infelici stupro.” – “And so, by the providence of the most holy man, he delivered to marriage his first daughter, whom he had previously attempted to deliver to wretched dishonour.”

⁵⁰ At this point in the text, each chapter seems to be a bit of the story of St Nicholas, followed by a moral reflection upon it, as if the text has been divided into *lectiones* in a church service. Are the reflections even by John, we may ask? This would seem to be the lead-in to the end of the reading, the moral reflection.

⁵¹ Lit. “that man must be asked”, gerundive.

⁵² Corsi: “Ora, soffermiamoci un istante a interrogare quest’uomo circa la sua inaspettata esultanza”: “Now let us pause for a moment to ask this man about his unexpected rejoicing.”

⁵³ Lit. “give thanks”.

⁵⁴ I.e. St. Paul. The term is used in a medieval chant: “Tu es vas electionis”, on the conversion of St Paul. <https://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/chant/559629> – “Tu es vas electionis sancte Paule apostole praedicator veritatis in universo mundo per quem omnes gentes cognoverunt gratiam dei” – “You are the chosen vessel, holy apostle Paul, a preacher of truth in the whole world, through whom all nations have recognized the grace of God.”

⁵⁵ The reference is to 1 Cor. 6:19, but the actual words are from <http://www.cantusindex.org/id/007319> - another chant beginning with these words: “Omnis enim qui caste vivit templum dei est et spiritus sancti habitatio qui autem dei templum violaverit disperdet illum deus templum dei sanctum est quod estis vos”.

⁵⁶ Cf. Ephesians 4:28.

⁵⁷ Lit. “sumptuous”, but perhaps “meretricious” gives the sense? Corsi reads “lussurioso”.

destroy,⁵⁸ but attribute this to the the great mercy of God, who does not allow the light of his servant to be concealed for very long under a bushel, so that the light should not be concealed in darkness but that, placed on a lampstand, it might give light to all those who are in the house of the Lord.⁵⁹ So call back your daughters, be the arranger of a lawful union, not the pimp of an unlawful union; hand over to husbands those whom you were throwing down to fornicators. Let them rejoice in lawful marriage, not be defiled by unlawful intercourse. Believe me, there is someone ready to provide a dowry for you, so that you can unite them all in permanent marriage.

6. The Three Virgins – The Second and Third Dowries.⁶⁰

Therefore, having celebrated the wedding of his eldest daughter according to custom, the man began to inquire diligently who it was that had shown such kindness to his poverty.

While such things were slowly in motion, Nicholas, the servant of Jesus Christ, not long afterwards⁶¹, in the same manner as before, performed a similar action. O man, expert in every skill, and instructed in every kind of knowledge! Who, in order to show that he observed both testaments⁶², is not content with the law of the letter, but adds the evangelical grace, so that by two rivers, flowing from a single source, he might water thoroughly the garden of a dried-up faith, lest the thorns, cut back by the sickle of piety, might still be able to choke the joyful fruit with the tares of an unspeakable command.⁶³ But when day was restored to the earth, and the man leapt up from his bed, and he found that the weight of the yellow metal was equal to that of the former, he exulted with so much joy, that although the fluent eloquence of a Homer or a Maro⁶⁴ were available, I think that he would have collapsed in having to express the magnitude of such great praise. But rather than repeating⁶⁵ any of his prayer, we have chosen to leave the rest in silence to the sagacious reader rather to understand than to investigate. Then he prayed thus: “Lord, Lord,” he said, “without whose approval neither the sparrow nor the leaf of a tree falls to the ground, I entreat your ineffable mercy, you who know all things, to deign to show me, a sinner, who he is, who does not cease to present me with so many good things. But this, Lord, I beg of you, not that, with reckless daring, I may touch him with my soiled hands, but that I may know your servant, who, living among men, has an angelic way of life, and may magnify your blessed name forever.” In such words he was praying, and exhorting himself with such words: “I will certainly put sleep from my eyes, I will watch carefully, and I will spend the night watching. Perhaps the Lord will show me his servant.” He spoke, and having spoken he began to put it into action.⁶⁶

⁵⁸ 1 Cor. 3:17: “Si quis autem templum Dei violaverit, disperdet illum Deus.”: “But if any man violate the temple of God, him shall God destroy.”

⁵⁹ Cf. Mt. 5:15, Mk.4:21; Lk.11:33.

⁶⁰ BNF lat. 196 has a capitulum, “de secundo iactatu”, “on the second throw”.

⁶¹ “tempore” is added in some manuscripts: “not a long time afterwards”.

⁶² I.e. both the Old Testament and the New Testament.

⁶³ Or: “an abominable injury.”

⁶⁴ I.e. Virgil.

⁶⁵ Lit. following through.

⁶⁶ After this sentence there is a logical division of the story, and it is marked as such in some mss, e.g. BNF lat. 196.

The Third Dowry.

In the meantime a very few days having passed, behold, Nicholas, the worshiper of the Trinity, arrived, and, desiring to complete the twice-repeated action⁶⁷ with a triple number, he threw in a sum of money equal to the previous two. Awoken by the sound of that, the man went out immediately, sometimes hurrying, and sometimes running, and followed closely behind him, with these words: "Stop, and don't withdraw yourself from my sight. Long have I wished to see you. Long have I longed to behold you." So saying, he ran faster, and having shortened the distance, he recognized Nicolas through the shadows. Having immediately prostrated himself on the ground, he tried to kiss his feet. This the saint, pious as he was,⁶⁸ forbade him to do. But speaking to him briefly, he required from him that, while he drew breath, he should not disclose to anyone at all that Nicholas was the originator of this matter. The blessed man imitated the blessed Master, who forced, not only men but also demons, not to spread his fame among the people.⁶⁹ For Him, this was so they didn't mix falsities with truths, but the other so he wouldn't be celebrated in any way by gossip, and he forbade the man to disclose his name in any way.

He must be revered in every prayer, and celebrated with all praises, who, knowing that he cannot please two masters, chose the One, whose burden is light, whose yoke is easy to bear,⁷⁰ for Whom, bowing his neck with all devotion, he discarded the heavy burden of the world with delight. For he was unwilling to obtain any worldly fame whatever, so that he was not deprived of the company of the saints. He committed himself continuously to God, Who regulates and orders everything, when He wishes and how He wishes.

7. A Bishop Chosen by God.

After these things had happened, the city of Myra, the metropolis, was deprived of its bishop. The bishops of the adjacent districts mourned his death not a little, for he had indeed been very religious, and they assembled together with all the clergy, so that, with the blessing of the Lord Jesus, they might provide that church⁷¹ with a suitable governor according to the ordinances of the canons. And so once the meeting started, a certain pontiff of great authority was present, on whose nod the opinion of all depended, so that they would all doubtless elect the one whom this man put forward by his voice. This man, following the footsteps of the apostles in all things, therefore exhorted everyone to proceed with the most devout fasts and prayers, so that He, who supplied Matthias to supplement the apostolic number, with his usual clemency might Himself deign to make known who He wanted to enter into⁷² so great a priestly office. Then everyone, as if nudged by a heavenly oracle, turning to God thus, prayed urgently from their inmost hearts, that the Eternal Shepherd would deign to reveal the most suitable shepherd of his sheep. For while they were praying with the utmost devotion, the aforesaid pontiff heard a voice from heaven, telling him to go out and stand before the doors of the church, and the one

⁶⁷ Treating "factum" as a noun, "deed, action". "iteratae vicis" is genitive singular, "of the repeated occasion", i.e. treat as adjective on "factum". Corsi: "... ecco venne Nicola, ... che, desiderando completare il fatto della ripetuta vicenda con un numero trino, lanciò una quantità d'oro uguale alle due precedenti."

⁶⁸ Lit. "with pious heart as he was".

⁶⁹ Cf. Mark 1:34.

⁷⁰ Cf. Mt.11:30.

⁷¹ Mombritius, Lippomanus: "saying to all that, by the blessing of Jesus, the Lord would provide".

⁷² "fungi". "elevated" is Corsi's translation. But DMLBS for "fungi" gives: "1 (w. abl.) to perform, discharge (office, duty, or sim.); b (w. gen., ? sc. officio). c to take up, enter into (office, position). d to exercise (authority). e to obtain."

whom he saw arriving first at dawn, him should they consecrate as bishop, adding also that he would be called Nicholas. Then that bishop, sharing this revelation with the rest of his fellow-bishops, added, "While you continue in prayer, I will keep watch outside. For I believe that we should not be deprived of the promise of God." Thus he spoke, and he observed the doors of the basilica with holy watchfulness.

In a wonderful manner, at dawn, as if sent from God, before anyone else there came Nicholas. And when he approached the doors of the church, the bishop stopped him with his hand, and gently questioned Him, saying: "What is your name?" He, as he was, with the simplicity of a dove, bowed his head, and said, "Nicholas, the servant of your holiness." At once the bishop, taking his hand, said to him, "My son, come with me. There is a private business which I must reveal to you."⁷³ Immediately having entered, "Well, brothers," he proclaimed, "Truly the Lord said, 'Whatever you shall ask in my name, believe that you will receive it, and it will be done for you.' Well, I say, we have received what we asked for! Behold, here is the one whom your charity asked for."

Having seen him, they all raised a great clamour to the stars, and competed with one another to praise the greatness of the Saviour. The bishops rejoiced for a colleague sent to them from heaven, the clergy were frolicking around like happy sheep.⁷⁴ Why say more? Although he struggled and greatly opposed this, and greatly resisted, he was immediately enthroned, as custom required, and received the pontifical dignity⁷⁵ of that country.⁷⁶

Wonderful, truly, marvellous, and stupendous are the things which are narrated, and, if it is appropriate, comparable to the ancients in all respects.⁷⁷ For the Holy Spirit once commanded the prophet Samuel to go to the house of Jesse, and anoint one of his sons, as a king pleasing to the Lord. But now a voice from heaven has given orders to this bishop, praying from his inmost heart, to keep watch in front of the doors of the temple in order to find there a bishop worthy in God and useful to holy church. To the former, though seeing, only the place, not the name of the king is predicted; to the latter both the place, and the name of the bishop is revealed. The former consecrated the head of the king with a horn of oil, the latter invoked the power of the Holy Spirit upon the head of Nicolas. But all the same both the king and the bishop, each of them, were chosen by the Lord. So we must not be ridiculed at all, for daring to compare small things with great things.

From this we turn our pen to those things which he did, with the help of the Lord, during his episcopate. But because it is not our task⁷⁸ to narrate everything exactly, we more earnestly request to be forgiven, not in proud insolence, but in humble boldness; and may what we stammering explain with difficulty in very few words be accepted willingly for the sake of love of the saint.

⁷³ Corsi: "c'è un affare segreto che io debbo rivelarti". But "indoles" is not translated. Is it perhaps a title of respect?

⁷⁴ Mai has instead: "and they all with one intention along with the clergy and people elected him into the priestly office."

⁷⁵ The word here is "infula." This has a wide range of meaning as can be seen from the DMLBS. An "infula" was originally a fillet or riband worn in the hair of a priest, but in this period is the lappet for a mitre, and by extension the mitre itself, and even a word for an honour or dignity. Corsi translates Mombritius' "insulam", "insignia", rather than "infulam". F. Wormald, "The Calendar of the Augustinian Priory of Launceston in Cornwall", JTS 39 (1938), p.18 notes another case where "insula" appears for "infula".

⁷⁶ Mai omits the rest of the chapter, and has only "Now here is what he did in the episcopate."

⁷⁷ Once again the chapter ends with a moral reflection which, as usual, is omitted by Mai.

⁷⁸ Or: "opis nostrae", "not in our power."

8. His Character as Bishop.

Having been raised therefore to the pontifical chair, he maintained the same dignity of character, and the same humility, as before. Frequently he kept watch through the night in prayer, and weakened his body with fastings. Although from his youth he had abhorred the company of women, now he fled from this as if it was a kind of plague. He showed that he was humble in receiving people, and effective in speaking.⁷⁹ He was swift in exhorting, severe in correcting. He attended to the business of widows, orphans and the oppressed, and as if they were his own. He detested the plundering of the powerful, he rebuked the violent, and if by any chance he perceived someone afflicted, he wonderfully restored him and still more wonderfully comforted him.

Every day the fame of his goodness increased, which spread the praises of Nicolas everywhere. Here a powerful man invoked his name, there a powerless man. All the people rejoiced at such a patron. The lords⁸⁰ rejoiced at so great a pontiff, who showed himself so full of authority and grace that he took care of everything but did not lose the dignity of a bishop. But time would fail me, and my discourse would fall short, if I attempted to write about every single one of his merits. But anyone who would like to know what kind of man he was, and how greatly he excelled, let him hold back the biting tooth, and, from what follows, he will be able to understand it clearly. So because Nicholas was strengthened with the virtue of every spiritual gift, and attributed nothing to himself, but everything to God's grace, he then began to shine so much with miracles, so that not only his own people, but also foreigners, oppressed by whatever difficulties, by calling upon his name immediately felt relief.⁸¹

9. The Miracle of the Sailors.

Now one day some sailors were in danger of a sudden storm at sea, to the point that everything threatened an immediate death for them, with their limbs weakened by the cold, and they immediately began to cry out, "O Nicholas, servant of God, if what we have heard about you is true, let us now experience it, as we are put to the utmost danger, so that, having been rescued from the raging waves of the sea, we may give thanks to God and for our deliverance by you." O wonderful thing! To those offering up such things, there appeared something in the shape of a man, saying to them, "Well, you have called me. Behold! Here I am." And he began to help them with the ropes and halyards and the other equipment of the ship. Not long after, all the crashing of the waves abated, and the whole storm ceased. Then the overjoyed sailors, ploughing the tranquil seas, arrived as quickly as possible at the desired port.

On disembarking, they began to ask where Nicholas was. Then, when it had been indicated to them in the church, they went in immediately and, wonderful to relate, instantly recognised he whom

⁷⁹ This sentence is accidentally omitted from Corsi's translation.

⁸⁰ Lit. "heroes". DMLBS suggests "lord, chief, magnate"; Corsi translates as "i capi", "the leaders"; Ducange says "Militum propria appellatio, episcopis tamen aliquando attributa" – "An appellation proper to soldiers, but sometimes attributed to bishops." The word appears also in chapter 12, referring to the governor. The Greek word probably indicates authentic text by John the Deacon.

⁸¹ This is the last chapter of the biography of St. Nicholas, and what follows is not set in any particular period of his life. This is also the first chapter where the narrative material is not followed by a moral reflection. Instead it finishes with these remarks introducing the miracle stories. The syntax of the chapters following starts to change and become simpler, as if they are adapted from another source.

they had never met, without any sign. At once they prostrated themselves at his feet and began giving thanks to him, telling how they had been delivered with his help from the verge of death. To whom the saint said, "Do not think that what happened is from my own power. It is the usual mercifulness of God, who in his clemency, not on account of me, his unworthy servant, but on account of the sincerity of your faith, has deigned to rescue you. Learn, then, how how much a pure faith and a sincere supplication may prevail with God. For on account of our sins we are scourged every day. However, if we have turned to the good Lord with all our heart, he immediately sets in motion the depths of his mercy upon us, and will rescue us from impending dangers. So, brothers, don't get tired of doing good, pursuing humility and willingly rescuing the poor. Believe my insignificance, because, ever since man was cast down into the abyss of this world on account of his transgressions, it is written that God thus does not approve of any of his good deeds so much as almsgiving, unless, however, it is done for worldly glory." Having been instructed with these and other such words, they departed, admiring his humility of spirit, the lowliness of his dress, the eloquence of his speech, and the greatness of his virtue.

10. The Miracle of the Wheat.⁸²

At a certain time, when a devastating famine had oppressed the same country of Lycia so much, as its inhabitants deserved⁸³, that "the sickly crop denied any sustenance",⁸⁴ the provincial peasants informed the often-mentioned servant of God – who often took risks, especially on behalf of the needy – that ships laden with grain had arrived in the harbour of the port of Andriake.⁸⁵ On going swiftly to the place, Nicholas began to say to the sailors, "I have come to ask if you would be willing to bestow a small amount of help out of a portion of this wheat, looking out for this people, who are wasting away, oppressed by the prolonged famine." Thus said the saint; and to the saint they spoke as follows, "We do not dare to obey your orders, Father, because, having been requisitioned for public service, we made our way to Alexandria, and from there we bring this grain, to be measured out by the hands of the officials, for the stipends of the Augustales⁸⁶." To whom the saint said, "Hear me, and supply me with at least one hundred measures⁸⁷ from each ship, so that the people here are not thinned out any more; and in virtue of my Lord, whom I serve, I promise, assure, and guarantee that you will have no shortfall at the royal tax officer." Finally, convinced by the intervention of the bishop, they counted out one hundred measures from each ship, and immediately a fair wind arose and they embarked on the ships, and left the port, and, with the winds blowing, by a flying passage they arrived at the city of Byzantium.

But when they had measured out to the emperor's officials the same quantity which they had taken on at Alexandria, so great a stupor came over them all that, in amazement, they explained to the same officials in an orderly way all the things that had happened. They, impressed by this account, glorified God, the author of all things, with uninterrupted praise for both.

⁸² This chapter again does end with a kind of moral reflection.

⁸³ Lit. "according to the deserts of its inhabitants."

⁸⁴ Virgil, *Aeneid*, 3:142: "ārēbant herbae et victum seges aegra negābat".

⁸⁵ Or Andriaca. The port of Myra, at the mouth of the Andriacus river. Cf. Pliny the Elder, *HN* v, 27 "Andriaca civitas". The word order of this sentence has been rearranged to avoid some unnatural English, because the sentence subject is "naves", ships.

⁸⁶ The priests of the imperial cult.

⁸⁷ "modii".

Then the man of the Lord, having obtained the wheat, took pains to divide it up by design, as he knew that each man required. To wonders more wonders succeed. For, by the great generosity of Almighty God, this very little amount which the saint distributed, was increased, so that, not only in the same year, but also almost to the end of a second year, it was sufficient for the sustenance of each individual. Indeed many, in trusting hope, did not hesitate after this to sow, and the awaited harvest was not at all frustrated by empty ears of corn, but it fed them completely with abundant produce. Moreover let this not seem incredible to anyone, because that promise is from the Saviour, who says, "If you have faith like a mustard seed, you shall say to the mountain, 'Move yourself', and it will be moved."⁸⁸ And this, "He who believes in me will also do the works that I do, and will do greater than these".⁸⁹ Indeed Nicholas truly believed in the one with whose help he succeeded in performing such and so great a miracle.

11. St Nicholas and the Devil.⁹⁰

Out of the many idolatrous cults to which the aforesaid country had formerly been dedicated, it strived to exhibit the greatest devotion of its madness to a statue of the most abominable Diana,⁹¹ to such a degree that, even up to the time of the servant of God, most of the peasants devoted themselves to this detestable religion. But the man of God persecuted this sacrilegious superstition with such commitment that, supported by divine assistance, he expelled entirely the worship of the perverted goddess from those lands.

Truly, who is more malicious than the devil? Who in the world is more crafty? Then, when he saw that he was deprived of so great an ornament of his dignity, he burned with a venomous flame, and blazed out in a great rage against Nicholas, and, turning over new schemes with a fresh heart, he approached some men, steeped - indeed lost - in every crime, and he ordered them to manufacture the oil which is called "mediacon"⁹² with all speed. The worthy listeners immediately were obedient to the words of their dear master and as soon as possible they made up a mixture of the unnatural liquid.

Once this had been prepared, the demon, never slow to do harm, transformed himself into the likeness of a religious woman, and thus disguised, he took himself into the midst of the sea to some sailors, whose devotion was taking them to the servant of God. And in order to use a boat⁹³ belonging to others, he said to them, "Ah, I see that you are going to the house of Nicolas. I too would like to come with you now, because I have made a vow to receive the blessing of such a great father. But since I cannot, I ask you, if it is no trouble, to carry this oil of my insignificance to the

⁸⁸ Mt. 17:19.

⁸⁹ Jn. 14:12.

⁹⁰ This chapter in Mai is significantly different.

⁹¹ Corsi understands this as "egli poi si impegnò ad esercitare il massimo zelo della sua pietà contro il simulacro della nefandissima Diana", "he (St Nicholas) then undertook to exercise the utmost zeal of his piety against the simulacrum of the most nefarious Diana," and he reads "clementiae", rather than the "dementiae" which cannot really be used of Christian piety. But it seems better to treat "regio" as the subject rather than "Nicholas". Note that I would never have worked out this sentence without Corsi's translation.

⁹² This is a transliterated word from Greek, meaning "Median (fire)", referring to the Medes and Persians. Median fire is one of the terms used by Byzantine writers for what we know as Greek fire. See R.F. Seybolt, "A troublesome medieval Greek word," *Speculum* 21 (1946), 38-41.

⁹³ A "lembus" = λέμβος, a fishing boat. Another transliterated Greek word.

church of Myra, and, in remembrance of me, in short to anoint the walls of the building with it." Then they, unaware of the deception and of the art of falsification, accepted the oil on the ship⁹⁴, and willingly carried it with them. Then the shapeless thing quickly faded away from the galley⁹⁵ like a faint shadow. But the pious Lord, despiser of the hateful, did not long permit those hastening in good faith to his servant to bring the gift of a false image, nor to continue deluded by deceptive words.

For unexpectedly they saw a small fishing-boat,⁹⁶ filled with distinguished men, among whom they saw a man very similar to Saint Nicholas, who spoke to them with polite questions: "Ho!" said he, "What did that woman say to you? Or what did she give you?" And they told everything in an orderly way: "Look", they said – and they showed him the oil – "what she begged us to bring to the holy church." He replied, "Do you want to know more clearly who that woman was? For this is unchaste Diana, and, so that you may prove for certain that I am telling the truth, cast this vessel of accursed oil into those waves." In front of everyone, without delay, they carried out the orders immediately. But at the instant when that oil touched the sea waters, incredibly, a fire was ignited at that spot and was seen to burn over a great expanse of sea, against the nature of the element. Then, while the sailors were looking at this astonishing thing, and, with a fixed gaze, stood perplexed at so great a prodigy, the two ships became separated by a great distance, so they could not even ask who it was through whom they discovered the unsuccessful ambush of a crafty enemy. Even so, while hurrying – as they had vowed – to St. Nicholas, they related to those they met with a loud voice what had happened to them. Then, coming to the servant of God, they said, "Truly you are the one who, on the open sea, showed us a frightening prodigy. Truly you are the true servant of God, through whose merits we have been rescued from the deadly snares of the devil." Saying such things, they related all the details of the business in an orderly way.

On hearing this, the man of the Lord, as usual, burst out into praise of the most merciful Father, and then he admonished them to live justly and piously, and to entrust themselves entirely to the protection of the eternal guardian, who does not allow anyone to be tempted beyond that which he can bear.⁹⁷ And so, better informed with such teachings, and rejoicing in the desired blessing, the servant of Jesus Christ sent those men joyfully back to their homes.

12. Stratilates: The Three Generals.⁹⁸

12.1 Three Generals Sent to Phrygia Arrive in Andriake.⁹⁹

Subsequently in parts of Phrygia a certain nation named the Taifals¹⁰⁰, by the machinations of seditious men, revolted against the rule of Constantine Caesar, and the same Augustus immediately

⁹⁴ Lit. "fleet".

⁹⁵ Lit. "rowing crew", so "galley" by synecdoche.

⁹⁶ Lit. "small fishing-net", but "small fishing boat" by synecdoche.

⁹⁷ 1 Cor. 10:13.

⁹⁸ The story of the Three Generals ("Stratilates") circulated independently in Greek, and may have been translated into Latin before the time of John the Deacon. It seems that John the Deacon incorporated a recension of it into his text, which takes up chapters 12 and 13. The Falconius edition incorporates a different recension, which may be found in appendix B.

⁹⁹ I have divided chapters 12 and 13 into numbered sections for convenience.

summoned for consultation and addressed the three commanders of the army, (those whom the Dolopians¹⁰¹ call the “Stratilates”) namely Nepotianus, Ursus and Harpilio, and he ordered them, when a naval force had been prepared, to set out and subdue the rebels. Therefore, having equipped their soldiers,¹⁰² and filled with military ambition, they left Constantinople, and began to sail on the calm sea.

After they had made a very slow crossing of the sea, and had sailed the sea of the aforementioned country of Lycia, a sudden storm arose, and they were in danger of a tempest. And during this, unable either to struggle against it, or to press on successfully, they changed course in the increasing winds, and finally were blown towards the shores of the port of Andriake. There, having dropped anchors as usual, the ships were repaired, and so, having reached the desired seashore, at length some of the young men began to walk around here and there. But some of them, going for the sake of commerce as far as the market-place which is called “Placomata”, did not refrain from committing¹⁰³ robbery, as is the custom of that sort of men. A crowd of the inhabitants, quickly noticing this, all rushed to stop them. While they were clashing repeatedly, or like contrary winds in a great whirlwind, the sudden uproar was like a trumpet-call¹⁰⁴ to the city of Patara. As a result it came about that the whole city gathered together to suppress the violence of such a great disorder. The man of the Lord, dismayed at this commotion, went out, and, shrewdly repressing the indignation of the furious citizens, hastened to the aforesaid port, which was three miles away from the city itself,¹⁰⁵ and, having found those commanders there, after the duty of salutation, he offered kisses¹⁰⁶, and then he enquired, saying, “Who are you? Where from? Do you bring here peace or war?” And they said, “Holy Father, we come in peace, and a storm has brought us to your shores. For our journey is to Phrygia. In fact some rebels have risen up, whose disobedience we have been directed by the imperial power to subdue. Therefore we ask that you accompany us with your prayers, so that we can do this fittingly.” Then the bishop addressed them briskly, and urged them, as they went together towards the walls of the city, not to disdain to make use of his blessing. Immediately the generals¹⁰⁷, admiring the great influence of the servant of God, at once forbade all their people to roar like barbarians, or, behaving further in an undisciplined manner, to presume to do violence to anyone at all.

12.2 The Release of the Three Innocents.

Having thus calmed things down, behold, it was reported by some saying, “O holy lord, if your paternity had been present in the city, the unjust executions of three soldiers would never be happening. In fact even the citizens have all greatly regretted your absence, because the consul, completely blinded by a large bribe, has agreed to their execution.” Having heard these words, the

¹⁰⁰ Lit. “Artaiphala.” Presumably αἱ Ταῖφάλαί “the Taifals”. The Taifals were a sub-tribe of the Goths, defeated by Constantine and settled in Phrygia.

¹⁰¹ Δόλοπες, a warlike tribe of Thessaly mentioned in the Iliad. Probably the Greeks are meant.

¹⁰² Lit. “youth”, but the sense is “soldiers”.

¹⁰³ Lit. “inflicting”. The sense is that the soldiers abused their position in order to extort goods from the locals.

¹⁰⁴ Lit. announcement, messenger.

¹⁰⁵ Lit: “which was separated from the city itself by three thousand paces”.

¹⁰⁶ Corsi: “ivi trovati quei generali, dapprima rese loro il dovuto saluto col bacio”: “first gave them the due greeting with a kiss”.

¹⁰⁷ Lit. “stratilates” – again dropping into Greek.

man of the Lord, kindled with the fire of piety, asked the aforementioned generals to hasten with him with rapid steps. Without delay they entered the city, and coming to the place which was named after the lion, St. Nicholas asked those whom he found there whether those who had received the capital sentence were still alive. Answering they said to him, "Hurry, venerable Father, hurry, because they are alive and detained in the square of Dioscorus."

Immediately hurrying to the church of the martyrs Crescentius and Dioscorus, for whom the square itself was named, and not finding them, he made enquiry where they were. He was told, "They are just now going out of that gate of the city." While he was going there, he heard that they had been transported to Birra, where condemned men were killed. Having heard this, Christ's huntsman¹⁰⁸, although wearied from such a journey, went, and ran, and coming all the way in haste to the place, he found that they were waiting on bended knee, with face covered by a veil, and the sword of the executioner¹⁰⁹ already hovering¹¹⁰ over the outstretched neck.

Here, here you can experience that true saying, "the righteous are bold as a lion."¹¹¹ For undeterred by either worldly power, or the edge of the sword, he boldly threw himself fully onto the lictor, and, hurling the sword far away from his hand, he did not move away until he could bring them back with him, released from their chains, repeating, "Myself, I say, myself I am ready to give to death instead of those who have been condemned but are innocent." But out of the executioners no one dared even to murmur against him, knowing that he was of great merit and of great courage and very strong in Christ.

Accompanied therefore by the applause of the people, who, while expecting his arrival, had obstructed the executioners¹¹², he approached the praetorium of the consul. The doors of this having been unbarred by force rather than voluntarily – for they were closed –, the arrival of the bishop was announced to Eustachius the consul by the chamberlains. Immediately the impatient governor ran to meet him and gave him greeting. But, because it was written, "but power, when it is tried, reproves the unwise,"¹¹³ spurning him, the saint said, "Enemy of God, law-breaker, whose mouth has imbibed the blood of the innocent as more sweet than honey, with what temerity did you presume to look upon our face, aware of so much guilt? Most bloodthirsty man, why did you not listen to the dominical precept, which every day proclaims, 'Do not condemn the innocent and the just'?"¹¹⁴ To which in a few words the lord returned answer thus: "Why do you receive me like this, O servant of God? Why rage uselessly against me? Look again, because Eudoxius and Simonides, the notables of this city, are more to be blamed for this than me. For in fact it is they who are violently stirred up to shed the blood of these men." To which the bishop rejoined, "Neither Simonides nor Eudoxius lured you to consent to commit such a crime, but greed for gold and silver. Believe my insignificance, that your 'arrangement', whatever it is, by which means you manage, or rather plunder this country, will be whispered in the ears of the most pious Augustus, so that he may award a well-deserved recompense for your deeds." Recalling these and other things, he persisted

¹⁰⁸ The idea is similar to that in the "Hound of Heaven" by Francis Thompson.

¹⁰⁹ "Spiculator".

¹¹⁰ Or "balanced".

¹¹¹ Prov. 28:1.

¹¹² Reading this as "qui, eius expectando adventum, gladiatoribus impedimento fuerat", and understanding "who, while expecting his arrival, had been an obstruction to the the executioners".

¹¹³ Wisdom 1:3.

¹¹⁴ Dan. 13:53 (=Susanna 53): "The innocent and the just thou shalt not kill." (Douai)

and humiliated the governor. Eventually, intervening in the end, the aforesaid generals begged him very much that, putting to sleep his anger, he would grant pardon to the consul, who was violently suffused with red in the face. The man of the Lord graciously accepted their request, and humbly tried to appease before everyone the governor Eustachius, whom he had humiliated before everyone.

Then the generals, after a banquet had been celebrated, received the blessing of the pontiff and joyfully returned to their companions and the fleet. Then, as soon as the first promise of safety¹¹⁵ had returned to the sea, they undertook the journey they had begun, and, carried along by following winds, they soon arrived in Phrygia. Then, after they had removed the fomenters of the rebellion and skillfully brought them back under the laws of the empire, they returned to the city of Constantinople. Not only did the people come to congratulate them, but many nobles. Even the emperor, rejoicing because his enemies had been subdued without bloodshed, received them triumphantly in his palace.

13. Stratilates: The Three Generals (Contd.)

13.1 The Generals are thrown into Prison.

But that ancient enemy of human salvation, looking at these things with discontented eyes, was quiet for a long time; for so long indeed that he changed himself into every shape,¹¹⁶ until he could stir up some of the envious who were jealous of their¹¹⁷ rank, by the goad of bitterness¹¹⁸, to plot against them, either their disgrace or death. Need I say more? Some deceitful men approached a certain prefect named Ablavius, what the Greeks¹¹⁹ call an eparch, and accused them¹²⁰ of many things. Above all they tried to show that they were conspirators against the Augustus, adding that their talk was subtle and their humility feigned, and therefore their very real enmity would not be noticed,¹²¹ because only¹²² when they found the right opportunity would they appear otherwise. But when they saw that they could not achieve anything by empty words, they began to influence the mind of the man with large bribes, and to equip him for the destruction of the innocents. Truly, "To what do you not drive the minds of mortals, O accursed lust for gold?"¹²³ At once the eparch, corrupted by an enormous quantity of yellow metal, went to the Augustus and began to speak like this: "Most excellent lord, under whose government the whole world rests in peace! Behold, the envy of the devil, from whom every nursery of iniquity arises, has stirred up internal enemies against us. For in fact those generals whom a while ago your Sublimity sent to Phrygia, are plotting treason against my lord. In fact they are holding frequent meetings and promising their confederates that they will be enriched with wealth, and will be promoted to high offices. This I know for certain and

¹¹⁵ "fides" = "promise of safety", via Niemeyer.

¹¹⁶ Corsi reads "in humanas", "into human forms".

¹¹⁷ The three generals.

¹¹⁸ Lit. "bitter prickings".

¹¹⁹ Lit. "Achivi" – probably "Achaeans" is intended.

¹²⁰ The generals.

¹²¹ I.e., would not attract official attention. Medieval use of the gerundive here as simply a future passive participle – see L. R. Palmer, "The Latin Language" (1954), p.167.

¹²² "only" added for clarity.

¹²³ Virgil, *Aeneid* III, 56-7.

so I have come before your presence to relate it, so that I do not incur divine judgment and imperial wrath. For indeed not only those who do wrong are guilty, but also those who consent to their actions; especially when I learned these things for sure from their associates. Wherefore may wisdom divinely bestowed provide you in advance what needs to be done.”

So the Augustus believed in his deceptions, namely those of his prefect, and in anger he ordered that they were arrested on the spot, and thrown back in prison. But after they had been transferred to the custody of the prison officials, it came about – not, as I suppose, without the divine will – that the emperor, preoccupied with the highest affairs of state, postponed sentence upon them. But since a blinded soul¹²⁴, once soaked with poisons, grows bright again only¹²⁵ with difficulty and through penance¹²⁶, the aforementioned slanderers presented themselves after a few days had passed, and bearing the promised gifts to the aforesaid prefect, said, “By what agreement have you given life to our enemies, and, having been arrested, not executed them immediately? Or did you hope that you would be able to put an end to the rebellion, if you just¹²⁷ ordered them to be confined in prison? For behold, the prisoners, with the support of their associates, are trying to escape and fulfil the planned wickedness. So it is necessary for you to work hard, so that they cannot do such a thing, which we do not want; otherwise we shall regret that we watched out for your peace, and you will perish very quickly.” The prefect, therefore, moved more by the blood-stained bribe than by the power of words, once again poured this venom into Caesar’s ears: “Lord Augustus, those criminals whom your mercy permits to live, are not ceasing to plan evil designs with their conspirators. For surely, without any doubt, you know that they have conspirators on the outside who are manfully trying to help them, so that, on escaping unexpectedly, they may rush upon our lord to kill him.” Immediately the Augustus, as if he had learned for certain of his own death, was so angry that without even waiting for an investigation, he commanded them to be killed.

Having received this order, the greedy prefect with great joy sent an order to the warden of the prison to keep them segregated and watch them very carefully¹²⁸, so that on the following night they might be put to death secretly. Then the warden, a man of good compassion and rightly called Hilarianus, rushed down to the prison, and with a heavy heart uttered these words, “I wish I had never known you, my lords! Alas! Today we are being separated from each other!” And overflowing with tears he said, “Shall I speak or be silent? But still I must speak to you. You should know that the sentence has been issued by the Augustus, that tonight, without delay, you are being put to death. So arrange your affairs now, so that later on, having been brought to your last moment, you do not leave the same settled more by your death than by your will¹²⁹.

13.2 The Generals Call Upon St. Nicholas.

Having heard this, immediately a icy shiver ran through their inmost bones, and moaning, with disheveled hair, they tore their clothes and with such a loud howling they cried out, “Alas, why is

¹²⁴ Lit. “a blind soul.”

¹²⁵ Added “only” for clarity in English.

¹²⁶ Lit. “through a difficult penance.”

¹²⁷ Added “just” for clarity in English.

¹²⁸ Lit. “to watch these segregated ones”.

¹²⁹ “testamentum”, i.e. legal last will and testament.

there this great fury? Why such great severity that we are to die like common footpads, who are not even considered worthy of questioning? That harshness is monstrous, and unheard of anywhere.” But when they had been complaining thus for a long time, and a lot, Nepotianus, one of them, remembered how St. Nicholas had been the wonderful deliverer of the three soldiers. Sighing again and again, at last he uttered this prayer: “O God, exalted king, come quickly to the aid of the wretched, come quickly to the aid of the perishing, and graciously hear my most humble prayer, not for our merits, but for the merits of your servant Nicholas, so that, just as we saw those three rescued from death by his request, so may we be rescued through his intercession from this sudden sentence. Seeing that, even if he is not present in body, yet we believe that in spirit he has compassion for everyone’s needs, on behalf of which he often prays to you. Therefore, O Lord, you who bring forth the purpose of those who fear you, on account of his prayers, deliver us.” So Nepotianus prayed, and likewise his companions, and together with one voice they cried out, “O Saint Nicholas, help us. Servant of God, though absent, intercede for us, so that, delivered from immediate slaughter¹³⁰, we faithful will deserve to see your face, and to kiss your most holy feet.”

O the merciful goodness of the creator, O the immense kindness of the saviour, which is so much to be magnified with praise; how greatly is He¹³¹ responsive to all those simply seeking Him. Who ever sought him with a pure heart and did not find him? Who asked him for mercy and did not receive it? For he promised this himself, saying, “Whatever you ask the Father in my name, it will be done for you.”¹³² Indeed these three in the midst of their difficulties wondrously experienced the promise of this truth. Indeed the man of God was still alive in this present life, and so the good Lord deigned to listen to the prayers of the aforesaid supplicants as if St. Nicholas, as intercessor, were with him in the kingdom above. But whose are these gifts but yours, O Christ, your rewards? Entirely yours, O Lord, who are accustomed to glorify those who are glorifying you, not only before your father in heaven, but also on earth before men.

13.3 St. Nicholas Appears in a Dream to the Emperor and the Prefect.

On the following night, therefore, on which those generals were to be executed, when the emperor and the eparch gave themselves to sleep they had very similar dreams, which, therefore we shall relate in detail, so that we may most clearly understand that the Almighty gives warning to the transgressors of justice, not only directly, but also through visions. Nor does he do this in vain, but since he rejoices more over one sinner than over ninety-nine righteous, it shows that he prefers the repentance of all. Now the visions were of this kind. For in the stormy night, when the Augustus had given himself up to sleep,¹³³ there appeared a likeness of St. Nicholas, saying: “O Constantine, why did you unjustly have those generals arrested? Why did you sentence them to death without a trial? Get up quickly, and order them to be released as soon as possible. But if perhaps, in spite of me, you want to do something else, I pray to the Heavenly King that He avenge your contempt of me, harden your heart, and permit a war to break out and, after you have been killed there, your body will be food for beasts and birds.” The Augustus said to him, “Who are you, and by whose authority do you act, that, entering my palace at this hour, you dare to speak in such a way?” And

¹³⁰ Or “from our present confinement” – manuscripts G, D and L.

¹³¹ Either “it” – the kindness of God – or “He”, i.e. God, the subject of the next sentence.

¹³² John 15:16.

¹³³ These words “Now... sleep” appear only in manuscripts P, O and C.

he, "I am Nicholas, a sinner, bishop of the metropolis of Myra." Saying these things, he went away. And he terrified the eparch thus: "O Ablavius, crazy in mind and lost to feeling, what necessity lay upon you to become a persistent accuser of the innocent? Go quickly, and have them immediately brought out of prison. But otherwise, I will arrange,¹³⁴ through the majesty of the eternal emperor,¹³⁵ that your whole body overflow with worms, and that, as soon as possible, your house is plundered." To whom the prefect thus in agitated words opened his mouth: "But who are you, who threaten us so much?" He replied, "Know that I am Nicholas, Bishop of Myra." He spoke, and vanished away from sight into thin air.

Terrified by such visions, Caesar and the eparch were shaken awake from their sleep, and, hastening to do their duty, they quickly related to each other what each had seen that needed to be told.¹³⁶

13.4 Before Constantine: Interrogation and Release.

Then, when the first light of dawn chased away the stars, instantly the emperor sent for his great men, and the same eparch, and caused the generals to be brought before him. Once they were standing there, with a fierce look, he began to speak to them: "What magical arts have you learned, to mock us with such great phantasms and disturb us with such great dreams?"

They were astonished at such a beginning of the interrogation, and gave no answer. And the Augustus again, "Reveal to us, what are your sorceries¹³⁷!" To which Nepotianus, one for all, answered in a fearful voice: "Most excellent emperor, to whom God has entrusted the reins of the kingdom, God forbid that we are learned in the lessons of the evil art. For we have never, lord, had opportunity for such instruction. Obviously we also declare firmly that we are not guilty of a crime of that sort, deserving¹³⁸ a capital sentence." Then the Augustus said, "Do you know any man whose name is Nicolaus?"

Immediately they, hearing such a great name, raising the palms of both hands¹³⁹ to the stars, began to say in a loud voice, "Blessed are you, O Lord God of Saint Nicholas, who does not abandon those who trust in you and rely upon your mercy. Blessed are you, and praiseworthy forever and ever, who mercifully have deigned to look upon the sufferings of your unfortunate servants. And now, O Lord, Lord, on account of your servant Nicholas, deliver us from this false accusation of treason, just as those three men were rescued from a deadly execution."

Then the Augustus, understanding, and anxious to question them and find out the reasons, silenced them. And only then he said, "Come now, hasten and explain openly from which family he is

¹³⁴ DMLBS 11a: (w. ut or quatinus & subj.) to arrange (that something happen). I'm guessing that "per" should be inferred.

¹³⁵ I.e. God.

¹³⁶ Corsi leaves the "dicenda" untranslated.

¹³⁷ "artes" is understood, as "ars malefica" = witchcraft. DMLBS 3.

¹³⁸ Lit. "so that we are subjected to", i.e., "so as to deserve". Paraphrase is unavoidable here so I have followed Corsi's translation: "da meritare la pena capitale", "deserving of capital punishment." The same sentence appears in Otlone, where Giacomozzi gives: "così da meritare di subire la condanna capitale", "so as to deserve to suffer the capital sentence."

¹³⁹ Lit. "both palms".

descended, who or how important is he, or if these things are true which you so speak of.”¹⁴⁰ Immediately Nepotianus, reassured by these words, said, "He is truly in all things a holy man, by whose merits we believe that we have been rescued from the threat of death. He is the one whom we called upon in our distress¹⁴¹, and behold, as we see, we have found him a swift helper. In fact we truly believe that he is a worthy servant of God, through whom, although separated by such great earthly distances, in one moment of the night Christ deigned to hear us." These things he said, and immediately continuing, he spoke of what sort of man he was, and how great his humility and goodness were. In fact he also explained in an orderly way about the rescue of the young men¹⁴², so often mentioned, just as has been written.¹⁴³

13.5 The Emperor praises St Nicholas.¹⁴⁴

Caesar, on hearing these things, was greatly astonished, and, honouring God for the goodness of so great a man, said, "Go, and give thanks to God's servant, indeed to God, who through him has delivered you. However take with you, as presents from Constantine, modest gifts as well as our letters¹⁴⁵ as presents; namely this small book of the gospel, decorated marvellously with gold, and these liturgical basins¹⁴⁶ also, and two candlesticks¹⁴⁷ of gold, and another gold vessel adorned with most precious gems; and tell him to accept this graciously, and to strive, not to threaten me, most willingly obedient to his precepts, but to pray for me, and to ask the Lord not only for the peace of our kingdom, but of the whole world."

13.6 The Generals visit St. Nicholas.

A few days later, therefore, the aforesaid generals, having received the imperial letters and gifts, set out to go, as they had vowed, to the servant of God. On arrival and seeing Nicholas, they were immediately overcome, and kissed his feet, and out of the greatness of their joy, they repeated with loud voices: "Truly you are the most beloved servant of God! Truly a worshipper and lover of Christ! Truly you are worthy of being praised by the mouth of all, through whom we have been miraculously delivered from death." Proclaiming these and other things for a very long time, at length they related all the events of their arrest, and offering the presents, as well as the imperial letters, they displayed proof of their release. Immediately the excellent teacher raised his arms to heaven and praised the Lord Saviour, saying, "Great are you, O Lord our God, great and wonderful, of whose

¹⁴⁰ In Mom. and Lipp. this sentence reads: And then, finally, having gazed upon them, he said, "Tell us about the whom you have called upon, hasten and explain openly from what family is he descended, who, or how important is he, or whether these things that you say are true."

¹⁴¹ Most witnesses prefer "in our treason (trial?)" but L, the manuscript in Beneventan, has "distress".

¹⁴² I.e. the soldiers.

¹⁴³ Or "just as he was ordered to."

¹⁴⁴ The abbreviated version of chapter 13 printed by Falconius begins here.

¹⁴⁵ Niemeyer: a letter, especially from a high-placed person.

¹⁴⁶ "cimilia" or "ciminilia". Basins or vessels for liturgical use, plates, offering plates etc. P has a gloss "bacinum". . Ducange: from the Greek τὰ κειμήλια, sacred vessels. These were often made of precious metals and formed part of the treasury of a medieval abbey.

¹⁴⁷ "cerapta", "ceraptata" or "ceroptata". P has a gloss "candelabra". Mom. offers "cherothecas", or "chirothecas" - From Ancient Greek χεῖρ (kheír, "hand") + Ancient Greek θήκη (thékē, "envelope"), i.e. gloves.

greatness there is no end. Indeed you are the Lord, rich in all things, who alone does great wonders.”

Having said this, turning to them, he watered them with such a stream of the scriptures, that they distributed most of their possessions to the poor. Then, as is the custom of laymen, they exulted with so much joy that they cut off the hair that they had let grow in prison. And so, having been with the man of God for some time with great joy, having been instructed by his teaching, and enriched by his blessing, they returned to their own places, magnifying our Lord Jesus Christ, who reigns with the Father and with the Holy Spirit, one God, equal in majesty, equal in power, forever and ever, Amen.

VITA S. NICOLAI

Sigla & Abbreviationes

M	Milan P113supp	850-900
P	Paris, BNF lat. 989	10 th c.
Q	Paris, BNF lat. 17625	10 th c.
O	Orleans, BM 342	10 th c.
W	Vatican lat. 5696	10-11 th c.
B	Munich, BSB Clm 3711	11 th c. early
G	Angers, BM 802	11 th c.
D	Darmstadt 344	11 th c.
L	Vatican lat. 1197	11 th c.
V	Vatican lat. 1271	12 th c.
A	Berlin, theol. lat. qu. 140	11 th c.
C	Paris, BNF lat. 18303	11 th c., 4 th quarter
Mom.	B. Mombritius, <i>Sanctuarium seu Vitae Sanctorum</i> , Milan, ca. 1477 (?), 2 vols. Reprint Paris (1910), vol. 2, p.296-309.	
Lipp.	A. Lippomanus, <i>Vitarum Sanctorum priscorum Patrum</i> , 8 vols, Venice (1553); vol. 2, ff. 238v-248.	
Fal.	N. C. Falconius, <i>Sancti ... Nicolai Acta Primigenia</i> , Neapolis (1751), p.112-144.	
Corsi	P. Corsi, "La "Vita" di San Nicola e un codice della versione di Giovanni Diacono", in <i>Nicolaus VII/2</i> , Bari (1979), pp. 359-380.	
Mai.	A. Mai, <i>Spicilegium Romanum</i> , t. 4, Rome (1840), p.323-339.	
Steinmeyer	E. Steinmeyer, "Die Quelle des SNicholaus," <i>Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur</i> 21 (1877), pp. 417-425	
Giacomozzi	C. Giacomozzi, Otlone di Sant'Emmerano, Vita sancti Nicolai (BHL 6126). Edizione critica, traduzione e commento, Trento (diss), 2018.	
Treharne	E. M. Treharne, "The Old English Life of St. Nicholas with the Old English Life of St. Giles," in: <i>Leeds Texts and Monographs</i> , New Series 15 (1997).	

I. Prologus.¹⁴⁸

Sicut omnis materies,¹⁴⁹ si ab imperito artifice constructa fuerit, non solum deformitatis verum etiam et ruinae¹⁵⁰ damna patitur, ita scripturarum series, si a viro indocto¹⁵¹ promptula verbositate ordinata fuerit, non a venusti tantum sermonis facundia, sed etiam ab intellectus corrueat altitudine. Quod ego Johannes indignus Diaconus, servus Sancti Januarii, multum devitans, tibi me saepius roganti, frater Athanasi, rusticitatis obstaculum¹⁵² opponebam. Sed dum¹⁵³ mihi crebris in precibus, illud Apostolicum ingereres: "Caritas omnia vincit," tandem aliquando, assensum praebeui, ut propter

¹⁴⁸ "Incipit praefatio in vita sancti nicholai" – M; "prologus in vitam beati nicholai episcopi" – Mom.; "incipit prologus in vitam nicolai episcopi et confessoris" – Mai; "Vita Sancti Nicolai Episcopi, Et Confessoris, Ex B. Methodio, per Johannem Diaconum Ecclesiae sancti Januarii" – Lipp., Fal.

¹⁴⁹ "materies" – all; "materia" – Mom., Lipp., BN Alcobaca 414 (with correction "materies").

¹⁵⁰ "etiam et ruinae" – Fal., Corsi, M, P, Q, O, B, G, L, A, C; "etiam ruinae" – Mom., Lipp., D; "etiam aerumpnae" – Mai. "etiam & ruinae" – C (the "&" seems added later).

¹⁵¹ "a viro indocto" – Mom., Lipp., Fal., P, Q, O, B, G, L, C; "ab indocto" – Corsi, M, D, A, BNF lat. 196.

¹⁵² "obstaculum" – Fal., Corsi, M., P, Q, B, G, D, L, A, C, BNF lat. 196; "obstaculo" – O; om – Mom., Lipp.

¹⁵³ "dum" – M, P, Q, B, G, D, L, A, C; "cum" – edd., O, BNF 196;

devotionem, quam te erga sanctissimum Dei famulum Nicolaum, a progenitoribus habere gaudebas, nativitatem, et vitam, atque miracula, quae per eum Dominus gessit, Latinis explicarem sermonibus.¹⁵⁴ Verum, quia scio me penes liberalissimos¹⁵⁵ magistros inefficacis esse sermonis, ideo deprecor omnes, qui hujus operis studiosi lectores accesserint, ut non facillimam prorumpant inclamationem,¹⁵⁶ et me indoctum meque¹⁵⁷ judicare inertem incipiant. Dent, rogo, veniam aetati, dent et naturae. Enim vero¹⁵⁸ quantum percurrans lustrum, natura fragilior, plus discere quam scribere aliquid appetebam. Sane ortum sancti hujus et vitam, ex laude¹⁵⁹ quam Methodius Patriarcha, Argolico stylo, cuidam Primicerio, Theodoro nomine, se roganti, de eo est prosecutus, summatim breviterque studuimus carpere. Caetera quoque miracula eius, ex aliis doctoribus sumentes, magis sensum¹⁶⁰ quam verba¹⁶¹, protulimus.¹⁶² Si¹⁶³ cui forte displicet haec nostra brevis narratio, mittimus eum ad Graecorum phalerata commenta, quae tanto,¹⁶⁴ de eo largius dixerunt,¹⁶⁵ quanto illi et in genere et in sermone¹⁶⁶ congruunt.¹⁶⁷ Excessum vero eius, qualiter saeculo¹⁶⁸ abierit, ideo non scripsimus quia nusquam illum invenire potuimus.¹⁶⁹ Sed cur eius finis obstinatius inquiritur, cum tantae virtutum operationes¹⁷⁰ indicent eum, post vincula carnis postque luteam domum liberum, volasse ad aethera, et in sede¹⁷¹ coelesti cum Christo triumphare perenniter?¹⁷²

His ita praemissis, rogamus te, monache Dei, cunctam postulare congregationem, ut, fuis precibus, pariter obtineatis a Domino, quatenus¹⁷³ mihi imperito scribendi tribuat facultatem. Qui¹⁷⁴ cum voluerit, non tantum linguas infantium facit disertas, sed et brutorum animalium, ora¹⁷⁵ resolvit in

¹⁵⁴ "Latinis explicarem sermonibus" – "to explain in Latin words" – M, P, Q, O, B, D, L, A, C, BNF 196, Corsi, Mai; "Latinis explicare sermonibus aggressus sum", "I have undertaken to explain in words" – Mom. ("aggressus sum" appears to be a gloss); "Latinis explicarem auribus atque sermonibus" "to explain in Latin words and to Latin ears" – Fal.; "latinis explicare miraculis atque sermonibus" – G. The readings all appear to be intentional alterations.

¹⁵⁵ "liberalissimos" – Mom., Lipp., Corsi, M, P, Q, O, B, G, D, L, A, C; "litteratissimos" – Fal.

¹⁵⁶ "inclamationem", "crying out against" – Fal., M, P, Q, O, B, G, D, L, C; "in cachinnationem", "in immoderate laughter" – Corsi, A, Linz 473 (13th), Munich Clm 12642 (14th); "in vocem" – Mom., Lipp.

¹⁵⁷ "meque" – Mom., Mai, M, P, Q, O, B, G, D, L, A, C; "neque" – Fal.

¹⁵⁸ "enim vero" – Mom., Corsi, Mai, M, P, Q, O, D, L, A, C, BNF 196; "etenim vero", "in truth, however" – Fal., B, G.

¹⁵⁹ "ex laude" – Fal., Corsi, B, G, D, A, BNF 196; "et laudem" – Mom., Mai, M, P, Q, O, L, C.

¹⁶⁰ "sensum" – Lipp., Fal., M, P, Q, O, B, G, D, L, C; "sensu" – Mom.; "ea sensu" – Corsi, A.

¹⁶¹ "verba" – Mom., Lipp., Fal., M, P, Q, O, B, G, D, L, C; "verbo" – Corsi, A.

¹⁶² Mom. and Lipp. print this sentence after the next sentence, "Si cui ...congruunt". No other edition or manuscript does so.

¹⁶³ "Si" – Mom., Fal., Corsi, M, P, Q, O, B, G, D, L, A, C; "Quod si" – Lipp.

¹⁶⁴ "quae tanto... quanto" – all; "tacito illi" – BNF 196.

¹⁶⁵ "dixerunt" – Fal., M, P, Q, O, B, G, C; "disseruntur" – Lipp.; "disserunt" – Corsi, A; "asserunt" – D; "edisserunt" – L.

¹⁶⁶ "in genere et in sermone" – Mom., Lipp., Corsi, M, P, Q, O, B, G, D, L, A, C, BNF 196; "genere et sermone" – Fal.

¹⁶⁷ The next two sentences are omitted from O, resuming with "His ita".

¹⁶⁸ "saeculo" – P, Q, B, D, A, C; "e saeculo" – M (but "e" a correction); "a saeculo" – Fal., Corsi, Mai, G, L; "e seculo sanctus" – Mom., Lipp.

¹⁶⁹ This sentence omitted in O.

¹⁷⁰ "virtutum operationes" – Fal., Corsi, M, P, Q, B, G, D, L, A, C; "virtutes operationum" – Mom., Lipp.

¹⁷¹ "sede" – Mom., Lipp., Fal., Corsi, M, G^{corr}, D, A, BNF 196; "aede" – Mai, Q, B, G^{orig}, L, C; unreadable – P.

¹⁷² This sentence omitted in O.

¹⁷³ "quatenus" – Fal., Mai, Corsi, M, P, Q, O, B, G, D, L, A, C; "ut" – Mom., Lipp.

¹⁷⁴ "qui" – Mom., Lipp., Corsi, M, P, Q, B, G, D, L, A, C; "quia" – Fal., O.

¹⁷⁵ "ora" – Mom., Lipp., Corsi, M, P, Q, O, B, G, D, L, A, C; "ac" – Fal.

verba loquentem. Tu deinde, frater mi, specialiter, huius sancti patrocinium pro nobis petere non desistas¹⁷⁶, ut ea quae de illo scribere praesumimus, non humano, sed divino sint approbata iudicio. Et sicut multos ex eius protectione gavisos legimus, ita nos meritis illius, ex antiquo hoste ereptos, et ab inimicis tutos fore¹⁷⁷, laetemur.

II.178

Nicolaus itaque ex illustri prosapia ortus, civis fuit Patarae urbis, quae, una ex nobilissimis Lyciae provinciae civitatibus, tanto quondam famosissima¹⁷⁹ rutilabat, quantum¹⁸⁰ et populoso frequentabatur accessu.¹⁸¹ Modo¹⁸² peccatis exigentibus, parvissimi ad instar¹⁸³ redacta oppidi, raro incolitur habitatore.¹⁸⁴ De qua, quia se occasio praebuit, licet in exordio videamur facere digressionem, tamen, quia multis reor¹⁸⁵ illud profuturum, aliquid¹⁸⁶ magni prodigii, sicut per successionis seriem, fama usque ad nos manavit¹⁸⁷, ad posteros transmittere curamus¹⁸⁸.

Est enim penes¹⁸⁹ urbem eandem¹⁹⁰, quidam locus campestris, qui ita totus creberrimis rimis¹⁹¹, sicut¹⁹² vetus discinditur¹⁹³ indumentum¹⁹⁴, et ex hiulcis¹⁹⁵ meatibus, per diem fumum emittit teterrimum; per noctem vero, quasi ferrarii fornax, ignivomam vaporat flammam. Cuius natura

¹⁷⁶ "petere non desistas" – Mom., Lipp., Corsi, Mai, M, P, Q, O, B, G, D, L, A, C; "non desistes" – Fal.

¹⁷⁷ "fore" – all; "esse" – Fal. This appears to be an edit by Falconius.

¹⁷⁸ "Explicit praefatio. Incipit Vita Sancti Nicholai Archiepiscopi" – M; "Incipit vita Sancti Nicholai. Episcopi" – P; "Explicit Prologus. Incipit Textus Vitae" – Q; "Vita Beati Nicholai Episcopi" – Mom.; "Incipit vita beati Nicholai episcopi" – Lipp. "explicit prologus incipit vita" – Mai; om. – Fal., Corsi.

¹⁷⁹ "quondam famosissima" – Fal., Corsi, Mai, M, P, Q, O, G, D, L, A; "quendam fame" – Mom., "quondam fame" – Lipp.

¹⁸⁰ "tanto...quantum" – Fal., Corsi, M, O, B, G, A; "tanto...quanto" – Mai, P, D, C, BNF 2627, Munich Clm 12642; "tantum ... quantum" – Mom., Lipp., L;

¹⁸¹ "et populoso frequentabatur accessu" – all; "populosa frequentabatur" – Fal. This appears to be an edit by Falconius.

¹⁸² "modo" – Mom., Lipp., Fal., Corsi, M, P, Q, W, B, G, D, L, V, A, C, BNF lat 5572, Vat.Arch.Cap.A5, L, Firenze Plut.20.2, many others; "nunc vero" – O, Cambridge CCC 9, Balliol 216 (13th), BNF 1864 (14th), BNF 2627 (11th), Durham (12th), Vat.lat.9668 (12th), Vat. reg. lat. 529 (12th), Wien 12831 (15th); "modo vero", w/ "vero" added above line – BNF 5296C (13th).

¹⁸³ "ad instar" – Fal., Corsi, M, P, Q, O, W, B, G, V, A, C; "instat" – Mom.; "instar" – Lipp., D, L;

¹⁸⁴ Mai omits the remainder of chapter 2.

¹⁸⁵ "reor" – Mom., Lipp., Corsi, M, P, Q, O, W, B, G, D, L, V, A, C; "remur" – Fal., the plural.

¹⁸⁶ A leaf missing after this in O.

¹⁸⁷ "manavit" – all; "manabat" – Fal.

¹⁸⁸ "curamus" – Mom., Lipp., Fal., Corsi, M, P, O, W, D, L, V, A, C; "curavimus" – Q; "curabo" – G; "curabimus" – B.

¹⁸⁹ "penes" – all; "per" – B, G.

¹⁹⁰ "eandem" – Mom., Fal., Corsi, M, P, Q, O, W, B, G, D, L, V, A, C; "tandem" – Lipp.

¹⁹¹ "ita totus creberrimis rimis" – Fal., Corsi, M, P, Q, W, B/G ("discinditur" moved before "rimis"), D, L ("rimis" erased), A, C ("rimis" omitted but space left); "ita totus creberrimis incendus" – O (emendation by scribe?); "totus stagrosae creberrimis flammae alluvionibus ita dissolvitur": "which is thus completely destroyed by the most frequent floods of stagnant flame" – Mom.; "totus flagrosae creberrimis flammae alluvionibus ita dissolvitur" – Lipp., V (but "fragrose" moved after "creberrimis").

¹⁹² "sicut"; "sic" – W (copyist forgot abbreviation "sim" in "sic");

¹⁹³ "discinditur" – Fal. (who notes variant "scinditur" "in Vatican ms."), Corsi, M, B (different word order), G (ditto), D, A; "scinditur" – Mom., Lipp., P, Q, O, W, L, V, C

¹⁹⁴ "indumentum" – Corsi, M, P, Q, W, B, G, D, L, A, C; "vestmentum" – Mom., Lipp., Fal., O, V.

¹⁹⁵ "hiulcis" – Lipp., Fal., Corsi, M, P (without h), O (with "hi" above line), W, B, G, D, L, V (no "h", "i" above line), A; "hiuleis" – Mom.; "ulsis" – P; "ulcis" – C.

dicitur esse ut, si quislibet¹⁹⁶, experientiae causa, manus propius adhibuerit, ardorem quidem¹⁹⁷ sentit, sed nullam patitur adustionem.¹⁹⁸

O mira Domini pietas,¹⁹⁹ mira clementia! Qui, cum sit omnipotens, cui nemo audet dicere, “Cur ita facis?”, non statim scelestos percutit, nec perdit in crimine, sed nunc paterno blanditur affectu, nunc tyrannicas intonat minas; crebro etiam et²⁰⁰ claris exterritat²⁰¹ signis, ut tandem de malefactis²⁰² paeniteat,²⁰³ ne justo iudicio dignas persolvant²⁰⁴ vindictas.²⁰⁵ Sic sic²⁰⁶ quondam filiis Dei cum filiabus hominum, contra eius voluntatem, coeuntibus, iussit Noe arcam construere, cuius, saltem formidine territi, ab injusta desisterent copulatione. Sed quia nullo modo se coercuerunt, vindice aqua, totus periit mundus.²⁰⁷ Gomorraeos nimirum et Sodomitas tanta sustinuit patientia, ut descendere²⁰⁸ et videre dignaretur, utrum opere, an²⁰⁹ non, suas compleverint actiones. Cui Abraham obvians, amica exegit colloquutione, ut pro²¹⁰ decem justis, non perderet universos. Quid ergo? Numquid veritas fefellit Abraham? Absit.²¹¹ Sed nullo ibi, nisi Loth, reperto justo, et hoc ipso de medio eorum ablato, caeteros in sulphuris iudicavit²¹² examine. Et merito, ut qui putorem²¹³ suae actionis longe lateque disperserant, congruo demolirentur foetore.

¹⁹⁶ “quislibet” – Fal., Corsi, M, P, Q, O, W, B, G, D, L, V, A, C; “quis” – Mom., Lipp.

¹⁹⁷ “quidem” – Mom., Lipp., Fal., M, P, Q, O, W, B, G, D, L, V, C; om. – Corsi, A.

¹⁹⁸ Vat. Arch.Cap.S.Pietro.A3 omits the rest of chapter 2.

¹⁹⁹ “O” – added Corsi, A; om. – all

²⁰⁰ “etiam et” – a characteristic usage by John the Deacon.

²⁰¹ “exterritat” – Lipp., Fal., Corsi, M, P, Q, O, W, G, D, L, V, A, C; “exinritat” – Mom., maybe for “exirritat”?; “excitat” – Bruges BP 402.

²⁰² “malefactis”; “malis factis” – G, B; Mom., Lipp. insert “eos” after this.

²⁰³ “paeniteat” – Mom., Lipp., Corsi, Fal.; “paeniteant” – P, M, W (abbrev over a in “~eat”), B, D, G, L, A, C. NB: “paeniteat” is an impersonal passive, taking the accusative of the person who feels – scelestos – so “they may repent”.

²⁰⁴ “persolvant” – all; “persolvat” – Fal.

²⁰⁵ All the rest of chapter 2 is omitted in W. A few words follow before the start of chapter 3: “sic in his qui in diluvio perierunt et in sodomitis fecisse legitur.” – “It is read that it happened so among those who perished in the flood, and among the sodomites.” In Wien ONB 416 (12th c.), Linz 473 (13th), Klosterneuburg 701 (14th), and Munich Clm 12642 (14th), the next few sentences in chapter 2 are omitted, resuming with “Ecce nunc.”

²⁰⁶ “sic sic” – Fal., Corsi, mss; “sic” – Mom., Lipp.

²⁰⁷ “vindice aqua, totus periit mundus”. – “...by a judgement of water, the whole world perished” – Fal., Corsi, P, Q, O, B, G, D, L, A, C, + Balliol 216 (13th), Berlin theol lat qu 140 (11th), BL Harley 3097 (1124), BNF lat. 196 (12th), BNF lat. 1864 (14th), BNF lat. 2627 (11th), BNF lat. 5308 (12th), BNF lat. 5573 (12th), BNF lat. 5624 (13th), Bruges BP 402 (13th), Cambridge CCC 9 (11th), Durham B.IV.14 (12th), Fribourg L 5 (13th), Vat. arch A.5 (11th), L (11th), Vat.reg.lat.477 (12th), Vat.reg.lat. 496 (11th), Wien ONB 12831 (15th); – “vindicta aquae, totus periit mundus” – “..., overcome by water, the whole world perished” – M, BNF lat. 1765 (13th), BNF lat. 5572 (11th); – “aquosa eos perdidit vindicta, qua totus etiam periit mundus” – “..., a watery judgement destroyed them, in which the whole world also perished” – Mom., Lipp., V; – “et vindice aqua, totus periit mundus” – B, the “V” of vindice is inserted; – “vindice aqua, totus pene mundus periit” – BNF lat. 5284 (13th ex), BNF lat. 5345 (13th ex).

²⁰⁸ “descendere” – Mom., Lipp., M, P, Q, D, C; “descenderet” – Corsi, O, B, G, L, A; “descendet” – V.

²⁰⁹ “an non suas” – M, P, Q, O, B, G, D, L, A, C; “an secus” – Fal., Corsi; “an nefario operi reluctant, an suas” – V; “suas” – Mom., Lipp.

²¹⁰ “pro” – all; “si pro” – C.

²¹¹ “absit” – Lipp., Corsi, M, P, Q, O, B, G, D, L, V, A, C; om. – Mom.

²¹² “iudicavit”, “condemned” – Fal., Corsi, M, P, Q, O, B, G, D, L, A, C; “vindicavit”, “punished” – Mom., Lipp. – probably misreading the ms.

²¹³ “putorem”, “stink” – Fal., Corsi, D; “odorem”, “odour” – Mom., Lipp., B, G, L, V; “pudorem”, “shame” – M, O, A, C^{corr}; “pedorem”, “filth” – P, Q, C

Ecce nunc, et infelices accolae civitatis praedictae, quia omnem persecuti²¹⁴ sunt luxuriam, omnibusque se subdiderunt illecebris, ad emendationem, misericorditer, signum tremendae vindictae acceperunt. De quibus datur intelligi, quod si ulla se poenitudine redarguissent, nequaquam horribili²¹⁵ plecterentur exterminio.

Heu, heu²¹⁶ pestis iniqua! Tales sunt tuae retributiones, talia tua dona, ut quos male²¹⁷ illicis²¹⁸, male et²¹⁹ perire facias. Veniet, veniet, crede mihi, dies illa, quando et tu et tuus auctor, diabolus, aeterno dampnemini²²⁰ incendio. Cuius similitudinem ignis praefatae urbis habet, qui ardet, et non penitus²²¹ exurit.

Haec compendiose digessisse²²², nulli sit onerosum. Nunc ad ea, quae de sancto viro²²³ inchoavimus, accingamur.

III.224

Praefata vero²²⁵ urbe adhuc multa plebium generositate referta, parentes eius inter catervas potentum quanto²²⁶ honorificentia celebrabantur, tanto, supernae patriae accensi desiderio²²⁷, magis caelestis quam terrenae dignitatis gloriam appetebant. Re vera enim, cum essent nimium locupletati, nullius honoris insignia, nulliusque²²⁸ summae disponere²²⁹ moderamina voluerunt, sed omni studio continentium se lege vincientes, caelibem vitam actitare satagebant.

Et mirum²³⁰ in modum, cum in²³¹ primaevo iuventutis flore hunc solum genuissent filium, cunctis se voluptatibus abdicarunt,²³² et inter suas praeces, quas frequenter in Domini templo fundebant,

²¹⁴ "persecuti" – Fal., Corsi, M, Q, O, B, G, D, V; "secuti" – L; "prosecuti" – Mom., P, A, C, probably all from misreading an abbreviation; "prosequuti" – Lipp.

²¹⁵ "horribili" – Mom., Lipp., Fal., Corsi, P, Q, O, B, G, D, L, V, A, C; "terribili" – M.

²¹⁶ "heu heu" – all; "heu" – O.

²¹⁷ "male", all; "malis" – Fal., probably typo reflecting "illicis".

²¹⁸ "illicis" "entice" – Fal., M, P, Q, O, B, G, D, L, A, C; "suades" "lead astray" – Mom., Lipp., V.

²¹⁹ "et", all, including Fal., and A; "etiam" – Corsi gives "etiam" by mistake.

²²⁰ "dampnemini" – Corsi, M, Q, O, B, G, D, A, C; "dampnabimini" – Mom., V; "damnabimini" – Lipp.; "damnabitur" – Fal.; "damnemini" – P; "dampnamimi" – L.

²²¹ "penitus" – Lipp., Fal., Corsi, M, P, Q, O, B, G, D, L, V; "poenitus" – Mom. (probably a typo).

²²² "digessisse" – Mom., Lipp., Fal., Corsi, M, P, O, B, G, D, L, V, A, C; "dixesse" – Q (scribal correction).

²²³ "viro" – Mom., Lipp., M, P, Q, O, V, C; om. – Fal., Corsi, B, G, D, L, A.

²²⁴ BNF lat 196, f.10: De nobilitate et religione ipsius parentum. – On the nobility and religion of his parents.

²²⁵ "vero" – Mom., Lipp., Corsi, M, P, Q, W, B, G, D, V, A, C; "ergo" – Fal.; om. – L; "Prisca temporum serie: cum adhuc patera civitatis multa esset plebium generositate referta..." – O.

²²⁶ "quanto" – Corsi, P, D, L, A, C; "quanta" – Fal., M, Q, O, W, B, G, V, A, C^{corr}; "quanto maiore" – Mom., Lipp.

²²⁷ "accensi desiderio" – Mom., Lipp., Corsi, M, P, Q, O, W, B, G, L, V, A, C; "accensis desiderio" – Fal.; "desiderio" – D.

²²⁸ "nulliusque" – Fal., Corsi, M, P, Q, O, W, B, G, L, A, C; "nullius" – Mom., Lipp., D, V.

²²⁹ "disponere" – Fal., Corsi, M, P, Q, O, W, B, G, D, L, A; "dispositionis", "rank" – Mom., Lipp.; "dignitatis" – V, C.

²³⁰ "mirum in modum" – all; "nimirum in modum" – Q; "miro in modo" – V.

²³¹ "in" – all; "enim" – V

²³² From this point on, until much later, P is increasingly unreadable. One side of the page shows wear.

hunc²³³ solum superstitem,²³⁴ hunc non tantum divitiarum, quantum et morum flagitabant haeredem. Quorum²³⁵ vota, Deus, ex alto prospectans²³⁶, haud petitioni eorum defuit.

Nimirum, qualis futurus esset puer, in ipso, ut²³⁷ ita dicam, primordio nativitatis eius, monstrare dignatus est²³⁸. Enim vero,²³⁹ cum matris adhuc lacte aleretur, coepit bino in hebdomade, die²⁴⁰ quarta scilicet²⁴¹, et sexta feria, semel bibere mammas: et hac vice contentus tota die sic permanebat.²⁴²

Quis, rex²⁴³ immense Deus, quis unquam mortalium ex omnipotentatus tui²⁴⁴ operibus, audet disputare?²⁴⁵ Quis non contremiscit tuam magnificentiam, qui vocas ea quae non sunt tamquam²⁴⁶ ea quae sunt? Ecce novi Zachariae vatis²⁴⁷, ecce alterius Elisabeth filium.²⁴⁸ Ille teneris in membris, immo in utero matris²⁴⁹, Spiritu Sancto est repletus; hic fascia involutus, quibus valebat impensis, ejusdem Spiritus Sancti templum aedificabat.²⁵⁰ Ille de anu parente, Christum indice prodit; hic de juvene matre, Christum ab infantia est secutus. Absit enim²⁵¹, ut nos,²⁵² quamquam ineffabilis meriti sit apud Deum iste sanctus, beato illum aequiparemus Johanni. Cum Dominus dicat, “Inter natos mulierum, non surrexit major Johanne Baptista.” Sed ut fragiles in quantum possumus, et quibus²⁵³ possumus verbis, laudamus²⁵⁴ magnalia Dei. Quis enim audit²⁵⁵ parvulum²⁵⁶ in die semel, et non amplius, papillas²⁵⁷ bibere matris, et facile credit? Quis non obstupescit, tanto percussus auditu?

²³³ “hunc” – all; om – Mom., Lipp.

²³⁴ “hunc non tantum...” – all, C^{corr}; “hunc tantum...” – Q, V, C; “rerumque suarum flagitabant heredem.” – O.

²³⁵ “quorum” – Mom., Lipp., Corsi, M, P, Q, O, W, B, G, D, L, V, A, C; “horum” – Fal.

²³⁶ “prospectans” – Mom., Lipp., Corsi, M, Q, O, W, B, G, D, L, V, A, C; unreadable – P; “prospiciens” – Fal.

²³⁷ “ut” – Lipp., Fal., Corsi, M, P, Q, O, W, B, G, D, L, V, A, C; om. – Mom.

²³⁸ “m. d. e.” – Mom., Lipp., Fal., M, P, Q, O, W, B, G, D, L, V; “m. d. e. dominus” – Corsi, A; “dominus monstrare dignatus est” – C; (“dominus” is probably a gloss).

²³⁹ “enim vero” – Mom., Lipp., Corsi, M, Q, O, W, G, D, L, V, A, C; “ipse autem” – Fal.; “et enim” – B.

²⁴⁰ “die”; om. – W; “diebus” – D.

²⁴¹ “scilicet”; om. – D.

²⁴² W omits the rest of chapter 3.

²⁴³ “rex” – Fal., Corsi, M, B, G, D, L, V, A; “es?” – Q, O, C; “rerum” – Mom., Lipp.; N.B. “Rex immense deus” are the opening words of Dracontius, *Satisfactio*.

²⁴⁴ “ex omnipotentatus tui” – “because of the works of your omnipotence” – Fal., Corsi, M, P, Q, O, B, D, L, V, A, C; “ex omnipotentatus tuis” – G; “de omnipotentiae tuae” – “with the works of your omnipotence” – Mom.

²⁴⁵ “disputare” – Mom., Lipp., Fal., P, Q, O, B, G, D, L, V, A, C^{margin}; “dicere?” – Corsi, C; “dicere, cur ita facis?” – M.

²⁴⁶ “tamquam” – Mom., Lipp., Corsi, M, O, B, G, D, L, V, A, C; “tamque” – Fal., Q (= “ta~q~”, probably misreading abbreviation).

²⁴⁷ “vatis”, i.e. “Behold the new prophet (born) of Zechariah” – Fal., Corsi, M, P, Q, O, B, G, D, L, A, C; “vates” – Mom., Lipp., V.

²⁴⁸ “filium” – Fal., Corsi, Q, O, B, G, D, L, V, A, C; “filius” – Mom., Lipp., M; The accusative is probably by analogy to Greek.

²⁴⁹ “matris” – all; om. – Fal.

²⁵⁰ The rest of the chapter is omitted by Mai.

²⁵¹ “enim” – Fal., Corsi, M, P, Q, O, G, D, L, V, A, C; “tamen” – Mom., Lipp.

²⁵² “ut nos” – Mom., Lipp., Fal., Corsi, P, Q, G, D, L, V, A, C; “ut” – M; O moves “ut nos” after “sanctus”; “utrius” – B.

²⁵³ “et quibus possumus” – all, D; om. – M, B, G. First indication that G is not always a copy of D.

²⁵⁴ “laudamus” – Mom., Fal., Corsi, P, Q, O, B, D, L, A, C; “laudemus” – Lipp., M, G, V.

²⁵⁵ “audit” – Mom., Lipp., Corsi, M, P, Q, B, G, D, L, A, C; “audiat” – Fal. (from misreading the “t” as “a” in Beneventan?); “audivit” – V.

²⁵⁶ “parvulum” – Mom., Lipp., Corsi, M, P, Q, O, B, G, D, L, V, A, C; “puerulum” – Fal.

²⁵⁷ “papillas” – Mom., Lipp., Fal., P, Q, O, G, L, C; “mamillas” – Corsi, M, B, D, V, A; Sign of G not always from D.

Sed si dominum in evangelio dicentem attendimus, “Pater meus usque modo operatur, et ego operor”, omnis abscedit incredulitas, omnisque sopitur intentio.²⁵⁸

IV.259

Puerilibus igitur annis, ut Patriarcha Jacob, simpliciter domi transactis, coepit bonae indolis adolescens esse, et non, sicut illa aetas assolet, lasciviam²⁶⁰ complexus est mundi. Sed nunc²⁶¹ parentum comitatus vestigiis²⁶², nunc solus ecclesiarum terebat limina, et quod ibi de scripturis²⁶³, patulo advertebat auditu, non immemor, armariolo condebat pectoris²⁶⁴.

Ubi autem utroque parente orbatus est, saepius illud evangelicum ante suae mentis ducebat oculos²⁶⁵, “Nisi quis renunciaverit omnibus quae possidet, non potest esse meus discipulus,” et cum anhelaret ad perficiendum, quod pio vertebat in pectore, juvenilem²⁶⁶ formido coepit titillare mentem, ne favoralis²⁶⁷ percelleret aura, quidquid pro Christo facere disponebat. Haec²⁶⁸ secum ad Deum vero cunctum desiderii sui pandens velamen, deprecabatur, ut ille, qui habet omnem scientiam, inspirare dignaretur ei²⁶⁹, quatenus de tantis sibi²⁷⁰ relictis opibus sic ordinaret, ut, muta²⁷¹ laude humana, conspectui placeret divino.

V.272

Talia eo cogitante, accidit, ut quidam convicaneus eius, nimium locuples, ad tantam veniret²⁷³ inopiam, ut²⁷⁴ nec etiam²⁷⁵ necessaria vitae haberet. Quid plura? Ingruente²⁷⁶ inedia, tres virgines,

²⁵⁸ “intentio” – Mom., Fal., Corsi, M, L, V, A; “contentio” – Lipp., P, Q, O, B, G, D, C.

²⁵⁹ BNF lat. 196 has a capitulum: De sancta conversatione et de cogitatione renuntandi sancto.

²⁶⁰ “lasciviam” – Fal., Corsi, M, Q, O, B, G, D, L, V, A, C; “lascivias” – Mom., Lipp.

²⁶¹ “nunc”; om. – V.

²⁶² “vestigiis” – Mom., Lipp., Fal., P, O, D, L, C; “vestigia” – Corsi, M, Q, G, A; “e vestigia” – V.

²⁶³ “scripturis”; add “sacris” – V.

²⁶⁴ “condebatur pectoris” – Fal., Corsi, M, Q, O, B, G, D, L, V, A, C; “pectoris recondebatur” – Mom., Lipp.

²⁶⁵ “ducebat oculos” – Fal., Corsi, M, P, O, W, B, G, D, V, L, A; “oculos ducebat” – Mom., Lipp., Q, C.

²⁶⁶ “juvenilem” – Fal., Corsi, M, Q, O, W, B, G, D, L, V, C; “juvenilis” – Mom., Lipp.

²⁶⁷ “favoralis” – Fal., Corsi, M, Q, O, W, B, G, D, L, V, C; “borealis” – Mom.; “secularis” – Lipp.

²⁶⁸ “haec” – Mom., Lipp., Corsi, M, P, Q, O, W, B, G, D, L, V, A, C; “hoc” – Fal.

²⁶⁹ “inspirare dignaretur ei” – Corsi, M, Q, W, B, G, L, A, C, BNF lat. 3791; “inspirare dignetur ei” – Fal.; “inspiraret” – Mom., Lipp.; hard to read – O; “ei inspiraret et” – V (“ei” added later); inspirare dignaretur ut muta laude” (omitting “ei... ordinaret”) – D; This lacuna in D proves that G is not simply a copy of D.

²⁷⁰ “sibi” – Fal., P, Q, O, W, B, G, L, V, A, C; om. – M.

²⁷¹ “muta” – Fal., Q, O, W, D, L, A, C (corrected from “non multa”); “motu” – M; “nulla” – V; “multata” – B, G (“I” is a correction).

²⁷² Lipp. and Corsi begin chapter 5 here. Falconius starts chapter 5 later with “Inventa ergo”, part way through the story, but this is probably simply a mistake during the printing process: Falconius is so careless with the chapter numbering that he has two chapters both labelled “XVII”! BNF lat. 196: “qualiter trium puellarum execrabilem redemit infamiam” – “how he redeems the execrable infamy of the three girls”.

²⁷³ “veniret” – Mom., Lipp., Corsi, M, P, Q, O, B, G, D, L, V, A, C; “deviniret” – Fal., W, BNF. lat. 5360.

²⁷⁴ “ut” – Mom., Lipp., P, Q, O, W, B, D, L, V, C; “quod” – Fal., Corsi, M, G, A.

²⁷⁵ “nec etiam” – Fal., Corsi, M, P, Q, O, W, B, G, D, L, A, C; “nec” – Mom., Lipp.; “nec iam” – V (probably from “&iam”, as in B, and losing the &).

²⁷⁶ “ingruente” – Mom., Lipp., Fal., M, Q, O, W, B, G, L, V, C; “ingrediente” – Corsi, D, A (but correction ingruente).

quas habebat filias, quarum nuptias etiam ignobiles spernebant viri, fornicari constituit, ut earum saltem infami commercio, infelicem ageret vitam. Proh pudor! extemplo fama mali²⁷⁷ tanti²⁷⁸ - qua non aliud²⁷⁹ velocius ullum, mobilitate viget - totam perculit²⁸⁰ urbem, et multiplici populos²⁸¹ sermone replebat²⁸². Quod ubi sanctus²⁸³ comperit²⁸⁴, condoluit miserrimo homini, atque, virginum execrans stuprum, decrevit omnino, ex suis abundantis, eorum supplere inopiam, ne puellae nobilibus ortae natalibus, lupanaris²⁸⁵ macularentur infamia. Sed cum nollet alium sui²⁸⁶ facti, nisi Christum, habere contemplatorem, coepit explorare temporum vices, quo²⁸⁷ id sic operaretur, etiam ut eos lateret, quibus fiebat.²⁸⁸

Eja²⁸⁹ famule Dei! Exime pauperiem patris, exime filiarum scortationem²⁹⁰! Tellus tuae²⁹¹ mentis, hactenus sancto exulta vomere, duplum subito prorumpat in fructum, ut ex uno, famelici satietur ingluvies, et ex alio, virginum redimatur incestus. Non occultes serentis Christi fruges, quae carent zizania. Aperi thesaurum tuum, ubi pietatis gazae resultant²⁹². Nec paveas adulationis fomitem, quia non exurit flamma vitiorum divitias quas approbat Christus. Non timet illa aedificatio ignem aeternum, quae fabricatur opifici summo. Rumpe morulas omnes, opus perforce bonum, ut videant, immo sentiant, homines²⁹³, et glorificent patrem tuum, qui in caelis est.²⁹⁴

²⁷⁷ "mali" – Corsi, M, O, W, D, L, V, A; "malum" – P, Q, B, G, C.

²⁷⁸ "tanti" – all; om. – C.

²⁷⁹ "aliud" – Corsi, M, P, Q, O, W, B, G, D, L, V, A, C; om. – Mom., Lipp., Fal., BNF lat. 5360.

²⁸⁰ "perculit" – M, P, Q, O, W, B, G, D, L, V, A, C; "pertulit" – Mom., BNF lat. 5360; "percurrit" – Lipp.

²⁸¹ "populos" – Corsi, M, P, Q, O, W, B, G, D, V, A, C; "omnes" – Mom.; "populum" – Fal., L; "eam" ("and it filled it with much talk", i.e. the city) – Lipp.

²⁸² "replebat" – Mom., Lipp., Corsi, M, P, Q, O, W, B, G, D, L, V, A, C; "replevit" – Fal.; Sentence omitted in Mai.

²⁸³ "sanctus" – Fal., Corsi, M, W, B, G, D, L, A; "vir sanctus" – P, Q, O, C; "sanctus Nicholaus" – Mom., Lipp., V. (both obvious additions).

²⁸⁴ "comperit" – Fal. Corsi., M, P, Q, O, W, B, G, D, L, A, C; "reperit" – Mom., Lipp., V.

²⁸⁵ "lupanaris" – Fal., Corsi, P, Q, O, B, G, C; "lupanari" – Mom., Lipp., M, W, D, L, V, A. In this sentence we see M and A are a bit of a family, agreeing against P, Q, O etc.

²⁸⁶ "sui" – Fal., Corsi, M, P, Q, O, W, B, G, D, L, A, C; "in suis" – Mom., Lipp., V.

²⁸⁷ "quo" – Mom., Lipp., Fal., Corsi, P, O, W, B, D, L, V, A (=q^o id), C; "quod" – M, Q, G (probably originally copyist mistake from abbreviated "quo id", as in A).

²⁸⁸ "etiam ut eos lateret, quibus fiebat," – Fal., Q, O, W, L; "ut etiam eos lateret, quibus fiebat," – Corsi, P, A, B, G, D, A, C; "etiam ut eos quibus fiebat lateret." – M; "etiam ut eos lateret, in quibus fiebat," – V; "ut etiam eos lateret, quibus beneficeret; Taliaque secum voluens aiebat," – Mom., Lipp.; W omits all text after this sentence until "Nacta ergo."

²⁸⁹ "Eia" – Mom., Lipp., P, Q, O, G, L, V, C, BNF 5630; "Eia nunc" – Fal., Corsi, M, B, D, A, BNF 196; G is NOT a copy of D at this point.

²⁹⁰ "scortationem" – P, Q, B, G, C, BNF 196, BNF 5630; "scortatione" – C (copyist forgot the abbrev. mark); "scortum" – Mom., Lipp., Fal., Corsi, M, O, D, L, V, A; (probably from an earlier abbrev.)

²⁹¹ "tuae" – Mom., Lipp., Corsi, M, P, Q, O, B, G, D, L, V, A, C; "tua" – Fal.; (the copyist probably didn't see the abbrev. mark)

²⁹² "pietatis gazae resultat" – Mom., Lipp., Corsi, M, O, B, G, D, C; "pietatis gaza resultat" – Fal.; "pietas gazae resultat" – Q; "tuae pietatis gaza resultat" – V.

²⁹³ "homines" – all; "omnes" with correction – V.

²⁹⁴ Falconius defers the beginning of chapter 5 until here, for no good reason. Probably just carelessness by the printer, who further down likewise gives two miracle stories the same chapter number.

Nacta ergo²⁹⁵ cuiusdam noctis hora²⁹⁶, sumens non modicum aurum,²⁹⁷ ligansque in panno, perrexit ad²⁹⁸ domum viri; Quam²⁹⁹ undique circumspiciens, per fenestram quae competens videbatur, clam intro projecit,³⁰⁰ clamque discessit.³⁰¹

O novi Jacob stropham!³⁰² Ille commentatus³⁰³ est, qualiter Laban, mercedem non amitteret; hic autem, ut coelestibus non privaretur commodis. Ille in canalibus decorticas ponebat virgas, ut varia quaeque acciperet;³⁰⁴ hic,³⁰⁵ ut Elysii³⁰⁶ varia³⁰⁷ oblectamenta quiverit³⁰⁸ adipisci, aedis intra³⁰⁹ claustra, ligatum projecit obrizum.³¹⁰ Hic est³¹¹, magister bone, tuus non surdus auditor, qui jussis obtemperans tuis, duo implevit precepta: et miseratus est hominem mendicum³¹², et opus sic peregit³¹³, dexterarum³¹⁴ ut ignoraret sinistra.

Mane itaque facto, cum surrexisset³¹⁵ homo, aurumque reperisset illud,³¹⁶ dirigit primum, ac tum³¹⁷ quanto gestivit gaudio, quantasque Deo gratias egit; si quis velit, ex obortis³¹⁸ eius lacrymis, quas magnitudo laetitiae fuderat, advertere potest.³¹⁹

²⁹⁵ "nacta ergo" – M, W, G, L, BNF lat.3791; "nactus ergo" – Fal.; "acta ergo" – Corsi, D, A, BNF 196 (easily derived from Nacta where N is in margin as in W); "nacta cuiusdam ergo" – B; "notata ergo" – P, Q, C, BNF 5360, BNF 2627; "notata igitur" – O; "infamiis notata igitur" – Mai; "inventa ergo" – Mom., Lipp., V.

²⁹⁶ "hora" – Mom., Lipp., Corsi, M, P, Q, O, W, B, G, D, L, V, A, C; "horam" – Fal.

²⁹⁷ "aurum" – Mom., Lipp., Corsi, M, Q, O, W, B, G, D, L, V, A, C, BNF 2627; "ille auri" – Fal.;

²⁹⁸ "ad domum" – Fal., Corsi, M, Q, W, B, G, D, L, V, A, C; "domum" – Mom., Lipp.

²⁹⁹ "quam" – Fal., Corsi, M, Q, W, B, G, D, L, V, A, C; "qui" – Mom., Lipp.

³⁰⁰ "intro projecit" – Fal., Corsi, M, P, Q, W, B, G, D, L, A, C; "introjecit" – Mom., Lipp., V.

³⁰¹ W omits the next few sentences and restarts with "mane itaque facto".

³⁰² "O novi iacob stropham" – M, Q, O, B, G, D, V, A, C, BNF 196, BNF 2627, Cambridge CCC 9 (with "a" over the "i" of "novi"); (unreadable, but "...stropham") – P; "O nova iacob stropham" – Corsi; "O novam iacob stropham", "O Jacob, a new trick!" – Mom., Lipp.; "O novi iacob stropham" – L; "O pueri iacob stropham", "O Jacob, the trickery/cunning of a young man!" – Fal.; Cf. Jerome, *Quaest. Heb. Ad Gen.* 30.32-3.

³⁰³ "commentus est", "devised" – Fal., Corsi, M, Q, O, B, G, A; "commentatus est", "prepared" – Mom., Lipp., D, V, C, BNF 196; "com~tus" – L; (probably the origin of the other two, an abbreviation that confused people).

³⁰⁴ "acciperet" (receive) – Mom., Lipp., Corsi, M, Q, B, G, D, L, V, A, C; "conciiperet" (conceive) – Fal., O (? or "ent"?); "conciiperent" – BNF 2627 = the reading of the Vulgate for Gen. 30:32-3.

³⁰⁵ "hic" – Mom., Corsi, M, Q, O, G, D, L, V, A; "hi" – Fal.

³⁰⁶ "elysii" – Fal., Corsi, M, Q, O, L, A, C; "heliisii" – Mom.; "helisei" – D, V; "coeli" – Lipp., B, G.

³⁰⁷ "varia" – all; "superna" – B, G.

³⁰⁸ "quiverit", "be able" – Mom., Q, O, V^{corr}, C, BNF 2627; "quiret" – Lipp., M, A (but with mark indicating abbrev for "quiverit"), D, BNF 196; "quaeret", "strive for" – Corsi; "valeret", "succeed" – Fal., L; "posset" – B, G; "qui vidit" – V^{orig}.

³⁰⁹ "intra" – Fal., Corsi, M, Q, O, B, G, D, L, V, C, BNF 2627; "inter" – Mom., Lipp.; "int~" – A.

³¹⁰ "proiecit obrizum" – Lipp., Fal., M, P, Q, O, B, G, D, L, V, A, C; "proiciet obrizum" – Mom. (probably typo for "projecit"); "proiecit aurum obryzum" – Corsi, A^{corr}, C^{gloss}. At this point G is being copied from a manuscript more like B, not like D.

³¹¹ "est" – Fal., Corsi, M, Q, O, B, G, D, L, V, A, C; "est Jesu" – Mom., Lipp. (a gloss, obviously).

³¹² "hominem mendicum" – all; "hominis mendici" – C; "homini medico" – B, G

³¹³ "peregit" – Fal., Corsi, M, Q, O, B, G, D, L, A, C, BNF 196, BNF 2627; "prodidit" – Mom., Lipp.; "suppetit" – V

³¹⁴ "dexterarum" – Mom., Fal., Corsi, Q, O, B, D, L, A, C; "dextera" – Lipp., G, V; "dextrae" – M; "dextra" – BNF 196

³¹⁵ "surrexisset" – all; "surrexerit" – V.

³¹⁶ "illud;" – Lipp., Corsi, M, Q, O, B, G, D, L, V, A, C; "ille" – Fal.; om. – Mom.

³¹⁷ "ac tum" – Corsi, M, D, L, A; "actum" – Q, W, B, G, C; "hac tum" – O; "ac tunc" – Mom., Lipp., Fal.

³¹⁸ "obortis" – Fal., Corsi, Mai, P, Q, W, G, D, A, C, BNF 2627; "ob hortis" – M; "ob ortis" – O, B, L; "abortis" – V; "huberibus" – Mom., Lipp.

Tamen³²⁰ aliquantisper sciscitandus est vir iste, de inopinata³²¹ sua³²² exultatione. Dic age, rogo te homo, cur tanto exultas tripudio³²³? Hactenus enim lugubrem tuum vultum ostendebas; nunc te hilarem cerno.³²⁴ “Bene, inquam,³²⁵ laetari me vides, quia Dominus clemens, nescio per quem, praestitit vitae meae subsidium, quo carere³²⁶ queam infamia, quam invitus incurrebam.” Cui ergo ascribis impensam tibi benignitatem? Forsitan fidei tuae? “Prorsus³²⁷ illi.” O temeraria lingua viri! Ante paululum, tantae te ostendisti infidelitatis, ut temptatus, non³²⁸ gratias ageres, sed prostituere³²⁹ decerneres templum Spiritus Sancti; et nunc te astruis dignum hoc fuisse? Quale, inquis³³⁰, ‘templum dei’³³¹ dicis? Vis nosse³³² quale? Audi “vas electionis”, quam³³³ clare commendet illud.³³⁴ “Omnis,” ait³³⁵, “qui caste vivit, templum Dei est³³⁶, et Spiritus Sancti sedes.” Si³³⁷ ita est³³⁸, immo quia ita est, quamobrem tu³³⁹ filias tuas fornicari mandabas? Quia inedia opprimebaris.³⁴⁰ Et cur non laborabas manibus propriis, sicut apostoli fecerunt, qui non tantum pro se, sed etiam ut

³¹⁹ W skips the remainder of the chapter, starting again with “Celebratis igitur”. Mai stops following the text here, and instead ends the chapter with: “Tradidit itaque per providentiam sanctissimi viri marito priorem filiam, quam antea conatus tradere voluit infelici stupro.” – “And so, by the providence of the most holy man, he delivered to marriage his first daughter, whom he had previously attempted to deliver to wretched dishonour.”

³²⁰ “tamen” – Mom., Lipp., M, Q, O, B, G, D, L, A, C, BNF 196, BNF 2627; “tandem” – Fal., Corsi; “tunc aliquantulum per sciscitandus” etc. – V.

³²¹ “inopinata” – Mom., Lipp., Fal., M, L, C^{corr}; “inopina” – Corsi, A, BNF 2627; “inopia” – P, Q, O, G, D, V, C, BNF 196; “inopiae suae” – B; most of these are from a bad abbreviation of inopinata. Both “inopinata” and “inopina” mean “unexpected”. “inopia” = “weak” (ADJ), or “poverty” (N).

³²² add “et” – P, Q, O, V, BNF 196.

³²³ “tripudio”, with such a dance – Fal., Corsi, M, P, Q, O, B, G, D, L, V, A, C, BNF 196, BNF 2627; “gaudio”, with such joy – Mom., Lipp.

³²⁴ This sentence omitted in Q. Present in Mom., Lipp., Fal., Corsi, M, P, O, B, G, D, L, V, A, C, BNF 196.

³²⁵ “inquit” – Mom., Lipp., BNF 196; “inquam” – Corsi, M, P, Q, O, B, G, D, A, C, BNF 2627; “inquis” – L; “inquiens” – Fal., V.

³²⁶ “carere” – Mom., Lipp., Fal., Corsi, M, B, G, D, L, V, BNF 196, A; “vitare” – P, Q, O, C.

³²⁷ “prorsus” – all; “an prorsus” – O; “respondens prorsus” – V.

³²⁸ Add “deo” – Lipp.; (a gloss)

³²⁹ “prostituere”, to prostitute – Fal., Corsi, M, B, G, D, L, A; “prostituendum esse”, must be prostituted – P, Q, O, C; “prostitutum esse” – BNF 196; “prostibulum esse”. “You decided that the temple of the Holy Spirit was a prostitute.” – Mom., Lipp., V (probably corrupt from prostituendum);

³³⁰ “inquis” – Mom., Fal., Corsi, B, G, D, L, A; “inquit” – Lipp., M (“inquit”), V, BNF 196; “inquires” – P (?), C; “inquiens” – Q, O.

³³¹ “templum dei” – Mom., Lipp., P, Q, O, B, G, L, V, C; “templum” – Fal., Corsi, M, D, A, BNF 196; (D omits “dei dicis”)

³³² “nosse” – Lipp., Corsi, P, Q, O, B, G, L, V, C; “nosce” – Mom.; “scire” – Corsi, M, D, A, BNF 196.

³³³ “quam” – Fal., M, Q, O, B, G, L, V, A, C, BNF 196; “quo” – D; om. – Mom., Lipp.

³³⁴ “illud” – all; insert “illud. Nescitis quia corpora vestra templum in vobis est spiritus sancti?” – B (c.f. 1 Cor. 6:19: “An nescitis quoniam membra vestra, templum sunt Spiritus Sancti, qui in vobis est, quem habetis a Deo, et non estis vestri” – via the Roman liturgy: “Nescitis quoniam corpus vestrum templum est Spiritus Sancti, qui in vobis est...?”)

³³⁵ “ait” – Mom., Lipp., P, O, D, L, V, A, C, BNF 196; “inquit” – Fal., Corsi, M (“inquit”); om. – Q; “enim” – B, G.

³³⁶ “t.d.est et” – all; om. – P, Q, O, C; (the “est” sometimes moves to after Sancti, sometimes in both).

³³⁷ “si” – all; “si igitur” – O.

³³⁸ “est” – Mom., Lipp., Fal., Corsi, M, O, B, G, D, L, V, A; om. – P, Q, C; common link P-Q.

³³⁹ “tu” – all; om. O, C; B and G position “tu” after “tuas”.

³⁴⁰ “quia inedia opprimebaris”, Corsi, D, L, A; “quia inedia opprimebar.” – Fal., M, P, Q, O, B, G, V, C, BNF 196; Probably by missing the beneventan abbrev at the end (as in L) G still following B, not D. “quia inquis inedia opprimebar” – Mom.; “quia inquit inedia opprimebar” – Lipp.

haberent, unde tribuerent³⁴¹ necessitatem patienti, laborasse comprobantur? “Nobilitas³⁴² mea renuebat quodlibet³⁴³ opus patrare³⁴⁴.” Infelix, si te illustrem considerabas, cur puellas ex te genitas, pomposo³⁴⁵ lenonum ministerio, ignobilitari malebas? Disce ergo miser, disce non tribuere fidei tuae quae sententiam meruit³⁴⁶ apostoli dicentis, “Qui templum Dei violaverit, disperdet illum Dominus,” sed largae³⁴⁷ Dei³⁴⁸ clementiae, qui non est passus diu contegi famuli sui lucernam sub modio, ne lux lateret in tenebris, sed ut, posita super candelabrum, luceret omnibus qui sunt in domo Domini. Tu³⁴⁹ tantum revoca filias,³⁵⁰ esto pronubus³⁵¹ copulae³⁵² justae, non leno commixtionis injustae; trade³⁵³ maritis quas prosternebas fornicatoribus.³⁵⁴ Laetentur conjugio justo, non deformentur³⁵⁵ concubitu injusto. Praesto est, crede mihi, qui tibi dotem ministrat,³⁵⁶ ut omnes connubio stabili jungere possis.

VI.³⁵⁷

Celebratis igitur, ex more, primogenitae filiae³⁵⁸ suae nuptiis, coepit homo diligenter inquirere, quis esset³⁵⁹, qui inopiae illius³⁶⁰ tantam praestitisset humanitatem.

Cumque diu talia moliretur, Nicolaus Jesu Christi famulus³⁶¹, haud multo post, tropo³⁶² quo prius, simile peregit opus. O virum, omni imbutum peritia, omnique instructum scientia! Qui, ut se

³⁴¹ “tribuerent” – Mom., Lipp., Fal., Corsi, P, Q, O, D, L, V, A, C; “tribuerent” moved after “patienti” – M; “haberent quod necessitatem patientibus distribuereint laborasse comprobantur” – B, G; G clearly copied from B.

³⁴² Fal., M, V add: “ait”.

³⁴³ “quodlibet” – Fal., Corsi, M, P, Q, O, B, G, D, L, V, A, C; “aliquod” – Mom., Lipp.

³⁴⁴ “patrare” – Fal., M, P, Q, O, B, G, D, L, A, C, BNF 2627; “facere” – Mom., Lipp., Corsi, V.

³⁴⁵ “pomposo” – all; “pondoso” – V (the “-so” in V is a correction).

³⁴⁶ “quae sententiam meruit” – Mom., Lipp., Fal., P, Q, B, G, D, L, C; “iuxta sententiam” – Corsi, A; “plus sententiam meruisti” – O; “quae sententiam non metuit” – V.

³⁴⁷ “largae” – all; largientis” – B; “largienti” – G (careless copyist, as ever).

³⁴⁸ O adds “est”.

³⁴⁹ M, BNF 196, add “ergo”.

³⁵⁰ “filias” – Mom., Lipp., Corsi, Q, O, B, G, D, L, V, A, BNF 2627; “filias tuas” – M, C; “tuas filias” – Fal.

³⁵¹ “pronubus”, Mom., Lipp., Fal., Corsi, M, D, L, A; “pronuba” – Q, O, C, BNF 196; “pronubis” – V; “paranimphus” – B; “paranimphus” – G.

³⁵² “copulae” – Mom., Lipp., Fal., Corsi, M, B, G, D, L, V, A, BNF 196; om. – Q, O, C; C aligning with O.

³⁵³ “et trade” – BNF 2627.

³⁵⁴ trade maritis...fornicatoribus” – all; om. – B, G, A (but added in margin by original hand), C (added at bottom of page in different ink); again G and D differ.

³⁵⁵ “non deformentur” – all; “ne fornicentur” – Q; “nec fornicentur” – O; “non fornicentur” – C, Vat.reg.lat.496.

³⁵⁶ “ministrat” – Mom., Lipp., M, Q, O, B, G, D, L, V, A, C; “ministret” – Fal., Corsi.

³⁵⁷ BNF lat. 196 has a capitulum, “de secundo iactu”, “on the second throw”.

³⁵⁸ “filiae”, Mom., Lipp., M, Q, O, B, G, L, V, A, C, BNF 2627; om. – Fal., Corsi, D.

³⁵⁹ Added: “homo ille” – Fal., Corsi; om. – Mom., Lipp., M, Q, O, B, G, D, L, V, A, C, BNF 2627.

³⁶⁰ “illius” – M, Q, O, B, G, D, L, V, A, C, BNF 2627; “eius” – Fal., Corsi; “suae” – Mom., Lipp. (probably just from the earlier suae).

³⁶¹ “Jesu Christi famulus” – Fal., Corsi, M, O, W, B, G, D, L, A, C, BNF 2627; “Christi famulus” – Q; “Christi servus” – Mom., Lipp., V.

³⁶² “tropo”, “manner” – Fal. Corsi, M, W, B, L, V, A (erased correction ending in “sono” above, but “tempore” added in different ink in left margin); “tropho” – G (G is still following B rather than D, albeit carelessly); “triduo”, “three days later” – Mom., Lipp.; “tempore typo” (i.e. tipo) – Q, D, Vat.reg.lat.496; “tempore” – O; “tempore, tipo” but “tipo” corrected to “tropo” – C.

utrumque testamentum suscipere³⁶³ profiteretur, non est contentus³⁶⁴ lege litterae, sed adnectit³⁶⁵ evangelicam gratiam, quatenus³⁶⁶ duobus fluminibus, uno ex meatu profluentibus, arentis³⁶⁷ fidei hortulum bene irrigaret³⁶⁸; ne ultra sentes³⁶⁹, falce³⁷⁰ pietatis incisae, lolio infandae jussionis³⁷¹ laetam valerent adterere frugem.³⁷² Ubi vero terris est reddita³⁷³ dies, et homo prosilivit de strato suo, invenitque fulvi pondus metalli, prioris aequale, tanto³⁷⁴ exsultavit gaudio, ut etsi Homeri, seu Maronis adesset facunda loquacitas, in tantarum magnitudine laudum exprimenda, puto³⁷⁵ succubuisset.³⁷⁶ Sed nos nonnulla orationis eius prosequentes, caetera sagaci lectori melius sub silentio ad intelligendum relinquere, quam indagare, elegimus.³⁷⁷ Oravit autem sic: “Domine, Domine,” inquit,³⁷⁸ “absque cuius nutu, nec passer ad terram, nec folium cadit arboris, deprecor ineffabilem³⁷⁹ clementiam tuam, ut tu qui omnia nosti, ostendere digneris mihi peccatori, quis sit ille, qui tanta bona erga me exhibere non desinit.³⁸⁰ Hoc autem,³⁸¹ Domine, ideo peto, non ut temerario ausu, pollutis contingere quaeram manibus, sed ut sciam famulum tuum, qui inter homines degens, angelicam habet conversationem, et magnificem nomen tuum benedictum in saecula.”³⁸² Talibus orabat³⁸³ dictis, talibusque se hortabatur sermonibus: “Auferam³⁸⁴ certe somnum ab oculis meis, excubabo sollicitus, vigilansque³⁸⁵ pernoctabo. Forsitan ostendet mihi Dominus servum suum.³⁸⁶ Dixit, et dictum coepit opere exercere.³⁸⁷

Interea, paucis admodum evolutis diebus, ecce, cultor trinitatis³⁸⁸ advenit Nicolaus, et, iteratae vicis factum, trino supplere cupiens numero, aequale duorum, jactavit talentum. Cuius sonitu excitatus,

³⁶³ “utrumque testamentum s. p.” – Mom., Lipp., Fal., M, Q, O, B, G, D, L, V, C, BNF 2627; “utrorumque testamentorum s. mandata p.” – Corsi, A.

³⁶⁴ “contentus” – Mom., Lipp., Fal., Corsi, M, Q, B, D, L, V, A; “contemptus” – O, G, C.

³⁶⁵ “annectit” – Mom., M, Q, O, D, L, V, A, C; “annectis” – Lipp.; “adnexuit” – B, G.

³⁶⁶ “quatenus” – Fal. Corsi, M, P, Q, O, B, G, D, L, V, A, C, BNF 2627; “ut” – Mom., Lipp.

³⁶⁷ “arentis” – Mom., Lipp., Fal., M, P, Q, O, B, G, D, L, V, C; “arentem” – Corsi, A.

³⁶⁸ “irrigaret”; BNF lat. 196 adds “oraculum”.

³⁶⁹ “sentes” – Mom., Lipp., Fal., M, Q, O, B, G, D, L, V; “segentes” – Corsi; “segetes” – A (erased and rewritten); “serentes” – C.

³⁷⁰ “falce” – Mom., Corsi, M, Q, O, B, G, D, L, V, A, C, BNF 2627; “falces” – Lipp.; om. – Fal.

³⁷¹ “jussionis” – Fal., Corsi, B, G, L, V, A, BNF 196; “visionis” – Mom., Lipp. (= misreading for iussionis); “laesionis”, “abominable injury” – P, Q, O, D, C, BNF 2627; om. – M.

³⁷² Mai, W omit this sentence.

³⁷³ “terris est reddita” – Corsi, Fal., M, Q, O, W, G, D, L, V, A, C, BNF 2627; “reddita est” – Mom.

³⁷⁴ “tanto” – Mom., Lipp., Fal., Corsi, M, W, G, L, V, A; “tum tanto” – O; “tantoque” – P (?), Q, D, C.

³⁷⁵ “puto” – Mom., Lipp., M, P, Q, O, W, G, D, L, V, A, C, BNF 2627; om. – Fal., Corsi.

³⁷⁶ Q ends here, on f.261v.

³⁷⁷ Sentence is omitted by Mai.

³⁷⁸ “inquit” – Corsi, M, P, O, W, B, G, D, L, A, C, BNF 2627; om. – Mom., Lipp., Fal., V.

³⁷⁹ “ineffabilem” – M, P, O, B, G, D, L, C; “ineffabile” – Corsi, A, BNF 2627; om. – Mom., Lipp., Fal, W, V.

³⁸⁰ W skips the next few sentences and restarts with “interea paucis”.

³⁸¹ “hoc autem” – Fal., Corsi, M, P, O, B, G, D, L, A, C; “hoc vero” – V; “haec vere” – Mom., Lipp.

³⁸² Sentence omitted in W.

³⁸³ “orabat” – Mom., Lipp., Corsi, M, O, B, G, D, L, V, A, C; “oravit” – Fal.

³⁸⁴ “auferam” – Mom., Lipp., Mai, M, B, G, D, L, V, BNF 2627; “aufero” – Fal., Corsi, O, A, C.

³⁸⁵ “vigilansque” – Mom., Lipp., Corsi, Mai, M, O, B, G, D, L, V, A, C, BNF 2627; vigilans – Fal.

³⁸⁶ Sentence omitted in W.

³⁸⁷ “exercere” – Fal., Corsi, M, O, B, G, D, L, V, A, C, BNF 2627; “complere” – Mom., Lipp. Sentence omitted in Mai, W. After this sentence there is a logical division of the story, and it is marked as such in some mss, e.g. BNF lat. 196.

³⁸⁸ “trinitatis” – Fal., Corsi, Mai, M, O, W, B, G, D, L, V, A, C, BNF 2627; “aeternitas” – Mom., Lipp.

homo, statim egressus, iam vadentem,³⁸⁹ iamque fugientem, tali subsequebatur voce: “Siste gradum, teque³⁹⁰ aspectu³⁹¹ ne³⁹² subtrahe³⁹³ nostro. Olim te videre desideravi.³⁹⁴ Olim te concupivi cernere.”³⁹⁵ Sic fatus, ocior advolat, spatioque correpto, Nicolaum agnovit³⁹⁶ per umbras. Mox humi prostratus, osculari satagebat pedes eius. Quod sanctus, pio ut erat pectore, prohibuit fieri. Sed breviter allocutus, exegit ab eo, ne cuiquam³⁹⁷, dum** vitales carperet auras, Nicolaum huius rei indicaret auctorem.³⁹⁸ Felix felicem imitatus est magistrum, qui non solum homines, sed etiam daemones comprimebat, ne famam eius sererent³⁹⁹ in populo. Ille enim, ne veris falsa miscerent, iste autem,⁴⁰⁰ ne quolibet extolleretur rumusculo, interdixit homini⁴⁰¹ ut nullo modo panderetur nomen eius.⁴⁰²

Hic⁴⁰³ omnibus votis colendus, omnibusque est praeconiis extollendus, qui sciens duobus non posse placere Dominis, unum elegit, cuius onus leve est, cuius iuga ferre suave est,⁴⁰⁴ cui tota devotione colla submittens, ponderosam sarcinam mundi, cum oblectatione sua projecit. Noluit enim quamcumque⁴⁰⁵ saeculi captare famam, ne sanctorum contubernio privaretur. Committebat se Deo assidue,⁴⁰⁶ qui dispensat et ordinat omnia, quando vult, et quomodo vult.

VII.

His ita transactis, Myrea metropolis civitas⁴⁰⁷ orbata est suo antistite⁴⁰⁸. Cuius obitum non mediocriter, adjacentium parochiarum condolentes⁴⁰⁹ episcopi, fuerat enim bene religiosus, convenerunt in unum,

³⁸⁹ “vadentem” – Mom., Lipp., Fal., M, P, O, W, B, G, L, V, C, BNF 2627; “evadentem” – Corsi, Mai, A; “videntem” – D.

³⁹⁰ “teque” – Fal., Corsi, M, O, W, B, G, D, L, V, A, BNF 2627; “teque ab” – Fal.; “neque enim” – Mom.; “neque” – Lipp.

³⁹¹ “aspectu” – Fal., M, B, D, BNF 2627; “aspectui” – Mom., Lipp., Corsi, O, W (looks like i added as correction), G (i added as correction), L (i added as correction), V, A, C.

³⁹² “ne” – Fal., Corsi, M, O, W, B, G, D, L, V, A, C, BNF 2627; “te” – Mom., Lipp.

³⁹³ “subtrahe” – Lipp., Fal., M, O, W, B, G, D, L, C, BNF 2627; “subtrahas” – Mom., Corsi, V, A.

³⁹⁴ “olim te videre desideravi” – Fal., Corsi, M, P, W, B, G, D, L, V, A, C; om. Mom., Lipp.; “olim te concupivi videre desideravi cernere” – O.

³⁹⁵ In this sentence P is becoming readable again.

³⁹⁶ “agnovit” – Mom., Lipp., Corsi, M, P, O, W, B, G, D, V, A, C; “cognovit” – Fal., L.

³⁹⁷ “ne cuiquam dum” – Mom., Lipp., P, D, C; “ne cuiquam usque dum” – Fal.; “ne cuiquam quamdiu” – Corsi, A; “ne cuiquam in quo” – M, W; “nec umquam ?dum” – O; “ne cui quandiu” – G, B; “ne cui diceret, donec” – V; “ne unquam dum” – L (Beneventan).

³⁹⁸ The remainder of the chapter is omitted in Mai

³⁹⁹ “sererent” – Mom., Lipp., Fal., M, P, O, W, B, G, D, L, V, A, C; “fererunt” – Corsi (in error).

⁴⁰⁰ “iste autem” – Corsi, M, P, O, W, B, G, D, L, A, C, BNF 2627; “iste vero” – Mom., Lipp., V; “ipse autem” – Fal.

⁴⁰¹ “homini” – Mom., Lipp., Corsi, M, P, O, W, B, G, D, L, A, C; “hominem” – Fal.; om. – V.

⁴⁰² W omits the rest of chapter 6.

⁴⁰³ “hic” – Mom., Fal., Corsi, M, P, O, D, L, V, A, C, BNF 2627; “iste (inquam)” – Lipp.; “his” – B, G.

⁴⁰⁴ “cuius iuga ferre suave est” – Corsi, P, O, B, D, L, V, A, C, BNF 2627; om. – Mom., Lipp.; “cuius iugum ferre suave est,” “whose yoke is easy to bear” – Fal., M, G, L; (influenced by Vulgate). Cf. Mt.11:30, “iugum enim meum suave est, et onus meum leve” and Sedulius, *Carm. Pasch.* I, l.274: “Cuius onus leve est, cuius iuga ferre suave est.”

⁴⁰⁵ “enim quamcumque” – Fal., Corsi, M, B, G, D, L, V, A; “enim quamque” – C (probably just a mistake for “quamcumque”); “enim quoque” – BNF 2627; “quoque” – Mom., Lipp.; “enim” – O.

⁴⁰⁶ “assidue” – Mom., Lipp., Fal., Corsi, M, B, G, D, L, V, A; “cotidie” – O, C, BNF 2627; (mistaken reading of Beneventan?)

⁴⁰⁷ “metropolis civitas” – Fal., Corsi, Mai, M, O, W, B, G, D, L, V, A, BNF 2627; “metropolis” – Mom., Lipp., C.

cum clericis cunctis, ut, Jesu⁴¹⁰ annuente Domino, providerent⁴¹¹ illi Ecclesiae, secundum scita canonum, idoneum praesulem. Contione⁴¹² itaque facta⁴¹³, intererat quidam pontifex magnae auctoritatis, ad cuius intuitum⁴¹⁴ omnium pendebat sententia, ut quem ille voce⁴¹⁵ proderet,⁴¹⁶ hunc procul dubio eligerent⁴¹⁷ universi. Hic ergo⁴¹⁸ per omnia sequens apostolorum vestigia⁴¹⁹, cunctos, jejuniis et devotissimis precibus, hortatus est insistere, quatenus⁴²⁰ ille, qui Matthiam indidit numerum supplere apostolicum, ipse solita clementia pandere dignaretur, quem vellet fungi tanto sacerdotio. Tunc omnes, quasi celesti commonerentur oraculo, sic conversi ad Deum⁴²¹ flagitabant ex intimis praecordiis⁴²², ut pastor aeternus utillimum⁴²³ suarum ovium pastorem ostendere dignaretur. Illis quippe summa cum devotione orantibus, vocem de caelo audivit, dicentem sibi praedictus pontifex, ut egrediens ante portas ecclesiae staret, et quem primum hora matutinali venire conspiceret, ipsum consecrarent antistitem, adjungens etiam, quod Nicolaus vocitaretur⁴²⁴. Tunc⁴²⁵ praesul ille, ceteris coepiscopis hanc insinuans⁴²⁶ revelationem, adjecit, “Vobis⁴²⁷ in oratione persistentibus, ego forinsecus excubabo. Credo enim quod non privemur promissione Dei.” Sic ait, et valvas⁴²⁸ basilicae⁴²⁹ sancta calliditate observabat.

Mirum⁴³⁰ in modum, matutinali hora, quasi a deo⁴³¹ missus, ante omnes se agebat Nicolaus. Cumque ad ecclesiae januas propinquasset, injecta manu eum apprehendit episcopus, blanditerque⁴³² sciscitatus est,

⁴⁰⁸ “antistite” – Fal., Corsi, M, P, O, W, B, G, D, L, A, C, BNF 2627; “episcopo” – Mom., Lipp., V.

⁴⁰⁹ “condolentes” – Fal., Corsi, M, P, O, W, B, G, D, L, V, A, C; “condolebant” – Mom., Lipp.

⁴¹⁰ “Jesu” – Mom., Lipp., Fal., Corsi, all; “eis” – V; om. – Mai., M.

⁴¹¹ “cum clericis cunctis ... annuente domino providerent”, “with all the clergy ... by the blessing of the Lord, they might provide” – Fal., Corsi, Mai, M, O, W, D, V, A, C; – also B and G (but reading “domino Jesu annuente”); – also L (but reading “annuente domino Jesu”); (Does the move of “domino” to before “Jesu” indicate that “dominus” was the original reading?) ; “dicens cunctis... dominus provideret”, “saying to all ... that the Lord would provide” – Mom.; “simul orantes ... dominus provideret”, “together praying... that the Lord would provide” – Lipp.

⁴¹² “contione” – Corsi, W, B, G, D, V, A (w/ “c” correction); “concione” – Fal., O, BNF 2627; “contioni” – Mom., Lipp.; “conventionem” – M, L, C.

⁴¹³ “facta” – Fal., Corsi, Mai, M, O, W, B, G, D, L, A, C; om. – Mom., Lipp., V.

⁴¹⁴ “intuitum” – Mom., Lipp., Fal., Corsi, O, W, B, G, D, L, V, A, C; om. – M.

⁴¹⁵ “voce” – Mom., Lipp., Corsi, M, O, W, B, G, D, L, V, A, C; “virum” – Fal.; om. – Mai.

⁴¹⁶ “proderet” – Mom., Lipp., Fal., Corsi, M, O, W, B, G, D, L, V, A, C; “eligeret” – Mai.

⁴¹⁷ “eligerent” – Mom., Lipp., Fal., Corsi, M, O, W, B, G, D, L, V, A, C; “laudarent” – Mai.

⁴¹⁸ “ergo” – Fal., Corsi, Mai, M, O, W, B, G, D, L, V, A, C; “vero” – Mom., Lipp.

⁴¹⁹ “vestigia” – Mom, Lipp., Corsi, Mai, M, O, W, B, G, D, L, V, A, C; “exempla”, examples – Fal.

⁴²⁰ “quatenus” – Fal., M, O, W, B, G, D, L, V, A, C; “ut” – Mom., Lipp., Corsi.

⁴²¹ “deum” – Mom., Lipp., Mai, M, O, W, B, G, D, L, V, A, C; “dominum” – Fal., Corsi (misreading of abbrev. dñm).

⁴²² “praecordiis” – Mom., Lipp., Corsi, Mai, M, O, W, B, G, D, L, V, A, C; om. – Fal.

⁴²³ “utillimum” – Fal., Corsi, O, W, G, D, L, V, A, C; “utillissimum” – Mom., Lipp.; “utilli?mum” – M; “utillimum” (corrected to ??) – B.

⁴²⁴ “vocitaretur” – Mom., Fal., M, O, W, B, G, L; “vocaretur” – Lipp., Corsi, D, V, A, C.

⁴²⁵ “tunc” – Mom., Lipp., M, W, B, G, D, L; “tum” – Fal., Corsi, P, O, A, C, BNF 2627.

⁴²⁶ “insinuans”, “communicating” (DMLBS 6) – Fal., Corsi, M, W, B, G, D, L, A, C; “sciens” – Mom., BNF 2627; “narrans” – Lipp.; “pandens” – O; “dicens” – V.

⁴²⁷ O adds “karissimi” here.

⁴²⁸ “valvas” – Fal., Corsi, M, P, O, W, B, G, D, L, A, C; - “januas” – Mom., Lipp., V.

⁴²⁹ “basilicae” – Fal., Corsi, Mai, M, P, O, W, B, D, A, C; “ecclesiae” – G; “asili” – Mom., Lipp., L, V; “asili” is an obvious corruption. This suggests L and V have some connection to Mom.

⁴³⁰ “mirum” – all; “cum mirum” – Fal.

⁴³¹ “deo” – all; “domino” – Mom., Lipp.

⁴³² “blanditerque” – Fal., Corsi, Mai, M, P, O, W, L, V, A, C; “blandeque” – Mom., Lipp., B, G, D.

dicens: “Quale⁴³³ nomen habes?” Ille columbina, ut erat, simplicitate, inclinato capite, “Nicolaus,” inquit, “servus vestrae sanctitatis.” Cui protinus praesul, palmis innexis, ait⁴³⁴, “Fili veni mecum. Est⁴³⁵ aliquid secreti, quod tuae indoli fari⁴³⁶ debeam.” Mox introgressus, “En, Fratres,” proclamavit, “vere ait Dominus, ‘Quodcumque petieritis in nomine meo, credite quia accipietis, et fiet vobis.’ En, inquam, quod petivimus, accepimus. En,⁴³⁷ adest, de quo vestra⁴³⁸ flagitavit caritas.”

Quo viso, ingentem omnes tulere⁴³⁹ clamorem ad sidera, et certatim Salvatoris laudabant magnalia. Episcopi laetabantur pro collega caelitus sibi collato, clerici alludebant sicut bonae pecudes.⁴⁴⁰ Quid multis moror? Licet⁴⁴¹ plurimum renitens obstiterit, plurimumque repugnaverit, inthronizatus⁴⁴² illico,⁴⁴³ sicut mos exigebat,⁴⁴⁴ regionis illius pontificalem accepit infulam.⁴⁴⁵

Mira, prorsus mira, et stupenda sunt, quae narrantur, et, si fas est,⁴⁴⁶ antiquis per omnia, comparanda.⁴⁴⁷ Quondam enim Samueli prophetae Sanctus praecepit Spiritus, ut ad domum Isai pergeret, unumque ex eius filiis, placitum regem Domino,⁴⁴⁸ inungeret. Modo autem, isti Episcopo, ex intimo praecanti affectu, vox de caelo jussit, ut coram templi foribus excubaret, quatenus ibidem dignum Deo, et ecclesiae sanctae⁴⁴⁹, proficuum⁴⁵⁰ reperiret antistitem.⁴⁵¹ Illi, quamquam videnti, locus tantum, non regis nomen praedicitur; huic et locus, et nomen praesulis declaratur. Ille caput regium cornu roboravit olei; iste super caput Nicolai virtutem invocavit Spiritus Sancti. Sed tamen et rex et praesul uterque⁴⁵² electus est a Domino. Unde nos minime⁴⁵³ irridendi sumus, qui magnis ausi sumus⁴⁵⁴ componere⁴⁵⁵ parva.

⁴³³ “dicens quale” – “saying, ‘What sort of name do you have?’” – Fal., Corsi, Mai, M, P, O, W, B, G, D, L, V, A, C; “quod equidem” – Mom., Lipp.

⁴³⁴ “ait” – Mom., Lipp., Fal., Corsi, P, O, W, B, G, D, L, V, A, C; “inquit” – M; “ait eia” – B.

⁴³⁵ “est” – Mom., Lipp., Corsi, O, W, B, G, D, L, V, A; “est enim” – Fal., M, P, C.

⁴³⁶ “fari” – Mom., Lipp., Corsi, M, P, O, W, B, G, D, L, V, A, C; “ferre” – Fal.; “tibi pandere debeo” – “I must make known to you” – Mai.

⁴³⁷ “en” – Fal., Corsi, Mai, M, P, O, W, B, G, D, L, A, C; “ecce” – Mom., Lipp., V.

⁴³⁸ “vestra” – Fal. Corsi, Mai, M, P, O, W, B, G, D, L, V, A, C; “nostra” – Mom., Lipp.; (not much difference between abbreviated “nra” and “ura”)

⁴³⁹ “tulere” – all; “turbae tollunt” – B, G (looks like a gloss).

⁴⁴⁰ Mai has instead: “at illi omnes pari consilio cum clero et populo eligunt in sacerdotii gradum” – “and they all with one intention along with the clergy and people elected him into the priestly office.”

⁴⁴¹ “licet” – Mom., Lipp., Corsi, M, P, O, W, B, G, D, L, V, A, C; “ipse licet” – Fal.

⁴⁴² “inthronizatus” – Fal., Corsi, Mai, M, P, O, W, B, G, D, L, V, A, C; “super thronum impositus est” – Mom.

⁴⁴³ “illico” – Fal. Corsi, M, P, O, W, B, G, D, L, V, A, C; “illico et” – Mom., Lipp.

⁴⁴⁴ “exigebat” – Fal., Corsi, M, P, O, W, B, G, D, L, V, A, C; “est” – Mom., Lipp.

⁴⁴⁵ “infulam” – Lipp., Fal., Corsi, M, P, O, W, B, G, D, L, V, A, C; “insulam” – Mom. Mai omits the rest of the chapter, and has only “hinc iam quae in episcopatu gessit” – “Now here is what he did in the episcopate.”

⁴⁴⁶ “fas est” – Fal., Corsi, all; “licet” – Mom., Lipp.; licitum – V.

⁴⁴⁷ The rest of the chapter is omitted by Mai.

⁴⁴⁸ “domino”: lit. “dno” – all; “do”, i.e. “deo” – Mom., Lipp., P, O, C.

⁴⁴⁹ “sanctae” – Fal., Corsi, M, B, G, D, L, A; “suae sanctae” – Mom., Lipp., V; “dei” – P, C; om. – O.

⁴⁵⁰ “proficuum” – Fal., Corsi, M, P, B, G, D, L, V, A, C; “quod utile feret” – Mom.; “quod utile foret” – Lipp.; om. – O; “profuturum” – W.

⁴⁵¹ “antistitem” – Fal., Corsi, M, O, W, B, G, D, L, A, C; “episcopum” – Mom., Lipp., V; W omits the rest of chapter 7.

⁴⁵² “uterque” – Lipp., Fal., Corsi; “utrumque” – Mom.

⁴⁵³ “unde nos minime”; om. – B.

⁴⁵⁴ “ausi sumus” – om. Mom., Lipp., V. “qui magnis ausi sumus”; – om. D, by eye skipping.

⁴⁵⁵ componere; “parare” – A, above line.

Hinc iam ad ea, quae in episcopatu gessit, opitulante⁴⁵⁶ domino, vertamus⁴⁵⁷ stylum. Sed quia non opus⁴⁵⁸ est nostrae, cuncta examussim⁴⁵⁹ digerere, obnixius petimus, ut, non superbae insolentiae, sed⁴⁶⁰ humili ignoscatur audaciae, et quod balbutiendo vix paucissimis explicamus verbis, ob amorem sancti libenter amplectatur.⁴⁶¹

VIII.

Pontificali igitur cathedra sublimatus, eandem morum gravitatem, quam prius, eandemque sectabatur humilitatem.⁴⁶² Creber in oratione pervigilabat, corpus jejuniis attenuabat⁴⁶³. Mulierum consortia, licet ab ipso pueritiae⁴⁶⁴ suae tempore exhorruerit, tamen⁴⁶⁵ quandam ex hoc quasi pestem fugiebat. In suscipiendis hominibus humilem⁴⁶⁶, in loquendo efficacem se praebebat. Alacer erat in exhortando, severus in corripiendo. Viduarum et orphanorum atque oppressorum, sic negotia curabat⁴⁶⁷, ac si propria essent. Rapinam exsecrabatur potentum⁴⁶⁸, arguebat violentos,⁴⁶⁹ et si quem forte quolibet casu afflictum cernebat⁴⁷⁰, mirabiliter reficiebat, mirabiliusque consolabatur⁴⁷¹.

Crescebat quotidie fama bonitatis eius, quae ubique laudem ferebat⁴⁷² Nicolai. Hinc potens, hinc impotens, illum nominabat.⁴⁷³ Gaudebat populus cunctus de tali⁴⁷⁴ patrono. Laetabantur heroes⁴⁷⁵ de tanto⁴⁷⁶ pontifice, qui ita se auctoritate et gratia plenum exhibebat, ut omnium gereret curam, et episcopi dignitatem non amitteret.⁴⁷⁷ Verum tempus me⁴⁷⁸ deficiet⁴⁷⁹, quin et sermo deseret⁴⁸⁰, si de singulis eius meritis scribere temptavero.⁴⁸¹ Sed qui⁴⁸² scire voluerit, qualem se quantumque

⁴⁵⁶ "opitulante domino" – Fal. Corsi, all; "opem domino ferente" – Mom., Lipp.; Mom. probably corrupt.

⁴⁵⁷ "vertatur" – Mom., Lipp., Corsi, all; "vertamus" – Fal.; vertatur as impersonal passive with same meaning.

⁴⁵⁸ "opus" – Corsi, B, G, V, A; "operis" – P, O; "opis" – Fal., M, D, L, C; "nostrum" – Mom., Lipp.

⁴⁵⁹ "examussim" – Mom., Lipp., Corsi, M, P, B, G, D, V, A, C; "ex amussi" – Fal., O, L.

⁴⁶⁰ "sed" – Lipp., Fal., Corsi, M, P, O, B, G, D, L, V, A, C; om. – Mom.

⁴⁶¹ "amplectatur" – Fal., Corsi, P, O, L, C; "amplexetur" – B, G, D; "amplexentur" – Mom., Lipp., M, V, A.

⁴⁶² Note the word order characteristic of John the Deacon, with the subject, verb and direct object all right at the end of the sentence. Mai omits the next few sentences, resuming with "Alacer".

⁴⁶³ "attenuabat" – Corsi, M, P, O, W, B, G, D, L, V, A, C; "atterebat" – Fal.; "macerabat" – Mom., Lipp.

⁴⁶⁴ "pueritiae" – Lipp., Fal. Corsi; "puritiae", "purity" – Mom. (probably typo).

⁴⁶⁵ "tamen" – all; "velut" – B.

⁴⁶⁶ "humilem" – all; "humilitatem exhibebat" – V.

⁴⁶⁷ "curabat" – all; "procurabat" – M, W, B, G.

⁴⁶⁸ "potentum" – Fal., Corsi, M, O, B, G, D, L, V, A, C; "potentium" – Mom., Lipp., W.

⁴⁶⁹ "violentos": Mai omits the rest of the sentence.

⁴⁷⁰ "cernebat": B skips all words until "quotidie" in the next sentence. (Probably the scribe missed a line in his exemplar.)

⁴⁷¹ "reficiebat, mirabiliusque" – all; om. – Fal.

⁴⁷² "ferebat" – all; "referebat" – M, G, V.

⁴⁷³ Sentence omitted in Mai.

⁴⁷⁴ "tali" – all; "tanto" – O.

⁴⁷⁵ The use of the Greek word here probably indicates that this part of the text is still by John the Deacon.

⁴⁷⁶ "tanto" – all; "tali" – O.

⁴⁷⁷ Mai omits "de tali patrono, laetabantur heroes de".

⁴⁷⁸ "me" – Fal. Corsi, M, P, O, W, B, G, L, A; "mihi" – Mom., Lipp., C; om. – D, V; G still copied from B here.

⁴⁷⁹ "deficiet" – Fal, Corsi, M, P, O, W, B, G, D, L, V, A, C; "deficit" – Mom., Lipp.

⁴⁸⁰ "deseret" – Fal., M, O, W, B, D, L, C; "desereret" – P; "deserit" – Mom., Lipp., Corsi, G, V, A.

⁴⁸¹ "temptavero" – Fal, Corsi, M, P, O, W, B, G, D, L, V, A, C; "contendam" – Mom., Lipp.; Sentence is omitted by Mai.

praestiterit, mordacem comprimat dentem, et ex subjectis, evidenter⁴⁸³ agnoscere valebit.⁴⁸⁴ Cum igitur omnium charismatum virtute corroboraretur Nicolaus, et nihil sibi, sed totum Dei gratiae tribueret, coepit ita coruscare miraculis, ut non tantum sui⁴⁸⁵, sed etiam alieni, quibuslibet⁴⁸⁶ oppressi angustiis, invocato nomine eius, statim sentirent levamen.⁴⁸⁷

IX.

Quadam vero die, cum quidam nautae subita maris tempestate periclitarentur, adeo ut praesentem illis intentarent⁴⁸⁸ omnia mortem, extemplo⁴⁸⁹, dissolutis frigore membris, clamitabant, “Nicolae famule Dei, si vera sunt, quae de te audivimus, nunc nos ea supremo in periculo⁴⁹⁰ constituti, experiamur, quatenus eruti ex saevientibus fluctibus maris, Deo et tuae liberationi gratias agamus.”⁴⁹¹ Mira res! talia referentibus⁴⁹², apparuit quidam in similitudinem viri, dicens⁴⁹³ eis, “Vocastis enim me, ecce adsum.” Et coepit eos in rudentibus et antennis, aliisque juvare navis⁴⁹⁴ armamentis. Nec multo post, omnis pelagi cecidit fragor, omnisque cessavit tempestas. Tum laeti nautae, pacata sulcantes aequora, quantocius optatum subeunt portum.

Qui⁴⁹⁵ egressi sciscitabantur ubi Nicolaus esset? Cum autem indicatus fuisset eis in ecclesia,⁴⁹⁶ e vestigio ingressi, mirabile dictu, quem nunquam noverant, sine indice cognoverunt. Mox⁴⁹⁷ prostrati ad eius pedes, coeperunt ei gratias agere, dicentes qualiter de confinio mortis, ipso⁴⁹⁸ suffragante, liberati essent. Quibus sanctus, “Non meae,” inquit, “possibilitatis arbitremini esse, quod factum est. Solita est Dei misericordia, qui non propter me, indignum famulum suum⁴⁹⁹, sed propter credulitatem vestrae fidei, vobis sua⁵⁰⁰ succurrere dignatus est clementia⁵⁰¹. Discite ergo quanti⁵⁰²

⁴⁸² “qui” – Mom., M, P, O, W, B, D, L, V, A, C; “quis” – G (=typo); “si quis” – “if anyone” – Fal., Corsi. (= misreading “sed” abbreviation, and “quiscire”).

⁴⁸³ “evidenter” – Fal., Corsi, M, P, O, W, B, G, D, L, V, A, C; om. – Mom.

⁴⁸⁴ V ends here and is followed by BHL 6160. Sentence is omitted by Mai.

⁴⁸⁵ “sui” – all; “suis” – G.

⁴⁸⁶ “quibuslibet” – all; “quilibet” – Mom., Lipp.

⁴⁸⁷ This is the last chapter of the biography of St. Nicholas, and what follows is not set in any particular period of his life. This is also the first chapter where the narrative material is not followed by a moral reflection. Instead it finishes with these remarks introducing the miracle stories. The syntax of the chapters following starts to change and become simpler, as if they are adapted from another source.

⁴⁸⁸ “intentarent”; “minitarentur” – Mom., Lipp.

⁴⁸⁹ “illis ... extemplo”; om. – G.

⁴⁹⁰ “in supremo periculo” – Mom., Lipp., M; “supremo in periculo” – Fal., Corsi, P, O, W, B, G, D, L, A, C.

⁴⁹¹ From this point the Mai text is very different in most sentences.

⁴⁹² “referentibus”; “regerentibus” – Fal.

⁴⁹³ “dicens”; “dicentibus” – Fal.; “dicentis” – Corsi.

⁴⁹⁴ “navis”; “nauticis” – Mom., Lipp.

⁴⁹⁵ “qui” – Fal., Corsi, M, P, O, W, B, G, D, L, C; “et mox” – Mom., Lipp.

⁴⁹⁶ “ecclesia” – Lipp., Corsi, M, P, O, W, B, G, D; “ecclesiam” – Mom., Fal., L.

⁴⁹⁷ “mox”; “hic” – Mom., Lipp.

⁴⁹⁸ “ipso”; “episcopo” – Mom., Lipp.

⁴⁹⁹ “non propter me, indignum famulum suum, sed” – Corsi, Mai, M, B, G, D, L, A; “...tuum...” – Fal.; (“qui”) om. Mom., Lipp., P, O, W, C.

⁵⁰⁰ “sua” – Mom., Lipp., M, P, C; om. – Fal., Corsi, W, B, G, D, L, A.

⁵⁰¹ “clementia” – Mom., Lipp., P, O, C; om – Fal., Corsi, M, W, B, G, D, L, A.

⁵⁰² “quanti” – Fal., Corsi, M, P, O, W, B, G, D, L, A, C; “quantum” – Mom., Lipp.

valeat, apud Deum⁵⁰³ fides pura,⁵⁰⁴ et petitio non ficta. Propter peccata enim nostra, quotidie flagellamur. Tamen, si ex toto corde ad bonum Dominum⁵⁰⁵ conversi fuerimus, viscera misericordiae suae, illico super nos commovet, et eripiet⁵⁰⁶ de imminentibus periculis⁵⁰⁷. Idcirco non pigeat vos fratres benefacere, sectari humilitatem, libenter pauperibus succurrere. Credite meae parvitati, quia, ex quo homo in huius mundi⁵⁰⁸ voraginem propter delicta sua dejectus⁵⁰⁹ est, nullum eius bonum, sic Deus approbare legitur sicut eleemosynam, si tamen non ob mundi fiat gloriam.”⁵¹⁰ His aliisque talibus instructi, admirantes humilitatem spiritus, habitus vilitatem, sermonis facundiam, atque magnitudinem virtutis eius, discesserunt.

X.⁵¹¹

Quodam itaque⁵¹² tempore, cum eandem Lyciam regionem, accolarum pro meritis, sic perniciose fames oppressisset, ut seges aegra victum omnem negaret, mox, a provincialibus ruricolis,⁵¹³ saepe dicto famulo Dei, pro indigentibus maxime periclitanti, naves, triticeis onustae mercibus, in litore Andriaci portus, adesse nunciantur.⁵¹⁴ Quo velox adveniens Nicolaus, nautis⁵¹⁵ inquit⁵¹⁶, “Vos⁵¹⁷ rogaturus accessi, ut huic populo, tabe diuturnae famis laboranti consulentes, aliquantulum remedii ex isto⁵¹⁸ impertiri studeatis frumento. Sic sanctus⁵¹⁹; et sancto sic aiunt illi, “Non audemus, Pater, tuis obsecundare imperatis⁵²⁰, quia, publica taxatione angariati, Alexandriam perreximus, et inde⁵²¹ hoc triticum deferimus, per ministrorum manus, in Augustalium stipendia,⁵²² metiendum.”⁵²³ Quibus sanctus, “Audite,” inquit, “me,⁵²⁴ et ne hic amplius attenuetur populus,⁵²⁵ per unamquamque ratem, saltem centum mihi⁵²⁶ modios praebete; et ego in domini mei, cui servio, virtute⁵²⁷, spondeo,

⁵⁰³ “deum” – Mom., Lipp., P, O, W, G, D, L, A, C; “dominum” – Fal., Corsi, M, B, A.

⁵⁰⁴ “pura” – Fal., Corsi, Mai, M, P, O, W, B, G, D, L, A, C; “vera” – Mom., Lipp.

⁵⁰⁵ “dominum” – Fal., Corsi, M, P, O, W, G, D, L, A, C; “deum” – Mom., Mai, B.

⁵⁰⁶ “eripiet” – Mom., Corsi, O, W, B, G, L, A; “eripit” – Lipp., Fal., M, D, C. Mom., Lipp. supply a following “nos”.

⁵⁰⁷ “periculis” – all; “poenis vel periculis” – P, C.

⁵⁰⁸ “huius mundi”, “of this world” – Fal., Corsi, M, P, O, W, B, G, D, L, A, C; “huiusmodi” – Mom., Lipp.

⁵⁰⁹ “deiectus” – Mom., Lipp., Corsi, M, O, W, B, G, D, A, C; proiectus – Fal., L.

⁵¹⁰ G stops here, resuming with “Tandem intentu praesulis” in the next chapter. So does BNF lat. 12600, which is therefore presumably copied from it.

⁵¹¹ This chapter again does end with a kind of moral reflection.

⁵¹² “itaque” – all; “quoque” – W; “autem” – C.

⁵¹³ “mox... ruricolis” – Mom., Lipp., Fal., M, P, O, W, B, D, L, A, C; om. – Corsi, A.

⁵¹⁴ “nunciantur” – all; “nunciatur” – C (but corrected).

⁵¹⁵ “nautis” – Mom., Lipp., Corsi, M, P, O, W, B, D, A, C; “navigantibus” – Fal.

⁵¹⁶ “inquit” – edd., P, O, W, B, D, A, C; om. – M.

⁵¹⁷ “Vos” – all; “Vos, inquit” – M.

⁵¹⁸ “isto” – Mom., Lipp., M, P, O, W, B, D, A, C; “ipso” – Fal., Corsi.

⁵¹⁹ added: “ait” – M; “eis” – O.

⁵²⁰ “obsecundare imperatis” – all; “obsequi praeceptis” – Mom., Lipp.

⁵²¹ “inde”, “from there” – all; “modo” – Mom., Lipp.

⁵²² “stipendia” – all; “stipendii” – Mom.

⁵²³ “metiendum” – all; “remetiendum”, “to be remeasured out” – B, C.

⁵²⁴ “me” – all; “meae parvitati” – Fal.

⁵²⁵ “populus” – all; “apostolus” – Mom., must be typo.

⁵²⁶ “mihi” – all; om. – Fal.

⁵²⁷ “in domini mei cui servio virtute” – Corsi, P, W, B, D, L, A, C; “in nomine domini mei cui servio in virtute” – Mom., Lipp.; “in dei mei cui servio virtute” – Fal.; “in domini mei virtute cui deservio” – M; “in nomine domini mei cui servio virtute” – O.

polliceor, promitto quia nullam minorationem habebitis apud regium exactorem.⁵²⁸ Tandem interventu praesulis convicti, ex singulis puppibus centum numeravere⁵²⁹ modios, et confestim,⁵³⁰ vento surgente⁵³¹ secundo⁵³², ascendunt⁵³³ classes, portumque relinquunt, atque spirantibus auris, volucris⁵³⁴ cursu, Byzantiam applicuerunt ad urbem⁵³⁵.

Cum autem integram mensuram, quam Alexandriae susceperant, ministris imperatoris numerassent, tantus stupor omnes accepit,⁵³⁶ ut, prae admiratione, seriatim cuncta quae facta fuerant, eisdem narrarent ministris. Qua relatione percussi, Deum⁵³⁷ omnium⁵³⁸ rerum auctorem, continuata utrique laude, magnificarunt.

Vir itaque⁵³⁹ domini,⁵⁴⁰ accepto frumento, sic per industriam illud partiri studuit, sicut unumquemque noverat indigere. Mirandis plus miranda succedunt. Tanta enim omnipotentis Dei largitate, hoc ipsum parum⁵⁴¹ quod sanctus distribuit, auctum est, ut non tantum eodem⁵⁴², sed etiam⁵⁴³ altero paene⁵⁴⁴ exacto⁵⁴⁵ anno, ad victum singulis sufficeret. Quin et multi, spe credula exinde serere non dubitantes, nequaquam eos expectata seges, vanis frustrata est aristis, sed uberius farsit redditibus.⁵⁴⁶ Porro nemini hoc incredibile videatur, quia salvatoris est ista promissio, dicentis, “Si habueritis fidem sicut granum sinapis, dicetis monti, ‘Transfer te,’ et transferetur.”⁵⁴⁷ Et

⁵²⁸ G resumes after this.

⁵²⁹ “numeravere” – Mom., Lipp., Fal., M, P, O, G, L, C; “numeraverunt” – Corsi, B (abbrev), D (in full), A (abbrev); unclear abbrev. – W.

⁵³⁰ “et confestim”; “confestim vero” – O.

⁵³¹ “surgente” – Fal., Corsi, M, P, O, W, B, D, L, A, C; “surgentes” – Mom., Lipp.

⁵³² “secundo” – all; “haec deo data” – G.

⁵³³ “ascendunt” – Fal., Corsi, M, W, G, D, L, A; om. – Mom., Lipp., P, O, B, C.

⁵³⁴ “volucris” – Mom., Lipp., Corsi, M, P, O, W, B, G, D, L, A, C; “veloci” – Fal., Mai.

⁵³⁵ “ad urbem” – Fal., Corsi, M, P, O, W, G, L, A, C; “urbem” – B, D; “urbi” – Mom., Lipp.

⁵³⁶ “accepit” – Fal., Corsi, M, P, O, W, B, G, D, L, A, C; “coepit” – Mom., Lipp.

⁵³⁷ “deum”; “dominum” – W.

⁵³⁸ “omnium rerum auctorem” – all; “omnium” erased – M; “omnis rei creatorem” – W; “omnipotentem rei” – B; “omnis auctorem” – G; “omnis rei auctorem” – D, A.

⁵³⁹ “itaque” – all; “autem” – M.

⁵⁴⁰ “domini” – all; “dei” – Mom., Lipp.

⁵⁴¹ “parum” – Mom., Lipp., Corsi, M, P, O, W, B, G, D, L, C; om. – Fal.

⁵⁴² Fal. inserts “anno” after “eodem”.

⁵⁴³ “etiam” – Mom., Lipp., Corsi, M, P, O, W, B, G, D, L, C; om. – Fal.

⁵⁴⁴ “paene”, “almost” – Fal., Corsi, M, P, O, W, B, G, D, L, C; om. – Mom., Lipp.

⁵⁴⁵ “exacto” – Mom., Fal., Corsi, M, P, O, W, B, D, L; “sequenti” – Lipp.; “exaucto” – G.

⁵⁴⁶ “uberibus farsit redditibus”, “it fed them with an abundant harvest” – Fal., Corsi, M, P, O, W, B, G, D, L, A, C; “uberius sparsit radicibus”, “it spread abundantly from the roots” – Mom., Lipp.

⁵⁴⁷ “dicetis monti, transfer te, et transferetur” – Fal., M (corrector adds “et” before “dicetis”), O, W, L; “dicetis monti transferre et transferi” – Corsi; “dicetis monti, transferre et transferetur” – P, B, A; “dicetis monti, transfer et transferetur” – G; “dicetis huic monti transfer te et transferetur” – D; “dicentes monti transfer et transferetur” – C; “et dixeritis monti huic, te transfer, transferetur” – Mom., Lipp. It is easy to confuse “transferre” and “transferte” in the manuscripts. The quotation from Mt. 17:19 is a medieval text of the Vulgate, also witnessed in José Martínez Gázquez, *Hystoria Barlae et Iosaphat (Bibl. Nacional de Nápoles VIII.B.10)*, CSIC (1997), the unique manuscript of the first Latin translation of *Barlaam and Josaphat*, where the epilogue (p.193) gives “dicetis monti huic: ‘transfer te’ et transferetur.” In Weber-Gryson⁵ it is “dicetis monti huic transi hinc et transibit”. The form used here also appears in Evagrius of Antioch’s (ca. 374) Latin translation of Athanasius’ *Life of St Anthony*, PG26, col.959; critical ed. L. Gandt, P.H.E.Bertrand, *Vitae Antonii Versiones latinae*, CCL 170, Brepols (2019), 91.

illud, “Qui in me credit, opera quae ego facio, et ipse faciet, et maiora horum faciet⁵⁴⁸.” Vere enim in eo credidit Nicolaus, in cuius opitulatione, tale, tantumque valuit facere miraculum.

XI.⁵⁴⁹

Ex multis igitur idololatriis,⁵⁵⁰ quibus olim praefata regio dedita fuerat, maximam dementiae⁵⁵¹ suae devotionem, erga nefandissimae Dianae simulacrum exhibere studuit, adeo ut, etiam usque ad illud⁵⁵² servi Dei tempus, plerique rusticorum execrabili deservirent religioni. Sed vir Dei, huius sacrilegii superstitionem, tanta persecutus est instantia, ut, divino suffragatus⁵⁵³ adminiculo, penitus ex illis finibus, obsceni numinis culturam propelleret.

Verum, quid diabolo maliciosius?⁵⁵⁴ Quid in orbe artificiosius?⁵⁵⁵ Cum autem cerneret se privatum tanto decoris sui cultu, fellea face succensus, magnam contra Nicolaum exarsit in iram, et novo⁵⁵⁶ pectore nova versans consilia, quosdam adiit viros, omnibus imbutos, immo perditos maleficiis, eisque conficere oleum, quod “mediacon”⁵⁵⁷ dicitur, sub omni celeritate praecepit. Parent protinus egregii⁵⁵⁸ auditores dictis cari⁵⁵⁹ magistri, et quantocius portentuosos liquoris mixtionem componunt.

Quo confecto, haud piger demon ad nocendum, transformavit se in cuiusdam religiosae feminae vultum, atque simulata specie, quibusdam navigantibus, quorum devotio ad servum Dei tendebat, medio sese tulit⁵⁶⁰ obviam⁵⁶¹ mari. Et quasi aliorum lembo uteretur, ait eis, “Video quidem vos proficisci domum Nicolai. Mallem nunc et ego venire vobiscum, quia votum habeo tanti patris perfrui benedictione. Sed quoniam nequeo, rogo vos, ut, si molestum non est, hoc meae parvitatibus oleum, ad ecclesiam Myream feratis, et ob memoriam mei, summatim exinde parietes⁵⁶² ipsius aulae liniatis.” Illi vero,⁵⁶³ ignari doli, artisque fucatae, sumunt oleum classe et libenter secum vehunt. Tunc monstrum informe⁵⁶⁴, umbra velut tenuis, velociter evanuit remigio⁵⁶⁵. Sed Dominus pius,

⁵⁴⁸ “et maiora horum faciet” – all; om. – Fal., W.

⁵⁴⁹ This chapter in Mai is significantly different.

⁵⁵⁰ “idololatriis”, “idolatries” – Mom., Lipp., M, P, O, W, B, G, D, A; “idololatriis”, “idolaters” – Fal., Corsi.

⁵⁵¹ “dementiae” – Lipp., Fal., M (same ‘d’ as “devotionem”), P, W, B, G, L; “clementiae” – Mom., Corsi, O, A; uncertain – D.

⁵⁵² “illud” – Mom., Fal., Corsi, M, P, O, W, B, G, L; “illius” – Lipp.

⁵⁵³ “suffragatus” – Mom., Lipp., Corsi, M, P, O, B, G, D, A, C; “suffragante” – Fal., W, L.

⁵⁵⁴ “maliciosius” – all; “malignius” – Fal.

⁵⁵⁵ “Q.i.o.a”; om. – B.

⁵⁵⁶ “novo” – all; “callido” – Lipp.

⁵⁵⁷ “mediacon” – Fal., Corsi, W, B, A; “midacon” – Mom., Lipp., M, P, L, C; “midiacum” – O; Various other corrupt forms, sometimes combining with “dicitur”. This is a transliteration of the Greek word “μηδικόν”, “Median (fire)”. See R.F. Seybolt, “A troublesome medieval Greek word,” *Speculum* 21 (1946), 38-41.

⁵⁵⁸ “egregii” – all; “nefandi” – O, C.

⁵⁵⁹ “cari” – all; “perfidi” – O, C; Demonstrating that O and C have some kind of connection.

⁵⁶⁰ “se se contulit” – Mom., Lipp.; “sese obtulit” – P, D; “sese tulit” – O; “se obtulit” – C.

⁵⁶¹ “sese tulit obviam” – Fal., M, W, G, L; “se tulit obviam” – B; “sese obviam tulit” – Corsi, A.

⁵⁶² “summatim exinde parietes” – Fal., Corsi, P, O, D, L, C; “summatim exinde in pariete” – M, W (corr. to parietes), G, A; “sumatis exemplum et in pariete” – Mom., Lipp.; “summitatem exinde parietis” – B (possibly from misreading a Beneventan hand).

⁵⁶³ “vero” – all; “utro” – Mom., Lipp.

⁵⁶⁴ “informe” – all; “infernum” – Fal.

⁵⁶⁵ “remigio” – all; “a remigio” – Fal., Corsi; om. – Mom., Lipp.

invidorum aspernator, non est passus diu simpliciter ad famulum suum properantes, munus ferre simulatae imaginis, nec sermonibus fantasticis delusos progredi.

Ex improvise enim cernunt sagenulam, insignibus refertam hominibus, inter quos conspiciantur quendam simillimum Sancti Nicolai, qui ad eos sic facietis⁵⁶⁶ interrogationibus orsus: “Heus,” inquit, “quaenam mulier illa vobis locuta est? vel quid vobis attulit?” At illi seriatim cuncta narrantes: “En,” aiunt, – et oleum ostendunt –, “quod nos deprecata est⁵⁶⁷ ad sanctam portare ecclesiam.” Quibus ille: “Vultis evidentius sapere, quae fuit⁵⁶⁸ femina illa? Haec enim est impudica Diana, et, ut me pro certo⁵⁶⁹ verum dicere⁵⁷⁰ comprobetis, hoc vasculum execrandi olei, istos proicite in fluctus.” Nulla in medium mora, incunctanter faciunt imperata. Mox autem, ubi oleum illud aequoreas tetigit aquas, mirabile dictu, illico accensus est ignis, et contra naturam elementi, prolixo maris spatio⁵⁷¹, visus est ardere. Haec vero, dum nautis⁵⁷² stupenda videntur⁵⁷³, et, defixo obtutu, haerent in tanto prodigio, utrorumque naves magno divisae sunt intervallo, unde nec interrogare valuerunt, quis esset ille, per quem callidi hostis frustratas agnovere insidias?” Verumtamen, ut devoverant⁵⁷⁴ ad sanctum festinantes Nicolaum, clara⁵⁷⁵ voce referebant obviantibus sibi⁵⁷⁶, quod eis acciderat. Venientes autem ad servum Dei, aiebant, “Vere tu es ille, qui nobis, in illo pelago, horrendum ostendisti prodigium. Vere tu verus Dei es famulus, ob cuius vitae meritum⁵⁷⁷ erepti sumus ab exitiis diaboli insidiis.” Talia dicentes, cunctum rei eventum⁵⁷⁸ per ordinem indicant.⁵⁷⁹

Quibus auditis, vir domini⁵⁸⁰ solito more, in laudem prorupit clementissimi patris, ac deinde admonuit⁵⁸¹ eos, juste et pie vivere, ac se tutelae custodis aeterni ex toto committere⁵⁸², qui neminem permittit temptari supra⁵⁸³ id quod potest.⁵⁸⁴ Talibus itaque oraculis satius⁵⁸⁵ informatos, optataque benedictione exhilaratos, laetantes⁵⁸⁶ homines illos Jesu Christi famulus remisit ad propria.

⁵⁶⁶ “sic facietis” – P, W, B, G, D, C; “sic est facietis” – L; “facietis” – Mom., Lipp.; “sic” – Fal.; “sic factis” – Corsi, A; “sic fatis” – O.

⁵⁶⁷ “nos deprecata est” – Fal., Corsi, P, W, B, G, D, L, A, C; “deprecata est” – M, O; “se praecata esset” – Mom., Lipp.

⁵⁶⁸ G omits 5 words, “femina.. est”.

⁵⁶⁹ “pro certo” – Fal., Corsi, M, P, W, B, G, D, L, A; “certo” – Mom., Lipp., O, C.

⁵⁷⁰ “dicere” – edd., P, O, W, B, G, D, L, A, C; “dictorem” – M.

⁵⁷¹ “prolixo maris spatio” – all; “per prolixum maris spatium” – M.

⁵⁷² “nautis” – Mom., Lipp., P, O, W, B, D, A, C; “nautas” – Fal.; “nautae” – Corsi, M, G. L.

⁵⁷³ “videntur” – Mom., Lipp, O, W, B, G, D, A, C; “videtur” – P; “viderint” – Fal.; “vident” – Corsi, M; “viderent” – L.

⁵⁷⁴ “devoverant” – Fal., Corsi, M, P, O, W, B, G, D, L, A, C; “devolarent” – Mom., Lipp.

⁵⁷⁵ “clara” – Mom., Lipp., Corsi, Mai, M, P, O, W, B, G, D, L, A, C; “sera” = “late” – Fal.

⁵⁷⁶ “sibi” – Mom., Lipp., Fal., M, P, O, W, B, G, D, L, C; “si” – Corsi, A.

⁵⁷⁷ “vitae meritum” – all; “rationem” – Fal.

⁵⁷⁸ “cunctum rei eventum” – all; “ei cunctum rei eventum” – C; “cuncta” – Fal.

⁵⁷⁹ “narraverunt” – Fal., Corsi, M; “indicant” – Mom., Lipp.

⁵⁸⁰ “domini” – Mom., Lipp., M, O, B, G, D, L; “dei” – Corsi, W, A; om. – Fal.; “diu” – P.

⁵⁸¹ “admonuit” – Corsi, M, P, O, W, B, G, D, L, A; monuit – Mom., Lipp., Fal.

⁵⁸² Fal. inserts “regis”.

⁵⁸³ “supra” – Fal., Corsi, M, P, O, W, B, G, D, L, A; “super” – Mom., Lipp. (prob. misreading abbrev.).

⁵⁸⁴ 1 Cor. 10:13. “Deus est, qui non patietur vos tentari supra id quod potestis.”

⁵⁸⁵ “satiis” – Fal., Corsi, M, P, O, W, G, D, L, A; “facilius” – Mom., Lipp.; “satis” – B; “sanctius” – C.

⁵⁸⁶ “laetantes” – Fal., Corsi, M, P, W, B, G, D, L, A; “laetantesque” – Mom., Lipp.; om – O, C.

1.⁵⁸⁸ Praeterea⁵⁸⁹, cum in Phrygiae partibus, quaedam⁵⁹⁰ gens cognomine artaiphala, seditiosis machinantibus viris, a Constantini Caesaris imperio descivisset⁵⁹¹, confestim idem Augustus tres militiae principes, quos Dolopes “stratilates”⁵⁹² vocant, Nepotianum scilicet, Ursum et Harpilionem, ex consulto accivit,⁵⁹³ eisque iussit⁵⁹⁴ ut, cum⁵⁹⁵ praeparato navali apparatu, ad subiciendos⁵⁹⁶ proficiscerentur rebelles. Armata⁵⁹⁷ itaque⁵⁹⁸ iuventute, et stipati⁵⁹⁹ militari ambitione, Constantinopolim egredientes, pacatum⁶⁰⁰ per aequor navigare coeperunt.

Qui postquam⁶⁰¹ longissima maris itinera transfretarunt, et pontum sulcarunt praefatae⁶⁰² Lyciae regionis, subita intemperie⁶⁰³ exorta,⁶⁰⁴ periclitabantur procellae. Ac per hoc, nec obniti contra, nec tendere valentes, flectunt viam crebrescentibus ventis, et tandem littoribus Andriaci⁶⁰⁵ portus allabuntur. Ubi iactis ex more anchoris, stabiliuntur classes, sicque demum, optata potiti arena, coeperunt nonnulli huc atque illuc deambulare iuvenes. Aliqui vero eorum, mercationis causa, usque ad locum nundinarum, qui Placomata vocatur, accedentes, rapinam, sicut⁶⁰⁶ illud hominum genus consuetum est, infligere⁶⁰⁷ non desinebant⁶⁰⁸. Quod mobile⁶⁰⁹ accolarum vulgus advertens, omne ruit ad obsistendum. Quibus, vicissim, seu adversis magno turbine ventis confligentibus, tumultus repens⁶¹⁰ Paterae urbi pro nuncio fuit. Unde factum est, ut eadem civitas, ad arcendam vim tantae seditionis, tota concurreret. Qua vir domini, commotione percussus, exiit, civiumque furentium indignationem sagaciter comprimens, ad praefatum portum, qui ab ipsa urbe tribus disparabatur⁶¹¹

⁵⁸⁷ The story of the Three Generals (“Stratelates”) circulated independently in Greek. It seems that John the Deacon incorporated a recension of it into his text, which takes up chapters 12 and 13. The Falconius edition silently incorporated instead a different recension. This may be found in appendix A.

⁵⁸⁸ I have divided chapters 12 and 13 into sections for convenience.

⁵⁸⁹ “Praeterea”; “interea” – O.

⁵⁹⁰ “quaedam” – Corsi, M, P, O, W, B, G, D, L, A, C; om. – Mom., Lipp.

⁵⁹¹ “descivisset” – Corsi, W, D, A; “discessissent” – Mom.; “discessisset” – Lipp.; “descedisisset” – M; “discedisisset” – P; “desidisisset” – O; “decivisset” – B; “descevisisset” – G; “discivisset” – L; “dissedisisset” – C.

⁵⁹² “stratilates” – Corsi, M, P, O, W, B, G, D, L, A, C; “stratiles” – Mom., Lipp.

⁵⁹³ “accivit” – Corsi, P, W, B, D, C; “ascivit” – M, G, D, A (corr. from “accivit”); “accitos alloquitur” – Mom., Lipp.; “accitos eis” plus erasure – O.

⁵⁹⁴ “iussit” – Mom., Lipp., M, P, O, W, B, G, D, L, C; “praecepit” – Corsi, A.

⁵⁹⁵ “cum” – Corsi, M, P, O, G, D, L, A, C; om. – Mom., Lipp., W, B.

⁵⁹⁶ “subiciendos” – Mom., Lipp., M, P, O, W, G, L, C; “subigendos” – Corsi, B, D, A.

⁵⁹⁷ “Armata itaque” – Mom., Lipp., L; “Egredientibus autem” – Fal.; This is the point at which the recensions printed by Mom. and Fal. definitely diverge.

⁵⁹⁸ “itaque” – all; om. – B.

⁵⁹⁹ “stipati” – Corsi, M, P, O, W, G, D, L, A, C; “stipata” – Mom., Lipp., B.

⁶⁰⁰ “pacatum” – all; “altum” – B (probably error).

⁶⁰¹ “postquam” – Mom., Lipp., M, P, O, W, B, G, D, L, C; “priusquam” – Corsi, A (copy error).

⁶⁰² “praefatae” – Corsi, M, P, O, W, B, G, D, L, A, C; om. – Mom., Lipp.

⁶⁰³ “intemperie”; “incomperie” – G; An error in G not present in D.

⁶⁰⁴ “incumbabant” – added Mom., Lipp.

⁶⁰⁵ “andriaci” – Corsi; “andriatici” – L; “hadriatici” – Mom, Lipp.; “adriatici” – M, O, W, B (corr. from “adriaci”), G, D, A (corr. from “adriaci”), C; “adriaci” – P.

⁶⁰⁶ “sicut” – Corsi, M, P, O, W, B, G, D, L, A, C; “ut” – Mom., Lipp.

⁶⁰⁷ “infligere” – Mom., Lipp.; “infligere” – Corsi, M, P, O, W, B, G, D, L, A, C.

⁶⁰⁸ “non desinebant” – Mom., Lipp., Corsi, M, P, B, G, D, L, A, C; “non sinebant” – O; “attentabant” – W.

⁶⁰⁹ “mobile”; “nobile” – G; another error in G but not in D, its apograph.

⁶¹⁰ “repens” = “sudden, unexpected” – Corsi, W, G, D, L, A; “repetens” = “repeating” – Mom.; “repentinus” = “unexpected, sudden” – Lipp.; “strepens” = “resounding” – M; “praepes” = “flying ahead” – P, O, B, C.

⁶¹¹ “disparabatur” – Mom., Lipp., Corsi, M, O, W, L, A; “disparatur” – D; “separabatur” – P, B; “distabat” – G, C.

millibus, festinus perrexit, ibique repertis principibus illis, post⁶¹² salutationis officium oscula libavit, ac deinde⁶¹³ percontatus⁶¹⁴ est eos⁶¹⁵, dicens, “Qui estis? Unde?⁶¹⁶ Pacemne huc⁶¹⁷ fertis an⁶¹⁸ arma?” At illi, “Pater,” inquit “sancte, pacifici sumus, et⁶¹⁹ tempestas nos⁶²⁰ vestris appulit oris. Nam cursus noster Phrygiam tendit. Increverunt enim quidam rebelles, ad quorum contumaciam edomandam ab imperatoria sumus potestate directi. Ideoque petimus, ut tuis nos comiteris orationibus, quatenus⁶²¹ id decenter perficere possimus.”⁶²² Tunc⁶²³ praesul, alacriter eos allocutus, invitavit ut, pariter ad urbis proficiscentes moenia, non dedignarentur illius perfrui benedictione. Mox stratilates illi, tantam servi dei admirantes efficaciam, illico omni suo interdixerunt populo, ut non barbarice⁶²⁴ fremerent, nec, ultra indisciplinate⁶²⁵ agentes, vim quibuslibet facere praesumerent.

2. His ita sedatis, ecce relatum est a dicentibus, “Domine sancte, si tua praesto fuisset in civitate paternitas, nullo modo injuste fierent⁶²⁶ trium militum⁶²⁷ caedes.”⁶²⁸ Nam et cives omnes valde vestram condoluerunt absentiam, quoniam consul, magno excaecatus munere, neci eorum consensit.” Quibus auditis, vir domini, pietatis igne inflammatus, praefatos rogavit principes, ut cum illo rapidis festinarent passibus⁶²⁹. Nec mora ingrediuntur urbem, et in locum qui leonti dicebatur⁶³⁰ applicantes, interrogavit sanctus Nicolaus, quos ibi repperit, si adhuc viverent,⁶³¹ qui capitalem acceperant sententiam. Respondentes illi dixerunt, “Festina, venerabilis pater, festina, quia in platea Dioscori vivi detinentur.”

Mox ad ecclesiam martyrum⁶³² Crescentii et⁶³³ Dioscori, pro quo ipsa cognominabatur platea, concurrens, et non eos reperiens, sciscitatus est, ubi essent. Cui dictum est, “Iam modo portam

⁶¹² “post” – all; “prius”, “first” – Corsi, A.

⁶¹³ “deinde” – all; “deinceps” – M.

⁶¹⁴ “percontatus” – all; “percunctatus” – Corsi, M, D, A (A¹ corr. to “percontatus”), C.

⁶¹⁵ “eos” – all; om. – Mom., Lipp.

⁶¹⁶ “unde?” – Mom., Lipp., Corsi, W (preceded by mark possibly read as “et”?), L, A; “ut unde?” – M, P, G; “aut quid huc advenistis?” – O (with 2 erasures); “vel unde venisti?” – B; “vel unde” – D, C; “vel” or “ut” seems to be from an abbreviation?

⁶¹⁷ “huc” – all; “hinc” – W.

⁶¹⁸ “an” – all; “ut” – M.

⁶¹⁹ “et” – all; “sed” – P, G, C.

⁶²⁰ “nos” – all; “nos fluctuum” – M.

⁶²¹ “quatenus” – all; “quatinus” – Corsi, O, C.

⁶²² B then continues with “Sanctus vero Episcopus rogavit eos” etc, and changes to a witness to the Falconius version of “Stratelates”!

⁶²³ “tunc” – M, P, G, D, L; “tum” – Corsi, O, W, A, C (probably tunc abbrev. wrongly); “hic” – Mom., Lipp. (probably from misreading of “tunc”).

⁶²⁴ “barbarice” – Lipp., Corsi, M, P, W, G, D, L, A; “barbaricae” – Mom.; “barbarici” – O.

⁶²⁵ “ultra indisciplinate” – M, P, O, W, G, D, L, A; “indisciplinate ultra” – Mom., Lipp.; “uti indisciplinates” – Corsi.

⁶²⁶ “fieret” – Mom., Lipp., W, L; “fierent” – Corsi, M, P, O, D, A, C; “paterentur” – G.

⁶²⁷ “militum” – Mom., Corsi, M, P, W, G, D, A, C; “iuvenem militum” – Lipp.

⁶²⁸ Note the subject at the end of the sentence – classic word order of John the Deacon.

⁶²⁹ “passibus” – all; “cursibus” – M; “gressibus” – L.

⁶³⁰ “dicebatur” – all; “dicitur” – Mom., Lipp.

⁶³¹ “interrogavit ... viverent,” – all; “quaerebat ubinam essent” – W.

⁶³² “martyrum” – Mom., Lipp., M, P, O, W, G, D, L, A, C; “martyrium” – Corsi.

⁶³³ “et” – Mom., Lipp., M, P, O, W, G, D, L, C; om. – Corsi, A; A tironian “et”.

illam⁶³⁴ urbis egrediuntur.” Quo dum tenderet, audivit eos asportatos in Birram,⁶³⁵ ubi damnatici perimebantur. Hoc veredarius⁶³⁶ Christi audito, licet tanto fatigatus⁶³⁷ itinere, abiit, cucurrit, et ad locum expeditius⁶³⁸ usque perveniens, reperit eos poplite flexo, velata facie, atque super exertam cervicem opperiri⁶³⁹ iam libratum spiculatoris ense.

Hic hic⁶⁴⁰ experiri potest veridica illa sententia, “justus ut leo confidit.” Nam non potestate mundana, non mucrone territus, totum se audacter⁶⁴¹ in lictorem ingessit, eminusque de manu eius gladium propellens, nec⁶⁴² prius abscessit, quam illos solutos a vinculis secum reduceret, repetens, “Me, inquam, me⁶⁴³ pro istis innocenter condemnatis paratus sum dedere leto.” Ex carnificibus autem illis, nemo saltem ei muttire audebat, scientes eum magni meriti magnaeque esse constantiae et in Christo plurimum valere.

Favore igitur prosecutus populi, qui eius expectando adventum gladiatoribus impedimento fuerat, ad praetorium consulis⁶⁴⁴ accessit. Cuius foribus vi magis quam voluntarie reseratis, erant enim clausae, nunciatum est Eustachio consuli a cubiculariis de praesulis adventu. Illico dux ille festinus ei occurrens, salutavit eum. Sed, quia scriptum est, “probata autem virtus corripit insipientes,”⁶⁴⁵ aspernans eum,⁶⁴⁶ sanctus aiebat, “Inimice Dei, legis praevaricator, cuius os innocentium cruorem dulcius ebibit melle, qua temeritate praesumpsisti vultum conspiciere nostrum, tanti conscius⁶⁴⁷ reatus? Cruentissime, quare non attendisti dominicam praeceptionem, quae cotidie intonat, ‘Innocentem et justum nolite condemnare’?”⁶⁴⁸ Ad quem paucis⁶⁴⁹ ita responsum reddidit heros:⁶⁵⁰ “Cur me sic accipis, serve dei? Cur frustra in me saevis? Animadvertite, quia magis⁶⁵¹ Eudoxius et Simonides, huius insignes urbis, ex hoc magis arguendi sunt quam ego. Revera enim ipsi sunt vehementer infensi⁶⁵² ad effundendum sanguinem horum⁶⁵³.” Cui praesul econtra: “Non Simonides,” inquit, “nec Eudoxius sed auri argentique cupido te illexit, ut ad patrandum tantum facinus consentire. Crede meae parvitati, quia quomodolibet regimen tuum, quo⁶⁵⁴ disponis,

⁶³⁴ “portam illam” – Corsi, M (corrected from “illius”), P, O, W, G, D, L, A, C; “portas illius” – Mom.; “portas illi” – Lipp.

⁶³⁵ “birram” – Mom., Lipp., M, W, D; “byrsram” – P; “birsano” – O, C; “birrani” – G; “birranis” – L; “pyrram” – Corsi, A; Is C then based on O, directly or not?

⁶³⁶ Add “et famulus” – Mom., Lipp.

⁶³⁷ “fatigatus” – Mom., Lipp., M, G; “fatigatus esset” – Corsi, P, O, W, D, L, A, C.

⁶³⁸ “expeditus” – Corsi, P, W, G, D, A; “expeditus” – Mom., Lipp., M; “expeditusque” (omitting “usque”) – O, C.

⁶³⁹ “opperiri” – W, D; “opperire” – Corsi, A; “operire” – Mom., Lipp., M, G, L; “operiri” – P, O, C.

⁶⁴⁰ “hic hic” – all; “hic” – Mom., Lipp.

⁶⁴¹ “audacter” – Corsi, M, P, O, W, G, D, A, C; om. – Mom., Lipp.

⁶⁴² “nec” – Corsi, M, P, O (corrected to “non”), W, G, A; “non” – Mom., Lipp., D, C.

⁶⁴³ “me inquam me” – Corsi, M, P, O, W, G, D, A, C; “me me inquam nam” – Mom., Lipp.

⁶⁴⁴ “consulis” – Corsi, M, P, O, W, D, L, A, C; “proconsulis” – Mom., Lipp.; om. – G.

⁶⁴⁵ Sapientia 1:3: “Perversae enim cogitationes separant a Deo; probata autem virtus corripit insipientes.”

⁶⁴⁶ “eum” – Corsi, M, W, D, L, A, C; “autem” – G; om. – Mom., Lipp., P, O.

⁶⁴⁷ “consciis” – M, P, O, W, Mom., Lipp.; “conscio te” – Corsi, G, D, A; “consciis te” – L (but “te” crossed out later).

⁶⁴⁸ Dan. 13:53 (=Susanna 53): “Innocentem et justum non interficies.”

⁶⁴⁹ “paucis” – all; W adds “verbis” in margin in different hand; “paucis” – G.

⁶⁵⁰ A transliterated Greek word. Cf. ch.8 where the same word is used.

⁶⁵¹ “magis” – all; om. – Corsi; erased, and placed after “sunt” – L.

⁶⁵² “infensi” – M, P, G, L; “infessi” – A, O (corr. infenssi); “infesti” – Corsi, W, D; “accensi” – Mom., Lipp.

⁶⁵³ “horum”; “tuum” – P; “istorum” – O.

⁶⁵⁴ “quo” – Lipp., M, P, O, W, G, L, C; “quod” – Corsi, A; placed after “immo” – Mom.; om. – D.

immo⁶⁵⁵ depraedaris hanc patriam, piissimis Augusti insinuabitur auribus, qui factis tuis dignam recompenset aequitatem.” Haec et alia, perstabat, memorans,⁶⁵⁶ ducemque infamabat. Tandem, aliquando accedentes, praefati principes militum⁶⁵⁷ multum obsecrabant ut, sopito⁶⁵⁸ furore, consuli vehementi rubore suffuso veniam daret. Quorum postulationem vir Domini clementer accipiens, ducem Eustachium, quem coram omnibus infamarat, coram omnibus humiliter⁶⁵⁹ mulcere studuit.

Stratilates deinde illi, post⁶⁶⁰ celebratum convivium, pontificis benedictione⁶⁶¹ aucti, laetanter socios classemque revisunt. Inde,⁶⁶² ubi prima fides⁶⁶³ pelago reddita est, iter aggressi sunt coeptum, et flatibus invecti secundis, velociter Phrygiam pervenerunt.⁶⁶⁴ Quam, cum sagaciter, ablatis seditionis fautoribus, sub imperii jura rede-gissent,⁶⁶⁵ Constantinopolim repetierunt urbem.⁶⁶⁶ Quibus non solum gratulabundus occurrit populus, sed procerum multi. Imperator etiam, ob subactos sine sanguine hostes,⁶⁶⁷ gestiens gaudio⁶⁶⁸, triumphaliter eos in suo recepit palatio.⁶⁶⁹

XIII.

1. Sed haec non aequis oculis ille antiquus humanae salutis aemulus aspiciens, in longum quievit; tamdiu enim se formas vertit in omnes,⁶⁷⁰ quousque⁶⁷¹ invidos quosdam stimulis agitare⁶⁷² amaris, qui eorum dignitatem zelantes,⁶⁷³ aut dedecus, aut necem contra illos molirentur. Quid multa? Accedentes quidam dolosi ad quendam praefectum nomine Ablavium, quem Achivi⁶⁷⁴ eparchum⁶⁷⁵ vocant, in multis eos accusabant. Praesertim contra Augustum eos nitebantur ostendere conspiratores, adicientes subdolam esse locutionem eorum⁶⁷⁶ et fucatam⁶⁷⁷ humilitatem, et ideo⁶⁷⁸

⁶⁵⁵ “immo” – all; “in” – G; om. – Corsi.

⁶⁵⁶ Added “fixus manebat” – Mom., Lipp.

⁶⁵⁷ “principes militum” – Corsi, M, P, O, W, D, L, A, C; “milites” – Mom., Lipp.; “principes” – G.

⁶⁵⁸ “sopito”, put to sleep – Corsi, M, P, O, W, G, D, L, A, C; “suposito”, supposed – Mom.; “se posito” – Lipp.; “seposito”, put away from – Steinmeyer but noting the reading of Mom.

⁶⁵⁹ “humiliter” – Mom., Lipp., P, O, C; “mirabiliter” – Corsi, M, W, G, D, L, A.

⁶⁶⁰ “post” – Mom., Lipp., P, O, W, G, D, L, C; “prius” – Corsi, M, A.

⁶⁶¹ “benedictione” – Lipp., Corsi, M, P, O, G, D, L, A, C; “benedictionem” – Mom., W.

⁶⁶² “inde” – all; “deinde” – L.

⁶⁶³ “fides” – Mom., Corsi, M, P, O, W, G, D, A, C; “quies” – Lipp.

⁶⁶⁴ “pervenerunt” – Corsi, M, P, O, W, G, D, L, A, C; “perrexerunt” – Mom., Lipp.

⁶⁶⁵ “rede-gissent” – In G this is followed by “remeantes prospere”, then skips the next sentence, and resumes with “imperator etiam”.

⁶⁶⁶ “repedarunt ad urbem” – Corsi, M, P, O, W, D, L, A, C; “repetierunt urbem” – Mom., Lipp.; The abbreviated and reworded version of chapter 12 found in Falconius ends here with “reversi sunt Constantinopolem”. It is then followed directly by ch. 13.

⁶⁶⁷ O inserts “magno”.

⁶⁶⁸ “gaudio”; om. – G.

⁶⁶⁹ “triumphaliter eos in suo recepit palatio” – Corsi, M, P, O, W, G, D, L, A, C (“in suo” added as corr.); “triumphantium more recepit” – Mom.; “triumphantium more illos recepit” – Lipp.

⁶⁷⁰ “in omnes” – Mom., Lipp., M, P, O, G, D, L, C; “in humanas” – Corsi, A (but overwriting something).

⁶⁷¹ “in longum... quousque”; om. – W.

⁶⁷² “agitaret” – Corsi, M, P, G, D, L, A, C; “agitavit” – W; “cogeret” – Mom., Lipp., O.

⁶⁷³ “zelo prosequentes” – Mom., Lipp.; “zelantes” – Corsi, M, P, O, W, G, D, L, A, C.

⁶⁷⁴ “achivi” – all; “et” – G.

⁶⁷⁵ “eparchum” – Lipp., Corsi, M, P, O, W, G, D, L, A, C; “aparchum” – Mom.

⁶⁷⁶ “locutionem eorum” – Corsi, M, O, W, G, D, L, A, C; “illorum locutionem” – Mom., Lipp.

⁶⁷⁷ “fucatam” – Mom., Lipp., Corsi, P, O, W, G, D, L, A, C; “fictam” – M.

⁶⁷⁸ “et ideo” – Corsi, M, P, O, W, G, D, L, A, C; “ex quo” – Mom., Lipp.

tantam simultatem⁶⁷⁹ non fore⁶⁸⁰ attendendam,⁶⁸¹ quia, ubi tempus invenerint, secus apparebunt.⁶⁸² Sed, cum se inanibus vocibus nihil affectare conspicerent, coeperunt magnis⁶⁸³ muneribus animum viri illicere, et⁶⁸⁴ eum in perniciem armare⁶⁸⁵ innocentium. Verum, “quid non mortalia pectora cogis⁶⁸⁶, auri sacra fames?”⁶⁸⁷ Extemplo,⁶⁸⁸ corruptus eparchus⁶⁸⁹ immensitate fulvi metalli, intravit⁶⁹⁰ ad Augustum et sic orsus est fari:⁶⁹¹ “Excellentissime domine, cuius moderamine totus mundus pacatus quiescit! Ecce, invidia diaboli, a quo omnis nequitiae seminarium oritur, intestinos⁶⁹² contra nos suscitavit⁶⁹³ inimicos. Revera, enim, stratilates illi, quos dudum Phrygiam⁶⁹⁴ vestra misit sublimitas, insidias⁶⁹⁵ machinantur domino meo. Nam conventicula crebra agentes, promittunt confederatores suos ditari opibus, et magnis extolli⁶⁹⁶ dignitatibus. Hoc ego pro certo sciens, ideo coram tua veni narrare praesentia, ne divinum iudicium et imperialem incurrerem⁶⁹⁷ iram. Quoniam⁶⁹⁸ quidem non solum rei sunt, qui male faciunt, sed et⁶⁹⁹ qui consentiunt facientibus; maxime cum haec procul dubio a sociis eorum didicissem⁷⁰⁰. Unde caelitus⁷⁰¹ vobis collata⁷⁰² provideat sagacitas, quid⁷⁰³ facto opus sit.”

Credidit itaque Augustus fallaciis eius, utpote praefecti sui, et⁷⁰⁴ iratus e vestigio comprehendi eos iussit, et in carcere retrudi. Illis vero carceralibus custodiis⁷⁰⁵ mancipatis, accidit - ut reor non⁷⁰⁶ sine

⁶⁷⁹ “tantam simultatem” – W, D, C; “tantam simultatem eorum” – O (“eorum” a gloss, but showing the copyist understood this as accusative like locutionem and fucatum); “tantas simultates” – Corsi, L, A; “tanta simulas” – Mom., Lipp., M, G.

⁶⁸⁰ “fore” – Corsi, M, P, O, W, G, L, A, C; “esset” – Mom., Lipp.; “esse” – D.

⁶⁸¹ “attendendam” – P, O, W, D, C; “attendendas” – Corsi, L, A; “attendenda” – Mom., Lipp., M, G (probably from lost abbreviation of the other readings).

⁶⁸² “apparebunt” – Mom., Lipp., M, P, O, G, D, L, C; “apparebit” – Corsi, W (bt~, abbreviated ending, probably means “bunt”), A (ditto).

⁶⁸³ “magnis” – Mom., Lipp., M, P, W, G, D, L, A, C; “manis” – Corsi (probably typo); “magis” – O (copyist error).

⁶⁸⁴ “et” – Mom., Lipp., M, W, G, D, L; “ut” – Corsi, P, O, A (corrected from “et”), C.

⁶⁸⁵ “armare” – Mom., Lipp., M, W, G, D, L; “armarent” – Corsi, P, O, A, C.

⁶⁸⁶ “cogis” – Corsi, all mss (L corrected to “cogit”); “cogit” – Mom., Lipp. (and placed after “non”), G; The word order in Mom. is often different to that in mss.

⁶⁸⁷ Virgil, *Aeneid* III, 56-7: “quid non mortalia pectora cogis, auri sacra fames!”

⁶⁸⁸ “extemplo” – all; “exemplo” – G; O inserts “tunc” here.

⁶⁸⁹ G inserts “cum” here.

⁶⁹⁰ “intravit” – Mom., Lipp., M, P, O, W, G, D, L, C; “introivit” – Corsi; uncertain – A.

⁶⁹¹ “orsus est fari” – M, P, W, D, L, C; “orsus est” – Mom., Lipp.; “exorsus est fari” – Corsi, O, G, A.

⁶⁹² “intestinos” – Corsi, M, P, O, W, G, D, L, A, C; “infestos” – Mom., Lipp.

⁶⁹³ “suscitavit” – Mom., Lipp., Corsi, P, O, W, D, L, A, C; “excitavit” – M, G.

⁶⁹⁴ “Phrygiam” – Mom., Corsi, M, P, O, W, G, L, A, C; “in Phrygiam” – Lipp., D.

⁶⁹⁵ “insidias”; O adds “vobis”.

⁶⁹⁶ “extolli”; “extollere” – P, L.

⁶⁹⁷ “incurrerem”; “incurram” – O.

⁶⁹⁸ “quoniam”; “quo” – Corsi (misreading quo~).

⁶⁹⁹ “et”; om. – Corsi, A.

⁷⁰⁰ “didicissem”; “didicerim” – O.

⁷⁰¹ “caelitus” – Mom., Lipp., M, P, O, W, G, D, L, A, C; “celtius” – Corsi – misreading abbrev. for “celitus”.

⁷⁰² “collata”; “data” – D.

⁷⁰³ “quid” – Corsi, P, O, W, D, L, A, C; “quod” – Mom., Lipp., M, G.

⁷⁰⁴ “et” – Mom., Lipp., Corsi, M, W, G, D, L, A; om. and new sentence – P, O, C; a useful division of the two main families here.

⁷⁰⁵ “custodiis”; “ergastulis” – P.

⁷⁰⁶ “ut reor non” – M, P, W, G, L, C; “ut reor” – O (probably copyist forgot “sine”); “haud reor” – Mom., Lipp., Corsi, D, A.

nutu divino - ut imperator, in summis rei publicae preoccupatus negotiis, horum protelaret⁷⁰⁷ sententiam. Sed, quia caecum pectus, quod semel inficit viris⁷⁰⁸, difficili⁷⁰⁹ paenitudine renitescit, praedicti callumniatores, paucis effluxis diebus, assunt et memorato praefecto promissa munera deferentes, “Quo pacto,” inquit, “inimicos nostros vitae donastis⁷¹⁰ et non capti comminus⁷¹¹ sunt jugulati? An sperastis⁷¹² seditioni⁷¹³ vos posse finem imponere, si eos artari ergastulo iuberetis⁷¹⁴? Ecce enim, retrusi, socii eorum adminiculantibus exire satagunt, et meditatam implere nequitiam. Idcirco te conari necesse est, ne tale⁷¹⁵ quid, quod non optamus, perficere possint; alioquin vigilasse pro pace vestra nos poenitebit, et vos celerrime peribitis.” Coactus, ergo, praefectus ille⁷¹⁶ magis cruento munere quam fame,⁷¹⁷ denuo auribus Caesaris talia venena infudit: “Domine⁷¹⁸ Auguste, scelesti illi, quos pietas vestra vivere sinit, non cessant pestifera cum suis conspiratoribus meditari consilia. Certo enim certius noveritis eos extrinsecus habere conjuratos, qui eos⁷¹⁹ viriliter adjuvare satagunt, ut, egredientes insperate, ad necandum irruant super⁷²⁰ dominum nostrum⁷²¹.” Illico Augustus, quasi suam comperisset mortem, tanta furia⁷²² actus⁷²³ est, ut, saltem⁷²⁴ absque inquisitionis respectu, praeceperit illos occidi.

Quo mandato praefectus⁷²⁵ avaritiae⁷²⁶ accepto, prae gaudio magno misit ad custodem carceris, ut hos segregatos sollicitius⁷²⁷ observaret, quatenus subsequenti nocte clanculo perimerentur. Custos autem, ille bonae compassionis vir et merito Hilarianus vocitatus, praeripuit⁷²⁸ se ad carcerem, et maesto hanc edidit pectore vocem: “Utinam vos nunquam, domini, scissem! Proh dolor! Hodie separamur ab invicem!” Et lachrymis suffusus⁷²⁹ ait, “Eloquar an sileam? Sed tamen⁷³⁰ cogor eloqui⁷³¹

⁷⁰⁷ “horum protelaret” – Mom., Lipp., M, P, O, G, D, L; “eorum praestolaretur” – Corsi, A; “eorum differret” – W.

⁷⁰⁸ “inficit viris” – Lipp., Corsi, M, W, L, A; “inficit” – Mom.; “invidia inficit” – P; “invidia” – O; “incipit vilis” – G (omitting “semel” – vilis might be a guess at D’s unreadable letters, or “viris” in Beneventan); “inficit ?? lis” – D (might be “bi lis”); “inficit bilis” – C.

⁷⁰⁹ “difficili” – Corsi, M^{corr}, P, O, W, D, A, C; “difficile” – Mom., M, G.

⁷¹⁰ “donastis” – W omits the rest of the sentence.

⁷¹¹ “comminus”; Otlone has “confestim”.

⁷¹² “sperastis” – Mom., Lipp., Corsi, P, O, W, G, D, L, A; “sperabatis” – M.

⁷¹³ “seditioni” – Mom., Lipp., M, P, O, W, L; “sediciosus” – Corsi, A; “seditionis” – G, D (G and D both move “vos” before “seditionis”; This is a useful group marker for G and D.

⁷¹⁴ “iuberetis” – Mom., Lipp., M, P, O, W, G, D, L, A; “iubereris” – Corsi (looks like misreading of ms by Corsi).

⁷¹⁵ “ne tale quid”; “ne tale facinus quid” – O (a gloss); “ne” – L.

⁷¹⁶ “ille”; “illo” – Mom., Lipp.

⁷¹⁷ “famine” – Corsi, M, P, O, W, G, D, L; “sermone” – Mom., Lipp. (substituting more familiar word).

⁷¹⁸ “domine”; G adds gloss “inquit”.

⁷¹⁹ “eos” – Corsi, M, P, O, W, G, D, L, A; “illos” – Mom., Lipp.

⁷²⁰ “super”; “super vos” – P, O.

⁷²¹ “nostrum” – Mom., Lipp., M, W, G, D, L; “suum” – Corsi, A; “meum” – P, O, C (=misreading of nrm~?).

⁷²² “tanta furia”; “tantis furiis” – D; “tali furia” – Corsi, A.

⁷²³ “actus” – Mom., Lipp., M, P, O, W, G, D, L, A, C; “accensus” – Corsi (seems to be emendatio).

⁷²⁴ “saltem” – Corsi, M, P, W, G, D, L, A; om. – Mom., Lipp., O; “statim” – C.

⁷²⁵ “praefectus” – Corsi, M, P, O, W, G, D, L, A, C; om. – Mom., Lipp.

⁷²⁶ “avaritiae” – Mom., Corsi, M, P, O, G, D, L, A, C; “avarus” – Lipp.; om. – W.

⁷²⁷ “sollicitus” – Mom., M, P, O, W, D, L, A, C; “sollicitus” – Lipp., Corsi, G (unclear if really “sollicitus”) – probably misreading Beneventan.

⁷²⁸ “praeripuit” (p with macron) – Mom., Lipp., M (abbreviated), O (abbrev), W (in full), G (abbrev), D (abbrev), L (abbrev), A (abbrev), C (in full); “proripuit” (p with loop at left base of vertical) – Corsi, P.

⁷²⁹ “suffusus” – Mom., Corsi, P; “fusus” – C; “suffusus” – Lipp., M, G, D, L, A; “fusus” – W; “infusus” – O.

⁷³⁰ add “invitus” – P, O, C.

⁷³¹ “eloqui” – Corsi, mss; “loqui” – Mom., Lipp.

vobis. Sciatis ab Augusto egressam esse sententiam, ut hac nocte, absque dilatione, occidamini. Praeordinate ergo de rebus vestris, ne postmodum⁷³², in supremo constituti articulo⁷³³, magis eas exterminio quam testamento delegatas⁷³⁴ relinquatis.”

2. Quibus auditis, extemplo gelidus per ima⁷³⁵ cucurrit ossa tremor, et ingemiscences, sparsis⁷³⁶ crinibus, scidere⁷³⁷ vestimenta sua atque ululatu cum magno talia clamitabant: “Heu, quisnam est tantus iste furor? Quae tanta severitas, ut sic moriamur sicut crassatores populorum, qui saltem nec interrogatione digni habentur?⁷³⁸ Immanis⁷³⁹ est ista crudelitas et nec audita in gentilibus.” Cum autem diu multumque ita⁷⁴⁰ gement, Nepotianus, unus ex eis, recordatus est qualiter sanctus Nicolaus iuvenum liberator trium mirabilis fuisset.⁷⁴¹ Suspirans iterum iterumque,⁷⁴² tandem hanc precem fudit: “Rex Deus excelsae, succurre miseris⁷⁴³, succurre⁷⁴⁴ perituris, meamque humillimam deprecationem, non nostris, sed servi tui Nicolai meritis dignanter attendas,⁷⁴⁵ quatenus sicut eius instantia tres illos erutos a morte conspeximus, ita nos per eius intercessionem ab instanti eripiamur sententia.

Quoniam,⁷⁴⁶ quidem si non adest corporaliter, credimus⁷⁴⁷ tamen illum spiritualiter omnium compati necessitatibus, pro quibus⁷⁴⁸ tibi saepius supplicare.⁷⁴⁹ Tu ergo⁷⁵⁰ Domine, tu qui voluntatem timentium te facis,⁷⁵¹ propter orationes eius libera nos.” Sic Nepotianus, sic supplicabant⁷⁵² et

⁷³² “postmodum” – Mom., P, O, W, G, D, L, C; “prius modum” – Corsi, M, A.

⁷³³ “articulo” – Corsi, M, P, O, W, G, D, L, A, C; om. – Mom., Lipp.

⁷³⁴ “delegatas” – Lipp., Corsi, M, P, O, W, G, D, L, A, C; “delegatos” – Mom.; “rebus” is referred to, which is feminine.

⁷³⁵ “ima” – Corsi, M, P, O, W, D (“ima” and “ossa” swapped), L, A, C; “imancla” – G; “tota” – Mom., Lipp.

⁷³⁶ “sparsis” – Mom., Lipp., M, P, O, W, G, L, C; “passis” – Corsi, A.

⁷³⁷ “scidere” – Mom., Lipp., M (scider~), O (scider~), W (scider~), L (scider~), C (scider~); “sciderunt” – Corsi, P (in full), G (in full), D (in full), A (scider~).

⁷³⁸ “habentur” – Mom., Lipp., M, P, O, W, G, D, L, C; “habemur” – Corsi, A (but looks like copyist miswrote “habem~” rather than “habent~”).

⁷³⁹ “immanis” – all; “immane” – Corsi.

⁷⁴⁰ “ita” – Mom., Lipp., Corsi, O, D, L, A, C; “in” – W; om. – M, P, G.

⁷⁴¹ insert “et” – Lipp., L; om. – Mom., Lipp., Corsi, M, P, O, W, G, D, A, C.

⁷⁴² insert “et” – Corsi, M, P, G, D (but erased), A, C (added in margin); om. – Mom., Lipp., O, W, L.

⁷⁴³ “succurre miseris”; om. – W; (probably just copying error).

⁷⁴⁴ “succurre” – Corsi, M, P, O, W, G, D, L, A, C; om. – Mom., Lipp.

⁷⁴⁵ “attendas” – Corsi, M, P, O, W, D, L, A, C; “attende” – Mom., Lipp.; “attendat” – G.

⁷⁴⁶ “quoniam” – Mom., Lipp., M, P, O, W, G, D, L, A, C; “qui vero” – Corsi.

⁷⁴⁷ “credimus” – Lipp., Corsi, M, P, O, W, G, D, L, A, C; “credamus” – Mom.

⁷⁴⁸ “pro quibus” – Mom., Lipp., M, P; “pro quibus eis” – G; “per quae eis” – Corsi; “per quae” – O; “pro quae” – W; “pro quae eis” – D, L, A, C.

⁷⁴⁹ “supplicare” – Corsi, W, D, A, C; “supplicaret” – Mom., Lipp.; “supplicat” – M; “supplicamus” – P, O; “supplicarentur” – G; “supplicari” – L (“ri” a weird Beneventan abbreviation that may have given rise to the rest). The last portion of the sentence, “pro... supplicare”, with many abbreviations, seems to have confused the copyists. At some point someone seems to have thought that the sense was “per quae/quem tibi saepius supplicaremus”, “through whom/during which we repeatedly pray to you.” Possibly wrongly reading abbreviated “que” as “quem” rather than “quae”. “quae” and “quibus” mean the same here, but perhaps an abbreviated “quibus” gives rise to “que” more easily than the reverse. “per” is probably a mistake for “pro”, both being abbreviated to a “p” with a wiggle at the bottom. “eis”, “for them”, looks like a gloss. The main construction is an accusative and infinitive (illum... compati [passive form but deponent]) after a verb of thinking, so I agree with Corsi and suggest that “supplicare” must be correct here. Note that next letter is “t” which may explain “supplicare-t”, if read too quickly.

⁷⁵⁰ “Tu ergo” – Corsi, M, P, O, W, G, D, L, A, C; “Te igitur precamur” – Mom., Lipp.

⁷⁵¹ “facis” – Mom., Lipp., M, P, O, W, G, D, L, C; “facies” – Corsi, A.

comites⁷⁵³, atque simul uno ore clamabant, "Sancte Nicolae adiuva nos. Serve dei, licet absens, interveni pro nobis, ut eruti a praesenti jugulo⁷⁵⁴, tuam devoti videre faciem, tuosque sacratissimos osculari mereamur pedes."⁷⁵⁵

O clemens pietas creatoris⁷⁵⁶, O immensa benignitas salvatoris, quae tanto⁷⁵⁷ laudanda est praeconio; quantum ab omnibus simpliciter se⁷⁵⁸ petentibus⁷⁵⁹ exorabilis.⁷⁶⁰ Quis umquam eum quaesivit puro corde et non invenit? Quis petivit ab eo misericordiam et non accepit? Ipse enim se obligavit⁷⁶¹ dicens, "Quodcunque petieritis patrem in nomine meo, fiet vobis." Huius enim sponsonem veritatis inter angustias hi tres mirabiliter sunt experti.⁷⁶² Nam vir Dei adhuc vitam carpebat praesentem et bonus Dominus sic praedictorum supplicum preces audire dignatus est, ac si sanctus Nicolaus interventor in superiore⁷⁶³ regno penes eum fuisset. Sed haec cuius, nisi tua, sunt Christe dona,⁷⁶⁴ tuae retributiones? Tuae⁷⁶⁵ prorsus, Domine, qui glorificantes te non solum coram patre tuo in caelis, sed etiam in terris coram hominibus glorificare consuesti.⁷⁶⁶

3. Nocte igitur insecuta, qua plectendi erant stratilates illi, cum se imperator eparchusque sopori dedissent, simillima⁷⁶⁷ viderunt somnia; quae ideo singillatim narramus, ut evidentissime omnipotentem intelligamus⁷⁶⁸ non tantum palam, sed etiam per visiones minari iusticiae praevaricatoribus. Neque id frustra facit,⁷⁶⁹ sed quia plus gaudet super uno peccatore, quam super

⁷⁵² Rest of sentence omitted – P.

⁷⁵³ A gloss inserted here: "eius" – Mom., Lipp.; "illius" – G; (clearly a gloss); om. – Corsi, M, O, W, D, L, A, C.

⁷⁵⁴ "iugulo"; "iugo" – G, D, L; (showing a Beneventan origin for G and D?).

⁷⁵⁵ W skips the next few sentences, resuming with "nocte igitur".

⁷⁵⁶ Mom., Lipp. swap "creatoris" and "salvatoris". G has "salvatoris" in both places.

⁷⁵⁷ "tanto...quantum" is reminiscent of an equally odd sentence in chapter 2. Perhaps this is a John the Deacon idiom.

⁷⁵⁸ "se" – understanding this as the object of "petentibus". Meaning either "it" – the kindness of God – or "He", i.e. God, the subject of the next sentence.

⁷⁵⁹ "petentibus"; O, L, C add "est" here; G adds "fit"; Both seem like glosses. "omnibus petentibus" – "to all who ask", "by everyone asking". Cf. "Haec dicit Dominus: Non deficiet vinum de vase, sed omnibus petentibus affatim tribuetur, et abundabit", "O Lord, I pray that wine shall not be lacking in this jar until all have received an abundance." (Gregory of Tours). But this leaves "ab" to be explained. Perhaps Lippomanus added "invenitur" – "how much is he found responsive by all those entreating him" precisely to cope with "ab".

⁷⁶⁰ "exorabilis"; One who can be invoked, moved by prayers. Lipp. adds "invenitur" here, probably looking forward to "invenit". This last clause is difficult to understand. Some manuscripts contain obvious glosses here, and their presence suggests that others also found the text difficult. "est" should probably be understood. Corsi: "O clemente pietà del Creatore, o immensa benevolenza del Salvatore, che è da magnificare con tanta lode, quanto grande è l'indulgenza verso tutti quelli che gli si rivolgono con animo semplice!" – Google translation: "O gracious mercy of the Creator, O immense benevolence of the Saviour, which is to be magnified with so much praise, how great is the indulgence towards all those who turn to him with a simple heart!"

⁷⁶¹ "obligavit"; "promisit" – G.

⁷⁶² Classic John the Deacon word order, with the subject, "hi tres", concealed at the back.

⁷⁶³ "superiore" – Mom., Lipp.; "superi" – Corsi, A; "supero" – M, L; "superno" – P, O, C; "superiori" – G, D; (all these look like clumsy guesses at the meaning of an over-abbreviated original).

⁷⁶⁴ Question mark follows "dona" – P, O, D; follows "retributiones" – M, L, A; neither – Mom., Lipp., Corsi, G.

⁷⁶⁵ "tuae" – Corsi, M, G, D, L, A; om. – P, O, C; "sunt" – O^{corr}.

⁷⁶⁶ This is followed by a new initial in W, and a new paragraph in Lipp. and Corsi.

⁷⁶⁷ "simillima" – Corsi, M, P, O, W, D, L, A, C; "similia" – Mom., Lipp., G.

⁷⁶⁸ "intelligamus" – Mom., Lipp., M, P, O, W, G, D, L, A, C; "intelligatis", "you may understand" – Corsi.

⁷⁶⁹ "facit" – Mom., Lipp., M, P, O, W, L, C; "faciet" – Corsi, G, D, A.

nonaginta novem justis, ostendit se malle cunctorum poenitentiam⁷⁷⁰. Visiones autem huiusmodi fuerunt. Nam in tempesta nocte⁷⁷¹ cum se Augustus sopori dedisset,⁷⁷² apparuit quaedam effigies sancti Nicolai Caesari⁷⁷³ dicens⁷⁷⁴, “Constantine, cur stratilates illos injuste comprahendi fecisti? Cur sine crimine morti abdicasti?⁷⁷⁵ Surge celer⁷⁷⁶, eosque dimitti quantocius iubeto. Quod si fortassis, me spreto, aliud⁷⁷⁷ facere volueris, caelestem deprecor⁷⁷⁸ regem, ut, contemptus mei ultor existens, tibi indurato⁷⁷⁹, bellum sinat insurgere et, te ibi perempto, caro tua bestiis avibusque sit cibus.” Cui Augustus, “Quis, et⁷⁸⁰ cuius auctoritatis es tu, ut, hac hora palatium meum ingressus, talia audeas loqui?” Et ille: “Ego sum peccator Nicolaus⁷⁸¹, Myrae metropolis Episcopus.” Haec dicens⁷⁸² abiit. Eparchumque sic territat ipsum: “Ablavi, vecors mente et sensu perdit, quae⁷⁸³ necessitas incubuit, ut obstinatus innocentium fores⁷⁸⁴ delator? Perge velox, illosque continuo⁷⁸⁵ ex⁷⁸⁶ carcere produci⁷⁸⁷ facito. Sin autem imperatoris⁷⁸⁸ aeterni maiestatem⁷⁸⁹ obtineo, ut totum corpus tuum scaturiat vermibus, et domus tua quantocius diripiatur.” Ad quem praefectus sic turbatis⁷⁹⁰ vocibus hiscit,⁷⁹¹ “Tu vero quis es, qui nobis⁷⁹² tanta minaris?” Cui ille: “Me scito esse⁷⁹³ Nicolaum Myrensem antistitem⁷⁹⁴.” Dixit, et procul⁷⁹⁵ in tenuem ex oculis evanuit auram.

Talibus igitur⁷⁹⁶ Caesar et eparchus, perterriti visionibus, excutiuntur somno, et, maturato officio, quae quisque viderat, celeriter remiserunt sibi dicenda⁷⁹⁷.

⁷⁷⁰ “poenitentiam” – all; “poenitentia” – Corsi (probably misreading A).

⁷⁷¹ “nocte” – P, C; “noctis” – O.

⁷⁷² “nam... dedisset” – P, C, O; om. – all. An indicator of the PQOC group against the rest.

⁷⁷³ “caesari” – Corsi, M, P, O, W, G, D, L, A; om. – Mom., Lipp.

⁷⁷⁴ “dicens” – Corsi, M, P, O, W, G, D, L, A; “dicentis” – Mom., Lipp.

⁷⁷⁵ “abdicasti” – Mom., Lipp., M, W, G, A; “adjudicasti” – Corsi, A^{corr}; “addixisti” – O, D; “adduxisti” – L. P omits “Cur sine crimine morti abdicasti?”

⁷⁷⁶ “celer” – Mom., Lipp., Corsi, P, W, G, D, L, A, C; “celeriter” – M; “celerius” – O.

⁷⁷⁷ “aliud”; “alia” – O, C; “alias” – W, G, L, A.

⁷⁷⁸ “deprecor” – Corsi, M, P, O, W, G, D, L, A, C; “praecor” – Mom., Lipp.

⁷⁷⁹ “indurato”; “indirecto” – C; note error found in C, but not in O.

⁷⁸⁰ “et” – all; “ait et” – M; “es tu et” – Corsi, A; “ut” – P; “vel” – O, C; “es” – D.

⁷⁸¹ “Nicolaus peccator” – Mom., Lipp., Corsi, M, G; “peccator Nicholas” – P, O, W, D, L, A, C.

⁷⁸² “dicens” – Mom., Lipp., M, P, O, W, G, D, L, A, C; “dictus” – Corsi.

⁷⁸³ insert “tibi” – Mom., Lipp.

⁷⁸⁴ “fores” – Mom., Lipp., P, O, C; “fieres” – Corsi, M, W, G, D, L, A.

⁷⁸⁵ “continuo” – Mom., Lipp., M, P, O, W, G, D, L, C; “continue” – Corsi, A.

⁷⁸⁶ “ex” – Corsi, M, P, O, W, G, D, L, A, C; “e” – Mom., Lipp.

⁷⁸⁷ “produci” – Mom., Corsi, M, P, O, W, G, D, L, A, C; “educi” – Lipp.

⁷⁸⁸ “imperatoris”; “ab imperatoris” – Lipp., O^{corr}; “apud imperatoris” – L.

⁷⁸⁹ “maiestatem” – Mom., Corsi, M, P, W, G, D, L, A, C; “maiestate” – Lipp., O.

⁷⁹⁰ “turbatis”; “probatis” – G.

⁷⁹¹ “hiscit” – Corsi, M, P, D, L, A, C; “infit” – Mom., Lipp., O (“ad quem turbatis sic prefectus vocibus infit”), W; “respondit” – G (emendation?).

⁷⁹² “nobis” – Corsi, M, P, O, W, G, D, L, A; om. – Mom., Lipp.

⁷⁹³ “esse” – Mom., Corsi, M, P, O, W, G, D, L, A; “esset” – Lipp.

⁷⁹⁴ “antistitem” – Corsi, M, P, O, W, G, D, L, A; “episcopum” – Mom., Lipp.

⁷⁹⁵ “procul” – Mom., Lipp., M, P, O, W, G, D, L; “praesulis” – Corsi; “proconsulis” – A.

⁷⁹⁶ “igitur” – Mom., Lipp., M, P, O, G, D, L, A, C; “quidem” – Corsi.

⁷⁹⁷ “dicenda” – Mom., Lipp., P, O, C; “dicendo” – Corsi, M, W, G, D, L, A. Understanding “quae” as the subject, “what”, nom. sing. fem., and “dicenda” as the same, agreeing with it. Otlone’s text follows John the Deacon closely: “que quisque viderat celeriter retulerunt” – “what each had seen, they quickly reported”, suggesting that the omitted “dicenda” had baffled him also.

4. Deinde, ubi prima⁷⁹⁸ stellas aurora⁷⁹⁹ fugavit, e vestigio imperator, accersitis magnatibus suis, et eodem eparcho, fecit sibi stratilates illos praesentari. Quibus astantibus,⁸⁰⁰ torvo⁸⁰¹ aspectu ita exorsus est loqui ad eos⁸⁰²: “Quas magicas nostis artes, ut tantis nos illudatis phantasiis tantisque exagitetis**⁸⁰³ somniis?”

Illi attoniti tanto interrogantis auspicio, nullum dederunt responsum. Et denuo Augustus, “Edicite nobis, quae sint maleficia vestra!” Ad quem Nepotianus, solus pro cunctis, sic pavitanti voce respondit: “Excellentissime imperator, cui Deus regni commisit habenas, absit ut⁸⁰⁴ nos documentis nefariae artis simus instructi. Nunquam enim, Domine, tali vacavimus⁸⁰⁵ magisterio. Quippe et nos constanter profitemur non illius esse commissi, ut capitali subiciamur⁸⁰⁶ sententiae.” Tunc⁸⁰⁷ Augustus: “Nostis,” inquit, “aliquem hominem, cui Nicolaus nomen est?”

Mox illi, audito tanto nomine, tendentes ad sidera palmas utrasque, voce magna dicebant⁸⁰⁸: “Benedictus es, Domine Deus Nicolai sancti, qui non derelinquis⁸⁰⁹ sperantes in te et de tua misericordia praesumentes. Benedictus es, et laudabilis in saecula, qui clementer infelicium servorum tuorum dignatus es intueri aerumnas⁸¹⁰. Et nunc, Domine, Domine,⁸¹¹ propter famulum tuum Nicolaum,⁸¹² eripe nos ab hac falsa⁸¹³ proditione,⁸¹⁴ sicut⁸¹⁵ erepti sunt tres viri illi a pernicioso jugulo.”⁸¹⁶

Augustus⁸¹⁷ vero,** sciens et⁸¹⁸ ardens sciscitari, et quaerere causas, compressit voces eorum.⁸¹⁹ Tumque⁸²⁰ demum, “Eia agite,” inquit, “quo de sanguine cretus, quis quantusve sit, vel si vera

⁷⁹⁸ P, O, C insert “polo”.

⁷⁹⁹ “stellas aurora” – Mom., Lipp., M, P, O, D, L, C; “stella auroram” – Corsi, W, A; “stella aurora” – G.

⁸⁰⁰ After “astantibus”, insert “visis” – G; (gloss).

⁸⁰¹ “torvo” – Mom., Lipp., Corsi, P, O, W, G, D, L, A, C; “turbato” – M.

⁸⁰² “loqui ad eos” – Corsi, M, P, O, W, G, D, L, A, C; om. – Mom., Lipp.

⁸⁰³ Insert “in” – P, O, C; om. – Mom., Lipp., Corsi, M, W, G, D, L, A.

⁸⁰⁴ “absit ut”; “ut credis” – G.

⁸⁰⁵ “vacavimus”; “vacamus” – P.

⁸⁰⁶ “subiciamur”; “mereamur” – O^{corr}; “non... subiciamur” are omitted in G.

⁸⁰⁷ “tunc” – Mom., Lipp., Corsi, P, O, W, D, L, A, C; “tum” – M, G.

⁸⁰⁸ “dicebant” – Mom., Lipp., M, P, O, W, G, D, L, C; “clamabant” – Corsi, A; In W this sentence has been erased and rewritten in a different ink.

⁸⁰⁹ “derelinquis” – Corsi, M, P, O, W, G, D, L, A, C; “relinquis” – Mom., Lipp.

⁸¹⁰ “infelicium servorum tuorum d. e. intueri aerumnas” – Corsi, M, P, O, W, G, D, L, A, C; “infelices tuos servos d. e. respicere” – Mom., Lipp.

⁸¹¹ “Domine, Domine” – Mom., Lipp., M, P, O, G, D, A; “domine” – Corsi, W.

⁸¹² “propter famulum tuum Nicolaum” – Corsi, M, W, G, D, L, A; “famuli tui Nicholai meritis” – P, C (but meritis added above line); “meritis famuli tui Nicholas” – O; “miserere nostri et famuli tui Nicolai intercessione”, “have mercy on us, and through the intercession of your servant Nicholas” – Mom.; “miserere nostri et famuli tui intercessione” – Lipp.

⁸¹³ “falsa” – Corsi, M, P, O, W, G, D, L, A, C; om. – Mom., Lipp.

⁸¹⁴ “proditione” – Corsi, M, P, O, W, G, D, L, A, C; “perditione” – Mom., Lipp.; (did Mom. misread the abbrev. for pro?).

⁸¹⁵ “sicut”: P adds “pro eum”.

⁸¹⁶ “iugulo” – Corsi, M, O, W, G, D, L, A, C; “iugulo quos vidimus” – P, C^{corr}; “iugulatu” – Mom., Lipp.

⁸¹⁷ “Augustus” – all; “Caesar” – Mom., Lipp.

⁸¹⁸ “sciens et” – Mom., Lipp., P, O, C; om. – Corsi, M, W, G, D, L, A.

⁸¹⁹ “compressit voces eorum”, “silenced their voices” – Corsi, M, P, O, W, G, D, C; “propius eos ad se accedere jussit”, “ordered them to come nearer to him” – Mom., Lipp.

⁸²⁰ “tumque” – Corsi, M, O, W, G, A; “tum” – P, D; “tunc” – L.

sunt⁸²¹, quae⁸²² sic ore refertis, coram pandere maturetis.”⁸²³ Mox item Nepotianus, hoc firmatus oraculo,⁸²⁴ ait, “Iste est vere per omnia sanctus, cuius nos meritis credimus erui ab intentato⁸²⁵ exitio. Iste est, quem in nostra invocavimus prodicione,⁸²⁶ et ecce, ut cernimus, alacrem sensimus adiutorem. Vere enim dignum Dei credimus illum servum⁸²⁷, ob⁸²⁸ quem, tantis licet terrarum sepositus spatiis,⁸²⁹ sub uno noctis momento Christus nos exaudire dignatus est.” Haec⁸³⁰ dixit et, continuo prosequens, narravit qualis,⁸³¹ quantaque humilitatis⁸³², quantaque esset bonitatis⁸³³. Nam et ereptionem iuvenum, totiens memoratam, sicut scripta⁸³⁴ est,⁸³⁵ per ordinem pandit.

5. His Caesar auditis, plurimum⁸³⁶ miratus est, et pro tanti viri bonitate Deum venerans, “Ite,” inquit, “et⁸³⁷ famulo Dei gratias agite, immo Deo, qui vos per eum liberavit. Ex⁸³⁸ Constantini, autem⁸³⁹, donariis munuscula necnon et apices nostros ferte vobiscum; hunc scilicet⁸⁴⁰ evangelii codicellum⁸⁴¹, mirifice auro contextum, et⁸⁴² cimilia⁸⁴³ haec simul, et duo⁸⁴⁴ ex auro ceraptata,⁸⁴⁵ vasque hoc aliud aureum gemmis pretiosissimis decoratum; eique dicite, ut⁸⁴⁶ dignanter ista

⁸²¹ “si vera sunt”, “if these things are true” – M, P, O, L, C; “si vestras est”, “if he is associated with you” – Corsi, W, D, A, also Otlone; “si vestris est” – G.

⁸²² “quae” (abbrev = que, que+sqiggle under), “which” – M, P, O, L, C; “quem” (que~ above), “he whom” – Corsi, W, G, D, A, also Otlone.

⁸²³ The whole sentence is different: Tumque, demum, eos intuitus, “Dicite,” inquit, “hic quem invocastis, quo est sanguine progenitus, quis, quantusve sit, vel si vera sunt, quae dicitis, coram pandere maturetis.” – Mom., Lipp.; Tumque demum, “Eia agite,” inquit, “quo de sanguine cretus, quis quantusve sit, vel si vestras est, quem sic ore refertis, coram pandere maturetis.” – Corsi.

⁸²⁴ “hoc firmatus oraculo”, “reassured by this speech” – Corsi, M, P, O, W, G, A; “hoc firmato oraculo” – D, L; “confortatus”, “reassured” – Mom., Lipp.

⁸²⁵ “intentato”, “threatened” – Lipp., P, O, D, C; “instanti”, “instant, sudden” – Corsi, W, L, A; “intentanti” – M; “infestationis” – G; “intemptato”, “unried” – Mom.

⁸²⁶ “perditione”, “distress” – Mom., Lipp., L; “prodicione”, “treason” – Corsi, M, P, O, W, G, D, A, C, possibly a misreading in the first copy from Beneventan?

⁸²⁷ Mom., Lipp., O insert “esse”.

⁸²⁸ “ob quem” – Mom., Lipp., Corsi, P, O, G, D, L, A, C; “per quem” – M; “qui” – W.

⁸²⁹ “sepositus spatiis” – Corsi, W, A; “sepositum spatiis” – P, O, D, L, C; “positum spatiis” – M; “positi spatiis” – G; “spatiis longe ab eo positos”, “placed far from him by such distances” – Mom., Lipp.

⁸³⁰ “haec” – Corsi, M, P, O, W, G, D, L, A, C; “hoc” – Mom., Lipp.

⁸³¹ G inserts “ut” after “qualis”, and changes word order.

⁸³² “quantaque humilitatis” – Mom., Lipp., Corsi, P, W, G, D, L, A, C; “quantaque humilitatis” – O; om. – M.

⁸³³ “esset bonitatis” – Mom., Lipp., Corsi, P, O, W, G, D, L, A, C; “sit humilitatis” – M.

⁸³⁴ “scripta” – Mom., Lipp., P, O, G, C; “praescripta” – Corsi, M, W, D, A.

⁸³⁵ “totiens memoratam, sicut scripta est”; “supra memoratam” – L.

⁸³⁶ “his Caesar auditis, plurimum” – Corsi, M, P, O, W, G, D, L, A, C; “imperator autem haec audiens, multum” – Mom., Lipp.

⁸³⁷ “et”; “hac” – O.

⁸³⁸ P, O insert “mei” after “ex”.

⁸³⁹ “autem”; “videlicet” – O.

⁸⁴⁰ “scilicet” – Corsi, M, P, O, W, G, D, L, A, C; “etiam” – Mom., Lipp.

⁸⁴¹ “codicellum” – Corsi, M, W, G, D, L, A; “codicem” – P, O, C; “librum” – Mom., Lipp.

⁸⁴² M inserts “duo” after “et”; C omits “et... ceraptata”.

⁸⁴³ “cimilia” – Corsi, M, P, W, G, A; “idi bacinum” – P^{gloss}; “i bacinnos” – C^{gloss}; “ciminilia” – Mom., Lipp., L; “chimilia” – C; “hermilia” – D; om. – O. “cimilia”, “cimelia”, from the Greek τὰ κεϊμήλια, sacred vessels. Via Ducange. <https://logeion.uchicago.edu/cimelia>.

⁸⁴⁴ “duos” – Mom.; “duas” – Lipp.; “duo” – Corsi, P, O, W, G, D, L, A; om. – M.

⁸⁴⁵ “ceraptata” – Corsi, M, P, O, W, G, D, L, A, C; “idi candelabra” – P^{gloss}, C^{gloss}; “cherothecas”, “gloves” – Mom., Lipp.

⁸⁴⁶ “ut” – Mom., Lipp., M, P, O, W, G, D, L, A, C; “et” – Corsi.

suscipiat, et mihi⁸⁴⁷, libentissime⁸⁴⁸ praeceptis eius obedienti, non minari⁸⁴⁹, sed⁸⁵⁰ orare studeat, atque pro pace regni nostri,⁸⁵¹ magis totius⁸⁵² orbis dominum poscat.”⁸⁵³

6. Post paucos igitur⁸⁵⁴ dies stratilates praedicti, acceptis syllabis⁸⁵⁵ augustalibusque muneribus, ad servum Dei, uti devoverant, ire coeperunt.⁸⁵⁶ Qui venientes, Nicolaumque videntes,⁸⁵⁷ illico consternati solo, pedes eius osculabantur⁸⁵⁸, et prae magnitudine laetitiae, claris repetebant⁸⁵⁹ vocibus⁸⁶⁰, “Vere dilectissimus Dei es famulus. Vere cultor et amator christi. Vere tu omnium ore laudandus,⁸⁶¹ propter quem mirabiliter a morte liberati sumus.” Haec et alia⁸⁶² diutissime conclamantes, tandem cunctam⁸⁶³ deditionis⁸⁶⁴ seriem retulerunt, atque offerentes munera, necnon et⁸⁶⁵ imperiales epistolas, indicia ostendere⁸⁶⁶ suae liberationis. Mox doctor egregius, elevatis ad caelum brachiis, Dominum⁸⁶⁷ collaudabat Salvatorem, dicens, “Magnus es Domine Deus noster, magnus et mirabilis, cuius magnitudinis non est finis. Tu es enim Dominus, dives in omnibus, qui facis mirabilia magna solus.”

His dictis, conversus ad illos, tantis eos irigavit scripturarum fluentis, ut plurima de rebus propriis largirentur egenis. Dehinc, sicuti⁸⁶⁸ secularium moris est⁸⁶⁹, tanto gestierunt gaudio, ut sibi⁸⁷⁰ tonderent, quos in carcere miserant, crines. Exacto⁸⁷¹ itaque apud virum Dei aliquanto tempore, cum ingenti laetitia, instructi doctrinis eius, et aucti benedictione, remearunt ad propria⁸⁷², magnificantes Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, qui regnat cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto unus Deus aequali maiestate, aequali potestate, per omnia saecula saeculorem, Amen.

⁸⁴⁷ “mihi”; “me” – C.

⁸⁴⁸ “libentissime” – Corsi, M, P, O, W, G, D, L, A, C; “lubentissime” – Mom., Lipp.

⁸⁴⁹ “minari”; “muniri” – G.

⁸⁵⁰ Add after “sed”: “potius” – Corsi; “me” – C.

⁸⁵¹ Add “et” after “nostri” – P, O.

⁸⁵² “saluti” as gloss before “totius” – O.

⁸⁵³ A new initial appears here in BNF. lat. 196, and the division is marked in W and P.

⁸⁵⁴ “igitur” – Mom, Lipp., M, P, O, W, G, D, L, A, C; om. – Corsi; (typo probably).

⁸⁵⁵ “syllabis” – Corsi, M, P, O, W, G, D, L, A, C; “epistolis” – Mom, Lipp.

⁸⁵⁶ Here the body text of Falconius chapter 13 ends, but he places the remainder in a footnote, starting with “qui venientes”. There is no break in Lipp. nor Corsi.

⁸⁵⁷ “nicolaumque videntes” – Corsi, M, P, O, W, G, D, L, A, C; om. – Mom., Lipp.

⁸⁵⁸ “osculabantur” – Corsi, M, P, O, W, G, D, L, A, C; “osculati sunt” – Mom., Lipp.

⁸⁵⁹ “et prae magnitudine laetitiae, claris repetebant”; om. – W.

⁸⁶⁰ “vocibus” – Mom., Lipp., M, P, O, W, G, D, L, A, C; “vocis” – Corsi; (presumably typo).

⁸⁶¹ “laudandus” – Corsi, M, P, O, W, G, D, L, A, C; “laudabilis” – Mom.

⁸⁶² “alia”; “hissimilia” – G.

⁸⁶³ “cunctam” – Corsi, M, W, D, A; “suae” – G; om. – Mom., Lipp., P, O, L, C.

⁸⁶⁴ “deditionis”; “edictionis” – P; “edicionibus” – O; “aeditionis” – C; “dampnationis” – G.

⁸⁶⁵ “et” – Mom., Lipp., P, O, W, G, D, L, A, C; om. – Corsi, M.

⁸⁶⁶ “ostendere” – Corsi, M, P, O, W, D, L, A, C; “ostenderunt” – Mom., Lipp., G.

⁸⁶⁷ “dominum” – Corsi, M, P, O, W, G, D, L, A, C; “deum” – Mom.; om. – Lipp.

⁸⁶⁸ “sicuti”; “recepti ab eo ut” – G.

⁸⁶⁹ “moris est” – Mom., Lipp., Corsi, M, W, G, D, L, A; “morem” – P, O, C.

⁸⁷⁰ “sibi” – Mom., Lipp., M, P, O, W, G, D, G, L, C; “subito” – Corsi, A.

⁸⁷¹ “exacto” – Mom., Lipp., Corsi, P, O; “manserunt” – M.

⁸⁷² “ad propria” – M, G end here, continuing on the same line with “Huc usque de argolicorum...”; P stops, continuing with “gaudentes et exultantes in domino”, then “Quodam autem tempore advenit quaedam mulier ... cyparissus”; O, D, L stop, adding “magnificentes dominum Jesum Christum”, then O has a miracle story “in aegritudinem”, D has “Quodam tempore... cyparissus”, L has “Huc usque...”. W stops, finishing with an abbreviated version of the doxology. Mom., Lipp., Corsi, A, C have the full text above. C continues with Obitus.

Appendix A – Chapters “14” and “15”

In the manuscripts, the text of the “Vita” ends in different ways. Sometimes it ends with chapter 13. But in other cases it continues with a random selection of miracle stories. In these cases “chapter 14” often follows chapter 13. Indeed perhaps it was composed as the introduction to such stories, and “chapter 15” as an epilogue. In the 1751 Falconius edition on p.126 the prologue and epilogue appear in a footnote labelled as “chapter 14” and “chapter 15.” The same material also appears in the Mombritius edition. It seems useful to include a text and translation of it here, with a collation of a number of manuscripts.

The text of the two chapters is rather simpler in syntax than the work by John the Deacon. The whole collection of miracle stories was perhaps made by a writer not much later than the time of John.

English Translation

14. Prologue.

Having up to this point drawn from the edition⁸⁷³ of the Argolian Fathers, we have translated this blessing into Latin, because, just as the most blessed confessor is celebrated and worshipped by them in the observance of the annual solemnity⁸⁷⁴ with the desire of pious devotion, so he is worthy to be celebrated by this publication by our little selves, indeed by the whole world, he is worthy to be exalted, magnified and praised by its use⁸⁷⁵. And justly indeed, because although very few of those things which the most holy accomplished in his life were written down, yet since he went to Christ, he exhibits so many miracles every day that no tongue of the flesh is sufficient to express them. For who can worthily explain how by his merits sight is swiftly and fully restored to the deserving blind, hearing to the deaf, and, to speak briefly, health to all the disabled? Who, I say, is so eloquent that he can very easily express how, from the marble of his tomb, sacred oil exudes, which is collected by the watchful ministers with a sponge, and most carefully stored away, for the public anointing of various illnesses? I therefore report to your charity what I have learned from a truthful report. But they professed that they had learned this very thing from the report of the inhabitants of Myra. However whether the truth is otherwise or not must be left to the judgment of those speaking. Indeed, at a certain time, when some of the magnates of the aforesaid city, from an invidious faction, were not ashamed to drive out the pontiff of that see, the oil of such blessing immediately ceased to flow. But when the same bishop recovered his throne, immediately the saving liquid began to drip as before. For God is wonderful, wonderful – as the prophet sings – in his saints⁸⁷⁶: because he is accustomed to glorify his servants in such a way that the sound of them goes

⁸⁷³ Lit. “editio.”

⁸⁷⁴ I.e. St Nicholas’ Day.

⁸⁷⁵ The idea seems to be the circulation of the story in Latin rather than Greek. Mom. and Lipp. have a different text: “Now then, dear brothers, if it pleases you, on the commemoration of this day of the most blessed Nicholas the confessor and pontiff, let us say something in his praise. For his commemoration is being celebrated, which is preached not only in Greece, but in almost the whole world.”

⁸⁷⁶ Ps. 67:36 (= 68:35 in English), via an antiphon “Mirabilis Deus in sanctis suis; Deus Israel ipse dabit virtutem et fortitudinem plebi suae. Benedictus Deus!” – “God is wonderful in his saints: the God of Israel is he who will give power and strength to his people. Blessed be God.” The phrase is first used in Celestine III’s canonisation bull (1191) for Peter of Tarantaise, and appears frequently in subsequent bulls of canonisation. See M. Goodrich, “Mirabilis deus in sanctis suis: Social history and medieval miracles”, in: *Studies in Church History* 41 (2005), 135-156.

out into all the earth. What kind of sound? Of victory, of course, of triumph. Because while they do not refuse the protection conferred by heaven on their suppliants, they show themselves, the diademed prince of this world having been defeated, redeemed for eternity.

15. Epilogue.⁸⁷⁷

Let us, then, rejoice in the Lord, dearest friends, let us rejoice, and celebrate wholesomely the feast-day of Saint Nicholas, for, whether he examines our festive selves amicably, he favours, believe me, he favours our devotion. In fact, and in accordance with the etymology of the name, for “Nicholas” in Greek⁸⁷⁸ sounds like “Victory of the People”⁸⁷⁹, his attack destroys the fiercest opponents, and assists us to overcome the enemy stronghold. Let all sexes, therefore, and all ranks, look for the safety of his protection, let him beg for help, let him ask for help. For he knows that in the past, having won the heavenly palm, he mercifully helped the afflicted, freed the oppressed and plague-ridden, and redeemed those in bondage.⁸⁸⁰ So having said these things, let us pour out a little prayer before him – at the bottom of this page – that we may ever enjoy his patronage. We ask, therefore, most holy father⁸⁸¹, that you may attend to the very humble words of our petition, and see our devotion, and, having considered the illusion⁸⁸² of our condition, you may suppress the enemy, drive out tyranny, pacify those who quarrel, take care of the bishops,⁸⁸³ govern the clergy, guide the abbots, protect the monks, and give heavenly solace to all who practice your solemnities devoutly. We also, at the same time, have devoted our attention to the poor and helpless, and we have offered our scant praise of your glory, deliver us from every disturbance of those who seek to entrap us, and guard us from the whisperings of foul spirits, so that faithfully we may deserve to serve our Lord Jesus Christ. Who lives and reigns with the Father and the Holy Spirit, God forever and ever. Amen.

Latin Text

Sigla.

A large number of manuscripts were collated for chapter 15. A few have been given sigla, the rest are referred to using their shelfmark.

M, G	As in the “Vita”	
R	Vatican, Arch. Cap. S. Pietro A5	11 th c.
S	Paris, BNF lat. 2627	11 th c.
T	Paris, BNF lat. 12600. A copy of G.	11 th c.
U	Paris, BNF lat. 11750	11-12 th c.
X	Paris, BNF lat. 1864	14 th c.
Y	Paris, BNF lat. 5607	11 th c.

⁸⁷⁷ This cannot be the original epilogue. It is not addressed to Athanasius, but to “karissimi”, a group of people, on the feast of St Nicholas. The language contains none of the weird word order of John with subject, verb and object all at the end of the sentence. The “eolice” is the only Greek.

⁸⁷⁸ Lit. “in Aeolian”.

⁸⁷⁹ In Latin. Fal. actually inserts “Latine” here.

⁸⁸⁰ Those in debt.

⁸⁸¹ i.e. St Nicholas.

⁸⁸² “figmentum” – a figure, appearance, shape, illusion – a faulty argument in logic.

⁸⁸³ “praesules”, those who govern the church.

XIV.

Huc usque de Argolicorum⁸⁸⁴ doctorum editione trahentes, ad Latinitatis transtulimus gratiam; quia⁸⁸⁵ sicut ab illis annuae solemnitis obsequio, pia devotionis desiderio, iste confessor beatissimus celebratur, et colitur; ita a nobis exiguis, imo ab universo orbe terrarum, digno est collaudandus praeconio, digno est attollendus, magnificandus, et praedicandus commercio.⁸⁸⁶ Et juste⁸⁸⁷ quidem, quia licet perpauca scripta sint⁸⁸⁸ ex his,⁸⁸⁹ quae sanctissimus⁸⁹⁰ in vita sua patravit, tamen ex quo ad Christum perrexit, tanta quotidie miracula exhibet, ut nulla carnis sufficiat promere lingua.⁸⁹¹ Quis enim digne potest explicare qualiter promerentibus eius meritis caecis⁸⁹² visus, surdis auditus, et, ut breviter dicam, debilibus cunctis celerrima⁸⁹³ redditur sospitas⁸⁹⁴? Quis, inquam, tantae⁸⁹⁵ est facundiae, ut facillime possit exprimere, qualiter ex marmore tumuli eius, sacrum resudat oleum, quod ab excubantibus ministris peniculo⁸⁹⁶ collectum, studiosissime reconditur, ad diversorum⁸⁹⁷ languorum conspicuam unctionem⁸⁹⁸? Refero itaque caritati vestrae quod veridica relatione⁸⁹⁹ comperi⁹⁰⁰. Sed illi⁹⁰¹ hoc ipsum fama Myrensi accolarum, se didicisse⁹⁰² profitebantur. Tamen, sive aliter sive ita se veritas⁹⁰³ habeat, iudicio narrantium est committendum. Quodam siquidem tempore, cum quidam magnatum civitatis⁹⁰⁴ praedictae, invidiosa factione, pontificem sedis illius⁹⁰⁵ propellere non erubuissent, continuo desinit oleum tantae perfluere benedictionis. At ubi idem antistes suam recepit cathedram, confestim salutaris liquor stillare more

⁸⁸⁴ "argolicorum" – all; "graecorum" = BNF lat. 5344, Y.

⁸⁸⁵ "quia" – Fal., M, G, Vat. reg. lat. 543; "ut" – S, X, BNF lat. 3809A, U, T, BNF lat. 5344, BNF lat. 5296, Y, Lisbon, Vat Arch A3, R, Vat. Barb; "et" – BNF lat. 5287, Saint-Omer 715 (= the reading in BHL 6123).

⁸⁸⁶ The text in Mom. and Lipp. is quite different: "Nunc igitur fratres carissimi, si vobis placuerit, de solemnitate huius diei beatissimi Nicolai confessoris atque pontificis, in eius laudem aliquid loquamur. Quoniam illius sollempnitas agitur, quem non solum Graecia, sed poene totus orbis praedicat." The sentence structure with the subject, verb object at the back is characteristic of John, interestingly. Mom. omits "de". I was unable to locate any manuscript containing this alternative text: the *BHLms* gives 12 witnesses, of which only BNF 5308, 3791 (12th c.), were accessible, but in fact they do not contain it.

⁸⁸⁷ "juste" – Mom., Lipp., Fal., M, S, T, R, U; "nunc" – G, T.

⁸⁸⁸ "sint" – Mom., Lipp., M, G, S, T, R, U; "sunt" – Fal.

⁸⁸⁹ "his" – Mom., Lipp., M, G, S, T^{corr}, R, U; "iis" – Fal.

⁸⁹⁰ "sanctissimus" – M, G, S, T, R; "vir sanctissimus" – Fal.; "sanctus vir". – Mom., Lipp.; "sanctissimus hic" – U.

⁸⁹¹ "promere lingua" – Fal., M, G, S, T, R, U; "lingua referre". – Mom., Lipp.

⁸⁹² "promerentibus eius meritis caecis" – Fal., M, S; "eius meritis promerentibus cecis" – Mom.; probably scribal simplification.

⁸⁹³ "celerrime" – Fal., M, S; "et celerrima et optima", "both swiftly and fully" – Mom., Lipp.; Probably scribal addition.

⁸⁹⁴ "sospitas" – Fal., M; "valetudo" – Mom., Lipp.

⁸⁹⁵ "tantae" – Mom., Lipp., M, R, S, T; "tanta" – Fal.

⁸⁹⁶ "peniculo", "sponge" – M, T; "penniculo", "feather" – Mom., Lipp., Fal.; "periculo" – S.

⁸⁹⁷ "diversorum" – Mom., Lipp., M, R, S, T; "universorum" – Fal.

⁸⁹⁸ "prospicuam unctionem", "visible anointing" – R, S; "perspicuam unctionem", "clear anointing" – T, Fal.; "proficiat unctionem" – M; "utilem admodum unctionem", "very useful anointing" – Mom., Lipp., perhaps an alteration of a corrupt text to make sense.

⁸⁹⁹ "relatione" – Fal., M, G, X; S, U, T, R; "relatione a quibusdam graiis" – Mom.

⁹⁰⁰ "comperi" – Mom., Fal., M, R, lots of others; "comperimus" – G, T. Falconius suggests that this material is "badly sewn sausage" added on by "some cobbler."

⁹⁰¹ "sed illi" – Mom., M, S, U, R; "Illi enim, a quibus ego accepi" – Fal.; "sed illic" – G, X, T.

⁹⁰² "se didicisse" – Fal., M, G, S, U, T, R; "didicisse" – Mom.; "se vidisse" – X.

⁹⁰³ "sive ita se veritas" – Mom., U; "sive se ita veritas" – M, R; "sive sic se ita veritas" – Fal.; "si hec se ita veritas" – G; "seu ita severitas" – X; "relata" – S; "se rei veritas" – T.

⁹⁰⁴ "civitatis" – Fal., M, G, X, S, U, T, R; "civitate" – Mom.

⁹⁰⁵ "illius" – M, G, U, T, R; "illius qui per eum successit" – X; "ipsius" – Mom., Fal. S.

pristino coepit. Mirabilis quippe deus, mirabilis, ut propheta decantat,⁹⁰⁶ in sanctis suis⁹⁰⁷: quoniam sic famulos suos glorificare consuevit ut in omnem terram exeat sonus eorum. Qualis sonus? Nempe victoriae, nempe⁹⁰⁸ triumphi. Quia dum suis⁹⁰⁹ supplicibus collata caelitus non denegant⁹¹⁰ patrocinia, ostendunt se, mundi devicto⁹¹¹ principe diademate, redimitos aeterno.

XV.

Laetemur ergo, carissimi, laetemur in domino, et diem⁹¹² festum sancti Nicolai⁹¹³ salubriter⁹¹⁴ celebremus⁹¹⁵, quoniam si nos ille concorditer festivos⁹¹⁶ inspexerit, favet, credite mihi, favet nostrae devotioni.⁹¹⁸ Quin,⁹¹⁹ et secundum nominis sui⁹²⁰ etymologiam, “Nicolaus”⁹²¹ enim⁹²² Eolice⁹²³, “victoria populi” resonat⁹²⁴, impetus ferocissimos repugnantium conterit⁹²⁵, et castra vincere juvat⁹²⁶ hostilia.⁹²⁷ Omnis ergo sexus, omnisque conditio, protectionis eius tutamen exspectet⁹²⁸, imploret suffragia, quaerat⁹²⁹ auxilia. Novit enim olim⁹³⁰, caelesti palma potitus⁹³¹, misericorditer subvenire afflictis, liberare oppressos et pestiferos, solvere nexus.⁹³² His ita

⁹⁰⁶ “mirabilis, ut propheta decantat” – Fal., M, Y, S, U, R; “mirabilis (ut propheta decantat)” later brackets. – X; “mirabilia, ut propheta decantat” – G, T; *om* – Mom.

⁹⁰⁷ Lit. “mirabilis Deus in sanctis suis” – Ps. 67:36 (= 68:35 in English), via the antiphon, “Mirabilis Deus in sanctis suis; Deus Israel ipse dabit virtutem et fortitudinem plebi suae. Benedictus Deus!”

⁹⁰⁸ “nempe victoriae nempe” – Fal., M, Y, S, R; “nempe victoriae ac” – Mom.; “nempe victoriae &” – G, T; “nempe” – U.

⁹⁰⁹ “dum suis” – Mom., Fal., M, S, U; “universis” – X; “adversus contraria dum” – T (and quia -> quibus); “adversis contraria” – G (and quia to qui); “dum” – R.

⁹¹⁰ “denegant” – Mom., Fal., M, G, S, U, T, R; “desunt” – X.

⁹¹¹ Falconius misprints the nonsense “divieto” for “devicto”.

⁹¹² “diem”: Mom., U, T, R, al.; “dum” – Fal.; “venerabile” – O; BNF lat. 989; “hunc venerabile” – BNF lat. 5360; “diem venerabilem” – Y, C, Rouen 1383.

⁹¹³ “festum sancti Nicolai” – Mom., T, Saint-Omer 715, Vat. barb. lat. 586, Vatican ArchCap A3, R, Vatican ArchCap A7; “festum venerabilem sanctissimi viri nicholai” – BNF lat. 5344; “venerabilem festum sanctissimi nicholai” – BNF lat. 5344; “festum sancti” (no Nicolai) – U; “festum sanctissimi viri Nicolai” – C, Rouen 1383;

⁹¹⁴ “salubriter” – Mom., U, T, C, BNF NAL 2335, Rouen 1383, Saint-Omer 715, Vat. barb. lat. 586, Vatican ArchCap A3, R, Vatican ArchCap A7; “solemniter”, “solemnly” – Fal.

⁹¹⁵ “celebremus”; “celebramus” – Mom, Fal.

⁹¹⁶ “festivos”; “festinos” – Mom. typo.

⁹¹⁷ “favet, credite mihi, favet”; “adjuvat credite michi et favet” – BNF lat. 5284, BNF lat. 5345;

“adjuvat...adjuvat” – BNF lat. 5360, Y, C, BNF NAL 2335, Rouen 1383; “adjuvat” – Wien ONB 12831, O, BNF lat. 989.

⁹¹⁸ “devotioni” – Mom. Fal., al.; “devotionem” – O, Y, C, BNF NAL 2335, Rouen 1383.

⁹¹⁹ “quin”; “Nam” – Fal.; “Qui etiam” – Arras 462; “Quin etiam” – BNF lat. 5284; “Quia et” – BNF lat. 5573, U.

⁹²⁰ “sui” – Fal., G, O, Y, U, C, R; *om*. – Mom., M, X, S, T.

⁹²¹ Insert after “Nicolaus”: “mirorum litiae”, i.e. “myreorum lycia” in various spellings – C, Y, BNF NAL 2335, Rouen 1383.

⁹²² “enim”; *om*. BNF lat. 5573, U, Saint-Omer 715, Vat. barb. lat. 586, Vatican ArchCap A3, R, Vatican ArchCap A7; “quod” T, BNF lat. 5344; “eolice quod scilicet” – G (combines two variants).

⁹²³ “eolice” – Mom., X, S, BNF lat. 5287; “aeolice” – Fal.; “scilicet” – T, G.

⁹²⁴ “resonat” – the abbreviated version in BNF lat. 5284, BNF lat. 5345 ends here.

⁹²⁵ “repugnantium conterit”; “impugnantium conterit” – Fal.

⁹²⁶ iuvat; vivat – U (reinked), Rouen 1383: Plainly a misreading; adjuvat – T.

⁹²⁷ “hostilia”; “hostium” – Wien 12831, O, BNF lat. 989 (“ostium”), Y, C, BNF NAL 2335, Rouen 1383

⁹²⁸ “expectet”; “expectat” – S, Y, U, T (but corrected to that), R.

⁹²⁹ “quaerat”; “quae erat” – S.

⁹³⁰ “olim” – Mom., al.; “ab olim” – Fal., G, M, X, S, T, R; “ut antea et potius” – O; “ut antea potius” – Y, BNF lat. 989, BNF lat. 5360, Rouen 1383; “iam olim” – U; “ut antea” – C.

⁹³¹ “potitus” – Fal., G, M, X, S, U, T, R; “potius” – Mom., O, C, Y.

⁹³² “nexus”; “ligatos” – O, C, Y, Wien 12831, BNF lat. 989, BNF lat. 5360, BNF NAL 2335, Rouen 1383.

praemissis, effundamus aliquantulum coram illo precem – in fine paginae huius – ut⁹³³ perenniter patrociniis eius fruamur.⁹³⁴ Oramus itaque,⁹³⁵ sanctissime pater⁹³⁶, ut⁹³⁷ humillimas nostrae petitionis voces attendas, affectum conspicias, et, considerato nostrae conditionis figmento, hostem comprimas, expellas tyrannidem, dissidentes pacifices, tuearis praesules, gubernes clericos, abbates dirigas, foveas monachos, et omnibus qui devote tua sollemnia peragunt, caeleste levamen⁹³⁸ accelerares. Nos quoque simul misellos, qui velut inertes, operam dedimus, et exilem gloriae tuae formavimus laudem,⁹³⁹ ex omni perturbatione insidiantium eripias, a suggestione⁹⁴⁰ spirituum immundorum custodias, quatenus fideliter Jesu Christo domino⁹⁴¹ servire⁹⁴² mereamur. Qui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto vivit et regnat, Deus, per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

⁹³³ “in fine paginae huius, ut perenniter” -- Fal., U; “in fine ut pagellae”, at the end of the little page -- Mom.; “ut in finem huius pagine” -- G, M, S; “ut in fine huius pagine” (“ut” moved before “in fine”) -- X, T, R; “in fine huius pagine ut eius patronciniis semper adjuvemus” -- Y.

⁹³⁴ This sentence is omitted in O, C, Wien 12831, BNF lat. 989, BNF lat. 5360, BNF NAL 2335, Rouen 1383, which must therefore all be connected.

⁹³⁵ insert “te” -- Mom. T, R.

⁹³⁶ Insert “Nicolae” -- Mom., X.

⁹³⁷ “ut”; om. -- O, C, Wien 12831, BNF lat. 989, BNF lat. 5296C, BNF lat. 5360, BNF NAL 2335, Rouen 1383.

⁹³⁸ “levamen”, “give heavenly solace” -- Fal., U, T, C, al.; “regnum adire”, “speed them to the heavenly kingdom” -- Mom.

⁹³⁹ “qui...laudem” -- Mom. Fal., U, T, R, al.; “qui simul operi tuae gloriae dedimus laudem” -- Wien 12831, BNF lat. 989; “qui operum tuae gloriae dedimus laudem” - O, C, Y, al.

⁹⁴⁰ “et suggestionem” -- Mom.; “et a suggestione” -- Fal. Wien 12831, BNF lat. 989 (“et” added later), X, S; “a suggestionem” (omitting *et* – if the *et* was tironian, this is easily lost) -- G, M, O, Y, U, T, C, R.

⁹⁴¹ “domino” -- Fal., X, S, T; “domino nostro” -- U, C; *om* -- Mom., O, BNF lat. 5360, Y; “digne” -- BNF NAL 2335.

⁹⁴² Insert after *servire*, “in perpetuum” -- O, C.

Appendix B –Recension B of “Stratilates”, chapters 12-13

The text given earlier of chapters 12-13, the “Stratilates” narrative, is that found in most of the manuscripts and editions. But in the Falconius edition, there is a different recension of the story, which is also found in manuscript B. For convenience this is labelled here as “recension B.” A translation, text, and collation is given here.

This recension is clearly secondary to the main recension of “Stratilates.” The syntax is much simpler, episodes have been shortened, and the narrative softened. Both recensions are versions of the Greek “Recension I” (BHG 1349), so labelled by G. Anrich.⁹⁴³

Chapter 13 in B begins with recension A, and switches to recension B after about a page of material.

English Translation

12B. Stratilates: The Three Generals

Furthermore, since in the parts of Phrygia a certain nation called the Taifals,⁹⁴⁴ relying on insurrectionary plotting, had revolted from the empire of Constantine Caesar, the same Augustus immediately summoned three generals of the army (whom the Dolopes call “Stratilates”⁹⁴⁵), namely Nepotianus, Ursus, and Harpilion and ordered them to depart, with preprepared naval equipment, to subdue the rebels.⁹⁴⁶ But after departing from Constantinople, they set sail and arrived at a place named Andriake, the port of the area of the metropolis, more or less three miles distant, adjacent to the city of Myra. Finally, a few of the soldiers went out of the ship when there was no wind, an opportune time to sail, as if to refresh themselves, and find⁹⁴⁷ provisions, and so that they might buy food. But the soldiers, although they were eating after they disembarked, began to do violence to the people, and to lay hands on them cruelly. Since they were doing so, there arose a great tumult, and a great crowd assembled into a place called “Placomata”, so much so that even in the metropolis of Myra they heard the crowd and their shouting. But in those days there was in the aforesaid city the most blessed Bishop Nicholas, filled with all holiness and the grace of the Holy Spirit. And since he shone bright with innumerable miracles, when he suddenly learned about it by the grace of the Holy Spirit, running quickly he arrived at Andriake, and he began to warn them that they should not act so cruelly among the people. But on seeing the most blessed Nicholas the captains of the soldiers, together with the panic-stricken soldiers, fell on the ground on their faces, and worshiped him. Then the most blessed Nicholas embraced them, and with great love began to kiss them, and between kisses, asked who they were, and whose, and from whence they came and where were they going. But they, in response, said, “We are peace-makers, O most holy Father, and the most kind Emperor has sent us to take away his rebellious and unruly men. And we humbly beseech your clemency to pour out prayers for us and prayers to God to guide our journey.”

So the holy bishop asked them to come into the city, and receive a blessing from him, and provisions, and to come with him into the bishop’s church. But the soldiers, knowing the holiness and power of blessed men, ordered that everyone should be at peace, and that henceforth they

⁹⁴³ G. Anrich, *Hagios Nikolaos: der Heilige Nikolaus in der Griechischen Kirche*, vol. 1, Berlin (1913), p.67 f.

⁹⁴⁴ Lit. “Aitaiphala” i.e. “hai taiphala”, the Taifal Goths.

⁹⁴⁵ “στρατηλάτης.”

⁹⁴⁶ This first sentence is more or less the same in the main recension of “Stratelates” and this recension. The next sentence in the main recension begins with “Armata itaque” while in this recension is “Egredientibus.”

⁹⁴⁷ “rurcandum.” The sense is “find”, but no dictionary accessible to me includes this word.

would not do such things. But as they were listening to the charm of the blessed man, some people came swiftly from the city, saying to St. Nicholas, "Lord, Holy Father, if you had been in the city, three innocent people would not have been put to death today." Blessed Nicholas said to them, "Why were they led to death, and in what place?" And they said, "Judge Dacianus, having received money, ordered those three innocents to be beheaded. But the people, inflamed with grief, and with a great clamour, out of compassion are looking for you and are unable to find you." On hearing these things the saint became sad, with a pious disposition of mind, and after he had addressed the soldiers, he came into the city to a place called after the lion, and asked if those who had received the sentence of decapitation were still alive. They said, "They are still alive on the way in the place which is called after Dioscorus. When he had come to the shrine of Crescentius, he asked whether they were still alive? They answered and said, "O most holy Lord, they have already gone out of the city." Then the servant of God, moved by the mercy of God, ran to the gate of the city, and inquired again of passers-by. But they said, "Most holy Lord, they have already arrived in the place of beheadings, which is called Virra⁹⁴⁸. Then the saint ran and came to the place, and he found a multitude of people; and the executioner was holding the sword, waiting for the coming of the most holy man. And those men were submitting⁹⁴⁹ with their hands fettered behind their back, with their faces and eyes covered with linen, on their knees, awaiting death. Then St. Nicholas, as bold as a lion, as it is written,⁹⁵⁰ boldly took the sword out of the hand of the executioner, and threw it on the ground. Then releasing those men from the bonds, he brought them with him into the city.

Then, going up into the praetorium, he broke open the doors and went in to Eustasius the governor. But when Eustasius the governor heard from the guard, he soon came nearer in order to honour the most holy man. But Nicholas the servant of God prevented him, saying, "Sacrilegious man and shedder of blood, why have you dared to come before me? Caught as you are in so many and such great crimes? I will not spare you, nor give you lenience beforehand, but I will tell the most powerful emperor Constantine about you, in how many and in what evils you have been caught, and in what manner you manage the authority of the prefecture." But the governor, rolling at his feet, said to him, "Don't be angry with your servant, O Lord, be patient and learn the truth, because I am not guilty, but Eudoxius and Simonides the rulers of the city did these things." And the saint said, "It was not Eudoxius and Simonides who did these things, but silver and gold." For the holy man had learned that the governor was to receive upwards of two hundred pounds of silver to unjustly destroy those innocent men. The captains who were in charge of the soldiers strongly urged the blessed Nicolas to be lenient to the governor. And the holy man did that, and he rescued those three innocent men from their hands. And the captains of the soldiers were eating with the most holy man, and after receiving a blessing, humbly asked him to pray for them, and after prayer, commending themselves,⁹⁵¹ they sailed. Then sailing they came to Phrygia and without shedding of blood they pacified the insurgent people, and returned to Constantinople.

13B. Stratilates: The Three Generals (Contd.)

The emperor, on hearing the news of peace and victory, was filled with joy, and went out to meet them, with a large number of people, and with the Master of Soldiers, and with a whole crowd of both sexes, receiving them with distinction as conquerors; the noblemen were in his palace. But

⁹⁴⁸ Or "Birra."

⁹⁴⁹ DMLBS meaning 11b.

⁹⁵⁰ Prov. 28:1.

⁹⁵¹ to God, perhaps, or to St Nicholas.

some, being compelled and led by diabolical envy, began to seek out new designs to deliver them to death. And when they could not find any, they went to the Master of Soldiers, by the name of Ablavius, and promised him one thousand, seven hundred pounds of gold. Then he was inflamed by the fire of avarice, and made happy by this promise, and he went into the palace and said to the emperor, "Most pious lord, there is a great sedition and great conspiracies against your authority. For the generals of the soldiers, whom Your Clemency sent into Phrygia, have formed a design, and they have offered many gifts to their conspirators, and they promise them great honours to kill you, my lord, and - what is impious to say - to raise themselves up to the glory of the sacred imperial authority. But I, most pious lord, on learning these things, I confess I was afraid to conceal in silence, but endeavoured to tell Your Highness. Now do what is right for your Clemency, so this iniquity is not on me, lord, your servant."

Then the emperor, indignant and filled with fury, ordered them to be thrown into prison without questioning. After a delay, however, of a moderate period of time, the plotters approached, and with a great commotion said to the prefect Ablavius, "Why have you put them in prison? and why do you allow them to live? For they may be in prison, but their supporters do not cease to help them very often, so that they may bring them out of prison, and bring this trouble back on to us."

Then the prefect, upon hearing these things, went into the palace and reported it to the Emperor, saying, "Most pious Lord, look at those whom you have ordered to be cast into prison, Nepotianus, Ursus, and Helioneus; they have been put inside but they are not ceasing to plot impious and nefarious plots." The emperor, on hearing these things, ordered that in the night those on night-duty should take off their heads. Then the prefect, upon hearing these things from the Emperor, departing from the palace with great joy, instructed the prison-keeper, saying, "Prepare those three men, whom you have in custody, this night for the destruction of death."

Then the prison-keeper, on hearing these things, went to them; and with great weeping and mourning he said to them, "Men and lords, I long to speak to you, but fear, and trembling, and the fear of your death trouble me; and I can't speak to you, alas, for sorrow. I wish that I had never seen you, or known you, because this very night we are separated by cruel death from each other. But know that the sentence has come out that you shall die tonight. So distribute your souls and goods and gold and silver, so that you do not die intestate."

Then those men, when they had heard these things, being astonished by the fear of death, tore their clothes, and with loosened hair and mangled knees they cast dust on their heads, and in this way with sobs and groans they cried out to heaven, "Woe to us wretched ones, woe to us sinners, woe to us who die unlawfully! What have we done wrong? How have we acted unfairly? What iniquity, which crime have we committed, that we should die like this? Should we not be worthy of questioning?" As they wept for a long time, amid sighs and sobbing, by the inspiration of God Nepotianus remembered how the most blessed Nicholas had once rescued those three innocent men from the brink of death, and from a blow of the striking sword: with loud groaning and sighing, he poured out this prayer to God, "Eternal King and God, origin of worldly light, who is the father of things, and creator of every kind. At Whose decrees the vaults of the poles rotate; and the wavy sea refrains from drowning the land; have mercy on us, your servants; and deliver us in your wondrous works, just as you rescued those three by your servant Nicholas."

As he was praying these and similar things, they all began to pray with these words as if from one mouth, and to address the saint of God, "O pious confessor, deservedly and worthy of name, O servant of the eternal King, O supreme steward of your master's talents, most kindly Nicholas. Although absent in the body yet be present in our prayers, and deliver us from the danger of death, just as you rescued three innocent men, so that, being delivered by your intercessions, we may deserve to see your face, and for such kindness, let us give thanks."

And when they had finished their speech, behold on that very night the most blessed Nicholas appeared to the emperor, saying, "Emperor Constantine, get up quickly, and bring out of prison as soon as possible those imprisoned generals whom you hold in prison, because they are innocent, and have not done anything worthy of death. But if you presume to despise my sayings and my precepts, I will pray to the Lord Jesus Christ, and he will cause you to engage in an intolerable battle, and I will deliver the flesh of your body with your innards to the beasts."

Then the emperor, having been awakened, and astonished by such sayings, at length spoke these words. "And who are you, so bold and powerful, who have presumed to enter our palace at night?" To whom the blessed Nicholas said, "I am Nicholas, bishop of the city of Myra;" and saying these things, he departed.

And on the same night, blessed Nicholas appeared to the prefect, saying, "O judge of iniquity, filled with every deceit and fraud, arise quickly, and have those innocent generals taken out of prison. But if not, I will ask the heavenly king to cause you to fall into sickness, so that you may die eaten up by worms, and your family perish." The prefect said to him, "Who are you who speak such things! And how did you get here?" But St. Nicholas said, "I am Nicholas the servant of Jesus Christ, bishop of the metropolis of Myra," and saying these things, he departed.

Then the emperor rising up, commanded the prefect to be called, and they related to each other all that they had heard and had seen. Then on the next day he ordered them to be presented to them⁹⁵² in their sight, in the sight of the whole assembly and the multitude of the people. When he saw them, he spoke to them in such words, with a fierce look, and a threatening expression, "Tell me, you wretches, who is your master, that you mock us with magical arts and with fantastic images during the hours of the night?" When they gave no reply, but stood still in terror with bowed heads, he repeated the same words to them again and again.

Then Nepotianus, on behalf of all, said thus with a trembling heart, "O most holy Lord, to whom the Almighty God has entrusted the direction of the world; your servants do not at all know the magic art, nor have we been taught by such a master." Then the emperor said to them, "Tell me therefore, perhaps you know someone or other who is called Nicholas?" And they, upon hearing of the name of Blessed Nicholas, began to weep with great joy, to such an extent that all who were present were weeping with them! And they said with a great sigh, "O servant of the most high God, help and aid us, most blessed Nicolas, so that we do not die unlawfully." To whom the emperor said, "O wretched men, now put aside fear, and the fear of death, and tell me who is this Nicholas, so righteous, so holy, and so faithful, and so close to the eternal and immortal king that he could do such things?" Then these three, as if from one mouth, told him all that they had heard, and what they had seen concerning the blessed man.

⁹⁵² The emperor and the prefect.

Then the emperor said to them, “Go as quickly as possible, and cut your hair, and change your clothes, and give thanks to God and to the most blessed man, who by his holy prayers rescued you from the danger of unlawful death. Moreover, from my treasures, take presents and these gifts: sacred vessels shining with wonderful craftsmanship, and a whole golden codex, and two crowns of gold, and a golden goblet adorned with precious stones; and carry them to the blessed man, and ask that he may intercede for us with the Lord Jesus Christ, who is glorious in his saints, marvellous in majesty, working wonders.”

And they, taking the presents, went to the man of God, and fell to the ground prostrate, with tears of gratitude. They offered him the king's gifts, and they related to him all that had been done, and having cut off their hair, and changed their clothes, they rejoiced with the holy man. For the holy man, lifting up his eyes to heaven, and giving thanks to God, sent them to their own homes, rejoicing and exulting in the Lord Jesus Christ.

Latin Text

Sigla et Abbreviationes

Fal. N. C. Falconius, *Sancti ... Nicolai Acta Primigenia*, Neapolis (1751), p.112-144.

B Munich, BSB Clm 3711 11th c. early

XII.(B)

Praeterea, cum in Phrygiae partibus, quaedam gens, cognomine Aitaiphala, seditiosis machinationibus nixi, a Constantini Caesaris imperio descivissent, confestim idem Augustus, tres militiae principes, (quos Dolopes Stratilatas vocant) Nepotianum [scilicet,⁹⁵³ Ursum,⁹⁵⁴ et Arpileonem, ex consulto accivit, eisque jussit, ut cum praeparato navali apparatu, ad subjiciendos proficiscerentur rebelles.⁹⁵⁵ Egredientibus autem Constantinopoli, navigantes pervenerunt in locum, qui nominatur Adriacium⁹⁵⁶, existens portus partium Metropoleos, milliariorum plus minus trium, adjacens ipsius civitatis Myrensis. Denique exierunt aliquanti de navi ex militibus, cum non esset ventus, ad navigandum opportunus, quasi ad reficiendum et rurcandum⁹⁵⁷ victui, et ut escas emerent. Milites autem cum egredi edent, caeperunt vim facere populis, et manus crudeliter mittere in eos. Qui cum ita agerent, fit tumultus magnus, et convenit turba magna in locum, qui vocatur Placomatus, in tantum equidem, ut etiam in Myrensi Metropoli audirent turbam, et vociferationes eorum. In his autem diebus erat in praefata civitate Episcopus beatissimus Nicolaus, omni sanctitate, et gratia Spiritus Sancti repletus. Et cum innumeris miraculis coruscaret; ubi subito per gratiam Spiritus Sancti id cognovit, velociter currens, pervenit ad locum Adriacium; et caepit eos

⁹⁵³ Falconius states p.113 n. d that material in square brackets [] is material omitted in the Lippomanus edition. But in fact “scilicet” is present in the Lippomanus edition. The material in round brackets () is also present in Lippomanus.

⁹⁵⁴ Fal. p.119 note a: this is the text in his “codex Vaticanus”. His “Holy Apostles” ms. adds “et Aelioneum”, and omits “et Arpilionem...rebelles”.

⁹⁵⁵ This first sentence is more or less the same in the main recension of “Stratelates” and this recension. The next sentence in the main version begins with “Armata itaque” while in this recension is “Egredientibus.”

⁹⁵⁶ Fal. note b: a corruption for “Andriace.”

⁹⁵⁷ “rurcandum.” The sense is “find”, but no dictionary accessible to me includes this word.

monere, ne tam crudeliter agerent in populo. Duces autem militum, videntes beatissimum Nicolaum, una cum militibus perculsi, prostrati in facies suas, adoraverunt eum. Beatissimus autem Nicolaus amplexatus est eos, et cum magno amore, caepit eos osculari, et inter oscula, sciscitari qui essent, et cujus, et unde venissent, et quo pergerent? At illi, respondentes dixerunt, “Pacifici sumus, o sanctissime Pater, et misit nos benignissimus Imperator, ad expugnandos rebelles suos et inobedientes. Et suppliciter rogamus tuam clementiam, ut preces pro nobis, et orationes ad Deum fundas, ut ipse dirigat iter nostrum.”

⁹⁵⁸ Sanctus vero episcopus rogavit eos, ut in civitatem introirent, et benedictionem susciperent ab eo, et cibaria, et in ecclesiam⁹⁵⁹ episcopii sui ingrederentur cum ipso. Milites vero cognoscentes sanctitatem et efficaciam beati viri, iusserunt⁹⁶⁰, ut omnes pacifici essent⁹⁶¹, et deinceps talia non facerent. His autem pendentibus⁹⁶² de dulcedine beati viri, velocius veniunt quidam de civitate, dicentes beato Nicolao, “Domine sancte Pater, si fuisses in civitate, non tres innocentes morti traditi forent⁹⁶³ hodie.” Quibus beatus Nicolaus dixit, “Quam ob causam ducti sunt ad mortem, et quo in loco?” At illi dixerunt: “Dacianus⁹⁶⁴ iudex, accepta pecunia, tres illos innocentes decollari jussit.” Populus autem luctu aestuans, magnisque clamoribus te misericordem quaerunt, et invenire minime⁹⁶⁵ possunt. Audiens haec sanctus, tristis effectus, pio mentis affectu, rogatis⁹⁶⁶ militibus, venit in civitatem in locum, qui vocatur Leonti, et interrogavit, si adhuc viverent illi, qui sententiam decollandi acceperant. Qui dixerunt, “Vivi adhuc in itinere sunt, in loco qui vocatur Dioscori.” Qui, dum⁹⁶⁷ venisset ad martyrium Crescentii, interrogavit, si adhuc viverent? Qui⁹⁶⁸ respondentes dixerunt, “O sanctissime domine, iam foras civitatem egredi⁹⁶⁹ sunt.” Misericordia autem motus⁹⁷⁰ Dei famulus, cucurrit ad portam civitatis, et similiter, praetereuntes interrogavit. At illi dixerunt: “Domine piissime, iam applicuerunt⁹⁷¹ in loco decollatorum, qui vocatur Virra⁹⁷².” Currrens autem sanctus venit ad locum, et invenit multitudinem populorum; et carnificem tenentem gladium,⁹⁷³ expectantem adventum sanctissimi viri. Viri autem illi dabant⁹⁷⁴ vinctis post tergum⁹⁷⁵ manibus, et velatis faciebus et oculis de linteaminiibus, flexis genibus,⁹⁷⁶ mortem expectantes. Tunc sanctus

⁹⁵⁸ Beginning of B (f.167v, l.5), after about a page of text.

⁹⁵⁹ insert “eius” – B.

⁹⁶⁰ “iusserunt” – Fal.; “deliberaverunt” – B.

⁹⁶¹ “pacifici essent” – Fal.; “se illi commendarunt” – B.

⁹⁶² “pendentibus” – Fal.; “gaudentibus” – B.

⁹⁶³ “forent” – Fal.; “fuissent” – B.

⁹⁶⁴ “Dacianus” – Fal.; “Datianus” – B.

⁹⁶⁵ “minime” – Fal.; “non” – B^{corr}.

⁹⁶⁶ insert “a” following rogatibus – Fal.

⁹⁶⁷ “dum” – Fal.; “cum” – B.

⁹⁶⁸ “qui” – Fal.; “cui” – B.

⁹⁶⁹ “egredi” – Fal.; “egressi” – B.

⁹⁷⁰ “motus” – Fal.; placed after famulus. – B.

⁹⁷¹ insert “eos” – B.

⁹⁷² “Virra” – Fal.; “Byrra” – B.

⁹⁷³ insert “et” – B.

⁹⁷⁴ “dabant” – Fal.; “stabant”, “standing” – B.

⁹⁷⁵ “tergum” – Fal.; “i~gti~” – B.

⁹⁷⁶ insert “extensis capitibus”, “with heads outstretched” – B.

Nicolaus, ut leo confidens⁹⁷⁷, sicut scriptum est, audacter abstulit gladium de manu spiculatoris, et projecit in terram. Viros autem illos solvens a vinculis, detulit⁹⁷⁸ secum in civitatem.

Ascendens⁹⁷⁹ autem⁹⁸⁰ in praetorium, disruptit januas, et ingressus est ad Eustasium praesidem. Eustasius vero praeses cum audisset ab excubitore, mox accessit propius, ut adoraret sanctissimum virum. Servus autem Dei Nicolaus prohibuit eum dicens, "Sacrilege, et sanguinis effusor, quare ausus es ante meam faciem venire? tot⁹⁸¹ et tantis criminibus deprehensus? Non tibi parcam, neque indulgentiam praedabo,⁹⁸² sed indicabo⁹⁸³ potentissimo imperatori Constantino de te,⁹⁸⁴ quantis et quibus deprehensus es malis, et qualiter dispensas praefecturae principatum." Praeses vero pedibus^{**985} eius advolutus, dixit ei, "Ne irascaris mihi servo tuo, domine, esto patiens, et discere veritatem, quia ego non sum culpabilis; sed primi civitatis, Eudoxius, et Simonides haec fecerunt." Et sanctus, "Non," inquit, "Eudoxius et Simonides haec fecerunt, sed argentum, et aurum. Didicerat enim sanctus vir, quia amplius ducentorum pondera argenti accepturus erat⁹⁸⁶ praeses, ut illos innocentes inique perderet⁹⁸⁷. Valde autem deprecata sunt duces, qui praeerant militibus, beatissimum Nicolaum, ut indulgeret praesidi. Quod et faciens sanctus vir,⁹⁸⁸ tres illos innocentes eripuit de manibus eorum⁹⁸⁹. Duces vero militum comedentes⁹⁹⁰ cum sanctissimo viro, et benedictione percepta, suppliciter rogaverunt, ut oraret pro eis, et post orationem commendantes se,⁹⁹¹ navigaverunt. Navigantes vero pervenerunt in Phrygiam, et sine effusione sanguinis, tumultuantem populum pacificantes, reversi sunt Constantinopolim.

XIII.(B)

Imperator autem audiens famam pacis et victoriae, repletus gaudio, obviam eis exiit, cum magna multitudine populorum, et magistro militum, et omni coetu utriusque sexus, et gloriosae quasi victores⁹⁹² suscipiens; magnifici in palatio eius⁹⁹³ fuerunt.⁹⁹⁴ Coacti autem quidam et invidia diaboli ducti⁹⁹⁵, caeperunt nova consilia exquirere, quatenus illos morti traderent. Et cum non invenirent, accederunt ad magistrum militum, Ablavium nomine, et spoponderunt ei mille septingenta pondera auri. Ille autem avaritiae igne succensus, et hac promissione laetus effectus; ingressus in palatium dixit imperatori, "Piissime domine, magna seditio, magnaetque** conjurationes⁹⁹⁶ fiunt potentiae

⁹⁷⁷ "confidens" – Fal.; "fidens" – B.

⁹⁷⁸ "detulit" – Fal.; "deduxit" – B.

⁹⁷⁹ "ascendens" – Fal.; "et descendens" – B.

⁹⁸⁰ "autem" – Fal.; om. – B.

⁹⁸¹ "tot" – Fal.; "in tot" – B.

⁹⁸² "praedabo" – Fal.; "praebeo" – B.

⁹⁸³ "indicabo" – Fal.; "intimabo" – B.

⁹⁸⁴ insert "in" – B.

⁹⁸⁵ "pedibus", "feet" – Fal.; "genibus", "knees" – B.

⁹⁸⁶ "erat" – Fal.; "esset" – B.

⁹⁸⁷ "perderet" – Fal.; "perderent" – B.

⁹⁸⁸ insert "sic" – B.

⁹⁸⁹ "eorum" – Fal.; "iniquorum" – B.

⁹⁹⁰ "comedentes" – Fal.; "refecti" – B.

⁹⁹¹ insert "illi" – B^{corr.}.

⁹⁹² insert "eos" – B.

⁹⁹³ "eius" – Fal.; "suo" – B.

⁹⁹⁴ "fuerunt" – Fal.; "faecit" – B.

⁹⁹⁵ "ducti" – Fal.; "seducti" – B.

⁹⁹⁶ "coniurationes" – Fal.; "conventiculae" – B.

tuae. Consilium enim inierunt duces militum, quos vestra⁹⁹⁷ clementia in Phrygiam misit, et dona plurima conspiratoribus suis obtulerunt, et magnos honores illis promittunt; ut te dominum meum interficiant, et, **⁹⁹⁸ quod nefas est dicere, ipsi ad sacri imperii gloriam erigantur. Ego autem, piissime domine, haec cognoscens, timui, fateor, silentio tegere: sed⁹⁹⁹ Vestrae¹⁰⁰⁰ Caelsitudini studui¹⁰⁰¹ enarrare. Nunc autem, quod placitum est Vestrae¹⁰⁰² Clementiae facito: ne in me sit, domine, servo tuo, haec iniquitas.”

Indignatus autem Imperator et ira repletus, jussit sine examinatione¹⁰⁰³ illos in carcerem¹⁰⁰⁴ retrudi. Dilatione autem facta, modici temporis¹⁰⁰⁵, accederunt¹⁰⁰⁶ insidiatores, et cum magno tumultu dixerunt Ablavio praefecto, “Quare eos misisti in custodiam carceris? et quare eos vivere permittis¹⁰⁰⁷? Alioquin illi¹⁰⁰⁸ in custodia¹⁰⁰⁹, fautores vero illorum illos saepius adjuvare non cessant, ut illos e carcere educant, et hanc vicissitudinem nobis reddant.

Praefectus autem haec audiens,¹⁰¹⁰ ingressus in palatium¹⁰¹¹ nunciavit imperatori, dicens, “Piissime domine, ecce quos jussisti in carcerem mitti, Nepotianum, Ursum, Helioneum¹⁰¹², impia et nefaria consilia, intus positi, consiliare¹⁰¹³ non desinunt.” Imperator¹⁰¹⁴ haec audiens jussit, ut¹⁰¹⁵ ipsa nocte pernoctantes, capita illorum auferrent. Praefectus autem audiens haec ab imperatore, cum magno gaudio ex palatio egressus, praecepit carcerario, dicens, “Illos tres viros, quos habes in custodia, praepara in ista nocte, ad mortis interitum.”

Carcerarius autem audiens haec, perrexit ad eos, et cum magno fletu et luctu dixit eis, “¹⁰¹⁶Viri et domini¹⁰¹⁷, desidero vobis loqui, sed timor, et tremor, et pavor mortis vestrae conturbat¹⁰¹⁸ me; et loqui vobis non possum, heu, pro dolore. Utinam, nec vos vidissem aliquando, neque cognovissem, quia crudeli morte in ipsa¹⁰¹⁹ nocte separamur ab invicem. Scitote autem, quia¹⁰²⁰ egressa est

⁹⁹⁷ “vestra” – Fal.; “tua” – B.

⁹⁹⁸ insert “hoc” – B.

⁹⁹⁹ “sed” – Fal.; “et” – B.

¹⁰⁰⁰ “vestrae” – Fal.; “tuae” – B.

¹⁰⁰¹ “studui” – Fal.; “non” – B.

¹⁰⁰² “vestrae” – Fal.; “tuae” – B.

¹⁰⁰³ “examinatione” – Fal.; “explanatione” – B.

¹⁰⁰⁴ “in carcerem” – Fal.; “incarcerent” – B.

¹⁰⁰⁵ “modici temporis” – Fal.; “modico tempore” – B.

¹⁰⁰⁶ “accederunt” – Fal.; “accesserunt” – B.

¹⁰⁰⁷ “permittis” – Fal.; “permittes” – B.

¹⁰⁰⁸ insert “quidem” – B.

¹⁰⁰⁹ “custodia” – Fal.; “custodiam” – B.

¹⁰¹⁰ insert “mox” – B.

¹⁰¹¹ “in palatium” – Fal.; om. – B.

¹⁰¹² “helioneum” – Fal.; “arpileonem” – B.

¹⁰¹³ “consiliare” – Fal.; “consiliari” – B.

¹⁰¹⁴ insert “autem” – B.

¹⁰¹⁵ insert “in” – B.

¹⁰¹⁶ insert “O” – B.

¹⁰¹⁷ insert “mei” – B.

¹⁰¹⁸ “conturbat” – Fal.; “conturbant” – B.

¹⁰¹⁹ “ipsa” – Fal.; “ista” – B.

¹⁰²⁰ “autem quia” – Fal.; “enim” – B.

sententia, ut in ista moriamini. Disponite tantum de animabus vestris et facultatibus et auro et argento, ne intestati moriamini.”¹⁰²¹

Viri autem illi, cum haec audissent, timore mortis perculsi,¹⁰²² sciderunt vestimenta sua, et solutis crinibus, laceratis genibus¹⁰²³ mittebant pulverem in capita sua¹⁰²⁴, et cum singultu et gemitu, huiusmodi dabant voces ad coelum, “Vae nobis miseris, vae nobis peccatoribus, vae nobis injuste morientibus! Quid mali fecimus? Quid¹⁰²⁵ iniqui gessimus¹⁰²⁶? Quam iniquitatem, quod scelus commisimus, ut sic moriamur? ut nec interrogatione digni simus?” Qui cum diu flerent, inter suspiria et singultus, recordatus, Dei inspiratione, Nepotianus, qualiter beatissimus Nicolaus, tres illos innocentes, de confinio mortis, et de ictu¹⁰²⁷ ferientis olim gladii¹⁰²⁸ eruerat; cum magno gemitu et stridoribus, hanc orationem ad Deum¹⁰²⁹ fudit, “Rex aeternae Deus, mundanae lucis origo, qui pater es rerum, omnigenumque¹⁰³⁰ sator. Cujus decretis girant convexa¹⁰³¹ polorum; vitat et undisonus¹⁰³² mergere pontus humum; miserere nobis servis tuis, et erue nos in mirabilibus tuis, sicut tres illos eruisti per famulum tuum Nicolaum.”

Haec et¹⁰³³ similia orante illo; caeperunt omnes quasi ex uno ore, his verbis exorare, et compellare sanctum Dei: “O pie confessor, meritis et nomine digne, O serve Regis aeterni, o summe dispensator talentorum Domini tui, benignissime¹⁰³⁴ Nicolae. Licet absens corpore; tamen praesens esto nostris precibus, et libera nos de periculo mortis, sicut liberasti tres innocentes¹⁰³⁵ viros, ut tuis intercessionibus liberati, faciem tuam videre mereamur, et pro tanto beneficio, gratias referamus.”

Cumque finissent orationem; ecce in ipsa nocte apparuit beatissimus Nicolaus imperatori dicens, “Constantine imperator, velociter surge, et vinctos illos quos in carcere retines magistros militum citius e carcere educere facito, quia innocentes sunt, et nequaquam tale aliquod¹⁰³⁶ egerunt, ut digni sint morte. Quod si mea dicta praeceptaque contemnere praesumis, rogabo Dominum Jesum Christum, et excitabit tibi intolerabile praelium, et carnes tui corporis cum visceribus bestiis tradam.”

Expergefactus autem imperator, perculsusque talibus dictis, tandem haec verba locutus est, “Et tu quis es tam audax, tamque praepotens, qui nocturno tempore in nostro palatio introire praesumpsisti?” Cui beatus Nicolaus ait, “Ego sum Nicolaus Myreae civitatis episcopus,” et haec dicens, abscessit.

¹⁰²¹ This sentence omitted in B.

¹⁰²² “cum haec audissent, timore mortis perculsi” – Fal.; om. – B.

¹⁰²³ “genibus” – Fal. prints “(genis)” after it.

¹⁰²⁴ “et solutis crinibus laceratis genibus (*genis*) mittebant pulverem in capita sua” – Fal.; om. – B.

¹⁰²⁵ “quid” – Fal.; “qui” – B.

¹⁰²⁶ “gessimus” – Fal.; “egimus” – B.

¹⁰²⁷ “de ictu” – B; “de item” – Fal.

¹⁰²⁸ “gladii” – B; “gladio” – Fal.

¹⁰²⁹ “deum” – Fal.; “dominum” – B.

¹⁰³⁰ “omnigenumque” – Fal.; “omniu?que” – B.

¹⁰³¹ “conversa” – Fal.; “convexa”, “domes, celestial vaults” – B.

¹⁰³² “undisona” – Fal.; “undisonus” – B.

¹⁰³³ insert “his” – B.

¹⁰³⁴ “benignissime” – Fal.; “beatissime” – B.

¹⁰³⁵ insert “illos” – B.

¹⁰³⁶ “aliquod” – Fal.; “aliquid” – B.

In ipsa autem similiter nocte¹⁰³⁷, apparuit beatus Nicolaus praefecto dicens, “O iudex iniquitatis, replete omni fallacia et dolo, surge velociter, et innocentes illos magistros militum e carcere educere facito. Sin autem rogabo caelestem regem, ut cadere te faciat in infirmitatem, ut¹⁰³⁸ sic consumptus vermibus, moriaris, et domus tua pereat. Cui Praefectus dixit¹⁰³⁹, “Tu quis es, qui talia loqueris! Et unde huc venisti? Sanctus vero¹⁰⁴⁰ Nicolaus dixit, “Ego sum Nicolaus servus Jesu Christi, Myreae metropoleos episcopus,” et haec dicens abscessit.

Surgens autem imperator, vocari jussit praefectum, et mutuo narravere sibi omnia quae audierant, quaeque viderant. Altera autem die suis conspectibus illos, coram omni coetu et multitudine populorum, exhiberi praecepit. Quos ut vidit, talibus verbis, torvo¹⁰⁴¹ aspectu, minaci vultu, eis locutus est, “Dicite mihi miseri, cuius magisterii¹⁰⁴² estis, ut¹⁰⁴³ nos magicis artibus, nocturnis horis illudatis, phantasticis imaginibus?” Cui, cum nullum responsum dedissent, sed territi, inclinato capite starent, iterum iterumque eundem sermonem repetendo¹⁰⁴⁴.

Tunc Nepotianus pro cunctis, tremebundo sic pectore dixit, “O piissime domine, cui omnipotens Deus mundi commisit habenas, nequaquam servi tui artem magicam scimus, aut tali magisterio edocti sumus. Tunc imperator dixit eis, “Dicite ergo mihi,¹⁰⁴⁵ forsitan scitis quemlibet hominem, qui vocetur Nicolaus? At illi, audito de nomine beati Nicolai, prae magno gaudio flere caeperunt, in tantum equidem, ut omnes, qui aderant, cum ipsis flerent! Et cum magno gemitu dicebant, “O serve Dei excelsi, succurre et adjuva nos, beatissime Nicolae, ne injuste moriamur.” Quibus imperator ait, “O miselli, iam deponite timorem, et metum mortis, et narrate mihi, quis est iste Nicolaus, tam justus, tam sanctus, tamque fidelis, et sic proximus aeterno atque immortalis regi, ut talia facere possit?” Tunc hi tres, quasi ex uno ore, narraverunt ei omnia quas audierant, quasque viderant de beato viro.

Imperator autem dixit eis, “Ite quantocius, et tondete vos, et mutate vestimenta, et gratias Deo, et beatissimo viro agite, qui vos suis sanctis¹⁰⁴⁶ precibus, e periculo injustae mortis eripuit. Insuper et de thesauris meis, accipite munera et dona haec: vasa sacra miro artificio radiantia, et codicem totum aureum, et duo ceroptata ex auro, et pateram auream ex lapidibus pretiosis ornatam; et afferte illi beato viro, et dicite, ut intercedat pro nobis ad Dominum Jesum Christum, qui est gloriosus in sanctis, mirabilis in majestatibus, faciens prodigia.”

At illi sumentes munera, ierunt ad virum Dei, et terratenus prostrati, cum lacrymis immensas grates referentes. Obtulerunt ei¹⁰⁴⁷ munera regis, et narraverunt ei omnia, quae gesta sunt¹⁰⁴⁸, et tonsis crinibus, mutatisque vestibis,¹⁰⁴⁹ cum sancto viro gavisii sunt. Sanctus namque¹⁰⁵⁰ vir, elevatis in

¹⁰³⁷ “In ipsa autem similiter nocte” – Fal.; “similiter autem in ipsa nocte” – B.

¹⁰³⁸ “ut” – Fal.; “et” – B.

¹⁰³⁹ “dixit” – Fal.; “ait” – B.

¹⁰⁴⁰ “vero” – Fal.; om. – B.

¹⁰⁴¹ “torvo” – Fal.; “turbido” – B.

¹⁰⁴² “magisterii” – Fal.; “magisterio” – B; Insert after this “edocti” – B.

¹⁰⁴³ “ut” – Fal., B^{corr.}; “et” – B.

¹⁰⁴⁴ “repetendo” – Fal.; “repetenti” – B.

¹⁰⁴⁵ insert “si” – B.

¹⁰⁴⁶ “sanctis” – Fal.; “sacris” – B.

¹⁰⁴⁷ insert “et” – B.

¹⁰⁴⁸ “sunt” – Fal.; “fuerant” – B.

¹⁰⁴⁹ “vestibus” – Fal.; “vocibus” – B.

coelum oculis, gratias agens Deo, remisit illos ad propria, gaudentes et exsultantes in Domino Jesu Christo.

¹⁰⁵⁰ “namque” – Fal.; “autem” – B.

Appendix C - The Manuscripts and the Editions

Manuscripts

The Bollandist website, the *BHLms*,¹⁰⁵¹ lists the manuscripts known to them, organised by BHL number, with the modern location and the date of the manuscript. The dates seem to come mainly from catalogues. The reliability of these dates is unknown.

The list given in the *BHLms* is large, and incomplete. It lists 121 mss. for BHL 6104 (five from the 10th century: Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare, VI; Chartres, Biblioteca Municipale, 68; Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale, 342; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 989; Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, A.9); for BHL 6105 more than 151 are recorded; 121 mss for BHL 6106, 72 for BHL 6107 and 87 for 6108. BHL 6110 instead is attested by only two witnesses (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, B.33.Inf.; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 5293). Around a quarter to a third of manuscripts are online, mainly those at the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris, some French regional libraries, and the Vatican Library. But whole geographical areas still remain offline.

The sigla were devised for this edition, but A is used to indicate the Berlin manuscript because Corsi did so.

Milan P113supp

M 850-900. This is the oldest manuscript to which I have access. The text in it definitely does not belong to the PQOC group, but does not truly agree with the other family either. At points it agrees with A against PQOC.

Paris, BNF lat. 989

P 10th century. This seems to be the lead member of the PQOC group. Unfortunately the text is faded and portions of the page have become unreadable for a substantial portion of the manuscript, from f.56 to 62v. It would be interesting to see what multi-spectral imaging could do here.

Paris, BNF lat. 17625

Q 10th century. This manuscript appears to be a direct copy of P. This is especially useful where P is unreadable. Unfortunately Q breaks off on f.261v, in the middle of the text of chapter 6.

Orleans, BM 342

O 10th century. This is closely related to P, but is not a direct copy.

Paris, BNF lat. 18303

C 11th century, 4th quarter, but has been dated to both the 9th century and the 12th (!). A very attractive manuscript with illustrations. A mixed text-type, but with links to O.

Vatican lat. 1197

L 11th century. Written in a Beneventan hand. It is likely that the “Vita” was originally written in Beneventan, and some mistakes in the tradition seem to originate from copying from this type of

¹⁰⁵¹ *BHLms: Index analytique des Catalogues de manuscrits hagiographiques latins publiés par les Bollandistes.*
<http://bhlms.fltr.ucl.ac.be/>

hand. There is an example in chapter 5 where L reads “obprimebaris”, and others “opprimebar”, probably by missing the abbreviation at the end of the word.

Vatican lat. 5696

W 10-11th century. The Falconius edition claims this manuscript as one of its base manuscripts, but this does not appear to be correct.

Munich, BSB Clm 3711

B 11th century, early. In “Stratilates”, chapter 12-13, this begins as a normal copy of the text. But after around a page of text, it instead gives the recension B text. See appendix B for a collation.

Darmstadt 344

D 11th century.

Angers, BM 802

G 11th century. This begins with readings where it agrees with D, and then starts to agree with B instead of D. At the end of chapter 9 there is a lacuna where “mundi fiat gloriam” is followed by “tandem intentu praesulis” in chapter 10. This is replicated in BNF. lat. 12600 (= T), which is therefore probably a copy of it.

Berlin, theol. lat. qu. 140

A 11th century. This was used by Corsi for his edition. The text is slightly different from the others, and sometimes relates to M. It also shows signs that the copyist simplified the text at points to make it easier to understand.

Vatican lat. 1271

V 12th century. The only manuscript collated to show readings which appear in the much later Mombritius edition.

In chapter 15, there is a sentence missing in the following manuscripts, which must therefore form a family: P, O, C, Rouen 1383 (11th – contains miracle-stories only), BNF 5360 (14th), BNF NAL 2335 (14th), Wien 12831 (15th).

Table of Manuscript Variants

Chapter context	P	Q	O	C	M	W	B	G	D	L	A	V	BNF lat. 2627	BNF lat. 5572	BNF lat. 5607	BNF lat. 11750	BNF lat. 12600	CCCC 9
1. prouphant inclamationem 1. vitam ex laude 1. in sede celesti	inclamationem et laudem aede	inclamationem et laudem aede	inclamationem et laudem aede	inclamationem et laudem aede	inclamationem et laudem aede	inclamationem et laudem aede	inclamationem et laudem aede	inclamationem et laudem aede	inclamationem et laudem aede	inclamationem et laudem aede	inclamationem et laudem aede	inclamationem et laudem aede	inclamationem et laudem aede	inclamationem et laudem aede	inclamationem et laudem aede	inclamationem et laudem aede	inclamationem et laudem aede	inclamationem et laudem aede
2. modo peccatis 2. vindex aqua 2. qui putorem 2. sancto viro	modo vindex aqua pedorem viro	modo vindex aqua pedorem viro	modo vindex aqua pedorem viro	modo vindex aqua pedorem viro	modo vindex aqua pedorem viro	modo vindex aqua pedorem viro	modo vindex aqua pedorem viro	modo vindex aqua pedorem viro	modo vindex aqua pedorem viro	modo vindex aqua pedorem viro	modo vindex aqua pedorem viro	modo vindex aqua pedorem viro	modo vindex aqua pedorem viro	modo vindex aqua pedorem viro	modo vindex aqua pedorem viro	modo vindex aqua pedorem viro	modo vindex aqua pedorem viro	modo vindex aqua pedorem viro
3. papillas libere 3. septio intentio 5. ubi sanctus 5. nacta ergo 5. oblectamenta	papillas contentio vir notata	papillas contentio vir notata	papillas contentio vir notata	papillas contentio vir notata	papillas contentio vir notata	papillas contentio vir notata	papillas contentio vir notata	papillas contentio vir notata	papillas contentio vir notata	papillas contentio vir notata	papillas contentio vir notata	papillas contentio vir notata	papillas contentio vir notata	papillas contentio vir notata	papillas contentio vir notata	papillas contentio vir notata	papillas contentio vir notata	papillas contentio vir notata
7. vocaretur 9. non propter me...	quiverit vocatetur basilicae	quiverit vocatetur basilicae	quiverit vocatetur basilicae	quiverit vocatetur basilicae	quiverit vocatetur basilicae	quiverit vocatetur basilicae	quiverit vocatetur basilicae	quiverit vocatetur basilicae	quiverit vocatetur basilicae	quiverit vocatetur basilicae	quiverit vocatetur basilicae	quiverit vocatetur basilicae	quiverit vocatetur basilicae	quiverit vocatetur basilicae	quiverit vocatetur basilicae	quiverit vocatetur basilicae	quiverit vocatetur basilicae	quiverit vocatetur basilicae
10. secundo ascendant 12. omnibus humiliter	om. om. humiliter dicenda	om. om. humiliter dicenda	om. om. humiliter dicenda	om. om. humiliter dicenda	om. om. humiliter dicenda	om. om. humiliter dicenda	om. om. humiliter dicenda	om. om. humiliter dicenda	om. om. humiliter dicenda	om. om. humiliter dicenda	om. om. humiliter dicenda	om. om. humiliter dicenda	om. om. humiliter dicenda	om. om. humiliter dicenda	om. om. humiliter dicenda	om. om. humiliter dicenda	om. om. humiliter dicenda	om. om. humiliter dicenda
13.4 propter famulum 13.4 scit scripta	meritis scripta	meritis scripta	meritis scripta	meritis scripta	meritis scripta	meritis scripta	meritis scripta	meritis scripta	meritis scripta	meritis scripta	meritis scripta	meritis scripta	meritis scripta	meritis scripta	meritis scripta	meritis scripta	meritis scripta	meritis scripta

Unique readings in bold-green
Other colours mark groups

Lacuna end of 9

copy of G? lacuna end of 9

Editions

The “Vita S. Nicolai” has been printed relatively few times, and these editions have been included in the collation.

Mombritius – before 14 Sept. 1478

B. Mombritius, *Sanctuarium seu Vitae Sanctorum*, Milan, ca. 1477 (?), 2 vols. Reprint Paris (1910), vol. 2, p.296-309. Indice generale degli incunaboli delle biblioteche d'Italia (IGI) 6690.

The *editio princeps* of the text is in the incunable collection of saints’ lives, the *Sanctuarium* of Bonino Mombrizio. This was issued in Milan, prior to 14 Sept. 1478¹⁰⁵². A modern reprint of the whole text in a modern typeface was made in 1910, which is the edition used here.

The Mombritius edition is not divided into chapters or lections, even though the manuscripts generally are. There is some abbreviation of the text. The punctuation is pre-modern. The text was probably printed directly and fairly faithfully from some random manuscript available to the editor.

Lippomanus – 1553

A. Lippomanus¹⁰⁵³, *Vitarum Sanctorum priscorum Patrum*, 8 vols, Venice (1553); vol. 2, ff. 238v-248.

A marginal comment on f.238v tells us that:

“Habetur in libro antiquo Mediolani impresso, necnon in altero monachorum sancti Nazarii Verone~. iam 300 annis in pergamenio scripto.”

“This [work] is found in an old book printed in Milan, and also in another belonging to the monks of St. Nazarius of Verona, written on parchment 300 years ago.”

The edition does indeed seem to be a reprint of the Mombritius edition, with some corrections. These are supposedly from a manuscript belonging at that time to the convent in Verona, but Steinmeyer points out that the corrections are mostly of “obvious errors.” The text has an early modern punctuation, but is still significantly abbreviated. There is no apparatus, and only a few marginal comments.

Falconius – 1751

Nicholas Carminius Falconius, *Sancti ... Nicolai Acta Primigenia*, Neapolis (1751), p.112-144.

The Falconius edition has modern punctuation, is not abbreviated, and even has chapter divisions, footnotes and references the manuscripts used. It places material not in the Lippomanus edition in square brackets. It also contains a mass of miracle stories. In the absence of a modern edition, this makes it the obvious choice for any unwary researcher wishing to reference the “Vita”.

But the text is arranged strangely. At what seems to be the end of chapter 13 in the body text, a footnote advises the reader that the rest of the chapter may be found in the footnote on p.126. An alternative chapter 14 and chapter 15 appear in the same place. The body text for chapters 14 onwards is a cycle of medieval miracle stories.

Nor is this all. The collation of the text reveals that Falconius has silently emended his text in many places. For instance the third word in chapter 1, “materies”, is “materia” in every manuscript. The last word but one in

¹⁰⁵² A copy with a dated purchase note on vol.2, fol. 358v is held in the library of the Catholic University of Milan. Source: *Enciclopedia Italiana di Scienze, Lettere e Arti*, Treccani (1929-36), article “Bonino Mombrizio”.

¹⁰⁵³ He spells his name “Lipomanus” in his edition.

the preface, “esse”, is “fore” in every manuscript. The first sentence of chapter 2 omits the closing word “accessu” and tampers with the verb. The text in this edition is a trap, and it should be avoided.

Falconius sought to include as much material as possible, and his edition is the only one to print much of this. But he lost control of his text. The version of “Stratilates” that he prints in the body of the text is recension B, not that of Mombritius and Lippomanus and the manuscripts; and so he relegates material from these into footnotes on p.126. Likewise his footnoted “chapter 14” is perceptibly different from that in Mombritius and the manuscripts.

Falconius begins his text by telling us his text is:

Ex codice membranaceo Vaticano (olim Reginae Sueciae) inter Latinos num. 5696, et ex codice membranaceo Archivi Bibliothecae Neapoli, Domus Amplissimae Theatinae SS. Apostolorum: in folio, recentiori litera longobardica, tomo tertio.

I.e. firstly, from a parchment Vatican ms. lat. 5696 (once belonging to the Queen of Sweden); and secondly in volume three of a parchment ms. in Beneventan hand in three volumes from Naples, from the church of the Holy Apostles owned by the Theatine order. On the same page he indicates that he knew the Mombritius edition, and also the Lippomanus.

But Vatican lat. 5696 (W) does not in fact contain the prologue, as he suggests it does on p.112, note b. So his “codex Vaticanus” is not in fact W. The manuscripts of the Queen of Sweden are the Vat. Reg. Lat. collection, but there are only 2113 of these, so the shelfmark cannot be “Vat. Reg. lat. 5696.” I was unable to discover if the Vatican collection has been renumbered since 1751.

His Naples “codex SS. Apost.” (p.119 note a) might perhaps still be in Naples today, but none of these manuscripts are online.

Then on p.126 he tells us that his recension B chapter 13 “finishes like this in the parchment Vatican mss. 1194 and 5696, p.109,” followed by material from recension A of the “Stratilates”. Unfortunately Vat. lat. 1194 is not accessible online.

Mai – 1840

A. Mai, *Spicilegium Romanum*, t. 4, Rome (1840), p.323-339.

Angelo Mai prints a “Vita” which seems to be an epitome of the “Life” by John the Deacon. This is BHL 6114-6117. Unfortunately Mai does not seem to indicate the manuscript used, only referring vaguely to “Vatican passionaries” (pp.x-xi). The epitome omits John’s moralising reflections.

Birch – 1886

Walter de Gray Birch, “The Legendary Life of St. Nicholas,” in: *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 42 (1886), 185-201.

This article prints extracts from Latin “Lives” of St Nicholas as an appendix. P.198 contains eight lections from British Library, Arundel 91 (12th c.), ff.227v. f.

Steinmeyer – 1887

E. Steinmeyer, “Die Quelle des SNicholas,” in: *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 21 (1877), 417-425.

Steinmeyer is writing about a German poem, and gives a number of Latin passages corresponding to the German, with a collation of the Mombritius, Lippomanus and Falconius editions. He also writes:

"In fact, Lipoman repeats Mombritius' text exactly, except that he has corrected a few easily recognizable errors."¹⁰⁵⁴

"...which in the parts that agree with Mombritius represent a better tradition, but have undergone some interpolations and present several pieces in a completely different version: the story of the young Adeodatus is also completely missing here. Falconius is not very precise in his own remarks: he claims right at the beginning that Mombritius's copy of the preface is missing; He further states that a number of passages are missing from Lipoman, although this is by no means the case."¹⁰⁵⁵

Treharne - 1997

E. M. Treharne, "The Old English Life of St. Nicholas with the Old English Life of St. Giles," in: *Leeds Texts and Monographs*, New Series 15 (1997).

In appendix 2 (p.174 f.) Treharne prints a transcription of the "Vita" from a legendary, London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius D. iv (s.xi in.), with the missing prologue taken from Cambridge Corpus Christi College 9. This came to hand too late to be used.

Corsi - 1979, 1982, 1987

Pasquale Corsi, "La "Vita" di San Nicola e un codice della versione di Giovanni Diacono", in: *Nicolaus: Rivista di teologia ecumenico-patristica* 7, Bari (1979) p. 359-380.

Pasquale Corsi, "Giovanni Diacono: La vita di S Nicola tradotta dal latino dal ms. Berlino lat. 741", Bari: Centro Studi Nicolaiani (1982), 28 pp. 7 illustrations. Referenced in *Analecta Bollandiana* 102 (1984), p.241.

Pasquale Corsi, *La traslazione di San Nicola: le fonti*, Series: Studi e testi 8, Bari (1987), Appendix 1: p.87-109.

The 1979 article contains a Latin text of the "Vita", made the Berlin manuscript (A), together with a collation with the Falconius edition. Unfortunately A is a somewhat unusual manuscript, while the defects of the Falconius edition have been discussed above.

In 1982 the same author gave an Italian translation of the "Vita"; a revised version appeared in 1987 as appendix 1 of a book on the sources for the translation of the relics of St. Nicholas to Bari, and also of a couple of miracle stories. At points this drops into paraphrase, but is extremely valuable.

All of the Corsi material is difficult to access in the anglophone world.

¹⁰⁵⁴ p.417: "in der tat wiederholt Lipoman genau den text des Mombritius, nur dass er wenige leicht erkennbare fehler verbessert hat."

¹⁰⁵⁵ p.417: "...welche in den mit Mombritius übereinstimmenden partien allerdings eine bessere überlieferung repräsentieren, dagegen aber einige interpolationen erfahren haben und mehrere stücke in einer total anderen fassung bringen: auch fehlt hier ganz die geschichte des knaben Adeodat. In seinen eigenen bemerkungen ist Falconius wenig genau: so behauptet er gleich anfangs dass des Mombritius abdruck der vorrede ermangele; ferner gibt er eine reihe von stellen als bei Lipoman fehlend an, too das keineswegs der fall ist."

Appendix D - The Classification of the “Vita Auct. Iohanne Diac. Neapolitano” in the Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina (BHL)

Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina vol. 2, Bruxelles: Bollandists (1900-1), p.890 f.

The *Vita* of John the Deacon is listed in the BHL under the title “Vita Auct. Iohanne Diac. Neapolitano.” Unfortunately the entries in the BHL do not reflect what is found in the manuscript tradition. The following notes are intended to clarify the situation.

Each item circulating separately is given a BHL number, and identified using the opening and closing words (the *incipit* and *desinit*). Unfortunately different recensions often start with the same *incipit*.

Recension 1a consists of material from the Falconius edition. This is divided into five sections:

- I. PROLOGUS. *Inc.* Sicut omnis materies si ab imperito artifice — *Des.* et ab inimicis tutos esse (al. fore) laetetur. [= BHL 6104.
- II. *Inc.* Nicolaus itaque ex illustri prosapia ortus — *Des.* laetantes homines illos Iesu Christi famulus remisit ad propria. [= BHL 6105
- III. *Inc.* Praeterea cum in Phrygiae partibus quaedam gens cognomine Aitaiphala — *Des.* remearunt ad propria, magnificantes Dnm N. I. C., qui regnat... Arnen. [=BHL 6106
- IV. *Inc.* Huc usque de Argolicorum doctorum editione trahentes — *Des.* diademate redimitos aeterno. [= BHL 6107
- V. *Inc.* Laetetur ergo in Dno, carissimi — *Des.* a) qualiter fideliter I. C. Dno N. servire mereamur, qui cum Patre... Amen. [= BHL 6108
- vel b) et sanctorum eius pro nobis praeparatam esse intercessionem, adiuvante Dno... Arnen. [= BHL 6109

Recension 1b consists of much the same material from the Mombricitus and Lippomanus editions.

- I. PROLOGUS. *Inc.* et *des.* ut in 1 a. & II. *Inc.* et *des.* ut in 1 a. & III. *Inc.* et *des.* ut in 1 a. [= BHL 6111
- IV. *Inc.* Nunc igitur, ff. cc., si vobis placuerit de sollemnitate huius diei — *Des.* ut in 1 a. [= BHL 6112
- V *Inc.* et *des.* ut in 1 a. [= BHL 6113

The only identified difference is in BHL 6112, which starts with a different sentence but ends in the same way. The reader is otherwise at a loss.

In fact there is only a single recension of the “Vita” itself, and the differences are all in material appended to it.

Item I in both lists is the same item. There is no distinction of importance in the editions, nor in the manuscripts. This is the prologue by John the Deacon, chapter 1 in this edition. It is omitted in lectionaries, so it is only present around 50% of the time in manuscripts. So it is right to give it a number of its own; but it only needs one number.

Item II in both lists is the same item. This is chapters 2-11 of the “Vita”. Again the editions and manuscripts do not differ. This also needs only one number.

Item III is chapters 12-13 in this edition, the “Stratilates” material. This may start and end with the same words, but there are definitely two recensions of it, and these need two separate numbers.

1. The version printed here, and by Mombricitus, Lippomanus, and Corsi, is that found everywhere in the manuscripts.
2. The version printed by Falconius, and partly found in ms. B, is substantially different.

It is likely that the “Stratilates” material circulates independently, and that there are yet other recensions of it. It should probably not be included in the BHL as part of the life.

Items IV and V in both lists are NOT part of the “Vita”. They belong to the cycle of miracle stories, appended to the “Vita”.

BHL 6108 and BHL 6112 are the same text, except that the opening sentence differs between the Mombricitus and Falconius editions. It should have a single number. This is the introductory chapter to the cycle of miracle stories, and is numbered “chapter 14” by Falconius. It looks as if BHL 6123 may also be the same material, but none of the manuscripts listed were accessible to me.

BHL 6109 and BHL 6113 are exactly the same text. It should have a single number. It is the closing chapter to the cycle of miracle stories, and is numbered “chapter 15” by Falconius.

The Falconius edition is undoubtedly the cause of this confusion. The order of the entries suggests that, like Corsi, and indeed like myself, the Bollandist editors started with the Falconius edition. This error will probably occur again, but use of the Falconius edition should be avoided.

Note that the number “BHL 6109” is given to an abbreviated form of the text which, according to the Catal. Brux. I. 314, is found in Ms. Brussels 1960-62. Unfortunately this was inaccessible to me. According to the *BHLms*, MS. Wien ONB 12831 should contain BHL 6109. But in fact it does not, and contains the usual BHL 6108 instead.

Appendix E – An Overview of the St. Nicholas Material in Latin¹⁰⁵⁶

In Greek, there are various distinct *Lives* of St Nicholas. These were identified and printed by G. Arrich, and undoubtedly feed into the Latin material, and into other languages such as Old Slavonic.

There is a great mass of Latin material still awaits analysis. The Bollandists warn that, in the absence of any critical study of the hagiographic tradition, it is difficult to account for the multiplicity of versions transmitted by the manuscripts, which are continuously intertwined with each other.¹⁰⁵⁷ They have listed what they could: 165 entries in the BHL, 6104-6221q.

The material falls into a number of groups. There are a number of “Lives”:

- BHL 6104-6117, by John the Deacon
- BHL 6118-6125, Anonymous
- BHL 6126, by Otlone of St Emmeram
- BHL 6127, Anonymous
- BHL 6128, by Leonardo Giustinian
- BHL 6129, Anonymous

There are a great number of miracle stories:

- BHL 6130-6159, those performed in life.
- BHL 6160-6176, those performed after his death.

There are also collections of miracles for a particular locality: (BHL 6177 and 6178).

There are also tales of the translation of the his relics:

- to Bari: BHL 6179-6189, by Nicephorus;
- to Bari: BHL 6190-6199, by Giovanni da Bari;
- to Venice (BHL 6200-6204, anonymous)
- to Lotharingia (BHL 6205, anonymous);

Finally there are stories of miracles performed *post translationem* (BHL 6206-6221).

¹⁰⁵⁶ This summary is found in Giacomozzi, p.38, n.121, but deserves wider knowledge.

¹⁰⁵⁷ BHL, p.890: “Cum nondum prodierit libellorum latinorum de S. Nicolao editio critica” ...”«Cum [...] mirum in modum non solum ipsi libelli, sed et libellorum capitula in codicibus saepe vel seorsim dispersa, vel inter se permixta sint, oportuit non paucas horum particulas singillatim recensere.”

Afterword

Some readers may perhaps be interested in the curious story of how this edition and translation came to be produced. The original intention here was solely to translate the text into English, not to do any critical work on the text. The Latin text translated would be appended purely for reference.

In the English-speaking world, the saints are largely forgotten. Only the greatest saints retain any hold on the popular imagination. Ordinary people have heard of St George, and also of St Nicholas, in his guise as Santa Claus, the bringer of gifts. But at present the existence of the medieval hagiographical literature is completely unknown to the general educated reader. Where any stories of the saints are given in a publication, it is invariably unreferenced, based upon hearsay, or at best from some Victorian compilation, and often based on some magazine article, itself based on the same mess. This is always covered with the word “traditionally”. But these stories do not, in fact, reach us through tradition, but rather from the medieval hagiographical texts, as retold, mistold, and repeated carelessly in magazine articles. These source texts ought to be identified, translated, and referenced properly, in order to reduce the amount of sheer nonsense that is in circulation. The first step to achieving this is to create English translations, and make them freely available on the internet; but carefully reference them back to the *Acta Sanctorum* and the *BHL* such that referencing is possible.

It seemed useful to translate the earliest texts for St Nicholas. One of these, the foundational text in Latin, is the *Life* of John the Deacon.

But no critical edition existed. I was unaware of the work of Pasquale Corsi, or I should most certainly have used it. Instead I found that there was only one edition which was in a usable state – that of Falconius. It was punctuated, the abbreviations were all expanded, it referred to manuscripts, and professed to supercede the Lippoman edition. It looked good to me, as indeed I find that it had looked good to Corsi, when he needed an edition. I was indeed aware of the Mombritius edition, but its lack of modern punctuation deterred me. I wished to make a translation, not struggle with the Latin. Likewise I was aware of the epitome by Mai, but I was not then clear whether this was actually by John the Deacon. So Falconius it was.

I prepared an electronic Latin text of the Falconius text. Over the next few months, a first draft of an English translation was created. I also gathered more resources. Googling some of the text brought me awareness of texts like the excerpts in Steinmeyer. But at that time I was still unfamiliar with John’s syntax, and some passages were rather difficult. I knew that this was a pre-modern edition, and could well be based on a poor manuscript. So, on a whim, I compared some of them with Mombritius and with Mai. In particular I looked at the “accessu” sentence at the start of chapter two.

This quickly showed that Mai and Mombritius were far closer to each other than either was to Falconius. Indeed the omission of the difficult word “accessu” suggested that Falconius was making alterations to the text himself without manuscript authority. I therefore created an electronic text of Mombritius, and also of the Mai epitome, and used a Linux command-line tool to create a word-by-word comparison.

This confirmed my first impression. It also showed me that chapters twelve and thirteen of Falconius were from a completely different text to that in Mombritius. I noticed that Falconius’

version of those chapters did not contain the transliterated Greek word “hero”, used elsewhere in John, and in Mombricitus’ version of those chapters.

This led me to revise my text and my translation to reflect the primacy of the Mombricitus edition. But while doing so, I learned of the Corsi text, based on the Berlin manuscript A, and his Italian translation. I obtained copies with great difficulty, and machine-compared this to Mombricitus, Falconius and Mai. Once again I found that Falconius was an outlier.

At this point I felt rather drowned in variants, all from dubious printed texts. It was obvious that I ought to consult the medieval manuscripts. Fortunately a great number of these are accessible online, particularly in downloadable PDF form at the Bibliothèque Nationale Française. Using the BHL as a source of shelfmarks, I made a collection of whatever manuscripts I could access. Once I had a directory full of these, I selected ten of the earliest manuscripts, and began to manually compare them. This confirmed my impression of Falconius, and also indicated that Mombricitus was an honest but low-quality copy of the text.

From this I revised my text to use that reading which explained the existence of the others. This in turn led to the question of which manuscripts could be eliminated, and whether a stemma could be created, and thence a proper critical apparatus. This in turn raised the question of whether the dates given by the Bollandists for the manuscripts could be trusted. Without a knowledge of the various recensions of “Stratilates”, that portion of the text could only be edited provisionally. The relation to Greek models also needed to be addressed.

In this way the scope of the project grew larger and larger. I found that I had been led, step by step, far away from my original intentions, towards the preparation of a critical edition, with a great number of related enquiries. All of these enquiries might occupy a professional scholar for many years, and result in many publications.

In the end I concluded that it would be better to rescope the project and to deliver something useful now. I had produced a Latin text which is better than anything that has been printed before, a collation of a bunch of manuscripts, and an English translation which will fulfil the original goal of making the text better known.

I have therefore written up what I have, and I release it as it is.

I would like to add that in the process I have gained an extraordinary appreciation of the sheer amount of hard, detailed, grinding work that real textual criticism involves, but also what fun it is! I have come away from this project with my respect for textual critics greatly enhanced.

In conclusion, I would like to outline what further work needs to be done. To establish the text, a number of further steps need to be taken. Each of these is probably a research project in itself.

- To establish the sources for the “Vita” of John the Deacon. In particular how much use was actually made of the Greek source, the “Methodius ad Theodorum”?
- To establish the text and recensions of “Stratilates” in Latin, both prior to the work of John the Deacon, and after; but with reference to the various Greek recensions.
- To reexamine the early manuscripts paleographically and establish firm dates for them.

- To collate the other early manuscripts of the 10-11th century – I believe that I have only had access to around half, and establish the relationships. It is clear that there is a PQOC family, and all of the rest are less related. But there are certainly subdivisions within those. Can a stemma be established? The dates of the manuscripts used need to be confirmed.
- To classify the families of later manuscripts, at least in outline, and relate these to the later medieval legends in which the text became incorporated.
- To establish the origins of the Mombritius edition, possibly from manuscripts in Milan which are not online.
- To determine the textual basis for the materials in the Falconius edition, which does not appear from the manuscripts accessible to me. Vatican lat. 1194 is probably important. So are the Naples manuscripts.
- To edit properly the miracle stories, and assess their origin and connection to John the Deacon.
- To update the *Bibliographia Hagiographica Latina*. The entries do not reflect the reality in the manuscripts and editions.

There is a huge amount to do. The project has been great fun. I hope that those who come after me also enjoy it.