

ALFONSO PECHA'S TREATISE ON THE ORIGINS OF THE GREAT SCHISM: WHAT AN INSIDER "SAW AND HEARD"

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The Conscriptio of Alfonso Pecha that treats the origins of the Great Schism of the West has not attracted the attention it deserves. Alfonso Pecha was the confessor and trusted familiar of Cardinal Pedro de Luna at the time of the outbreak of the Schism and was well located to be minutely informed of events surrounding the fateful conclave of April 1378. Hence his detailed narrative, albeit explicitly written to promote the cause of Urban VI, is a very valuable source. Aside from recounting numerous lively conversations and depicting vivid scenes, it contains a report of a hitherto unknown mission in the summer of 1378 to King Charles V of France that probably resulted in emboldening the cardinals to break unanimously with Urban in a new election. Moreover, the Schism narrative constitutes only one of three parts of Alfonso's Conscriptio: the other two seek to prove Urban VI's legitimacy by means of supernatural visions and confirmations from canon law. By the analysis of diverse evidence the conclusion is reached that Alfonso Pecha composed the Conscriptio in Genoa in 1386. The work was published by Franz Bliemetzrieder in 1909 on the basis of a single manuscript located in Basel. The present study with appended edition draws on a second complete manuscript copy located in Prague, particularly important for revealing the identity of the dedicatee, a councilor of Giangaleazzo Visconti. It also draws on a small portion of the text from a manuscript in Uppsala.

A detailed firsthand account of the origins of the Great Schism of the West has never been adequately exploited. I refer to a treatise written by Alfonso Pecha, best known as an associate of St. Bridget of Sweden, but after Bridget's death a confidante of the Spanish cardinal Pedro de Luna at which time he became a day-to-day observer of events in Rome in the spring of 1378. Alfonso wrote two pro-Urbanist accounts of the origins of the Schism. The first, *Informationes super creatione Urbani*, written in 1379, has long been recognized as a valuable source, but the second, *Conscriptio bona sub triplici via de electione ... domini Urbani pape sexti*, has been neglected. It was edited in 1909 from a manuscript in Basel by Franz Bliemetzrieder,¹ but afterwards it has scarcely been put to

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¹ Franz P. Bliemetzrieder, "Un'altra edizione rifatta del trattato di Alfonso Pecha, vescovo resignato di Iaën, sullo scisma (1387–1388), con notizie sulla vita di Pietro Bohier, Benedettino, vescovo di Orvieto," *Rivista storica benedettina* 4 (1909): 74–100, drawing on Basel, University Library, A. IX. 8, fols. 87r–100v.

use.² Spurred by the recognition of a second complete copy in a manuscript in Prague, as well as a small portion in a manuscript in Uppsala and passages in a world chronicle,³ I turned my attention to the work and published my initial findings in 2012.⁴ There I limited myself to a general introduction and to a close analysis of the treatise's first and third parts. Space limitations forbade an equivalent analysis of the second — and frustratingly so because this part treats specific events of the Schism. Accordingly I turn to it now and then present a critical edition of the entire work.

ALFONSO PECHA

Because a presentation of the necessary background for considering the *Conscriptio* appears in my article of 2012, I will hold that here to a minimum.⁵

² The name Alfonso Pecha does not appear in Joëlle Rollo-Koster and Thomas M. Izbicki, eds., *A Companion to the Great Western Schism* (Leiden, 2009). Works that draw on the *Informationes* but make no mention of the second treatise are Michael Seidlmayer, *Die Anfänge des grossen abendländischen Schismas* (Münster, 1940); Walter Ullmann, *The Origins of the Great Schism* (London, 1948); Arne Jönsson, *Alfonso of Jaén: His Life and Works* (Lund, 1989); and Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Poets, Saints, and Visionaries of the Great Schism, 1378–1417* (University Park, PA, 2006). The work is absent from the bibliography of sources for the Schism compiled by Armand Jamme, “Renverser le pape: Droits, complots et conceptions politiques aux origines du Grand schisme d’Occident,” in *Coups d’État à la fin du Moyen Age? Aux fondements du pouvoir politique en Europe occidentale*, ed. François Foronda, Jean-Philippe Genêt, and José Manuel Nieto Soria (Madrid, 2005), 433–82, at 473–75. The Schism literature is large, and I may have overlooked something, but to the best of my knowledge the only secondary works that refer to Bliemetzrieder’s edition are Marc Dykmans, “La conscience de Clément VII,” in *Genèse et débuts du Grand Schisme d’Occident* (Paris, 1980), 599–605, at 605, n. 4 (a passing reference); Mario Sensi, “Alfonso Pecha e l’eremitismo italiano di fine secolo XIV,” *Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia* 47 (1993): 51–80, at 78–80 (for establishing a subsidiary point); Arne Jönsson, *St. Bridget’s Revelations to the Popes* (Lund, 1997) (for ordering Alfonso’s writings); Ludwig Vones, *Urban V. (1362–1370)* (Stuttgart, 1998), 7–11, 13 (for St. Bridget’s relations with Urban V); and Andreas Rehberg, *Kirche und Macht im römischen Trecento: Die Colonna und ihre Klientel auf dem kurialen Pfründenmarkt (1278–1378)* (Tübingen, 1999), 392–93 (for references to Agapito Colonna in a monumental study of the Colonna family in the fourteenth century).

³ The second complete copy is Prague, Národní knihovna, MS VIII. D. 15, fols. 21v–26v. A passage is in Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek, MS C15, fol. 136v–137r, and verbatim borrowings and paraphrases are in Gobelinus Person, *Cosmidromius*, ed. Max Jansen (Münster, 1900).

⁴ Robert E. Lerner, “Alfonso Pecha on Discriminating Truth about the Great Schism,” in *Autorität und Wahrheit: Kirchliche Vorstellungen, Normen und Verfahren (13. bis 15. Jahrhundert)*, ed. Gian Luca Potestà (Munich, 2012), 127–46.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 128–30, relying on Jönsson, *Alfonso*; Michael Seidlmayer, “Ein Gehilfe der hl. Birgitta von Schweden: Alfons von Jaen,” *Historisches Jahrbuch* 50 (1930): 1–18; Hans Torben Gilkær, *The Political Ideas of St. Birgitta and Her Spanish Confessor Alfonso Pecha* (Odense, 1993); and Sensi, “Alfonso Pecha,” but with revisions of detail.

Alfonso Pecha of Guadalajara was born of a Spanish noble family in Segovia in 1327. (He is often referred to as “Alfonso of Pecha,” but Pecha is not a toponym.) Groomed for a career in the Church, he studied canon law, traveling to Bologna to work under the leading canonist of the day, John of Legnano. (This is a new biographical datum, obtainable from the *Conscriptio*.⁶) Made bishop of Jaén by papal provision in 1359, he abruptly resigned his bishopric in 1368. The resignation was caused by a conversion experience, apparently catalyzed by his brother, Pedro Fernandez Pecha, who had forsaken his own worldly career to take up a life as a hermit in Castile.⁷ Pedro in fact became the leader there of an eremitical community that subsequently, in 1374, was recognized by Pope Gregory XI as the order of Jeronimites. Although Alfonso could have stayed with his brother, he traveled once more to Italy, where he remained until his death. Initially he joined an eremitical community associated with *fraticelli*, somewhere near Spoleto or Perugia, but he seems to have been temperamentally unable to remain in a hermitage.

What concerns us here is that between 1370 and 1378 Alfonso left his community, first for intervals and then permanently, to serve as confessor to Bridget of Sweden. Although he continued to call himself a “hermit” for the duration of his life,⁸ he gradually became a curialist. He undertook separate diplomatic missions from Rome to Avignon on behalf of Bridget and of his brother Pedro’s campaign to gain formal papal recognition of the new order of Jeronimites. So trusted was he by Gregory XI that Catherine of Siena called him the pope’s “vicar.”⁹ Sometime before the papal election of April 1378 Alfonso had taken a dwelling in the Roman district of Trastevere.¹⁰ Intent on lobbying for Bridget’s

⁶ See the edition below, lines 547–48.

⁷ Pavlina Rychterová, *Die Offenbarungen der heiligen Birgitta von Schweden* (Cologne, 2004), 46, expresses reservations about a purely personal religious experience and justly points out that Alfonso was continually engaged in “political” activities as soon as he arrived in Italy. But this work omits reference to Sensi, “Alfonso Pecha,” showing how Alfonso also immediately associated himself with Italian eremitical ascetics when he arrived in Italy.

⁸ It is unclear to me whether this self-designation implies that he had formally joined the Jeronimite order (so Rychterová, *Die Offenbarungen*, 46), even granted that toward the end of his career he lived in the Jeronimite cloister in Quarto near Genoa. While the term “ordinis sancti Jeronomi” was used for friars of this order in the inquest of Medina del Campo (1380/81), Alfonso never (to my knowledge) refers to himself under this guise, and his epitaph (so Sensi, “Alfonso Pecha,” 80, n. 103) states merely “heremiticam vitam duxit.”

⁹ Sensi, “Alfonso Pecha,” 73.

¹⁰ A notarial instrument attested in March 1379 gives “in domo habitationis domini Alfonsi eremite Rome in regione Transtiberim”: Jönsson, *Alfonso*, 41–42. For an indication that Alfonso’s dwelling in Rome was a clearinghouse for news at the time of the papal election of April 1378, see the statement of his brother Pedro Pecha in BNF, MS lat. 11745, fol. 100r: “Item cum essem una die in hospicio dicti domini Alfonsi episcopi, aliqui eorum qui ibi erant dicebant quod dictus Urbanus fuerat electus in concordia.”

canonization after her death in 1373, he gained a very highly placed patron when Gregory XI arrived in Rome with his entourage of cardinals early in 1377. This was Pedro de Luna, the only Spanish cardinal and a leading personality in the ecclesiastical politics of the day. (He was elected pope in Avignon in 1394 as Benedict XIII.) By the time of the papal election in Rome in April 1378, Alfonso had become Cardinal Pedro de Luna's confessor and most trusted familiar.¹¹

ALFONSO'S *INFORMATIONES*

We will see that Alfonso's privileged position at the right hand of the cardinal afforded him an extraordinary vantage point for observing events of the Great Schism. But before we do, it is necessary to introduce his two writings on the subject. Alfonso's *Informationes super creatione Urbani* was a brief written for an "inquest" held in Rome in March 1379 by Spanish supporters of Urban VI. His partisanship for Urban was virtually predetermined. Before the Schism his heroine Bridget of Sweden had propagandized passionately for the return of the papacy from Avignon to Rome; hence for Alfonso a move now in the other direction would have been unthinkable. Moreover, after Bridget's death he hoped to achieve her canonization and, given the anti-Avignon bias of Bridget's visions, that could only have been implemented by a Romanist pope. In the *Informationes*, Alfonso argues in favor of Urban VI's legitimacy on three grounds: 1) God's will as expressed in revelations to Bridget and others; 2) the events surrounding his election; and 3) the authority of canon law. The *Informationes* was preserved in the dossier of sources pertaining to the Schism compiled in the 1390s by the Spanish cardinal of the Avignon obedience, Martin of Zalva.¹² Housed in the Vatican archives, it was published in the seventeenth century by Odorico Rinaldi and expertly reedited by Arne Jönsson in 1989.¹³ Most reputable secondary accounts draw on it.

¹¹ Seidlmayer, *Anfänge*, 295, quoting testimony of November 1379 by the papal penitentiary Brother Gundisalvus, OP: "In ipsis diebus pluries ego ivi ad visitandum dom. cardinalem de Luna, tunc dom. meum, quem inveni plurimum impeditum in consilio de pontifice creando in brevi cum suis fidelibus et maxime cum dom. Alfonso olim ep. Gihenensi." Alfonso refers to himself as the cardinal's confessor several times in his *Informationes* and *Conscriptio* and is referred to as such in *Responsiva unitatis fidelium ad processum regis Francie sibi directum*, in Noël Valois, *La France et le Grande Schisme d'Occident*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1896–1902), 4:512.

¹² The work that engages with Martin of Zalva's "Libri de schismate" most thoroughly is Seidlmayer, *Anfänge*. See especially 197–228, 289–346.

¹³ Oldericus Raynaldus, *Annales ecclesiastici*, vol. 17 (Cologne, 1693), 49–53; Jönsson, *Alfonso* (n. 2 above), 181–203.

ALFONSO'S *CONSCRIPTIO*¹⁴
CIRCUMSTANCES OF COMPOSITION

The *Conscriptio* is roughly twice the length of the *Informationes*. It is organized according to the same three-pronged organizational principle of the prior work: proving that Urban VI is the true pope 1) *via spiritus* (through supernatural visions); 2) *via facti* (through the events surrounding his election); and 3) *via iuris* (through confirmation by canon law). But although it contains passages that roughly duplicate passages in the *Informationes*, it contains much material that is lacking in its predecessor. By the time Alfonso wrote the *Conscriptio* he had moved from Rome to the newly founded Jeronimite house in Quarto, a suburb of Genoa.¹⁵

In my initial study of the work I overlooked a dating index. Referring to a certain Nicholas of Cremona, Alfonso states that at the time of the election of Urban VI this person was an auditor of the Cardinal of St. Peter but “now” is archbishop of Naples,¹⁶ referring to Nicholas’s tenure in Naples from 1384 until his death in 1389. But one can narrow down that broad dating span. The hitherto unstudied Prague copy of the *Conscriptio* includes a salutation lacking in the copy used by Bliemetzrieder. This indicates that Alfonso addressed his work to “Lord Manfred, marquis of Saluzzo, councilor of the illustrious lord, the count of Vertus.” The “count” in question was Giangaleazzo Visconti, who had become sole ruler of the territories of Milan after having overthrown his uncle Bernabò in May 1385. Giangaleazzo, who by these means had become the mightiest ruler of northern Italy, could have been addressed as “lord of Milan,” but his highest honorific was “count of Vertus” (a small county in France), for the rulers of Milan only became “dukes” in 1395. His councilor Manfred of Saluzzo was a titular marquis, having been deprived of the real office by a rival. Thereafter he joined the retinue of Giangaleazzo Visconti.¹⁷ He witnessed a treaty between Giangaleazzo and the count of Savoy in 1378; he helped engineer the election of his son, Antonio, as archbishop of Milan in 1380; he witnessed the marriage

¹⁴ The title *Conscriptio bona sub triplici via de electione sanctissimi in Christo patris ac domini domini Urbani pape sexti* written by a hand different from the one that copied the text was taken by Bliemetzrieder from the top margin of his manuscript copy. In the Prague manuscript the title is *Tractatus de assumptione domini nostri Urbani pape sexti*, written in the body of the text by the main hand. Although “tractatus” is used by Gobelinus Person, who was drawing on a copy close to the autograph, I adhere to Bliemetzrieder’s title to avoid confusion.

¹⁵ Edition below, **line 77**: “habeo omnia ista in monasterio nostro sancti Jeronimi prope Ianuam.”

¹⁶ Edition below, **line 340**: “per dominum Nicolaum de Cremona, tunc auditorem domini cardinalis sancti Petri qui modo est Neapolitanus archiepiscopus.”

¹⁷ The most detailed remains Nicolas Jorga, *Thomas III Marquis de Saluces: Étude historique et littéraire* (Paris, 1893), 15, 23–24, et passim.

contract made in Paris between Giangaleazzo's daughter, Valentina, and Louis of Orléans in 1387; and he made his testament in Giangaleazzo's palace in Milan in 1389.¹⁸

The salutation is followed by a preamble present in both manuscripts. From this we learn that Manfred had asked Alfonso to reconsider a demand made by an unnamed person to write fully about who was the true pope and that now Alfonso, moved by his conscience, was acceding. Evidently Manfred was soliciting a statement in favor of Urban in order to influence his lord. After Giangaleazzo had assumed rule in Lombardy it would have been appropriate for him to have made a decision about which of the rival popes he would support, for the Viscontis until then had been neutral. Moreover, the presence of Urban VI in nearby Genoa as of the autumn of 1385 apparently provoked debate. A sprawling prophetic treatise written under the name of "Telesphorus" that supported the Clementist cause was dedicated to the Doge of Genoa on 3 September 1386.¹⁹

The picture is enhanced by neglected evidence indicating that between late 1385 and late 1386 the prominent French diplomat, Philippe de Mézières, was present in Giangaleazzo's court and arguing there in behalf of Clement VII.²⁰ An anonymous tract written in England between 1400 and 1402 reports that de Mézières visited Giangaleazzo in order to seek his allegiance for Avignon. According to this account, Giangaleazzo concurrently summoned Alfonso Pecha because he was well informed about the Schism, having been Pedro de Luna's confessor in Rome. The source (written from the Urbanist side) adds that Alfonso adduced a libellus that employed a threefold argument in favor of Urban, and this vanquished Philippe de Mézières.²¹ The libellus in question must be our *Conscriptio*,

¹⁸ Jorga, *Thomas III Marquis de Saluces*, 51, 58; Jules Camus, *La venue en France de Valentine Visconti* (Turin, 1898), 11–12; Eugène Jarry, *La vie politique de Louis de France, duc d'Orléans* (Orléans, 1889), 397, 405.

¹⁹ A thorough study of this treatise remains outstanding. For a recent summary, with further bibliography, see Roberto Rusconi, "Profezia e politica alla corte Ferrarese nella prima metà del XV secolo," in *Profezie illustrate gioachimita alla corte degli Estensi*, ed. Gian Luca Potestà (Modena, 2010), 181–201, at 187–201.

²⁰ Nicolas Jorga, *Philippe de Mézières 1327–1405* (Paris, 1896; repr., London, 1973), 427, n. 2 refers to a mission to Milan on the part of de Mézières reported by the fifteenth-century chronicler Enguerrand de Monstrelet that must be dated to 1385 or 1386 because the chronicler's "monseigneur de Milan" is certainly Giangaleazzo Visconti and because the chronicler places it before discussion of the marriage of his daughter with Louis of Orléans, meaning 1387. For the passage in question, see *La chronique d'Enguerran de Monstrelet*, ed. L. Douët-d'Arco (Paris, 1857), 1:325.

²¹ *Responsiva unitatis fidelium ad processum regis Francie sibi directum*, in Valois, *La France et le Grande Schisme* (n. 11 above), 4:512: "Nonne, circa principium exorte nequicie dicte pestis, clarus genitor tuus [viz. Charles VI] Karolus III [sic for Karolus V] ... illum solertis industrie Philippum de Mageriis, tunc tue adolescencie instructorum ... ad Johannem Galea, ducem Mediolanensem, tunc Virtutum comitem, depravandum, de quo confidebat unice, destinavit? Quiquidem tunc comes accersi[vit] ad se venerande memorie Alfonso,

for the work does use a threefold argument, and although his *Informationes* did the same, it is inconceivable that Alfonso, who seems to have written the *Conscriptio* right before then, would have been adducing this much earlier and sketchier work.

The *Conscriptio* itself refers to de Mézières. When telling of how a one-time Clementist, Pierre Bohier, had changed sides and become an Urbanist, Alfonso interjects: "Lord Philippe de Mézières who was staying then in the convent of the Celestines at Paris knows this well."²² This remark would have been irrelevant had Alfonso not been thinking of de Mézières as his antagonist in a contest for persuading Giangaleazzo Visconti about the truth of the Schism. It is unclear only whether Alfonso had intended his work to be a vehicle of public dueling before Giangaleazzo with the Frenchman. (Whatever the case, he did not win the day, for, although Giangaleazzo continued to maintain formal neutrality, his tilting toward the Clementists became clear in January 1387 with the marriage contract of his daughter to the brother of the king of France dated according to the reign of Clement VII.²³)

The foregoing would indicate that the *Conscriptio* was composed in 1386 when Urban VI was residing in Genoa. (Urban departed in December 1386.) Corroboration rests on extensive verbatim borrowings from the *Conscriptio* and explicit mention of Alfonso as its author in the *Cosmidromius*, a world history written by a certain Gobelinus Person.²⁴ Inasmuch as Person wrote in Paderborn in 1406, the question arises as to how he gained a copy of a treatise written earlier in a suburb of Genoa. Fortunately the answer is clear. At the start of his career he had been in Urban VI's retinue: he arrived with the pope in Genoa in September 1385, was ordained to the priesthood there on 21 April 1386, and left for Germany sometime before 8 February 1387.²⁵ As a familiar of Urban's treasurer, Peter de Lupis, he dwelled in the same residence as the pope.²⁶ It follows that Gobelinus Person acquired a copy of Alfonso's work when he was in Genoa and retained it when he departed.

episcopum olim Giennensem ... qui confessor fuerat Petri de Luna predicti et Rome secum electionis dicti Urbani et novitatum hujusmodi omni tempore solers procurator intererat; et per ipsum episcopum idem Philippus, per viam electionis, per viam juris, et per viam spiritus confutatus, inanis, et vacuus retrocessit. De his enim plena tua curia esse debet, appareatque inde libellus quidam dicti episcopi tunc confectus."

²² Edition below, lines 617–18: "Hec autem bene scit dominus Phylippus de Masseris, quia in eodem conventu Celestinatorum eodem tempore Parisius fuit commoratus."

²³ Jarry, *La vie politique*, 393; Valois, *La France et le Grande Schisme*, 2:137.

²⁴ Person, *Cosmidromius* (n. 3 above), 78: "Alfonsius ... in quodam tractatu suo quem de electione Urbani sexti postea conscripsit." Person's editor was unable to know the source because he worked before Bliemetzrieder published it. Thus he was forced to assume that Person was drawing on Alfonso's *Informationes*, and, when he was unable to match quotations, assumed that Person was "elaborating freely" when he was really quoting literally: xlvi and 83, n. 1.

²⁵ Person, *Cosmidromius*, x.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 116: "ego in eodem palacio dormiebam."

THE WORTH OF THE SOURCE

The second part of Alfonso's *Conscriptio* is a vivid and circumstantial account of the events surrounding the election of Urban VI. The author provides a readable and colorful narrative: the cardinals enter the conclave "after the meal" to the sound of "trumpets, caramellas (a *hapax legomenon*?), and other musical instruments" (lines 371–72). He offers conversations of intriguers, sometimes in direct discourse, pursuing their interests. (The vividness in this regard might interest a literary historian.) He presents lively moments: when Bartholomew, the archbishop of Bari, for whom none of the cardinals have any real love, begins to launch into a sermon on humility before his enthroning as pope, the cardinals cut him off (lines 455–61).

Certainly the work is biased in favor of the Urbanist cause, but were historians to shun any contemporaneous writing about the Schism on those grounds no sources would remain, for all of them were biased. Granted that Alfonso's partisan brief concentrates on evidence that supports his cause, he is honest enough to avoid making a hero out of Urban; he even grants that as soon as Urban became pope he began to exasperate the cardinals by chiding and reproving them scathingly.

Alfonso strives for reliability. When he reports speech he is careful to qualify that he is recalling the words as best he can — "in effectu" (lines 313, 380, 391, 444). Recognizing that his account could be challenged unless he frequently specified his sources of information, he identified his main informant as the Cardinal de Luna. At the beginning of his narrative he states that he was the confessor of "one of the cardinals" and that this cardinal often consulted with him and two other of his familiars about "secrets" and "arduous counsels" outside of the confessional (lines 264–66).²⁷ Later Alfonso reports that immediately after the election of the archbishop of Bari as pope, this person, now mentioned by name as Pedro de Luna, informed him that the conclave had acted willingly and without pressure (lines 391–96). In this context Alfonso specifies the exact time when de Luna told him this — "at the first hour of the night after compline" — and that he did so in the presence of two other of his familiars whom Alfonso mentions by name. Toward the end of his account, he sums up: "these things I know and heard from the Lord Cardinal de Luna, who told me much about what happened every day with his own mouth when he came back from the palace" (lines 509–11) Alfonso also names two other informants: Agapito Colonna, chaplain of Cardinal Robert of Geneva, and Nicholas of Cremona, "the closest familiar of the Cardinal of Aigrefeuille" (lines 313–14, 340–43). Not least he refers to a conversation he

²⁷ Here and afterwards numbers in parentheses refer to line numbers in the appended edition.

held with the archbishop of Bari who was soon to be elected as Urban VI (lines 356–63).

The author's role as an "insider" appears independently in the testimony of his brother Pedro at an inquest concerning the Schism held at the bidding of the king of Castile between the late spring of 1380 and the winter of 1381 in Medina del Campo. Pedro reported that before entering the conclave "the cardinal of Aragon" (de Luna) heard a mass presided over by Alfonso and received the sacrament from him.²⁸ Afterwards, when the cardinals exited from the conclave after the vote was taken, "Lord Alfonso" went to Pedro de Luna who informed him of the election of the archbishop of Bari.²⁹ For practical purposes then, one must consider Alfonso's treatment of the relevant events an eyewitness report.

It may be observed that two prominent recent treatments of the origins of the Schism, while acknowledging the biases of all contemporary accounts, Urbanist or Clementist, offer unqualified narratives that are pronouncedly Clementist.³⁰ Daniel Williman takes as given a lack of majority among the cardinals on entering the conclave and has the Roman people frightening the cardinals by "howling," "threatening riot and slaughter," and "terrifying" them.³¹ Joëlle Rollo-Koster, after granting "it is quite clear that the Schism historiography is bogged down in subjectivity,"³² indulges in some herself by adhering to an account that has the cardinals in the conclave initially disagreeing and later becoming nervous because of the crowd's "bellowing."³³ Perhaps a future treatment would do better to offer readers a range of contemporary avowals including the one we have here that offers details of the cardinals' prior consensus about electing the archbishop of Bari before entering the conclave and how they then proceeded to vote in that way "willingly and without pressure" (lines 393–94).

²⁸ BNF, MS lat. 11745, fol. 100r: "cardinalis de Aragonia die qua intravit conclave audivit missam a dicto domino Alfonso episcopo et recepit sacramenta ab eo."

²⁹ Ibid: "ipsa nocte qua exiverunt de conclavi statim cum cardinalis venit ivit dominus Alfonsus episcopus ad eum et fuit ab eo certificatus de elezione archiepiscopi Barensis in conclavi."

³⁰ It is beyond the scope of this presentation to review the voluminous historiography of the Schism.

³¹ Daniel Williman, "Schism within the Curia: The Twin Papal Elections of 1378," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 59 (2008): 29–47, at 31, 37, 38, relying on the testimony of the Clementist cardinal Pierre de Cros.

³² Joëlle Rollo-Koster, *Raiding Saint Peter: Empty Sees, Violence, and the Initiation of the Great Western Schism (1378)* (Leiden, 2008), 188.

³³ Eadem, "Civil Violence and the Initiation of the Schism," in *A Companion* (n. 2 above), 11–65, at 36, relying on the Clementist Bartolomeo de Zabrizi.

NEW PARTICULARS

The *Conscriptio* is much richer than Alfonso's earlier *Informationes* in its recounting of events surrounding the Schism. Just to note its narrative of developments preceding the opening of the conclave, it goes beyond the *Informationes* in its presentation of the following: 1) Cardinal Robert of Geneva's desire to elect Agapito Colonna and his discussion with him about this; 2) Agapito's proposal that they support the archbishop of Bari and Robert's agreement thereto; 3) the possible candidacy of Martin of Zalva; 4) the secret negotiations between the two parties of cardinals with details of their self-interested motivations; and 5) the archbishop of Bari's lobbying of Pedro to have him talk to the cardinal de Luna in his behalf.

To proceed to detail, we may begin with an account that Alfonso reports early in his narrative. He explains that it became clear on the eve of the papal election in April 1378 that the division within the college of cardinals between the "Limousin" and the "French" factions precluded the possibility of electing a cardinal from either party because neither could gain a two-thirds vote. Assuming that a candidate who would be sufficiently acceptable to both sides would have to be found from outside the ranks of the cardinals, the leader of the "French" faction, Robert of Geneva, favored a prominent member of the Roman Colonna family. Actually this person, Agapito Colonna, was hardly neutral. He had served as chaplain of Robert's uncle, the mighty Guy de Boulogne, until the latter's death in 1373, and now he was Robert's chaplain. Alfonso pointed to these facts to indicate why Robert favored Agapito, although he neglected to mention another consideration, that the Colonna candidate would have satisfied the desire of the local populace for the election of a Roman pope.³⁴

According to Alfonso, Robert called Agapito to his presence with the announcement that he wished to propose him as candidate for the papacy. But Agapito responded "prudently" that "this should by no means be done." His explanation was that "this would cause great indignation in Rome and in the *patria* [presumably Italy] because an Orsini, Lord Giacomo, was one of the cardinals, and there [were] many magnates in Rome of the house of Orsini." As he went on to say, "many of the opposing party, namely, of the house of Colonna, are enemies [of the Orsini]. Thus such an election would cause great indignation and controversy owing to the said factionalism."³⁵ Robert then replied: "So, whom do you think we should elect?" Upon which Agapito proposed Bartholomew, the archbishop of Bari, because he was a familiar of Robert's: "if he were pope, he would do anything the cardinal wished." In addition he "was learned, honest, and good, and

³⁴ Edition below, lines 289–93.

³⁵ Edition below, lines 296–303. This passage and the succeeding one have previously been noticed by Rehberg, *Kirche und Macht* (n. 2 above), 392–93.

knew the practices of the apostolic chancery, and the methods of doing business and the style of the Roman curia.” Satisfied with this proposal, Robert of Geneva swore that he would labor with all his powers to see that the archbishop of Bari would be elected pope.³⁶

Did something like this lively conversation really take place? Certainly it served Alfonso's ulterior motives. He was intent on proving that Bartholomew Prignano, the archbishop of Bari, was the preferred candidate of the cardinals before they entered the conclave and that they did not elect him, as they subsequently insisted, under the threat of violence by the Roman crowds. Moreover, Alfonso was surely pleased to designate Robert of Geneva, who in September became Clement VII, as the original supporter of the man whom he very soon would try to unseat. Yet the mere fact that the account suited Alfonso's purposes does not prove that the discussion did not occur approximately as recorded. One might have thought that Robert of Geneva would have known of the impossibility of electing a Colonna because of the Orsini rivalry, but he had never been part of the Roman scene and might have arrived too recently in Rome to have been aware of local realities. As for the question of whether Alfonso would have known of the purported conversation, Robert and Pedro de Luna were allied in the “French” faction of the cardinals, so that Agapito, a familiar of Robert, might well have confided in Alfonso, a familiar of the other. (Alfonso was residing in Trastevere, and Robert and his retinue were residing in a dwelling appurtenant to the church of Sta. Maria in Trastevere.³⁷) Nor should one discount the fact that Alfonso offered solemn assurances of the interview's veracity, stating that Agapito reported it to him in the presence of a witness, Alfonso's brother Pedro, “placing his hand on a book of decretals and securing by oath the truth of what he had said by the holy gospels of God there written.”³⁸

A counterpart to this account is another in which Alfonso tells of unedifying motives that moved two “Limousin” cardinals to vote for the archbishop of Bari. Alfonso had already maintained in his *Informationes* that one of the leaders of the Limousin party, the cardinal of Aigrefeuille, favored Bari even before the conclave because he thought of him as “almost a household familiar” and “loved him much.”³⁹ In the *Conscriptio* he specifies that Aigrefeuille had decided for Bari, who had been a special servant of Aigrefeuille's. Then he adds that the Limousin cardinals reckoned that if Bari were elected he would raise one of their allies, Nicholas de la Rocha, a nephew of the deceased Gregory XI, to the cardinalate and also bring the curia back to Avignon.⁴⁰ Alfonso maintained

³⁶ Edition below, lines 303–12.

³⁷ For Alfonso, n. 10 above; for Robert and his retinue, Dykmans, “La conscience” (n. 2 above), 599.

³⁸ Edition below, lines 312–16.

³⁹ Jönsson, ed., *Alfonso* (n. 2 above), 194.

that he had heard this from Nicholas of Cremona, who was then an intimate of the said cardinal of Aigrefeuille.

Doubtless, Alfonso presented the accounts of both the cardinal of Geneva's preference for the archbishop of Bari and the same preference of the two Limousin cardinals because of his desire to prove that the election of Bartholomeo Prignano had been predetermined. But were his details substantially true? For my part, I find it difficult to believe that he invented an extended conversation between Agapito Colonna and Robert of Geneva out of whole cloth or that he would have named a second party, Nicholas of Cremona (who was still alive), as witness for the motives of the Limousin cardinals. With requisite caution I would thus be inclined to place Alfonso's picturesque reports of conversations and shabby motives within a larger narrative of the Schism.

Less caution seems necessary regarding another original detail in Alfonso's account. According to this, before the cardinals entered the conclave they considered two candidates for the papacy: the archbishop of Bari and also the Navarrese bishop of Pamplona, Martin of Zalva. It seems entirely credible that Martin's name was brought forward, and if so it would have been proposed by Pedro de Luna, who would have been pleased to have had a Spanish pope. Before the election, Martin of Zalva had been a professor of canon law in Avignon and had also served Gregory XI as *referendarius*.⁴¹ Then he accompanied Gregory to Rome in January 1378 and was soon trusted by the pope with an important mission to Lucca to negotiate peace with the Florentines. Evidently he was a man of some ability, but according to Alfonso his candidacy, once bruited, was set aside on two counts. First, he was "rather young." Actually Martin was forty-one, but given the grasping proclivities of the cardinals most were probably not inclined to elevate someone who might have been able to entrench his own appointees and power for a great length of time. (Robert of Geneva was elected as Clement VII in September 1378 at age thirty-six only because of urgent circumstances then at work.) Martin's other handicap was that he was absent from Rome, being still on his mission to Tuscany. This alone was reason enough to rule him out, for the local Romans were intent on the election of a Roman pope, or "at least an Italian," and the election of a Spaniard would have been most difficult to accomplish if he were not present for immediate consecration.

⁴⁰ Edition below, lines 335–40: I have been unable to locate any further reference to Nicholas de Rocha (the ongoing edition of the *Lettres communes* of Gregory XI has not advanced to index volumes), but his father Hugh appears as "clericus et consiliarius ac servitor continuus" of King Charles V in a document of 18 January 1369: *Urbain V (1362–1370), Lettres communes*, 7 (Rome, 1982), 110, #23524. (I owe this reference to Hollis Dvorkin.)

⁴¹ On Martin, *The Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church: Biographical Dictionary: [Antipope] Clement VII (1378–1394) Consistory of July 21, 1390 (VIII) Celebrated in Avignon*: <http://www2.fiu.edu/~mirandas/bios1390.htm> (accessed 8 November 2016).

THE MISSION OF PIERRE CHAMBON

Although Alfonso's account of the maneuverings and intrigues that preceded the conclave of April 1378 is vivid, they do not convey information that alters the main substance of what long has been known. An exception is a passage that refers to a mission to King Charles V of France that in my estimation puts knowledge of Charles's role in the Schism on a new footing. For well over a century Noël Valois's four-volume work, *La France et le Grand Schisme d'Occident*, has justly been considered the most minute and authoritative account, and his narrative of Charles V's actions in the drama is unexceptionable as far as it goes. The main lines are as follows.⁴² From the time of Urban VI's election in April until the end of July, the king of France recognized Urban as pope. A charter of 2 July issued by the bishop of Lisieux (Nicole Oresme), an intimate counselor of the king, is dated according to the first year of Urban VI's reign. The same holds for an act drawn up in Poitiers in the presence of royal officials as late as 30 July. But in August an emissary of the cardinals who had fled to Anagni, one Jean de Guignicourt, arrived in Paris with the news that all the cardinals had broken with Urban and declared his election null and void because it had been extracted from them out of fear. Having confidence in the word of the princes of the Church, Charles immediately accepted their account and sent financial support; at the same time he instructed Gascon and Breton routiers in Italy to lend the cardinals their protection. These acts were decisive, for the cardinals now knew that they had the mightiest support to allow them to proceed with the election of a new pope, as they did in September.

But Valois could have gone further had he known Alfonso Pecha's *Conscriptio*, which lay unpublished when he wrote. Here is Alfonso:

By the devil's instigation, the cardinals, and especially Geneva and Amiens, began most secretly to treat about accomplishing a schism. Then they sent Lord Petrus Chambonis, chamberlain of the cardinal of Geneva, to the king of France and to the duke of Anjou [Louis, the king's brother] in order to complain to them about the Limousin cardinals. They wanted the king to write to them [the Limousins] threateningly and harshly because they had elected such a man [Urban VI] who was not French but Italian to the detriment of the king of France, so, that frightened by threat and terror, these cardinals would arrange for uniting in this schism, et cetera.⁴³

Pierre Chambon (Petrus Chambonis) is identifiable. He appears as an auditor of Gregory XI in a document of 1371. More directly relevant is a document of 3 November 1378 wherein he is identified as a former chaplain and auditor of the cardinal of Geneva and currently as a familiar of the latter who had now

⁴² Valois, *La France et le Grande Schisme* (n. 11 above), 1:85–97.

⁴³ Edition below, **lines 512–19**. One would like to know whether the “et cetera” were Alfonso's words or represents missing text eliminated by a scribe.

become Clement VII.⁴⁴ Clearly Alfonso was not inventing the identity of a trusted minion. As for the substance of his report, it seems perfectly credible. The two cardinals mentioned by Alfonso were close to Charles V. Robert of Geneva descended from the counts of Geneva and thereby was a cousin of Charles V's stepmother, Jeanne d'Auvergne. The cardinal of Amiens, Jean de la Grange, was one of Charles V's "principal counselors" and for practical purposes Charles's most trusted minister for papal affairs.⁴⁵ It stands to reason that both sought to elect a "French" as opposed to a "Limousin" pope and believed that they needed royal pressure to sway the Limousin cardinals to support such an outcome. In this instance Alfonso does not mention the source of his information, but we know that he had his ear to the ground.

If we accept the historicity of Chambon's mission, the date can be inferred. It must have been roughly during the month before the election of Robert of Geneva as Clement VII because the purpose was to sway the Limousins to vote for him. (Electing Jean de la Grange would have been ruled out because he was too egregiously a man of the king.) Thus the secret mission to the royal court came at about the same time as the public one of Jean de Guignicourt in August and confirms the view that the cardinals regarded the support of the French king as crucial for their planned momentous undertaking. Whether Charles V actually did attempt to intimidate the Limousins cannot be established. But it does seem likely: after all, Robert of Geneva was elected pope unanimously.

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Keywords: Alfonso Pecha, Canon Law, Origins of Papal Schism (1378), Pope Urban VI (1378–89), Prophecy, Robert of Geneva

⁴⁴ For this and the document of 1371, Henri Gilles, "Les auditeurs de Rote au temps de Clément VII et Benoît XIII (1378–1417), notes biographiques," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 67 (1955): 319–35, at 324. (Hollis Dvorkin called my attention to this article.)

⁴⁵ Valois, *La France et le Grande Schisme*, 1:69.

THE EDITION

Manuscripts Used

B Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, A. IX. 8.

The manuscript consists of two originally independent parts, of which the second, a biblical concordance at fols. 155–274, need not be considered here. The first part (parchment; 25 × 15 cm; single column) is a collection of texts written in different hands pertaining to the Great Schism; Alfonso Pecha's *Conscriptio* is located at fols. 87r–100v. The treatise is copied in a careful *cursiva libraria* with a second contemporary hand providing a title in the top margin; a few marginalia include an extended remark by the canonist Nicholas Vener, datable to the year 1407. The orthography has an Italian underlay (“ambax-iata”). A catalogue description of the manuscript is lacking, but compensation exists in treatments by Hermann Heimpel.¹ As Heimpel indicates, part one was assembled in the Charterhouse of Trier, with near certainty late in 1394. The purpose was to propagandize for the Roman obedience. In 1406 the prior of the Trier Charterhouse joined the newly founded Charterhouse of Basel and brought the collection with him.

P Prague, Národní knihovna, MS VIII. D. 15.

A description of this manuscript, which includes a detailed list of contents, exists.² Pecha's *Conscriptio* is located at fols. 21v–26v, copied in a *cursiva libraria*. On the grounds of a text written immediately following it in the same hand the most likely dating is between 1398 and 1404 because the latter text knows of the subtraction of obedience from the Avignon pope and refers to Boniface IX as the reigning pope.³ (This assumes that the copyist was the author of the text or someone commissioned by the author; if not, the *terminus ante quem* must be 1415 because of concern for the Schism.) The orthography is “German,” thereby strongly suggesting that the Prague copy was made in Bohemia.⁴ There is good reason to believe that it descended from a copy brought to

¹ Hermann Heimpel, “Die Vener von Schwäbisch Gmünd und Strassburg und die Anfänge der Basler Kartause,” *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 69 (1969): 85–102, at 99–101; on Nicholas Vener, see Hermann Heimpel, *Die Vener von Gmünd und Strassburg* (Göttingen, 1982), 69, 913–16.

² Joseph Truhlář, *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum latinorum qui in C.R. Bibliotheca Publica atque Universitatis Pragensis asservantur* (Prague, 1905), 555–56.

³ I have treated this text in “Popular Justice: Rupescissa in Hussite Bohemia,” in *Eschatologie und Hussitismus; Internationales Kolloquium Prag 1.–4. September 1993* (Prague, 1996), 39–52, at 43–45. A dating of between 1398 and 1404 was already offered by Herbert Grundmann, “Die Papstprophetien des Mittelalters,” *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 19 (1928): 77–138, at 127.

⁴ German orthography: k for c (Karolus, catholicus); use of “w” (Swecia). Italian underlay: doubling of consonants (elleccionis; opperanti) and “gn” (congnocebat). I have been

Prague by the theologian Matthew of Cracow, for he was in Genoa in 1385 as an envoy of the University of Prague and brought back with him a copy of Alfonso's version of the *Revelationes* of Bridget of Sweden.⁵

U Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek, MS C15.

See the thorough description in Margarete Andersson-Schmitt and Monica Hedlund, *Mittelalterliche Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Uppsala: Katalog über die C-Sammlung*, vol. 1 (Stockholm, 1988), 151–55. The manuscript does not contain the entire *Conscriptio* but only (at fols. 136v–137r) the admonitory letter that was sent by the Infante Pedro of Aragon to Charles V of France. The provenance is the Bridgettine monastery of Vadstena; the part of the manuscript, roughly of 1440, that contains Pedro's letter is otherwise devoted to materials pertaining to the canonization of Bridget of Sweden. Evidently the treatise, which is replete with passages concerning Bridget's sanctity, was part of the Bridgettine dossier in the Vadstena archives.

Textual Witness Not Used: Gobelinus Person

As noted, the world history of Gobelinus Person, the *Cosmidromius*, completed in Paderborn in 1406, contains a considerable number of verbatim quotations (as well as paraphrases) of the *Conscriptio*. Since Person's exemplar most likely was made in Genoa contemporaneously with the *Conscriptio*'s composition there would be good reason to include the relevant passages from his work in an edition. One might call particular attention to the fact that Person's borrowings refer to Bridget of Sweden as "domina," whereas B and P refer to her as "beata," implying that Person's exemplar dated from the time before Bridget's canonization in 1391 and that the exemplars of B and P were made shortly afterwards. Unfortunately, however, the manuscript tradition of the *Cosmidromius* is unstable, making use of the work impractical: a variant apparatus for the *Conscriptio* that drew on the *Cosmidromius* would have to note variants of variants.

Ratio editionis

The copy of the letter sent by the Infante Pedro of Aragon to Charles V of France in U is superior to the same in B and P. A control exists in an independent copy made under the direction of Cardinal Martin of Zalva ("Z") for a collection of Schism documents now in the Vatican archives.⁶ In most cases of variants from Z, manuscripts B, P, and U align themselves with each other, and in one instance

informed by Dr. Pavlina Cermanová that another text in this manuscript, *Tractatus de comunione infantium*, is definitely of Czech origin.

⁵ Matthias Nuding, *Matthäus von Krakau* (Tübingen, 2007), 78, 82. I am grateful to Dr. Pavlina Rychterová for having pointed me in the direction of Matthew of Cracow.

⁶ Published in Lucas Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, vol. 9 (Quaracchi, 1734), 46–47.

they offer a noteworthy correction.⁷ But on several occasions U, but not B and/or P, matches Z. I infer from this that when B and P diverge from the common readings of U and Z they are a stage removed from an independent superior copy of Pedro's letter. Otherwise collation indicates that P contains the invocation to Manfred of Saluzzo and supplies one passage missing in B (lines 200–6). Yet in almost all other cases of variants B is superior to P. Hence I use B as the base manuscript, aside from the letter of the Infante Pedro where the base manuscript is U. In reading B, I return to the manuscript instead of relying on the edition by Bliemetzrieder which contains some errors.

Principles of Presentation

I follow the orthography of B and U except in supplying v for consonantal u, and F for ff in cases of capitalization. Variants in orthography are ignored, except for some proper nouns. Punctuation and capitalization are modernized. Quotation marks are supplied for speech or implied speech. Variants in word order are ignored. A thoroughgoing historical apparatus identifying persons and events would make this edition vastly too cumbersome. Much of the relevant information concerning parts one and three can be found in my "Alfonso Pecha on Discriminating Truth about the Great Schism" (n. 4 in article above). Throughout the text a separate apparatus identifies the cardinals whom Alfonso, as customary, names by toponymics.

⁷ B, P, U: "Fuit bona excecacio Iudeorum? Non. Sed de ipsa excecacione emanavit salvatio humani generis"; against Z: "Fuit bona exclamacione Iudeorum? Non. Sed de ipsa exclamacione emanavit salvatio humani generis."

Tractatus de assumptione domini nostri Urbani pape VI editus per dominum Alphonsum episcopum, olym Gremiensis, puram continens veritatem.

Magnifico¹ viro domino Manfredo, marchioni Salluciarum, consiliario illustris domini comitis Vertutum, detur ex parte Alphonsi heremite, olym episcopi Gremiensis.

5 Magnifice mi domine reverendissime.² Rogastis me humiliter quod reputo ad preceptum ut de intencione mea qualiter ego eram in consciencia mea informatus de facto creacionis veri pape et qualem³ verum papam esse credebam, utrum Urbanum vel Clementem, vos plenius informarem. Super quo cogitans, cogitavi et dixi unde hoc et quare sic interrogatus sum, forte quia Hispanus sum et non Neapolitanus, nec de Francia nec de

10 Ytalia. Ideo interrogatus sum quia non sum suspectus in causa et discordia que super papatu [Basel, 87r, 10] versatur inter Neapolitanos et Gallicos et Ytalicos, quia⁴ a fide catholica et a bona consciencia et veritate nec natio nec amicia nec amor nos debet deviare [Prague, 1, 10] parentum. Vel forte interrogatus sum quia meum⁵ episcopatum dimisi et renunciavi dignitati, relinquens eciam⁶ patrimonium meum propter amorem

15 Christi omnesque⁷ divicias terrenas et mundanos⁸ vanos honores, nec opto⁹ ascendere ad beneficia nec illa¹⁰ a sede apostolica impetrare, et ideo presumit ille dominus qui me interrogavit, quod non sum suspectus, quod teneam plus cum una parte quam cum alia, vel forte temptative interrogatus sum. Et dum sic talia mecum cogitarem, non cum modica admiracione mentali occurrit in mente mea: “Scribe veritatem tue consciencie

20 [Prague, 2, 1 from top] ad [Basel, 87r, 20] honorem Dei, et quidquid Deus permiserit, fiat.” Coactus igitur caritate et obediencia vestra in nomine Iesu Christi, scribam aliquas¹¹ informaciones per quas consciencia mea super predicta interrogacione vestra extitit informata.

Fui namque,¹² dulcissime pater et domine, ut¹³ coram Deo veritatem loquar tribus

25 modis plenissime informatus: per viam spiritus, id est, per informacionem spiritualem, volens coniecturare et scire quid esset super hoc voluntas¹⁴ Dei; per informacionem eciam facte¹⁵ eleccionis Urbani,¹⁶ narrando illa que vidi¹⁷ et scio et qualiter fuerit¹⁸ in

¹ Magnifico ... Gremiensis] *om.* B

² reverende et dilectissime P

³ quem P

⁴ quia ... parentum] *om.* B

⁵ meum *om.* P

⁶ eciam ... meum] *om.* P

⁷ omnes P

⁸ mundanas B

⁹ appeto P

¹⁰ iam B

¹¹ aliquans P

¹² diu *add.* P

¹³ et P

¹⁴ voluntatis P

¹⁵ facti P

¹⁶ Urbani *om.* P

¹⁷ vidi et *om.* P

¹⁸ fuerunt P

facto¹⁹ per viam eciam²⁰ [Basel, 87v, 1] et informacionem iuris eciam perquisivi
curiose²¹ et audiui quid tenendum esset²² in hac materia.²³

30 De [Prague, 2, 11 from top] primo autem, id est, de informacione per viam
spiritus, constat mihi et dico quod ante annum Iubilei²⁴ tempore Clementis pape sexti
beata Brigida, de²⁵ regno Suecie, essendo in regno Suecie sola semel in oracione dominus
noster Iesus Christus apparuit ei et loquendo cum ea et²⁶ dedit sibi duas revelaciones:
35 unam, quam deberet statim mittere dicto²⁷ Clementi pape, et aliam regibus Francie et
Anglie. In prima Christus precipiebat quod ipse papa veniret et duceret Romanam curiam
ad Romam et reformaret se [Basel, 87v, 10] et ecclesiam Dei universalem, et quod
denunciaret annum Iubilei et faceret pacem inter predictos reges, et cetera, ut²⁸ in celesti
libro revelacionum beate Brigide hoc lacius continetur. Et predictas revelaciones
portaverunt dicto²⁹ pape et dictis regibus ex parte Christi et dicte domine beate Brigide
40 reverendi et sancti [Prague, 2, 20] viri, quondam³⁰ dominus Hemmingus³¹ episcopus
Abuensis et frater Petrus, prior monasterii sancte Marie de Alvastris ordinis
Cisterciensis³² de regno Suecie. Que omnia ego audiui ab ipsa domina beata Brigida et a
dicto priore sepius dum essem in familia ipsius domine³³. Ex quibus et aliis
revelacionibus, quas ipsa divinitus habuerat, sepe certificabat me [Basel, 87v, 20] et alios
45 duos suos confessores quod omnino voluntas Dei erat quod³⁴ curia Romana et papa
recederent de Avinione et transferentur ad Romam et ibi, residendo in sua propria sede
apostolica, fieret spiritualis reformacio Romane curie et universalis ecclesie, ut³⁵ patet in
dicto libro celesti. Quibus revelacionibus dictus papa Clemens noluit credere, nec ipse
nec rex Francie voluit eis obedire, sed rex Anglie, Eduardus nomine, [Prague, 2, 30 from
50 top] obtulit se ad obediendum dicte³⁶ divine revelacioni et voluntate³⁷ Dei, propter quod
statim post modicum tempus facto prelio inter duos³⁸ reges, Eduardus rex Anglie,
tamquam obediens Christo, habuit victoriam, et rex Francie, [Basel, 87v, 30] inobediens,

¹⁹ et *add.* P

²⁰ eciam *om.* P

²¹ curiose *om.* P

²² de iure *add.* P

²³ Prima revelacio sancte Brigide tempore Clementis sexti de revelacione curie ad Urbem
et reformacione ecclesie *add.* P

²⁴ Iubileum P

²⁵ de regno Suecie essendo in regno Suecie sola] existens in regno Suecie semel P

²⁶ *om.* P

²⁷ domino P

²⁸ ut in celesti ... continetur] *om.* P

²⁹ domino P

³⁰ quidam P

³¹ Henugus P

³² Cistriciensis P

³³ Brigide *add.* P

³⁴ et P

³⁵ ut patet ... celesti] *om.* P

³⁶ predicte P

³⁷ voluntati P

³⁸ predictos P

succubuit in bello et ibi cum filio captus est, multaque mala ex illa inobediencia postea
 evererunt dicto [Basel, 88r, 1] regno Francie, ut in dictis divinis revelacionibus sibi³⁹
 55 antea fuerat prenuiciatum. Require dictas revelaciones in libro celesti⁴⁰ imperatoris ad
 reges et in sexto libro celesti⁴¹ beate Brigide divinitus revelato⁴².

Post hec autem elapsis aliquibus annis post mortem pape Innocencii, successit ei
 Urbanus quintus, et statim postquam fuit assumptus ad sedem apostolicam dum esset
 60 quidam vir religiosus ordinis sancti Francisci sancte vite nomine frater [Prague, 2, 20
 from bottom] Petrus de Aragonia, pater regine Cypri domine Elionoris, quondam uxoris
 regis Petri dicti regnis⁴³ Cypri et avunculus [Basel, 88r, 10] regum Francie et Aragonie,
 in conventu Barchnonie⁴⁴ orando. Dictus frater Petrus habuit plures revelaciones a Deo
 65 divinitus in quibus Christus precipiebat quod iret ipse ad dictum Urbanum papam
 quintum et diceret ei ex parte Christi quod recederet de Avinione et iret Romam et
 duceret illuc⁴⁵ Romanam curiam et ibi reformaret universalem ecclesiam in sanctis
 moribus et virtutibus, et cetera. Propter quod dictus frater Petrus, certificatus multipliciter
 de voluntate Dei, ivit statim Avinionem et ex parte Christi dixit⁴⁶ dicto Urbano pape et
 70 dedit ei in scriptis dictas revelaciones. Et ex ista causa dictus Urbanus quintus [Basel,
 88r, 20] venit tunc in Ytaliam et Romam cum sua curia, et cum [Prague, 2, 10 from
 bottom] esset papa predictus iam⁴⁷ in recessu Marssilie⁴⁸ tunc dictum fuit dicto fratri
 Petro in oracione a Christo: “Sic dic pape quod non redeat amplius ad terras⁴⁹ istas ubi
 electus est; alioquin erit Iosias⁵⁰, incipiens et non perficiens, erit David incipiens et⁵¹
 75 perficiens, et cetera.” Et dabit locum scismati in proximo venturo in quo milia milium
 animarum sub gladio spiculatoris peribunt. Que omnia narravit mihi indigno seriose
 dictus frater Petrus ante tempus scismatis tempore⁵² pape Gregorii Avinione anno Domini
 m° ccc° lxxii°, et dedit [Basel, 88v, 1] mihi omnia in scriptis de manu fratris Raymundi,
 confessoris sui, et habeo omnia ista in monasterio nostro sancti Ieronimi⁵³ prope Ianuam.
 Ecce attende quod voluntas Dei est quam dicto fratri Petro et pape Urbano ipse
 Dominus⁵⁴ ostendit, scilicet, quod papa se transferret ad Romam cum sua curia et ibi

³⁹ sibi ... revelaciones] *om.* P

⁴⁰ celestis P

⁴¹ celesti *om.* P

⁴² revelati P; Secunda revelacio ad idem facta fuit Petro de Ispania, sancto viro de
 Urbano quinto cum cominacione quod nisi obediret abiret et daret locum scismati in
 futuro *add.* P

⁴³ regni P

⁴⁴ Barconie P

⁴⁵ illic P

⁴⁶ et cetera *s.l.* B; hec P

⁴⁷ iam *om.* P

⁴⁸ Marsilie P

⁴⁹ partes B

⁵⁰ Ioas *in marg.* P

⁵¹ non *add.* P

⁵² domini *add.* P

⁵³ sancti Ieronimi *om.* P

⁵⁴ Deus P

80 [Prague, 3, 1 at top] resideret et quod non rediret ad Avinionem, et hoc Deus precepit ut
 prefertur cum comminatione et prenunciacione presentis dolorosi scismatis. Venit igitur
 dictus papa Urbanus quintus Romam, sed non reformavit ecclesiam, et postea, peractis
 aliquibus annis, instigacione parentum [Basel, 88v, 10] et consiliariorum cardinalium
 85 operam dante, tunc beata Brigida, dum⁵⁵ esset Rome, in oracione sua quadam die apparuit
 ei Virgo Maria et loquens ei dixit quod papa volebat redire ad⁵⁶ Avinionem contra
 voluntatem Dei et deserere Ytaliam et⁵⁷ Romanam curiam propriam⁵⁸, redarguens eum
 acriter⁵⁹ de dicto recessu, et comminabatur dicto⁶⁰ pape ipsa mater Dei dicens [Prague, 3,
 10 from top] quod si recederet et rediret ad Avinionem statim post modicum moreretur et
 90 rederet rationem Deo de recessu et de aliis, et cetera. Quam revelacionem ipsa [Basel,
 88v, 20] domina beata Brigida presentavit dicto Urbano pape scriptam de manu mea in
 Monteflasconis antequam ipse recederet in vigilia Assumpcionis beate Marie virginis. Et
 istud secretum nemo sciebat ibi in Romana curia nisi ipsa domina⁶¹ beata Brigida et ego,
 tunc confessor suus et indignus scriptor, et dominus cardinalis Bellifortis, qui postea fuit
 95 papa Gregorius, et dominus Nicolaus de Auximo, secretarius pape et protonotarius.
 Postquam⁶² dictus Urbanus⁶³ papa de Monteflascone recessit et ad Avinionem rediit
 contra voluntatem Dei et ideo per⁶⁴ illam inobedienciam mortuus est, ut prenunciatum
 [Basel 89r, 1] fuerat⁶⁵ in dicta [Prague, 3, 20 from top] revelacione divinitus, et tunc fuit
 100 ibi electus in papam dominus⁶⁶ cardinalis Bellifortis qui solus inter cardinales dictum
 secretum sciebat, et sentenciam Dei prenunciatam⁶⁷ contra antecessorem suum
 completam experimentaliter viderat. Ecce attende et nota per dictam propheciam
 revelacionem et inobediencie papalis divinam punicionem quod voluntas Dei erat et est
 quod papa et Romana curia resideant Rome in sua propria sede apostolica et ibi
 reformetur⁶⁸ tota universalis ecclesia. Et de hoc, scilicet, quod Rome debet reformari
 105 universalis Ecelesia, eciam habes aliquam [Basel, 89r, 10] revelacionem in vi^o libro
 celesti beate Brigide. Et scias tamen quod nec beata Brigida cognoscebat predictum
 fratrem Petrum de Aragonia, nec ipse cognoscebat eam, nec de factis eius aliquid noverat,
 sed⁶⁹ [Prague, 3, 30 from top] radius Spiritus sancti per utrumque ipsorum, diversis tamen

55 cum P

56 ad *om.* P

57 sedem *add.* P

58 curiam propriam *om.* P

59 maxime P

60 ipsi P

61 domina *om.* P

62 Postque P

63 Urbanus *om.* P

64 per] statim propter P

65 erat P

66 dictus P

67 prenunciabat P

68 reformaretur P

69 idem *add.* P

110 temporibus, voluntatem Dei⁷⁰ predicto Urbano pape propheticæ, ut prefertur, expresse
annunciaverat.⁷¹

115 Creato igitur⁷² Gregorio in papam Avinione, tunc beata Brigida, existens Rome, quadam⁷³ die in oratione sua vidit divinam visionem et⁷⁴ habuit divinitus revelacionem quam Christus precipiebat mittere⁷⁵ in scriptis dicto Gregorio pape in qua continebatur quod voluntas Dei erat quod statim veniret Romam [Basel, 89r, 20] dictus papa Gregorius
120 cum sua curia, et quod veniret non cum pompa, sed cum humilitate et paterna caritate ad residendum Rome in sua sede apostolica et ibi reformaret universalem ecclesiam et exstirparet certa punita que vigeabant in Romana curia, et cetera⁷⁶. Cominabatur eciam⁷⁷ graviter ibi⁷⁸ Christus dicto Gregorio pape si in predictis non⁷⁹ vellet⁸⁰ obedire. Quam revelacionem divinam scriptam⁸¹ de manu mea et roboratam suo nomine misit beata
125 Brigida secrete dicto pape Gregorio cum⁸² Latino de Ursinis nobili [Prague 3, 20 from bottom] milite Romano. Post hec autem ipse Gregorius papa misit in⁸³ Ytaliam et⁸⁴ ad terras ecclesie sibi subiectas in thesaurarium et collectorem⁸⁵ [Basel, 89v, 1] universalem dominum Gerardum⁸⁶, abbatem Maioris Monasterii Turonensis, qui postea fuit factus⁸⁷ cardinalis per ipsum Gregorium, et cum dicto abbate dictus dominus papa misit⁸⁸ mihi
130 specialem ambaxiatam, in qua mihi precipiebat quod statim irem Romam ad beatam Brigidam ad consulendam⁸⁹ eam de tribus: primo videlicet, si credebat ipsa firmiter esse voluntatem⁹⁰ Dei quod omnino ipse veniret Romam; secundo, si credebat quod tunc fieret firma pax quam ipse tractabat⁹¹ inter Franciam et Angliam; tercio⁹², si credebat placere Deo quod ipse papa mitteret ultra mare ad pasagium [Basel, 89v, 10] illas magnas societates hominum armorum⁹³ que tunc [Prague 3, 10 from bottom] erant Francie. Ego

⁷⁰ esse *add.* P

⁷¹ Quarta revelacio beate Brigide ad papam Gregorium *add.* P

⁷² vero P

⁷³ quodam P

⁷⁴ et *om.* P

⁷⁵ mitti P

⁷⁶ et cetera *om.* P

⁷⁷ eciam *om.* P

⁷⁸ ibi *om.* P

⁷⁹ non *om.* P

⁸⁰ nollet P

⁸¹ scriptura P

⁸² domino *add.* P

⁸³ in *om.* P

⁸⁴ et *om.* P

⁸⁵ collecionem P

⁸⁶ Ghehardum P

⁸⁷ effectus P

⁸⁸ misit *om.* B

⁸⁹ consulendum P

⁹⁰ voluntas P

⁹¹ tractaret P

⁹² quod *add.* P

⁹³ armatorom P

vero tunc cum⁹⁴ litteris credencie predictis abbatis ivi Romam super predictis ex parte
 pape ad predictam dominam. Que postea⁹⁵ in oracione existens, habuit responsum ad
 omnia et specialiter in illa revelacione tunc sibi facta divinitus precipiebatur dicto pape
 Gregorio quod veniret usque ad certum tempus determinatum ad Ytaliam et Romam
 135 modo quo supra in alia prima, scilicet, cum humilitate, et cetera; alioquin cominabatur
 ipsi⁹⁶ pape divinitus de terribili divino iudicio, et ultra hec dictum fuit beate Brigide tunc
 divinitus sic: "Dic Alfonso heremite olim episcopo quod scribat [Basel, 89v, 20] hanc
 revelacionem et clausam et sigillatam portet ad illum abbatem, quam ipse statim⁹⁷ mittat
 ad papam. Scribat eciam ipse Alfonsus dicte revelacionis copiam in papiro et portet
 140 secum apertam et ostendat eam dicto [Prague, 4, 1 from top] abbati, ut ipse abbas eam
 legat et videat quid continetur in ea⁹⁸. Postea vero in presencia dicti⁹⁹ abbatis, ipse
 Alfonsus dilaceret ipsam copiam in frusticula¹⁰⁰ quia¹⁰¹ sicut ipsa revelacionis tunc
 dilacerabatur in frusticula, ita, si papa non veniat¹⁰² tempore sibi assignato ad Romam,
 omnes terre ecclesie que modo sub una obediencia pape sunt [Basel, 90r, 1],
 145 dilacerabuntur in frusticula¹⁰³ per manus tyrannorum et inimicorum ecclesie." Que omnia
 sic completa sunt. Predictam autem revelacionem portavit secrete pape Gregorio
 dominus Nycolaus, comes de Nola, et fuerunt ei dati de camera pape pro expensis vie
 xcvi¹⁰⁴ floreni. Et tunc ego facta ambaxiata predicto modo dicto abbati, reversus fui
 Romam et ivi cum beata Brigida in Ierusalem. In reversione autem de Ierusalem
 150 invenimus dictum comitem de Nola [Prague, 4, 10 from top] in li reversum de Avinione.
 Qui ex parte dicti domini pape Gregorii locutus fuit beate Brigide [Basel, 90r, 10] in mei
 presencia ex parte pape, et eciam dictus comes dixit mihi quod dominus papa volebat
 quod plenius ego me informarem a beata Brigida de materia dictarum¹⁰⁵ revelacionum et
 de voluntate Dei, et quod cum illis informacionibus irem¹⁰⁶ ad ipsum papam Gregorium
 155 ad Avinionem. Orante¹⁰⁷ igitur quadam die super predictis beata¹⁰⁸ Brigida in Neapoli,
 Christus apparuit et locutus est ei verba valde terribilia contra predictum¹⁰⁹ papam
 precipiens quod statim veniret Romam sine mora cum humilitate et non cum gentibus¹¹⁰

⁹⁴ cum ... abbatis] *om.* P

⁹⁵ postea *om.* P

⁹⁶ ipse P

⁹⁷ statim *om.* P

⁹⁸ eadem P

⁹⁹ ipsius P

¹⁰⁰ frusticula P

¹⁰¹ quia ... frusticula] *om.* P

¹⁰² veniret P

¹⁰³ frusticula P

¹⁰⁴ mille et quingenti P

¹⁰⁵ predictarum P

¹⁰⁶ statim *add.* P

¹⁰⁷ Oranti P

¹⁰⁸ beata Brigida] beate Brigide P

¹⁰⁹ dictum P

¹¹⁰ generibus P

- armorum,¹¹¹ ut ibi lacius¹¹² continetur, precipiens eciam beate Brigide quod in scriptis
 mitteret mecum dicto pape illa verba in una clausa [Basel, 90r, 20] littera. Quam quidem
 160 litteram ego secretae apportavi pape manu mea conscriptam et nomine beate Brigide
 [Prague, 4, 20 from top] roboratam anno¹¹³ Domini 1372°. Super qua materia, que
 secretissime tunc tractabatur inter papam et me ibi Avinione, ipse iterum voluit quod ego
 scriberem ex parte sua de Avinione¹¹⁴ ad Romam beate Brigide, et tunc requirebat eam
 ipse¹¹⁵ dominus papa de certis punctis super dicto adventu ad Romam, et utrum erat
 165 voluntas¹¹⁶ Dei quod faceret pacem inter se et dominos de Mediolano. Super quibus
 habuit ipse dominus papa in brevi responsa in scriptis a beata Brigida divinitus sibi data.
 Tandem operante dyabolo [Basel, 90v, 1] dictus dominus papa ad terminum sibi prefixum
 divinitus non venit, et ideo terras ecclesie perdidit, ut sibi propheticæ prenunciatum fuit.
 Et postea, quando post contumaciam venit Romam¹¹⁷, non tenuit modum inveniend¹¹⁸
 170 quem Christus divinitus sibi precepit, quia non cum humilitate, sed cum pompa et cum
 multitudine Britonum¹¹⁹ armigerorum [Prague 4, 30 from top] Ytalia ingressus est, et
 sic ad¹²⁰ Romam devenit, nec ecclesiam universalem reformare incepit, nec terras
 ecclesie perditas recuperavit, quia mandato Dei non obedivit. Post reditum quippe de
 Agnania ipse dominus papa suggestionibus [Basel, 90v, 10] consiliariorum carnalium et
 175 cardinalium inclinatus volebat et disponebat redire Avinionem sicut antecessor eius
 fecerat, et tunc Christus hoc noluit consentire, sed eum de hac vita [Prague 4, 30 from
 bottom] subtraxit, volens naviculam suam, id est, Romanum¹²¹ pontificem et¹²² collegium
 apostolicum in Romana sede sua propria perpetuo cum suo sacro collegio firmare et
 perpetuo stabilire.
 180 Ex quibus predictis omnibus collegi et colligo pro informacione consciencie
 mee¹²³ per viam spiritus quod ex iusticia divina dicti summi pontifices¹²⁴ Gallici, quia
 noluerunt residere in Roma, nec ad eam venire tempore et modo debito, sed voluerunt
 redire¹²⁵ [Basel, 90v, 20] in Egyptum ad ollas carnum, ideo a Deo per mortem tamquam
 inobedientes puniti sunt. Et remedium tale tunc ecclesia¹²⁶ vacante a Deo inventum est

¹¹¹ et cetera *add. in marg.* B

¹¹² lacius *om.* P

¹¹³ anno ... 1372] *om.* P

¹¹⁴ usque *add.* P

¹¹⁵ ipse *om.* P

¹¹⁶ voluntatis P

¹¹⁷ Romam *om.* P

¹¹⁸ inveniendi P

¹¹⁹ bitonorum B

¹²⁰ ad *om.* P

¹²¹ Romanum pontificem] Romani pontificis P

¹²² et collegium apostolicum *om.* P

¹²³ nota *in marg.* P

¹²⁴ pontificis P

¹²⁵ venire P

¹²⁶ ecclesia vacante] vacante sede P

185 quod esset discordia inter cardinales in eleccione summi pontificis talis et taliter quod ad
 summum pontificatum¹²⁷ tunc nullus Gallicus elegeretur¹²⁸, sed Ytalicus qui¹²⁹ Ytaliā
 amaret et in Roma cum sua¹³⁰ curia personaliter resideret, quia *contra Deum non est*
concilium [Proverbs 21:30], et cetera. Propterea¹³¹ credo firmiter¹³² ex predictis [Prague
 4, 20 from bottom] Urbanum esse verum papam secundum voluntatem Dei, et non
 190 Clementem, quantum ad claves ecclesie, et hanc meam credulitatem veram esse
 confirmarunt mihi postquam [Basel, 91r, 1] scisma est ortum, multi et magni servi et
 amici Dei, tam heremite quam alii sancti viri et sancte mulieres magne virtutis et vite
 singularissime vite¹³³ note de Almannia,¹³⁴ de Ytalia,¹³⁵ de Suecia, et de Yspania, quos
 ego rogavi singillatim¹³⁶ ut premissa super hac materia efficaci oracione ad Deum¹³⁷ me
 195 certificarent, quid per viam oracionis senciebant esse voluntatis Dei, et omnes
 singillatim.¹³⁸ Nesciendo uno¹³⁹ de alio dixerunt Urbanum esse verum papam in voluntate
 Dei; super quo habuerant¹⁴⁰ diversimode plures revelaciones divinitus et inter personas
 [Basel, 91r, 10] predictas sancte vite¹⁴¹ loquendo cum una ipsarum magne virtutis et fame
 dixit ei sic: “Urbanus est verus papa et [Prague 4, 10 from bottom] sponsus ecclesie,
 200 sed¹⁴² in regimine suo tenebit modum sine modo.” Alius¹⁴³ vidit chorū cherubin parare
 unum altare in solempni ecclesia altissimi montis, et tunc ivit ut iuaret et assisteret et
 dum solvere vellet duos lintheos colligatos quidam angelus redarguit hunc dicens hec
 verba. “Tu perdis tempus insolvens nodos dum debes intendere divinatorum obsequiis;
 homines debent esse solliciti in terris sicut angeli in celis sunt.” Et dictum altare
 205 parabatur pro papa Urbano sexto ibi celebraturo ut ipsi videnti revelatum est qui prius
 dubitaverunt sed ex causa certificatus est.

Frater Petrus eciam supradictus de Aragonia, ut mihi narravit eius confessor,
 postquam scisma fuit ortum orando habuit a domino nostro Iesu Christo super hoc
 specialem revelacionem, quam Christus precepit mittere [Prague 5, 1] Carolo quondam
 210 regi Francie et Enrico quondam regi Castelle, cuius revelacionis tenor noscitur esse talis:

127 pontificum P
 128 eligeretur P
 129 quod B
 130 sua *om.* P
 131 Preterea P
 132 firmiter *om.* P
 133 vite noti] nate P
 134 et *add.* P
 135 et *add.* P
 136 singulatim P
 137 dominum P
 138 sigillatim B
 139 unus P
 140 habuerunt P
 141 Christus *add.* P
 142 *nota in marg.* B
 143 Alius ... certificatus est] *om.* B

“Illustrissime¹⁴⁴ ac¹⁴⁵ magnifice princeps domine neposque carissime. Semper
 dilexi personam vestram et domum regiam [Basel, 91r, 20] Francie tamquam meam, in
 qua natus sum, propter beneficia et honores multiplices, quos de¹⁴⁶ ipsa vestra domo regia
 multipliciter sum adeptus. Ideo displicet mihi multum quod dominatio vestra faciat
 215 aliquid contra Deum, et quia dictum est et communi fama habetur quod repulistis¹⁴⁷
 Urbanum et una simul cum regno vestro recepistis Clementem. Volo dominacioni vestre
 reserare et notum facere quod mihi indigno est de hac materia a domino revelatum. Die
 enim mercurii xxx Marcii hora tarda post completorium, dum orassem, audiui dominum
 meum Iesum Christum loquentem mihi peccatori indigno in hunc modum¹⁴⁸: ‘Reges
 220 [Basel 91v, 1] et principes mundi mirantur,¹⁴⁹ magni clerici et doctores disputant et
 faciunt questiones de commocione et impetu Romanorum. Ego feci, quia fieri permisi.
 Ego enim induravi cor Pharaonis, ut diceret: “Dominum nescio et Israel non dimittam.”
 Ego¹⁵⁰ excecavi Iudeos, ut coram Pylato¹⁵¹ clamarent: “Crucifige, crucifige eum.” Ego
 commovi populum Romanum, ut clamarent scilicet¹⁵²: “Pontificem Romanum de Roma
 225 natum volumus, vel de Ytalia.” Fuit bona induracio Pharaonis? Non. Sed de ipsa
 induracione emanavit¹⁵³ gloriosus exitus filiorum Israel de Egypto. Fuit bona [Basel 91v,
 10] excecacio Iudeorum? Non. Sed de ipsa excecacione [Prague 5, 20 from top]
 emanavit salvatio¹⁵⁴ humani generis per mortem meam. Fuit bona commocio
 Romanorum? Non.¹⁵⁵ Sed de ipsa commocione emanavit translacio ecclesie de potestate
 230 et regimine avarorum et ambiciosorum Lemovicensium¹⁵⁶ ad potestatem et regimen
 Ytalicorum in quibus fundata fuit primitus¹⁵⁷ et per patres¹⁵⁸ antiquitus bene recta.’ Ego
 tunc clamavi cum lacrimis et dixi: ‘O bone Iesu et quid est hoc? Tu revelas ista parvulis
 miseris pauperibus et ydiotis et magnos¹⁵⁹ in sua cecitate dimittis’. Respondens¹⁶⁰
 dominus dixit: ‘Respice verba que locutus sum¹⁶¹ patri in ewangelio Matthei: *Confiteor*
 235 [Basel 91 v, 20] *tibi pater, domine celi et terre, quia abscondisti hec a sapientibus et*
prudentibus et revelasti ea parvulis, quoniam sic fuit placitum ante te (Matthew 11:25,

¹⁴⁴ From here to “illustris Christi servus” the base manuscript is U.

¹⁴⁵ et BP

¹⁴⁶ de *om.* B

¹⁴⁷ dominum *add.* B

¹⁴⁸ Verba Christi ad fratrem Petrum de Aragonia *add.* P

¹⁴⁹ et *add.* B

¹⁵⁰ enim *add.* P

¹⁵¹ populo B

¹⁵² scilicet *om.* BP

¹⁵³ manavit B

¹⁵⁴ salvatio ... Fuit] *om.* P

¹⁵⁵ Non *om.* P

¹⁵⁶ Lemovicensis P

¹⁵⁷ ecclesia *add.* BP

¹⁵⁸ antiquos *add.* BP

¹⁵⁹ magnis U

¹⁶⁰ Respondens dominus dixit] Respondit dominus et dixit BP

¹⁶¹ fui B

- 26). Domine mi,¹⁶² ista est¹⁶³ conclusio littere: voluntas est domini mei¹⁶⁴ Iesu Christi quod vos cum regno vestro tamquam rex¹⁶⁵ catholicus, qui de sancta et catholica [Prague 5, 30 from top] domo super universas domos regias mundi exortus¹⁶⁶ estis¹⁶⁷, recipiatis
- 240 Urbanum tamquam verum summum pontificem et vicarium Iesu Christi et eius obediencie vos subdatis, quia numquam Francia fabricata est ydolum nec monstruo¹⁶⁸ se subiecit. Caveatis de indignacione divina quia super reges¹⁶⁹ populos, naciones,¹⁷⁰ regna ira deseuiet, nisi subiciantur [Basel, 92r, 1] Urbano. Scripta¹⁷¹ manu propria in Gandia¹⁷² die veneris prima Aprilis.
- 245 Eius¹⁷³ humilis avunculus et orator frater Petrus de Aragonia, inter minores minimus humilis Christi servus.”
- Et hec supra dicta credo sufficere mihi secundum viam spiritus ad informacionem consciencie mee quod Urbanus sextus sit verus papa. Taceo autem multa alia propter
- 250 brevitatem ex quibus spiritus meus est plenissime informatus et certificatus de hac materia.¹⁷⁴
- [Basel, 92r, 10] Superius autem¹⁷⁵ dixi quod habui pro consciencia mea satis¹⁷⁶ plenam informacionem per viam facti eleccionis dicti domini Urbani¹⁷⁷ vi^{ti} super quo scilicet¹⁷⁸ multa sint¹⁷⁹ et essent dicenda. Attamen ego breviter narrabo aliqua que vidi et
- 255 audivi tunc temporis dum ibi presens essem Rome et que scio in hac materia.
- Vacante igitur per mortem Gregorii XI sede¹⁸⁰ apostolica Rome fuit ordinatum quod fabricaretur conclave, ut¹⁸¹ moris est in quo cardinales includerentur, ad eleccionem faciendam summi pontificis [Prague 5, 20 from bottom]. Et tunc collegium cardinalium notificavit aliis cardinalibus absentibus mortem pape et quod venirent Romam infra
- 260 decem dies ut iura volunt [Basel 92r, 20] ad eleccionem futuri pastoris ecclesie

162 mi *om.* B

163 est *om.* B

164 nostri BP

165 rex *om.* P

166 exortus estis] ortus existis P

167 quod *add.* BP

168 monstruo se subiecit] monstruose subiecit se B

169 et *add.* BP

170 et *add.* BP

171 Scriptum BP

172 gaudio B

173 Vester BP

174 Sequitur secunda pars principalis. *add.* P

175 eciam P

176 satis plenam informacionem *om.* P

177 pape *add.* B

178 licet P

179 sunt P

180 sede apostolica *om.* P

181 ut moris ... includerentur] *om.* P

faciendam¹⁸². Durante autem isto tempore cardinales in Roma existentes tractabant inter se de persona eligenda ad pontificatum, aliquando convenientes in unum, aliquando latenter divisim per suos secretarios et personas interpositas de quibus confidebant. Et tunc ego eram, licet indignus, confessor unius ipsorum cardinalium qui me de suis secretis et arduis consiliis extra confessionem sepius requirebat¹⁸³ et duos alios suos familiares [Basel 92v, 1] de quibus multum confidebat. Facta autem est tunc¹⁸⁴ ex dispensacione divina contencio inter discipulos, id est, inter cardinales quis eorum videretur esse¹⁸⁵ maior, id est [Prague 5, 10 from bottom], quis eorum deberet prefici et eligi ad sedem apostolicam. Erant enim ex parte una cardinales ^aGebennenses, ^bGlandancenses, ^cBritannenses, ^dLunenses¹⁸⁶ et dominus de ^eAlvernio, qui verbis cavilosis et allectivis traxerunt ad se cardinalem ^fFlorentinum, ^gMediolanum et ^hUrsinum; ex alia vero¹⁸⁷ parte contraria erant domini¹⁸⁸ ⁱLemovicensis et ^jVivariensis, sancti ^kEustachii, de ^lAgrifolio, ^mPictaviensis et Maioris ⁿMonasterii, qui traxerunt ad se dominum cardinalem sancti ^oPetri. Volebant¹⁸⁹ [Basel, 92v, 10] isti cardinales Lemovicenses habere de se papam Lemovicensem more solito et¹⁹⁰ iure quasi hereditario possidere sanctuarium Dei. Sed cardinales quidam Gallici et alii supra dicti adverse partis

¹⁸² faciendum P

¹⁸³ requireret P

¹⁸⁴ extunc P

¹⁸⁵ esse *om.*

a. Robert, Count of Geneva, Cardinal-priest of the Twelve Apostles, called Cardinal of Geneva, later Antipope Clement VII.

b. Bertrand de Lagery, Cardinal-priest of S. Cecilia, called Cardinal of Glandève.

c. Hugh de Montelais, Cardinal-priest of SS Quatour Coronati, called Cardinal of Brittany.

d. Pedro de Luna, Cardinal-deacon of S. Maria in Cosmedin, later Antipope Benedict XIII.

¹⁸⁶ Banenses. B

e. Peter de Vergne, Cardinal-deacon of S. Maria in Via Lata.

f. Peter Corsini, Cardinal-bishop of Porto, called Cardinal of Florence.

g. Simon Brossano, Cardinal-priest of SS. John and Paul, called Cardinal of Milan.

h. James Orsini, Cardinal-deacon of S. Giorgio in Velabro

¹⁸⁷ vero *om.*

¹⁸⁸ dominus P

i. Jean de Cros, Cardinal-bishop of Palestrina, called Cardinal of Limoges.

j. Peter de Sortenac, Cardinal-priest of S. Lorenzo, called Cardinal of Viviers.

k. Peter Flandrin, Cardinal-deacon of St. Eustache.

l. William d'Aigrefeuille, Cardinal-priest of S. Stephen.

m. Guy de Malesset, Cardinal-priest of S. Croce, called Cardinal of Poitiers.

n. Gerard du Puy, Cardinal-priest of S. Clement, called Cardinal of Marmoutier.

o. Peter Tebaldeschi, Cardinal-priest of S. Sabina, called Cardinal of St. Peter.

¹⁸⁹ enim *add.*

¹⁹⁰ et iure ... Dei] *om.* P

hoc nolebant, ne sanctuarium Dei, id est, sedes apostolica possideretur iure hereditario. Et isto tempore mediante applicuit Romam dominus cardinalis [Prague 6, 1 from top] Gebennensis, qui erat Ancone et fuerat capitaneus Britanorum. In tantum denique
 280 augmentata est¹⁹¹ discordia inter cardinales super eleccionem¹⁹² futuri pontificis quod utraque partis¹⁹³ ipsorum clare videbat quod non poterant¹⁹⁴ eligere aliquem de collegio apostolico quia nulla [Basel 92v, 20] pars ipsorum poterat habere duas partes vocum cardinalium ad aliquem ipsorum eligendum, prout iura volunt. Oportetbat¹⁹⁵ ergo eligere in pastorem aliquem virum de extra collegium; nam si aliqua dictarum parcium
 285 cardinalium potuisse¹⁹⁶ pro se habere duas partes vocum cardinalium, certissime scio quod numquam de extra collegium elegissent virum Ytalicum, nec alium, nec timuissent super hoc a Romanis habere aliquam impressionem. Coacti igitur per illam discordiam ex dispensacione divina inter eos exortam¹⁹⁷ [Prague 6, 10 from top] devenerunt ad tractandum eleccionem faciendam¹⁹⁸ de aliquo viro qui esset de¹⁹⁹ extra collegium. Et
 290 tunc²⁰⁰ dominus cardinalis [Basel 93r, 1] Gebennensis, tamquam caput unius partis illorum, videlicet Gallicorum, volebat quod eligeretur dominus Agapitus de Columpna Romanus, tunc episcopus Ulisbonensis capellanus suus, qui iam fuerat capellanus domini cardinalis quondam Bononiensis avunculi ipsius cardinalis Gebennensis, et fecit²⁰¹ dominus Gebennensis ad se vocari dictum dominum Agapitum, dicens ei quod volebat
 295 cum cardinalibus tractare quod ipse dominus Agapitus eligeretur in papam, ex quo impossibile erat eligere de collegio cardinalium. Tunc vero dominus Agapitus respondit prudenter, dicens quod nullo modo [Basel 93r, 10] hoc faceret, quia hoc²⁰² esset ponere scandalum magnum in Roma et in illa patria, ex eo, videlicet, quod in collegio cardinalium [Prague 6, 20 from top] erat unus²⁰³ de Ursinis scilicet, dominus Iacobus, et
 300 in Roma sunt multi potentes et magni domini de domo Ursina, multi eciam de parte adversa, scilicet, de domo Calumpne, qui sunt semper²⁰⁴ quasi inimici ad invicem²⁰⁵ sic ex illa eleccione generaretur magnum scandalum et controversia, propter dictam²⁰⁶ parcialitatem, que viget in Urbe et in illa patria. Auditis ergo²⁰⁷ dictis verbis tunc dictus dominus²⁰⁸ cardinalis Gebennensis dixit ei: “Ergo quid videtur [Basel 93r, 20] vobis,

191 ista *add.* P
 192 eleccione P
 193 pars P
 194 poterat P
 195 Oportebat P
 196 potuisset P
 197 exorta P
 198 eleccionem faciendam] de eleccione facienda P
 199 esset de *om.* P
 200 tunc *om.* P
 201 ipse *add.* P
 202 hec B
 203 cardinalis *add.* P
 204 semper *om.* P
 205 et *add.* P
 206 illam P
 207 igitur P
 208 dominus *om.* P

305 quem debeamus eligere?" Ad quod dominus Agapitus respondit quod esset bonum²⁰⁹
 dominum Bartholomeum²¹⁰ archiepiscopum Barensis vicecancellarium, ex eo quia erat
 multum domesticus et familiaris ipsius cardinalis, et si esset papa faceret quidquid ipse
 cardinalis vellet, et ex eo quod erat dictus archiepiscopus vir litteratus honestus et bonus,
 et sciebat practicam cancellarie apostolice [Prague 6, 30 from top] et modum
 310 expedicionis negociorum et stilum Romane curie. Tunc vero ipse Gebennensis cardinalis
 contentus fuit de isto consilio domini Agapiti et iuravit quod ipse laboraret et faceret
 iuxta vires suas quod dictus Barensis archiepiscopus [Basel 93v, 1] eligeretur in papam.
 Et²¹¹ hec omnia ego in effectu²¹² audivi ab ipso domino Agapito, qui²¹³ mihi²¹⁴ me et
 fratre meo Petro de Yspania ordinis sancti Ieronimi²¹⁵ hec nobis narravit, ponendo
 315 [Prague 6, 30 from bottom] manus super librum decreti et cum iuramento firmabat
 predicta esse vera²¹⁶ per illa sancti²¹⁷ Dei evangelia ibi conscripta. Ecce nota quod sine
 aliqua impressione ante introitum conclavis fuit tractatum et quodammodo determinatum
 per dictum²¹⁸ Gebennensem cardinalem, qui²¹⁹ caput unius dictarum duarum partium erat
 collegii quod archiepiscopus Barensis eligeretur in papam, licet non esset Romanus
 320 [Basel 93v, 10] sed Neapolitanus. Preterea scio et audivi quod tunc temporis, antequam
 cardinales intrarent in²²⁰ conclave, videntes ipsi quod non poterant concordare, ut
 prefertur, de eligendo aliquem de collegio ipsorum in pontificem, devenerunt ad
 tractandum quis esset melior de extra collegium ad eligendum eum in summum
 pontificem, et tractabant de duobus, videlicet de dicto domino archiepiscopo Barensi et
 325 de domino Martino de Calva,²²¹ decretorum doctore, referendario predicti domini pape
 Gregorii [Prague 6, 20 from bottom], nunc Pampilinensi episcopo. Sed quia dictus
 dominus Martinus magis iuvenis et absens erat quia²²² cum²²³ [Basel 93v, 20] cardinali
 Ambianensi ad²²⁴ provinciam Tuscie ad tractandum pacem inter Ecclesiam et Florentinos
 iverat ideo decreverunt dictum dominum archiepiscopum Barensis ibi Rome presentem
 330 eligere in summum pontificem. Et tractatus iste fiebat secretissime per utramque partem,
 et forte utraque pars credebatur quod hoc nesciebat altera. Nam tractabat hoc cardinalis
 Gebennensis ut supra dixi. Tractabant hoc etiam adversarii, videlicet, Lemovicenses²²⁵

²⁰⁹ eligere *add.* P

²¹⁰ Bartholomeum *om.* P

²¹¹ *nota in marg.* B

²¹² in effectu *om.* P

²¹³ coram *add.* P

²¹⁴ mihi *om.* P

²¹⁵ *nota in marg.* B

²¹⁶ esse vera *om.* P

²¹⁷ sancta P

²¹⁸ dictum] predictum dominum P

²¹⁹ qui ... erat] collegii erat unius illarum partium P

²²⁰ in *om.* P

²²¹ Salva P

²²² et P

²²³ domino *add.* P

²²⁴ ad provinciam] in provincia P

²²⁵ Lemovicenses cardinales] Lemovicensis cardinalis P

cardinales, eligere predictum²²⁶ archiepiscopum Barensen in papam et specialiter dominus [Basel 94r, 1] cardinalis de Agrifolio, quia dictus²²⁷ Archiepiscopus erat multum sibi²²⁸ domesticus et specialis²²⁹ servitor. Et sperabant dicti Lemovicenses cardinales quod si ipsum archiepiscopum haberent in papam, statim ipse crearet [Prague 6, 10 from bottom] in cardinalem dominum Nicolaum, filium domini Hugonis de la Rota, Gallicum²³⁰ et nepotem domini²³¹ Gregorii pape, ipsorum consanguineum, et quod rediret ipse archiepiscopus Barensis, si fieret papa, in Avinionem et illuc²³² se transferret et reduceret Romanam curiam. Et ista tractabantur, ut audivi, per dominum Nicolaum de Cremona, tunc [Basel 94r, 10] auditorem domini cardinalis sancti Petri qui modo est Neapolitanus archiepiscopus, et erat tunc familiarissimus²³³ et intimus dicti domini cardinalis de Agrifolio. Qui quidem dictus²³⁴ Nicolaus de Cremona laborabat quod dominus cardinalis sancti Petri adhereret dictis cardinalibus Lemovicensibus, sicut et factum est.

Pendentibus igitur istis, ego scivi a domino cardinali de Luna qui mecum sua consilia conferebat quod negocium electionis fiende erat dispositum ad eligendum dictum dominum archiepiscopum Barensen. Et tunc ego per 3 vel 4 dies [Prague 7, 1 from top] ante introitum conclavis ivi ad dominam Katherinam [Basel 94r, 20], filiam beate Brigide de regno Suecie, et dixi ei quod statim iret ad dictum dominum archiepiscopum Barensen et faceret ei humillimam reverenciam et recomendaret ei efficaciter negocium canonizacionis matris sue beate Brigide, quod²³⁵ tunc pendeat et tractabatur in curia coram papa Gregorio, sed nichil diceret archiepiscopo²³⁶ de materia electionis. Quod et ipsa adimplere non distulit et invenit eum in sancti Petri ecclesia et ibi recommendavit ei dictum negocium canonizacionis matris sue.

Quadam eciam die hora completorii ipse [Basel 94v, 1] archiepiscopus Barensis venit ad dominum cardinalem de Luna ante introitum conclavis forte per duos²³⁷ dies et in recessu invenit me ibi in camera paramenti²³⁸ dicti cardinalis et venit mecum ad quandam fenestram. Et tunc instanter ipse archiepiscopus²³⁹ exhortabatur [Prague 7, 10 from top] et rogabat me quod ego loquerer et²⁴⁰ tractarem cum dicto²⁴¹ cardinali de Luna

²²⁶ dominum *add.* P

²²⁷ dictus *om.* P

²²⁸ suus P

²²⁹ suus *add.* P

²³⁰ Gallicum et *om.* P

²³¹ domini *om.* P

²³² illic P

²³³ familiarissimus] familiaris suus P

²³⁴ dominus P

²³⁵ quod tunc ... Gregorio *om.* P

²³⁶ ei P

²³⁷ duas P

²³⁸ paramenti dicti cardinalis *om.* P

²³⁹ ipse archiepiscopus *om.* P

²⁴⁰ et tractarem *om.* B

²⁴¹ domino P

et cum aliis cardinalibus quod eligerent aliquem probum virum et²⁴² amicum Dei, verum²⁴³ iustum et timentem Deum in summum pontificem, qui ecclesiam Dei reformaret in sanctis moribus et virtutibus, et cetera²⁴⁴. Tunc autem [Basel 94v, 10] ego nolui ei detegere tractatus qui erant de eligendo ipsum, sed dixi ei ad aurem: “Domine mi
365 reverende, modo videbimus et probabimus²⁴⁵ virtutem vestram.” Et sic discessimus ab invicem, quia tarde erat.

Die autem feria quarta ante introitum conclavis scivi ab uno domino de cardinalibus quod ipse intrabat cum intencione eligendi dictum dominum archiepiscopum Barensen in summum pontificem, et illa hora ille dominus recepit sacramenta
370 confessionis et corporis Christi.

Intraverunt denique illa die post comestionem [Prague 7, 20 from top] cardinales in conclavi²⁴⁶ cum tubis et charamellis et aliis instrumentis musicorum²⁴⁷ consolacionis [Basel 94v, 20] et magne leticie, licet aliqui de populo Romano tunc clamabant: “Romano lo volemo o Ytaliano,” sed non dicebant hec cum verbis minatoriis²⁴⁸, sed
375 rogatoriis. Die autem sequenti celebrata missa Sancti Spiritus hora tercię ambulantibus cardinalibus per conclave, tunc²⁴⁹ cardinalis Lemovicensis, qui tunc Penestrinus vocabatur et erat de parte cardinalium Lemovicensium, obiavit domino cardinali de Luna, qui erat adverse partis, ambulanti eciam per conclave et dixit ei [Basel 95r, 1] sic: “Quid videtur vobis domine de eleccione fienda? Qualem eligemus in summum
380 pontificem?” Cui dominus de Luna in effectu sic respondit: “Reverendissime pater, si credatis²⁵⁰ mihi, nos eligemus unum probum virum, venerabilem, [Prague 7, 30 from top] aptum, et famosum, de quo bene provisum erit Romane ecclesie: scilicet, dominum archiepiscopum Barensen vicecancellarium sedis apostolice.” Et tunc dictus dominus cardinalis Lemovicensis multum gavisus est et vocavit dominum cardinalem de Agrifolio
385 ambulantem in²⁵¹ conclave et dixit ei: “Videte quod dominus iste²⁵² cardinalis de Luna dicit quod eligamus dominum [Basel 95r, 10] archiepiscopum Barensen, et certe mihi placet hoc. Quid vobis videtur?” Cui²⁵³ dominus de Agrifolio, respondens, dixit: “Certe bonum est, et [Prague 7, 30 from bottom] mihi eciam multum placet.” Et tunc vocaverunt dominum cardinalem Pictaviensem, et interrogaverunt de intencione sua. Qui
390 respondit idem. Vocaverunt eciam aliquos alios cardinales utriusque partis, qui idem responderunt in effectu. Et tunc dixerunt: “Ergo vadamus et sedeamus ad eligendum.” Congregatis igitur omnibus cardinalibus qui erant in conclavi, sederunt²⁵⁴ per ordinem ad

²⁴² et *om.* P

²⁴³ rectum P

²⁴⁴ et cetera *om.* P

²⁴⁵ aprobabimus P

²⁴⁶ in conclavi *om.* P

²⁴⁷ musicorum *om.* P

²⁴⁸ cominatoriis P

²⁴⁹ dominus *add.* P

²⁵⁰ creditis P

²⁵¹ per P

²⁵² iste *om.* P

²⁵³ Tunc P

²⁵⁴ presederunt P

eligendum, et omnes elegerunt²⁵⁵ dictum dominum archiepiscopum Barensensem sponte et sine impressione in summum pontificem [Basel 95r, 20]. Et hec narravit mihi eadem die
 395 prima hora noctis post completorium dictus dominus cardinalis de Luna cum²⁵⁶ magna leticia, presentibus decano Tirasenensis capellano suo et Iohanne cubiculario sue camere, dicens quod ista tunc tenerem secreta propter Romanos qui credebant dominum cardinalem sancti [Prague 7, 20 from bottom] Petri esse electum in papam, quia invenerant eum in²⁵⁷ capella palatii sedentem cum mitra et cappa apostolica in quadam
 400 cathedra²⁵⁸, licet renitentem et clamantem: "Ego [Basel 95v, 1] non sum papa," et cetera.

Tandem electionem²⁵⁹ sic celebratam noluerunt cardinales statim detegere quia credebant quod displiceret²⁶⁰ Romanis, sed ordinaverunt mittere cedulas unius tenoris ex parte collegii certis prelatibus Ytalicis Rome tunc presentibus, scilicet archiepiscopo Pisano et archiepiscopo Barensi, episcopo Nucerin²⁶¹ et abbati²⁶² Montiscassini, per quas
 405 cedulas notificabat²⁶³ collegium apostolicum sigillatim²⁶⁴ dictis prelatibus quod propter aliqua ardua que emergebant in conclavi precipiebat eius collegium quod statim visa cedula venirent ad conclave, et cetera.

Hiis autem peractis, quilibet [Basel, 95v, 10] cardinalis ivit ad prandium ad cellam suam in conclave²⁶⁵ et dicti prelati Italici [Prague 7, 10 from bottom] vocati
 410 collati²⁶⁶ fuerunt ad prandendum²⁶⁷ in camera paramenti domus papalis, que erat prope conclave. Post hec autem hora none, dum silentium tenerent Romani, dixit dominus cardinalis sancti Petri aliis cardinalibus: "Ecce domini, modo nullus clamat de Romanis, sedeamus²⁶⁸ et iterum eligamus dictum dominum ne postea dicatur quod electio fuisset²⁶⁹ impressiva." Tunc autem sederunt cardinales et iterum elegerunt in
 415 papam dictum dominum archiepiscopum Barensensem.

Hora autem vesperarum, postquam cardinales exiverunt de conclavi, aliqui ipsorum [Basel, 95v, 20] iverunt et incluserunt se in castro sancti Angeli, alii²⁷⁰ iverunt ad castra Zagaroli et Vicovarii²⁷¹, alii vero reversi fuerunt²⁷² in pace ad hospicia sua cum

255 elegerunt P
 256 et P
 257 in capella palatii *om.* P
 258 sede P
 259 predictam *add.* P
 260 displicebat P
 261 Ancerino P
 262 abbate P
 263 notificavit P
 264 singulatim P
 265 conclavi P
 266 collati P
 267 prandium P
 268 sedeamus *om.* P
 269 fuerit P
 270 autem *add.* P
 271 Vigatorii P
 272 sunt P

honore et societate Romanarum²⁷³, scilicet dominus cardinalis Florentinensis, dominus de
 420 Luna, dominus Maioris Monasterii. Et dominus cardinalis sancti [Prague 8, 1 from top]
 Petri remansit in palacio papali. Tunc vero cardinalis Gebennensis, existens in procinctu
 recedendi ad castrum Zagaroli quia timebat populum Romanum, venit ad eum dictus
 dominus Agapitus [Basel, 96r, 1] de Columpna et dixit ei: “Domine, quia multi multa
 loquuntur de eleccione quam fecistis, et nescimus quem elegeritis²⁷⁴ in summum
 425 pontificem, ideo supplico quod dicatis mihi quia paratus sum ire ad eum et iuvare in eo
 quo potero.” Cui tunc dictos²⁷⁵ cardinalis Gebennensis respondit: “Domine Agapite, si
 vultis liberare ecclesiam Dei, vadatis cum comitiva vestra quia magnus²⁷⁶ estis in Urbe et
 cum vestris parentibus custodite bene ista nocte dominum archiepiscopum Barensem, qui
 est absconsus in palacio papali, quia ipsum elegimus et ipse est verus papa [Prague 8, 10
 430 from top; Basel 96r, 10], licet populus credat quod sit papa dominus cardinalis sancti
 Petri.” Et tunc ipse cardinalis Gebennensis armavit se et ivit Zagarolum²⁷⁷ et dominus
 Agapitus cum magna sua comitiva ivit ad custodiam domini archiepiscopi Barenensis, in
 papam electi et ad papale palacium, et stetit ibi cum²⁷⁸ domino papa.

Vespere autem sabbati, id est, feria sexta summo mane, orto iam sole, dominus
 435 Barenensis archiepiscopus electus in papam misit pro cardinalibus inclusis in castro sancti
 Angeli quod est in Urbe, et pro omnibus aliis cardinalibus qui erant in Urbe et pro illis
 qui de Urbe recesserant²⁷⁹, ut omnes venirent ad intronizandum eum et ad²⁸⁰ faciendum
 [Basel, 96r, 20] illas solempnitates et illa²⁸¹ officia eis pertinencia que post eleccionem
 summi pontificis per cardinales fieri moris est. Et tunc venerunt statim dicti cardinales de
 440 intra et extra civitatem²⁸² convenerunt [Prague 8, 20 from top] in palacio pape in capella
 minori. Preparatis igitur ibi vestibus et ornamentis papalibus²⁸³ per confessorem quondam
 pape Gregorii et²⁸⁴ per aliquos de capellanis pape²⁸⁵ ad tergum altaris²⁸⁶ eiusdem capelle
 et clausa capella, tunc dictus²⁸⁷ dominus archiepiscopus²⁸⁸ Barenensis, electus in papam,
 dixit cardinalibus in effectum²⁸⁹ verborum: “Domini et patres reverendissimi, quia [Basel

273 Romana P
 274 elegistis P
 275 dominus P
 276 hic *add.* P
 277 Zagarolim P
 278 cum domino papa *om.* B
 279 recesserunt P
 280 ad *om.* P
 281 alia P
 282 et *add.* P
 283 papalis P
 284 et *om.* P
 285 ipse P
 286 altaris *om.* P
 287 dictus *om.* P
 288 archiepiscopus *om.* P
 289 effectum B

445 96v, 1] dicitur quod me indignum elegistis in summum pontificem, rogo et supplico in nomine Iesu an hoc fecistis voluntario²⁹⁰ et libero animo?" Qui tunc responderunt et iuramento firmarunt quod per aliquam impressionem non eum elegerant²⁹¹, sed libere, et quod electio erat legitima iusta et canonica, sicut unquam fuit²⁹² facta electio de aliquo post sanctum Petrum summo pontifice²⁹³." Et statim sederunt ipse dominus electus et cardinales ordine [Prague 8, 30 from top] debito et in talibus solito. Tunc vero dominus cardinalis Florentinus episcopus [Basel, 96v, 10] Portuensis, quia ad eum spectabat proponere, statim per modum brevis sermonis seu collacionis incepit proponere ad intronizacionem faciendam hec verba Apostoli: *talem decet esse episcopum*, et cetera [cf. Hebrews 7:26] et prosequitus est sermonem suum breviter ordine debito. Ad illa autem
455 [Prague 8, 30 from bottom] verba tunc dominus electus in papam incepit respondere²⁹⁴ eciam per modum sermonis recipiens hoc thema²⁹⁵: *Timor et tremor venerunt super me* [Psalm 54:6], et volebat prosequi sermonem suum ordine debito, et tunc²⁹⁶ cardinales interrumpserunt verba eius dicentes ei: "Non est moris quod vos super hoc faciatis aliquem sermonem, sed quod sedeatis in loco ordinato [Basel, 96v, 20] et quod nos
460 induamus vos vestibus et ornamentis papalibus et intronizemus vos in summum pontificem, et cetera²⁹⁷." Tunc autem exeuntes illi ministri qui ad tergum altaris cum vestibus et ornamentis parati erant, apportaverunt illa coram cardinalibus et statim spoliantes eundem²⁹⁸ dominum electum vestibus suis, dicti cardinales et illi ministri induerunt et ornaverunt ipsum papaliter cum gaudio et leticia cantantes canticum: *Te deum laudamus*, et cetera. Et confestim ordine debito exhibuerunt ei reverenciam [Prague
465 8, 20 from bottom] papalem singillatim²⁹⁹, quilibet ipsorum cardinalium osculando [Basel, 97r, 1] pedem ipsius domini pape, manum et os more in talibus solito, et impositum fuit sibi nomen: Urbanus. Expletis vero predictis, presentaverunt eum cardinales in papam verum et summum pontificem presencialiter gentibus et Romano
470 populo, et per suas litteras domino imperatori, regibus, et principibus Christianis et prelatibus multis³⁰⁰ de gentibus in universo mundo, ordinaverunt eciam de coronando ipsum solempniter in papam in die pasce resurrectionis proximo³⁰¹ futuro.

In die vero³⁰² Resurrectionis preparato pergulo³⁰³ ligneo ad plateam [Basel, 97r, 10] super gradus ante primas portas ecclesie sancti Petri et preparatis omnibus ad dictam

290 voluntarie P
 291 elegerunt P
 292 fuerat P
 293 summum pontificem P
 294 et *add.* P
 295 *nota in marg.* B
 296 domini *add.* P
 297 et cetera *om.* B
 298 illum P
 299 singulatim P
 300 multum B
 301 proxime P
 302 autem P
 303 patguleo P

475 solempnitatem pertinentibus, ubi erat multitudo copiosa gencium et populorum
 diversarum nacionum, videlicet, Ytalicorum, Romanorum, Alamannorum, Gallicorum,
 Yspanorum [Prague 8, 10 from bottom], Ungarorum, Anglicorum, et ceterarum nacionum
 omnium Christianorum qui convenerant pro indulgenciis, tunc cardinales ascendentes
 pergulum³⁰⁴ supra dictum de lignis fabricatum ibi cum maxima sollempnitate et leticia
 480 coronaverunt dictum dominum et dederunt ipsum in papam et vicarium³⁰⁵ Christi³⁰⁶ illi
 universe³⁰⁷ mundo et christianitatis populo, et equitantes [Basel 97r, 20] statim induti
 pontificalibus ornamentis albis duxerunt eum sic sollempniter ad ecclesiam sancti
 Iohannis de Laterano³⁰⁸, ubi celebraverunt maximum festum et eciam compleverunt tunc
 in eo et cum eo omnes sollempnitates et cerimonias que in coronacionibus summorum
 485 pontificum antiquitus servari solent³⁰⁹. Et sic coronatum reduxerunt eum ad sanctum
 Petrum et introduxerunt eum in palacio apostolico.

Nec ego in istis vidi aliquam impressionem, sed summum [Prague 9, 1 from top]
 gaudium omnium ibi astancium, ymmo multum displicuit Romanis [Basel, 97v, 1] quod
 cardinales non Romanum, sed Neapolitanum virum in summum pontificem elegerunt.

490 Post hec autem vidi quod cardinales impendebant ei reverenciam et obedienciam
 et³¹⁰ honorem ut aliis suis antecessoribus summis pontificibus. Veniebant enim ad eius
 consistoria secreta et publica et ad eius consilia. Impetravit quoque³¹¹ ab eo cardinalis
 Glandacensis episcopatum Ostiensem. Et alii cardinales impetrabant pro se ab eo et pro
 aliis officia et beneficia. Plenariam quoque³¹² indulgenciam receperunt cardinales ab eo
 495 tunc et se fecerunt absolvi plenarie [Basel, 97v, 10] de peccatis suis, sicut in aliis
 creacionibus summorum pontificum ex ipsorum consuetudine fieri solet. [Prague 9, 10
 from top] Omnes quoque³¹³ actus exercuerunt cum eodem domino Urbano papa vi^o dicti
 cardinales, quos cum aliis suis antecessoribus summis pontificibus exercere solebant et in
 celebracione missarum et divini officii et in consistoriis et in cancellaria et in
 500 penitenciarum, et cetera. Sed ipse dominus papa incepit statim exasperare dictos
 cardinales, reprehendere, redarguere et increpare suis verbis et gestibus acriter, forte
 minus debito modo et tempore, et presertim dominum cardinalem Ambianensem quando
 rediit ad [Basel, 97v, 20] Romam de Tuscia. Propterea³¹⁴ quadam die, dum essent³¹⁵ papa
 et ipse cardinalis coram aliis cardinalibus in magnis contencionibus verborum extra
 505 modum usitatum in camera, tunc dixit dominus cardinalis Gebennensis dicto domino
 pape sic: “Sic pater sancte,³¹⁶ facitis modicum honorem cardinalibus in verbis [Prague 9,

³⁰⁴ patgulum P

³⁰⁵ Iesu *add.* P

³⁰⁶ toti *add.* P

³⁰⁷ universo P

³⁰⁸ de Laterano] Latheranensem P

³⁰⁹ solabat P

³¹⁰ ac P

³¹¹ Impetravit quoque] impetravitque P

³¹² Plenariam quoque] plenariamque P

³¹³ Omnes quoque] omnesque P

³¹⁴ Preterea *nota in marg.* P

³¹⁵ esset P

³¹⁶ vos *add.* P

20 from top] vestris et gestibus, et non tractatis eos honorifice, sicut antecessores vestri fecerunt. Et ideo forte³¹⁷ nos taliter faciemus quod vos³¹⁸ habeatis³¹⁹ modicum honorem a nobis." Hec autem scio et audivi a domino cardinali de Luna, qui cottidie, quando
 510 rediebat³²⁰ de palacio³²¹ [Basel 98r, 1] multa talia que contingebant, mihi narrabat ore proprio.

Propter que dyabolo instigante incepterunt illico secretissime cardinales, presertim Gebennensis et Ambianensis, tractare de conficiendo scismate. Et tunc miserunt ad regem Francie et ad³²² ducem^p Andagavie dominum Petrum Chambonis, camerarium ipsius
 515 cardinalis Gebennensis ad conquerendum ei³²³ de cardinalibus³²⁴ Lemovicensibus, ut ipse rex scriberet eis verba comminatoria et aspera quia talem virum, et³²⁵ non Gallicum, sed Ytalicum eligerant³²⁶ in detrimentum regni³²⁷ [Basel, 98r, 10] Francie, et ut ex illa comminatione et³²⁸ terrore perterriti, per [Prague 9, 30 from top] ipsos cardinales ordinaretur modus³²⁹ compaginandi hoc scisma, et cetera.

520 Que omnia satis fuerunt postea divulgata in Romana curia³³⁰ multa³³¹ alia scio et habeo in scriptis per informaciones solemnes quas frater meus carnalis, scilicet, frater Petrus de Yspania, fundator ordinis sancti Ieronimi, habuit me presente a³³² multis solempnibus viris iuramento precedente in Romana curia, quando rex qui dicitur Castelle misit eum ambaxiatorem super exploracione et inquisicione istius materie [Prague 9, 30
 525 from bottom] ad Romam et ad Ytaliam, que omnia habeo in scriptis in³³³ civitate Ianue [Basel, 98r, 20] ad informacionem et clarificacionem consciencie mee, per que luce clarius liquet³³⁴ et in verum factum eleccionis, intronizacionis, coronacionis et aliorum actuum quos cardinales tenuerunt in hac materia, dominum Urbanum vi^{tum} esse verum papam et summum pontificem. Et hec sufficere puto ad informacionem mee consciencie
 530 per viam narracionis facti eleccionis et istius presentis materie.

Dixi tercio quod eram informatus per viam iuris de veritate [Basel, 98v, 1] in ista materia; nam licet ego in consciencia mea per modos supra scriptos et per aliqua iura

³¹⁷ forte *om.* P

³¹⁸ vos *om.* P

³¹⁹ habeatis P

³²⁰ redibat P

³²¹ de palacio *om.* P

³²² ad *om.* P

p. Louis I, duke of Anjou, the king's brother.

³²³ ea P

³²⁴ cardinali P

³²⁵ et *om.* P

³²⁶ elegerant P

³²⁷ regis P

³²⁸ et *om.* B

³²⁹ asensus P

³³⁰ et *add.* P

³³¹ et multa *add.* B

³³² et P

³³³ in civitate Ianue *om.* P

³³⁴ liquet et in] lucet secundum P

fuissem plenissime informatus, nichilominus tamen³³⁵ multa contraria audiebam. Volui
 tamen³³⁶ ad maiorem habundanciam clarificacionis consciencie mee et aliorum qui sepe
 535 ad me veniunt³³⁷ [Prague 9, 20 from bottom] pro confessionibus et suarum animarum
 consiliis recipiendis, me adhuc plenius clarificare, quid de iure tenendum esset in hac
 materia. Et in hoc feci sicut mercator volens emere aliquem lapidem preciosum magni
 valoris, qui non plene confidens de se inquit aliquem expertissimum magistrum [Basel,
 98v, 10] lapidarium qui sciat plene et³³⁸ integraliter cognoscere naturas et virtutes
 540 lapidum preciosorum et qui sciat discernere³³⁹ vitrum et³⁴⁰ cristalum fabricatum
 artificialiter ad modum preciosi lapidis a vero precioso³⁴¹ et naturali lapide ne decipiatur
 in empcone illius lapidis. Ita et ego perquisivi excellenciores doctores iuris canonici quos
 ego sciebam in universo, qui oretenus et per ipsorum scripturas et solemnes tractatus,
 545 quos super hac materia composuerunt, me de veritate iuris quid tenendum de papa
 esset³⁴², [Prague 9, 10 from bottom] plenissime informaverunt. Fui enim cum illo
 egregio et excellentissimo utriusque iuris doctore, quondam magistro meo, domino [Basel,
 98v, 20] Iohanne de Lignano, qui tamquam aquila iuris canonici super cunctos mundi
 doctores alcius evolabat, aliquociens³⁴³ in collacione super hac materia, qui
 necdum verbis me clarificabat seriose et latissime, ymo habeo eius tractatum per eum
 550 compositum et dedit mihi quandam pulcram addicionem quam postea fecit super hoc, per
 quam respondit³⁴⁴ rationibus quas Gallici doctores adversarii ponunt in suis tractatibus
 contra eum³⁴⁵. Per que satisfactus remansi in³⁴⁶ hoc negocio plenissime. Fui eciam
 personaliter super hoc puncto cum illo egregio doctore utriusque iuris, domino Baldo de
 Perusio, qui eciam mihi de hoc verbotenus plenissime satisfecit, et vidi duos tractatus
 555 [Basel, 99r, 1] quos edidit de ista materia. [Prague 10, 1 from top] Qui ambo
 decretorum³⁴⁷ doctores mihi dixerunt et³⁴⁸ per suos tractatus clarissime toti mundo
 ostenderunt et denunciaverunt Urbanum esse verum papam rite et canonicè electum et
 summum Romanum pontificem quantum ad claves ecclesie. Preterea postea³⁴⁹ quidam³⁵⁰
 virtuosus et sancte intencionis vir, scilicet dominus frater Petrus monachus sancti

335

quia P

336

tamen *om.* P

337

venerunt P

338

et *om.* P

339

cognoscere P

340

et cristalum] a cristallo P

341

precioso et naturali lapide] et precioso lapide et naturali P

342

me *add.* P

343

aliquociens P

344

respondet P

345

eum. Per *om.* P

346

de P

347

doctorum P

348

et *om.* P

349

post hec P

350

eciam *add.* P

- 560 Benedicti, natione Gallicus civitatis Narbonensis, quondam episcopus Urbevetanus,³⁵¹
 decretorum doctor egregius, me in hac veritate de papatu per suum quendam secretarium
 plenissime informavit, qui episcopus dimisit [Basel, 99r, 10] antipapam et curiam suam
 propter stimulum consciencie, quem habebat, et postea persuasionem³⁵² Karoli³⁵³ regis
 Francie, Parisius residebat in monasterio Celestinorum. Et quia terra illa et provincia
 565 [Prague 10, 10 from top] erat subiecta antipape, ideo captata hora eciam³⁵⁴ inde recessit et
 ad partes Ytalie ad summum pontificem Urbanum se transferre non distulit, quia unam
 literam suam in qua aliquid tractat de hac materia, cardinali³⁵⁵ de Luna per me
 transmittendam, mihi transmisit ad civitatem Ianue cum hac condicione quod prius eam
 legerem. Cuius littere tenor dinoscitur esse talis.
- 570 “Reverendissime pater. Alias, venerabilis pater³⁵⁶, [Basel, 99r, 20], scripsi post
 reversum meum³⁵⁷ de Italia, fui apud dominum regem et prima die Augusti recessi de
 Parisius tendens versus meum episcopatum et verius apud cellam sancti Ieronimi
 Sublacensis et steti Perusio usque nunc, non valens transire ultra propter viarum
 discrimina. Oportebat³⁵⁸ illic flere cum flentibus quia tempus exultacionis abscessit.
- 575 Perscrutans enim diversas scripturas iussu domini Karoli [Prague 10, 20 from top]
 quondam regis Francie volentis ut³⁵⁹ super hystoriis³⁶⁰ Romanorum³⁶¹ pontificum a
 Damaso, rogatu ipsius fratris³⁶² aliquid scriberem concordando canones et practicam
 curie nunc currentem, multa vidi que meam conscienciam ingrossarunt [Basel, 99v, 1]
 contra provisionem factam secundo apud Fundis. Quid enim, ut dicunt aliqui, valere³⁶³
 580 potuit facta electio pro Romana ecclesia ab inimicis ipsius Romane ecclesie? Nec forte,
 ut asserunt, primam³⁶⁴ vim habuisset, si facta fuisset predicta racione a solis cardinalibus,
 sed³⁶⁵ roborata fuit a clero et populo Romano et quodammodo a toto mundo, quia iure
 divino et canonico episcopalis electio ad clerum spectat et populum civitatis. O utinam³⁶⁶
 reperirem qui mee consciencie satisfaceret et racionibus que contra secundam
 585 provisionem obstare videntur!³⁶⁷ venerabilis³⁶⁸ pater, videre opto et valere [Basel, 99v,
 10; Prague 10, 30 from top] feliciter. Novit omnipotens qui actus vestros dirigat ad

351 Urbevetanensis P
 352 persuasione P
 353 Karoli *om.* P
 354 eciam *om.* P
 355 cardinalis P
 356 sanctitate vestre *add.* P
 357 communem P
 358 Oportebat illic] Optabam enim P
 359 aut P
 360 hystoriam P
 361 Romanorum pontificum] Romani pontificis P
 362 factis P
 363 valeret P
 364 prima videlicet P
 365 et P
 366 si *add.* P
 367 O *om.* P
 368 venerabilis pater] vestre taliter paternitati P

utriusque hominis sospitatem. Ad dominum Alfonsum aput Ianuam morantem misi hanc literam vobis destinandam³⁶⁹. Scriptum Perusii, X^o. Marcii.

590 ‘Vester humilis orator Petrus
Urbevetananuss³⁷⁰ episcopus.’”

Quante enim³⁷¹ virtutis et bone consciencie ac perfeccionis hic predictus episcopus est, non sufficio enarrare. Vidi enim, dum ipse suum episcopatum [Prague 10, 30 from bottom] pacifice possidebat, anno Domini m^o ccc^o lxx quarto, quod ipse pervenit ad sanctum monasterium³⁷² [Basel, 99v, 20] Specus Sancti Benedicti in abbacia
595 Sublacensi prope Romam ad 32 miliaria, ubi beati Benedicti laudabiliter observatur regula. Et vocatis in mei presencia priore ipsius monasterii et monachis, proposuit se velle in illa valle edificare quodam monasterium sub vocabulo beati Ieronimi et sub³⁷³ Benedicti regula et dotare eum pro xii monachis, ac eciam renunciare et dimittere suum episcopatum et in ipso monasterio se includere et monachale iter³⁷⁴ ut verus monachus in
600 observancia regule et in paupertate ibidem vivere, statimque fecit fabricari in illa valle dictum cenobium sancti [Basel, 100r, 1] Ieronimi. In quo cuius³⁷⁵ quidem³⁷⁶ monasteriolo³⁷⁷ novo ego fui personaliter. Sed quia istud scisma in ecclesia Dei supervenit³⁷⁸, ideo desiderium [Prague 10, 20 from bottom] suum adimplere nequivit.

605 Quante vero sciencie iste³⁷⁹ episcopus eximius doctor in iure canonico est, attende. Scias enim quod per aliquos annos segregavit se a turbis³⁸⁰ gencium et a dyocesi sua et stetit in dicto monasterio Specus et in castro Sublacensi, ut ibi componeret super decretum unum solempnem librum qui vocatur Codex Canonum, quem iam perfecit et est liber sollempnissimus³⁸¹. Preterea scias quod dictus [Basel, 100r, 10] rex Francie, nomine Karolus, fecit eum venire de³⁸² Avinione ad civitatem Parisius, ut ipse revolveret et
610 studeret ibi omnes cronicas que fuerunt ibi³⁸³ a tempore³⁸⁴ Damasi sancti³⁸⁵ pape,

³⁶⁹ destinandam B

³⁷⁰ Urbevetanensis P

³⁷¹ autem P

³⁷² monasterii P

³⁷³ beati *add.* P

³⁷⁴ monachaliter P

³⁷⁵ cuius P

³⁷⁶ vallis *add.* P

³⁷⁷ monasterio P

³⁷⁸ pervenit P

³⁷⁹ homo dictus dominus *add.* P

³⁸⁰ turbine P

³⁸¹ Item, ipse idem episcopus ibidem composuit duos libros distinctos super regulam beati Benedicti, quorum unus est practicus, et alter est contemplativis, et sunt valde commendabiles libri, quos ipse episcopus ostendit mihi Nicolao Vener, dum secum essem in Avinione. *in marg.* B

³⁸² de Avinione] ad Avinionem P

³⁸³ ibi *om.* P

³⁸⁴ beati *add.* P

³⁸⁵ sancti *om.* P

omnium summorum pontificum et super hiis librum componeret et per illas³⁸⁶ videret
 quid de eleccione domini Urbani et Clementis de iure tenendum esset. Qui quidem
 episcopus ex precepto dicti regis hoc cum magno studio et sollicita [Prague 10, 10 from
 615 bottom] inquisitione perfecit in quo quidem libro concludit Urbanum vitum esse verum
 papam. Perfecto igitur libro de Parisius recessit propter stimulum consciencie et ad
 dominum nostrum [Basel, 100r, 20] dominum³⁸⁷ Urbanum papam ad Ytaliam se
 transtulit. Hec autem bene scit dominus Phylippus de Masseris quia in eodem³⁸⁸ conventu
 Celestinatorum eodem tempore Parisiis fuit commoratus. Ex quo igitur ego fui a duobus
 620 tantis et talibus doctoribus Ytalicis de hoc plene informatus et a predicto episcopo tam
 virtuoso et³⁸⁹ egregio decretorum doctore nacionis Francie, qui dimisso antipapa et sua
 patria et parentibus, propter stimulum consciencie venit ad dominum nostrum papam ad
 partes Ytalie. Intellexi quod sufficiebant consciencie mee [Basel, 100v, 1] tales
 informaciones tantorum virorum ad credendum firmiter et tenendum quod de iure³⁹⁰
 625 Urbanus vi^{tus} est verus papa et in terris vicarius Iesu [Prague 11, 1 from top] Christi,
 maxime quia video quod maior pars Christianitatis, ubi sunt tanti principes,³⁹¹ sancti³⁹²
 viri, tantique prelati solempnes et infiniti magni doctores, qui nec sunt nacionis³⁹³
 Francie, nec Ytalie, et omnes tenent Urbanum esse verum papam. Et ideo istam partem
 tenere decrevi racionibus supra dictis et aliis, quas causa brevitatis taceo.

630 Parcatis mihi³⁹⁴, mi domine, de tam longa scriptura, [Basel, 100v, 10] quia
 consciencia mea et caritas vestra me coegerunt³⁹⁵ ad tam prolixam informacionem meam
 vobis prolixè propter amorem³⁹⁶ Dei amicabiliter reservandi³⁹⁷, precipientes mihi in
 omnibus fiducialiter tamquam vestro. Spiritus Sanctus doctor veritatis, ymo ipsa veritas
 vos et totam ecclesiam Dei illustret cito in hoc et in aliis suo sancto lumine benedicto.³⁹⁸

635

³⁸⁶ eas P
³⁸⁷ dominum *om.* P
³⁸⁸ eo P
³⁸⁹ tam *add.* P
³⁹⁰ papa *add.* P
³⁹¹ et tante *add.* P
³⁹² sunt B
³⁹³ nacione P
³⁹⁴ mihi *om.* P
³⁹⁵ coegerunt P
³⁹⁶ honorem P
³⁹⁷ reserviandam P
³⁹⁸ Amen. *add.* P