

# The latinist poet-vice-roy of Peru and his magnum opus

Bengt Löfstedt

W. Michael Mathes

University of California-Los Angeles

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## Summary

### Diego de Benavides

A descendent of one of the sons of King Alfonso VII of Castile and León, Juan Alonso de Benavides, who took his family name from the Leonese city granted to him by his father, Diego de Benavides de la Cueva y Bazán was born in 1582 in Santisteban del Puerto (Jaén). Son of the count of Santisteban del Puerto, a title granted by King Enrique IV to Díaz Sánchez in Jaén in 1473, he studied in the Colegio Mayor of San Bartolomé in the University of Salamanca, and followed both careers in letters and arms. He was the eighth count of Santisteban del Puerto, commander of Monreal in the Order of Santiago, count of Cocentina, title granted to Ximén Pérez de Corella by King Alfonso V of Aragón in 1448; count of El Risco, title granted to Pedro Dávila y Bracamonte by the Catholic Monarchs in 1475; and marquis of Las Navas, title granted to Pedro Dávila y Zúñiga, count of El Risco in 1533. As a result of his heroic actions in the Italian wars, on 11 August 1637 Benavides was granted the title of marquis of Solera by Philip IV, and he was subsequently appointed governor of Galicia and vice-roy of Navarra. A royal counselor of war, he was a minister plenipotentiary at the Peace of the Pyrenees in 1659, and arranged the marriage of Louis XIV with the Princess María Teresa of Austria as part of the terms of the treaty<sup>1</sup>.

1. The title of Santisteban del Puerto was elevated to duke for the tenth count, Manuel de Benavides y Aragón, on 20 August 1739; the current title holder is Luis de Medina y Fernández de Córdoba of Seville, who is also the marquis of Solera, son of the duchess of Medinaceli who also holds the titles of Concentaina, las Navas, and el Risco. Instituto Salazar y Castro, *Elenco de grandezas y títulos nobiliarios españoles 1986*, (Madrid: Hidalguía, 1986), p. 240, 426, 482, 578, 656, 679.

In that same year Benavides received appointment as viceroy of Peru and embarked from Cádiz in November in the fleet of General Pablo de Contreras. Shortly after sailing, a severe storm arose and, following the loss of seven ships, the fleet was forced to return to port. Reembarking on 10 January 1660, Benavides reached Nombre de Dios, crossed the isthmus of Panama and sailed for Callao. He arrived in the viceregal capital of Lima on 31 July 1661, and there received the transfer of power from his predecessor, the count of Alba de Liste. Benavides had brought a statue of Our Lady of Mercy from Spain and, presenting it to the monastery of San Agustín, he founded a successful confraternity for the support of hospitals. Also, early in his administration, he established a tax in the consulate of Lima for the support of convoys to and from Spain under the House of trade of Seville.

The great wealth of silver in Peru gave rise to perpetual unrest in the vicerealty, and the mines of Potosí was the smuggling of silver in evasion of royal taxes to the degree that it equaled legal production estimated at 2,960,000,000 *pesos* between 1545 and 1661. In December, 1661 a revolt by mestizos involved in silver smuggling in La Paz resulted in looting and plundering, and the death of corregidor and chief justice Cristóbal Canedo, his cousin Juana de Ortega, and other officials. Halted by governor Francisco Herquiñigo and magistrate Agustín Zegarra de las Roelas, the leaders Lucas de Montealegre, Antonio Orduña, Juan Ruiz de Rojas, Alonso de la Fuente, and Juan de Amaya were hanged, and the principal instigator, Antonio Gallardo, was killed while leading an assault on Puno.

In the following year, Benavides named Angel Peredo of the Order of Santiago as interim governor of Chile, and dispatched him with 750 soldiers to control the region against Aracanian hostilities. He also sustained an active campaign against corruption by officials and laxity of punishment for these offenses. Attempts at reform of the systems of forced labor in Potosí under the count of Alba de Liste had been headed by bishop Fray Francisco de la Cruz who had died unexpectedly and was thought to have been poisoned. His successor, Fray Francisco Vergara y Loyola, was sent to establish reforms and halt abuses but he was suborned by corrupt officials and forced labor abuses and exploitation continued. Thus, because of the wealth and power of the miners they were able to dominate local administration, and the viceroy was unable to do much more than hear complaints and confront the constant threat of revolt and violence.

Violent and bloody family struggles between Basques and criollos, disorder, and government corruption in Potosí reoccurred in 1663, and corregidor Gómez de Ávila was called to Lima to answer charges of involvement. He was acquitted but poisoned upon his return to Potosí, and matters continued as usual. In that same year, a large donation was made by Lima to the crown for the prosecution of war against France, and a brief attempt at the establishment of a royal law court in Buenos Aires was made.

On 28 January 1664 the Holy Office of the Inquisition held an auto de fe in Lima, with Manuel Henrique burned at the stake for practising Judaism, and Mencia de Luna burned in effigy for practising Judaism and witchcraft. In the same year, on 12 May, the city of Pisco was destroyed by an earthquake felt in distant Lima, and over 450 residents were killed. In a more positive sense, some success in

reforms of forced labor in textile mills for the payment of taxes was met on 14 July 1664 with the establishment of an ordinance fixing the length of service, hours, value of wages, payment in money under official supervision, food rations, and licenses required for the establishment of textile mills and the use of Indian labor. Forcing work was punishable by death, service in lieu of tithes outlawed, and the involuntary transfer of laborers prohibited. Strong opposition by mill owners and deeply established corruption nevertheless impeded full implementation of these reforms. Other frustrations and setbacks occurred with establishment of a chair in mathematics endowed with 692 *pesos* at the University of San Marcos in Lima and its closure due to insufficient students, and smallpox epidemics causing the flight of neophytes from the Jesuit missions in the province of Maynas.

Violence again broke out in 1665, on this occasion in the mines of Laicacota where the Andalusians José and Gaspar Salcedo formed alliances with their countrymen and Castilians against miners from Cataluña, Galicia, and Vizcaya. The latter took arms against the Salcedo faction, molding harquebus shot from silver, and effectively halted production in the region. The archbishop of Arequipa, Fray Juan de Almoguera, and Angel Perredo with loyal militia were unable to restore order, and Perredo was seriously wounded. Peace did not come to the mines until 1667 when viceroy count of Lemos defeated and executed the Salcedos.

The lawlessness that had plagued Peru since its conquest, the heavy pressure placed on the wealth of Peru by wars in France and Portugal, and, in 1665, riots and violence in the Laicacota mines caused Benavides great concern and contributed to his declining health and subsequent death in Lima in the early morning of 17 March 1666. He left his widow, Ana de Silva y Manrique, his eldest son Francisco, later the viceroy of Sardinia and Sicily, counselor and *grande de España* in 1696; his second son, Manuel, who remained in Lima for a time studying under famed cosmographer Juan Ramón Koenig; and his daughter, Josefa, born in Lima. Administrative succession passed to the royal court presided over by Bernardo Iturrizarra until the arrival of the count of Lemos on 21 November 1667. The lawlessness, corruption, and violence which Benavides had sought to stem, continued in Peru for many years following his death, but his literary works in Latin, a rarity among the many lettered viceroys serving during the three centuries of the Spanish Empire in the New World, remain as his legacy<sup>2</sup>.

### Imprints by Benavides

*In laudem Illmo...Didaci Philipez de Guzman, Marchiones de Leganes*, Milano: 1638 (poem; 14 lvs.); ANTONIO PALAU Y DULCET, *Manual del Libro Hispano-Americano*, (Barcelona, 1948-), (Palau), 27186.

*El Conde de Satistevan, Marqués de Moya, dize: ...*, s.l.: 1643 (vindication of vice-roy marquis of Villena from charges made by bishop Juan de Palafox y Mendoza

2. MANUEL DE MENDIBURU, *Diccionario histórico-biográfico del Perú*, 2nd. ed. (Lima: Imprenta Enrique Palacios, 1932), II, p. 413-429; RICARDO PALMA, *Tradiciones Peruanas* (Madrid: Ediciones Cátedra, 1994), p. 190-193.

- of Puebla); JOSÉ TORIBIO MEDINA, *Biblioteca Hispano-Americana 1493-1810*, (Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1968), (BHA), 6374.
- Horae Succisivae sive elucubraciones*, Lyon: Ioannis Coronneau, 1660. (Engraved frontis, 21 lvs., 388 p.); Palermo: Typis Barbera, 1679. Palau, 27185; BHA, 1310, 1372.
- Memorial en que se representa al Rey...servicios*, Madrid: 1660 (reports of merits and services; 58 lvs., 350 p.); Palau, 27187.
- Licencia*, Lima: 1662. (license to Antonio Gutiérrez Bueno for extraction of silver and excusing two parts of quicksilver from taxation) José Toribio Medina, *La Imprenta en Lima (1584-1824)*, (Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1965), (Lima), 407.
- Relación...Conde de Alva...estado del Perú al...Conde de Santistevan su sucesor*, Lima: 1662 (advice and report on Peru from count of Alba de Liste). Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla.
- Ordenanzas de Obrages*, Lima: 1664 (labor for taxation ordinances). Lima, 428.
- Relación...por muerte...Diego de Benavides*, Lima: 1667. (report on the death of Benavides). Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.

### *Horae succisivae*

Benavides' magnum opus, the *Horae Succisivae*, has become a rarity for bibliophiles, although it appeared in three editions in the seventeenth century. The *National Union Catalog*, 46:34, shows no copy in the public or university libraries of the United States, and only a photocopy of the second edition is listed, taken from the original in the Biblioteca Nacional, Santiago, Chile, and preserved in the Rockefeller Library, Brown University. In this study, page references are to the first edition in the personal library of B. Löfstedt.

The *Horae Succisivae*, published by Benavides' sons Francisco and Manuel, consists of two parts: The first contains poems and so-called elogias to or about persons and places or about important events; the second part consists of an interpretation of the first three chapters of Genesis, attempting to show what a Christian may learn from them in relation to political science. The title of this part is "Oracula divina ex tribus primis Geneseos capitibus ad Christianam politicam expensa." The entire volume is written in excellent Latin, and the metrics of the poetry is impeccable.

Since many of the persons, places, and events mentioned in the first part may not be well known to modern readers, we shall list them with short commentaries. This index will provide an idea of the political, cultural, and religious world in which Benavides lived.

Following the style of his time, Benavides gives indications of the sources and authorities he used while compiling the second part of his book in the margins. However, often such citations are lacking altogether or are incomplete or erroneous. We shall list all sources used in the second part which are not satisfactorily indicated in the first edition; such a list, incomplete as it is, will also reflect Benavides' wide reading in Christian and profane literature. Some, by no means all or even the majority, of the errors in the first edition, have been corrected in the second.

## Index of persons, places and events

Álvarez de Toledo, Fernando, duke of Alba: Piedrahita, 29 October 1507-Lisboa, 11 December 1582; in service of Charles V at Fuenterrabía against France, given command of city, 1524, took Perpignan; command of armies against Protestants in Germany, 1546-1552; continued in service of Philip II against Pope Paul IV and duke of Guise, failure to take Rome, 1557, angered Charles V in retirement in Yuste; captain general of Flanders to crush Protestant rebellion, 1567; harsh repression and execution of counts of Egmont and Horn, defeated duke of Nassau, 1568, and William of Orange, 1572; recalled, 1573 (p. 111).

Alexander VII (Fabio Chigui), pope: Siena, 1599-Rome, 1667; elected pope, 7 April 1655; notable poet, work published in Paris, 1656; founded Sapientia college and provided it with a large library (p. 1-6).

Anthony of Padua (Fernando de Bulloes), O.F.M., Saint: Lisboa, 1193-Padua, 13 June 1231; entered Franciscan order, 1215; missionary in Africa, friend of St. Francis of Assisi; canonized, 1232; doctor of the Church, 1946 (p. 95-96).

Antolínez, Fernando: footsoldier who fought against Moslems (p. 131-32).

Aquinas, O.P., Thomas, Saint (p. 94-95).

Assumption of the Virgin: feast of the bodily assumption of the Virgin Mary to heaven celebrated since the sixth century A.D., fixed on 15 August by Emperor Mauritius (582-602); dogma defined in 1950 (p. 86, 228-29).

Ataulfo, general of Compostela: Visigothic king, 410-415; elected in Cosenza, Calabria; occupied Tarragona against Rome, 414; established court in Barcelona; fortified Río Ebro (p. 101).

Bartholomew, Saint: first century A.D.; apostle; patron of Pontevedra; feast, 24 August (p. 83-84).

Bazán, Álvaro de, marquis of Santa Cruz de Marcenado: Granada, 1526-Lisboa, 1588; naval commander, defeated France off Galicia, 1544, 1554, 1564; fought Turks in Mediterranean, 1561, 1564, 1576, 1579; liberated Corfu, 1570; participated in defeat of Turkish fleet at Lepanto, 1571; occupied Lisboa for Philip II, 1580; fought France off Portugal, 1582; command of armada for invasion of England, 1586 to death (p. 114, 275-78).

Benavides, Álvaro, doctor: nephew of Pedro Benavides, marquis of Navarra (p. 90-91).

Benavides, Francisco, marquis of Navarra, Villafranca, count of Cozentina and El Risco: son of author, succeeded older brother Pedro to titles (p. 143-44, 173-81).

Benavides, Manuel: son of author (p. 143-44).

Benavides, Pedro, marquis of Navarra: -1659; eldest son of author (p. 185-91).

Bernard of Clairvaux, Saint (p. 83).

- Borja, S.J., Francisco, Saint: Gandía, 1510-Rome, 1572; viceroy of Cataluña, 1537; fourth duke of Gandía, 1543; entered Society of Jesus, 1546; third general of the Society, 1565; expanded missions in Americas; canonized, 1671; patron of Spanish nobility; feast, 10 October, established in 1724 (p. 80).
- Caesar, Caius Julius (p. 115).
- Calderón, Rodrigo: native of Antwerp, resident in Valladolid; entered service of duke of Lerma; attained confidence of Philip III and granted Order of Santiago and benefits of Ocaña; captain of German guard and counsellor of state; marquis of Siete Iglesias; accused of poisoning Queen Margarita by enemies, imprisoned and tortured; confessed to killing others; on death of Philip III, ordered hanged by Conde-Duque de Olivares; executed, Madrid, 21 October 1621 (p. 121).
- Catherine of Siena (Catalina de Bemicosa), Saint: Siena, 1347-Rome, 29 April 1380; entered Dominican convent, 1364; sought to end schism and Avignon papacy; canonized, 1471; second patroness of Rome (p. 145).
- Clare of Assisi (Clara Offreducci), Saint: Assisi, 1193-San Damiano, 1253; established Order of Poor Ladies with her sisters and cousin under rule of St. Francis of Assisi, San Damiano, 1212; Poor Clares established throughout Europe; canonized by Alexander IV; feast, 12 August (p. 82-83).
- Contestania: ancient region of Valencia, Alicante, Murcia, and Albacete, and ancient city of Cocentaina; following victory over the Moslems, Jaime I founded church of Santa María in gratitude to the Virgin, 1269 (p. 229-30).
- Coronneau, Ioannes: printer and publisher of Bayonne (title).
- Díaz de Vivar, Rodrigo: Vivar, 1041-Valencia, 1099; commander for Sancho of Castile and later for Alfonso VI; given title of El Cid; fought against Moslems at Toledo, Zaragoza; accused of treason and exiled, became soldier of fortune; took Valencia, 1093-1094 and became ruler; fought against Almoravides in Valencia (p. 118-19).
- Estrada, Famiano, S.J.: author of history of wars of Flanders in Latin, translated to Italian, French, English, and Castilian; published in Rome, Antwerp, Leyden, Sulbac, Paris, Rouen, London, Cologne in 23 editions in seventeenth century and in various later editions (p. 97).
- Felix, Saint: Zaragoza, seventh century, A.D.-718; hermit in San Juan de la Peña; encouraged fighting against Moslems; feast, 29 May (p. 141-42).
- Fermín, Saint: Pamplona, third century A.D.; son of pagan parents, studied under San Honesto; first bishop of Pamplona; to Amiens; martyred 25 September (feast); patron of Pamplona (p. 105, 110, 146).
- Fernández de Córdoba, Gonzalo: Montilla, 1453-Granada, 1515; served Fernando The Catholic against Boabdil at Málaga and Granada, 1487-1492; campaigned against France in Naples and Calabria (Cosenza), named Gran Capitán; defended Italy against Turks, 1499-1502; controlled Naples and Sicily for Aragón (p. 136).

- Fernando, Saint: Castile, 1199-Sevilla, 1252; king of León and Castile, 1217-1252; campaigned against Moslems in Andalusia, 1240; Jaén taken, 1245; Sevilla conquered, 1247-1248; Jerez and Cádiz taken, 1249-1252; canonized, 1671 (p. 120, 124-125).
- Fernando de Austria: El Escorial, 1609-Brussels, 1641; brother of Philip IV; cardinal, 1619; governor of Flanders; broke siege of Louvain (p. 6-13).
- Ferrer, Vicente, O.P., Saint: Valencia, 1350-Vannes, 5 April 1419; entered Dominican Order, 1367; preacher and miracle worker; decided Castilian succession at Compromise of Caspe, 1412; conversion of Jews and Moriscos in Balearic Islands and Valencia, 1413-1416; canonized, 1458; patron of Valencia (p. 79).
- Fines, Juana de: descendant of Fernando II of León; wife of Rodrigo Íñiguez de Biedma (p. 109).
- Fines, Sánchez de: descendant of Fernando II of León (-1188); founder of lineage in Cantabria and Navarra; fought Moslems in reconquest; endowed church in Toledo (p. 134-35).
- Fleet to the Indies, 1659: under command of general Pablo de Contreras left Cádiz in November; forced to return after loss of seven ships in storm; sailed successfully on 10 January 1660; carried Benavides to Panama (p. 115-16).
- Francis of Assisi (Francesco Bernardone), Saint (p. 148-49).
- Francisco de Paula, Saint: Paula, 1416-Plessis, 1508; established monastic order of Minims, 1474; ministered to Louis XI of France, 1482; canonized, 1519 (p. 107).
- Fuenterrabía, Treaty of: Peace of the Pyrenees, 1659, ending decades of war between France and Spain; Louis XIV to marry Infanta María Teresa; Luxembourg and Rousellon to France (p. 146-48, 182-84).
- Genoveve, Saint: Nanterre, 422-Paris, 3 January 512; virgin, holy woman, miracle worker; defeat of Attila attributed to her prayers, 451; patroness of Paris (p. 103-04).
- Gonzaga, S.J., Aloysius, Saint: Castiglione, 1568-Rome, 21 June 1591; entered Society of Jesus, 1585; ministered to plague victims, 1590-1591; beatified, 1605; canonized, 1726 (p. 79-80).
- Guzmán, Diego Felipe de, duke of Sanlucar la Mayor: captain general and governor of Low Countries; defeated France at Vecelli in Lombardy, governor of Naples, 1638; governor of Milan; marquis of Leganés; fought with Thomas of Savoy against France in Italy, 1639; defeated by France in Cataluña, 1642; count of Harcourt siege against Lérida broken by Guzmán as viceroy of Cataluña, 1646; defeated by Portuguese, Olivenza, 1646; died, Madrid, 1655 (p. 20-49, 57-63).
- Hermenegildo, Saint: c. 564-13 April 586; Visigothic prince, governor of Sevilla, converted to Roman Catholicism, 577; attacked by Arian father, king Leovigildo;

captured, imprisoned, tortured at Tarragona, 584; beheaded; patron of Sevilla (p. 100-01).

Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary: popes Gregory XV, 1622, and Alexander VII, 1661 forbade teaching contrary to that of the conception of Mary without original sin; proclaimed article of faith by Pius IX, 1854; feast, 8 December (p. 81-82).

Íñiguez de Biedma, Rodrigo: member of noble family of Jaén intermarried with Benavides family; Enrique Benavides de Biedma, son of count of Santisteban del Puerto, 1614 (p. 109).

Isidore the Laborer, Saint: Madrid, 1080-1130; farm laborer and servant known for charitable acts and holy life; canonized, 1622; patron of Madrid (p. 99, 103-04, 106).

Jacinto, Saint: Bresleu, 1185-Cracow, 15 August 1257; son of count of Korski of Poland; studied in Bologna and received doctorate; returned to Cracow as vicar, founded monasteries in Poland, Prussia, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Russia, Turkestan, Siberia; evangelized in China; famed for miracles; canonized by Clement VIII, 1594 (p. 95).

James the Greater: first century, A.D.-42; apostle; beheaded by Herod Agrippa in Jerusalem, 42; reputedly in Spain in Braga, Iria, Zaragoza, 40-41; body returned to Iria Flavia by boat, entombed; tomb discovered and became center of pilgrimages at Compostela, ninth century; patron of Spanish army (p. 123).

Kotska, Stanislas, S.J., Saint: Kotskow, 1550-Rome, 15 August 1568; son of Polish noble; entered Society of Jesus, 1557; died ministering to the sick; canonized, 1604; patron of Jesuit novices (p. 96).

Lawrence, Saint: Huesca-Rome, 10 August 258; archdeacon of the church of Rome; martyred by order of Emperor Valerian; burned to death on a grate (p. 84-85, 90).

López de Isasi e Idiáquez, Juan, cardinal: tutor of the princes; count of Pie de Concha, Santander, 1638 (p. 13-17).

Loyola, Ignatius, S.J., Saint (p. 89-90).

Lucan, Marcus Annaeus: Córdoba, 39-Rome, 65 A.D.; nephew of Seneca; to Rome; friend of Nero; poet and orator; split with Nero, plotted against him, executed by bleeding (p. 112).

Mazarin (Mazarino), Julio: Pescina, 1602-Paris, 1661; doctor in law; captain of Papal infantry; diplomat, negotiated peace between France, Spain, Savoy, 1630-1631; nuncio to France, 1634; naturalized in France, 1639; cardinal, 1641; succeeds Richelieu as French minister for Louis XIII, 1642; temporary peace with Spain at Westfalia, 1648; alliance with England against Spain, 1655; Peace of the Pyrenees, 1659 after long negotiations with Luis Méndez de Haro ends wars with Spain, Louis XIV to Marry María Teresa (p. 259-66).



- Méndez de Haro y Guzmán, Luis de: Valladolid, 1598-1661; marquis of Carpio; fought against France at Lérida, 1643; minister of Philip IV, negotiated Peace of the Pyrenees at Fuenterrabía, 1659; title of duke of Carpio (p. 56-57, 252-58).
- Montanus (Gerhard Van den Berghe), Gerardus, S.J.: Menin, The Netherlands-; Latinist, editor of Cicero, Salomon, Quintillian, and Aristotle; author of Jesuit martyrology; works published in Mantua, Madrid, Alcalá de Henares; master of Benavides and Oquete (p. 53).
- Moret, José, S.J.: Pamplona-; author of history of the siege of Fuenterrabía in Latin, published in Lyon by Coronneau (1654) and in Valladolid (1655); funerary eulogies of Philip IV in Basque, Pamplona (1655); early history and annals of Navarra in Castilian, Pamplona (1665, 1678, 1684; and later editions); life of Saint Fermín, Mexico (1710) (p. 17-19, 280-82).
- Moura, Margarita de: daughter of Francisco de Moura, marquis of Castel-Rodrigo; ambassador in Vienna; viceyroy of Sardinia; governor general of Flanders, 1664-1668; died without male issue, 1675 (p. 77).
- Navas de Tolosa, Battle of: decisive victory of Castile, Aragón, Navarra under Alfonso VIII of Castile over Moslem forces under Miramolin Alnasir Mohamed ben Yacub, 16 July 1212 (p. 125-26).
- Neri, Philip, Saint: Florence, 1515-Rome, 1595; studied, preached and taught; ordained, 1551; established oratory confraternaties, approved by Holy See, 1575; canonized, 1622 (p. 112-13).
- Nieves, Nuestra Señora de las: avocation of the Virgin in Santa María la Mayor, Rome; in an apparition of the Virgin a Roman noble and wife were requested to build a church on Esquiline Hill; Pope Liberius (352-366) requested a sign supporting this, and on 5 August the Esquiline Hill was covered with snow; church consecrated by Pope Sixtus III, 435 (p. 82).
- Oquete, Diego de, S.J.: Madrid, 1603-1 February 1691; fellow student of Benavides; taught holy scripture, theology, philosophy at Murcia, Alcalá de Henares, Madrid and English Seminary, Rome (p. 53-56, 63-67, 103).
- Pelayo: -Cangas, 737; elected king of Asturias, 714; defended Cangas de Onís against Moslems under Musa; defeated Moslems, Covadonga, 718; halted advance of Moslem invasion; initiated Castilian dynasty (p. 142-43).
- Philip IV, King: Valladolid, 8 April 1605-Madrid, 17 September 1665; coronation, 1621; Conde-Duque de Olivares as controlling minister; inherited conflicts of predecessors in France, Low Countries; appointed author as viceyroy (p. 132-34).
- Pimentel, Pedro, S.J.: Benavente, 1594-Madrid, 5 April 1658; professor of philosophy and rector in Salamanca; captured by French; delivered sermon in praise of Saint Francis Xavier, Pamplona, 1653 (p. 93-93).

- Portuguese revolt: the duke of Braganza proclaimed King Joao IV, 1640; Portugal united against Spanish monarchy, defeated Luis Méndez de Haro at Montijo, 1644; independence definitive under House of Braganza (p. 139).
- Ramírez de Prado, Lorenzo: Zafra-?; judge of council of justice for Philip IV; counsellor of the Indies, 1626; noted poet, publised works, 1612-1622; authored poem for marriage of Benavides to Ana de Silva, 1654 (p. 50-52).
- Ramiro II: -1154; abbot of Tomeras and Sahagún, bishop of Burgos, Pamplona, Roda, Barbastro; king of Aragón, 1134; conflict with Navarra, Castile occupied Tarazona, Calatayud, Daroca, Zaragoza, 1134; Zaragoza returned by Alfonso VII, 1136; abdicated to son in law Ramón Berenguer IV of Cataluña, 1137; reputedly executed all opposition nobility and rang bell of Huesca (p. 122).
- Ramos del Manzano, Francisco: Salamanca-Madrid, 1683; professor of civil law, University of Salamanca; author of numerous historical and legal works, 1623-1672 (p. 266-75).
- Rosary, Our Lady of the: avocation of the Virgin initiated in Dominican monasteries and convents in Bologna, Mantua, Perugia, Padua, Lodi, Piacenza, Milan, 1252-1260; spread throughout Europe by 1500; achieved maximum popularity in Spain; Philip IV ordered daily recital of the Rosary in all churches, 1655; patroness of the navy, Indies, Manila galleons (p. 137).
- Ruiz de Palacios, Franco, doctor: vicar general of Pamplona; granted imprimatur, 1660 (p. 283-84).
- Sall, Andrew, S.J.: Cashel (Ireland), 1613-Clonmel, 20 January 1686; professor of theology, Pamplona; rector of Irish College, Salamanca; gave imprimatur (p. 278-80).
- Sancho II, El Fuerte, king of Castile: c. 1037-Zamora, 6 October 1072; kingdom divided by Fernando I between sons, Alfonso of León, García of Galicia, Sancho of Castile and daughters, Urraca of Zamora and Elvira of Toro; internecine conflict ensued; with El Cid defeated Alfonso at Pisuerga, 1068; Urraca resists conquest at Zamora, Sancho killed (p. 117-18).
- Sancha, Queen of Navarra: daughter of Alfonso III of Castile, married Sancho El Sabio of Navarra (1150-1194), 1159; daughter, Berenguela, married Richard Plantagenet, 1191; son, Sancho El Fuerte (1196-1234) established peace with Castile and Aragón; fought bravely at Navas de Tolosa, 1212 (p. 126).
- Stephen, Saint: first century, A.D.-33; protomartyr of the Church; stoned to death by Jewish high priests for defending Christ as messiah; feast, 26 December (p. 102).
- Tarquinius Superbus, Lucius: last king of Rome, 534-510 B.C.; known for cruelty; rape of Lucretia by son Sextus led to overthrow by Lucius Junius Brutus and establishment of Republic (p. 107).

Tejada y de la Guardia, Diego: descendant of noble in reconquest of Seville; bishop of Pamplona (p. 150).

Teresa de Jesús of Ávila (Teresa Sánchez de Cepeda), Saint (p. 88-89).

Urraca: -965; daughter of count of Castile, Fernán González; married Ordoño of León bringing reconciliation between Ramiro II of León and her rebel father, 946; Ordoño III to throne, 947; conspiracy of Fernán González against Ordoño halted, 950 (p. 117).

Vercelli, Lombardy: site of victory by Diego Felipe de Guzmán in 1638 against French troops under Cardinal de la Valette, envoy of Richelieu (p. 20-49).

Wamba: Visigothic king of Spain, 672-680; conquered Calahorra, Huesca, Lérida, Barcelona, Gerona, Narbona, 673; unified kingdom, defined bishoprics; halted persecution of Jews (p. 119).

Xavier, Francisco, S.J., Saint: Javier, 1506-Canton, 3 December 1552; studied in Paris, 1525-1535; co-founder of the Society of Jesus, Paris, 1534; ministry in Italy, 1536-1540; to Portugal, 1540; missionary to Goa, 1542-1546, to Moluccas, 1546-1546, to India, 1547-1548, to Japan, 1549-1551, to China, 1552; canonized, 1622; Apostle of the Indies and Japan; patron of propagation of the faith, 1904 (p. 94, 99-100).

## Source references

190. *Cogitationes enim mortalium timidae et incertae providentiae nostrae*: Sap. 9,14.

*Illic trepidaverunt timore, ubi non erat timor*: Psalm. 13,5.

*Decidant a cogitationibus suis, secundum multitudines impietatum eorum expelle eos*: Psalm. 5,11.

*Qui te dereliquerunt, fontem aquae vivae, et foderunt sibi cisternas dissipatas, quae continere non valent aquas*: Ier. 2,13.

191. *Proposui pro luce habere illam, quoniam inextinguibile est lumen illius*: Sap. 7,10.

193. *Domine, ut scuto bonae voluntatis tuae coronasti nos*: Psalm. 5,13.

194. *Dabis ergo servo tuo cor docile, ut populum tuum iudicare possit et discernere inter bonum et malum*: III Reg. 3,9.

196. *Si Deus es, tribuere beneficia debes, non sua ab hominibus eripere*: Curt. 7,8,26.

*Regia, crede mihi, res est succurrere lapsis. / Convenit et tanto, quantus es ipse, viro. / Hoc tecum commune diis, quod utrique rogati / supplicibus vestris ferre soletis opem*: Ovid. Pont. 2,9,11 f. and 21 f.

197. *Pestifera vis est valere ad nocendum; illius demum magnitudo stabilis fundataque est, quem omnes tam supra se esse quam pro se sciunt, quo procedente non tamquam malum aliquod aut noxium animal e cubili prosilire diffugiunt, sed tamquam ad clarum et beneficium (read *beneficum*) sydus certatim adulant*: Sen. clem. 1,3,3.

*Reges gentium dominantur eorum, et qui potestatem habent super eos, benefici volantur (read *vocantur*)*: Luc. 22,25.

198. *Donum hominis dilatat viam eius, et ante principes spatium ei facit*: Prov. 18,16.

*Ecce, dominus meus omnibus mihi tradidit (read *traditis*) ignorat, quid habeat in domo sua, nec quidquam est, quod non in mea sit potestate, vel non tradidit mihi, praeter te, quae uxor eius es: quomodo ergo possum hoc malum facere et peccare in dominum meum*: Gen. 39,8 f.

200. *Victoriam et honorem acquirit, qui dat munera; animam autem aufert accipientium*: Prov. 22,9 app. crit.

*Uti militem donis, populum annona, cunctos dulcedine otii pellexit*: Tac. ann. 1,2,1.

202. *Nihil magis in tua liberalitate laudaverim, quam quod congiarium das de tuo, alimenta de tuo, neque a te liberi civium ut ferarum catuli sanguine et caedibus nutriuntur; quodque gratissimum est accipienti, sciunt dare (read *dari sibi*), quod nemini est arreptum*: Plin. paneg. 27,3 f.

203. *Beniamin lupus rapax mane comedit praedam, rapiet praedam, ut vespere dividet spolia*: Gen. 49,27.

*Censebat enim iusto quidem homini satis esse ab alienis abstinere, liberalem autem decere sua etiam ad utilitatem hominum conferre*: Xenoph. Ages. 11,8.

206. *In principio Deus fecit lucem, id est prima die pulchritudinem et ornamentum omnis visibilis creaturae; aufer enim lucem, et omnia in tenebris ignota manebunt, proprium non valentia demonstrare decorem*: Ioh. Damasc. fid. orthod. 2,7 (PG 94, p. 887 A).

*Emitte lucem tuam et veritatem tuam*: Psalm. 42, 3.

207. *Per me reges regnant, et legum conditores iusta decernunt*: Prov. 8,15.

208. *Ad summam: Sapiens uno minor est Iove, dives, / liber honoratur, pulcher, rex denique regum*: Hor. epist. 1,1,106 f.

209. *Non illos reges et principes, qui sceptrum gerunt, neque illos, qui aut a quocumque contigit electi aut sorte aut violentia aut deceptione assumpti fuerint, sed qui regere sciunt*: Xenoph. Memor. 3,9,10.

*Filium mihi natum scito, quod equidem diis habeo gratiam, non proinde quia natus est, quam pro eo quod eum nasci contigerit temporibus vitae tuae; spero enim fore, ut edoctus eruditusque abs te dignus existat et nobis et rerum istarum successione:* Gell. 9,3,5.

212. *Qui ergo huiusmodi belluae curam susceperit, eum varia omnino et multiplici scientia ornatum esse oportet:* Greg. Naz. apol. 44 (PG 20 p. 351 C)<sup>3</sup>.

215. *Ego sum via, veritas et vita:* Ioh. 14,5.

218. *Cum duobus modis, id est aut vi aut fraude, fiat iniuria, fraus quasi vulpeculae, vis leonis videtur. Utrumque alienissimum ab homine est; sed fraus odio digna maiore:* Cic. off. 1,13,41.

219. *Vere soror mea est, filia patris mei et non filia matris meae, et duxi eam in uxorem:* Gen. 20,12.

220. *Habeat sibi; certe mendacii arguere nos non potest:* Gen. 38,23.

*Habeat sibi, ut non simus despectui Hebraeus autem textus apud Lyrantum ita effert:* Nicolaus de Lyra ad loc. (Biblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria [...] et postilla Nicolai Lyrani, Douai 1617, S. 397).

223. *Monstrabo tibi, cuius rei inopia laborent magna fastigia, quid omnia possidentibus desit: Scilicet ille, quid (read qui) verum dicat et hominem inter mentientes stupentem ipsaque consuetudine pro rectis blanda audiendi ad ignominatam viri (read veri) productum (read perductum) vindicet a consensu concentuque falsorum:* Sen. benef. 6,30,3.

*Huius mundi sapientia: cor machinationibus tegere, sensum verbis velare, quae falsa sunt vera ostendere, quae vero (read vera) falsa demonstrare:* Greg. M. moral. 10,29,48 (CC 143 p. 570,1-4).

225. *Dixit ei Pilatus: Quid est veritas?, et cum hoc dixisset, iterum exivit ad Iudaeos:* Ioh. 28,28.

228. *Contra potens malum et apud nos gratiosum, dum conspicimus, dum nostris sumus, advocemus:* Sen. ira 3,13,4.

229. *Dii illum male perdant, animo magis quam conditione mancipium. Eius rei laudator fuit, cuius nimis erat spectatorem fuisse:* Sen. ira 3,14,3.

*O regem cruentum, o dignum, in quem omnium suorum arcus verterentur. Cum execrati fuerimus illum convivia suppliciiis funeribusque solventem, tamen sceleratius telum illud laudatum est quam missum:* Sen. ira 3,14,4.

3. The translation by Rufinus (CSEL 46, p. 36) is different.

230. *Quod tam infidum mare quam blanditiae principum illorum, quibus tanta levitas, tanta fraus, ut facilius esset iratos quam propitios habere: Plin. paneg. 66,3.*
231. *Terror et metus et misera illa ex periculis facta prudentia monebat, ut a republica (erat autem omnino nulla respublica) oculos, aures, animos averteremus [...] neque enim unquam deceptus est princeps, nisi qui prius ipse decept: Plin. paneg. 66,5.*
233. *Quindecim cubitis altior fuit aqua super montes, quos operuerat: Gen. 7,20. Se fuisse, prius quam montes gravi mole consisterent: Prov. 8,25.*  
*Hic plane sciendum est, quia, si terra aequalis ubique iaceret, non levior quam in mari ventorum tempestas in ea regnaret: Rupert. Tiut. Trin. 34 (PL 167 p. 229 A = CCcm 21 p. 163, 1312-1314).*
235. [...] ut [...] pares negotiis neque supra sint: Tac. ann. 6,39,3.
236. *Iter impiorum decipit eos: Prov. 12,26.*  
*Catullus Nonnum [...] strumam indignabundus appellavit: Catull. 52,2.*  
*Nam si eo abiectior est, quo magis a pluribus quisque contemnitur, cum reverendos facere nequeat, quos pluribus ostentat, despectiores potius dignitas improbos facit: Boeth. cons. 3 pros. 4,9.*
238. *Reduunt namque improbi parem dignitatibus vicem, quas sua contagione commaculant: Boeth. cons. 3 pros. 4,10.*  
*Ad ornatum palatii credimus aptas dignitatibus personas eligere, quia de claritate servientium crescit fama dominorum: Cassiod. var. 4,3 (ed. Mommsen p. 115, 16 f.)*  
*Actus enim tui principis opinio est, et sicut penetrabile domus de foribus potest congruenter intellegi, sic mens praesulis de te probatur agnosci. Non iniuria, quia talem unusquisque ad responsa sua videtur eligere, qualem se cunctos decreverit aestimari: Cassiod. var. 11,6,3 (ed. Mommsen p. 335,17-20).*
239. *Omnino monetae debet integritas quaeri, ubi et vultus noster imprimitur et generalis, utilitas invenitur. Quidnam erit tutum, si in nostra peccetur effigie?: Cassiod. var. 7,32,1 (ed. Mommsen p. 219,3 f.).*
241. *Pompa meritorum est regale iudicium, quia nescimus ista nisi digna (read dignis) impendere: Cassiod. var. 1,12,1 (ed. Mommsen p. 20,17).*  
*Tamen iudicii nostri culmen excelsum est, cum qui a nobis provehitur praecipuus et plenus meritis aestimatur. Quid enim maius quaeritur quam hic invenisse laudum testimonia, ubi gratificatio non potest esse suspecta? Regnantis*

*quippe sententia iudicium de solis actibus sumit, nec blandiri dignatur animus potestate munitus*: Cassiod. var. 1,3,1 f. (ed. Mommsen p. 12,18-25).

247. *Unum ille se ex nobis, et hoc magis excellit atque eminent, quod unum ex nobis putat*: Plin. paneg. 2,4.

*Antiqua sententia est, quem metuit quid odit, quem odit periisse cupit. Non quaeris monachos tibi esse subiectos; ideo magis subiectos habes [...] nemo plus impetrat a libero, quam qui servire non cogit*: Hier. epist. 82,3 (Budé vol. 4 p. 114,30-115,10).

249. *Qui scorpionibus caedit et lumbis patris habere se putat digitos grossiores, cito regnum mansueti Dauid dissipat*: Hier. epist. 82,3 (Budé vol. 4 p. 115,13-15).

252. *Descendit autem Dominus, ut videret civitatem et turrim, quam aedificabant filii Adam*: Gen. 11,5.

*Nota, quod in hoc modo loquendi docet rectum et orinarium processum iudicii. Nam culpa prius debet esse certa iudici; et ideo oportet, ut ipse vel ad se convocet iudicandos aut, si hoc modo bono fieri potest, quod ipse vel per se vel per subdelegatos iudices ad loca eorum accedat*: Ps. Thomas, or rather Petrus Johannes Olivi, Postilla in librum Geneseos (Thomas Aquin., Opera omnia Bd. 23, Parma 1869, p. 49 B).

253. *Amantum caeca esse iudicia*: Hier. in Os. 3,3,4 (CC 76 p. 109,144 f.).

256. *Concordia parvae res crescunt, discordia maximae dilabuntur*: Sall. Iug. 10,6.

258. *Nox praecessit, dies autem appropinquavit*: Rom. 13,12.

*Gloria in excelsis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis*: Luc. 2,14.

260. *Dicitur (sc. Deus) complevisse die septimo opus suum, quia ipsum benedixit et sanctificavit; opus enim est benedictio et sanctificatio*: cf. Aug. Gen. ad litt. 4,8 (CSEL 28:1 p. 103,22 f.).

261. *Requies ponitur pro contemplatione desiderii, et sic Deus requievit in se ipso*: Nicolaus de Lyra ad Gen. 2,1 (Biblia sacra cum Glossa ordinaria [...] et postilla Nicolai Lyrani [Douai 1617] p. 59).

262. *Pater meus usque modo operatur, et ego operor*: Ioh. 5,17.

*Non quia bonum, idcirco auscultare debemus, sed quia Deus praecipit. Ad exhibitionem obsequii prior est maiestas divinae potestatis; prior est autoritas imperantia quam utilitas servientis*: Tert. paenit. 4,6.

263. [...] *ut Moysis gesta, legis oracula et prophetarum dicta cognosceret*: Ambros. in Psalm. 118 serm. 18,4 (CSEL 62 p. 398,4 f.).

264. *Antiquus ad salutem publicam rati, si magistratus deos suspicerent, quam hostes superarent*: Plutarch. Marc. 4,4.
265. *Quod communiter omnibus prodest, hoc rei privatae, nostrae utilitati praefendum censemus, nostrum esse proprium subditorum commodum imperialiter existimantes*: Cod. Iust. 6,51,14a (ed. Krueger, Corp. Iur. Bd. 2 p. 282).
266. *Et aedificavit Dominus Deus costam, quam tulerat de Adam, in mulierem*: Gen. 2,22.  
*Itaque illud patrocinium orbis terrae verius quam imperium poterat nominari*: Cic. off. 2,8,27.
267. [...] *cathedra pestilentiarum, ube aër, qui superiacebat, scelestis vocibus constupratus*: Tert. spect. 27 (CC 1 p. 250,12 f.).
269. *Quando influentibus negotiis paria fecisti, instar refectionis existimas mutationem laboris. Quae enim remissio tibi, nisi lustrare saltus, excutere cubilibus feras, superare immensa montium iuga et horrentibus scopulis gradum inferre atque inter haec pia mente adire lucos, occurrare numinibus?*: Plin. paneg. 81,1.
270. *Erat autem populus iucundus secundum faciem sanctorum*: Iudith 16,24.
275. *Proposuit mensam suam, misit ancillas suas, ut vocarent ad arcem et moenia civitatis*: Prov. 9,2 f.
278. (*Henricus, rex Anglorum*) *cum ab exercitu regis Gallici circumventus esset ann. 1415 [...] militibus suasit, ut numine invocato alter alteri pauxillum terrae porrigeret ob memoriam venerandi Eucharistiae sacramenti eiusque ope freti proelium animose committerant [...]*: vgl. Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, Opera (Basel 1551) p. 490 f.
282. *Monstrat tolerare labores, non iubet*: Lucan. 9,588 f.  
*Nec ille segne aut corruptum luxu iter. Sed lorica ferrea usus et ante signa pedester horridus, incomptus famaeque dissimilis*: Tac. Hist. 2,11.
283. *Cum in illa meditatione campestri militaribus turmis imperatorum pulverem sudoremque misceres, nihil a ceteris nisi robore et praestantia differens*: Plin. paneg. 13,1.
286. *Surgit ipse rex, filius regis, et lapidantium acies interrumpens, triumphatori certaminis non sine dolore cordis assistit [...] Ubi pietas et misericordia tua, Domine, si non compateris patienti?*: Petrus Damiani serm. 62 (PL 144 p.853 D).



287. *Videtur Dominus stans a dextris virtutis Dei, ne Patre minor esse putetur; stat cum stante, cum bellante bellatur, qui lapidatur in lapidato*: Petrus Damiani, serm. 62 (PL 144 p. 855 D - 856 A).
288. *Quod magna sapientia praeditus fuerit Adam, disce ex his quae nunc fiunt: [...] Nam hominibus mos est hoc facere in signum dominii, ut cum servos emerint, ipsorum nomina mutant. Unde et Adam instruit, ut omnibus brutis tamquam dominus nomina indat*: Ioh. Chrysos. serm. in Gen. 14,5 (PG 53 p. 116).
290. *Et posuit solium eius super omnes principes, quos habebat, cunctique servi regis, qui in foribus palatii versabantur, flectebant genua et adorabant Aman; sic enim praeceperat eis imperator*: Esther 3,1 f.  
*quia videlicet Aman aegre tulit, quod Mardocheus accusavit eunuchos Regi, qui erant amici Aman atque (ut aliqui opinantur) cupiebant promotionem ipsius Aman in Regem*: Dionysius Chartusianus, Enarratio in librum Esther, cap. XII nr. XII (Montreuil 1898, vol. 5, p. 196).
292. *Non firmis radicibus nititur amor indebitus, et cito ad examen reducitur, quidquid gratiae aura surripuit*: Ennod. epist. 3,11 (ed. Vogel nr. 78 p. 84,1 f.).
297. *Fuit enim Cainus hac plaga divinitus afflictus (rather: affectus), ut timore concuteretur et stabilis non esset, quo scilicet fraternae caedis admoneretur*: Wilhelm Hamer, Commentationes in Genesim (Dillingen 1564) p. 55.
298. *Ficta cito in naturam suam recidunt. Quibus veritas subest quaeque, ut ita dicam, ex solido nascuntur, tempore ipso in maius meliusque procedunt*: Sen. clem. 1,1,6.  
*prudentes sicut serpentes et simplices sicut columbae*: Matth. 10,16.
299. *sicut aspidis surdae et obturantis aures suas, quae non exaudiet vocem incantantium et venefici incantantis sapientes*: Psalm. 57,5 f.  
*serpens alteram aurem terrae vel petrae admovet atque apprimat, alteram vero cauda obturat*: vgl. Aug. ad loc. (CC 39 p. 715,38 f.).
304. *Prius habebat (sc. serpens) formam et faciem gratiosam super omnes bestias, et factus est horribilior omnibus*: Nicolaus de Lyra ad Gen. 3,14 (Biblia sacra cum Glossa ordinaria [...] et postilla Nicolai Lyrani [Douai 1617] p. 104).
307. *Magnas divitias promittunt et dragma petunt, et iis divitiis sibi deducant dragma, reddant cetera*: Cic. divin. 1,132.
308. [...] *visas serpentes anserinis pedibus*: Plin. mai. nat. 11,107,257.
312. *Per terram peccatorem intellegimus. Unde serpenti a Domino dictum est: Terram comedes omnibus diebus vitae tuae. Antiquus enim hostis terram come-*

*dit, quia peccatores quosque in ventrem suae malitiae abscondit:* Ps. Greg. M. in sept. psalm. poent. 5,22 (PL 76 p. 617 A).

313. *Sicut hoc reptile, cuius calliditate abusus es, super pectus suum graditur et se ipsum in terram premit, sic tu, diabole, cum sis rationalis spiritus, rationale tuum semper gravi fatuitate onerabis, et quocumque te verteris, intentionem tuam deorsum conteres et factis premes contrariis:* Rupert. Tiut. Trin. 3,18 (PL 167 p. 304 A = CCcm 21 p. 254,770-775).

314. *Cibus eius electus:* Hab. 1,17.

*Neque enim eos se gaudet rapere, quos pravis ac sordidis actionibus implicatos in imis secum respicit voluntariae iacere. Foenum ergo ut bos comedere appetit, quia suggestionis suae dente contere mundam vitam spiritualium quaerit:* Greg. M. moral. 32,13,18 (CC 143 B p. 1643,18-22).

*Terram comedes, et non caelum: hoc est non quorum conversatio in caelis est, sed quia terrena sapiunt, illi cibus tuus erunt. Malus operarius et nequam servus, Deo tamen utilis, fatigationem iracundiae tuae talium devoratione consolaberis:* Rupert. Tiut. Trin. 3,18 (PL 167 p. 304 C = Cccm 21 p. 255,786-789).

*Invidendo enim evacuasti meritum hominis. Sed hoc facto gratiae Dei locum aperuisti. Cui amplius invidebis, dum homo se ipso tanto fit altior, quanto gratia Dei cuiusque creaturae meritis est maior:* Rupert. Tiut. Trin. 3,18 (PL 167 p. 304 B = Cccm 21 p. 254,775-225,778).

317. [...] *ut nullum bonum abesset homini, quod recta voluntate optare posset, nullumque malum adesset, quod hominis feliciter viventis carnem et animam offenderet:* Aug. civ. 14,10 (CC 48 p. 430,10-12).

320. *Non est haec multiplicatio benedictionis, sed damnationis, non gratiae, sed irae. Mulier quippe quanto fecundior tanto aerumnosior:* Rupert. Tiut. Trin. 3,22 (PL 167 p. 308 B).

321. *Nos omnibus hominibus, nobis autem mulieres dominantur:* Plutarch. Cato Maior 8,2.

*Non contenta transgressione propria, postquam comedit, viro dedit:* Rupert. Tiut. Trin. 3,22 (PL 167 p. 306 D).

325. *Opera hic non ruris colendi, ut plerique putant, sed peccata significant:* Hier. quaest. Hebr. in Gen. 3,17 (CC 72 p. 6,21 f.).

*Terra maledicitur, non Adam, ut cuncti, propter quos haec scripta sunt, terrentur, ne similia facientes simili poena plecterentur:* Ps. Wal. Strabo ad Gen. 3,17 (Glossa ordinaria, PL 113 p. 95).

*Ipsa vero Cain, qui primae praevagationi fratricidium addidit, maledicitur, cum dicitur: Maledictus eris super terram: ib.*

326. *Parvulum occidit invidia*: Iob 5,2.

327. *Ipse se angelo ferienti obtulit*: Ambr. apol. Dav. 1,7,38 (CSEL 32:2 p. 323,6).

*Ego sum qui peccavi. Vertatur, obsecro, manus tua in me et in domum patris mei, populus autem tuus non percutiatur*: I Paral. 21,17.

328. *Esurivi et non dedistis mihi manducare; sitivi et non dedistis mihi potum; hospes eram et non collegistis me*: Matth. 25,35.

*In omni enim pauperum numero non est universorum omnium una paupertas. Sunt enim aliqui, quibus etsi vestimenta desunt, alimenta non desunt...Christus tantummodo est solus, cui nihil est, quod in omni humano genere non desit*: Salv. eccl. 4,4,21 f. (CSEL 8 p. 307,18-25).

329. *Quoscumque luctus fleveris, flebis meos. / Sua quemque tantum, me omnium clades premit. / Mihi cuncta pereunt; quisquis est, Hecubae est miser*: Sen. Tro. 1060-1062.

330. *In multitudine populi dignitas regis, et in paucitate plebis ignominia principis*: Prov. 14,28.

332. *Si beatos explicare possunt, nihil causae est, quin pecudes quoque beatæ esse dicantur, quarum omnis ad explendam corporalem lacunam festinat intentio*: Boeth. cons. 3 pros. 7,4.

[...] *quarum appetentia quidem plena est anxietatis, satietas vero paenitentiae [...] Tristes vero esse voluptatem exitus, quisquis reminisci libidinum suarum volet, intelliget*: Boeth. cons. 3 pros. 7,1-3.