

HUGH OF SAINT-CHER

[QUESTIONS ABOUT ANGELS AND DEMONS]*

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HUGO DE SANCTO CARO
OPUS. LIBER II. PARS III
DISTINCTIONES VII–VIII

HUGH OF SAINT-CHER
THE WORK. BOOK II. PART III
DISTINCTIONS VII–VIII

DISTINCTIO VII

DISTINCTION VII

5 <Q. 7.1> PROBACIO QUOD NULLI
ANGELI POSSUNT MERERI VEL
DEMERERI

<Q. 7.1> ANGELS CANNOT GAIN OR LOSE MERIT 5R

1. Supra dictum est et cetera.
10 Sed cum nec boni peccare et ce-
tera. Si boni angeli non possunt
facere malum neque uelle, simili-
15 ter mali non possunt facere bo-
num neque uelle, ergo neque hii
neque illi uidentur posse mereri
uel demereri. Sed dicimus quod
in non posse facere uel uelle ma-
lum et similiter in non uelle et
non facere malum nullum est me-

1. It was mentioned above etc. But
since good angels cannot sin etc. If good
angels cannot neither do nor desire evil
and in the same way evil angels cannot
neither do nor desire good, then both
cannot gain or lose merit. But we say
that there is no merit in the impossi-
bility to do or will evil and similarly in
not willing or not doing evil; this does
not concern the free will but merit con-
sists in making or desiring good. It is 15R

3 V: 51ra–52va; P₁: 35vb–37vb; B: 42va–43vb; A₁: 46rb–47vb; A₂: 46ra–47va; P₂: 103vb–105va

4 VII] *marg. M₂ quod artes magice et prestigia sint reprobata lege in secundo libro De doctrina
kristiana Augustini et in libro LXXV questionum in questione LII A₂ 9 nec] om. VP₁BA₁A₂
11–13 similiter ... bonum] marg. V 13 neque uelle] om. V 14 uidentur posse] possunt V*

*© Philosophy. Journal of the Higher School of Economics. Translation: © Fedor Nekhaenko (ORCID: 0000-0002-0777-8443). Original: Hugo de Sancto Caro. “Opus” [in Latin]. In *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*. Città del Vaticano. Ms. Vat. lat. 1098; In *Fondo Antico presso la Biblioteca del Sacro Convento*. Assisi. Mss. 130, 131; In *Hoofdbibliotheek Biekorf*. Brugge. Ms. 178; In *Bibliothèque nationale de France*. Paris. Mss. lat. 10728, 3073.

ritum nec hoc respicit liberum
 20 arbitrium, sed in hoc quod est fa-
 cere uel uelle bonum, quod cessa-
 re non dicitur liberum arbitrium,
 quia flecti possit ad utrumque,
 sed quia possit eligere quod sibi
 25 placet, supra v distinctio: *habe-*
bant et cetera. De prodigo filio
 super Lucam XV: solus deus est
 <quem peccatum cadere non po-
 test> etc, hanc auctoritatem ex-
 30 ponit magister infra, non ergo
in utramque partem flecti pos-
sunt secundum statum creatio-
nis; omnis creatura in libero ar-
bitrio unde uidetur innuere quod
 35 in deo non sit liberum arbitrium,
 sed aliter est in domino liberum
 arbitrium, aliter in angelis siue
 in aliis.

2. Ad utrumque flecti pos-
 40 sunt uerum est naturaliter id est
de prima condicione malum re-
spuunt, in malis angelis non est
necessitas ad malum impellens,
 45 sed ex gratia substracta neces-
sitas deficiendi a bono, habent
etiam post lapsum naturalem po-
tenciam faciendi bonum, sed non
habilitatem. Multo liberius in-
 50 tensio libertatis attendatur se-
cundum maiorem elongationem
a seruitute, licet autem in angelis
nulla esset ante confirmacionem
seruitus, tamen poterat in eis es-

not supposed to be chosen by the in-
 stance of free will which can bend to-
 ward each side. However, since an angel
 20R can choose what he likes, as it was as-
 serted in the fifth distinction above: they
 had etc. About the prodigal son Luke
15:11-24: only God is in whom one could
not fall into the sin, the teacher explains
 25R this authority below, therefore, others
cannot bend in each part by the free
will according to creature's condition,
all creatures made with the free will,
 30R whence it seems that there would be no
 free will in God, though the free will
 exists differently in God and in angels
 or in other creatures.

2. But they could turn to both, nat-
 35R urally, that is in the first condition, an-
gels rejected evil, there is no necessity
for malevolent angels to impel towards
bad. Nevertheless, without grace there
is a necessity to fail from good, they
 40R even have natural potency but not an
ability to do good after the fall. More
freedom in, they are inflamed with the
intensity of freedom according to bigger
redemption from the servitude, though
 45R among angels none would be a slave be-
fore the confirmation, yet a slave of the
sin can exist among them. Nevertheless,
after the confirmation he could not exist;

26 V: fol. 50v

39 Ad] *add.* siue *P*₁

26-29 Lc. 15:11-24

se seruitus peccati, sed post confirmacionem non potuit, et ideo magis fuit elongatum tunc liberum arbitrium a seruitute quam ante, et ideo liberius fuit.

3. Triplex est libertas a culpa, miseria, coactione. Item in libero arbitrio est aliud libertas, aliud potestas. Libertas dicitur respectu coactionis, quia non potest cogi, potestas respectu actionis, quia non potest cadere id est potens agere quo ad libertatem eque liberum est modo ut ante peccatum, quo ad potestatem corruptum est et debilitatum; non potest seruire peccato Iohannes VIII: qui facit peccatum; ad Romanos VI: sicut exhibuistis; natura creaturarum celestium mori potuit spiritualiter scilicet, peccare potuerunt, hoc uidetur falsum quia adhuc naturaliter id est de natura sue conditionis peccare non possunt; ideo sic construe litteram: post confirmacionem non potest pec | 51rb | care sicut ante, quod scilicet erat de natura uel sicut ante, id est ita de facili uel de natura non potest peccare, quia plus ualet in eis gratia quam natura.

4. Viuaci sensu id est sciencia naturali. Notandum quod synde-

therefore, the liberation of free will from the servitude was bigger than before the confirmation, thus an angel had more freedom. 50R

3. The freedom from guilt of the miserable constraint is threefold. Similarly, regarding the instance of free will freedom is one thing, power is another. Freedom is said in relation to the constraint since it is impossible to understand the power to act in relation to actions. Since it is impossible to fall, that is one can act in the only way that leads to equal freedom as before the sin, by which one was corrupted and weakened in his power, it is impossible to serve the sin, Jn. 8:34 who sins; Rom. 6:19 just as you used to offer yourselves; celestial creatures' nature could perish, spiritually, that is one can sin that seems to be false because hitherto angels cannot sin naturally due to their natural condition. For that reason, adhere to the following account: after the confirmation one cannot sin as before, being confirmed insofar as evident that the angel existed according to nature; or as before the confirmation, that is in such an easy way or by nature one cannot sin because grace outweighs nature in them. 55R 60R 65R 70R 75R

4. A lively sense, that is of natural knowledge. It should be noted that the 80R

59 Triplex est libertas | marg. Quod triplex est libertas P_1 triplex est libertas P_2 60 Item | add. quod triplex est libertas A_1 85 gratia | terra V 87-88 synderesis | marg. M_2 quod synderesis in quantumcumque uiatore non est extincta nec in demonibus quo ad unam partem A_2

71-72 Io. 8:34 72-73 Rom. 6:19

90 resis duo facit: discernit bonum
 a malo; eligit bonum, malum fu-
 git quo ad primum ratio in demon-
 95 nibus non est penitus extincta,
 sed quo ad secundum omnino ex-
 tincta est, sed in uiatore quantu-
 mcumque malo non est extincta
 100 synderesis neque quo ad primum
 neque quo ad secundum. Subti-
litace nature quanto quis subti-
 lioris est, naturale tanto perspi-
 caciore est ingenis. Ab omnipo-
 105 tenti deo discunt ut cum deus
 per bonos angelos reuelat de om-
 nibus, quod completa sunt pec-
 cata eorum et quod tempus est
 ut puniantur per eos; diuinando
 110 quia per coniecturas et scienciam
 astrorum quam habent presciunt
 ipsi quedam futura et secundum
 hoc proponunt se aliquid factu-
 ros et aliquid predicunt, potencia
 115 dyaboli est a deo, non actus; quo-
rum sciencia sciencia dicit, quia
 sciunt per que incantaciones fieri
 possunt; uirtute dicit quia pote-
 statem habent subito discurren-
 di et afferendi illa quod etiam, si
 homo sciret, non posset facere in
 multo quod tempus subito ipsi.

5. Omnis sciencia a deo creata
 est Ecclesiasticus I, omnis pote-
 120 stas ad Romanos XIII: non est po-
testas, nisi a deo; ad fallendum
fallaces sicut egyptii per miracu-

synderesis accomplishes two things: it
 differentiates good from evil and chooses
 good avoiding evil. Whereupon, for the
 first instant there is a ground among
 demons, while for the second every- 85R
 thing is demolished. Nevertheless, in this
 world regardless of evil synderesis is not
 destroyed either in the first sense or in
 the second sense. The thinness of nature,
 the more one is thin, the more one has 90R
 a natural capacity to perceive, they learn
from omnipotent God, just as when God
 reveals all to benevolent angels, their
 sins were also perfected and the time
 has come for demons and sinners to be 95R
 punished by angels; divining, demons
 themselves foresee certain events in the
 future by the divination and knowledge
 of stars which they have. According to
 this, they display what they will do and 100R
 predict something, though only the dev-
 ilish power stems from God, not an act.
Whose knowledge, one says knowledge
 since they know through which incanta-
 tions it could happen and virtue since 105R
 they have the power to suddenly wan-
 der and fetch certain things. Even if
 a human being knew it, he would not
 be able to perform on several occasions
 what a demon suddenly accomplished. 110R

5. All the knowledge is created by
God, Eccl 1:1, that is all the power,
 Rom 13:1: there is no power except
 by God; to deceive deceivers, just as
 the Egyptians desired to believe Moses 115R

91 non est | inest V 91 extincta] synderesis nec quo ad primum V 115 etiam | add. et V
 117 multo | add. tempore V 122 egyptii | add. sit V 122 per | propter B

118-119 Ecclesiasticus. 1:1 119-121 Rom. 13:1

la facta a magis uolebant credere
 Moysi et magi magis excetaban-
 125 tur, quia mirabiles se credebant
 in conspectu hominum per mi-
 racula, que faciebant magi pha-
raonis, Exodus XVI; digitus dei
 (*est hic*) Exodus VIII; in sui ge-
 130 neris id est demonum carcerem,
 cum infinitus sit carcer eorum
 proprie uel sui generis secundum
 opinionem, que dicit demones ha-
 bere aerea corpora, puritatis ha-
 135 bitatione id est empireo, datur
id est permittat, uel melius da-
tur sciencia id est permittitur,
 uel melius datur sciencia et per-
 mittitur usus sciencie quem ipsi
 140 retorquent ad fallendum, II Para-
 lipomenon ultimo: *dixit dominus*
«quis mihi decipiet Achab» et
 post dixit illi qui se optulit uade
 id est permitto ut eas. Similiter
 145 illud: *Quod facis, fac citius* id
 est facies me permittente.

6. Pro magno desiderant sicut
 stulti, per hoc decipiunt demo-
 nes eos homines. qui uolunt eos
 150 imitari in sollicita, acquisitione
 uane sciencie, et ideo prohiben-
 tur hec ab ecclesia, iustorum pa-
tientiam, cum enim boni homi-
nes uidebunt antixristum mira-
 155 abilia facientem nec tamen ei con-
sencient, magis merebuntur; in-

through miracles made by magicians
 and magicians were encouraged more
 because they believed themselves to be
 wonderful in the eyes of men in virtue of
 the miracles they performed, pharaoh's 120R
magicians, Exod. 16:1–15; God's finger
is here, Exod. 8:19; in their demonic jail
since their prison is properly infinite or
of their kind according to the opinion
 which claims that demons have aerial 125R
 bodies. Pure dwelling, the empyrean, is
given, that it God permits. Or better:
 knowledge is given, permitted; or better:
 knowledge is given and the use of knowl- 130R
 edge by which demons inquire to de-
 ceive is granted, II Paralipomenon 18:19;
 the Lord said: Who shall deceive Achab
 king of Israel, and after he said that
 those who sacrifice themselves should
 go, that is I allow them to go. Similarly, 135R
 John 13:27: What you are about to do,
 do quickly, that is you will allow me
 to do.

6. They who desire something greater,
just as fools, by this demons deceive 140R
those humans who desire to imitate
them being agitated for whom knowl-
edge is useless in action, consequently,
these things are prohibited by the
church; the patience of the just, when 145R
indeed good people will see antichrist
performing miracles and yet will not
join him, they will gain more merit;

125 mirabiles | narrabiles P_2 132 proprie | proprio P_1 133 opinionem | P_1 135 empireo |
 add. celo B 140 II | add. I VA_1P_2 I Regnum ? P_1A_1 143 uade | *rade* P_1 148 decipiunt |
 testes V 149 uolunt | nolunt VP_2 150 acquisitione | ad quis actione V

127–128 Exod. 16:1–15 128–129 Exod. 8:19 140–142 II Paralipomenon 18:19 145–146
 Io. 13:27

160 commutabilis scilicet deus, iudicat id est concedit. Magi serpentes fecerunt et ranas fecerunt,
 nota quod sicut dicit Augustinus super Exodo VII: demones ualde perspicaces sunt et ideo subito attulerunt quedam semina et quedam adminicula ad faciendum serpentes, unde nullum fuit ibi miraculum, sicut dictum est in primo libro, sed tantum operatio nature.

immutable, that is God judges what he allows magicians; magicians created snakes and frogs, note, Augustine says about Ex. 7:11 that demons are very perceptive and, therefore, suddenly bring semen and aid to make snakes, whence there is nothing miraculous but only the natural process, as was said in the first book.

150R

155R

170 <Q. 7.2> QUESTIO UTRUM
 DEMONES POSSINT SANARE
 HOMINES

<Q. 7.2> WHETHER DEMONS COULD HEAL
 HUMAN BEINGS

7. Si autem queris, utrum possint generare homines, sicut dicitur de Merlino genito de incubo demone. Item si queratur, utrum possint restituere oculum uel huiusmodi sicut Symon Magus faciebat canes canere. Ad hoc dicunt magistri quod demones tantum possunt ea facere, que fiunt per uiam putrefactionis, unde possunt facere quiddam genus auium et ranarum que fiunt hoc modo. Ea uero que fiunt per decisionem siue generationem non possunt, unde etiam si haberent semen hominis et proiacent in matricem mulie-

7. If you also inquire whether they have an ability to generate human beings, as it is said about the generation of Merlin from the demon incubus. If it is asked whether demons could restore an eye or such things as Simon Magus who made dogs sing. On this matter masters say that demons can only make what comes into existence by the putrefaction, thus they can make certain genera of birds and frogs which come into existence this way. Though they cannot make those things which come by decision or by generation, thus even if they had human semen and threw it into female womb, a human would not be made since for human generation the

160R

165R

170R

175R

160-168 Alexander de Hales, 1952: VII.30 167 V: fol. 15r 173-175 Geoffrey of Monmouth, 1985: 24, 107 177-178 Lipsius & Bonnet, eds., 1891: 12.2-25; Orderic Vitalis, 1855: 132

158 Magi] magis A_1 162 ideo] ualde V 169 utrum] uerum A_1 171 homines] *mag.* M_2 uel generare, sicut dicitur de incubo A_2 172 Si autem queris] *mag.* M_2 circa genitura Merlini P 174 Merlino] Melinio A_2 176 oculum] occulum BA_1A_2 188 proiacent] *prohicerent* BA_1P_2

ris, non fieret homo, quia ibi ex-
 190 gitur opus utriusque id est maris
 et femine nec oculum furare uel
 restituere possunt, sed ledere uel
 impedire possunt et facere, quod
 195 illam non uideant actu et po-
 stea cessant. Et ita uidetur fatuis
 quod ydola eis restituant uel sa-
 nent oculos, sicut legitur in uita
 beati Bartolomei de Astaroth et
 200 de incubo. Similiter dicunt quod
 Merlinus uisset genitus ab incu-
 bo demone, uerumptamen pos-
 sunt illudere in sompnis et uide-
 tur homini quod sit cum muliere
 205 et econuerso. De canibus Symo-
 nis dicunt quod nec canebant nec
 loquebantur, sed demon in eis.
 Sicut dicitur de asina Balaamis:
 non enim ipsa locuta est, sed an-
 210 gelus in ea qui potest formare
 aera in uocem Numeri XXII.

⟨Q. 7.3⟩ QUOMODO DEMONES ET
 MAGI FACIANT QUEDAM NOUA
 ANIMALIA

215 8. Item si dyabolus potuit fa-
 cere serpentes a simili, quedam
 noua animalia que non fuerunt in
 archa Noe, quorum semina sunt
 in elementis, unde Augustinus:
 220 *sicut matres sunt grauide fetibus,*
sic ipse mundus grauidus est cau-

work of both, namely husband and wife,
 is required. Furthermore, they cannot
 steal or restore an eye but can injure 180R
 or hinder it. They also can make that
 people do not actually see and only after-
 ward recover. And so, it seems to fools
 that idols would restore their health or
 heal an eye as one reads in the life of 185R
 Saint Bartholomew about Astaroth and
 incubus. By the same token, masters
 say that there is nothing real and that
 is not true that Merlin was born from
 the incubus. Notwithstanding, demons
 can hinder in dreams and make that it 190R
 seems to a man that he is with woman
 and the other way round. Concerning
 Simon Magus' dogs masters say that
 a demon inside them spoke and sang.
 Just as it is said about the donkey of 195R
 Balaam. For it was not the donkey who
 spoke but an angel inside him who can
 form air into voice, Num. 22:21–23.

⟨Q. 7.3⟩ HOW DEMONS AND MAGICIANS
 CAN MAKE SOME NEW ARTIFICIAL
 200R CREATURES

8. Likewise, it is demanded if the devil
 can make serpents from alike and new
 creatures which were not in the ark,
 nor whose semen are in the elements. 205R
 Whence, Augustine asserts: like moth-
 ers are pregnant with children, the world
 is pregnant with reasons for things com-

197–199 Ms Bodl. 155b: fol. 169r–169v
 Hales, 1952: VII.27

219–225 Aug. De trin. 3.9.16; Alexander de

196–197 sanent | facient P_1 197 oculos | oculos BA_1A_2 201 Merlinus | Mellinus A_2
 203 sompnis | sompniis P_1

208–211 Num. 22:28

225 *sis nascencium, que in illo non*
creantur nisi ab illa summa es-
sencia, ubi nec moritur nec in-
 230 *cipit esse nec desinit.* Magi pha-
 raonis fecerunt sibi serpentes et
 ranas, tamen creatores non sunt,
 quia primas causas rerum non
 235 ipsi, sed deus creauit nec ipsis
 causis rerum dant ut sint cause
 rerum, sed omnis cause rerum
 hoc ipsum quod sunt cause ali-
 cuius rei habent a prima causa.
 Non sunt ergo demones nisi mi-
 nistri talium, sicut parentes fi-
 liorum et agricole fructuum, nec
 tamen in hoc dicendi sunt demones
 proprie ministri dei, quia per
 hoc non intendunt seruire ei.

240 **(Q. 7.4)** DIFFERENCIA INTER
 MIRACULA MAGORUM ET
 SANCTORUM UT DIXIT PETRUS

245 g. Beatus Clemens, cum pri-
 mo uellet adherere Petro, ita ei
 250 opposuit: sicut tu modo facis mi-
 rabilia contra naturam ita et Sy-
 mon Magus quem secuti sumus,
 uidimus enim canes cantantes
 ymagine ambulantes, quare di-
 cis nos pecasse sequendo ipsum
 et non peccare sequendo te? Cui
 Petrus: deus in mundo multa pa-
 255 raria permisit ad exercitium boni
 et excecationem malorum secun-
 dum suum rectum iudicium ut

ing into birth which are only created by
 the highest essence, where neither some- 210R
 thing dies, neither comes into being, nor
 ceases to be. Magicians of the pharaohs
 made snakes and frogs. However, they
 are not creators because not them but 215R
 God created first causes of things, given
 that he did not allow these causes of
 things to be first causes but all causes of
 things have this very thing which makes
 them to be causes of something from the
 first cause. Therefore, demons are only 220R
 producers of such things as parents in
 relation to children and farmers regard-
 ing food. However, in this case demons
 should not be called properly servants
 of God since they do not intend to serve 225R
 him by performing these deeds.

(Q. 7.4) THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE
 MIRACLES OF MAGICIANS AND OF SAINTS,
 ACCORDING TO PETER

230R g. At first, Blessed Clement wished
 to adhere to Peter but subsequently op-
 posed him in such a way: just as you
 perform miracles against nature, so did
 Simon Magus whom we are following.
 We have seen dogs singing, statues walk- 235R
 ing. For this reason, why do you say we
 have sinned in following him and we do
 not sin in following you? Peter objected
 to him: God in the world has allowed
 many equal things to be done in order to 240R
 exercise the good and expel the evil. Ac-
 cording to his correct judgment, a magi-

243–245 Gersdorf, ed., 1838: III.60–61; Migne, ed., 1857: II.18, II.34

230–231 dant ... rerum] *om.* P_1 **243** Beatus Clemens] *margin.* M_2 Beatus Clemens A_2
245–247 mirabilia ... sumus] *om.* P_1 **250** pecasse] peccare VP_1P_2

magus pharaonis permisit parificare se Moysi, per contrariam potestatem Ysaac Phylisteos, mihi Symonem et ad ultimum xristo antixristum, quia per miracula uidebitur antixristus parifirari xristo, sed in hoc est diferencia, quia miracula facta a contraria potestate non sunt utilia anime uel corpori. Que enim utilitas ut canes cantent uel ut ymagines ambulent, sed mirabilia facta per ministros dei et corpora sanant et animas ad deum conuertunt.

270 10. Ab originalibus id est naturalibus uel causis superioribus quibus regantur res. Adhibitis motibus cooperantur enim deo, sicut dicit Apuleius: coadiutores dei sumus, sed hoc spiritum, quod cooperantur a deo habent et corporis id est substantia, quod habent secundum quosdam uel quod assumunt, quod est uerius. In iubenti semina iubenti quo ad nos, semina id est causas latentes istarum rerum, temperationes id est commixtiones, spargunt id est ad aliquid efficiendum coniungunt, prebent occasiones non enim dant illis causis, que aliquid faciant, sed eorum ministerio et cooperaione hoc datur a deo unde non pos-

245R
250R
255R
cian of the pharaoh was permitted to become equal with Moses through the contrary power, Isaac with the Philistines, Simon with me, and at last antichrist with Christ since through miracles antichrist will appear to be compared as someone equal to Christ. However, there is a difference. Wonders produced by the contrary power are not useful for the soul or body. What is the advantage of singing dogs or walking statues? In contrast, miracles performed by divine servants heal the bodies and turn souls to God.

10. Things are governed by natural or superior causes from which their existence derives, by the movements demons cooperate with God. As Apuleius points out we are divine assistants, but magicians obtain from God such a spirit to work together, and body, namely the substance demons have according to what they assume. The last statement is more true. In commanding seeds, commanding which means ordering to us seeds, viz. hidden causes of these things, by tempering of the mixtures, demons scatter, that is assemble these mixtures, to produce something; demons furnish the opportunities, for they do not bestow those causes which would produce something but by their service and cooperation a particular cause is given by God. Whence, demons cannot be called

270–271 Aug. De trin. 3.8.13 274–275 Lucius Apuleius, 1842: 12

263 contraria] contrario P_2 272 regantur] regant V 275–276 spiritum] ipsum P_1 280 In iubenti semina] In III semina $P_1 A_1 A_2$ In III semina sui B semina P_2 289 non] *om.* P_1

290 sunt dici cause uel dare causas es-
 sendi rebus, sed occasionem quia
 non per se, sed per primam cau-
 sam faciunt, quid faciunt. Sicut
 enim predicator siue bonus qui
 295 propter bona uerba predicat, si-
 ue malus qui pro bono temporali
 semina uerbi dei exterius admin-
 istrat, solus autem deus fruc-
 tificare facit in mente audientis.
 300 Ita demones semina quarumdam
 rerum possunt coniungere, sed
 quod ex eis aliquid produ | 51vb |
 catur non habent a demonibus,
 sed a prima causa, ita in agri-
 305 cultura et generatione filiorum
 est. Iniqui malicia nominatiuus;
mentem enim formare iusti non
potest, nisi deus Ysaia XLIII: Ego
sum, qui deleo iniquitates prop-
 310 ter me, per ueritatem id est bo-
nam intencionem, sed etiam ma-
li per occasionem temporalium
Epistula ad Philippenses I, uici-
nas rei faciende uel eis cognitas
 315 summo cardine id est uoluntate
diuina.

⟨Q. 7.5⟩ QUOD MULTIS MODIS
 IMPEDITUR UOLUNTAS DYABOLI

11. Acceptis opportunitati-
 320 bus angelo cooperatore, propter
dei prohibitionem dyabolus plus
uult quam possit in malo, in bo-
no econuerso. Posset enim ces-

causes or distribute these causes, guar-
 anteeing a thing's existence. Although,
 they would produce what they actu-
 ally produce only accidentally through 280R
 the first cause and not by themselves.
 A preacher can be either a good one who
 preaches with good words themselves or
 a bad one who outwardly administers
 seeds of the divine words, seeking a 285R
 temporal good. Only God yet produces new
 fruits in the mind of people who hear the
 sermon. This way demons can assemble
 seeds of certain things. But magicians
 have what is produced from the seeds 290R
 from the first cause and not from the
 demons. The same applies to the agri-
 culture and birth of children. Unjust
wickedness, in the nominative case; if he
is not God, he cannot shape the mind of
 295R the right people, Isa. 43:25; I, even I, am
he who blots out your transgressions, for
my own sake, through the truth, namely
via a good intention, but also an evil one,
on a temporal occasion, Phil. 1:18. The
 300R proximate thing, creation or understand-
ing of which is achieved by the highest
love, that is by divine volition.

⟨Q. 7.5⟩ THAT DEVIL'S WILL IS HINDERED
 IN MANY WAYS 305R

11. They take advantage of opportu-
 310 nities, the devil desires by angelic coop-
eration more than he can gain in the
evil due to the divine prohibition. He
 315 could have been free from evil if he had

291 rebus] marg. *M*₃ quomodo dicuntur dare causas essendi *A*₂ 295 uerba] eterna *B* 297
 dei] ministrantur *V* 297-298 administrat] ministrat *V* ministratur *P*₁ ministrantur
B 298 solus] add. solus *V* 300 semina] om. *P*₁ 313 Epistula ... I] om. *P*₁*B* 321
 dyabolus] add. id est caro *A*₂

307-310 Isa. 43:25 312-314 Phil. 1:18

325 sare a malo, si uellet. Et notan-
 dum quod impeditur dyaboli uo-
 luntas et potestas per terminum
 sue potestati a deo impositum,
 item per miraculum impossibili-
 330 tatis exterius factum ut in asina
 Balaamis Numeri XXII; per im-
 pedimentum exterius adhibitum
 ut in duobus discipulis aurusia
 percussis. Luca in fine: aurusia
 335 est impedimentum uisus, quod
 fit uelamine oculorum, que dicitur
 egritudo oculorum. Item per
 dei iudicium diuinitus disponen-
 tis dispositis per obstaculum boni
 340 angeli ut de Asmodeo interficiente
 sponso uxoris Thobis, eodem XI;
 Asmodeus per cautelam sui ipsius,
 quia non uult aliquando, quod potest
 ut peius fiat, id est prima Corintho-
 345 rum V de corinthio quem uexauit
 excogitatum, modo non uult propter
 peccati abhominacionem et pudorem,
 ut quidam angeli mali propter nobilitatem
 350 sui in qua creati fuerunt abhominantur
 temptare de uilibus peccatis ut de
 sodomia uel etiam de forni-

desired this. And it must be noted that
 devil's will and power are hindered by
 the limit imposed upon his power by
 God. It resembles the external divine
 miracle of the impossibility, like in the 315R
 case of Balaam's donkey, Num. 22:21–22.
 Moreover, the devil is impeded through
 the external hindrance, as in two disci-
 ples struck by blindness. Luke, in the
 end, suggests that blindness is a visual 320R
 hindrance that blacks out eyes and is
 called eyes' malady. By the same token,
 it happens through the judgment of God,
 which establishes the divine order also
 by creating a hindrance through good 325R
 angels. It is the case with Asmodeus who
 kills the grooms of Tobias' wife, the same
 book Tob. 11:6. By virtue of divine cau-
 tion Asmodeus does not want sometimes
 the worse to take place, even though 330R
 he is able to do so. 1 Cor. 5:5 presents
 the same idea about a Corinthian whom
 the demon possessed and who did not
 want to be known solely due to the
 aversion to sin and shame. It happens 335R
 also with certain evil angels who, due to
 the nobility in which they were created,
 are abhorred to tempt those who com-
 mitted despicable sins, such as indeed

336 Alanus Insulensis, 1855: 1.58; Alexander de Hales, 1952: VII.38

333 percussis] *marg. M₂ quod est aurusia A₂* **333** aurusia] *arusia VP₁A₁A₂P₂* **335**
 uelamine] *uolamine P₁* **335** oculorum] *oculorum BA₁* **336** oculorum] *oculorum BA₁A₂*
339–340 ut de Asmodeo interficiente] *ut assideo interficere sponso uxoris Thobis V* ut de
 asino interficiente *P₁* de asino de demonis interficiente *sponso uxoris B* de asino dei interficiente
 sponso uxoris *A₁* **341–342** cautelam] *cantelam V* **349** propter] *ma^u V* **352** sodomia]
 sodoma *V marg. M₂ quod diabolus de sodomia non temptat et de uilibus peccatis A₂*

329–330 Num. 22:21–2 **338–340** Tob. 3:8; 6:13; 8:2–3 **340–341** Tob. 11:6 **344–345**
 1 Cor. 5:5

355 cacione simplici neque ad homi-
nem qui fornicatus est accedunt
maxime prima die uel secunda
propter peccati retenciam, unde
Ezechiel XVI: *multiplacasti for-
nicacionem ad irritandum me*
360 *et cetera, ibi dabo te et animas*
obiencium te, demonum qui eru-
bescunt in uia tua. Quia non per-
mittit deus permissio angeli ni-
chil ponit, sed tamen priuat pro-
hibitionem, unde permittit an-
gelus id est non prohibet, per-
missio dei aliquid ponit scilicet
diuinam essenciam et connotat
naturalem potenciam quibus fit
permissio, secundum hoc ange-
370 li aliquid permittunt, quod deus
non permittit.

⟨Q. 7.6⟩ DIFFERENCIA INTER
POTENCIAM, POSSIBILITACEM ET
HUIUSMODI

375 12. Ex potestate dei possibili-
tas dicit materialem potenciam,
potencia dicit potenciam acti-
uam, sed remotam, potestas di-
cit potenciam actiuam aptatam,
380 potentatus dicit potenciam con-
iunctam actiu, unde potentatus
dicitur quasi potencie status. Di-
gitus id est uirtus dei, uel digitus
id est prohibitio uirtutis dei Ex-

sodomy or fornication. These demons 340R
do not approach the man who is a for-
nicator, especially on the first or second
day because of the preservation of sin.
Whence Ezek. 16:26–27 states: aroused
my anger with your increasing promiscuity... I gave you over to the greed of
345R the demons who are ashamed on your
way. Since God does not permit, the an-
gelic permission supposes nothing but
only deprives of the prohibition. Whence 350R
an angel permits, that is he does not
prohibit. The divine permission implies
another thing, namely divine essence,
and connotes the natural potency to
whom the permission is granted. Accord- 355R
ing to this proposition, angels permit
what God does not.

⟨Q. 7.6⟩ THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN
POTENCY, POSSIBILITY, AND SUCH THINGS

12. By the divine power, the possibil- 360R
ity means a material potency. The po-
tency signifies an active potency, though
a remote one. The power implies an ac-
tive adapted potency. The might signi-
fies a potency united with active one, 365R
therefore the might is said as the poten-
tial status. The finger, viz. the divine
virtue; or the finger, namely the prohi-
bition on the part of the divine virtue,

353 neque | nec V 354 qui | quia VP₁A₁A₂P₂ 358 irritandum | irridendum VP₁A₁A₂P₂
359–360 animas obiencium | malias condenciam P₁ animas condencium A₁ in animas dictium
P₂ 372–374 Differencia ... huiusmodi | marg. V 378–379 dicit | om. A₁ 380 dicit | om.
P₁ 380–381 potenciam coniunctam actiu | potencia dicit potenciam actiuam, aptatam
potentatus, coniunctam actiu A₂

356–357 Ezek. 16:26 357–360 Ezek. 16:27 384–385 Exod. 8:19

385 odus VIII. Non sinantur id est
quid non possunt facere de con-
dicione sue nature, nouimus ho-
minem uerba sunt Augustini, et
390 si permittat id est non prohibeat,
per angelos suos bonos non per-
mittit et cetera ut angelus, qui
loquebatur cum Daniele et ange-
lus Persarum ⟨regi⟩; secundum
Gregorium: *liberare uolebant iu-*
395 *deos a captiuitate et hoc pote-*
rant, sed non sunt permissi a deo,
qui rectificauit eos per principem
Grecorum, quod non erat tem-
pus liberacionis Daniel x. Dicit
400 ergo: non permittit id est non
dat eis facultatem quibus dedit
potestatem.

⟨Q. 7.7⟩ QUOD PLATO POSUIT
TRES ORDINES DEMONUM

405 13. Solet in questione uersa-
ri et cetera hec questio orta est
a Platone in Tymeo, qui dicebat
tres esse ordines demonum posi-
tos in aere. Ponebat enim pisces
410 ornatum maris, gressibilia orna-
tum terre, uolucres et demones
ornatum aeris, sed calodemones
ponebat in superiore et puriore
parte aeris, cacodemones | 52ra |
415 in inferiori et densiori parte aer-
is, medios scilicet partim bonos

394–399 Gregorius Magnus, 1985: 25.2

395 *hoc*] ~~non~~ V 404 *demonum*] *margin.* M_2 sed utrum sunt corporei *add.* Guillermo M_3
requirere supra est distinctio III A_2 409 *pisces*] *pices* P_1 412 *calodemones*] *caledemones*
VBA A_2 tale demones P_1

391–393 Dan. 10:1 399 Dan. 10:20

Ex. 8:19. Demons are not allowed, that 370R
is they cannot make something due to
the condition of their nature. We knew
a human being, these are Augustine's
words, and if He would permit, that is
375R if he would not prohibit, he does permit
through good angels etc, as an angel
who talked with Daniel and one who
spoke with the Persian king; according
to Gregory the Great: angels wanted to
free the Jews from their captivity and 380R
were able to do this, though they were
not allowed by God, who rectified the
Jews by the Greek king insofar as the
time of the liberation did not come, Dan.
10:20. Therefore, he says: He does not 385R
allow, that means he does not bestow
an ability to whom he gives the power.

⟨Q. 7.7⟩ THAT PLATO SET THREE DEMONIC
ORDERS

13. It is still customary to turn to 390R
this question, the question originates
from the *Timaeus* by Plato who said
that three demonic orders are set in the
air. For he put fishes in the sea, walk-
ing animals on the earth surface, flying 395R
creatures and demons in the air. But he
placed calodemones in the superior and
cleaner part of the air, cacodemones in
the inferior and more thick part, demons
in the middle, who are partially good, 400R
partially evil, in the medium. They had

412–417 Guilelmus de Conchis, 1854: 47–48

partim malos in medio; corpora
aeros habuerint Apuleius di-
 xit: *demonēs sunt genera anima-*
 420 *lia, corpora immortalia, mente*
racionalia. Elementum apcius ad
faciendum quam ad patiendum
 terra et aqua sunt passiuā ele-
 425 *menta et ideo inferiora et nomi-*
nibus generis feminini dicuntur.
 Ignis et aer actiuā sunt elementa
 et ideo superiora sunt et gene-
 ris masculini, per actionem enim
 ignis et aeris in aquam et terram
 430 omnia procreantur, sed omnia
 ista dicit Augustinus recitando
 opiniones philosophorum, sicut
 super Genesim multas rationes
 siue opiniones physicas recitat.

aerial bodies, Apuleius said that demons
 are animals in genus, immortal in body,
 rational in mind. The elements more
prone to an action than to undergoing
 405R a passion, earth and water are passive
 elements and thus account for inferior
 being named after female gender. Fire
 and air are active elements and thus con-
 410R stitute superior being pertaining to mas-
 culine gender. Given that, everything
 would come into existence by the activ-
 ity on the side of fire and air upon water
 and earth. However, Augustine writes all
 415R of this by reciting the views of philoso-
 phers or physicians, as he recounts mul-
 tiple arguments over Genesis.

435

DISTINCTIO VIII

(Q. 8.1) DE HOC QUOD DOMINUS
 APPARET PER SE UEL PER
 ANGELUM

14. Nec dubitandum octaua di-
 440 stinctio. Gregorius super Exodo
 dicit: *angelus qui Moysi appar-*
uisse dicitur modo angelus, mo-
do dominus memoratur; angelus
 445 *quando exterius loquendo seruit,*
dominus, quia interius presidens
efficaciam tribuit, cum enim lo-
quens ab interiore regitur et per
obsequium angelus, et per inspi-

DISTINCTION VIII

(Q. 8.1) THAT THE LORD APPEARS BY
 HIMSELF OR THROUGH AN ANGEL

14. And it must not be questioned.
 425R The eighth distinction. Gregory the
 Great comments on the Exodus: the an-
 gel, who is told to have appeared before
 Moses, is commemorated both as an an-
 gel and as the Lord; as an angel, when
 he serves by speaking outwardly, as the
 Lord since He, ruling inside, grants an
 efficiency to angels, for the speaker is
 430R governed from within and the angels are

421-422 Aug. De gen. 3.10.14 440-449 Gregorius Magnus, 1985: 28:1; Migne, ed., 1852:
 Exod. 3:4; Alexander de Hales, 1952: VIII.9

418 habuerint] *mag. M₂ hic est, quod credens se esse asinum transformatum ?, secundum*
 Isidem reginam ? ad captum A₂ 418 Apuleius] *add. tunc hoc Epuleius A₁ 425 feminini]*
 femini P₁BA₁ 432 opiniones] *oppiniones P₁ 434 opiniones] oppiniones P₁*

rationem dominus memoratur.
 450 Eodem modo Iacob quandoque
 cum angelo, quandoque cum do-
 mino luctatus dicitur, quod enim
 angelus faciebat inspiracione et
 imperio domini et sic per ange-
 455 lum dominus apparebat. Appar-
uisse probat in subiecta creatura
 scilicet angelo assumente corpus
 aptum officio suo, et sic dominus
 apparebat per angelum, quando-
 460 que etiam per se sine angelo in
 aliqua nube uel in aliquo alio cor-
 pore. Et quando apparuit sine
 distinctione persone, ut quando
 dixit: *Ego sum qui sum*; quando-
 465 que cum distinctione, ut quando
 spiritus sanctus apparuit in co-
 lumba: Luca III, Matheus III; et
 in linguis igneis Actus Aposto-
 lorum II et Matheus III. Daniel
 470 legitur quod in camino apparuit
 unus similis filio dei, hic fuit sal-
 uator quem timuit flamma qui
 suos de camino mundi liberauit.

<Q. 8.2> PROBACIO QUOD DOMINUS
 475 PER SE APPAREBAT

15. Sed ubi deum et cetera tri-
 plex ponitur hic questio. Prima
 est an deus ipse apparet in crea-
 tura nouiter facta non per an-
 480 gelum, sed per se et est credibi-

469 Alexander de Hales, 1952: VIII.7

454 domini] deum *VP*₁ *add.* faciebat *V* 455-456 Apparuisse probat] *margin.* *M*₂ quod
 dominus apparebat per angelum *A*₁ 468 linguis] lignis *V* 478 apparet] *margin.* *M*₂ dominus
 apparuit plures in subiecta creatura *P*₁ *margin.* deus per se apparuit *P*₁

451-452 Gen. 32:24-28 464 Exod. 3:14 465-467 Lc. 3:22 467 Matt. 3:16 467-469
 Act. 2:3 469 Matt. 3:11 469-473 Dan. 3:17

ruled through obedience. In the same
 way, Jacob is said to fight sometimes
 against the angel, sometimes against the
 Lord because the angel was acting under
 the Lord's inspiration and command. He 435R
proves that God has appeared in a sub-
 ordinate creature, that is in the angel,
 assuming such a body suitable for his
 duty. In this way the Lord appeared
 through the angel, sometimes even by 440R
 Himself in a certain cloud or another
 body but without the angel. He also ap-
 peared without a personality like when
 he said: I am who I am. Sometimes He
 showed up in a distinct person when 445R
 the Saint Spirit came in dove's form,
 that is Lk. 3:22, Matt. 3:16, and in fiery
 tongues, as in AA. 2:3 and Matt. 3:11. It
 is read in The Book of Daniel that there
 in the blazing furnace one appeared sim- 450R
 ilar to the Son of God, who was the
 savior, whom the fire feared, and who
 absolved his people from the world fur-
 nace.

<Q. 8.2> THAT THE LORD APPEARED BY
 455R HIMSELF

15. But where is God etc, the question
 here is threefold. The first is whether
 God Himself appears in a creature made
 anew and not through an angel. It is con- 460R
 vincing that God showed up sometimes

le, quod deus quandoque per se, quandoque per angelum apparebat, ut in Exodo XXXIII: *facies mea id est angelus precedet te*, 485 quasi dicens *ego de cetero non precedam te per me ipsum propter peccatum populi tui, sed angelus meus precedet te*, et dixit Moysi: *Si tu non precedis ne educas nos de loco isto* per quod uidetur quod dominus per se ipsum prius eos ducebat et quod per se eis apparebat, sed hoc non sequitur, quia poterat eos ducere 490 per se et apparere eis per angelum, quod potius uidentur uelle sancti, quia super illum locum Exodum loquebatur deus Moysi *facie ad faciem*, sicut solet loqui homo ad amicum suum. Dicit glossa: *secundum opinionem populi loquitur scriptura quod putabat Moysen loqui cum deo ore ad os*, cum per subiectam 505 creaturam id est angelum et nubem ei loquiretur et appareret. Nam eius substanciam, sicut est, nec angelorum nec hominum quidsam uidere potuit. Prima epistula ad Timotheum id est Regi seculorum; in VI et infra ad Timotheum ultimo: «*lucem habitat inaccessibilem*» hec glossa.

by Himself, sometimes through an angel, as in Exod. 33:14: My Presence, that is an angel, will go before you. As He were 465R saying I will not go before you by Myself on the rest due to the sin of your people, but My angel will precede you. Moses replied to Him: If your Presence does not go with us, do not send us up from here. Whence, it seems that the Lord 470R first led them and appeared to them by Himself. However, this does not follow since He could have led them by Himself and appeared to them in the angel. Saints seemed to imply this, given that 475R upon this place of Exodus God spoke to Moses face to face, like a man is accustomed to speak with his friend. The gloss says: according to the opinion of the people, the Holy Scripture tells that 480R they thought that Moses spoke with God mouth to mouth, when He would talk and appear to Him through a subordinated creature, namely an angel and cloud. For neither angels nor human beings 485R could see his substance. 1 Tim. 1:17: “the eternal King”; 1 Tim. 6:16: “lives in unapproachable light”, this is what the gloss asserts. Furthermore, Gregory the 490R Great’s aforementioned words seemed to postulate that the Lord appeared to them not by Himself but by taking the angelic form.

513 Migne, ed., 1852: Exod. 33:11; Alexander de Hales, 1952: VIII.7

483 Exodo] *marg. M₂ Exodo A₂ 502 quod] que V 504 os] marg. M₂ Et in hoc notant distanciam iunter ueteram legem, que per angelum, et nouam, que per ipsum deum data fuit A₂*

482-490 Exod. 33:14-15 509-511 1 Tim. 1:17 511-513 1 Tim. 6:16

Et supradicta Gregorii uidentur
 515 uelle quod non per se, sed per
 angelum dominus eis apparebat.

16. Sed queritur quare domi-
 nus non apparuit per nubem
 tantum sicut per nubem et an-
 520 gelum, non enim sequeretur ex
 hoc, quod ipse in se et imme-
 diate uideretur. Sed scriptura
 semper dicit angelum deum ap-
 paruisse ubicumque refert domi-
 525 num apparuisse, unde dubium
 est, utrum dominus quandoque
 per se ita quod non per ange-
 lum apparuit, sed est credibili
 530 quod |52rb| quandoque sic,
 quandoque sic.

<Q. 8.3> QUESTIO UTRUM ANGELI
 MITTANTUR IN ALIQUO CORPORE

17. Secunda questio est utrum
 angelus missus, qui loquebatur
 535 ex persona domini, assumeret no-
 uum corpus ad officium scilicet
 aptum an in proprio corpore mit-
 teretur. Tercia questio est, si an-
 geli mittuntur in proprio corpo-
 540 re, utrum illud corpus mutent
 in aliam speciem aptam officio
 suo an preter corpus suum as-
 sumant aliud corpus sibi aptent.
 Dicit Augustinus quod non suffi-
 545 cit exemplificare questiones istas,
 difficile enim est probare quod
 angeli habeant corpora an non.
 Dixerunt enim quidam philoso-

16. However, it is inquired whether
 the Lord did not appear solely in a cloud, 495R
 so that He showed up in the form of both
 cloud and angel. For it would not follow
 from this that He were seen in Him-
 self and without anything mediating His
 appearance. But the Holy Scripture al- 500R
 ways says that God showed up as an
 angel anywhere it states that God ap-
 peared. Thus, it is doubtful whether the
 Lord sometimes appeared by Himself, so
 that not in the angel. Nonetheless, it is 505R
 convincing that sometimes in one way,
 sometimes in another.

<Q. 8.3> WHETHER ANGELS ARE SENT IN A
 CERTAIN BODY

17. The second question is whether 510R
 a commissioned angel, who spoke on the
 Lord's behalf, would assume a new body
 for his service, that is a suitable body, or
 he would be sent in his proper body. The
 third question is the following: if angels 515R
 were sent in their own bodies, would
 they transform their bodies into different
 form suitable for their service or assume
 another body besides their proper one?
 Augustine says that he is not able to 520R
 solve these questions for it is difficult to
 prove whether angels have bodies or not.
 Certain philosophers indeed said that
 angels possess bodies. It is complicated
 to demonstrate that they do not possess 525R

548–550 Guilelmus de Conchis, 1854: 47

524–525 refert dominum] refert dominum VP_1 refero dominum P_2 533 utrum] *add.*
 utrum B 540 mutent] assumant A_2

550 phi quod habebant corpora quibus. Difficile est probare quod non habent corpora, sed fides ecclesie est, quod non habent et in hoc conueniunt sancti.

555 18. Cui non subduntur sicut nos, sed subditum regunt et non ab eo perficiuntur secundum attributam potenciam. Notanda est regula, qua noscitur quod uerbum dictum de bono angelo uel
560 malo, utrum debeat referri ad naturam angeli uel ad corpus assumptum, quotiens aliquid uerbum attribuitur angelo bono uel malo, illud uerbum notat potenciam uel condicionem uel uiolenciam. Si potenciam, ut est euersio sodome et aliarum uerbum attribuendum, est nature angeli, non corpori aereo assumpto. Si
570 condicionem, ut est comedere et huiusmodi sicut legitur de angelis susceptis ab Abraham, Loth et Thobia, illud referendum est non ad naturam angeli, sed corporis assumpti. Si uiolenciam, ut est uulnerari, occidi, non est referendum ad naturam boni angelo nec corporis ab eo suscepti, sed tantum ad corpus mali angeli, iram mali angeli. Quandoque corpora complexionata assu-

bodies, but the church faith postulates that they are incorporeal to what saints agree.

18. To which they are not subordinated, as to us, but they reign a sub- 530R
jected body, while they are not accomplished by this body according to the
assigned potency. The following rule should be observed by which it is known
535R that a particular word concerns a good angel or an evil one, whether it should be assigned to an angelic nature or an assumed body, whenever a certain word is said about a good angel or evil one: the
540R following expressions involve potency, preservation, or violence. If it is potency, as the expulsion of Sodom and other cities, it must be attributed not to the assumed aerial body but to the angelic nature. If it is preservation, as eating and
545R similar things like it is read about angels received by Abraham, Lot, and Tobit, this should be assigned not to the angelic nature but to the assumed body. If
550R it is violence, as being wounded or killed, it should not be assigned to good angel's nature and body received by him but exclusively to evil angel's body and his
555R wrath. Sometimes angels assume tempered bodies from which blood can be shed. This should not be considered by

551 corpora | quibus V 555 regunt | quando B add. tamen VA₁ 557-562 Notandum ... assumptum | om. A₁ 557-558 Notanda est | add. B 558 regula | marg. M₂ regula, qua noscitur, quod uerbum dictum de bono angelo uel malo, utrum debeat referere ad naturam angeli uel ad corpora assumpta A₂ 561-562 assumptum | add. que regula est B 572 Loth | marg. M₂ XVIII A₂ 573 Thobia | marg. M₂ XIX A₂

569-571 Tob. 12:19

munt, a quibus sanguis potest effundi, quod de bonis nequaquam est intelligendum.

585 19. Videtur Augustinus attestari ad hoc compulit eum pena demonum; numquam mortalis apparuit, sed nonne Paulus mortalis erat qui in raptu suo,
590 ut dicit Augustinus ad Orisium: uident deum facie ad faciem, sicut uident angeli, sed dicimus quod Paulus non erat tunc in statu mortalium, sed comprehensorum neque tunc corporeis sensibus utebatur. In euangelio Iohannis id est deum nemo uidit id ipsum id est inuariabile, multo minus uisibile hoc dicit, quia
600 sunt multa mutabilia que non sunt uisibilia ut anime, angelus.

<Q. 8.4> QUOD DEMONES POSSUNT INTRARE CORPORA, NON ANIMAS

605 20. Illud etiam dignissimum consideracione uidetur et cetera reuera corpora intrant demones, sed animam essentialiter possidere uel ei essentialiter illabi non possunt, hoc enim solius dei
610 est qui eam creauit sui solius capacem, sed propter officium male suggestionis dicitur intrare in corporibus alicuius id est in

any means regarding good angels.

19. It seems that Augustine attested this. He was forced to approve this by the fact of the demonic punishment. He never appeared before mortal beings, though were not mortal Paul raptured, as Augustine tells Orosius: he looks at God face to face as angels see. Notwithstanding, we say that Paul then was not in a mortal condition. On the contrary, he did not make use of corporal senses but rather was in a state of comprehension. In the Gospel of John, that is no one saw God Himself in the unchangeable state, much less visible, it is stated since a lot of changeable things, which are not visible like souls and angels, exist.

<Q. 8.4> THAT DEMONS CAN ENTER BODIES BUT NOT SOULS

20. This seems to be the subject that deserves the most attention etc, demons enter real bodies, though they cannot possess or penetrate essentially souls. This power belongs exclusively to God who created the soul by his exclusive ability. However, for the sake of malevolent intimations demons are said to enter certain bodies, that is in the soul. Indeed, they are able to covertly enter

590–592 Migne, ed., 1852: 2 Cor. 12:2

584 intelligendum] *add.* archi Ω 588 Paulus] *marg.* M_2 quomodo Paulus uidit deum in raptum A_2 602–603 Quod ... animas] *marg.* Quod demones possunt intrare corpora P_2 604 dignissimum] *add.* contra B 611 capacem] *marg.* M_2 Nota, quod diabolus hominem temptat dupliciter: uel in ymaginatiua somnando et representando illarum rerum species, quas homine est desiderare cognoscat; uel adherendo et se coniugendo ipsi anime, ut infundit congnationes (cogitationes *corr.*) malas A_2

615 animam, substanciam enim cor-
dis subintrare possunt, sed ani-
me substancialiter illabi nequa-
quam, sed uidetur quod demones
620 non intrans corpora ratione no-
uis obsessi. Qui enim obsidet ali-
quid castrum non est intra illud,
sed potius extra. Et ita uidetur
quod demones non intrans cor-
pora obsessorum, sed in multis
625 locis legitur quod demones uisibi-
liter de corporibus exhibant. II Re-
gum XXVIII legitur quod dyabo-
lus intrauit corpus Samuelis mor-
tui, eodem modo possit ut uide-
tur intrare corpus hominis uiui,
630 quod concedimus. Sed tales ho-
mines proprie dicuntur inergumi-
ni, quia intus faciunt eos demones
laborare, aliquando autem
non intrans, sed exterius existen-
635 tes eos impediunt quandoque ne
uideant uel audiant et turbant
homines, et tales proprie dicun-
tur obsessi. Euangelium aperte
declarat Matheus VIII. Per inher-
640 gam id est uirtualem operatio-
| 52va | nem. Inergia est quedam
uis potestatiua et laboriosa im-
pellente dyabolo intus in homine

substance into the heart, but they can-
not penetrate the soul by any means.
Albeit, it seems that demons do not en-
ter the bodies of those who are named 595R
obsessed by the definition itself. Some-
one, who besieges something else, stays
outside rather than in the castle itself.
And it seems so in the case of demons.
They do not penetrate bodies of the 595R
obsessed, although on many occasions it is
read that demons are seen to go out from
these bodies. I Reg. 28:14 acknowledges
that the devil entered Samuel's body.
The same way the devil could make his 600R
way into the body of living human to
what we agree. Nevertheless, such peo-
ple are properly called energumens since
demons make them suffer inside. In the
case of those, who are properly called 605R
obsessed, demons hinder them from see-
ing or hearing and disturb these peo-
ple. By doing so, they do not enter in-
side their body and appear outside. The
Gospel plainly declares this, Matt. 8:52. 610R
Through inergia, that is through po-
tential operation. Inergia is a certain
force charged with power and suffering.
It is produced by the urging of the devil
within human being. Energia is a certain 615R
internal force and zeal of the Lord. It is

630-633 Gennadius Massiliensis, 1862: 88

626 quod] quia V **635** impediunt] *margin.* M_2 Nota, quod demon tribus modis dicitur esse
in homine: uel per bonorum naturalium lesione immutis, unde Luca XI capitulum ibi eiciens
demonum et illud eicit mutum; per ablationem gratiarum, ut in peccatoribus, unde et de
Maria dicitur dominus eicisse VII demonia, id est uniuersa peccata, Luca VII; per cooperatione
flagellato enim et bonorum temporalium ablationem, ut in Iob A_2 **639** declarat] *margin.* M_2
quis sit energia P_1 **642** potestatiua] potestatura P_1P_2

625-628 I Reg. 28:14 **638-639** Matt. 8:52

645 facta. Energia est quedam uis interior, zelo domini ad bonum commota, qualem habuit Phineas; capabilis sue facture id est datiu casus.

⟨Q. 8.5⟩ AUCTORITAS QUOD

650 MELIUS EST IGNORARE QUAM A DEMONIBUS ADDISCERE

21. Origenes super Numeri: *Melius est ignorare quam a demonibus discere, melius nonno* 655 *a propheta discere quam a diuinis quarere. Diuinitas enim non diuinitus datur, sed per antiphrasim sic dicitur. Non illabuntur demones substantialiter Abacuc: ecce* 660 *iste scilicet lapis, qui operatus est id est factus est auro et argento et omnis spiritus non est in uisionibus eius. Glossa: potest assidere simulacris spiritus immundus,* 665 *sed extrinsecus, intrinsecus esse non potest.*

⟨Q. 8.6⟩ QUOD DEUS

INDIFFERENTER PUNIT PER BONOS ET PER MALOS ANGELOS

670 22. Et nota quod sicut super

moved towards good, such as Phineas had; able to be present in its work, in the dative case.

⟨Q. 8.5⟩ AN AUTHORITY PROVING THAT

BEING IGNORANT IS BETTER THAN LEARNING FROM THE DEMONS

21. Origen on the Book of Numbers: being ignorant is better than learning from the demons, is not it better to learn from a prophet than inquiring soothsayers? Divination is not granted by the divine inspiration, rather it is called so by an antiphrasis. Demons do not penetrate substantially, Hab. 2:19; behold, that is the stone which has been labored, that is which has been made from gold and silver and all spirits are out of its sight. Gloss: the impure spirit can besiege someone by images only externally, intrinsically it is impossible.

⟨Q. 8.6⟩ THAT GOD INDIFFERENTLY

PUNISHES THROUGH GOOD AND EVIL ANGELS

22. And take notice that it is said

646–648 Gennadius Massiliensis, 1862: 49 652–658 Migne, ed., 1852: Num. 23:23 663–666 ibid.: Hab. 2:19 670–678 ibid.: Ps. 77:49

647 capabilis] capax *V* 648 datiu] *om. V* 651 addiscere] *marg. M₂* quia semper cum admiscione falsi *A₂* 659 Abacuc] Abacubh *B* 661 id est] *om. B* 661 auro] auror *P₁* 670 super] *marg. M₂* Sed numquid deus per bonos angelos bonis hominibus flagella, quod sic uidetur per glosam super Daniele VII: *milia milium ministrabant ei et cetera*; contra tamen patet per Iob, quod a malo, scilicet sathana, flagellatus est; respondeo, numquam bonus angelus bonos homines flagellat, sed malus, sed tamen dicitur flagellare, quia a deo et persidit flagellati, et hoc ideo ipsum permittat secundum uoluntatem propriam punire, excedent enim modum libertatis in alius *A₂*

647–648 Num. 25:11 659–663 Hab. 2:19

psalmum LXXVII, VI uersu: *misit deus per angelos malos, punit deus bonos et malos homines, sed bonos tantum corporalibus penis,* 675 *malos uero et corporalibus et spiritualibus penis. Per bonos uero angelos punit deus homines tantum corporalibus penis, nocere non sinuntur* a deo scilicet.

in Ps. 77:49, 6th verse: God unleashed bad angels, God punishes good and evil people. Though, he punishes good people exclusively by bodily punishments. In contrast, evil people are punished by corporal and spiritual penalties. God inflicts corporal punishments on people only through good angels, angels are not allowed to harm by God. 645R

ABBREVIATIONS

- Aug. De gen. Augustinus. 1894. *De Genesi ad litteram* [in Latin]. In *Sancti Aureli Augustini De Genesi ad litteram, De Genesi ad litteram liber imperfectus, Locutiones in Heptateuchum*, ed. by J. Zycha, 3–435. Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, 28/1. Wien and Leipzig: Tempsky-Freytag.
- Aug. De trin. Augustinus. 1968. *De trinitate libri xv* [in Latin]. Ed. by W. J. Mountain and F. Glorie. Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, 50–50A. Turnhout: Brepols.

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- . “Opus” [in Latin]. In *Fondo Antico presso la Biblioteca del Sacro Convento*. Assisi. Ms. 131.
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