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UMI
A PARTIAL EDITION OF
THE BOOK OF GOOD CONDICIONS
A MIDDLE ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF
LE LIVRE DES BONNES MOEURS OF JACQUES LEGRAND

EDITED FROM UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW
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by

Brian R. Campbell

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF GRADUATE
STUDIES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Sherbrooke, Quebec
1978

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"Shut up, Bobby Lee," The Misfit said.
"It's no real pleasure in life."

— Flannery O'Connor, "A Good Man Is Hard to Find"
CURRICULUM STUDIORUM

Brian R. Campbell was born May 23, 1943, in Canada. He has received a B.A. and an M.A. from the University of Alberta.
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INTRODUCTION

(1) JACQUES LEGRAND: HIS LIFE AND WORKS

When Byron remarked that Keats had been killed by an article, he spoke in jest.¹ For Jacques Legrand, buried by the disdain of Coville's *De Jacobi Magni: vita et operibus* (Paris: Hachette, 1889), it seemed to be the truth: no reference to Legrand appears in the *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*. Fortunately, work by Catholic scholars in the last twenty years has resulted in a more positive assessment of Legrand, but the power of the article, at least recent ones (and particularly those on religious subjects in religious periodicals), seems to have waned, for Jacques Legrand's *Book of Good Manners*, for which there are three English manuscript translations and six English printings before 1534 (*STC*, 2nd ed., Vol. 2, nos. 15394-15399.5), has remained untouched and largely ignored.

Given the abundance of information on Legrand, another recitation of his life seems redundant.² However, some


²Primary sources were unavailable to me owing to a lack of research money. Secondary sources include: Alfred Coville, cited above; Francis Roth, cited below; André Combes, "Jacques Legrand, Alfred Coville et le Sophilogium," *Augustiniana*, 7(1957), 327-348 and 493-514, and
basic knowledge about the man may perhaps stir an interest which the English title of his work has not. Jacques Legrand was an important figure in late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century Europe, and the numbers of his MSS and editions testify to his enduring popularity in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. My account of the life of Legrand relies heavily on Francis Roth's "Jacques Legrand," Augustiniana, 7(1957), 313-326, and "The Epitaph of Jacques Legrand," Augustiniana 7(1957), 485-492; material from these articles is acknowledged by the page number in brackets.

There are three areas in which we can trace the life of Jacques Legrand: his progress as a scholar, his reputation as a preacher, and his work as a politician and diplomat. An understanding of Legrand's scholarly career allows us to establish with reasonable certainty the dates of his birth and death. Roth's account of Legrand as a scholar (486-489) depends on his Epitaph (see Appendix 1) and on Denifle-Chatelain's Chartularium universitatis Parisiensis. The Epitaph tells us Legrand died before he achieved the

"laurea," while the *Chartularium* refers to him as *licentiatu*s when he participated in the Council of Faith held in Paris between December 1413 and January 1414. In addition, the *Chartularium* records "Fr. Jacobus Grandis alias Magni, August., biblicus 1401, sententiarus 1404, scripsit super Genesim, obiit 1415 Parisiis." ³ Alfred Coville has said that Legrand died in 1425 (p. 36) but Roth points to the documentary evidence above and Legrand's poor health in the early part of the fifteenth century, which Legrand mentions specifically in the foreword to his *Postilla super Genesim*, in suggesting 1414-1415 as the date of his death. *Postilla super Genesim* could not have been written after 1409, the year in which its patron, Michel Créney, Bishop of Auxerre, died. This, taken together with the lack of the laurea, which, given the normal delays, would have been awarded at this time, points conclusively to a date for Legrand's death in 1414-1415 (489). ⁴ In addition, no mention of him has been found in later records.

From here we can work backwards. Since a candidate did not become *sententiarus* until he was 35 years of age or older, and since Legrand was not *sententiarus* until 1404, we can place his birth at 1360-1370 (314). In addition, using the normal periods required to complete academic work, we

³Quoted by Roth, p. 488, n. 5.
⁴See also Combes, p. 328, n. 6.
can place his licentiate in 1409-1410, and his probable magisterium in 1410-1411 (489).

The sermons of Jacques Legrand date before 1409. He is recorded as having preached a sermon on the opening of the Paris chapter during Pentecost, 1393, but his most remembered sermons are the ones he preached on Ascension Day and on the day of Pentecost in 1405. Preaching before the court as official court preacher, and in the presence of Isabelle of Bavaria, he attacked the evils and excesses of the court, and particularly the misdeeds of the Queen and her favorite, the Duc d'Orléans. As one would expect, a scandal ensued. The King was interested enough that he ordered Legrand to preach again on the day of Pentecost so he could hear the preacher himself. Charles VI brought the King of Navarre, the Dukes of France, and a broad cross-section of the nobility. The sermon may have been more than the King expected (316-317). Legrand attacked the crown for imposing two heavy taxes in a single year and then doing nothing to improve the defence of the country. He went on to excoriate the Duc d'Orléans under the guise of a young man who had seemed promising as a youth:

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6 Ibid., p. 148.
7 Ibid., p. 149.
8 See also ibid., p. 150.
sed nunc propter inhonestam malam vitam et insatiabilem cupiditatem maledictiones plebis incurrerbat, cum omnes ab eo et sibi similibus intolerabiliter premereantur, et in finalibus conclusens, quod si diu continuarentur tot nephanda, non timebat quin Deus, qui potens est discingere balteum regum, quando placet, aut regnum in brevi transferret ad extraneos, aut propter mala principum divideretur in se ipso.  

The royal response to this sermon has not been recorded, but the fragments of these sermons have attracted praise, some writers comparing Legrand favorably with Gerson. Of particular interest is the response of Jean de Montreuil, the early French humanist, to Legrand's preaching. His letters to Legrand praise his wide learning, and he is said to have been so taken with Legrand's oratorical gifts that he listened to Legrand's preaching for six continuous hours on a certain Good Friday (315).

Jacques Legrand's involvement in ecclesiastical and secular politics comes as no surprise to those acquainted with the *Sophilogium*, and its translation and revision, *Le livre des bonnes moeurs* (Book of Good Manners), where whole sections are dedicated to the proper behavior of secular and ecclesiastical rulers.

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11 Combes, pp. 334-341, presents a discussion, as well as the texts, of the letters of Jean de Montreuil to Jacques Legrand.

12 See Appendix 2, where the chapter headings of *Sophilogium* appear.
We have already noted Legrand's involvement in the Council of Faith, 1413-1414, where the ideas of Jean Petit were considered and condemned—Legrand voting for condemnation. Earlier, in 1408, Legrand had been part of a delegation sent to Avignon by the University of Paris to persuade Benedict XIII to resign.\(^{13}\) His name also appears on a list of counselors recommended to King Charles VII in 1408 by Salmo, Secretary of the University. The recommendation, however, came to nothing, and Roth speculates this caused him to pursue reform through active party politics.

In the chaos which followed the assassination of the Duc d'Orléans in 1407 (killed returning from a late-night visit with the Queen), Legrand increasingly identified himself with the interests of the Armagnac faction. In an atmosphere of increasing street-violence, caused by the less-than-tacit alliance between the gangs led by Cabochet and the Burgundians, Legrand is said to have rallied the support of the disaffected. When the Armagnacs failed in an attempt to take the city by arms in 1411, Jacques Legrand was one of the Armagnac leaders who fell under the subsequent ban of excommunication. When the fortunes of war changed for the better, and the Armagnacs took Paris in 1413, Legrand is recorded as entering the city walking

\(^{13}\)My account of Legrand's political activities depends on Roth, pp. 317-319.
beside the King of Sicily, the Duc de Bourbon, and the Archbishop of Saon. He is said to have been offered the Archbishopric of Bordeaux, a post he did not take up.

In the years 1411-1413, Legrand was not idle, since he was involved in Armagnac planning. He took part in three missions to England in 1412 on behalf of his faction. The English were leagued with the Burgundians through a treaty with Henry IV, and the Armagnacs must have felt a realignment was necessary if their cause was to succeed. The second of the two missions was intercepted, and the Armagnac proposals were read to a great meeting of the nobles on April 6, 1412. Legrand's party proposed a military and financial alliance, coupled with the cession of Aquitaine. Coville describes Legrand as a traitor, but Roth counters that given the divided condition of France, such an alliance might have saved the French the agony of Agincourt (319). In any case, these were important negotiations, and Legrand was involved.

The only comprehensive treatment of Legrand's work is that of Evencio Beltran, who has edited some of Legrand's sermons and is preparing a critical edition of Sophilogium. Other discussions of Legrand suffer from incomplete

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14 Coville, p. 32.

15 "Jacques Legrand O.E.S.A.: Sa vie et son oeuvre," Augustiniana, 24 (1974), 132-160 and 387-414. The second of these articles discusses his work, and lists the MSS.
scholarship, which is the problem with the thesis of Alfred Coville, or from limited access to the MSS, which is the problem with the article of Francis Roth. Apart from Roth and Coville, other authors mention Legrand's oeuvre in passing; Beltran covers it in detail, correcting errors and omissions he has noticed. The discussion which follows is a brief summary of Beltran's work; the numbers at the end of each section refer to the page numbers there. His is a chronological treatment, and the order and the dating of the works reflect his conclusions. There are English MSS of Sophilogium and of Livre des bonnes moeurs, but the rest of his production seems unknown to the English. The Sophilogium and its translation and revision Livre des bonnes moeurs (Book of Good Manners) were the culmination of Legrand's achievement, and even a brief listing of his works may give us some idea of his development.

MAJOR WORKS

(1) Aristotelis, Seneae, Boecii dicta communiora: before 1395, a student work; it informs us of "les influences que l'auteur a subies et aussi sur sa manière de travailler;"

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387. (2) *Abbrevatio dictionarii Morales-Biblici Petri Berchorii*: 1395-1397; a résumé enriched by 1200 sayings and examples Legrand had culled from antiquity to correct their absence in the original; 388. (3) *Archiloge Sophie*: 1397; written for the instruction of Louis, Duke of Orleans, while Louis was still a youth; 388-390. (4) *Sophilogium*: 1400; ded. Michel Creney; for a discussion of dating see 390-393; 390-395. (5) *Compendium utriusque philosophie*: 1401; written for his students, the work proposes "avant tout d'expliquer et résumer la philosophie d'Aristote d'après les principes de la philosophie chrétienne;" 395-396. (6) *Principium super Bibliam*: 1401, date of his "baccalauréat biblique;" Holy Scripture is allegorized as a fountain which transforms itself into the "fleuve" of wisdom. This fountain is reached by other "rivières"—the study of the humanities and the authors of antiquity. Of Christian authors, he cites only St. Augustine and Boethius; 396-397. (7) *Postilla tam litteralis quam mystica super librum Genesis*: ca. 1401; ded. Michel Creney; part of a biblical commentary; 397-398. (8) *Expositio in Psalmo*: ca. 1401; ded. Creney; placed after the *Postilla* by Beltran for reasons of logic, this commentary, similar in form to the earlier one, ends with Psalm 7; 398-399. (9) *Aliqua originalia ad laudem Sacre Scripture*: date uncertain, ca. 1401-1404; a collection of *sententiae*, taken from the Church Fathers, in praise of Holy Scripture; 399. (10) *Introductorium sermocinandi*: 
after 1404; treats the different methods of introducing themes in preaching during Legrand's time; 399. (11) *Epilogium* (12 Latin sermons); before 1409; the sermons denounce "particulièrement les exactions perpétrées à l'encontre des pauvres, l'orgueil des princes et des seigneurs, le mauvais usage qu'ils font des richesses publiques, les mauvais collaborateurs et conseillers des princes, leur mépris de la parole de Dieu et leur bon accueil aux flatteurs;" 399-401. (12) *Collatio super Sentencias*: 1404; this work discusses the theological problems concerning the nature of God; 401-402. (13) *Lecture super quattuor libros Sentenciarum*: ca. 1404; this work is so dated because it must fall in the period when Legrand was named *sententiarus*; the work is more "dans la ligne de Gilles de Rome, que dans celle de Grégoire de Rimini;" 402. (14) *Le livre des bonnes moeurs*: 1410; ded. Jean, Duke of Berry; 403.

MINOR WORKS

(2) THE SOPHILOGIUM, ARCHILOGE SOPHIE, AND LIVRE DES BONNES MOEURS

The Archiloge Sophie, Sophilogium, and Livre des bonnes moeurs, and particularly the last two, are the core of Jacques Legrand's work. They are grouped together, not just by the popularity of Sophilogium and Livre des bonnes moeurs, but also because they share in a common approach to the matter discussed in them. This has led to theories about their relationship and controversy over their dates.

The Archiloge Sophie, dedicated to the Duke of Orleans, is a curious work. The six parts of the text do not correspond to the prologue, which announces a more or less complete treatment of the matter of Sophilogium in twelve books, divided in three parts.\(^\text{17}\) The Archiloge Sophie we have includes material dealt with exclusively in Book One of Sophilogium, and this has led R.H. Lucas to date the work 1407, the year of the Duke's death, and to assert that it is incomplete.\(^\text{18}\) Beltran, on the other hand, working from the evidence of the famous sermon of 1405, which described the Duke of Orleans as a promising youth gone bad, dates this work from the Duke's youth, which ended in 1397, when the Duke attained the age of twenty-five years.\(^\text{19}\) Beltran's theory

\(^{18}\) Lucas, pp. 202-203.
is that, while the Archiloge Sophie is still a translation, it is taken from an ur-text, which was the source of both the Archiloge Sophie and Sophilogium. 20

Whether Legrand's Archiloge Sophie is taken from Sophilogium, or both of them find their source in a common ur-text, Lucas's remarks (working from the conclusions of Roth 21) that Legrand's "translation is by no means literal" and "there are parts where no more than the general theme of a chapter or certain exempla can be traced to the Latin" 22 are still to the point. The same is true of the relationship of Sophilogium and Livre des bonnes moeurs, and if anything, here the changes are more radical, and the new book is altered both in form and content.

No one questions that the Livre des bonnes moeurs, completed in 1410, is a translation and revision of Sophilogium 2 and 3. Livre des bonnes moeurs is the French original of our Book of Good Manners, and the presentation MS (B.N. f. fr. 1023) tells us the translation was made under the patronage of Jean, Duc de Berry. In addition, we have some assurance that the book had a place in the ducal library, since it contains the notation: "Ce livre est du duc de Berry, Jehan I" (f.88v). Livre des bonnes moeurs enjoyed wide

22 Lucas, pp. 202-203.
circulation under two titles, the second being *Le Tresor de Sapience et Fleur de toute bonte*, and it continued in popularity on into the sixteenth century. Our knowledge of the patronage involved in this text is one of the pieces of information which allows us to tie Legrand to the Armagnac cause.

To understand the relationship of *Livre des bonnes moeurs* and *Sophilogium*, one must have in mind the chapter headings of *Sophilogium*. These are included in Appendix 2. A brief survey shows the *Sophilogium* is divided in three books: (1) The love of wisdom, (2) The love of virtues, and (3) Concerning the different conditions of life. Under these main headings, there are a total of ten tracts, which in turn are made up of individual chapters. Too often, laments Combes, the copyists have omitted the main division into books and left us with the ten tracts.  

This, he says, has disguised the economy of the design of *Sophilogium*, and made it seem loose and repetitive, a criticism Alfred Coville had brought against the work.

The *Livre des bonnes moeurs* is taken from *Sophilogium* 2 and 3, but Legrand has omitted *Sophilogium* 2, 1-3, and the rough outline of *Livre des bonnes moeurs* is found in *Sophilogium* 2, 4; 3, 1-4. The order of the parts has been

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23 Combes, p. 343.
24 Coville, p. 50.
altered, however, since Sophilogium 3,1, forms the fifth, and final, part of our work. Legrand seems to have felt that a consideration of death and the day of doom was an effective closing for Livre de bonnes moeurs. The organization of Sophilogium 3, on the other hand, is from the general to the particular: the tract which closes Livre des bonnes moeurs forms a general introduction on the condition of the world, with a treatment of each of the estates which make it up following after.

Both Sophilogium and Livre des bonnes moeurs are concise. Sophilogium takes less than 400 columns to complete a discussion which is two or three times as long in other works. The chapters are short—less than two-and-a-half columns on the average—and there is nothing diffuse about the text, which, according to Combes, shares much in common with a reader's notes. The brevity continues in Livre des bonnes moeurs. R.H. Lucas notes:

the Livre des bonnes moeurs may be called a condensation of the Sophilogium in that it possesses not one-half the length of the relevant parts of its model, nor in contrast to the Archirole Sophie does it contain any long interpolations.

Both Sophilogium and Livre des bonnes moeurs use the Classics, the Old and New Testaments, and the Church Fathers in defense of Christian morality, but there is a difference

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25 Combes, p. 491.
26 Combes, p. 491.
27 Lucas, p. 209.
in the balance in the two works. In *Sophilogium*, Legrand appeals more frequently to Greek and Latin antiquity than he does in *Livre des bonnes moeurs*. An example of Legrand's appeal to antiquity is *Sophilogium* 2, 2, 1, *Quomodo est credendum articulis fidei et etiam aliquo in lumine naturali*, where pagan thinkers are shown to have found the truths of the faith through natural reason. This part of *Sophilogium* 2 is omitted from *Livre des bonnes moeurs*, possibly because of Legrand's knowledge that "his translation would reach an audience as yet unsympathetic to the first faint rays of French humanism."

Jacques Legrand intended *Livre des bonnes moeurs* to be a major revision of *Sophilogium*. We can see this in the early parts of the work where, although he takes his general themes from *Sophilogium*, the *Livre des bonnes moeurs* takes hardly more than chapter headings and certain *exempla* from the earlier work. As the work progresses, however, it comes to resemble its source more closely, and by the time we reach *De statu plebanorum* (*Sophilogium* 3, 4) "little is changed indeed."

Evencio Beltran says *Livre des bonnes moeurs* is "plus

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28 Lucas, p. 209.
29 Edited with commentary, Combes, pp. 129-142.
30 Lucas, p. 209.
31 Lucas, p. 209.
32 Lucas, p. 209.
qu'un véritable traité sur les moeurs, est un florilège, où une simple phrase suffit en général à introduire une longue série de citations et d'exemples." At the lowest level Livre des bonnes moeurs is a collection of sententiae and exempla dealing with stock topics: not interesting material for modern readers. But André Combes, discussing Sophilogium 1, 1, 1, says that Legrand "consults"—that he is trying to show that when one considers the questions in his books in depth, both the intellegentsia (sententiae) and the record of history (exempla) support his basic premises. Legrand shows there is agreement, no matter where one looks. For him there is unity, and Livre des bonnes moeurs and Sophilogium are works of synthesis.

Writing on Sophilogium, André Combes notes of Legrand's organization of his materials that "le fil qui les relie est discret." The thread is somewhat thicker in Livre des bonnes moeurs, where the main moral point is found in the chapter headings, but Legrand's technique within chapters

34Combes, p. 498: "Dès cette introduction, quelques traits se révèlent dont il est assez clair qu'ils seront caractéristiques de l'œuvre tout entière. La méthode, d'abord. Jacques Legrand n'entend procéder ni en théologien ni en professeur. Au lieu de déduire ou d'enseigner, il consulte. Tout comme feraient les hommes du monde auxquels il s'adresse, il interroge les experts. Il recueille leurs réponses. De là vient qu'il s'abstienne de poser au principe de son œuvre une définition personnelle de la sagesse. Il compte qu'elle se dégagera de l'ensemble des opinions rapportées.
35Combes, p. 492.
remains the same. He divides his subject matter, and the *exempla* are carefully chosen to illustrate the sub-divisions he has made. The result is, when we look at the work as a whole, that we look at the record of history from continually changing perspectives: David is cited as an example of pride (186-189), and as an example of meekness (388-393); Aristotle appears as a wise philosopher (462-465, 474-476), and as the foolish victim of women (1304-1305); Noah is both an example of obedience (604-606), and an example of drunkenness (1071-1081).

*Livre des bonnes moeurs* is not a scholastic work. Although Legrand obviously was aware of the scholastics, their writings, with the exception of those of St. Bernard, find no place here. It is not philosophy, in the sense that it is not a work which depends on close reasoning. Rather, it is a work of advocacy: Legrand presents his evidence (*exempla*), and invites us to concur in his conclusions (*sententiae*). This style is not without its modern descendents in the courtroom, in expository writing, and in report writing. In the courtroom there is legal opinion and precedent. In expository writing there is a general statement of analysis and a series of examples which support it. In report writing there is a general conclusion and the evidence behind it. *Sententiae* and *exempla* are limiting terms; the thought patterns behind them are more important than that.

Why should *Livre des bonnes moeurs* have a lasting
appeal in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries? First, Le-
grand had a knowledge of the classics and the fathers com-
parable to few of his age. Both his epitaph and the letters
of Jean de Montreuil make his reputation as a scholar clear.
Also, it showed how to marshall a learned argument, and it
provided access to material which could be placed in such
arguments. There was a need for wide-ranging works like
this in an age when the access to texts was limited and when
curiosity, particularly in the middle classes, was increas-
ing. Caxton's preface in his version of the English trans-
lation shows a link between education, personal development,
and morality that reminds one of modern attitudes. "The
comyn people," he says, "whiche without enformacion and ler-
nyng ben rude and not manerd lyke vnto beestis brute" will
profit from this book because the lessons it gives are "for
the moost part ... aledged by scrypтуре of the byble. or
ellis by sayeng of holy sayntes / doctours / philosophres. and
poetes."36 One might add that Legrand seems to have aimed
his book at a non-clerical readership, since he specifically
includes sections addressed to the nobles and to the common
people, and since he takes the trouble to address his audi-
ence in the vernacular.

36 The Prologues and Epilogues of William Caxton, ed. W.J.B. Crotch, EETS
OS, 176 (1928; rpt. London: OUP, 1956), pp. 99-100. I have retained
Crotch's punctuation, but I have taken the liberty of expanding the
abbreviation of "and."
(3) THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF LIVRE DES BONNES MOEURS AND BN.
   f.fr. 1023

(i) THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW LIBRARY MS. HUNTER 78

The Middle English translation of Jacques Legrand's Livre des bonnes moeurs on which this edition is based is found in the University of Glasgow Library MS. Hunter 78, ff.1r-39v. The work, here called the "Book of Good Condicions," is the sole work in this MS. The MS was bound in the eighteenth century. The binding consists of millboards, covered with quarter calf and marbled paper. The binding has a gilt title printed vertically: "BOOK OF GOOD CONDITIONS." The MS has two paper fly-leaves, the second attached to the first quire. Then follow three quires, the first two of twelve folios each, the third of fifteen folios. The inner and outer sheets of each quire are vellum, and there is a half-sheet of vellum at f.31 in the third quire. The third quire is followed by one original vellum fly-leaf and two paper fly-leaves. The first of these final two paper fly-leaves is attached to the third quire. Apart from the fly-leaves, which are eighteenth-century, and the vellum sheets we have already noted, the MS is written on paper with the same watermark throughout: this is what Briquet in Les filigranes calls "tête de boeuf à yeux et à narines." The
watermark is similar to, but not identical with, 14.954, to which Briquet assigns dates in the 1430s. 37

The MS is well and evenly written in an English bastard hand which distinguishes p and y, but not u and n. 3 appears from time to time in this MS. The pages are margined in brown crayon, but not ruled; the writing area is 8\(\frac{2}{9}\)" \(\times\) 5\(\frac{3}{9}\)" and filled with single columns of 40-45 lines. The pages themselves are 11\(\frac{1}{4}\)" \(\times\) 8\(\frac{1}{4}\)". Rubrics and capitals are picked out, in places, with red. The MS uses catchwords, and there is foliation in pencil in an eighteenth-century hand. There are no signatures, and, in the text itself, there is no marginalia.

The autograph "Tho: Martin" appears on the first fly-leaf, verso. Above it is "412" and below it is "62". On the second fly-leaf, verso, one finds "The Book of Good Conditions," written in an eighteenth-century hand. Young and Aitken in their Catalogue remark that many other MSS in the Hunter collection seem to have come from the library of Thomas Martin. 38 Thomas Martin (1696-1771) lived in Palgrave, Suffolk, and was called "Honest Tom Martin of Palgrave." He

37 C. M. Briquet, Les filigranes, 2nd ed., 4 vols. (1923; rpt. New York: Hacker, 1966), sub numero. A tracing of the watermark was kindly sent to me by J. Baldwin, Keeper of Special Collections, The University of Glasgow Library. My description of the MS is based on John Young and P. Henderson Aitken, A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of the Hunterian Museum in the University of Glasgow (Glasgow: James Maclehose, 1908), p. 86, and on an examination of the microfilm of the MS.

38 P. 86.
was recorded as "often drunk in a morning with strong beer
.... His thirst after antiquities was as great as his
thirst after liquors." 39

The *explicit* of this MS, which does not appear in this
partial edition, is on f.39v:

Wherbi it appirep that the hope of pem avyyleth pem lytil pat
seith pis world xal endure ryte longe, etcetera.

Here endyth pe Book of Good Condicions opirwyse called pe
Sophiloge of Wysdam.

(ii) BRITISH MUSEUM MS. HARLEY 149

A translation of *Livre des bonnes moeurs* forms part of the
contents of British Museum MS. Harley 149. 40 The contents of
this MS are:

(1) The table of contents of *Dives et Pauper*,
    ff.1r-6v.

(2) *Medicamenta nonnulla contra sciaticam et*
    *hydropem*, f.6v.

(3) The text of *Dives et Pauper*, ff.7r-182v.

(4) *The Book of Good Manners*, ff.183r-252r.

(5) *Pe cene that oure lorde made with hys*

39 *The Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. Sidney Lee, 68 vols. (Lon-
don: Smith, Elder, 1885-1901), XXXVI, 297.

40 My description of British Museum MS. Harley 149 is taken from R. Nares
*et al.*, *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum*,
4 vols. (1808; rpt. New York: Georg Olms, 1973), I, 44, and from an
examination of the microfilm of the MS. I also received valuable in-
formation regarding the size, binding, and present condition of MS.
Harley 149 from Dr. A.P. Campbell, who has seen it.
(6) *Nichodemus his gospel*, ff. 255r-263r.
(7) *Serteyn storyes of thynges done after his passyoun*, ff. 263r-276v.
(8) *A tretys of the veronycle*, ff. 276r-279r.
(9) *A tretys betwene Sainct Petres and Sainct Symon Magus*, ff. 270r-280v.
(10) *The obyte of Pylat*, f. 280v.
(11) *The decollacyoun of S. Petre and S. Poule*, f. 280v.
(12) *The worthy tokens going before the general doom*, f. 281r.

The folios of this MS are uniformly numbered in an eighteenth-century hand, and there is a sheet of some sort dividing the MS in two parts at f. 182v. The MS is currently bound in boards and leather, and from its appearance seems to have been taken from an older binding and pasted into this one.\(^4\) Because of its condition, little can be determined about the collation of the MS, although the second part would seem to have been collated in twelve-page sections, since there are catchwords at 193v, 205v, 217v, 229v, 241v, 253v, 265v, and 277v in our section of the MS. There are no signatures. The pages in the MS measure 265 × 195 mm, and the writing area is 240 × 163 mm. *The Book of Good*

\(^4\) Dr. A.P. Campbell has noted this.
Manners is written in single columns of 30-33 lines, and there is no visible ruling, either for lines or margins. Given the size of the writing area in relation to the size of the page, one would expect little marginalia, and there is only one example of it on f.240v, where there are some scribbles. In the first part of the MS, ff.104, 110, 114, 118, 139, 159, 160, 161, 162, and 168 are either cut or torn; such damage does not occur in the second part of the MS.

The Book of Good Manners is evenly written on paper in a fifteenth-century English bastard hand which distinguishes y and þ but not u and n. It is a cursive hand, not a book hand.42

The divisions of the text are:

*Incipit, f.183r:*

here begynnethe the table of the ruberryssches of a booke yt-tytuled of goode maneres composed by ffrere jacques the grete.

*Beginning of the text, f.184r:*

all prowde men thenken that they may compare wyth god yn as moche as they be glorefyed yn hem self.

*Explicit, f.252v:*

wherfor yt appereth that the trust of hem ys lytel worth whych seyen the worlde schal endure longe.

here endyth the booke of goode maneres or of good condi-cyouns.

here aftyr foloweth þe cene þat our lorde made wyth hys dys-ysplys.

(iii) BRITISH MUSEUM ADDITIONAL MS. 5467

A Middle English translation of Livre des bonnes moeurs forms part of the contents of British Museum Additional MS. 5467. The contents of this MS are:

(1) The tellynge of ... Godfray upon palladie, an agricultural treatise of some sort, ff.1r-16r.

(2) The tretie of Nicholas Bollard, another agricultural treatise, ff.16r-21r.

(3) A confused section including an unidentified religious tract, Latin inscriptions, and an autograph, ff.21r-22v.

(4) Le maner pour rost briller & frier, a cookbook, ff.23r-66v.

(5) John Lydgate, Stans puer ad mensam, ff.67r-68v.

(6) The parayllous dayes of the yeere, ff.69r-71r.

(7) Medecynes of maistre William ... gyven to kyng Henry, ff.71r-71v.

(8) Medesynes approbate for mortal sekenessesesse by saynte Beede, ff.71v-72r.

My description of British Museum Additional MS. 5467 is based on an examination of the microfilm, and on information kindly drawn from the MS for me by Dr. A.P. Campbell.
(9) The horrible murdor of the kyng of Scottes, ff.72v-84v.

(10) An approbate mediciyne for the Epidemye, ff. 85r-87r.

(11) The ... peace betwe Sigismonde Emperour and kyng Henry, ff.87v-96v.

(12) The Book of Good Manners, ff.97r-211r.

(13) The governance of kynges and prynces, ff.211r-224v. This is incomplete, as it ends in middle of Chapter 16.

Immediately following f.72v, a folio has been torn and has not been counted in the foliation. In addition, there is a gap between f.132v-f.132r which represents another missing folio, and which comprises ll. 1561-1600 in the present edition. Therefore, the MS has 226 leaves. I have preserved the numbers given by the foliator in my description. In addition, the MS has one fly-leaf at the front. This is a later addition, because it does not exhibit the water damage which increasingly affects the first 40 folios of the MS. There is also water damage at the top of ff.195-224. The folios are numbered in a late, possibly nineteenth-century, hand. The lateness of the foliation is evident in that it has not been affected by the water damage.

The MS is currently bound in boards and leather, and the page size is 7" × 9". The writing area is 4½" ×
5½". The corners of the pages are rounded. The Book of Good Manners is written in single columns of 22-27 lines, and there is no visible ruling, either for lines or margins. It was impossible to determine the collation of the Book of Good Manners from the evidence on the microfilm. Catchwords appear at the bottom of every verso page ff.97-155, with the exception of f.147v, and randomly after that. There are no signatures.

The Book of Good Manners is written in a fifteenth-century cursive hand which does not distinguish u and v, and in which b does not appear. The hand shows many of the characteristics of the developing secretary hand.45

The MS is replete with marginalia, and includes autographs, mathematical calculations, and some marginal notations and verse. In many places the marginalia are just mindless doodles. The autographs of Marmaduke Towland and Robt. Thomas appear on f.22r, and we have another example of Towland's autograph with the autograph of Richard Atkinson on f.97v. There is the autograph of one "Shirelay" on f.142r, possibly the scribe's signature. As well, in our work, the rubrics and chapter numbers appear in the outside margins, and the title of the work—"Bones Meures"—is

44 The information about the binding and page size is Dr. A.P. Campbell's; the size of the writing area was calculated from the microfilm.
divided between the top margins of the verso and recto pages. In the top margin of most recto folios, the part number and chapter number are indicated in Roman numerals. Examples of marginalia in this MS can be found on ff.122r, 114v, 115v, 117v, 127r, and 149v. The treatment of marginalia is not exhaustive, as there is not sufficient space for that.

A handwritten note on the fly-leaf records that the MS belonged to Ralph T. Lovesby, but more information about him has not been traced. The prologue (see below) of the Book of Good Manners attributes the translation of the work from Latin to French to a mysterious John of Wiequay, and dates the work at 1390. The prologue goes on to claim this English translation for John Shirley, and fixes the date and place as 1440 and London.

The divisions of the text are:

*Incipt, f.97r:*

Tabula de Bones Mures etcetera

Ere begynnyth the Table
of the Boke in ffrenche

les bones mures in Engleshe the gode maners that is com- poised and entitld in five parties made in translacion out of latyne ynto ffrenshe at the ... of Orliaunce by maistre John of Wieguay the yere of oure lord a thousand thre hundreth foure score and tene And now translated oute of ffrenshe into Englisshe by youre umble servytoure John Shirley att the full noble honorable and renowned cite of london so as feblesse wold suffice in his grete and last age the yere of oure lord a thousand foure hundreth fforty the which lowly he submitteth to youre favourable supporte and correccion.

*Beginning of the text, f.99v:*

Alle prowde folke wolde be like to god in somuche that they
glorifie them of them selfe.

Explicit, f.211r:

By the which it appereth that litill is worth hope of hem
that sayn that the world shall longe laste.
And thus here endeth the boke cleped les bones meurs.

(iv) CAXTON'S BOOK OF GOOD MANNERS:
BRITISH MUSEUM IB. 55125

Caxton translated and, on 11 May 1487, finally printed the
first English edition of the Book of Good Manners, STC, 15394.
Caxton undertook his translation at the request of William
Praat, a London mercer, who had recently passed away.46 Cax-
ton calls him "my synguler frende," and we have no reason to
doubt that. The book was a popular one in any case. It was
reprinted by R. Pynson in 1494 and 1500 (STC, 15395-15396)
and Wynken de Worde in 1498, 1507, and 1526 (STC, 15397-
15399). A fragment of another printing, tentatively dated
1531-34, also exists (STC, 15399.5). The reason for the sud-
den disappearance of the Book of Good Manners from the prin-
ters' lists, is probably the reason for the disappearance of
many other Catholic texts—the Act of Supremacy of 1534, and
the censorship which followed. The available microfilm of
British Museum IB. 5512547 is of an imperfect copy, and

99-100.

47 My description of British Museum IB. 55125 is taken from Seymour de
Ricci, A Census of Cartons (London: Bibliographical Society (OUP),
1909), pp. 73-74, and from an examination of the microfilm.
missing passages have been taken from the microfilm of STC, 15395, the 1494 edition of the same translation printed by R. Pynson.

The Book of Good Manners is printed in single columns of type No. 5.\(^{48}\) There are 33 lines to the page, and the printed area measures 191 × 115 mm. The Book of Good Manners has 66 leaves bound in marked signatures. Signatures \(a-g\) are gatherings of eight folios; \(h\) has ten folios. There are wood-cut initials of two-three lines in depth. The edition lacks foliation, pagination, and catchwords.

British Museum IB. 55125 measures 285 × 197 mm, and was bound together with a copy of Caxton's Ryall Book and Doctrinal of Sapience on either side of it. These books have been removed and rebound; their places are taken by blank pages. The old leather binding, which has been retained, is called "original" by de Ricci.\(^{49}\) There are no visible marginalia in this copy. British Museum IB. 55125 lacks \(a 1, e 4-5, f 5, h 1,\) and \(h 10.\) In addition, there are no signatures for \(f,\) and while there are usually signatures with letters and roman numerals for the first four sheets of each gathering, this is not always the case: \(d 3\) and \(4,\) and \(e 4\) are lacking. Because of these problems, I have treated the


\(^{49}\) de Ricci, p. 74.
book as if it were foliated in my notes. For example, a 2r becomes f.2r. There are differences in the organization of chapter headings between MS. Hunter 78 and British Museum IB. 55125. I have expressed these differences by indexing the book and chapter numbers as follows: 4,8 is book four, chapter 8. A parallel list of the two texts appears below.

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{GH (MS. Hunter 78)} & \text{C (British Museum IB. 55125)} \\
4,8 & 4,8 \\
4,9 & 4,11 \\
4,10 & 4,12 \\
4,11 & 4,13 \\
4,12 & 4,9 \\
4,13 & 4,14 \\
5,1 & 5,1 \\
5,2 & 4,10 \\
5,3 & 4,15 \\
5,4 & 5,4 \\
5,5 & 5,2 \\
5,6 & 5,3 \\
5,7 & 5,5 \\
5,8 & 5,6 \\
5,9 & 5,7 \\
\end{array}
\]

The divisions of the text are:

**Incipit (missing, taken from Blades's transcription (II, 190) of f.1r):**

When I consyder the condicions and maners of the comyn people whiche without enformacion and lernyng ben rude and manerd lyke unto beestis brute.

**Beginning of the text, f.3r:**

Every proud persone wold compare hym self to god in so moche as they gloryfye them self.

**Explicit (missing, taken from Blades's transcription (II, 190) of f.65v):**

Wherfore it apperith / that lytyl avaylleth the hope of them that sayen that the world shal endure moche longe /.

Explicit /et hic est finis /per Caxton etcetera
Finished and translated out of frenshe in to englysshe the vii day of Juyn the yere of our lord M iiiii C lxxxvi / and the first yere of the regne of kyng harry the vii / And em-pynted the xi day of Maye after / etcetera.

(v) LIVRE DES BONNES MOEURS:
BN. f. fr. 1023

The microfilm of BN. f. fr. 1023 arrived too late for a proper description. The Livre des bonnes moeurs, the only work in this MS, comprises f.1r-f.88r; the signature of Jean, Duc de Berry, appears on f.88v. The MS is written in a Gothic book hand which does not distinguish u and v. It is heavily illuminated, with many illustrations and ornate capitals. From its appearance, it is a carefully-made book.

The divisions of the text are:

Incipit, f.1r:

Ce Liure Fist Frere Jacques Le Grant de Lordre de Hermites de Saint Augustin. Et Le donna a Jehan Fils de Roi de France Duc de Berry et Dauuergne.

Beginning of the text, f.5r:

Orgueil desplaist a dieu. car tous orguilleux le veulent a dieu comparer en tant quil3 le glorifient en eulx meismes.

Explicit, f.88r:

Par quoi il appert que pou vault lesperance de ceulx qui tient que le monde durece moult longuement.

Cy fine la tierce partie de ce liure. Deo gracias.

Because the French MSS of Livre des bonnes moeurs are still unedited, a critical edition of the English translations is impossible. The textual notes in this edition show that such wide variance in errors of attribution, and, in
some cases, in passages of the text that it is safe to con-
clude the English translations are the work of individual
men, probably working from separate French MSS. Of the
translations, Caxton's seems the most reliable, with MS.
Hunter 78 and MS. Harley 149 not far behind. The work of
John Shirley in British Museum Additional MS. 5467 is slip-
shod by comparison. There are, however, errors in all of
them, and these errors do not follow any pattern which would
indicate a direct relationship among them.

(4) A NOTE ON THE TEXT

The transcription was made from prints of the microfilm of
the MS and compared, in cases of doubt, with the microfilm.
Lack of funding made comparison with the MS itself impos-
sible. The punctuation, capitalization, and to some extent
the division of words, have been made to conform with modern
practice, as have the distinctions between i and j and u and
v. Abbreviations and contractions have been expanded with-
out notice. Both thorn (þ) and yogh (ȝ) have been retained
wherever they occur. There are examples of "ff" in the MS;
these have been transcribed as a single letter and capital-
ized where capitalization is appropriate. Numbers, which
appear as roman numerals in the MS, have been spelled out in
Modern English, with the exception of chapter numbers in the
body of the text. Frequently, these are given in Latin by
the scribe, and are uniformly given in Latin in the transcription.

Emendations have been kept to a minimum, and all emendations are covered in the notes. The addition of material into the text is indicated by pointed brackets <>; redundant material is enclosed in square brackets []. All emendations are, of course, mine, as the text has not been edited before.

The English translations of Livre des bonnes moeurs have been assigned sigla in the notes; University of Glasgow Library MS. Hunter 78 is GH; British Museum MS. Harley 149 is H; British Museum Additional MS. 5467 is BM; Caxton's translation, British Museum IB. 55125, is C. BN. f. fr. 1023 has not been systematically compared to the English translation in GH, but where this MS figures in the notes, its siglum is F.

(5) AN EXPLANATORY NOTE

This partial edition concentrates on the English manuscripts of Livre des bonnes moeurs and on the sources of Livre des bonnes moeurs. It does not consider the dialect and the language of the manuscripts, and it does not treat them as examples of fifteenth-century translation. In addition, no effort has been made to place Livre des bonnes moeurs against the background of similar writing in the period.
APPENDIX 1

THE EPITAPH OF JACQUES LEGRAND

Reproduced below is Francis Roth's transcription and translation of the Epitaph of Jacques Legrand, MS. Arsenal 542, f.81v. The transcription and translation are taken from "The Epitaph of Jacques Legrand," Augustiniana 7(1957), pp. 486-487.

EPITAPHIUM FRATRIS JACOBI MAGNI, PARISIENSIS

in sacra pagina licentiatì, auctoris huius voluminis et plurimorum aliorum, filii huius conventus, qui Pictavis sepultus, honorifice iacet ante altare maius.

1 In fluvium magnum crescentis fontis hic instar
2 Sub tellure iacet Jacobi corpus venerandi
3 In populos, clericum dicti cognomine Magni.
4 Magnus nempe fuit non tantum nomine functus
5 Parisios inter doctores ordinis huius.
6 Qui innumeras haussit studiis noctesque diesque
7 Aeternae referens condigna praemia laudis
8 Parisius, quae tibi nunc Pictavis hospita tanti [sunt],
9 Cui praefata dedit hunc parta licentia birri,
10 Sed mors ante tuli quam laurea vel potiretur.
11 Cuius vivit adhuc nostris sua fama superstes
12 Temporibus, quem nulla queat delere vetustas.
13 At quae cumque cupit eius delitescere scriptis
14 Posteritas, monimenta legat, sic grandia noscet.
15 Novorum, veterum interpres Jacobus loquiorum
16 Magnus doctorum tot scripsit quot quis eorum:
17 Carminis eloquiique modos sacrique viaque.
18 Et quae conveniunt multis communibus artes.
19 Quo duce iam veniunt Parnassi a vertice Musae.
20 Hinc eius animae dives pro munere honores
21 Vera Sophia ferat conculcans Tartara, Manes.
Amen.
Translation

"Epitaph for Friar Jacques Legrand of Paris, licentiate in Sacred Scripture, author of this and many other works, son of this convent, who lies buried in Poitiers, where he has the place of honor before the high altar".

1 Faithful to his motto: "A rivulet growing into a GREAT river"
2 Lies here under the earth the body of Jacques, venerable
3 Among laity and clergy and called by the name LE GRAND.
4 GREAT he was and not merely so named, having labored
5 Among the Parisian Doctors of this Order [of St. Augustine]
6 He spent innumerable days and nights in his studies
7 Gaining rewards worthy of eternal praise
8 In Paris. These [rewards] grant you now a resting place
9 of such excellence at Poitiers.
10 To Poitiers aforesaid Paris has entrusted him after he had obtained the licence for the birettum
11 But death took him away before he could (really) gain
12 the laurea.
13 His fame is fully alive in our own days,
14 Him no hoary age can make obscure.
15 But should future ages forget the treasures hidden in his writings
16 Let them read his monumental works and they shall learn things that are GREAT.
17 And interpreter of the Old and New Testaments Jacques
18 The GREAT among the doctors wrote as many books as any of them.
19 [He wrote] modes and rules for poetry and sacred eloquence
20 And a manual of mnemonics useful for many subjects.
21 Under his guidance the Muses come from the height of the Parnassus.
22 Hence, may true Wisdom trampling under foot the infernal spirits
23 Bring to his soul honors divine and well deserved.

Amen.
APPENDIX 2

THE CHAPTER HEADINGS OF SOPHILEGION

Reproduced below is André Combes's transcription of the chapter headings of Sophilogium. The transcription, taken from his "Jacques Legrand, Alfred Coville et le Sophilogium," Augustiniana, 7(1957), pp. 344-348, is of MS. B.N. lat. 3. 235, f.1 a-c, with corrections made from MS. B.N. lat. 14.901. I have omitted Combes's textual notes in Appendix 2. Since MS. B.N. lat. 3.235 is written in two columns, letters a and b apply to recto folios, and c and d apply to verso folios. Combes indicates where the books and tracts fall in MS. B.N. lat. 3.235 by giving the folios and letters in brackets.

Liber 1. De amore sapientie (fol. 1 d - 17 d)

Tractatus I.

De quibusdam que inducunt ad amorem sapientie (1 d - 10 a)

studis et sectis philosophorum (8 b - 9 a). — 16. Quomodo magice artes sunt inutiles (9 a - 10 a).

Tractatus II.

De inventione scientiarum et earum fine (10 a - 17 d)


Liber II. De amore virtutem (17 d - 69 b)

Tractatus I.

De quibusdam inducentibus ad amorem virtutem (17 d - 25 a)


Tractatus II.

De virtutibus theologici (25 b - 34 b)


Tractatus III.

De virtutibus cardinalibus (34 b - 46 c)


Tractatus IV.

De virtutibus capitalibus (46 c - 69 b)

invidia (68 c - 69 b).

Liber III. De instructione statuum (69 b - 99 b)

Tractatus I.

De casu statuummundi et de consideratione mortis (69 b - 74 c)


Tractatus II.

De statu ecclesiasticorum (74 c - 80 a)


Tractatus III.

De statu nobilium (80 a - 90 c)


Tractatus IV.

De statu plebanorum (90 c - 99 b)

ABBREVIATIONS


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Epicurus. See also Diogenes Laertius.


Fulgentius. See Whitebread.


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BOOK OF GOOD CONDICIONS

aliam

Sophology of Wisdam

<here begynneth þe table of the rubryches of þe
5 book whych is called Good Condycions, oþerwyse the
Sophiloge of Wysdam. The whiche seyd book is devyded
in þre partie. The fyrrst parte spekyth of þe seven
dedely synnes, and of þe remedyes ageyns þem. The
secound parte spekyth of state of men of the chirche.
The thirde parte spekyth of þe state of knyghtes and
of prynces. The fouyrth parte spekyth of state of þe
comoun pepil. The fyfth parte speketh of deth and the
day of dome, etcetera.

<here begynnyth the rubryches of the fyrrst parte.
15 Fyrst, etcetera:
How pryde dysplesith God
How pryde blyndeth the undirstondyng of a
persone
How mekenes maketh a man to knowe hymself
How mekenes is plesaunt bothe to God and to
the worlde
How a creature schulde obeye mekely to God
How ingratiytude dysplesyth God
How a man xulde have pacyence in adversite

one
two
three
four
five
six
seven
25 How ire and hate noyeth every creature
eight
How none schulde stryve ne cause noyse
nine
How men schuld leve sobyrly
ten
How abstynence is cause of mych goodnes
eleven
How a man schuld leve chastely
twelve
30 How of letchery cometh mych harme
thirteen
How the vertu of gode wyl is ageyns þe
fourteen
synne of envye
fifteen
How þe vertu of diligens is ageyns þe
sixteen
synne of slawth
seventeen
35 How þe vertu of liberallyte is ageyns þe
eighteen
synne of avaryce
eighteen
How avaryce bryngeth a man to evyl haven
et cetera:
and maketh hym to lyve in wrechidnes and
fortyseven
in povyrte
fortyeight
40 How the state of poverté is ful plesaunt
eighteen
to God
fourtyeight
45 <H>ere folowyth the rubryches of þe secounde parte,
fortyeight
etcetera:
fortyeight
How men schulde worchepe the chyrch and
one
have it in reverens
two
How the pepil of the chyrch, and in
two
especial prelates, xuld lyve chastly
three
How prelates schulde governe and tech
three
þer sogettes and yeve almes unto þe
three
poure pepyll
How men of the chirche xuld preche and telle
the trouthe of the feyth
How men xuld study and lern and special holy
scripture

55  <H>ere begynneth the rubryches of the thirde parte.
Fyrst:
How prynces schulde be pitous and mercyful
How prynces schulde be of good lyvyngge and
of good condycionis
How prynces xulde not be negardis nor
coveytous
How princes xulde maynteyn and kepe justyce
How princes xulde be meke, softe, and
debonayre

60  How princes xulde be sobre, chaste, and of
good levyng
How and whereupon prynces schulde employe
them
How knytes schulde govern them

65  Aftyr þis begynneth þe rubryches of þe fourth
parte. Fyrst:
How none xuld gloryfy e hym in rychesse
How the state of poverté schulde be plesaunt
to God
How auncient men xuld be good, wyse, and
vertuows

75  four
five
one
two
three
four
five
six
seven
eight/

f.1v
How yonge men schuld govern þem wysely
How men xulde maynteyn þem and govern them
in þe state of mariage
How women xulde govern them and quat
condicions þei xuld have
How þei xulde maynteyn virgynite and
maydenhood
How þe state of wedowhede sculd be kept
holyly
How kyn, and in esspecial fader and moder,
xulde þinke on þer children
How chyldren xulde obeye and worchepe þer
kyn
How marchauntes schuld maynteyn þem in
þer marchaundyses
How servauntes xulde maynteyn and govern
þem in þer servysye
How the state of a pylgrym xulde be
maynteyned

<Here begynneth the robruches of þe fifth parte of
þis book:
How the lyfe of þis world is schort and
lytil while endures
How tho that lyveth schrewdly xul deye
schrewydly
How all dedely synne deservyth deth
How good lyfe deservyth good deth
How men xulde dysprayse thys present lyfe
How none xulde doute the deth
How it is a profytable thyng to þink on deth
How none xuld make his sepulture to coryous
How menne xuld þink on þe day of dome

Here begynneth the fyrst parte of thys book called
Good Condicions, the which spekyth of the remedyes þat
is ageyns þe seven dedely synnes. And þe fyrst, how
pryde displesyth God. þe first chapitre:

<P>ryde wole compare to God, inasmyche as þei
gloryfye in þemself, and in the goodes þat þei have,
of þe which thyngys þe glorye is pryncipally owe to
God. It is a gret abusyoun whan a creature takith a
pryde in hymself of þe goodis þat God hath sent hym,
for the which he xulde be þe meker to God, the better
and the more devoutely serve hym and knowe hym.

Therfor þe prophete seith God resistyth proud pepil,
þe which be vyleynes houndes among men. The first was
Lucifer, that thorow his pryde fel from he<vyn> into
helle—he and al þo þat consentid to his synne. On
the same wise, our first fadyr Adam, by his mystakyng,
he dysobeyed to God and obeyed to the serpent, which
seyd he xuld be lyche God so þat he ete of the frute
þat was defendid hym. And for he consented he was put
out of paradyse, as it is schewyd in the Book of
Genesis. Also Agar, Sare chaumberer, to Abrahaum was proude augeyns hyr masyries for a chylde þat sche had be the seyd Abrahaum. But veryly for hyr pryde / sche was put oute, both she and hyr childe. And þer was nopyng yovyn to hyr at hyr departyn but a lytil bred and watyr, as it is schewid in the sixteenth chapetter of Genesis. Moreover we rede how the pryde of Nem-broth, and of many othyr, was in gret parte cause of þe devysion of the world, and of many hurtes, as it is schewed in þe fifth book aforeseyd. And aftyr the flood were the geauntes, þe which þrow ther pryde toke upon þem to assayle hevyn. And they edified the toure of Babiloyn. And therfor þei wer devyded in many langages, insomyche that on undyrstood nat anothyr, as it is schewed in the eleventhe parte of Genesis. And mesemyth þat pryde ryse nat but of foly. For who so knowe it wel, yf he be evyl, he hath cause of gret mekenes, for every synne is schame. And 3yf he be good on the same wyse, he hath cause of gret mekenes, for the grace þat God hath yovyn hym, inasmych as he is good and aggrearabl to God. And moreover the punysshment that we rede of that proude pepil have counceyld us to have mekenes. And indede we rede how Pharao was so proud that he seyd he knew not quat God was, and that he sette no store be hym, as it is schewyd in the fifth chapetter of Exode. But veryli
he was punysshid, he and all his. Moreover we rede how Amon for his pryde wolde ben worchepid of all men. And he was ryte angry with Mardoche, a man so called because that he wold nat worchepe hym. But, veryli, the seyd Amon was hangen on a gybet, the which he had ordeyned to hangyn on the Childre of Issirael, as it shewyth in the third chapetter of Hester. Also Abymalech, be his pryde, made hym to ben slayn. For because a woman had smeten hym, he called a sqwyer of hys and seyd to hym: "Smyte me to, to the entent pat men schal not sey a woman hath kylled me." As it shewyth in the ninth chapitre of þe Book of Juges. Rede we nat also how Balthasar for hys pryde was slayn. And Nabugodonosor was put from hys sege and chaunged to a beste, as it schewyth in the fifth chapitre of Danyel. Anthiocus also for his pryde he was gretly punysshid of God and smytten with a wounde the which myte nat be hole, as it scheweth in the Second Book of Machabeus. And generally all proude pepil hath veryly ben lowned. Rede we nat how the pryde of Nycanor was dyscounfyte and brout to no3t, as it appereth in the Book of Machabeus, þe fyrst book and þe eighth chapitre. And Absolon, which wolde a put his fader David fro his rewme, was he nat veleylyn slayn, as it apperith in þe Second Book of Kynges, in the fifteenth chapitre? Quat made Pheton to falle but
his pride, / for he wold a governed the hevyn over be comawndement of his fader Phebus. And therfor he fel unworshipfully as Ovide telleth in hys Fyrst Book of Methamorfoseos. Wherfor was Dedalus son drowned, but for he wold fle to hye agenys the techyng of his fadyr, as Ovide tellith? And David was punysshid gretly because he made his pepil to be noumbred whiche wer his sogettes, as it apperyth in the Secound Book of Kynges, the twenty-fourth chapitre. Heroude also was ryte proude, and therfor the aungel smote hym, as it apperyth in the Book of the Apostelis Dedys. And because þat our savyour Criste Jhesu wold shew to his apostelys þat pryde displesid hym, he repreved þem because thei glorified þemself, seying to Cryste:

"Ser, in thy name, the ennemyes be sogettes to us."

And þan Jhesu Cryste, to withdrawe þem fro pryde, he leggyd them the story aboveseyd of the aungel Lucifer þat fel from hevyn to helle for þat þei shulde take exaumpil, as it apperith in the tenth chapitre of þe Gospel Seynt Luke. Mesemyth for to flee pryde we have sufficient exaumplis in these þinges aforeseyd. But moreover it is good to considre how pride is nat all only noying, but also his opposite, þat is to say mekenes, is ryte plesaunt and aggreable to God. And as pryde causith an ovrirprowe, so mekenes enhaunsith a creature, and reysith hym toward God. Therfor seyth
the prophete þat þe Virgyn Marye plesed God for here mekenes. And David, which was the reste of his broþirn, was chosen above all þem, as it schewyth in þe Fyrst Book of Kynges, the sixteenth chapetre. Moreover Salamon had þe reame aþyr his fadyr David, and yit was he lesse and yonger þan his bretheryn Adonias, as it apperith in þe Fourth Book of Kynges, the fourteenth chapitre. Manasses also was lesse and yonger þan Effraym, his broþer, yit had he the blyss-yng afore hym, as it apperyth in þe sixteenth chapitre of Genesis. And generally mekenes and lownes of hert maketh a creature to come to worschepe. And be reson pride overthroweth at the last. And among oþer synnes it is þe most displesaunt to God, and is þat þe which moste he punysshith most and greviously blyndeth the undirstondyng of a persone, etcetera.

How pryde blyndeth the undirstondyng of a persone, etcetera.

<T>he man þrow pryde knawyth not his wretchidnesse ne hys frelnes, but wenyth he be more perfyte þan he is. And þis wytnessith the prophite, seying þat quan a man is in pride he lesith knowleche and undirstond-ync, and becometh as a dome beste, and as a mare that hath non undyrstondyng in hyr. Wherby it apperith þat a man the which wyl become wyse shulde be meke and knowe hymself withoute wenyng of hym þat þe which is
And to this purpose Seynt Gregory sayeth in his Dialogues, in the first boke, the fifteenth chapitre, how Constantius loved them better that dyspreysed hym than that preyed hym. And indeede it fell that a man desired to see hym for his gret name, and for the goodnes that men seyd of hym. And veryly quan he saw hym he began to sey in maner as merveylyng: "O Constancius, I wend that hadist ben a myche man, stronge and perfyte, and of aspare all fachon, but I see clerly that his is nopeing in the." Pan Constantius set hym to preyse God seying: "I preyse and thank God that he hath yovyn the so good syte and so clere knowyng of me, for trewly that art all only that hast wele beholdyn me, clerly and holy juged be throwth of me." And perfor seyth Seynt Austyn in his Fyrst Omelye upon the Gospel Seynt Johun: "Veri mekenes is not to grutche ne to dysprayse oper, but to thank God for all that he sendith." And the same he telleth how ther was sumtyme a rethoricien, and quan men askyd hym quat was the pryncipal comawndement of rethoryke, the which answerd that it was to pronouns wele. And if that he had asked hym so an hundred tymes, that as ofte he had answerid hym on the same wyse. In lyche wyse seyth Seynt Austyn: "Yf that aske me quat is the principal commawndement in every man-kyndely lawe, I answere and sey that it is to kepe mekenes. And as oftyn
myn answere xal be þus to þe, for mekenes suffereth
non errore in undirstondynge, but it engendereth know-
yng and knowlech of trouthe." And to þis purpos Seynt
Anselyne spekyth in the twenty-seventh chapitre of his
Symylitudes, seying þat mekenes hath seven degreis.
Þe first is to knowe wele hymself. Þe second, to have
foryevenes for hys synne. The third, to confesse his
synne. The fourth, to know þat a man is enclyned to
synne and to do evyl. Þe fifth is holy to dysprayse
hymself. The sixth is gladly to endure vylenyes and
reppyves. The seventh is to rejoyse hym in mekenes.
And þus it scheweth how mekenes engenderyth very
knowlache. And therfor Seynt Barnard in his Book of
Degreis of Mekenes seyth þat mekenes is non oþer þing
but a vertu þat veryly maketh a man to knowe and to
dysprayse hymself. Þe which þing to have Seynt Austyn
counselleth us in þe Fifth Omely upon þe Gospel Seynt
Johun. We have, seyth he, an exaumple of gret mekenes
in our savyour Criste Jhesu, þe which us to save and
to hele wold descend from hevyn and become lytel. And
þerfor yf þu wolt folow þi meke servaunt, þu xuldest
folow þi meke master and lord Jhesu Criste, þe which
spekyng to us seyth þus: "Lern of me my children—
lern to become meke and debonayre, for I am suche."
As it is wretyn in the eleventh chapitre of Seynt
Mathew. Thys / ys the lesson þat God hath schewyd
to us. There is the exaumpyl āpat we xuld take of hym
in his deedis, as Seynt Jerom seyth in his Pystil,
Ninety-seventh. Moreover we rede in scripture how
sumtyme ambiccion and wyl hath ben cause of many hurtes
and hath don so myche āpat many hath gretly mysknowyn
āpemself and fallen in ryte grevous synnys. Rede we
not how Athaly, for the gret desyre <s>he had for to
be lord and master, sche dyd slee the seed of āpe
kynges, as it apperyth in āpe First Book of Machabeus
in āpe fifteenth chapetre. Also Roboan, for āpe wyl
that he had for to be a lord, he dyd myche harm and
regned schrewdly, as it apperith in the Third Book of
Kynges, āpe thirteenth chapitre. In lyche wyse Abyma-
lech regned ryte malyciously and did so myche āpat he
was chosen kyng; but veryli he slew his owyn brotherm,
as it apperyth in the nineteenth chapiter of āpe Book
of Juges. Rede we nat also ho Aliquinius, for desyre
that he had to be the gret preste of āpe lawe, he
grutched ageyns hym āpat was it, as it apperyth in the
Fyrst Book of Machabeus, the seventh chapitre. Thus
it schewyth how ambiccion doth mycharme. And indede
we rede how Jason to be the gret preste of āpe lawe
promysid to King Anthirtus three hundred and seventy
markes of sylver, and sent Menelaus to hym to be his
mene and to do hys massage. Neverbeles Menelaus cowd
so ordeyn and do āpat he had the office for hymself, as
appyreth in þe Second Book of Machabeus, in þe fourth chapitre. Be this it schewyth how ambycion engenderyth symonye in the ton and treson in þe toper. Also we rede in the Third Book of Kynges, þe eighteenth chapitre, how Jabin slew his lord to regne after hym, yet he regned nat all only but seven dayes. Also Tholomeus, be his ambicion, ocupied falsly þe rewme of Alisawndre. Neverþeles it fyl so þat he deyed schrewdlye the third day after þat he was made kyng, as it apperyth in þe Fyrst Book of Machabeus, in þe fifteenth chapitre. Adonias also, seyd he nat by his ambicion: "I xal regne after my fadyr?" Neverþeles, it fyl contrarye, as it apireth in the Third Book of Kynges, the first chapitre. Be the whiche þinges we may conclude how ambycion and pryde makyth a man to become blynde and to lese undyrstondyng, and consequently to do many synnes and hurtes, etcetera.

How mekenes makyth a man to know hymself, etcetera.

Capitulo tertio:

<W>han a man is meke þan he knowyth þat of hymself is noþing but frelnes, poverte, and wrechidnes. And þerfor þe postyl, in þe Second Pistol of Corintheus, in the last chapitre, councelip us seying: "My fremdes: prove you, but yet knowne yew." And Seynt Austyn, spekyng alone to God, seying: "Sere, yeve me grace to knowe þe and to knowe me. For þis I knowe
me, I xal wele knowe þat I am but asshes and rotnes." And þerfor Abraham seid: "Alas, how dare I speke to God, I am but poudir and asshes." As it apperyth in þe eighteenth chapitre of Genesis. And to his purpos Seynt Barnard in his Thirty-sixth Omelye upon þe Can-
tycles seyth: "I wyl examyne my soule and knowe / my-
self and so wyl reson. For þere is nothyng so nere as I am to myself." And þerfor in olde tyme on þe gate of þe tempil þei wrote þese wordis þat folowe, þat is to sey to knowe hym wele is þe weye to hevyn, as Mar-
robe tellyth in his Fyrst Book. And Plicratre in his Third Book, in the second chapitre, how þer dyscended a voys from hevyn þe which seyd þat every man xuld knowe hymself. And þe same seyth Juvenal, and wyt-
nessith þat the seyd voys seyd: "Notis elnes." Pat is as myche to sey as: "Know þu þiself." And Seynt Austyn seyth in þe Fourth Book of þe Trinite, in þe first chapitre: "I prayse them," seyth he, "þat know-
eth hevyn and erthe, and þat studyeth in mankyndely sciences. But yet I preys more þem þat knoweth them-
silf and þat aviseth wele þer poverte and þer freln-
es." "Allas," seyth Seynt Barnard, in þe book afore-
seyd, "pride decevyvyth þe creature, and ledyth a man in makyng hym to undirstond þat þe which is nat, and ledith a man unto þe tyme he weneth his vices were vertues." And to þis purpos Seynt Gregory seyth in
his Morales, in þe Thirty-first Book, þat þe synner wenyth þat his obstinacie were constauns, and þat his folly were mekenes, his avauntyng he wenyth it were larges, his slauthe he callyth prudens, and his impor-
tunite he nameth diligens. And þus his synnes he callyth vertues. And þerfor a man þat wole leve holy-
li, he xulde examyne hymself and, be reson, wysely chasteys himself, as Hewe counceylyth us in his Book of þe Cloystre of þe Soule. And the prophete Ysaye seyth in his forty-sixth chapitre, spekyng to þe synners: "Synners avyse yew. Examyne yeure werkes and youre þouȝtes." A ful wyse philosophir did so called Sixtus; the which examyned hymself dayly how he had lyved, and how he þanked God for his goodnes, and re-pryved and chasteysed hymself for his evyl, as Senek tellith in his Third Book of Ire. In lyche wyse shulde we doo to dentent þat in knowyng oursylf we have cause to meke us to God; and þan all vertuys xal gendre in us, for mekenes is ground of all vertues. For to have mekenes we have many good and notable ex-
aumplis, as of David, the which meked hym gretly afore God, and mekely salved the erthe of God, as it appir-
eth in the Second Book of Kynges, þe sixteenth chap-
ytre. The which David also receyved ryte mekely Nathan, the massanger of God, as it apireth in þe chapitre aftyr. And veryli David, seyng þat God
wolde distroye his people, he began to wepe and accuse hymself seying: "I am he pat have synned, take vengeaunce on me and nat on the pepil." And so he gate mercy, as it appyreth in þe Second Book of Kynges, þe twenty-fourth chapitre. We shuld also remembre of mekenes in þe three kynges þat wurcheped þe swete child Jhesu, as Seynt Matheu tellith in þe second chapitre.  þe which mekenes was ful plesaunt to God. On þe same wise werede of Achab—notwithstondyng þat he was ryte evil—yet when he herd of þe peyn þat he xuld have, he meked hym to God and gate mercy, as it is wryten in þe Third Book of Kynges, þe fortith chapitre. And Roboan, be mekenes—notwithstondyng þat he was ryte / cruel—he gate grace of God, as it apperyth in þe Second Book of Paralypomenon, the twelfth chapitre. Ezechias also be hys mekenes gate in his tyme þat God toke no vengeauns, as it appireth in þe book aforeseid, þe twenty-second chapitre. Nabugodonosor also be hys mekenes gate his restitu-cion. For þat he had be destytuted of his rewme and chaunged to a beste because of hys pryde, was be hys mekenes restored to his estate as he was afore. Thus wytnessyth Danyel in his third chapitre. Also we rede how the cyte of Nenyve schuld a be drowned, but be mekenes and penauns þei gate grace, as Jonas tellyth in his third chapitre. In lyche wyse Mari Magdalene
maked hire to the feet of Jhesu Criste wipyng and <dry-ing> hys feet wyth hire heer, and þerwith she gate remysion of all her synnes. Be these þinges it schewyth how mekenes gete mercy. And indede Jacob with meke speche plesid hys brothyr Esau, the which was wroth with hym and wolde have kylled hym, as the forseid wrytyng seyth in þe thirty-first chapitre of Genesis. Whi was it also þat Roboan partid from his Erytage and lost it, but for proude wordes and answers, as it apperyth in þe Third Book of Kynges, þe twelfth chapitre. We rede also þat þe two chinquantynes þat for pride come to Ely were dystroyed with fyer, but þe third chinquantyne be his mekenes was saved, as it apperyth in þe Fourth Book of Kynges, þe first chapitre. Whereby it schewyth þat pryde displesith God, and þat proude pepil were sumtyme gretyly punysshid. But be mekenes a creature may get all goodnes of God. Also we rede how the Cananee, spekyng mely to Jhesu, gate helthe for hir sonne, as Seynt Matheu rehersith in his fifteenth chapitre. And to have þis mekenes we have an exaumple in Seynt John Baptist þat levid in desert in ryght gret penauns and in verr y mekenes. And he seid: "I am unworþi to touche the hemme of þe schoo of Jhesu Criste." And he was clad in a camels skyn, as Seynt Matheu rehersith in þe third book. And because of his mekenes he was reysed above all oþer
and called more þan a prophete. In lyche wyse Hely
was ryte meke in levyng, and þerfor God haunshed hym
ryte gretly, and was þe first prophete for whom God
began to do meracle, as it apperyth in þe Fourth Book
of Kynges, in the first, tenth, fourteenth, and six-
teenth chapitre. Moreover þe childre of Israel were
overleyd with Olofernus, but veryli þei meked þem, as
it apperyth in þe tenth chapitre of Judith. And gen-
eraly be mekenes every creature may get of God þat
which is prophitable and nedeful for hym. For to have
this mekenes, it is ful necessarye for a man to behold
and knowe wel hymselff, as it is seyd at þe begynnynge
of þis chapetre.

How mekenes is plesaunt to God and to þe world, et-
cetera. Capitulo quarto:

<M>ekenes is ful plesaunt to God, for it is wytnes
of þe wurschyp þat a creature xuld do to his maker.
And also, naturally, every man hateth pride, wherof it
foloweth þat he loviþe mekenes. And indede we se þat
pride may never have frend, and þe cause whi is for he
may not suffre non to be lyke hym, but he wolde passe
all / pepyl, and he geynseyth all frenshep. For Aris-
totil seyth in his Ninth Book of Etiques: "Frenshep
requyryth his lyknes." And sumtyme evyl sayinges be
twen tho that xuld love togedyr. Alas, pryde devided
paradyse. Pride also make many stryves in þe world,
for wyl to have lordshep maketh often grete bataylis to be had, and sumtyme muche pepil put to deth wythowten cause. Perfor a wyse man shulde meke his hert to be loved of God and þan of þe world. And forasmuche as a creature hath þe more of goodnes and þe lesse of adversite, insomuche he xuld meke hym þe soner, and nat abide þe tyme of necessite, whan aforse he xal meke hym. Therefor Aristotil seyth he is better þat meketh hym of his owyn wyl þan he þat meketh aforse. And þefor Senek seyth in his Pistyl to Lucylle, seventy: "Thus lede we a lytil estate without reysyng þe hye, to dentent þat fortune make þe not overthowe from hye." Seyth nat naturel pepil þat þe lyon dope non harme to þe man þat mekeþ hym, and þe bore to þe man þat is leyd at erthe? And þefor a man xuld meke hym to eschewe perel. And to þis purpos we rede þat Dedimus, in a pistel of his, seid to Alisandre: "Knowe for trouþe þat God is redy to make þe wise so þu be not with thi pryde deseyvid." Wherby it apperith how pride lettith wytte and avys and maketh a man to lyve withouten pes of consciens. For hate and noyse is groundid in pride as in þe rote of all ennemyte. And to þis purpos naturel pepil seyþ þat grete wyndes is cause of thondre and lytenyng, becaus þat sum erþelþ þing mowntype sotili be þe sôn bemes hier þan he xulde. But nature, þe which may not
suffre þem, sendeþ þem doun ageyn, and þus þei cause
þe þing aforesaid. In lyche wyse, it is of a proud
man þat is ful of noyse, because þat he clymeth hier
þan he xuld. And indee he may nopinge in þe world
endure, and yet he ceseþ nat to dispraye óþer. Þer-
for seith Prudens in his Book of Subjeccion of Vices
þat mekenes redressith a man and makþ þis lyfe to be
moynen and to eschew all bad werkes. Moreover, Val-
erius tellþ in his Fourth Book, and after, þat anoþer
called Valerye had ben ryte gret at Rome, he frely set
him in ryte a littel estate, and lefte all Pompe and al
worldly þing. And mesemiþ þat al proude pepil xulde
avise þem upon þe auncient stories and examplis in þe
which apireþ hou mekenes makeþ pepil to be reised and
pride make þem to overþrow. Rede we nat hou Saul kept
neet and David sheep, and after þat þei were kynges?
Also Constantyne was ryte power when he toke Elyn to
wife, and after þat he was chosyn Emperour. Wherbi it
shewþ how mekenes hapþ ben reysed. But quat xal we
sey of pride? I pray þe take hede. Where is become
þe myte of Neron þat fysshed with nettles of golde?
Where is þe myte of Pharaon? Where is þe cite of gret
Troye, þat was so namyd? Where is Babylone, þat was
so hie? Verili, all is come to noght, for pride may
not endure. Quat is pride worþe than, þat loveþ þe
world so muche? Where is Arphaxat become, the ryte
proude kyng? He was spred abrode as a smoke. Where
is Agryppe and Julyan become þat were so myghti?
Fortune hape take al, for he yaf all. So he is a fole
þat truste þe þerin. But be hope þu xalt sey þat þu
mayst ful wele trost in þi wytte and nat in þi myte
nor in þi good. Alas wylt þu avise the; none xuld
glorifye his hert in wysdam. And þerof have we ex-
ample of Salamon þe wyse, þe which was deceyvid also,
inasmuch as he wurchepid ydolis. And Antyropeys, þe
wyse councyeilor of David, þe which veryli with a cord
hyng hymself. And wyse Caton, kylded he not himself?
And Demoritus also. And þerfor it is foly to glorifye
hym in his wytte or in his konnyng. Moreover quat
avayleth he or she yif þou be fayre? For Absolon was
fayer, yet he was hangen on a tre. And olifaunt, for
þe beute of his bonys and of his tethe, he is oftyn
put to deth. The gamaloon is ful fayer in his lyve,
but at þe deþe he is ryte foule. Quat is þan þe beute
of þis world worth? Thus, ychon, ye may wele see and
perceyve þat þer is noþing in þe world whereof we xuld
be proud to glorifie ourself. And þat considered wele
Kyling 3erches, þe which seyng þat his pepil and his
knytes wepten, seying: "Alas, I se ryte a fayre fela-
shepe, but it is peti seyng þat in schort tyme it xal
be but erthe." As Seynt Jerome seyth verely: "Þis
world is noght." For we rede how Jovynien did gret
peyn to be kyng, but he dyed þe same day þat he shuld
a be kyng of þe rewm of Perse. And Valentyne, þat was
so ryche, castyng blood out at his mowth, was ded and
choked. And hys sonne Gracyen was betrayed and slayn
of his owen men be an ennemy of his. This is þan a
litil joye to be a lord or to have ryches. And the
same Kyng Agrype aforesaid, þe which in his dying
cryed with a loud voys: "Allas, allas, my good pepil,
set nat be ryches, for ye may see me yeure lord dye
ryte pourly." And therfor Oraces, in his Pistil,
seyth þat þer is nop ing more convenient for a man þan
lytilnes. For to lytel þing, litel longith. þat is
to sey mekenes, þe which makeþ a creature agreable
bothe to God and to the world, as it is seyd afore,
etcetera.

How a creature xuld mekely obeye to God.
Capitulo quinto, etcetera:

<how obediens plesyth more, seip þe scripture, to
God þan dope sacrefyse. Hereof have we exaumpil in
our first fader Adam, þe which did his owen wyl and
left þe commaundement þat God had yoven hym. And þer-
for he fel into gret poverta and much wrechidnes, as
Seynt Austyn witnessith in his Twenty-fifth Omelie
upon Seynt Johns Gospel. It is also good reson þat a
servaunt obeye to his master and consequently þe crea-
ture to God his maker. And to þis purpos Vegetius
tellitp in his Secunde Book in þe second chapitre hou in auncient tyme knytes obeyed to princes upon peyn of deþe. Be muche more resoun we xuld obey to almyti God. For as scripture seiþe we xuld more obey God þan man. And yif ye obey to man, þat schuld be for þe wurchef of God—so coungeyliþ þe apostel. And indede much good haþe comyn to þo þat haþe mekely / obeyed in the wurchef and for þe love of God. And to þis purpos Seynt Gregory tellyth in his Dialogis, in þe first and þe seventh chapiters, how Seynt Banet had a discipil whom he comaundd to renne on þe watirs, þe which obeyed and was safe from perel. þan Seynt Benet askid him yif he were not aferd of þe waters, þe which answerd and seid þat he perceyved no waters. þan Seynt Benet panked God for þe myracle þat he had shewed for þe obediens of his disciple. Seynt Gregori tellitp also of a religious man þat at þe commaundement of his abbot every day he watred a pece of dreye wood þe which was set in þe erthe. And yet he must go for þe water two myle. And because of his obediens, þe seid wood florysshed þe third yere. And þis same story telleþ Cassian in þe First Book of his Collacions, wherin he rehersip hou þe disciple of ryte an olde man at his commaundment wold remewe rite a gret roch, and avisid him nat wheder he myte do it or non, for it suffisid him to obeye to his master onto his pouere. Be þe
which pinges it sheweþ hou obediens is agreabil to God. He which to have we have exaumpil of nature. As natur-
rel speche seith, bestes obeie to þe lion as to þer
kyng, and dar not passe the cercle þat þe Lyon makeþe
with his tayle. On þe same wyse, bestes obey to þer
kyng. And in nature we se many pinges lich. Moreover
to þis purpos we have many exaumplis in holy scripture.
And indeede we rede how Noe obeied redely to God, as it
appiriþe in þe seventh chapitre of Genesis, and þerfor
he was saved from þe flood. Also þe childe of Israel
for þer obediens were savyd of God, as it appiryþ in
þe ninth chapitre of þe Book of Noumbres. The postels
also obeied sone to Jhesu Christe, inasmuch as þei
folowed hym all only for his word, as Seynt Matheu re-
hersiþ in his fourth chapitre. And þerfor above all
pepl þei be chosyn in þe chyrch and in hevyn. Also
Abrahaum obeyed to God whan he wold sacrificied his own
childe and smyten of his hed at Goddes commaundment,
as it appireth in þe twenty-second chapitre of Genesis.
And þerfor God promysed to Habrahaum of his seed xuld
procede Jhesu Criste, þe savyoure of þe worlde. It is
ful trewe þat in obesiauns we xuld more obey God þan
man, as it is aforeseyd, and þerof have we an exaumpil
of Mathatias, þe which answerd to þe massanger of Kyng
Antyocche seying: "Hou is it þat all obeie to Kyng
Antioche?" And neverþeles as to hym he wolde first
obeye to God. As it is wretyn in þe First Book of Macabeus, þe second chapitre. We rede also of seven breþir þat had reþer dye þan ete flessh ageyn þe commandement of God, notwithstandyng þe kyng com-
maunde it. Wherbi it appireþe þat þo that arn to reprove ascusith them of þe evelis þat þei doo be þer mastres þat commaundid þem. But þis ascusacion is non because þat the comaundement of God xuld goo afore, as Seynt Peter seith, as it apireth in þe fifth chapitre of þe Postelis Dedis. Moreover to obeye þe example shulde enclyne us of þe Virgyn Mary, þe which obeyid to þe aungelis wordis seying: "I am þe chaumber of God, doth with me as hym liste and as þu haste seid."

We rede also hou David, natwithstandyng þat he was kyng, yet obeied he to his fadir, as it appiriþe in the First Book of [þat he was] Kynges, þe seventh chapitre. And yonge Thobyse / seyde to his fader:

"Fader comaund me quat þu wylt for I am redi to do it," as it appireth in þe fifth chapitre of þe Book of Thobyse. And Cornelius seid to Seint Peter þat he was redy to obey to hym þat God had set to be his pre-
lat and mayster, as it apiriþe in þe eleventh chapitre of þe Apostelis Dedis. Also we rede hou þe Regabites dranke no wyne and had no houses, to obeye unto þer fadir, as Jerom rehersiþ in his third chapitre. Be þe which þinges it schewith hou obediens was wel kept in
olde tyme. And indede þo þat dysobeyed were punysshid
of God, as it appirip of þe childre of Israel, þe which
fel in þe batayle because þat þei did ageyns þe wyl of
God. And þei come nat into þe londe of behest þe which
þei desired, as it appirip in þe twenty-fourth chap-
itre of þe Book of Noumbres. Jonas also fel in þe see
because þat in sum wise þei douted to do þat þe which
God commaunded þem, as it appirip in þe second and in
þe third chapitre of Jonas Pistelis. And þerfor we
xuld first obeye to God, and after to þe creature, yif
ye wyl eschew such perellis and plese Jhesu Criste, as
it is specified in þis forseid chapitre.

How ingratitute displiesith God. The Sixth chapiter,
etcetera:

<T>he holi doctoure Seynt Bernard seip upon þe can-
ticles a man is nat worþi to have gode þat knowe þat
þerof. And Seynt Gregori in his omelye seip þat þe
more a man haþ receyved goodes of God, þe meker he
xuld be to God, and þe more enclined to serve hym.
And yif he do oþerwyse, þan þe goodes þat he haþ re-
ceyved xal be encresing of peynis and in grutchyng at
þe day of dome. And þus witnessþ Hugh hou in þe
eighth chapitre of þe Book of þe Arche of Noye. And
to have cause to knowe þe goodnes þat God haþ don to
us we have many exaumplis in holy scripture. Rede we
nat þat Jacob seid after þat God had do to hym muche
good: "Ser, I þank þe of þe goodnes þe which þu hast
do to me, or þe which I remembr wel." As it appiryth
in þe twenty-eighth chapitre of Genesis. In lyche
wise David did, as it appiryth in þe Second Book of
Kynges, þe seventh chapitre. And Daniel seyd: "Ser,
prayed and blessed be þi name, for þe goodnes þat þu
hast don to me," as it appiryþ in þe second chapitre
of Daniel. On þe same wise þe postle Seynt Poule in
his pistel ryte oftin and contynueli praised and
þanked God, as it appiryþ in þe first chapitre of his
Pistel of Romayns and in þe second chapitre in his
Pistel of Ephesius. Rede we nat also hou þe children
of Israel sange and praised God because he delyverid
þem out of þe þraldam and þat þei had passed þe rede
see withouten perel. As it appiryþ in þe fifteenth
chapitre of Exode. Also þe three children þat God
delyverid from þe forneis blissed God ryte sweteli and
devoutli, as it appiryþ in þe third chapitre of Daniel.
Be þe which storyes it appiryþ hou every person xuld
make him to God and yelde þankes for þe goodes þat
þei have receivid of God. And to þis purpos Senek in
his Pistel of Lucille, eighty: "And I seiþe þat to an
unkunnyng, negligent / man men noping yeve, for þe
goodes þat men yeve hym, he turnyth it into pride and
to synne." Here schuld we take exaumpil of þe childyr
of Israel, þe which after þer victorye offerid in ther
sacrifice many yiftes to God, as it appireth in the twenty-first chapitre of þe Book of Noumbres. And after þat þei had þe victorye of Sysara and Elbora, they in praying God began to synge, as it appireth in the third chapitre of the Book of Juges. Also quan þei be Judas Machabeus had þe victory ageyns the Thymotheans þei in praying God began to synge, as it shewith in þe Second Book of Machabeus, in þe tenth chapitre. So mesemyth þei be gretly to reprise þat knowe not the goodes þat God hath yoven to þem. And yet þat wers in mesure the more good þat God doth to hem, þe more þei be enhaunsed to pride. Þei shulde take exampl of good creatures þe which sumtyme þei more good þat God dede to them, the more þei loved hym. We rede also how Anne praised God and þanked hym, because God had yoven hir grace to have issew, as it appyreth in þe First Book of Kynges in the first chapitre. And when þe Virgyn Marie had conceyvid Crist Jhesu, she began to magnifie God seiyng: "Magnificat anima mea dominum," as Seynt Luke rehersip in his first chapitre. And 3acharye quan his sonne was born, þat is to seyn Seynt John Baptist, þan he began to sey: "Blessed be the God of Israel, þat hāpe visited and boght ageyn his people." Neverþeles þer be many þat tende to non oper þing but to get good withoute ony takyng heed whens it cometh, and þerfor goodes perysshith verili
and comeþ to nouȝt. And yif it be not in þer tyme, 730
þer heires ben deprived þerof for þer unkyndenes and
þer mysknowlech. Þus þan every creature shuld beholde
quat he hæþ of God, and þe more þerfor serve hym and
love hym. And it is nat alonly to do þus to God, but
men xulþ knowlege all þe goodis and benefices þat his
neybours doþe to hym. And þerof have we example in
Thoby þat offered many yiftes to þe aungellis, þe
which helid his fadyr þat was blynde, and delyvered
his wyfe from þe fende, and also he kept hym from þe
fyssh þat wold a devoured hym. He wende wele þat þe
aungel had ben a man, and þerfor he offerid hym parte
of þe goodes þat God had sent hym, as it appirþ in þe
thirteenth chapitre of þe Book of Thobie. In lyche
wyse David þanked hem mekely þat had served hym, as it
appirith in þe Second Book of Kynges in þe second cha-
pitre. Also Helias receyvd þe wedowis sonne, þe
which had don hym muche good, as it appirþ in þe
Third Book of Kyngis, the eighteenth chapitre. And
generally all þe pepil of name and of good lyfe hæþ
cnowleched þe goodis þat þei have receyvd, and þo þat
do.operwise be to repreve as pepil unworþi to have
good. þe which may be lykned to a servaunt of Phar-
aons þat foryte anon þe goodnes þat Joseph had don to
hym in prison, as it appiryth in þe fortieth chapitre
of Genesis. And to whom David had don muche good,
afterward þei did þer dilygens to delyver hym into þe handes of his ennemy Saul, as it appiryp in the First Book of Kynges, þe fourteenth chapitre. Also Saul had re/ceyved muche good of David, and yet he wold a slayn hym, as it is wretin in þe First Book of Kynges, þe seventeenth chapitre. And Absolon persecuted his fadir David, þe which had doun hym muche good, for he had pardonëd hym þe deth of his broþer and also he had kept hym fro banysshynge. O what treson and ingrati-
tude is of þe son to þe fadyr! And þis forseid story appireth in the Second Book of Kynges, the fifteenth chapitre. Of þis ingratiitude many be spottid in doyng evil to þem þat doth hym good or to þer successours. 

Kyng Jacob did so, þe which forgate þe freneeshep of Jogade, preste of þe lawe, for he kyllèd 3a3arches son, as it is wretyn in þe Book of Paralipomenon, þe twenty-fourth chapitre. And þe proud Amans procured þe dep of þe children of Israel, þe which had don hym muche good and good servyse, as it appiryp in þe Second Book of Kynges, þe tenth chapitre. O ingrati-
tude, þu makist benefices to be for3etyn and þe man unworþi to have good! And þerfor God pleynith hym and semyth of ingrate pepil in þe first chapitre of Ysaye þe Propheþe: "I have chosen and norysshed children and they dispayse me." And hereof have we many storyes of <those> þat hape dyspraysed God aftir þer goodis
receyvid. Rede we nat how God sumtyme delyverid þe children of Israel from þe þraldom of Pharao? And after þat þei lefte God and wurcheped gelte calves, as it apiryth in the eleventh chapitre of þe Book of Nombres. To þe which children of Israel God sent manna into þe desert, and yet þei gruched, as it appireth in þe book aforesaid, þe fifteenth chapitre. Also we rede how God heyved sumtyme Jeroboan and made hym lord of ten lygnes, and natwithstandyng he was þe man þat withdrewe þe pepil from Goddis servise, as it is wretyn in þe Third Book of Kynges, þe twelfth chapitre. Also Ananyas, be þe help of God, overcam his ennemyes, and neverþeles he left God and worchepid ydoles, as it is wretyn in þe Book of Parilopomenon, þe twenty-fifth chapitre. And þefor þe wyse man shulde sadly avise hym on the goodes þat he hab receyved and schulde knowlege them sweteli, as it is aforesaid, etcetera.

How men shuld have paciens in adversite. Capitulum septimum, etcetera:

"The sovereyn meen to overcome his ennemye is to have paciens. And þefor Platon seith þat þe philoso-

800 phir of all sciens is paciens. And to þis purpos Senek, in his Sixth Pistel, seid to Lucille: "We xuld," seith he, "gladly endure adversitees, for be unpaciens we do noþing ellis but hevy us as oure hurt and encres it." And indee wise auncient men were
ryte pacient, as Salamon seith, þat founde first þe lawe, and was ful wyse and ryte pacient, as Valery tellyþ in his Seventh Book. And Espicure set no store be sorrow þat myte come to hym, as Tarquilian tellyþ in his Apologetique. And Quintilian in his Tenth

Cause seip þat þer is no peyn but in hym which may noþing endure. And yif þe man endure wylyngli, þan xal he mastre fortune, as Prudens seip in his book. þat paciens reioyseth hym in adversite and makye a man to come to gret good, insomuch þat noþing may noye hym. As Marrobe seith in his Book of Saturnelles, wherein he tellyþ hou August, þe Emperoure, was ryte pacient, natwithstandyng men seyd of hym many velanyes. And Valery in his Fourth Book rehersiþ hou Ciracusan

was ryte pacient quan Denys / the tyraunt put hym out of his countre. And to coumfort hymself it fel þat he went to Theodores hous and abod longe at þe gate. Siracusan, seyng þat, seyd to his felawe: "Alas, I out to have pacience, for in hope of tyme paste I have made many opir abyden." In lyche wyse every man xulde þink quan any adversite falleþ to hym, because of our synnes we xulde gladly endure and have paciens. And indede paciens wakyþe a man and makye him ofte to gete vertu and causeþe þe man to become gode. As Water wytnessþþ in his Third Book of Alixsandrydos.

Allas, we see hou many to gete helþe endureþ muche woo
and receyvyth oftyn bytter medycynys. Than be gretter
reson we out to endure adwersyte to gete vertu and for
to hele þe soule. And þerfor Caton seyþe he þat may
not overcome adwersite be his owne myte, he xulde help
hym with paciens. And hereof have we an exaumple in
Socrates, the which was somtyme ryte pacient so þat
none myte angre hym, as Cassian seþ in his Book of
Collacions. And Seynt Jerome in his First Boke Ageyns
Jovyan telleth how Socrates had two wives þe whiche
did hym muche harme, but neverþeles he had pacience
and took al at worþe. And seid þat unpacienþ doþe
noping but encres turment. The same we have many oþer
examplis, þe which were somtyme ryte pacient. Rede we
nat hou Ysaac was ryte pacient quan his fader wolde
have smyþten of his hed, as it appiryþ in þe twenty-
second chapitre of Genesis? And David was ful pacient
quan his sonne Absolon persecuted hym, as it is wretyn
in þe Second Book of Kynges, þe sixteenth chapitre.
And Thoby endurde ful paciently þe wronges þat his
wyfe and his kyn dyd to hym, as it appiryth in þe
second chapitre of Thobie. Trewly paciens is verrý
mastres of all adwersite. It is vertu be þe which a
man may overcome fortune. And also we rede be paciens
many hape getyn good and eschew harm. Rede we nat hou
Gedeon, bi his paciens and humble spech, pesid þe
children of Effraym, as it appireth in þe Book of
Juges, þe eighth chapitre? Also þe softe spech of Abigail pesid David, þe which was angry with here husband Nabal, as it appireth in þe First Book of Kynges, þe fifteenth chapitre. But Roboan, be his unpaciens and rude speche, lost his dignyte and his sygnorye, as it appireth in þe Third Book of Kynges, þe twelfth chapitre. Alas, what avayleth unpaciens but to encres harmys, for be paciens we may gete þe better ofoure ennemyes and gete all grace of God, etcetera.

How ire and hate noyeth every creature, etcetera.

Capitulum octavum:

<S>enek seip that ire trobelip undirstondying. Þerfor it were gret profite for a man to beholde hymself in a meroure, for, as Senek seip, yif þe angry man behelde hymself, he xuld have pyte of / [of] hymself.

As ho seybe, ire yevybe affliction to hym þat is angry. And to þis purpos Tulle seyth to þis purpos þat he made for Martel þat ire is ennemye to concel. And Espicure seyth þat of custome ire makyth the man to come out of his wit. And Unodius seyth þat ire dope more harme to hym þat is angry þan to any oþer.

Therefor every person xuld eschewe ire, for, as Caton seyth, it engenderyth al enmyte and discord and persþhip reson. As <also> Virgyle seyth in þe Second Book of Eneydos. Þerfore seyþ Sibile þat þei were ryte horribil þat founde werre first, for be werres
many dye ful evyl. And ire haþe don so much þat many have killed þemself be wanhope. Tellip nat Valery in his Ninth Book hou Othus, þat afterward was called Daryus, was ryte cruel and yrous, insomuch þat he did slee many good men and found many orribil engyns to make men to dye? But at þe laste þe cruelte fil on hymself, for reson wyl þat þe crewel man be at þe last fordun and punnyshed for his cruelnes. So it is good to considre quat ire is, for mesemyth it is noping but a spycie of woodnes—Senek seith so in his Fyrst Book of Clemence. Natwithstandyng I wil not repreve þe ire of good pepil, þe which he angry quan þei see men do evyl. How seyth the Prophete? Of an evil dede men may wele be angry withoute synne. And Seynt Austyn seip þe men may love wele þe pepil þow þei love not her synnes. And moreover we rede hou Moyses was wroþe with þe pepil because þei kept þe manna ageyns þe com-
maundment of God, as it appiryth in þe seventeenth chapitre of Exode. And he angred hymself, seyng þat þe pepil lyved evil, þat he kest doun his tabelis and brak þem, as it appirip in þe thirty-second chapitre of Exode. And Nemas was angry with þem þat ded usure, as it appirith in þe fifth chapitre of Noenne. Wherby it shewep þat it is not evil to be angry with evil. And inede Seynt Austyn seyth þat God is angry with shrewis in punysshyng þem. And to þis purpos we rede
pat God was angry with Salamon because of his ydolatrye, as it appirith in þe Fourth Book of Kynges, þe tenth chapitre. And for þe same cause he was angry with þe childre of Israel, and put þem into þe handes of A3ael, þer ennemye, as it appiryth in þe Fourth Book of Kynges, þe tenth chapitre. And for ydolatrye God was angry with Joas and his captenys, as it is wretyn in þe Second Book of Paralipomenon, þe twenty-fourth chapitre. We rede also hou God was angry with þe childre of Israel because þat þei ded fornicacion with Moabs dou3ters, as it appireth in þe tenth chapitre of þe Book of Noombres. Be þe quych þinges it shewith þat God is sumtyme angry with mysdoers. Þis is nat þe anger called inpaciens þat trobeliþ þe spyryte and þe understondyng, þe which lettith much goodnes and makeþ a man for to come into many inconvenientes. Telle nat Valery in his Tenth Book of þe cruelte of þe juge þat dede make a vessel of bras, in þe which þe / evyl doers shuld be closed in to dye for hunger. Hanybal, 'seyng þat, condempned þe same juge to dye þe seid dep þat he had condampned oper. And neverpeles Hanibal was yet ryte creuel, insomych þat he did make a brygge of þe bodies of þe romaynes þat he had slayn, upon þe which bryg he and his felashepe passed þe ryver of Golle. But at þe last Hanibal was gretly traveled of his ennemyes, for of reson creuelte
wil have his sallary. And þerfor non xuld be creuel ne kepe ire in his hert, for ire turmentiþ þe angry man and bryngiþ hym to such a plyte þat he knowe nat hou he may consent to reson. Alas,quat avaylip me to hate my neybourne, seynge so set I may not plese God sen þat I love not hym hom I xuld love, and þat I may not have foryevenes but yeve I wyl foryeve othir? Rede we nat hou Geyte made pes with þe Galadites insomuch þat he faut for þem, natwithstondynyng þat þei had don hym much harm, as it appiriþ in þe eleventh chapitre of þe Book of Judges? David also wold nat kylle his ennemye Asbareth, and indee he dyd sle þe two þenys þat presented him with þe hed of his seyd ennemy, as it appiriþ in þe Second Book of Kynges, þe fourth chapitre. Wherby it shewþ þat non xuld bere angyr in his hert. But þe fend, þe which is prynse of all devy- sion, engenderyþ fyrst in dyverse manerys. For som haþe all þer heritages; and þat was þe stryfe betwen Esau and Jacob, as it appiryþ in þe twenty-fifth chapitre of Genesis. And som hateþ ich oper of envye, and þat was þe hate of Josephes breþirn, þe which solde hym, as it appiryþ in þe twenty-ninth chapitre of Genesis. But because þat þei were grete and þat þei multiplied, as it appiryþ in þe third chapitre of Exode. And whi hated Saul David, but because he sawh hym wyse and wel alowed of þe pepil, as it appiriþ in
Þe Fyrst Book of Kynges, þe sixteenth chapitre. Þus þe fende in dyverse wysses fedith ire and dyscordis, but ho so is wise he xuld not bere it in his hert but desire the welfare of all to the whiche he wolde come, etcetera.

How none shuld debate ne engendir stryfe, etcetera.

Capitulum novum:

<N>o wele may come by stryfe. And chidyng engenderip stryf þe which oftyn men may not pese. And þerfor Caton seid to hir son: "Son, þu xuldist fle chidyng, for many hæþ ben hurt þerbi." To þis purpos Juvenal seip in his Fourth Book þat stryvyng langage berip venym in hym and corrompeþ good condicions and lettiþ frenshep, as Menand seip in his book. Mesemyþ ho so may have pes to be stylle, hæþe not much to do, for it is a maistri to speke wel, but to be stylle it is no gret peyn. And neverþeles scilens makip ofte pes to be had, and þat witnessip Ovide in his Second Book of þe Crafte to Love. Moreover it appirip bi respon þat debate and stryfe it is not worþe. For yif þu stryve for wele and to susteyn pes, it is no gret wytte, for bounte and trouþe susteyn þemself. And þerfor it suffisip to make trouþe to be undirstondin withoutin any stryfe. For ho so undirstondip trouþe, and wyl nat consent þerto, be þe first his purpos xal never be chaunged. And yif þu stryve for falsnes and
for evil, þi synne is ful gret and þerto þu le sist þi labour. For þe more þu stryve, þe more clerli shewip þi falsnes. And þat witnessip a philosophir called Exnophon. And Senek in his First Pystel of Lucille seiþ / þat men shuld nat stryve with a wyse man. It is foli, for þe wyse man hatipæ stryf and chidyng and it lettip pes of hert and of conscience. Therfor þe wise man seiþ þat fayre softe speche makip pes and frendis to be had. Moreover it is good to enquer whens þat chidyng comip. Mesemip it is oftyn engenderid of pride. We rede hou Amalech made werre with þe children of Israel for fer he had to lese his lorshepe, as it appiriþ in þe seventeenth chapitre of Exode. And chidyng comype oftyn of unpaciens and ferse wordis, as it is aforeseid. Wherbi it appiriþ þat to speke littil or noght, it is a sovereyn meen to have pes and flee chidyng. We rede hou Saul dissimuled to þem þat seid amys of hym, as it appiriþ in þe First Book of Kynges, þe fourteenth chapitre. And Thobie seid no word to his wife, þe which seid to hym muche wronge, as it appiriþ in þe second and in þe third chapitre of Thobie. Þus xuld þe wise man do in heryng withoute any stryfe.

How men xuld lyve sobirli. Capitulum decimum:

Glottenye is norysther of many evilles and synnys, and it engenderip many maladies boþe bodili and gosteli. And þerfor Tullus seip in his First Book þat
temperance is not evil but to maistre the flessh and all corromped desire be resoun. And Seynt Ambros seïp þat temperauns is a vertu þat reulíp a man in þat þe which he xuld do. And þerfor auncient pepil lyved ryte sobirli. And to þis purpos Agelle tellíp in his First Book how Socrates was ful sobir alle his lyve, þe which Socrates seid þat men xuld not lyve to ete, but ete to lyve. But Laicasen seïp in his Book of Verri Odoracien þat poyetes callíp gloteny bestlynes, for þe man þat is a gloton lyvyþ out of reson and out of reule. And þerfor Senek seïp in his Book of Four Vertuis þat men xuld ete without to much re- plenetes and drynke without drunkenes, for drunkenes causíp liteli þe pepil to falle in letcherye. And to þis purpos Seynt Jerome seïp Ageyns Jovinyan hou Galian seid þat þe man may not lyve hali but yif he lyve holyly, þe which is trewe nat onli to þe bodi, but as wel to þe soule. And indede Socrates ete but onys on þe day quan þe sonne went to rest. How seïp Agelle in þe book above seïd? And Boete seïp in þe Second Book of Consolacion þat nature is content with litil þing, as ho seïp þat nature requireth sobirnes and abstynens. And to þis purpos Valeri tellíp in his Second Book þat auncient pepil lyved ryte sobirli to þe intent þat þei myte be chaste, insomuche þat þe women Romayns drank no wyne for þe same
cause. And Agelle in þe book aforeseid rehersip hou
þe Romayns lyved rite sobirly, and inespecial at soper,
for þan þei ete litil or noght. Moreover Dedimus
writyng to Alisauder and seid þat þe pepil of his
countre, þat is to sey of Pragmeyn and Prage, were
ryte sobir and toke no refeccion but upon reson and
upon necessite of nature. And he concludeþ verili þat
þe pepil of þe seid countre had in partye no sekenes,
for þei usid non oper medecyns but sobirnes and absty-
nens. Be þe which it shewip þat to lyve sobirli, it
is a ful profitable þing boþe to þe bodi and to þe
soule. For bi sobirnes þe bodi háþe helþe, and the
soule lyveþ withoute synne. And þe þei Lucan seþe
þat men xuld use to yeve to nature temperat norysh-
yng þe which xuld nat be outrageus ne drunkelew, for
gloteny is nat alone but it háþ ever many synnes with
hym. And indeþe be glotený þe man lesþ wit and
f.10x
understondyng and / oftyn opynþ his secretes folili.
Gloteny makþ a man olde and sone to become foule.
And much chidyng comyth of drunkenes and þe man be-
comeþ as a dome beste. As Water seþ in his First
Book to Alixandreydos þat drunkenes is þe sepulcre of
al vices. And Ovide seþ in his Second Book of Reme-
dyes þat drunkenes brayeþ þe corage and þe wil of a
man, for be drunknes þe man is as ded, and holly en-
habyled from al good dedis. And þe þei ych of us
diligentli flee and eschewe gloteny, for þat is þe vice wherbi þe fende werreyþ and overconþ þe man. For with þis synne he tempted our first kyn, be þe which he was verily put out of paradise, as it appiríþ in þe third chapitre of Genesis. In lych wise he wold a tempte our savyour Christ Jhesu, seying to hym: "Yif þu be Goddes sonne, make bred of þes stonys," as it is wretyn in þe fourth chapitre of þe Gospel Seynt Matheu. Moreover gloteny makiþ þe man lecherous. And þerof we have exampl of Loth, þe which gate his two doþters with childe be dronkenes, as it appiríþ in þe nineteenth chapitre of Genesis. Drunkenes makiþ þe man to be disworcepid. And þerof have we an exaumpil of Noe, þat be drunknes lay shamefully on þe ground and shewed his prive membris of nature, wherbi he was moked of his son Cam, as it appiríþ in þe eighth chapitre of Genesis. Alas, be gloteny þe childe of Israel wer sumtyme temptid and gretli deceyved, as it appiríþ in þe sixteenth chapitre of Exode. And be glotenye, Esau solde his patrimonye, as it appiríþ in þe fifteenth chapitre of Genesis. Moreover rede we nat hou Jonathas was condamned to dece þe hor he eet a litle hony ageyns þe commaundment of his fader, as it appiríþ in þe First Book of Kynges, þe fourteenth chapitre? Wherbi it shewíþ þat gloteny haþ don much harm. And indede
we rede hou þe Philistynys wer slayn drynkyng and etyn, for þe hous fel on þem, as it appiriþ in þe seventeenth chapitre of Juges. The same fel to þe children of Job, as it appiriþ in þe first chapitre of Job. Hou was þe geoant Olofernus ded but be drunk-enes? For Judith made hym dronken and so kylled hym, as it appiriþ in þe tenth chapitre of Judith. Hou was Symon and his children slayn but be drynkyng and etyn, as it appiriþ in þe First Boke of Machabeus, þe fifth chapitre. And Naman, after þat he had etyn and dronken merily, he after þat was crucified, as it appiriþ in þe ninth chapitre of Hester. Thus me semyþ þat gloteny is a chargyng synne, ledyn þe man to do much harm.

How abstynens is cause of much goodnes, etcetera.

Capitulum undecimum, etcetera:

<Be abstynens reson overcomyp þe flessh and putteþ perfro al superfluytes, and it norysship and engenderip vertus. And to þis purpos we rede hou Diogenes, þat was a wise philosophir, dispraised al superfluytes and habundances of mete, as Valeri tellip in his Fourth Book. And þefor in wit and wisdom he was gretli named and praised. And as Bernard Savage seiphe in his Micrososme: "Abstynens noryssheþ wyt, and glo-
teny wastiphe it." And þefor sumtyme al þo þat wolde come to gret good lyved sobirly, as it appiriþ in many
places of holy wryt. And indeed we rede how God / commaunded þe children of Israel þat þei xuld lyve sobirly and kepe þem fro etynge dyvers metes, as it appiriþ in þe second chapitre of þe Book of Levytes. We rede also how Moyses fasted forty dayes to dentent þat God wold yeve hym and graunt hym þe lawe, as it appiriþ in þe second chapitre of Exode. Also Hely lyved ryte sobyrli because þat he myte prophecye þe more wyseli. And indeed þe aungel brouȝt hym twyes on þe day bred and watir. But raffenes brouȝt hym twyes on þe day flessh, as it is wretyn in þe Third Book of Kynges, þe seventeenth chapitre. Wherbi it sheweth be þe fendes, be whom raffenes is undirstondyn, desiriþ gloteny and repleccion of flessh in man, but aungelis wold þat man were sobir and rewled be abstynens. Moreover we rede how God shewid many visionys to Daniel, þe which lyved ryte sobirli, as it appiriþ in þe ninth chapitre of Daniel. Also Anne served God, and þerfor she prophecied ryte wyseli of Jhesu Criste, as Seynt Luke seip in his second chapitre. And therfor sumtyme þo þat xuld be conserved ded abstynens afore and specially in all þinges þat myte cause drunkenes, as it appiriþ in þe sixth chapitre of the Book of Nombres. Also we rede how Seynt Johun þe Baptist ete alonly longegostis and sautereves and wilde honey, as Seynt Mæpeu seip in his third chapitre. And þerfor he was
chosen above all prophetes. But now the tyme is come
tat goltenye reygneth, and perfor tat flessh werryep
and overcomyth reson, insomuch tat letcherye is ryte
comon in pe world, for goltenye and drunkenes is his
noryssher. Yit we xuld considre tat be abstinens we
may eschew mych harm and get much grace of God. And
to bis purpos we rede how Kyng Josaphat had sumtyme
victory because he fasted and preched to oyer tat pei
shuld fast, as it appirip in pe Second Book of Para-
lipomenon, pe twenty-ninth chapitre. Also we rede hou
pe children of Israel were twyes discoumfyte of Ben-
iamys childre. But afterward pei fasted and God yafe
pe victor, as it appirip in pe second chapitre of pe
Book of Juges. In lyche wyse pe children of Israel
were discoumfyte with pe Philistynis, in so much tat
pei toke away pe Arche of God. But after tat pe child-
dren of Israel began to wepe and to faste, and perfor
God yaf pe victor, as it appirip in pe First Book
of Kynges, in pe fourth and in pe seventh chapiters.
And therfor Thobye seybe tat prayere is good whan it
is medelid with fastynge. Also we rede how Esdras
preched penauns to pe pepil tat wold aske foryevenes
of God, as it appirip in pe fourth chapitre of Esdras.
We rede hou Achat gate grace of God at pe first be
fastynge, as it appirip in pe Second Book of Kynges, pe
first chapitre. The same wise we rede be the Cyte of
Nynuye in þe second chapitre of Jonas. Be þe which þinges it appiriþ how we xuld lyve sobirly for to gete grace and vertu. And Aristotyl seith in þe thirteenth chapitre of þe Book of Bestes: "It is nat profitable to a person to fat hymself." For grete gres causiþe sone deþ, and somtyme sodeynly, as Constantyne wytnes-siþ. The which is trew nat only to þe body / but as wele to þe soule, for glotenye fateth þe soule with synne and makþe it verili to dye shrewdly, as it appiriþ in the chapitre beforeseid, etcetera.

How men shuld lyve chastely, etcetera. Capitulum duodecimum, etcetera:

<C>hastite makþe the man aungel-lyke and makþe his lyfe honeste. And þerfor Dedimus seyd to Alisaunder þat þe pepil of his countre lyved chasteli, nat only for vertu, but for honeste and clennes. But it is that letcherye is so comon nowadayes, and þat it makþe so much pepil go out of þe weye and to langoure in harlotrye and foule lyfe. Alas, þei xuld take exaump-pil of auncient pepil. As Seynt Jerome seþe to þis purpos in his book Ageyns Jovinyan hou Platon chese to dwel in a pleyn ton called Achadeyn, þe which was ferre from Athenys and from al cetyes, because þat he wolde fle letchery and lyve chasteli. And Tarquinyan rehersiþe hou Democracyte put out his owen eyn for þat he xuld see no women, þe which he myte nat see withoute
synne. Wherbi it shewyt þat it suffiseþ nat alonly to be chast, but men xuld also eschew þe beholdyng. And þorfor þe Pitagoriens chese somtyme desertes and soli-
tari places to eschewe letchery, and because þei xuld nat see wordli vanytees. And þorfor þe Gospel seip 1200
yif þu or þin ie do amys we xuld put it out. Alas, wordly and flesshy beholdynges hape sumtyme made much pepil to overþrowe. Rede we nat hou men in beholdyng women were sterid to letcherie, and þorfor God pun-
ysshid þem be þe gret flood, as it appirip in þe sixth chapitre of Genesis? And Josephes mastres, in behold-
yng hym, was steryd to synne. Also David, in behold-
yng a woman þat wasshed her hed, was steryd to letch-
ery. And to fulfylle his syne, he kylded hir husband, as it appiryþ in þe Second Book of Kynges. Hoo de-
ceyved Olofernus, but þe beute of Judith? And hoo de-
ceyvid þe two olde men that desyred Susanne but þer fals beholdyng, as it appirip in þe first chapitre of Daniel? Wherbi it shewiþ þat hoo so wyl lyve chasteli, he xuld turne his look from women and from men þat 1215
myte enclyne his wyl to synne. And þorfor seip Quin-
tilian in his First Cause þat all oure letchery is cause of oure foli look. And Senek in his Book of Remedies seip <the eyes> be massangeris to al vices. And to þis purpos Valeri seip in his Fourth Book how sumtyme ryte a fayre child called Spuryn for his 1220
beaute women desired hym to synne. And quan he per-
ceyved it, he split his visage seying þat he had lyver
be foule þan be his beaute cause oþer to synne. Thei
þat be fayre xuld tak heed þerto. Moreover þe chas-
tite of auncient pepil is good to telle. And to þis
purpos Seynt Austyn seip in his First Book of þe Cite
of God how Mark, fornamed Marcel, was ryȝht chaste.
And indede quan he toke þe cite of Siracuse, he founde
þer many fayre women and wele arayed. But he comaun-
ded al his pepil þat non xuld be so hardy to touche
þem. For þat dede, he seid, was ageyns þe state of
gode knythehode. And Valery, in his Fourth Book,
tellip hou Cipion in þe age of twenty-four / yere,
toke þe cite of Carthage, and þer was ryte a fayre
mayden presented to hym to do hys plesure with hir.
But he wold nat, for þat dede, he seid, were shame to
a trew knyte. And þerfor he delyverid hyr to her hus-
bond þat was prisonere, and had never touched hyr.
And because of þe seid mayden, þat she xuld not doo
amys, he yaf hym his raunsom and his fredam. Verily,
at myn avise, þis was a dede of a nobil knyte. And
þerfor, fro þat oure forþe, he had ever grace of al þe
world and of alle knytes. But þe gentils doth nat so
now. They wene to have don a fayre dede quan þei have
ravysshid a mayde, but to my dome þat is a foule dede
and an unthrifty knythehode. Thei xulde þink on
Lucresse, the meroure of all chastite, of þe which
Valery telliþ in his Sixth Book how Tarquin, þe sonne
of Tarquin the Proud, toke hir with strenght and ful-
filled his fals wyl. The which Lucresse on þe mornyng
callyng here frendes and, in tellyng þe disworcheþ and
þe shame þat was don to hyr, [and] before þem all she
kylled hirself. And because of þis Tarquin lost his
lordeschepe, and þan cessed þe kynges at Rome and were
put doun. And never after was corowened kyng in Rome,
for þe Romayns seid þat þei had no nede of a lord to
do such outrageousnes. It is ful trewe þat to this
synne þer is oftyn many causers, as baudis þat studieþ
ho þei may do, and intrete oper to do as þei doo, or
as thei have don in tyme past. The which be like þe
women of Ceteynques, of whom Valery telliþ in his book
above seid, how þei preied Marius þat he wold yeve þem
leve to goo and speke with þe maydenys þat served þe
Goddes Vesta. And they made þem stronge to make þem
enclyne and consent to þe synne of letchery. But be-
cause þei fayled of ther entent, as in dispayre thei
hyng hemself. And of trouþe it is þe saleri þat long-
eth to suche pepil.

How letcherye causith much harm. Capitulum tercium
decimum, etcetera:

<L>echery is ennemye to all vertu and to all good-
nes. And þerfor Boete seip in his Third Book of
Consolacion þat he is happy þat leviþ withoute lecherye. For lecheri is a stoute sekenes and putteþ a man to dep or þat he perceyve it, as Valery witnessith in his Ninth Book. Þe which Valery rehersip in his Fourth Book how Saphodes, in his age, answered to one þat asked yif he were lecherous: "I pray þe," seip he, "speke to me of sum oder þinges, for al evil comeþ of lechery, and it trobelip þe goodnes of every creature." Alas, quat was cause [of] of þe distruc- 

cion of þe pepil of Sichem but þe violyng of Dyenne, 

Jacobs dou3ter, þe which went to see dawnces, and þer she was ravisshid, as it appiriþ in þe Book of Genesis, þe twenty-fourth chapitre? Rede we nat also hou þere were slayn more þan forty thousand and fifty for þe f.12r lecheri set in þe levytes wife, as / it appireth in þe twentieth chapitre of þe Book of Juges. And Amon was slayn for his lecherie by Absolon, hys brother, because that he had violenced his sustir Thamar, as it appiriþ in the Secound Book of Kynges, the eleventh chapitre. Abner and Ysboreth knew ther faderis concubynes, but anon after they were both slayn, as it appiriþ in the Second Book of Kynges, the fourteenth chapitre. Quat was cause of the flood but lechery? What was cause of the distruccion of Sodom and Gomorre but lechery, as it appiriþ in þe Book of Genesis? Who made Joseph wrongfully presoned but þe lecherye of his mastres?
And þerfor he is wyse þat eschew þis synne and that
settyth nat to folow women as for such þinges. And
therfor ho so wyl leve chastely, he xuld eschew þe
felaschepe of women. And considre þat be women wyse
Salomon was deceyved, and þe stronge Sampson, the
myȝti Olofernus, the prophete David, þe philosophir
Aristotel, þe poyetis Virgyle, and many oper wyse
pepil. And yet in þis I wyl not blame women more þan
men, but I wyl sey quot man þat wyl be chaste he
schuld eschew the phelawschepe of women, for nature is
lyghtli enclyned to synne. The which to eschew Ful-
gence techith us in þe Second Book of Thiologes, sey-
ing þat lecherye is ryte a foule synne, and of all
opir dishonest and evil settyng to every creature þat
wyl have worshepe. And indede the noble Kyng Sapton
hated so much þat synne þat in his countre he defended
bordellys and oper dishonest places. But it is pite
þat all þe word now is ful of lewde places for such
dedys. And as for þe most comune, boþe yong and olde
is nowadayes yovyn to lechery. But þei xuld considre
quat Ovide seyþe in his Sixth Boke of Metamorphoseos,
þe which seyth þat lechery makþ a man to brenne in
hymself. And versifuour seþ þat the love of women
febelith þe body, it lessith ryches, it makþ the mann
foule þat is fayre, and at þe laste makyth the man to
come to nouȝt. And Seynt Jerome in his book Ageyns
Jovynyan seyþ þat the love of a woman makyþ reson to be forgetyn, it lettyth good councel, and makyþ hym a very fole, it lettiþ his study, it makeþ a man to fel-eshepe lewdly. Be þat love þe man is all troubeled, and at last hateth hys body and hys lyfe. And Senek in his Declamaciouns, in þe first book, seip it is an herd deth þat þe which lecherye procureth, for lecheri makyþ to be loste tyme, wurchep, and al goodnes. And therfor Senek in his Twenty-fourth Pistol of Lucylle seyth: "Beware þat lecherye be not in þe, for the lecherous man is as a þing holly lost." And, forsothe, in auncient tyme lecherous pepil were gretly punysshid. As Valery rehersiþ in his Sixth Book the man þat sumtyme forded his maryage xuld lese his eyn. And upon þe olde lawe, þe woman shuld be stoned.

Wherbi it shewith þat þis synne is ryte displeseyng to God and to auncient pepil, for it causiþ much harm as is aforeseyd, etcetera.

How þe vertu of good wyl is aegyns þe synne of envi. Quartum decimum:

A monge all synnys lest excusable is envie, because he hæþ no cause of his malyce, insomuch as he is displeseyd with the / goodnes of opir þat never ded hym harm and rejoysith hym of his neybours hurt. And doctours seyn, and in especial Seynt Gregori, þat þe synne of envye is of so gret malyse þat afores God it
may have non excusacion to alegge at þe day of dome. And it appirip wele þat it is þus considerying þe condition of othir synnes ageyn envye. For yif I aske the proud person whens comyth þat pryde, som excuse may he have seyng þat he is proude because of the goodes and wurchep þat he haþe in þis world. And yif I aske þe irous mann whi he is wroth, he may sey for the hurtes þat arn fallen to hym. The lecherous may sey þat þe temptacion of þe woman made hym to synne. The coveytous may sey þat fere to fayle good made hym to coveit and to kepe his. But I aske of þe envious whens his envy comeþ, he may not excuse hym ne telle þe cause of his malise. For envi is nat ellis but to have displeasure of opirs welfare, and to rejoyse hym of his hurt þat never ded hym harme. But þe envious may sey þat hope yevip hym cause to have displeasure of otheris welfare seying þat suche goodes to hym is prejudicable, and þat he hopith to have had þe same goodes yif he had not had it. And to this I answere þat in suche case it is not propyrli envye, but it is pride or coveityse, inasmuche as þu desirest opérís good for þe. In lich wyse it may falle þat þu xalt see the goodes opynly of hym þat þu hatest, but þan þi synne is, or xalbe, ire and nat envye. For envy is quan men propirli arn angry of opérís welfare, þe quwich is nat prejudicable to hym, or when men rejoyse
of þer hurt þat ded hym never harm. Wherbi it appirip
þis envi is ryte a malicious synne, seyng þat it hab non
excusacion as it is aboveseid. And therfor Oraces seip
in his Pistelis þat þe invius man waxeth lene with þe
welfare of oþer, and fateth with his owen wrechidnes
and with his neybours povyrte. O false envy—quat! þu
doist much harm! How muche pepil hast þu distroyed?
Þrou þe Chaym slew his owen broþer Abel, as it appirip
in þe third Chapitre of Genesis. Be þe, envy, Joseph
was solde of his broþerin, þe which myte nat see the
love þat his fader had to hym, as it appirep in þe book
aforeseyd. Be envy Saul persecuted David, þe innocent,
because þat Saul had displesure of þe prayse and þe
good name þat he had, as it appirep in þe First Book of
Kynges, þe eighth chapitre. How made Daniel persecuted
but envy, as it appirip in þe fifth chapitre of Danyel?
How made our saviour, Criste Jhesu, to dye and to be
dampned to þe deth, but þe envy of þe jewis, þe quyech
myte see þe goodnes and þe myracles þat he ded dayli,
as Seint Luke rehersip in his nineteenth chapitre. O
envie, þu hast do much harme. Þrou þe o man myssep an-
oþer and sekeþ many weyes to greve his neybour. Be þe,
envy, Architofle fyl in dispayre, for quan he sawh þat
Jesi was wyse and governed wel þat þe which was put to
hym, than Architofle be his gret envye fil in dispayre
and hyng / hymself, as it appirip in þe Second Booke of
Kynges, þe seventeenth chapitre. Be þe, envi, Seynt Steyn was stonyd, for the jewis myte not here the witt and the doctrine þat Seynt Stephyn had, as it appiriþ in þe Book of þe Apostelys Dedys, the seventh chapitre. How made þe stryfe between Jonathas and Saul but envye, for Jonathas excused David and þe Saur was wroþe because of þe envi þat he had to hym, as it appiriþ in þe First Book of Kynges, the second chapitre. Whi was Anthiocus wroþ but quan he herd sey that Judas Machabeus had many victorieþ? Trewly envie made hym wroþ, as it appiriþ in þe First Book of Machabeus, the third chapitre. Whi was Senacheris wroþe quan he herd sey þat men edified þe wallis of Jerusalem, but for envye, as Neemie rehersiþþe in his fourth chapitre. Wherbi it scheweþ þat envye is ryte a grevous sekenes and contrarþe to nature, for nature desyreþ wel. And every creature natureþly hath plesauns in goodnes. And envye rejoyseþ hym whan he seþe muche harme fall. And þe Marcial seþ þat envi hateth much the envious, for it kepith þe hert and þe thouþt in greþ malencolyþe and makeþ his colour pal. It makþ hym to syhen oftyn and ever to sey evil of oþer, for he can not sey wel. Envye sekyþ ever a man to betraye oþer. Trewly envye makith þe man lyche a fend of helþe, þe which may not suffir ne endure any creature to do wel. The Caldiens sumtyme accused þe jewis ryte falsly be envye, as it appiriþ in


... the third chapitre of Danyel. Achym be envye seid evil of pe prest of pe lawe called Demetrius, as it appireb in pe First Book of Machabeus, pe seventh chapitre. And generally envye desyreph ever to sey evil of oper and to desyre his neybours hurt. And of his welfare he is angry, as it is aforeseid. O envie, pu art dou3ter to pride: pu mayst not see thi lyknes. Thu desirest to haunt ny the pepil pat is in wrechidnes, and pan pu de- lytest pe quan pu seest pi neybour wepe sore or wayle. Trewly, envye, pu art of ryte a fals nature, for by pe, ne of pe, may come no profyte, neyber in pis word, ne in pe toper. And of oper synnes it is nat so, for pe lecherous be his synne may sumtyme gete frendeshep. And pe coveitous be his synne becomyph oft ryche. The necligent be his negligens hape oftin pes, because pat he entremyttith hym of noþing. And pe proude man is ofte praised. The angry man is ofte dou3ted. And pe glo- ton hape plesure in good metis and drynkes. And pu3 all synnes hape sum plesure save fals envye, the which is contynuellly sory and makeph man or woman to langure in peyn and in displesure withoute rest of hert or of cons- sciens. To pis purpos Valery telliph in his Seventh Book hou Fabien was rite envious. For quan he sawh he f.13v xuld yeve pe half of a certeyn noumbyr of shippes / to Kyng Anthioche, pe seid Fabien made cleve al pe vessellis in two partis, and pu3 pe vessellis vailed neyber on ner
oer. Wherbi it appirip þe envye hurtip hymself for to hurt oer. And þat dede is þe fendes condicions, þe which wold þat al were damned. And yet þe more pepil he xal have in helle, þe more grevous xal þe peyn be to endure.

How þe vertu of diligens is ageyns þe synne of

<sloth>. Quintum decimum:

<A>s þe scripture seip, God yevith a coron. þat is to sey to þo þat wakeþ, and þat is diligent. The man is nat worþi to have good quan he lesþ þe good þe which be diligence he myte gete. And þerfor Pers seip in his Sauters þat þe necligent man is as a bareyn erbe. Thus þe sleper xuld wake and considre þat þe which is good to do, and withoute delay þei xuld exe-cute it. For as Virgyle seip: "Ho so putteþ hym lye to do werk, he xal never deserve wel hys hyre." And þe philisophir seip þat þe necligent man is as a dede man. And, indeede, is not ellis but þe dysyre of mys-chauns. Trew it is þat many be diligent to gete vertu and to have worldly goods, but for þe goodnes of þe soule þei be ryte necligent. As þo þat laboure day and nyte to get þer temporal levyng, but to gete vertu þei wole not laboure ne þink þeron one oure of a day. Ne þei care no3t but for þe body and foryetyn holly þe soule. This necligence is gretli to repreve, for it is better to be diligent for to save þe soule þan to þinke al only on þe bodi, þe which is wrechid
and ful of rotnes. It is ful trewe þat diligens is much to prayse quan it ðinkip boÞe of þe bodi and of þe soule. And þe man is not worÞi to leve þat be his necligens slepith in his synne and dyeth in poverté. For natwithstondyng þat poverté is good quan it is voluntarili, yet he is to repreve þat be his slauthe is poure and wrecched. Wherbi it shewith þat diligens is muche to prayse, boÞe to þe body and to þe soule. And þerfor þe prophete seþ: "I have slept and after þat I have waked." Wherby it is yoven to undirstond þat we xuld be diligent and wake to profite in gode-nes. And þerfor þe postle seþ wrytyng to Athimothee: "Wake þu þat slepest, and God xal illumyne þe with his grace. For hevyn was not ordeyned for slepters and necligent pepil, but for þo þat do wel in þis present world." And to þis diligens many auncient storys out to enclyne us wherbi it appiriþ þat necligens hæþe ben cause of many hurtes and inconvenientes. Rede we nat how David was ydel and þerfor he was tempted with þe synne of letcherye, insomych þat he fulfilled it to his gret disworcep? As it appireþ in þe Second Book of Kynges, þe fifteenth chapitre. And þerfor Ovide seþ, in his First Book of Remedies, þat idilnes and necligens arm norysshers of þe syn of lecherye. And Quyntilian seþ þat naturally synne askiþ an ydel man. And þerfor Caton resonabeli seyd to his sonne: "Kepe
\[ f.14r \] ðe wel / ðat þu be not necligent ne slombryng, for
longe rest norysship synne and vicis." And to þis
purpos we have many storys how much harme hæpe comyn
in slepyng. Rede we nat hou Thobyse slepyng was blyn-
dyd as it appiriþ in þe second chapitre of Thobies
Book? Hisboreth lost hys rewme slepyng, as it appiriþ
in þe Second Book of Kynges, þe fourth chapitre. Samp-
son, slepyng in his wyvis lap, was takyn and boundyn
of þe phylistyns, and þei put out his eyn and made hym
to grynde þer corn at mille, and aß last dyed, as it
appiriþ in þe sixteenth chapitre of þe First Book of
Kynges. Awake necligent pepil, for ye may not lone
slepe! As who seip, yeur lyfe is ful short. And þer-
for we rede how Jacob repreved his childre of necl-
gens, as it appiriþ in þe twenty-fourth chapitre of
Genesis. And oure sovereyn savyoure Criste Jhesu re-
previd his disciples of necligens seying: "Myte ye not
wake with me one oure?" As Seynt Matheu tellip in his
twenty-fourth chapitre. Wherbi it shewiþ þat necli-
gens is gretli to repryve. And to þis purpos we rede
how þo þat xulde sowe good seed sleptyn, and þan comyþ
þe fende þat sowiþ þe shrewid seed, as Seynt Maþeu
seip in his thirteenth chapitre. Be þe which is yovyn
us to undyrstonde þat we xuld wake yif we wyl profyte
in our good dedes, þe which is understondyn be þe good
seed. For as þe Gospel seip of Seynt Maþeu in his
first chapitre, the five maydenes that slept were not receyved into hevin, but be holy maydens that woke was receyvyd. Wherbi it shewiþ that we xuld wake, that is
to sey to do wel, for trewli þei slepe þat abide in
synne withoute repentyng. Rede we nat upon nature þat
þe venym of a serpent called aspide is of such condi-
cion þat it makip þe man þat sette hym to slepe to dye
slepyng? Of þe same condicion is synne for it makip
þe man slepe be necligens, and slepyng he oftin damp-
neþ hym. For defaute of avisynge hym þe man dyeþ
oftin ryte shrewdly. To þis purpos Ovide seiþ in his
First Book of Methamorphoseos ho Argus had one hundred
eyn, and, natwithstandyng, Mercury, with his pipe,
made him to slepe. And þan slepyng, a kowh was take
from hym called Yo, þe which Jubiter had taken hym to kepe.
And because of his necligens þe forseid Argus was slayn and lost. In lyche wyse many þat haþ one hun-
dred eyn, for þei see ful clere and have good wytte
and good understondyng, and neverpeles Mercuri, þat is
to sey þe world, make þem oftin to slepe, and þan þer
kough, þat is to sey þer soule, is loste, and wasted
with synne. Wherbi, verili, þe man ryte oftin is
dampned and dyeþ evil. But som may sey þat þei wold
be diligent and besi to do wele yif þei were awaked.

f.14v And to / [to] þis I answer þat þer is no synner, be he
never so gret, but yif he be al holly to obstenan, but
bat hehape somtyme a remors of consciens, þe which wakeþ þem and conceiliþ þem to washe þem of synne. And hereof hast þu experiens somtyme in þiself quan reson makþ þe anon to sygh and to have displeasure of þin evil lyfe. Þan þi consciens jugeþ þe and condampneþ þe quan þu seist: "Alas, I have don evil, so [so] I am sorry." Mesemyth þat þis consciens, þe which wakeþ us, it may be lykned to þe waker, of whom nature tellþ, þat yif a man slepe in a schadew place where serpentes be, þan þe mustele awakiþ þe man because þe serpent xuld not noye hym. Thus dop reson and consciens, þe which wakiþ us oftin. But þerbi many þat restþ not on a good purpos or on a good þouðt quan þe consciens schewþ it to þem. Þe which dope as Virgile ded þat kylled þe flyþ þat prykked hym in þe forhede and wook him with his bytyng. And yit Virgile had deyed be þe serpent þat was be hym yif he had not ben awaked. And þan Virgile was sory þat he had kylled þe flyþ þat did so wele to hym. Wherbi it appirþ þat þe good þouþtes þe which wakiþ us to do wele, xuld not make us ded but we xuld diligently wake to do wel for to eshow þe peril of the serpent, þat is to sei of þe fend, þe which ever purchasiþ our depe, etcetera.

How lyberalyte is ageyns the synne of coveytise.

Capitulum sextum decimum, etcetera:

<L>iberalite is a mene to get frendes and to lyve
sufficientli, lich as þe lyght lessith nat þou it schew to many, and þat many hape parte þerof. Dedimus wyt-
nessiþ þat in his wrytyng to Alisaundre, þe which Ali-
saundyr gate manyer rewmys more be liberalite þan be strenght. And to þis purpos Boyce seip to us in his
Second Book of Consolacion þat þe getyng is blessed þe which doþe good to many. And Cassidore in his
Twenty-fourth Pistol seip þat þe man xuld yeve gladly, for liberalite lessiþ nat þe goodes þou þat þe man hape þe lesse for þe tyme after þat. Yet þe lesse
suffiseþ hym as wele as þe more dede, ellis he xuld nat be liberal. Than, sen þe man hap sufficiauns after þe yifte as wel as afore, it foloweth þat he was as ryche afore. But forsoþe many calle þem liberal þe which be nat, for to suppose þat <which> þei yeve is
yovin folili and outragously; and þat is nat to praise. Yet somtyme for to be liberal it suffiseþ nat to yeve al only, but he ought to distribute his goodis wyseli and be reson, as Caton witnessiþ seying to his son: "Sonne, beware to hom þu yevist." And nat only to
whom, but also men xuld take hede to whom, quan, how, and how much. And to þis purpos spekþ Tulle in his
First Book of Offices, seying þat a man xulde yeve to hym þat hape nede withoute veyn glorye or hope of ony oper reward. And a yever shuld take hede to whom þat he yeviþ xuld be worþi, as Macrobe techiþ in his Book
of Saturnelles. But comon men yeve to þe <un>worði, and to bo also þat hape non nede, as Clarence and Mar-cial witnessiþ. £o þat in þat dede dop þus hape non nede ne non grace of God, for þe man þat verili wold be large and liberal xuld avise hym and beholde þe maner of þe yever and þe circumstaunces. And inespecial of his yifte xuld be aggreable to God or non, for þe largesse comþ most of a perfyte hert. As Barro seǐþ in his Sentences: "The yifte is more agreabil up-on þe affeccion of þe yever þan upon þe affeccion of þe 3ifte." And hereof have we exaumpil in þe Gospel of Seynt Luke. And Seynt Jerome rehersiþ þe name in þe prologue of the / Bibil seying þat þe 3ifte of þe poure woman, þe which offred but a littil, was more ex-ceptable to God þan þe yifte was of kyng Cressus, which was ryte rych, or of þe Kynde of Lyde, þe which offered gret yiftes and many 3iftes of golde and syl-ver. And þe cause whi is for þe poure woman made hir offferyng with gretter devocion þan þe seid kynges dedyn, concevvyng she yafe al þat she had. But þe seid kynges, after þer 3iftes, were stylle ryche and myti as þei were afore. Wherbi it shewiþ þat þe affec-cion doth more þan dopþ þe gretnes of þe offferyng. Moreover we rede how þe liberalite many hape getyn gret name and gret lordeshepes. And to þis purpos þe story of Alisaundre seǐþ þat Alisaunder wan manyer
rewmys more be liberalite and be fredom þan he dyd be his strenght, for he was so liberal þat þe servauntes of his enmyes come to dwel with hym, and lefte þer lordes and þer kynges to serve hym. Also we rede hou Salamon was ryte liberal, as it appiriþ in þe Third Book of Kynges, þe second chapitre. Also King Cirrus was ryte liberal for he sent ageyn to Jerusalem þe vessell of golde þe which his fader Nabugodonosor had takyn away, as Esdres rehersiþ in his First Book. We rede also how Thobyde offerid ful liberaly al þat he had to þe angel Raphael, þe which he wend had ben a man, as it appiriþ in þe twelfth chapitre of Thobie. Also we rede how Kyng Assur was ryte liberal quan he yaf half his rewme to Hester. Be þe which storys it appiriþ þat many were sumtyme named for þer liberalite. But coveitise haþe diffamyd much pepil, and made þem to falle into many inconvenientes, as it xalbe shewid in þe chapitre þat folowis.

1655 How coveitise bryngeþ a man to an evyl havyn and makþ hym to lyve in wrechidnes and in poverte. Capitulum septimum decimum:

Be coveitise þe man coveitiþ oþer mennes gode, and after appropreþ it to hymself undewli. And der nat helpe hymself with his owyn good, for ever he ferip to fayle good. And þus þe coveitous lyve ever in wrechidnes, for I suppose þat he have much good yet he is
ryte powir quan, for his coveitise, he may nat help withal hymself. Perfor þe wyse man xuld eschew coveitise and negardshepe. Caym offred to God of þe werst frute þat he had of his ground, and perfor his offerung was not aggreabill to God. And þan Caym, seyn þat þe offerung of his broper Abel was plesyng to God, because þerof he was moved to anger and to envie, insomuch þat he slew his owin broþir. As it appirip in þe Book of Genesis. Throu coveitise Judas betrayed his lord, our saviour Jhesu Criste, and fyl holli in dispayre and hyng hymself. Moreover Dalida, because of covitise and for mony þat was yovin her, betraied hir owen husband Sampson. And þerafore she shewid to Sampson rite gret syne of love, as it appirip in þe eighteenth chapitre of þe Book of Juges. Be þe which þinges it appirip þat coveitise bringip þe man oftin to perdicion. O coveitise, þu settist stryfe betwen Abraham and Loth, as þe Boke of Genesis tellip, for þer ryches causip þat <they> myte not dwel togeder. Be coveitise Saimuellis children did much harm and yaf many evil jugementes, as it appirip in þe First Book of Kynges. Who made þe fals witnes against Nasboth but coveitise, as it appirip in þe Third Book of / Kynges? Who was cause of þe fals witnes of þe knyghtes þat kept þe sepulcre but coveitise? For because of serteyn mony þat þei receyvyd, falsli þei
witnessed that the disciples had stolen the body of Jesus Criste, as Seynt Matheu witnessed in his twenty-eighth chapter. Who made Achor to dye shrewdly but his covertise? As it appirip in the seventh chapter of Josue. Why did David slay Nabal, but because that Nabal was right covertise? As it appirip in the First Book of Kynges, the fifth chapter. Why was Semey damned to depe, but for his covertise? He made hym departe out of Jerusalem ageyns the commandement of his fader, but covertise? As it appirip in the Third Book of Kynges, the second chapter. And why was the evil rich man damned by for his covertise? Because he denied that poure Lasar the crommys of his bred, as Seynt Luke rehearsed in his sixteenth chapter. Trewly avarice have perished many a man and made them to consente to many inconvenientes and synnes. For Menelaeus, pou3[t] he unworpi was, for money was promoted to be preste of the lawe, as it appirip in the Second Book of Machabeus, fifth chapter. And somtyme he preste of the lawe, be her covertisyse, suffred nete and shepe to be solde in the temple, and ope marchaundises to be done, as Seynt Maueu rehearsed in his thirteenth chapter. We rede also how Ananye and Saphire fel in many inconvenientes because of her covertise, as it appirip in the fifth chapter of the Apostels Dedis. Thus mesemy3 that al the that wil lyve holili xulde holde them content with the
goodis þat God sendip þem withoute settyng þer hertes on wordeli goodis. For as Saluste in his Catilinayr seip, coveitise lettiþ trowþe and worþines, and engenderip pride and cruelnes. Coveitise lettiþ good studi and makiþ þe man to care in vanites and for godes þe which arn not stabil. And to þis purpos Senek seip in his Pistel of Lucille, þe seventy-third chapitre, coveitise makiþ þe man a fol. For þe coveitous man desireþ ever þat þe which he hâpe not, and þat þe which he hâpe, he knowiþ nat þat it is his, for he is ever aferde to lese it and þat goodes xuld faylê hym. And þerfor Valeri seip in his Ninth Book þat coveitise farþ as þe beste þat may nat be filled and makiþ þe pepil to dye shreudly. And indee he tellip how on called Septimus, seyng þat he was in perel of deþ but yif he kest part of his good out into þe see. And yet he had lever dye with his riches þan to cast out parte þerof and lyve to kepe þe remnaunt. Wherbi it appirip þat coveitise makyþ a man a gret fol. and waxþ unkunnyng, for þe covitouse man fallip oftin in such anger þat he had lever dye þan lese his good. And to þis purpos Helinand tellip that Hanibal sumtyme beseged a castel in þe which were three hundred men þat had not to ete but myse and rattes. And it fel þat on coveitous man amonge þem took a gret rat, and natwithstondyng he died for hunger. For he solde it
to another man for two hundred penys, wherbyrou it fort-
tuned þat þe seid covetous man dyed with all his money
and þe toþer lyved and ware delyvered withoute dep.
So ich man xuld avise hym and consider how þat goodes
be not made but to serve man. And þerfor he xulde not
love þem but as he haþe necessite. And yit þan he
xulde use þem sobirli þanking God, þe quyych is well of
al goodnes. /

How þe state of poverté is plesaunt to God. Capi-
tulum duodevesimun.

Poverté is nat ellis but veri suffisauns withoute
desiryng any oper þing but such as God sendip to a
creature. And suche poverté is called poverté of
 sperit, þe which God haþe promysed in þe gospel seying
þat blessed be þo þat be poure of spirite, [þe which
God haþe promysed in þe gospel sey] þat is to sey of
wil. And mesemyþ upon þe scripture þat auncient pepil
loved poverté, and inespecial þo þat wer loved of God
and called to good and to worship. Rede we nat how
Jacob was an herd and kept sheep, and goyng doun be þe
countre he slept in þe myddis of þe feld and leid a
ston undir his hed instede of a pelow? As it appirip
in þe twenty-eighth chapitre of Genesis. Also we rede
hou Moyses kept a mannes sheep called Jetro, as it
appirip in þe third chapitre of Exode. And yet after
þat Moyses was ordeyned to be governour of þe pepil of
Israel. We rede also hou Saul was content with a ser-
vaunt þat he hed, and sought his faders asses for his
use and nat þe hors. And yet he was made kyng, as it
appirip in þe First Book of Kynges, þe fourteenth
chapitre. And we rede also of David, how he kept
shepe quan he was called to be kyng, as it apperyth in
the Fyrst Book of Kynges, þe sixteenth chapitre. Be
þe which storys it shewyth clerly þat the state of
poverte is plesyng to God. And indee Jhesu Cryste
hæþ yovyn us exampl of poverte, for of a poure modyr
he was born, and of a poure smyþe norysshid—that is
Joseph. He was leid in a poure bed, in poure cloþis
lapped, and presented to þe tempil with pore kyn, cru-
cified naked, and beryed in anoper mannes toumbe. Be
þes þingis Crist Jhesu schewith þat none shuld dis-
prayse poverte, for Jhesu Crist seith in þe gospel,
who so wole be perfite xuld forsake worldly goodis and
yeve them to þe poure pepil, as Seynt Matheu rehersib
in his seventeenth chapitre. And to þis purpos we
rede how auncient pepil seid þat þe poure is rycher
yif he hape suffisaunce, þan is he þat is coveitous
þow he have ryte gret habundauns of good. As Senek
wytnessib, seying þat Diogenes þe which had nouȝt was
rycher þan Alisaunder þat had al þe weard, for Alisaun-
dyr had not so muche good to yeve as Diogenes myght
and wolde refuse. Of þe which Diogenes Valeri
rehearsip in his Fourth Book how he refused yiftes the
which Denyse the Tyraunt sent to hym. And on a tyme
it fel þat Diogenes had lekis þe which he xuld eþe.
And one called Aristipus, seyng þat, seyd to hym: "O
Diogenes, yif þu woldist flatter Denys, þu xuldist not
be in such poverte." And þan Diogenes answerd to hym
and seid: "Aristipus, yif þu woldist endure my poverte
þu xuldist not be a flatterer as þu art." And Seynt
Jerome tellip of þis same Diogenes in his book Ageyns
Jovynyan, how for al clopis he had but a litil double
mantel to kepe hym from colde. Instede of housis of
offyse, he had a litil bag. Instede of an hors, he
had a lytel staffe, and he was loged in a litil tunne
at þe gate of þe cite. Þe which tunne, to eschew cold,
he turned it as þe wynde went. And he, seyng a /
chylde that dranke water in hys honde, kest hym down a
lytel cuppe to þe erthe. And þe child seyd to hym:
"It suffysþe þo me to drynke in a vessel þat nature
haþe yovyn me"—þat is to sey the honde. Wherbi it
shewip þat gosteli povertie and veri suffisaunce were
somtyme in wyse pepil, as in Diogenes and many oþer.
And to þis purpos we rede hou Espicure seid þat þer
was noþing vayled to joieus povertie. And Oraces seip
in his Pistelis þat povertie xuld nat displesse, nat-
withstandyng þe man haþ sufficiaunt levynge, for al þe
gode þat is in þe werd may yeve the man no more but
his levyng. And þerfor Caton seid to his sonne: "Seyng þat nature made <pe> al naked thu shuldest gladli endure povyrte and flee outrages, for nature xal not fayle þe at rede." And þu xalt be ryche yif þu have suffisaunce, as Geoffrey in hys poeytrye wytnessith, and many oþir more. Moreover þe wyse man xuld consi-dre and þinke þat outrage ne to get habundance avay-leþ noping þe man. Is nat Anthiocus deed and com to no3t? Of whom Valery tellyþ in his Ninth Book how he, beyng Kyng of Surrye, he made his hors to be arayed with golde, and al þe vessellis in hys kechyn was golde and sylver. But he lost all sorowfully, for he desired more to take and to reve from hys pepil þan to do justise. Where is Pompey become? And Netos wyfe, þe which made hyr marys to be schoed in lych wise; and she ded cary afore hyr charyettes ful of golde. Trew-li al is come to no3t. And þe rych pepil, for al þat, dede the more wreichidly because þei love þer riches. And þerfor Dedimus tellyþ hou the pepil of hys cuntr levid pourely and without corioust, for vanite makþ man to perissh and to forgete God, þe which is cause of al goodnes. And þe olefaunt is deceyvid when he trosteþ to þe tre whereupon he restith. So rych pepil be deceyved quan þei trost in þer ryches, for quan þe day of þer most necessite comþ, þer riches avayleþ þem noping þe more to have hevyn. But suffysaunce and
poverte availeþ þerto gretly. Alas, it were good to considre hou fortune hap no certeynte to endure. For as Julius Cesur seip in hys Fourth Book, fortune hap chosyn much pepil to gret riches to make þem þe more veleynli to overthrowe. And Hildebert, to þis purpos, spekyng of his banysshment, seid: "I was the laste day," seith he, "riche and wel at ese, but fortune, þat yaf me al, hap take al fro me. And she þat made me lawh, constreynþ þe me now to wepe." Ovide, in his Book of Hevynes, seip: "A lytil while I was with ryches and was worchepid, and now, causeles, I am dysworchepid and banysshed. Þus I se þat fortune hap no sure frendelynes." And þerfor seip Boyce, in his Second Book of Consolacion, þat adverse fortune is better þan wordli fortune, þe which blyndep man and mayntenyþ him in synne. For ho so is poure may not overprowe, but þe ryche is in perel to falle in ryte gret unhap. And yif þu aske quit þat she is, to þat answerþ Boyce, seying þat þe gretest unhap þat is, it is after gret fortune to falle in mysfortune. As Altibrados did, þe which was first ryte ryche, and after ryte gret / [un]hap was ryte unhappy, as Valeri rehersþ in his Sixth Book. Also he tellþ hou Denys Siracusuan was first ryte ryche and ryte a gret lord, but verili he becam so poure to get his leyvyn he tauþt lessons and kept scote to þe litel children of
Corintheus. So he is ryte evil avised þat trostep in fortune. But þe man xuld trost to do wel, for þat is þe ryches þat helpip a man at nede and at his necessite. But now mankyndeli creatures ben so blynded þat þei set no store but be wordely goodes. The which xuld take exampl of wise auncient pepil of whom we rede þat be wordeli goodes þei set but litil store. And to þis purpos Valery telleþ in his Eighth Book how Anaxagoras lefte his p[r]ocessiones for to goo and study in straunge contries, and quan he returned he founde his possessiones desertes. þan he seid: "I myte nat be saved yif my possessiones perysshid nat."

As ho sey þat riches is ayeyn þe salvacion of man. Also he tellip of a philosophir called Socrates, þe which put from hym al his riches, and had lever þat þei were lost þan þat he xuld be lost for þem. Also he tellip of a wise man called Stilbon, the which lost al his good þrou fortune of fyer. And þan men asked hym yif he were wroþe for þe losse of his good. And he answerid ayeyn þat he had al his good upon hym, þat is to sey kunnyng and vertus, as he wolde sey the goodis of fortune were not his. Wherbi it appirip þat tho be wyse men that disprayse þe godes of fortune, as Enpedocles witnessip. And Prosper, in his Book of Epigramaton, seyth þat þe corage of þe coveitise man xal never have rest, for wordly goodis may not resiste
per cours, but þei engendyr and incres þer coveyteyne and þe disordenat desire. And to þis purpos Ovide tellip hou Polidorus, be his covetyse, kylled Priantes
sonn to have þe riches þat he had takyn hym to govern withal þe seid son. But forsoþe Hecuba, modyr to þe seid sonn with hym conplyssshmentes perceyved þe seid treson. Than she cam to Polidorus, feynyng þat she shuld a yoven hym mony. But Hecuba and her felashepe
kylled hym and strangelyd hym, for it was reson þat þe coveitise þat made hym kylle oper were mene and cause of his deþ. Wherbi it appireþ þat poverté is gode and covetyse kepþ a man in care and in peril of hert and of consciens, etcetera.

Here begynneth the second parte of þis book þat spekith of the state of men of the chirche and of clerkes. And þe first chapitre spekeþ how men xuld wurcheþ þe chirch and have it in reverens. þe first chapitre, etcetera:

The chirch is a modyr to alle Christen pepil, and fredom is yoven to þe same. And þerfor men xuld have it in gret reverens, for hyr husbond and here hed is Jhesu Criste, savioure of alle þe world. And to this purpos we rede in þe Three Partied Story how Constant-

tyn was made Christen and loved / God so muche, and þe chirche, þat he lete bere in every place where he went a tabernacle made lyche a chirch, and had with hym
prestes and clerkes þat served God ryte devouteli. He bare also in his ryte hand þe signe of þe crosse—þat was þe baner wherbi God sent hym victory. And indede, quan he xuld do a bataile, þan þe aungel schewed unto hym in his dreme how he schuld have þe victory be the signe of þe cros. Also we rede in þe book aforeseid hou þe Emperoure Theodocius was stedefastli obeysiaunt to þe chirch, natwithstondyng afore he had ben ryte vigorous. And þe story seip how þe seid Theodosius dede sle seven thousand men in þe cite called Thessalon, because þat þei had stoned somme of his officers. And after þat cruel dede þe seid Theodosius returned to Myllan wenynge as he had used afore to entre into þe chirch. And Seynt Ambrose, þe which was Archbisshop, cam afore and seid to hym: "O Emperoure, goo þi wey, for þu xal not entre into þis chirche seeng þat þu art ful of blood and art nat worbi to beholde God." Than Theodosius obeyed and departed wepyng. And it was eight monethis þat he cam not in the chirch. But because þat Cristemas cam on he sent a servaunt of his to Seynt Ambrose called Rofyn to gete grace, but his prayer vayled nat. And Theodosius seynge þat, he cam in his owne persoun to Seynt Ambrose wepyng and be-sechyng pardon on his knees. And þan Seynt Ambrose toke hym to grace and after þat he dede mych good and had many victories. Wherbi it appiriþ þat men xuld
worchep þe chirch. And to this purpos Valery telliþ in his Third Book, þe eleventh chapitre, hou Julius Cesar defendid his pepil þat non xuld be so hardi to do harme to chirchis ne temples. And for þis cause it was two yere þat never man had victory of hym. But after he was oftin discoumyte quan he had distroied þe temple called Delphique, as Policrate telliþ in his Sixth Boke, þe seventh chapitre. And he seid, moreover, þat knytyhood xuld kepe þe chirch, punysshe heretikes, worchep prestes, defend prestes in ryteful quarellis, and pesestryves. Also Egisopus telliþ how Pompey dede never harme to templis ne to chirchis, and þerfor Alisaundyr was ful gracies to hym and foryaf hym his mystaking. Wherbi it shewiþ to us þat men xulde worchep and kepe þe chirche. And to þis purpos Vegeste seþ in his Fourth Book of Knytyhood, þe fourth chapitre, how knytis shuld swere treuli first to God, secundeli to þer prince. Moreover þu xalt knowe þat þe chirch shuld be fre, for it is fygured be þe Arch Noe, in þe whiche all were savid þat were withinne. As it appirþ in the Book of Genesis, þe seventh chapitre. In lich wise, also, we xuld be fre in þe chirch. And indede we rede in þe Storyes of þe Romaynes hou on called Marchaliþet dyed a foule deþe because he had vilensed þe chirch and cruelli takyn þo þat were withinne. We rede also of one called Aquilla,
hou he distroied al Italye. And þe pope called Leon
bad hym leve his cruelte, þe which obeied anone.
Whereof many were abasshed þat he obeied so sone, but
þan he seid qwan þat þe pope spak to hym, he sawh a
fayre olde man þat helde a knyfe in his ryte hand,
whereof he was sore aferd and durst nat dysobeye. And
this signyfyed to us that alle schuld doute the
chirche, and obeye it in alle ryte and reson.

How þe pepil of þe chirche xuld leve chastli and

vertuousli /

<§>eynt Jerom in his Pistel seid þat þe prelate
xuld have no concubyne, for holi chirche is his spouse.
And þeperf in þe ryte canon it is defendid þat pre-
latis shuld have no women in þer houses but yif þeþ be
undyr age or oute of al suspeccion. And to þis purpos
we rede of Seynt Austyn, how he wold nat duel with his
owen suster to eschewe al evil suspeccion. Moreover
Seynt Gregori in his Dialoges, in þe Third Book, þe
third chapitre, rehersiþ how a prelate called Andrew
was gretli tempted with a woman of religion because
þat she dewellid with hym. Wherbi it appiriþ þat men
of þe chirche xuld flee þe conversacion of women nat
onli for to flee þe synne, but also for to fle þe evil
suspicccion. And þerfor Seint Jerome seþ in his
Forty-third Pistel þat þe state of prelacion is ful
worþi, and þerfor prelates xuld beware þat þei do
noping wherbi þer state xuld be slaunderid, for þe
prelate is nat only ordeyned for to have delites, but
also for to govern and to tech þe pepil. And þe heier
þat þei be chosyn þe meker shuld þei be. For as Seynt
Austyn seip in his Fifth Book of þe Cite of God, in þe
nineteenth chapitre, þat he is no veri prelate þat
askip but his owen profite and nat þe profite of his
sogettes. Also Seynt Gregory seip in his Eleventh
Book of his Moralles þat prelates be ordeyned nat only
to receyve wurchip, but principaly to serve God and toenclyne his sogettes to do þe same. And þerfor Hew
seip þat none xulde be ordeyned to be a prelat but yif
he be of good levyng and of honest conversacion. And
to þis purpos þe scripture seip in Exod, þe eighteenth
chapitre, þat men xuld make prelates of pepil of gode
levyng to take exampl of þem, for men xuld nat take
sheep to wolvis for to keep. Þat is to say to þo þat
askip but þe profite of þe prelates and nat þe labour
þat longip þerto. But þe tyme is come þat Ysaye pro-
phecied in þe third chapitre, seying þat princes and
prelates be of þe condicion of children, þe which wold
leve without care. And Zacharye, in his eleventh cha-
pitre, seip þat þe prelat þe which þinkip not on þe
pepils governaunce is lych an ydole which serveth of
noght. It is a gret abusion quan þe prelate is not
diligent to sett and to tech his pepil, as it appirip
in þe Book of Twelve Abusions. And indede Hew, in his Book of Sacrementis, seip þat prelates beriþ þe arch in tokyn of prelat, and þe ryng upon þer hand betokenyth þat þe chirch is þer spouse, and þe tonycle signifieþ clennes, þe coron chastite, þe stole paciens, and þe chesible charite. And þerfor þe prelat xuld be good, wise, and verteous, for it is necessari to his estate, [and] as Seynt Gregory seip in his Pastoral, in þe First Book of þe first chapitre. Seynt Barnard spekyng of prelates in his Fourth Book of Eugeny Pope: "I am abasshed," seip he, "whi many prelates commyttten þer governauns of þer pepil to suffragans and to ober. But þe ryches and þe receites þei commyttten to none ober save in such wise as þei can þerof make non acompte." And yet þei be more ordeined to govern þe spiritualite þan þe temporalite, as Hew seip in his Second Boke of Sacrementes. For þe coron þat men of þe chirch weriþ signifieþ þat þei xuld have þer hartes to þe spiritualte. And þerfor in auncient tyme vertuous men / refused bysshopriches because þei knew wel þat prelacie was a gret labour to þem þat wold don þer devoyr. And to þis purpos we rede of Seynt Ambros, how he refused þe archbisshoprich of Millan, natwithstanding þat he was chosen of al connavente. To þe entent þat he xuld nat be constreyned to receyve þe seide archebisschoprich, he made defouled women to
come to his hous wenyng be þat mene to a be withdrawe from þat prelacie. Neverþeles þe trowþe was knownen and hym most obeying. Also we rede of Seynt Gregori þat quan he was chosesn to be pope he fled. But be þe mene of þe holi gost he was found and receyved to be pope. We rede also, in a book called Paradise, hou a good man called Martyns kyt of his thumbe because he xuld nat be prelat, and yet he beyng chosesn. Also we rede of an holy man called Ammonius, how he was chosen to be bysshop and þerfor he kytte of his ryte ere secretli. And þan he seid to þo þat had chosesn hym:
"Ye see wel I may not be bychop for I am not lykly."

Than þe pepil answerid and seid: "It suffisith us to have a good man more þan a fayr man." Moreover in þe Three Partied Story, in þe Third Book, we rede of a religios monke þat was chosesn and called to be bishop, þe which asked a delay and a tyme to be avised. And þe said monke made his prayers to God and required þat he wolde alegghe hym and delyver hym of þis charge. And þe story seib that in his prayers he discisid and yaf to God his goste. Be þe which storis it shewip þat prelacion is peynful to þo þat wil do þer devoir.

And therefor non xuld be a prelat but if he were wise, vertuos, and of good leving.

How prelates xuld teche and governe sogettes, and yef almes to pour pepil.
The bysshop is an hed þat xuld redresse þe toper membris. And to þis purpos we rede of Moises, how he loved his pepil rite derli and ded gret peyn to chas- tyse þem and to tech þem. And for al þat God promysed þem hym to yeve hym gretter pepil to govern. Neverþe- les he seid þo þat he had suffised for hym and þat he wold no mo no gretter noumbre, as it appirip in þe twenty-third chapitre of Exode. We rede also þat for þe love þat he had to his [þ]pepitil, he desired þat iche of þem xuld be holi prophetes þou his name xuld les þerbi, as it appirip in þe eleventh chapitre of þe Book of Noumbres. We rede also hou he comforted þe pepil quan þei were discoraged and seid to þem:
"Abasshe yew not for God xal defend yew." As it is wretin in Exode, þe thirteenth chapitre. Also Elia- chym, somtyme prest of þe lawe, comforted þe pepil ageyn Olofernus, as it is wretin in þe Book of Judith, þe fourth chapitre. Seint Poule, also, in his Pist- telis of Ephesiens, þe seventh chapitre, seid: "Mi frendis, coumfort yew in God and in his myte." So be þese þinges þat prelates xuld comfort and teche þe pepil. To þis purpos Seynt Austyn seip in his Nineteenth Book of þe Cite of God þat þe prelat xuld ever have hert on his pepil, for his office is to enduce þem to do wel. And Seynt Ambrose seip in his Pastoral þat þe prelate xuld eschewe al heresie and all evil
techyng, for þe principal of þe brevat is to defend þe feip in þe which al þe feip is founded. Moreover, the prelate to his power xuld sucour þe poure, for þe goodis of þe chirche ben þe poure pepiles goodes. And to þis purpos Seynt Jerome wri/tyng to Nepoci an seip þat men of þe chirch xuld not take of þer benefices alonly þer honest levyng withoute pompe or coryouste. And the sourplus they schulde distrybute there where they see nede. And if þei do oþerwyse, þei be sacrileges, þat is to sey thevis of þe chirch good. And moreover he seyth, he þat haþe ynowgh of his patrymony to lyve on, he xuld noþing take of þe chirche goodis. Yif he do oþerwise, he is sacrilege. And þerfor Seynt Austyn, in one of his Sermowns to Hermites, spekyng of hymself seith: "I that am bysshoph xuld be wel ware þat þe goodis of þe chirch be nat yoven to ryche pepil, for þat is þe patrimonye of þe poure pepil. And I thanke God onto bis tyme he haþe yovyn me the grace noþing to yeve to þe ryche, but onli to þe poure. And yet, indede, I have kyn þat oþyn—some be manaces and sum be flatery—askyth me the goodis of my cherch. But I xuld have consciens to yeve it þem, natwith- stondyng þat þei have inow to leve on." Whereby it appiriþ þat prelates xuld yeve to poure pepil. And hereof have we exaumpil in Eliseus the prophete, þe which made his broed to be distributed to the
prophetes children, as it appirip in þe Fourth Book of Kynges, þe fourth chapitre. And the same we rede of Seynt Austyn, how at his deth he made no testament, because þat in his lyfe he had yovin al his good to poure pepil.

How the pepyl of þe chirch xuld telle þe troupe of þe feyth.

Be prechyng þe chirche is susteyned and þe lawe reised and þe pepil converted. And þerof have we many examplis of Aron, the which somtyme to þe pepil preched þe word of God. And þerfor þe pepil beleved in God, and setteþ þem to serve hym, as it appirip in Exode, þe fourth chapitre. Also we rede in þe Boke of þe Postelis Dedis how þe chirch was multiplied and mored be þe preching of þe postelis. And inderde Seynt Poule and Seynt Barnabe, bi þer prechyng, converted much pepil, as it appirip in þe forseid book, þe thirteenth chapitre. And þerfor þe pepil of þe chirch, and inespecial þe religious, xuld preche þe trouth.

And to þis purpos we rede in þe Seconde Booke of þe Three Partyed Story, þe eighth chapitre, how a good man, be his prechyng, converted many myscreauntes, to whom he seid: "My frendes, be not coryous in manke ndli sciencis, þe which conteynip deceites and vanitees.

But have þe hert to the feip and to þe holy gospel, þe which conteynyth but trowth." But yif þu sey þu art
no clerk to preche, to þat I answere to þe, and þat
yif þu be good in thyn affeccion, the Holi Goste xal
mynystere to þe good wordis and profitable. And to
þis purpos we rede in þe forseid book how sumtyme ryte
a gret philosophir þe which was a mysbelever disputed
ageyns our feith. And a good aunclent man seyng þat,
þe which cowd no lecture, come to hym to converte hym.
And þe Holi Goste mynysterd to hym suche wordis þat he
converted þe seid philosophir to the feip. And þefor
seip þe scripture þat þe worde of þe prechoure of
troube is þe word of þe Holi Gost. It is ful trewe
þat þe prechynng is ryte profitable quan þe prechoure
is of good leyng, as Seynt Gregori seith in þe thir-
tieth Book of his Moralles. And yif prechynng profyte
f.19v
nat, it is for þe / defaute of þe prechoure, þe which
is of evil leyng, or of mystrostryng, þe which hath
non affeccion. Neverþeles Jhesu Criste seip in þe
Gospel þat men xuld preche þe word of God, for it may
not be al lost, as þe seed þat is cast in þe myddis of
þe wey it makeþ no frute yet þe birdes of hevin at þe
last eteth it. Who converted þe pepil of Nenyve, but
þe prechynng of Jonas þe prophet, as it appiriþ in þe
third chapitre? Who converted Ynde but þe prechynng of
Seint Thomas? Who converted Samarye but þe pre-
chynng of Seynt Phelip? But somme fareth as þe jewis
þat stoppid þer herys quan [seint] Seint Stephin
prechèd. And somme mocked Seynt Poule quan he preched, as it appirip in þe Book of the Apostelis Dedes. These be of þe condicion of þe serpent called aspis, þe which stoppiþ his eerys with his tayl because he xuld nat here. And who so drynkeþ of his venym, he slepiþ and dieþ slepyng. There be many also þat wil not here þe trouþe and deyen in þer synnes withoute repentauns.

Moreover mesemyþ many be wroþe quan men in prechyng repreve þer synnes. And thei seme þat men spoke speziali for þem, þe which in som wise be discyved, for þe Holi Goste mynstrierip ofþin to þe prechoure þe which he hape not tawght on afoþ. And to þis purpos Seynt Austyn rehersip in his Sixth Book of his Confessions how on a tyme he preched in his sermon of a creature. And menetime cam on called Alipius, þe which was a player of þe dees and gretli enclyned to voide occupaciones. Than Seynt Austyn began to preche ageyn suche vanitees, and Alipius, seeng þat, he wend Seynt Austyn had spoken of hym. And after þe sermon he asked Seint Austyn whi he spak so ageyns hym. He answerid þat þe Holi Gost had don it, for he knew hym nat, ne wist nat þat he was non such. And þan the seid Alipius repented hym and left al vaniteis. Also on þe same wise Seynt Austyn converted many be þe wordes þat he seid at his borde. Wherbi it appirip þat it is ryte profitable to here trowthe and
predicaciones.

2210 How men xuld stody, and in especial holy scripture. Quinto Capitulo.

To study, it is a þing rite behoveli and profitable to men of þe chirch. And þerfor Aristipus, to one þat asked hym quat studi availed hym, he answerid þat be study þe man lyveþe þe more sevirli, and can þe better eschew many inconveniences. And þerfor Boece, in his Book of Disciplyne of Scolers, seip þat non may be a maister but yif he have kunnyng and vertu. And so auncient pepil studied ever, as Valeri tellip in his Eighth Book, þe seventh chapitre. And indede þu xalt see how a man þat is a clerke is wel at ese in besynes and be himself, for he wote wherupon to employe hym and to occupie him. But þe ignoraunt man wote natquat to do yif he be not in felaschep to here vaniteis and plesaunt langage of þem þat loviþ ignorauns, þe which þinkin þat þei be lost quan þei fynd nat to whom to spek, and nameli at all houres. But þe clerk þat can studi is ryte glad quan he is owt of þe felashep of þo þat can ryte noght, þe which loveth noging but ydelves. And þerfor a man xuld lern somping, and in-especial in his youghte, for þe rodde plieth not esili but men use it þerto whil it is yonge and grene. Also þe man takip gladli plesure to þat / þe which he is used to in yought. Forsoþe principally þu xuldest
study in holi scripture, and in that þe whiche is necessary to þi salvacion. For as Seynt Austin seíp in his Second Book of Christen Doctryne, al þe goodnes þat is first and principally in oper sciencis is founde in theologe, for þat is þe moder of all wytt and of all konnyng. And þerfor þu xuldest dispraise all sciencis þe which arn contrarye to holy scripture. For as Averrois seíp in þe Third Book of Methaphesike, tho þat usen to here and to lere fabules be gretly enclyned to lerne falsnes for troupe. And þei wene þat þer is nopíng but þat whereinne þei have be nor-ysshed. And I am gretly abbashed of many men of þe cherche þe which ben ydell and lerne nat, and þerfor þei fynde þemself in many inconveniences. For naturelly þe man wold be occupied and quan he knoweþ nat quat to do because of ignoraunce þan he besytheþ hym in unleful gamys and in many synnes. And ofte þymes al þat comeþ because of ignorauns. Moreover þe man xuld avise hym þat undirstondyng is yovyn to hym to enplye it wel, þe which settiþ a differens betwen us and bestes. Þus it is gret shame quan þe man þat may amend hym norisssheth hym in ignorauns and behavith hym as a dome best. Thu may sey to me þat all may not be clerkis, and to þat I answer to the and sey þat þo the which folowïþ þe actife lyfe, in þat wyse þei may be excused. But mesemyþ þe pepil of þe chirche may
nat wel excuse þem; þei have sesoun and tyme inowh to 
stody and to get sciens. And yif þei wold set þer 
tyme in study þe which þei set in vaniteis þei xuld be 
clerkes and have greuter joye and plesauns in þe studi 
þan þei have in vaniteis, þe which þe maynteyn. And 
of þis mater þu mayst see in þe next book where þu 
xalt fynde many þinges þat is to sei to þe same purpos. 

Here endeth þe second parte of þis book and now be-
gynneþ þe third.
NOTES

A note on the footnotes

References to classical and patristic authors, as well as references to the Bible, follow the style of citation of Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*. In some cases I have used a more abbreviated style, and for these the reader should see the section entitled "Abbreviations." The references themselves reflect the editorial practices of the editions from which they are taken. No effort has been made to establish a consistent style.

Where I cite passages from other MSS and omit one or more of the others, the reader may assume that the MS in question which I have not cited adds nothing to our understanding of the passage in GH.

3. *Sophology*, a book which instructs. See OED, s.v. *sophiology*, "the science of activities designed to give instruction.* GH has confused *Book of Good Condicions* with *Sophilogium*, another of Jacques Legrand's works. For a discussion of the relationship of these two texts, see the introduction.

4. Gap in GH.

4-6. *<H>ere begynneth ... Wysdam.* GH does not name
the author, nor does BM. H f.183r attributes it to "ffrere Jaques the grete of be relygion of Saynt Augystyn;" C f.1v to "the venerable and dyscrete persone Frere Jaques le graunt lycēcyat in Theologye religyous of the ordre of saynt augustyn of the conuent of parys."

14. Gap in GH.

42. Gap in GH.

53-54. and lern and special holy scripture. H f.183v, "lerne syngulerly holy scrypture."

55. Gap in GH.

70. Gap in GH.

96. Gap in GH.

113. Gap in GH.

120-121. Therfor be prophete ... men. James 4, 6. Cf. 1 Peter 5, 5; Ps. 73, 18-23; Ps. 35, 11-13.

120-122. resisteth ... Lucifer. C f.3r, "resysteth ayenst the proude folke whyche ben fallen vylanly. Emonge whome the fyrst was lucyfer;" H f.184v, "resysteth ayenst pryde. for he made yt falle out of heuene whan lucyfere
felle;" F f.5r, "Pour tant dit le prophete que dieu resiste aux orguilleux. Et a ce propos nous lisons plusieurs exemples des orguilleus qui sont chu3 villiaiement."

122. he<vyn>. Blot on GH.


129-135. Also Agar ... Genesis. Gen. 16, 5; 21, 14. The second reference is Agar and Ismael's departure. All MSS cite only Gen. 16.

129. Sarre chaumberer, Sarai's handmaid.

135-143. Moreover ... Nembroth ... Genesis. A confused account drawn from two sources. The giants lived before the flood and were destroyed in it: Gen. 6, 4-7; 7, 22-23. Nemrod and his kin were responsible for the tower: Gen. 10, 8-10; 11, 4-7. All MSS—C. f.3r, H f.184v, and BM f.100r/v—agree with the basic account here with the exception of BM f.100r which has Nemrod as "cause of the deluge" and attributes the story (f.100v) to the "secund chapitre of Genesis."

151-154. And ... Pharao ... Exode. Ex. 5, 2.
154-155. But veryli ... and all his. Ex. 14, 28.
All other MSS tell us of his punishment: BM f.100v, "drownyd in the see;" C f.3v, "drowned in the reed see;" H f.184v-185r, "and drowned . yn the see."

155-161. Moreover ... Amon ... Hester. Esther 3, 1-6. Esther 3 recounts the first meeting between Mardochai and Aman; the other incidents occur later. GH, BM f.100v, C f.3v, and H f.185r cite only Esther 3.

162-166. Also Abymaleck ... Juges. Judges 9, 53-54. Only GH has the right reference. H f.185r and BM f.101r have Judith 11. C f.3v has Judith 9.

167-168. Rede ... Balthasar ... slayn. Dan. 5, 22-30.


168. siege, a seat of rule, empire. See OED, s.v. siege.

170-173. Anthiocus ... Machabeus. 2 Mac. 9, 5.

174. lowned, brought low, overthrown. This is a
sc. and north dial. word. See OED, s.v. low and lown, the latter meaning "to become calm, to calm; also with down." C f.3v, "have be overthrowen;" BM f.101r, "brought lowe;" H f.185r, "haue be brought lowe."

174-177. Rede ... Nycanor ... chapitre. 1 Mac. 7, 26-43.

175. dyseqounfyte, to undo in battle; to overthrow completely: to beat, to rout. See OED, s.v. discomfit.

177-180. And Absolon ... chapitre. 2 Kings 18, 9-15. H f.185r, C f.3v, and BM f.101r all agree with GH's error and cite 2 Kings 15.


186-187. Wherfor was Dedalus ... Ovide tellith? Ov., Met. 1, 8, 183 ff.

186-189. And David ... chapitre. 2 Kings 24, 10-18.


193. repreved, reprehended, rebuked, blamed, chided, found fault with. See OED s.v. reprove, where another sense of this word—"to express disapproval of (conduct, actions, beliefs, etc.); to censure, condemn"—is given. Both uses of this word are found extensively in the MS.

195. the ennemyes, the devils.

203. opposite. The word "contrary" appears as a scribal gloss above this word in small letters.

206-208. Therfor ... the prophete ... Marye ... mekenes. Ps. 131, 1-12 and Luke 1, 46-55.

208-210. And David ... chapetre. 1 Kings 16, 11-12.

211-214. Moreover Salamon ... chapitre. 3 Kings 1, 1-53.


225. Gap in GH.

227-230. And ... the prophite ... kyr. Ps. 73, 18-23.
233-246. And ... Gregory ... Constantius ... "me."

Greg., Dialog., 1, 5:

Quia valde opinio sanctitatis ejus exreverat, multi hunc ex diversis provinciis anxie videre sitiebant. Quodam vero die ex longinquo loco ad videndum eum quidam rusticus venit. Eadem vero hora casu contigerat, ut sanctus vir stans in lignea gradibus, reficiendis derivaret lampadibus. Erat autem pusillus valde, exili forma atque spectra. Cunque is qui ad videndum eum venerat quinam esset inquireret, atque obnixe peteret ut sibi debuisset ostendi, hi qui illum noverant monstrarunt quis esset. Sed sicut stultae mentis homines merita ex qualitate corporis metiuntur, eum parvulum atque despectum videns, ipsum hunc esse cœpit omnino non credere. In mente etenim rustica inter hoc quod audierat et videbat, quasi facta fuerat quâdam rixa; et æstimabat tam brevem per visionem esse non posse, quem tam ingentem habuerat per opinionem. Cui ipsum esse dum a pluribus fuisset assertum, despexit et cœpit irridere, dicens: Ego grandem hominem credidi, iste autem de homine nihil habet. Quod ut vir Dei Constantius audivit, lampades quis reficiabat prōtinus lætus relinquent, concitus descendit, atque in ejusdem rusticæ amplexum ruit, eumque ex amore nimo constrin gere cœpit brachiis, et osculari, magnasque gratias agere quod is de se talia judicasset, dicens: Tu solus in me apertos oculos habuiisti. Qua ex re pensandum est cujus apud se humilitatis fuerit, qui despecientem se rusticum amplius amavit. Quam enim quisque apud se lateat, contumelia illata probat. Nam sicut superbi honoribus, sic plerumque humiles sua despectione gratulantur. Cunquem se et in alienis oculis viles aspiciunt, idcirco gaudent, quia hoc judicium confirmari intelligunt, quod de se et ipsi apud semetipsos habuerunt.

241. of aspare al fason, able to afford any fashion. See OED, s.v. aspare, to spare, afford. BM f.102v, "fasson;" C f.4v, "of syngular facion;" H f.186r, "and of synguler manere."

246-249. And ... Seynt Austyn ... "sendith." This theme runs through In Joan., 1,, and I have chosen Aug., In Joan., 1, 15, as typical:

248. grutch, to murmur, complain. See OED, s.v. grutch. BM f.102v, "mekenes is no murmur ne other mens displeasance;" C f.4v, "is nothynge to grutch;" H f.186r, "very hymlyttee ys no murmur nor dyspleysyr to othyrr."

249-261. And the same ... "trouthe." Aug., Ep., 118, 22 (PL, 33, 442):

Huic te, mi Dioscoro, ut tota pietate subdas velim, nec aliam tibi ad capessendam et obtinendam veritatem viam munias, quam quae munita est ab illo qui gressuum nostrorum tanquam Deus vidit infirmitatem. Ea est autem prima, humilitas; secunda, humilitas; tertia, humilitas et quoties interrogares hoc dicere: non quo alia non sint praecepta, quae dicantur, sed nisi humilitas omnia quaecumque bene facimus et praecesserit et comitetur et consecuta fuerit, et posita quam intueamur, et apposita cui adhaeareamus, et impossita qua reprimamur, jam nobis de aliquo bono facto gaudentibus totum extorquet de manu superbia. Vitia quippe cetera in peccatis, superbia vero etiam in recte factis timenta est, ne illa quae laudabiler facta sunt, in ipsius laudis cupiditate amittantur. Itaque sicut rhetor ille nobilissimus cum interrogatus esset quid ei primum videretur
in eloquentiæ præceptis observari oportere, Pronuntiationem dicitur respondisse; cum quæreretur quid secundo, eadem pronuntiationem; quid tertio, nihil aliud quam pronuntiationem dixisse: ita si interrogares, et quoties interrogares de præceptis christianæ religionis, nihil me aliud respondere nisi humilitatem liberet, etsi forte alia dicere necessitas cogeret.

261-271. And ... Seynt Anselyne ... knowlache.

Anselm., Lib de Similitud., 109 (PL, 159, 668-669):

Recapitulatio gradum humilitatis.

Quod autem superius dilate per partes ostendimus, nunc eadem breviter et summam sub exemplo colligamus. Si enim dominus quispiam servum habet, quem pro culpa sua tradere morti deberet, positaque ratione cum eo, suam servus culpam occultare, velut in tenebris, vellet; aut si cognosceret (quod est primus humilitatis gradus) non inde doleret; aut si doleret (quod est secundus) coram aliis, domino licet jubente, confiteri nollet; aut si confiteretur (quod est tertius) persuadere nollet ut hoc ita crederetur; aut si vellet inde culpabilis credi (quod est quartus), pati tamen nollet, ut diceretur culpabilis; aut si hoc sibi dici patetur (quod est quintus), non tamen pati vellet ut sicut culpabilis tractaretur: aut si hoc patiens (quod est sextus) non ita tamen tractari amaret (quod est septimus), licet hoc vele dominum suum sciret, non ei profecto culpam illam dominum dimitteret, imo magis ut iniquum servum eum puniret. Sic nec nostras nobis culpas Dominus dimittebat, si non nos gradibus iisdem humiliaverimus, sicut ipse jubet.

261-271. Of the catalogue of the seven degrees of meekness, BM f.103r omits the third.

271-274. And ... Seynt Barnard ... hymself. Bern.,

De Grad. Humil., 1, 2:

Humilitatis vero talis potest esse definitio. Humilitas est virtus, qua homo verissima sui agitio sibi ipsi vilescit. Haec autem convenit his, qui ascensionibus in corde suo dispositis, de virtute in virtutem, id est de gradu in gradum proficiunt, donec ad culmen humilitatis perveniant, in quo
velut in Sion, id est in speculatione, positi. veritatem prospiciant.

274-278. *Pe which ... Seynt Austyn ... lytel.* Aug.,

In Joan., 24, 16:

Ut ergo causa omnium morborum curaretur, id est superbia, descendit et humilis factus est Filius Dei. Quid superbis, homo? Deus propter te humilis factus est. Puderet te for-tasse imitari humilem hominem, salem imitare humilem Deum. Venit Filius Dei in homine, et humilis factus est: praecipi-tur tibi ut sis humilis, non tibi praecipitatur ut ex homine fias pecus: ille Deus factus est homo; tu, homo, cognosc quia es homo: tota humilitas tua, ut cognoscas te. Ergo quia humilitatem docet Deus, dixit, *Non veni facere voluntatem meam, sed ejus voluntatem qui misit me.* Haec enim commendatio humilitatis est. Superbia quippe facit voluntatem suam; humilitas facit voluntatem Dei. *Ideo qui ad me venerit, non ejiciet foras.* Quare? *Quia non veni facere voluntatem meam, sed voluntatem ejus qui misit me.* Humilis veni, humilitatem docere veni, magister humilitatis veni: qui ad me venit, incorporatur mihi; qui ad me venit, humilis est; qui mihi adhaeret, humilis erit; quia non facit voluntatem suam, sed Dei; et ideo non ejicietur foras, quia cum super-bus esset, projectus est foras.

278-284. *And perfor ... Criste ... Mathew.* The passage seems confused, but I think we are being referred to Matt. 18, 1-6. *GH, BM f.103v, C f.5r, and H f.186v* all agree on Matt. 11.

278-280. *And perfor ... Criste.* C f.5r has a ver-sion which makes more sense: "And therfor yf thou wyl not ensue and folowe thy humble servaunt atte lest. thou ought-est to folowe thyn humble maister and lord Jhesu Cryste."
285-287. There is ... Seynt Jerome Ninety-seventh


Dominus noster humilitatis magister, disceptantibus de
dignitate discipulis, unum apprehendit e parvis, dicens:
Quicunque vestrum non fuerit conversus siout infans, non
potest introire in regnum caelorum. Quod ne tantum docere,
nec facere videretur, implevit exemplo: dum discipulorum
pedes lavat: dum traditorem osculo excipit: dum loquitur cum
Samaritana: dum ad pedes sibi sedente Maria, de caelorum dis-
putat regno: dum ab inferis resurgens, primum mulierculis
apparuit.

287. Ninety-seventh Psistil. GH, "psistil ivi vii," x x x

BM f.103v :Epistilos the iii vi," C f.5r "epistle lxxxvii,"

x x

and H f.186v "iiii and vii." From this we can see that the
scribe probably read this as the "four score and seventeenth
psistil," but I have taken the liberty of modernizing it.

290-294. Rede ... Athaly ... chapetre. 4 Kings 11,
1-16. I believe the author has confused Ptoleme (1 Mac.
16, 4-17) with Athalia. GH, BM f.103v, H f.187r, and C f.5r
all agree on 1 Mac. 15, which makes me think the confusion
lies with the author, not the scribe. Ptoleme slays his
father-in-law Simon and two of Simon's sons. Athalia was
the mother of Ochozias, who after her son's death attempted
to kill all his children so that she could rule. After
seven years, the sole survivor of the massacre, Joas, was
taken from hiding and crowned, following which Athalia was
slain. BM f.103v, "Achille;" C f.5r, "Athalie;" H f.196v,
"Achylee."
291. No gap in GH.

294-297. Also Roboan ... chapitre. 3 Kings 12, 1-15.

297-301. In lyche wyse Abymalech ... Juges. Judges 9, 1-5.

301-304. Rede ... Aliquinius ... chapitre. 1 Mac. 7, 5-9.

305-312. And indede ... Jason ... chapitre. 2 Mac. 4, 7-26. The king in question is Antiochus, whose tyranny occupies much of 1 and 2 Mac. The story is this: Jason promises 360 talents for the priesthood, 2 Mac. 4, 10; sends 300 didrachmas which are waylaid, 2 Mac. 4, 19; Menelaus gets the priesthood by offering 300 talents more than Jason, 2 Mac. 4, 24.


307. three hundred and seventy. GH, "iii C. lxix;" C f.5v, "CCC.lxix;" H f.187r, "thre hondred .lxix.;" BM f.104r, "fff hove."
309. *mene*, means, intermediary. See OED, s.v. *mean*.

313-316. *Also ... Jabin ... dayes.* Possibly Zambri, who slew King Asa and his family and ruled for seven days. 3 Kings 16, 9-18.

316-321. *Also Tholomeus ... chapitre.* 1 Mac. 11, 1-18.

321-324. *Adonias ... chapitre.* 3 Kings 1, 5. Adonias is put to death in 3 Kings 2, 25.

330. Gap in GH.

331-334. *And perfor be postyl ... "yew."* 2 Cor. 13, 5: "Try your own selves if you be in the faith; prove ye yourselves. Know you not your own selves, that Christ Jesus is in you, unless you be reprobates."

334-337. *And Seynt Aystyn ... "rotnes."* Aug., Sol. 2, 1: "Deus semper idem, noverim me, noverim te. Oratum est."

338-340. *And perf or Abraham ... Genesis.* Gen. 18, 27.
340-344. And ... Seynt Barnard ... "myself." Bern., Serm. sup. Cant., 36, 5:
Advertisne jam quam verum sensit Apostolus, quia scientia inflat? Volo proinde animam primo omnium scire seipsam, quod id postulet ratio et utilitatis, et ordinis. Et ordinis quidem, quoniam quod nos sumus primum est nobis: utilitatis vero, quia talis scientia non inflat, sed humiliat, et est quaedam præparatio ad ædificandum.

343. and so wyl reson. The reading of H f.187v shows that "reson" is the subject of this phrase: "for reson wyl it be so."

344-347. And ... Marrobe ... Book. Macr., Sat., 1, 6, 6: "Sed et cum posti inscriptum sit Delphici templi, et unius e numero septem sapientium eadem sit ista sententia, γνῶθι σεαυτόν, quid in me nescire aestimandus sum, si nomen ignoror, cujus mihi nunc et origo et causa dicenda est."


350-352. And ... Juvenal ... ëiself." Juv., Sat., 11, 27-30: ... e caelo descendit γνῶθι σεαυτόν figendum et memori tractandum pectore, sive coniugium quaeras vel sacri in parte senatus esse velis ...
353-358. *And Seýnt Austyn ... "freines."* Aug., De Trin., 4, Prooemium, 1:

Scientiam terrestrium coelestiumque rerum magni aestimare so-
let genus humanum: in quo profecto meliores sunt qui huic
scientiae praeponunt nosse semetipsos; laudabiliorque est
animus cui nota est vel infirmitas sua, quam qui ea non
respecta, vias siderum scrutatur etiam cognitusus, aut qui
jam cognitas tenet, ignorans ipse qua ingrediatur ad salu-
tem ac firmatatem suam.

358-362. "*Allas" ... Seynt Barnard ... "vertues."

Bern., Serm. sup. Cant., 37, 6:

Sic autem superbiam parit tibi ignorantia tua, cum meliorem
quam sis, decepta et deceptrix tua cogitatio te esse menti-
tur. Hoc quippe est superbia, hoc initium omnis peccati,
cum major es in tuis oculis quam apud Deum, quam in veritate.

362-368. *And ... Seynt Gregory ... vertues, Greg.*

Moralia, 32, 22:

Quid enim per cartilaginem, nisi simulatio ejus accipitur?
Cartilago namque ossis ostendit speciem, sed ossis non habet
firmatatem. Et sunt nonnulla vitia quae ostendunt in se
rectitudinis speciem, sed ex pravitatis prodeunt infrim-
tate. Hostis enim nostri malitia tanta se arte palliat, ut
plerumque ante deceptae mentis oculos culpas virtutes fingat,
ut inde quisque quasi exspectet præmia, unde dignus est æ-
ternae invenire tormenta. Plerumque enim in ulciscendis vi-
tis crudelitas agitur, et justitia putatur, atque immoder-
ata ira justi zeli meritum creditur; et cum a distortis mor-
ibus peccantes dirigi caute debeant, violenta inflexione
franguntur. Plerumque dissoluta remissio quasi mansuetudo
ac pietas habetur; et dum plus quam decet delinquentibus
temporaliter parcitur, ad æterna supplicia crudeliter re-
servantur. Nonnunquam effusio misericordia creditur, et dum
male servare culpa sit, pejus spargi quod acceptum est non
timetur. Nonnunquam tenacia parcitas putatur, et cum grave
sit vitium non tribuere, virtus creditur accepta retinere.
Saepe malorum pertinacia constantia dicitur, et dum mens a
pravitate sua flecti non patitur, quasi ex recti defensione
gloriatur. Saepe inconstantia quasi tractabilitas habetur,
et quo quisque fidem integrum nulli servat, eo amicum se
hominibus æstimat. Aliquando timor incompetens humilitas creditur, et cum temporali formidine pressus quisque a defensione veritatis tacet, arbitratrum quod juxta Dei ordinem humilem se potioribus exhibeat. Aliquando vocis superbia veri libertas æstimatur, et cum per elationem veritatis contradictur, loquendi procacitas veritatis defensio putatur. Plerumque pigritia quasi continentia quietis attenditur, et cum gravis culpa sit recta studiose non agere, magis virtutis meritum creditur a prava tantum actione cessare. Plerumque inquietudo spiritus, vigilans sollicitudo nominatur; et cum quietem quisque non tolerat, agendo quæ appetit, virtutis debitæ implere se exercitium putat. Sæpe ad ea quæ agenda sunt incauta præcipitatio laudandi studii fervor creditur; et cum desideratum bonum intempestiva actione corruptur, eo agi melius quo celerius æstimatur. Sæpe accelerandi boni tarditas consilium putatur; et cum espectatur ut ex retractione proficiat, hoc insidians mora supplanat. Igitur cum culpa velut aspicitur, necessario pensandum est quia tanto tardius mens vitium suum deserit, quanto hoc quod perpetrat, non erubescit; et tanto mens tardius vitium deserit, quanto, per virtutis speciem decepta, praemiorum etiam de eo retributionem querit. Facile autem culpa corrigitur quæ et erubescitur quia esse culpa sentitur. Quia itaque error cum virtus creditur difficilius emendatur, recte dicitur: Cartilago ejus quasi laminae ferræ. Behemoth enim iste quo sub prætextu boni calliditatem suam fraudulentius exhibet, eo in culpa mentem durius tenet.

364-365. and bêt his foly were mekenes. BM f.105r,
"and that is folisshe drede by mekenes;" C f.6r, "and that hys folysshe drede be humylite."

368-371. And perfor ... Hewe ... Soule. Hugh, De

Claustro Animæ, 3, 6:

Duæ siquidem sunt species disciplinæ, interior scilicet et exterior. Interior disciplina est per distictionem cordis, correctio morum; exterior vero per afflictionem carnis, cor-
rectio actionum. Exterior quandoque generat interiorem; quia, dum mens non spargitur ad exteriora, revertitur ad quietis amorem.
371-374. *And ... Ysaye ... *"pou3tes." *Isaias* 46, 8: "Remember this, and be ashamed: return ye transgressors, to the heart."

374-378. *A ful wyse ... Senek ... Ire.* Sen., De Ira, 3, 36:

Faciebat hoc Sextius, ut consummatum die, cum se ad nocturnam quietem recepisset, interrogaret animum suum: "Quod hodie malum tuum sanasti? Cui vitio obstitisti? Qua parte melior es?"

379. *dentent*, the intent. BM f.105v, "to that end;" C f.6v, "th ende."

382-388. *For to have mekenes ... *pe chapitre aftyr.* 2 Kings 12, 1-14; 2 Kings 12, 13-18. There is some confusion here. The MS has both the sequence of events and the chapter numbers wrong. First Nathan comes to David (2 Kings 12, 1-14), and then David humbles himself (2 Kings 12, 13-18.

384. *salved.* We are probably dealing with a problem in translation which will have to await the publication of an edition of the French MSS. 2 Kings 12, 16 reads: "And David besought the Lord for the child: and David kept a fast, and going in by himself lay upon the ground." This is probably a confusion of two definitions of "salve." See *OED*, s.v. *salve*, where these two definitions, among others,
appear: "To heal, remedy; mend, make good, make up, smooth over (something amiss, a troubled state of affairs, a defect, offence, disgrace, dispute, etc.);" and "to anoint."

384. salved the erthe of God. C f.6v, "salved the arke of god."

388-393. And veryli David ... chapitre. 2 Kings, 24, 10.

393-396. We ... chapitre. Matt. 2, 1-12.

397-401. On be same wise ... chapitre. 4 Kings 21, 27-29.

401-404. And Roboan ... chapitre. 2 Par. 12, 5-12.

404-406. E3echias ... chapitre. 2 Par. 32, 26.

407-411. Nabugodonosor ... chapitre. Dan. 4, 30-34.

411-414. Also ... chapitre. Jonas 3, 5-10.

415-416. wipyng and <drying> hys feet with hir heer.
No gap in GH. BM f.106v, "wepyng and drying his fete with here heres;" C f.6v, "wepyng and wypyng his feet wyth her heeris." From the foregoing we can see there is probably a dropped word here. This is likely, since the word "and" comes at the end of a line.

418-422. And indede Jacob ... Genesis. Gen. 32, 4-5.

422-425. Whi was ... Roboan ... chapitre. 3 Kings 12, 1-15.

425-429. We rede also ... chapitre. 4 Kings 1, 9-15.

425. chinquantynes, captains of fifty men. H f.188v, "chinquantaynes;" BM f.106v, "chinquanteines;" C f.7r, "the twewayne companyes ech of fyfty."

432-434. Also ... the Cananee ... chapitre. Matt. 15, 22-28.

433. hir sonne. The woman actually had Jesus heal her daughter. BM f.106v, "her soune;" C f.7r, "the woman of Chananee by humble spekyng gate helth for hir daughter."

441-446. *In lyche wyse Hely ... chapitre.* The story of Elias covers 3 Kings 17 to 4 Kings 2. BM f.107r agrees with GH on the source. C f.7r cites 4 Kings 1, 4 Kings 9, 4 Kings 14, and 4 Kings 17.

446-448. *Moreover ... Judyth.* Judith 7, 18-19.

456. Gap in GH.

462-465. *For Aristotil ... togedyr.* We are obviously referred to Ar., Nic. Eth., 9, where the idea of mutual benefit in friendship is discussed at length. In all probability we are referred to Nic. Eth., 9, 1: "In all dissimilar friendships, it is proportion, as has been said, that establishes equality and preserves the friendship." I do not dismiss the possibility that we are referred to the closing argument, Nic. Eth., 9, 12. The corrupt state of the text makes exact identification difficult. It is probable that the second sentence is also part of the Aristotle citation; however, our scribe's rendering of this passage is different than the other MSS. BM f.107v, "for as sath Aristotell in the ix boke of [passage obscured by a calculation] frenship requireth semblance or elles wise equalite bitwene hem that shold love;" C f.7v, "Amytie or frendshyp requireth semblance and somme equalite bytwene them that so owen to love;" H f.189r, "for as Arystotyl seyth yn hys ixth booke
of Etyques. oon good turne requereth a nothy. as egally as yt can be ymagyned. namely amonge hem whych ought to loue eche othy/.


474-476. Therfor Aristotil seyth ... aforse. Ar., Eth. Nic., 4, 3:

Vain people, on the other hand, are fools and ignorant of themselves, and that manifestly; for, not being worthy of them, they attempt honourable undertakings, and then are found out; and they adorn themselves with clothing and outward show and such things, and wish their strokes of good fortune to be made public, and speak about them as if they would be honoured for them.

476-479. And perfor Senek ... hye. I am not sure either of the two references given here is correct, but they are close enough to the original to warrant mention. Sen., Ep., 69, 18, "Quod non dedit fortuna, non eripit;" Sen., Ep., 98, 13, "Honores reppulit pater Sextius, qui ita natus, ut rem publicam deberet capessere, latum clavum divo Iulio dante non recepit. Intellegebat enim quod dari possit, et eripi posse."
479-480. Seyth ... lyon ... hym. White, The Book of Beasts, 9: "The compassion of lions, on the contrary, is clear from innumerable examples—for they spare the prostrate."

479. naturel pepil. This seems to be the standard way of citing colloquial wisdom.

480-481. and pe bore ... erpe. This has not been traced.

482-485. And ... Dedimus ... Alisaundre ... "desey-vid." RG, 170, 14-171, 9. This is a general introduction where Dindimus, King of the Brahmans, tells Alexander to choose between his war-like ways and philosophy. The correspondence referred to in this and subsequent references is the imaginary "Collatio Alexandri cum Dindimo per litteras facta." The text I have used in my work is Bernard Kuebler's edition of Collatio I, which, according to Cary (The Medieval Alexander, p. 14), is "the oldest surviving form" from "probably the fourth century."

489. ennemyte, enmity. BM f.108r, "enmete;" C f.8r, "enemyte;" H f.189v, "ynyquyte."

489-494. And ... naturel pepil ... aforesaid. This
has not been traced.

485-494. *And ... be ping aforeseid.* C f.8r and H f.189v agree with the account in GH, but BM f.108r has peculiarities: "And to this porpus sayne the naturell wise men that thundres lightynynges and wyndes been the causes that the erthly thynges ascenden sodenly more hye than thay shuld not nature that wlnot suffre þem. hem sendith hem ayayne full lawe. And so thay ...."

497-500. *Perfor ... Prudens ... werkes.* I found nothing which exactly matched this in *Psychomachia*, but Le-grand may be thinking of the defeat of Pride by Lowliness. Lowliness fights by passive resistance, and overcomes Pride with the aid of Hope, who deals the death blow. This is the speech of Hope after the battle, Prud., Psych., 284-290:

> extinctum Vitium sancto Spes increpat ore:
> "Desine grande loqui; frangit Deus omne superbum,
> magna cadunt, inflata crepant, tumefacta premuntur.
> disc superficium deponere, disc cave re
> ante pedes foveam, quisquis sublime minaris.
> pervulgata viget nostri sententia Christi
> scandere celsa humiles et ad ima redire feroces."


500. *moyen,* of middle or moderate quality. See OED,
s.v. *moyen*. H f.189v, "humylyte redresseth a man and maketh hym to lyve meenely;" C f.8r, "humylite addressst a man. and maketh his lyf move in a moyen."

500-504. *Moreover ... Valerye ... þing*. Val. Max., Fact., 4,1,1; 4,4,1 and 4,4,11. 4,1,1:

Atque, ut ab incunabulis summi honoris incipiam. P. Valerius, qui, populi, majestatem venerando, Publicolae nomen assecutus est, cum, exactis regibus, imperii eorum vim universam omniaque insignia sub titulo consulatus in se translatata cerneret, invidiosum magistratus fastigium moderatione ad tolerabilem habitum deduxit. fasces securibus vacuefaciendo et in contione populo submittendo. Numerum quoque eorum dimidia ex parte minuit ultero Sp. Lucretio collega assumpto, ad quem. quia major natu erat, priores fasces transferri jussit. Legem etiam comitiis centuriatis tuli, ne quis magistratus civem Romanum adversus provocacionem verberare aut necare vellet. Ita, quo civitatis condicio liberior esset, imperium suum paulatim destruxit. Quid quod ædes suas diruit, quia excelsiore loco posita instar arcis habere videbantur? nonne quantum domo inferior, tantum gloria superior evasit?

507-508. *Rede we nat ... kynges*. Saul, 1 Kings 9, 3-5; David, 1 Kings 16, 11-13.

508. *neet*, animals of the ox family. See OED s.v. *neat*. H f.190r, "oxen."

509-510. *Also Constantyne ... Elyn ... Emperour*. There may be some confusion here. GL, 272 gives the following account:

However all this may be, it was Helena, the mother of Constantine, who led the search which ended in the Invention of
the Holy Cross. Some say this Helena was an inn-servant whom Constantine's father married for her beauty. Others declare that she was the only daughter of Coel, the king of the Britons, and that Constantine's father took her to wife when he went to Britain, and thus became master of the island at the death of Coel. This is also maintained by the Britons, albeit another account states that Helena came from Trier.

The "Constantyne" in this story is Flavius Valerius Constantius (250-306 A.D.). Constantine the Great (288-337 A.D.) was his illegitimate son by Flavia Helena. Both father and son were emperors.

509. power, poor. C f.8r, "poure;" H f.190r, "poore."

512-513. Where is ... Neron ... of golde? Suet., Ner., 30: "Piscatus est rete aurato et purpura coccoque funibus nexus."

514. Where is be myte of Pharaoh? Exodus 15, 3-6. BM f.108v omits this.

514-515. hat was so namyd, that was so famous. C f.8r, "whyche was so renomed;" H f.190r, "whyche was somtyme made of merveylous heyghte."

515-516. Where ... Babylone ... hie. Gen. 11, 1-8.
518-519. *Where is Arphaxat ... smoke.* This has not been traced. Cf. Ps. 36, 19 for the smoke image: "And the enemies of the Lord, presently after they shall be honored and exalted, shall come to nothing and vanish like smoke." C f.8r and H f.190r agree with the account in GH, only H spells the name "Arphaxath." BM f.108v has "Wher is become Arphaser the kyng of the proude folk ne is he not passed and all his descended as is the smoke whan the fire is oute."

519-521. *Where is Agyrype and Julyan become þat were so myghti?* Herod Agrippa, Acts 12, 1-25; Julian the Apostate, GL, 131-133. BM f.108v, "Egripte."

525-527. *And þerof ... ydolis.* 3 Kings 11, 4-9.

527-529. *And Antyropeye ... kyself.* He probably means Achitophel, who hangs himself at 2 Kings 17, 23. BM f.108v, "antiochie;" C f.8v, "Architofel;" H f.190r, "Anthupus."

529. *And wyse Caton, kyld he not himself.* This is Cato the Younger, who committed suicide following Caesar's victory at Thapsus (46 B.C.). He is to be distinguished from Cato the Elder, who is cited extensively later in the text.
529-530. *And wyse Caton, kylled he not himself? And Demoritus also.* H f.190r, "Also the wyse Catoun dyd he nat kylled Democratus;" BM f.109r, "And the wise Caton was he not slayne / and democritus also;" C f.8r, "/ And the wyse cathon. slewe he not hymself. and democritus also;" GH, "and wyse caton kylled he not himself. And demoritus also;" F f.12r, "Et le sage caton. ne se tua il pas. Democritus aussi."

530. *And Demoritus also.* This has not been traced.

532-533. *For Absolon ... tre.* 2 Kings 18, 9-15.

533-535. *And Olifaunt ... put to deth.* For detail on the method of killing the elephant see n. 1840-1841.

535-536. *The gamaloon ... foule.* This has not been traced.

535. *The gamaloon.* Possibly a form of gamalian, which is an obs. form of chameleon. See OED, s.v. *gamalian.* BM f.109r, "legameleon;" C f.8v, "gamaleon;" H f.190v, "gama-aleon."

539-543. *And King Zerches ... "but erthe."* Possibly Xerxes, King of Persia, 485-465 B.C. He was the son of
Darius I and he was involved in a series of wars against the Greeks in the last years of his reign. He was ultimately assassinated by Artabanus.

543-544. As Seynt Jerome ... "noght." Jer., In Jerem. Proph., 1, 4, 23: "Vacua terra est, habitatore deleto."


544-547. For ... Jovynien ... Perse. This has not been traced.

546-547. And Valentyne ... choked. Publius Licinius Valerianus, Roman emperor 253-260 A.D. He shared power with his son Gallienus (see following note), and leaving him in charge of affairs in Europe, set out for the East to crush the Persian, Sapor I. After initial successes he was captured and died in prison. H f.190v, "Valeryan." The account in BM f.109r is typical of the MS in its poor choice of words: "And Valentyne that was so rache in his vomyte of blode at his mouthe died he not unwarned."

548-549. And ... Gracyen ... his. Publius Licinius Egnatius Gallienus, Roman emperor 260-268 A.D. After his
father was captured (see preceding note), he made no efforts to obtain his release. His reign was marked by invasions, rebellion, and pestilence. He was finally cut down by his own troops while besieging Mediolanum.

550-554. And ... Agrype ... "pourly." Acts 12, 1-25.

554-556. And therfor Oraces ... lytilness. Hor.
Ep., 1, 10, 32-33:
Fuge magna; licet sub paupere tecto reges et regum vita praecurrere amicos.

562. Gap in GH.

562-563. How ... sacrefyse. 1 Kings 15, 22.

562-563. How ... sacrefyse. GH, "How plesyth more, seib be scripture, to God than dope obediens or sacrefyse;"
BM f.109v, "Obedience pleaseth more to god then sacrefise;"
C f.94, "The scripture sayth that obeysance pleseth more unto god / than doth sacrefyse;" H f.191r, "As scripture seyth. obedyence ys more plesaunt to god. than ys sacrefyse."

563-568. Hereof ... Gospel. This has not been traced.

570-583. And ... Vegetius ... depe. Veg., Rei
Milit., 2, 5: "Iurant autem milites omnia se strenue facturos, quae praeceperit imperator, numquam deserturos militiam nec mortem recusatos pro Romana republica."

570. *Vegetius*, Flavius Vegetius Renatus, the late fourth-century military writer. GH has Valentin. F f.12v, "valere en son second livre. ou second chapitre."


575. *obey to man*. GH, "ta."

578-586. *And Seynt Gregory ... disciple*. Greg., Dialog., 2, 7:

Quadrum vero die dum idem venerabilis Benedictus in cella consisteret, praedictus Placidus puer sancti viri monachus ad hauriendam de lacu aquam egressus est: qui vas quod tenuerat in aquam incaute submittens, ipse quoque cadendo secutus est. Quem mox unda rapuit, et pene ad unius sagittae cursum eum a terra introrsus traxit. Vir autem Dei intra cellam positus, hoc protinus agnovit, et Maurum festine vocavit, dicens: Frater Maure, curre, quia puer ille qui ad hauriendam aquam perrexerat, in lacum cecidit, jamque eum longius unda trahit. Res mira, et post Petrum apostolum inusitata. Benedictione etenim postulata atque peracta, ad Patris sui imperium concitus perrexit Maurus; atque usque ad eum locum quo ab unda deducebatur puer, per terram se ire existimans, super aquam cucurrere, eumque per capillos tenuit, rapido quoque cursu redivit. Qui mox ut terram tetigit, ad se reversus post terga respexit, et quia super aquas cucurrisset, agnovit, et quod præsumere non potuisset ut fierat, miratus extremuit factum. Reversus itaque ad Patrem, rem gestam retulit. Vir autem venerabilis Benedictus hoc non suis meritis, sed illius obedientiae deputare coepit. At econtra Maurus pro solo ejus imperio factum dicebat: seque conscium in illa virtute non esse, quam nesciens fecisset. Sed in hac mutuae humilitatis amica contentione accessit.
arbiter puer qui ereptus est; nam dicebat: Ego cum ex aqua
traherer, super caput meum melotem abbatis videbam, atque
ipsum me ex aquis educere considerabam.

581-582. *pe first and pe seventh chapiters*. BM

f.110r agrees with GH. C f.9r, "the fyrst book the seventh
chapytre:" H f.191r, "yn hys fyrst booke yn the .viith. chap-
ytre."

586-591. *Seynt Gregori ... yere*. I have not found
this in Gregory, but there is something similar in Cassian.,

De Coenobiorum Institut., 4, 24:

Sumpsit namque de lignario suo senex virgultum, quod olim
excisum usibus foci fuerat præparatorum: dumque coctionis re-
tardat occasio, non modo aridum, sed prope putre jacebat
temporis vetustate. Cumque hoc coram ipso fixisset in ter-
ram, præcepsit advecta aqua quotidiene bis rigari, ut scilicet
diurnis humoribus radicatum, atque in antiquam arborem re-
viviscens, diffusis ramis amœnitatem oculis atque umbracu-
lum in æstu ferventi subter residentibus exhiberet. Quod
præceptum veneratione solita sine ulla impossibilitatis con-
sideratione susci pendant adolescentes, ita quotidianis diebus
expelvit, ut aquam per duo ferme millia indesinenter appor-
tans, nullatenus lignum rigare cessaret, atque per totum
anni spatium non infirmitas corporis, non festivas solemnni-
tatis, non occupatio necessitatis ullius, quæ illum etiam
honeste excusaret ab executione mandati, non denique hiemis
asperitas intercedens ab hujus observatione præcepit potu-
erit impedire. Cumque ejus hanc sedulitatem tacitus senex
latenter diebus singulis exploraret, et videret eum simplici
cordis affectu mandatum suum velut divinitus emissum
sine ulla permutatione vultus, vel rationis discussione
servare, sinceram humilitatis ejus obedientiam compro-
bans, pariter etiam miserans tam longum laborem, quem per
totum anni spatium studio devotionis impenderat, ad virgul-
tum aridum accedens, o, inquit, Joannes, misitne radices
haec arbor, an non? Cumque ille se nescire dixisset, Senex
velut inquirens rei veritatem, et tamquam tentans utrum jam
suis radicibus niteretur, evulsit coram ipso levi commotione
virgultum, sicque projiciens illud præcepsit ut deinceps ri-
gare desineret.
Alardus Gazaeus notes in his commentary, which accompanies this text on PL, 49, 184:

Simile exemplum narrat Sulpitius in primo dialogo de virtutibus S. Martini; nisi quod in hoc virga sic irrigata tertio anno floruerit, fructusque ediderit, quos abbas ad Ecclesiam deferens fratribus ostentabat: Ecce, inquiens, obedientiae fructum.

591-596. And ... Cassian ... pouere. Cassian., De Coenobiorum Instit., 4, 26 (PL, 49, 185-186):

Aliis rursum aedificari cupientibus obedientiae hujus exemplo, vocans eum senior, Curre, inquit, Joannes, saxum illud humo advolve quantocius. Qui conuestim saxum immame quod turbae multae hominum vel movere non possent, applicata nunc cervice, nunc toto pectore, tanto nisu atque conatu provolvere contendebat, ut sudore omnium membrorum suorum non solum totum infuderet vestimentum: sed etiam saxum ipsum suis cervicibus humectaret; in hoc quoque parum metiens impossibilitatem praecipit, vel facti pro reverentia senioris, et obsequii simplicitate sincera, qua credebat senem tota fide nihil posse incassum ac sine ratione praecipere.

596. pouere, power.

598-601. As naturel speche ... lion ... tayle.

This has not been traced.

601-602. On ... bestes ... kyng. White, The Book of Beasts, 155: "Bees observe such a tremendous reverence of respect that none dare leave the nest to swarm to other pastures unless the king shall have gone forth in front of them and claimed the first rank of flight for himself."
601-602. On pe same wyse bestes obey to þer kyng. BM f.110v, "in the same wise the bees that maken hony obeyne thare kyng;" C f.9v, "Semblably the bees that maken hony obeye to theyr kyng / and the Cranes also;" H f.191v, "Semblably the hony flyes othyr wyse called Bees ob beyen to her kyng / and Cranes yn lyke wyse."

604-606. And inde þe ... flood. Gen. 6, 22; 7, 5.

606-608. Also pe childe of Israel ... Nouombres. Num. 9, 1-23. I cite the chapter in its entirety because the whole chapter tells of their obedience to God's various commands. It does not, however, relate their salvation.

608-611. The postels ... chapitre. Matt. 4, 18-22.


617-624. It is ful trewe ... chapitre. 1 Mac. 2, 18-22.

624-627. We rede also of seven breþirn ... commaunde it. This has not been traced.
628. ascusith them, excuse themselves.


632-635. Moreover ... þe Virgyn Mary ... "seid."
Luke 1, 39.

632-633. Moreover ... Mary. Moreover the example of the Virgin Mary should incline us to obey.

636-639. We rede ... chapitre. Just what is at issue is unclear. Perhaps this is 2 Kings 7 where David rapidly undertakes God's commandment, relayed to him by Nathan, to build a temple. It may also be 1 Kings 16, 20-21 where Isai sends David to Saul. C f.10r, 1 Kings 7; H f.192r, 1 Kings 8. BM f.111r is more opaque than the others citing only the "viii chapitre."

638. [þat he was] Kynges. The scribe seems to have slipped back and started to recopy 11. 636-637, "þat he was kyng."

639-642. And ... Thobye. Tob. 5, 1.

642-645. And Cornelius seid to Seint Petyr ... Dedis. Acts 10, 22 and 33. H f.192r, Acts 10; C f.10r,
Acts 10. BM f.111v cites only "the x chapitre."

645-647. Also ... Regabites ... chapitre. I have not found a reference to the Rechabites in Jerome. This may be a reference to Jerem. 35, 1-19.

645. Regabites. BM f.111v, "thagabites;" C f.10r, "regabytes;" H f.192r, "ragabytes."


654-657. Jonas ... Pistelis. Jonas 1 and 2. GH, BM f.111v, and H f.192v, Jonas 2 and 3; C f.10r, Jonas 3.

661-662. How ... etcetera. C f.10r omits this and continues with Bernard: "and playse Jhesu Cryst as sayth saynt bernard upon cantycles."

663. Gap in GH.

663-665. <T>he holi doctoure Seynt Bernard ... perof. Bern., Serm. sup. Cant., 51, 6:

Disce in referendo gratiam non esse tardus aut segnis, disce ad singula dona gratias agere. Diligenter, inquit, considera quae tibi apponuntur ut nulla videlicet Dei dona debita gratiarum actione frustrentur, non gradia, non mediocria, non pusilla. Denique jubemur colligere fragmenta ne pereant, id est nec minima beneficia oblivisci. Numquid non perit quod donatur ingrato. Ingratitudo ininimica est
animae, exinanitio meritorum, virtutum dispersio, beneficioram perditione. Ingratitude ventus urens, sic accens sibi fontem pietatis, rorem misericordiae, fluenta gratiae.

664-665. knoweth not thereof. BM f.112r, "knowith not hymself;" C f.10r, "yf he knowe not ne obeye god;" H f.192v, "yn lasse than he knowe hymself."

665-670. And Seynt Gregori ... dome. Greg., Hom. in Evang., 9, 1:

Lectio sancti Evangelii, fratres charissimi, soliciite considerare nos admonet, ne nos, qui plus cæteris in hoc mundo accepiisse aliquid cernimus ab auctore mundi, gravius inde judicemur. Cum enim augentur dona, rationes etiam crescent donorum. Tanto ergo esse humilior atque ad serviendum promptior quisque debet ex munere, quanto se obligatiorem esse conspicit in reddenda ratione.

669. in grutchyng at þe day of dome, in complaining (against the man's misdeeds) at the day of judgment. See OED, s. v. grutching. BM f.112r, "and in aggryng att the day of Jugement;" C f.10r, "shal be encreasyng of his payne at the day of Jugement;" H f.192v, "schal turne hym to peyne and gruczhyng at þe day of dome."

670-671. And ... Hugh ... Noye. Hugh, De Arca Noe Morali, 2, 4:

670. Hugh. GH, "Seint Poule;" BM f.112r, "Huges;" C f.10r, "hughe;" H f.192v, "heughe."


677-679. In lyche wise David ... chapitre. 2 Kings 7, 18-29.


682-686. On þe same ... Ephesius. Rom. 1, 8; Eph. 2. It is hard to be more specific about this given the reference in the text and the agreement of the other MSS. If I had my choice, I would say it was Eph. 1, 3-17.


689-692. Also þe three ... Daniel. Dan. 3, 51-90.

695-699. And ... Senek ... "synne." This is problematical. C f.10v probably has the right reference (see following note) since Sen., Ep., 81 is the only one of the letters dealing with beneficence in an extended way. Unfortunately I find no passage which exactly parallels this one.

696. Pistol of Lucille, Eightieth. GH, "pistol of
lucille iii;" H f.193r, "Senek in hys pystyl seyth;" BM f.112v, "Senek sath in his epistel;" C f.10v, "Seneke in his four score and one epystle to Lucylle."

699-702. Here ... Noumbres. Num. 31, 51. H f.193r, C f.10v, and BM f.112v all agree with the reading in GH on Numbers 23.


705-709. Also quan ... chapitre. 2 Mac. 10, 38.

710-712. And yet ... pride. An adequate modern reading might be "And what is even worse, some people are more inclined to pride in measure with the good things God has done to them."

714-717. We rede also ... chapitre. 1 Kings 2, 1-10. BM f.113r, C f.11r, H f.193v, and F f.15r all cite 1 Kings 2.

717-720. And when ... chapitre. Luke 1, 46.

733-740. *And ... Thobie.* Tob. 12, 1-5. BM f.113v, C f.11r, H f.193v, and GH cite Tob. 13.

740-743. *In lyche wyse ... chapitre.* 2 Kings 2, 5-7.

743-745. *Also Helias ... chapitre.* 3 Kings 17, 19-22. BM f.113v omits this. H f.193v, "Also oure lord reysed from dethe to lyfe the sone of a wedowe whych had affor tyme doon hym moche goodnes, as yt anperyth yn þe fyrest booke of kynges yn þe seconde chapytre;" C f.11v, "Helyas reysed the sone of the wydowe which had doon moche good to hym /as it apperith in the thyrd book of kynges the xvii chapytre;" F f.15v, 3 Kings 17.

743. receivev. The scribe probably means revived.

F f.15v, "resusata."

749-752. þe which ... *Genesis.* Gen. 40, 23.

752-755. *And ... David ... chapitre.* 1 Kings 18, 5; 17-30. The reference is confused. Saul uses his servants, who are said to like David, as messengers who encourage him to fight the Philistines. It is Saul's hope that he will kill himself.

755-758. *Also Saul ... chapitre.* 1 Kings 18, 9.
H f.194r, BM f.114r, and C f.11v all compress this reference and the one preceding it into a single reference. H and C attribute it to 1 Kings 17. BM lists only "the xvii chapitre."

758-764. And Absolon ... chapitre. 2 Kings 15, 1-13.

767-769. King Jacob ... chapitre. 2 Par. 24, 20-21. The reference is confused because Zacharias is Joiada's son. H f.194r, "forgate the kyndnes of Jogade a preeste of be lawe. for he kylled hys sone named Zacharye;" BM f.114r, "And so did the kyng Jacob which hadd forgoten the frens-shippe of Parnad the prest of the law for he slogh 3akarye As hit is writyn in the boke of paralipomenon in the xii chap-etre;" C f.11v, "Thus dyd the kyng Joab / the whyche forgate th amyte of Joga the prest of the lawe. For he slewe 3acha-r ye his sone. as it is wryton in the book of Paralipomenon the xxiii chapytre."

769-772. And pe proud Amans ... chapitre. 2 Kings 10, 1-6.

774-777. And perfor God ... "me." Is. 1, 2.

778. <those>. No gap in GH. H f.194r, "And of suche we have storyes whych have dyspreysed god;" BM f.114v,
"And herof we have many stores of hem that have desparsed god;" C f.11v, "And herof have we many hystoryes of them that have.

780-783. And after pæt ... Nombres. Ex. 32, 1-7. H f.149r, Num. 11; C f.12r, Num. 6; BM f.114v, somewhat confused, "And after that they levid hym and worshiped the lawes of god as hit apereth in the xi boke chapitre of the kynges of the noumbres;" F f.16r, Num. 11.

783-785. To þe which children of Israel ... chapitre. Num. 11, 7-10. GH, H f.194r, BM f.114v, and C. f.12r all cite Num. 15.

785-789. Also ... Jeroboan ... chapitre. 3 Kings 12, 20-33.

790-793. Also Ananyas ... chapitre. 2 Par. 25, 1-14.

790. Ananyas, Amasias.

798. Gap in GH.

799-800. *And per for Platon ... paciens.* This has not been traced. Cf. Tert., De Pat., 1 (PL, 1, 1361-1362):

Philosophi quidem, qui alicujus sapientiae animalia deputantur, tantum illi subsignant, et cum inter se ses variis sectorum libidinisbus et sententiarum emulationibus discordent, solius tamen patientiae in commune memores, huic uni studio-rum suorum commiserint pacem. In eam conspirant, in eam foederantur, illam in affectatione virtutis unanimiter student, omnem sapientiam ostentationem de patientia praeferunt. Grande testimonium ejus est, cum etiam vanas saeculi disciplinas ad laudem et gloriem promovet.

799-800. *And per for Platon ... paciens.* H f.194v, "And ther for seyth Plato that. the roote fo alle phylosophy and of wysedam. ys pacyence;" BM f.115r, "And ther for sath Plato the rote of all philosophie and of all science is pacience;" C f.12r, "And therafor sayth plato /that the rote of alle phylosophy and of alle sapyence is pacyence."

800-804. *And ... Senek ... "enores it."

This has not been traced.

804-807. *And ... Valery ... Seventh Book. Val.*

Max., Fact., 2, 2, Ext 2:

Age, quam prudenter Solo neminem, dum adhuc viveret, beatum dici debere arbitrabatur, quod ad ultimum usque fati diem ancipiti fortunae subjecti essemus. Felicitatis igitur humanae appellationem rogos consummat, qui se incursui malorum objicit. Idem, cum ex amicis quedam graviter maerentem videret, in arcem perduxit hortatusque est ut per omnes subjectorum aedificiorum partes oculos circumferrat. Quod ut factum animadvertit: "Cogita nunc tecum, inquit, quam multi luctus sub his tectis et olim fuerint et hodieque versusentur et inequentibus saeculis sint habitaturi; ac mitte mortalium incommoda tanquam propria deflere." Qua consolatione demonstravit urbes esse humanarum cladium consaepta miseranda. Idem aiebat, "si in unum locum cuncti mala sua contulissent,
futurum ut propria deportare domum quam ex communi miseri-
arium acervo portionem suam ferre mallet." Quo colligebat
non oportere nos quae sortito patiamur praecepua et intoler-
abilis amaritudinis judicare.

BM f.115r has "plon," and above it, in lighter letters, "So-
low."

807-815. The reader should be aware that the text
is difficult to punctuate at this point. A definitive ver-
sion will have to await the identification of the sources.

807-809. And Episcure ... Apologetique. Tert.,
Apol., 45, 6:

Recogitate ea etiam pro brevitate supplicii cuiuslibet, non
tamen ultra mortem remansuri. Sic et Epicurus omnem crucia-
tum doloremque depretiatur, modicum quidem contemptibilem pro-
nuntiando, magnum vero non diuturnum.

808. Tarquillian, Tertullian.

809-811. And Quintilian ... endure. Quint., Inst.,
6, Pr. 13: "Et si non cupidis lucis, certe patientia vindi-
cet te reliqua mea aetate. Nam frustra mala omnia ad crimen
fortunae relegamus. Nemo nisi sua culpa diu dolet."

811-812. And ... Prudens ... book. Prud., Psych.,
155-159:
quam super adsistens Patientia "vicimus," inquit, "exultans Vitium solita virtute, sine ullo sanguinis ac vitae discrimine; lex habet istud nostra genus belli, furias omnemque malorum militiam et rabidas tolerando extinguere vires."


813-815. Pat paciens ... noye hym. Luc., Phar., 9, 402-404:
serpens sitis ardur harenae
dulcia uirtuti: gaudet patientia duris.
laetius est quotiens magno sibi constat honestum.
A reference has been omitted here. H f.194v, "And Lucan yn hys thyrde booke seyth that pacyence reioysseth yn advercyte and maketh a man come to gret goodnes. ynsomoche that no man can noye him;" BM f.115v, "and Lucan sath hit in his iii boke that pacience reioisthe in his adversite and maketh man to come to grete gode in somuch that no man may greve hym;"
C f.12r-12v, "And Lucan in his thyrd boke sayth that paci-
ence enioyeth in adversite. and maketh a man to come to grete good in so moche that no man may greve ne noye hym."

815-817. As Marrobe ... velanges. Macr., Sat., 2, 4, 19:
Soleo in Augusto magis mirari quos pertulit
jocos quam ipse quos protulit, quia major est
patientiae quam facundiae laus, maxime cum aequanimiter
aliqua etiam jocis mordaciora pertulerit.
818-824. And Valery ... "opir abyden." Val. Max.,

Fact., 4, 1, Ext. 3:

Nequaquam Platonii litterarum commendatione par Syracusanus Dio, sed quod ad praestandam moderationem adtinuit, uhemmen-
tioris experimenti. patria pulsus a Dionysio tyranno Megaram petierat. ubi cum Theodorum principem eius urbis domi
covenire uellet neque admitteretur, multum duque ante
fores retentus comiti suo 'patienter hoc ferendum est' ait:
'forsitan enim et nos, cum in gradu dignitatis nostrae es-
semus, aliquid tale fecimus'. qua tranquillitate consilii
ipse sibi condicionem exilii placidiorum reddidit.

818. Ciracusan. Dionysius the Younger, son and suc-
cessor of Dionysius the Elder, tyrant of Syracuse. He
assumed government when his father died in 367 B.C., but was
driven out by Dion in 356. He regained power after the mur-
der of Dion, but was expelled by Timeleon in 343 B.C. He
then retired to Corinth, and according to some authorities,
including Valerius, was reduced to supporting himself by
keeping school.

819. Denys the tyrant. Dion, tyrant of Syracuse,
who led a chequered career between 408-353 B.C. He was a
friend of Plato and his attempts to transform Dionysius the
Younger into a philosopher-king resulted in a rift between
them and Dion was banished to Athens. Dion returned to Syra-
cuse with a small army in 357, but did not establish his
power for a year. He was murdered in 353.

826-829. And indee ... Alizsandrydos. Gaul.,
Alexand., 3, 538-543 (PL, 209, 484):

Ergo ubi torpentes spes et fiducia fati
Erexit mentes, armis, dum corda calerent,
Utendum ratus est Macedo, ne frigeat ardens
Impetus, extemplo velli tentoria, circa
Noetis iter medium jubet, et praecedit ovantes
In primis, raro contentus milite, turmas.

829. As Water wytnessyp in his Third Book of Alidx-
sandrydos. H f.195r, "as Valere wytneseth yn hys thyrde
booke;" C f.12r, "As wytneseth Valere in his thyrd book of
Alexandridos." BM f.115v is in a state of high confusion
here.

833-835. And perfor Caton ... paciens. Cato, Dist.,
2, 25: Rebus in adversis animum submittere noli;
spem retine: spes una hominem nec morte relinquit.

Other possibilities include Cato, Dist., 2, 23; 3, 11; 3,
17; 4, 26, 4, 35.

833. Caton. Marcus Porcius Cato, the Roman states-
man surnamed "the Elder" or "the Censor" to distinguish him
from his great-grandson (see n. 529). Cato lived from 232-
147 B.C., and although the Distichs may not be his work, we
are certain that the De Re Rustica, a treatise on agricul-
ture, is his.

835-838. And hereof ... Collacions. Cassian., Col-
lation., 13, 5 (PL, 49, 905):
Denique famosissimus ille ipsorum Socrates, hoc ut ipsi con-celebrant, de se non erubuit profiteri. Nam cum intuens eum quidam physiognomon dixisset, γυμνά ταμερασμα, id est, Oculi corruptoris puerorum, et irritantes in eum discipuli ejus, ulciscì illatum magistro vellent convici volum indignatio-nem eorum hac dicitur compressisse sententia: Παῦσα με ἐπαπερομεούς, εἰς τὸ λαράλλτ, ἀπέκυψε, id est, Quiescere, o sodales: etenim sum, sed contineo me. Apertissime igitur, non solum assertione nostra, sed etiam ipsorum professione monstratur, consummationem tantummodo impudicitiae, id est, commixtionis turpitudinem, violenta ab illis necessitate compressam; non tamen desiderium de cordibus eorum, et oblectationem illius passionis exclusam.

837. as. and in GH. H f.195r, "as;" C f.12v, "as."

843-851. Rediv we nat ... Thobe. There is consider-able variation among the MSS at this point. H f.195r adds "And Joseph also was ryght pacient in hys yn hys perse-cucyoun whan hys brethyr solde hym. as it appiryth yn þe .xxxviith. chapytre of Genesis." H omits, however, any men-tion of the stories of David and Tobias. BM f.116r also omits any mention of David and Tobias and combines the refer-ence to Isaac and Joseph: "Ne rede we not how Isaae was full pacient in the persecucion of his brether whan thei shold hym as hit apereth in the xxvii chapitre of Genesis." C f.13r also adds the reference to Joseph: "And Joseph was right pacient in the persecucion of his brethern whan they solde hym as it apperith in the xxxvii chapytre of genesis." C, however, does not delete the references to David and Tobias.

846-848. *And David ... chapitre.* This is the story of Semei, who curses David in his troubles with Absolon. David shows patience under this pressure. 2 Kings 16, 10.

849-851. *And ... Thobie.* Tob. 2, 8-23.

858-842. *And Seynt Jerome ... Socrates ... turment.*


854-857. *Rede we nat ... chapitre.* Judges 8, 1-3.

857-860. *Also ... Abigail pesid David ... chapitre.*

1 Kings 25, 24-31.
860-863. *But Roboan ... chapitre.* 3 Kings 12, 1-19.

861. *sygnorye,* lordship, domination, rule. See OED, s.v. *signory.*

868. Gap in GH.

868-872. *Senek ... angry.* Sen., De Ira, 2, 36:

Quibusdam, ut ait Sextius, iratis profuit aspexisse speculum; perturbavit illos tanta mutatio sui; velut in rem praeuentem adducti non agnoventur se. Et quantum ex vera deformitate imago illa speculo repercussa reddbat? Animus si ostendi et si in ulla materia perlocere posset, intuentis nos confuderet ater maculosusque et aedtuanst et distortus et tumidus.

872. *As ho seyfe.* The question is whether we should interpret this as a separate reference to "Ho" (perhaps Hugh) or as some variant form of he, which would make it a part of the reference to Seneca. Since neither BM f.116r nor H f.195v show their characteristic underlining of the source, I have included this as part of the reference to Seneca.

873-874. *And ... Tulle ... ennemye to concei.* Cic., Marcell., 10:

*at vero cum aliquid clementer, mansuete, iuste, moderate, sapienter factum, in iracundia praeuentim, quae est inimica consilio, et in victoria, quae natura insolens et superba est, audimus aut legimus, quo studio incendimur, non modo in gestis rebus, sed etiam in fictis, ut eos saepe, quos numquam vidimus, diligamus!*
873. *to his purpos.* It appears that the scribe has mis-read "in the process," process taking the French meaning of trial. H f.195v, "yn þe processe that he made for marciel;" BM f.116v, "in the processe;" C f.13r, "in the processe that he made for marcell."

874-876. *And Epicure ... out of his wit.* There is no reference that exactly parallels this. We have a choice of two possibilities: Ep., P.D., 1, "That which is blessed and immortal is not troubled itself, nor does it cause trouble to another. As a result, it is not affected by anger or favor, for these belong to weakness;" Ep., V.S., 79, "He who is calm disturbs neither himself nor another."

875. *Epicure.* The Greek philosopher Epicurus (c. 341-270 B.C.), who taught that man's duty was to attain personal happiness and peace of heart by overcoming irrational desires and fears. Although he appears to have been a prolific writer, and, according to Diogenes Laertius, was the author of some 300 volumes, there remain only some fragments of his great work *On Nature* on mutilated papyri extant from Herculaneum. Apart from this, three letters and a set of moral maxims, which appear in the 10th book of Diogenes Laertius, and the *Gnomologium Vaticum* account for all we can safely attribute to Epicurus. My research is based solely on Diogenes Laertius and Geer's translation of
the letters and sayings because my knowledge of Greek does not permit further scrutiny.

876-877. And Unodius ... oper. This has not been traced.


878-880. Therfor ... Caton ... reson. Cato, Dist., 2, 4:
Iratus de re incerta contendere noli
impedit ira animum, ne possis cernare verum.

Other possibilities include: Cato, Dist., B.S., 45; 1, 36; 2, 11.

878-883. for as ... evyl. H f.195v, "ffor as Catown seyth angre engendretre dyscorde and al enmyte. and resoun to be lost as yt Appereht yn hys second booke of Eneydos / and therfor Tybulle seyth;" BM f.117r, "Eneydes in his secunde booke sath that trouble is an horribil thyng and to hem that first founde werre for be werre;" C f.13r-13v, "For as sayth cathon Ire engendereth dyscorde and al enmyte and causeth reson to perysshe. in the second boke of eneydos. Therefore sayth thibulle that they were moche horryble that first fonde warres /many ben dede evylly."
880-881. As <also> Virgyle seyth ... Eneydos. I take it that our author is citing Verg., Aen., 2, where the carnage and chaos of the fall of Troy is described, as an example of the consequences of ire.

880. No gap in GH.

881-883. Perfore seyþ Sibile ... evyl. Tib., Eleg., 1, 10, 1-10:

Quis fuit horrendos primus qui protulit enses?
quam ferus et vere ferreus ille fuit!
tum caedes hominum generi, tum proelia nata,
tum brevior dirae mortis aperta via est.
an nihil ille miser meruit, nos ad mala nostra
vertimus in saevas quod dedit ille feras?
divitis hoc vitium est auri, nec bella fuerunt,
faginus astabat cum scyphus ante dapes.
non arces, non vallus erat, somnumque petebat
securus varias dux gregis inter oves.

881. Sibile, Albius Tibullus.

884-890. Tellip nat Valery ... cruelnes. There seems to be some confusion between Val., Max., Fact., 9, 2, Ext. 6 where cruelty does not destroy its inventor Othus (Darius), and Ext. 9, where it destroys Phalaris. The confusion may be caused by the similarity of the names Darius and Phalaris. Ext. 6:

Ochus autem, qui postea Darius appellatus est, sanctissimo Persis jurejurando obstrictus, ne quem ex conjuratione, quae septem Magos cum eo oppresserat, aut veneno aut ferro aut ulla vi aut inopia alimentorum necaret, crudeliorem mortis
rationem excogitavit, qua hostes visos sibi non perrupto religionis vinculo tolleret. Sæptum enim altis parietibus locum cinere complevit, superpositoque tigno prominente, benigne cibo et potione exceptos in eo collocabat, e quo somno sopiti in illam insidiosam congeriem decidebant.

Ext. 9:

Sævus etiam ille ænci tauri inventor, quo inclusi subditis ignibus longo et abdito cruciatu mugitus resonantem spiritum edere cogeabantur, ne ejulatus eorum humanæ sono vocis expressi Phalaridis tyranni misericordiam implorare possent. Quam quia calamitosis deesse voluit, tæterrimum artis sua opus primus artifex inclusus merito ausplicatus est.

890-893. So ... Senek ... Clemence. Sen., De Ira,

1, 1: Ut scias autem non esse sanos quos ira possedit, ipsum illorum habitum intuere; nam ut furentium certa indicia sunt audax et minax vultus, tristis frons, torva facies, citatus gradus, inquietae manus, color versus, crebra et vehementius acta suspiria, ita irascentium eadem signa sunt.

Cf. De Ira, 2, 9; Clem., 1, 25.

892. no ping but a spyce of woodnes. H f.196r, "no thynge elles but a tyme and a space of rage;" F f.18v, "et mest auis que ce nest autre chose ... une espece de rage."

895-896. How ... the Prophete ... synne. Ps. 4, 5.

896-898. And Seynt Austyn ... synnes. Aug., In Epistolam Joannis ad Parthos, 7, 11:

Noli in homine amare errorem, sed hominem: hominem enim Deus fecit, errorem ipse homo fecit. Ama illud quod Deus fecit, noli amare quod ipse homo fecit. Cum illud amas, illud
tollis: cum illud diligis, illud emendas. Sed et si saevis aliquando, propter correctionis dilectionem.

This reference is omitted on C f.13v.

898-901. And ... Exode. Ex. 16, 16-20. GH, H f.196r, BM f.117v, and C f.13v all cite Ex. 17.

901-904. And he ... Exode. Ex. 32, 19.

904-905. And Nemas ... Neemus. 2 Esdras 5, 1-12.

905-908. And ... Seynt Austyn ... ðem. Aug., En.

in Ps. 105, 32:

Et iratus est furore Dominus in populum suum. Noluerunt quidam interpretes nostri iram ponere, in eo quod graecus habet τυφοσ: sed quidam posuerunt mentem; quidam vero indignationem, quidam animum interpretati sunt. Quodlibet autem horum dicatur, perturbatio non cadit in Deum; sed de consuetudine translatum, potentia vindicandi hoc nomen acceptit.

908. shrewis, bad people. See OED, s.v. shrew.

908-911. And ... Salamon ... chapitre. 3 Kings 11, 4-10. GH, BM f.117v, H f.196r, and C f.13v all cite 4 Kings 10.

911-914. And ... childre of Israel ... chapitre. 4 Kings 10, 29-32.
914-917. And ... Joas ... chapitre. 2 Par. 24, 20-23.

915. Joas. GH, "Jacob;" BM f.117v and C f.13v, "Joab;" H f.196r, "Joab."

917-920. We rede ... Noumbres. Num. 25, 1-9. BM f.117v, Num. 15; C f.14r, Num. 25; H f.196r, Num. 15.

919. Moabs. GH, "meas;" H f.196r, "moal;" BM f.117v, "moabe;" C f.14r, "Moab."

923. letttith, to hinder, prevent, obstruct, stand in the way of. See OED, s.v. let. H f.196v, "hurteth;" BM f.118r, "empecheth man godes;" C f.14r, "empecheth and let-teth many good thynges."

925-929. Telle nat Valery ... oper. Val. Max., Fact., 9, 1, Ext. 9:

Saeuus etiam ille aenei tauri inuentor, quo inclusi subditis ignibus longo et abdito cruciato mugitus resonantem spiritum edere cogeabantur, ne eiulatus eorum humano sono uoci ex-pressi Phalaridis tyranni misericordiam implorare possent. quam quia calamitosis deesse uoluit, taeterrimum artis suae opus primus inclusus merito auspicatus est.

The text seems to have some difficulty with this part of Valerius Maximus. If I am right in my identification, the inventor, not a judge, did not make a vessel of brass, but a brass bull. As well, people were roasted to death in it,
not starved to death. Furthermore, it was not Hannibal who
made this genius try his own machine, but the tyrant Phalar-
rides. See n. 884-890 and n. 929-935 for more material.

926. vessel of bras. H f.196v, "boole of brasse."

929-935. And neverpees ... sallary. Val. Max.,
Fact., 9, 1, Ext. 2:

Eorum dux Hannibal, cuius maiore ex parte virtus saeuitia
constabat, in flumine Vergello corporibus Romanis ponte fac-
to exercitum transduxit, ut aeque terrestrium scelestum Kar-
thaginiensium copiarum ingressum terra quam maritimarum Nep-
tunus experiretur. idem captiuous nostros oneribus et iti-
nere fessos iam prima pedum parte succisa relinquebat. quos
uero in castra perduxerat, paria fere fratrum et propinquo-
rum iungens ferro decernere cogebat neque ante sanguine ex-
plebatur quam ad unum uictorem omnes redegisset. iusto ergo
illum odio, uerum tamen tardo supplicio senatus Prusiae re-
gis factum supplicem ad voluntarium mortem compulit.

933. ryver of Golle. Kempf emends the name to
"Vergello" in his edition. Other Latin MS spellings include
"gello," "gallo," and "igillo."

934. travaled, troubled, harrassed. See OED, s.v.
travailed.

939. seyng so set I may not plese God, seeing that
once I am set on this course I may not please God. H f.196v,
"seenge that and y so do y dysplese god."
941. yeve, if. See OED, s.v. yeve.


942. Ceyte, Jephthah. BM f.118v, "Gette;" C f.14r, "Jepte;" H f.196v, "Gepte."

945-949. David also ... chapitre. 2 Kings 4, 7-12.

950-954. But þe fend ... Genesis. Gen. 25, 28-34.

950-951. But the fend, þe which is prynce of alle devysion, engenderyþ fyrst in dyverse manerys. H f.196v, "but þe enemye whyche ys redy to make dyvysyon by dyvers meenes. engendreth noyses;" BM f.118v, "bot thenmye that is prynce of all debate be dyverse maners engederith noyses;" C f.14r, "But the devyl whyche is prynce of alle devysion by dyvers maners engendreth the stryves and noyses."

954-957. And som ... Genesis. Gen. 37, 3-28.

957-959. But because ... Exode. Ex. 1, 7-10. The first part of this reference is missing. BM f.118v, "Wher- for did the Egipcians hate the childre of Israel ...;" C f.14v, "Wherefore hated the egipciens the chyldren of Is- rael ...;" H f.197r, "Wherfor dyd the Epypcyens hate the
chylde of ysrail ...."

959-961. And whi ... chapitre. 1 Kings 18, 5-9.

960. alowed, beloved. H f.197r, "loued."

963-965. but desire the welfare of all to the
whiche he wolde come, etcetera. H f.197r, "but wylle every
man wele whyche he wolde feyne haue hym self;" BM f.119r,
"bot he shold desire and willen gode to come to every crea-
ture;" C f.14v, "but he that is wyse ought to bere no wrath.
but desyre weel and good to everyman."

968. Gap in GH.

969-971. And perchfor Caton ... "perbi." Cato, Dist.,
2, 11: Adversum notum noli contendere verbis:
his rebus minimis interdum maxima crescent.

Other possibilities include Cato, Dist., B.S., 31; B.S., 41;
and 1, 34.

There seems to be something missing. C f.14v, "And
therfor Chaton sayth to his sone. my sone thou oughtest to
flee noyses and stryves. For moche people have had harme by
spekyng but by beyng styl and not to speke, fewe or none
have had ony harme;" H f.197r, "And therfor Catoun seyde un-
to hys sone yn thys wyse. sone seyde he looke þu flee noyses."
for many a man hath had moche harme for spekyng. but for holdynge her pees. fewe men haue had harme."

970. hir sone, his sone. C f.14v, "his sone;" H f.197v, "hys sone."

971-974. To ... Juvenal ... frenshep. Juv., Sat., 10, 114-119:

Eloquium ac famam Demosthenis aut Ciceronis incipit optare et totis quinquatribus optat quisquis adhuc uno parcam colit asse Minervam, quem sequitur custos angustae vernula capsae. eloquio sed uterque perit orator, utrumque largus et exundans leto dedit ingenii fons.

Juvenal's Fourth Book includes Satires 10-12.

974. As Menand seip in his book. This has not been traced. Any reference to Menand is omitted on C f.14v and BM f.119v. H f.197r, "And to thys purpos seyth Juvenal yn hys .iiii.th booke. that stryvyng tonge bereth venym yn ytself. and corupteth goode maneres and hurteth loue lyke as menande seyth yn hys booke /And me thynketh ho that may haue pees ...;" F f.20r, "bonnes muers. et empesche amytie. comme dit menande en son livre."

976. maistri, mastery. See OED, s.v. mastery. The word has the sense of "the skill or knowledge which consti-
tutes a master," the command of "a department of skill or
knowledge; an art or science."

977-979. And ... Ovide ... Love. Ov., A. A., 2,

601-608: Quis Cereris ritus ausit vulgare profanis,  
Magnaque Threicia sacra reperta Samo?  
Exigua est virtus praestare silentia rebus:  
At contra gravis est culpa tacenda loqui.  
O bene, quod frustra captatis arbore pomis  
Garrulus in media Tantalus aret aqua!  
Praeципue Cytherea iubet sua sacra taceri:  
Admoneo, veniat nequis ad illa loquax.

982-990. And ... Exnophon. This has not been traced.

990. Exnophon. BM f.119v, "xophon;" C f.15r, "exen- 
ephon;" H f.197v, "3enophon."

990-991. And Senek ... man. Sen., De Ira, 34: "Cum 
pare contendere ances est, cum superiore furiosum, cum in- 

990-993. And Senek ... conscience. The version in 
C f.15r makes me think we may have a reference to Seneca and 
a comment by the author: "And Seneke in his fyrst epystle 
seyth that a man shold not stryve ayenst a fool. And to a 
wyse man for to stryve it is a folye /For the wyse man 
hateth noyse and stryf ... consciences."

993-995. Therfor pe wise man ... had. Prov. 25, 8-10.
997-999. *We rede ... Exodus.* Ex. 17, 8-13.

1003-1005. *We rede ... chapitre.* 1 Kings 13, 6-13, or perhaps Saul's oath at 1 Kings 14, 24. A confused reference.

1005-1007. *And Thobie ... Thobie.* Tob. 2, 22-23.

1012-1014. *And perfor Tullus ... be resoun.* Cic., Off., 1, 28:

Duplex est enim vis animorum atque natura; una pars in appetitu posita est, quae est ὁριζόντα Graece, quae hominem huc et illuc rapit, altera in ratione, quae docet et explanat, quid faciendum fugiendumque sit. Ita fit, ut ratio praesit, appetitus obtenderet.

H f.197v, "Rethoryke;" BM f.120r, "first retorique;" C f.13r, "fyrst rethoryke."

1014-1016. *And Seynt Ambrose ... do.* Ambrose, De offic. minist., 24 (PL, 16, 62): "Quod his viris principalium virtutem officium defuit ... quarto temperantiam, quae modum, ordinemque servat omnium, quae vel agenda, vel dicenda arbitrarmur."

1017-1019. *And to pis purpos Agelle ... lyve.* Gell., Noct. Att., 2, 1, 4: "Temperantia quoque fuisses eum tanta traditum, ut omnia fere vitae suae tempora valitudine inoffensiva vixerit."
1017. *Agelle*. The Latin author and grammarian Aulus Gellius (123-165 A.D.). Curtius (p. 52) notes that "through a misreading of the name A. (=Aulus) Gellius, an Agellius was created."

1019-1020. *pe which Socrates ... lyve*. Plut., Moralia, Poetry, 21:

For example, if Alexis stirs some people when he says,

The man of sense must gather pleasure's fruits,
And three there are which have the potency
Truly to be of import for this life—
To eat and drink and have one's way in love,
All else must be declared accessory,

we must recall to their minds that Socrates used to say just the opposite—that "base men live to eat and drink, and good men eat and drink to live."

1020-1023. *But Laicaeen ... reule*. Lact., Divin. Instit., 3, 8:

Audiamus etiam Zenonem; nam is interdum virtutem somniat. Summum, inquit, est bonum, cum natura consentanee vivere. Belluarum igitur nobis more vivendum est. Nam quae abesse debent ab homine, in iis omnia deprehenduntur: voluptates appetunt, motuunt, fallunt, insidiantur, occidunt; et, quod ad rem maxime attinet, Deum nesciunt. Quid ergo me docet, ut vivam secundum naturam, quae ipsa in deterius prona est, et quibusdam blandimentis lenioribus in vitia praecipiat? Vel si aliam mutorum, aliam hominis dicit esse naturam, quod homo ad virtutem sit genitus, nonnihil dicit: sed tamen non erit definitio summii boni; quia nullum est animal, quod non secundum naturam suam vivat.

Qui scientiam summum bonum fecit, aliquid homini proprium dedit: sed scientiam aliterius rei gratia homines appetunt, non propter ipsam. Quis enim scire contentus est, non expetens aliquem fructum scientiae? Artes ideo discuntur, ut exercerantur: exercerantur ad subsidia vitae, vel ad voluptatem, vel ad gloriam. Non est igitur summum bonum, quod non propter se expetitur. Quid ergo interest utrum scientiam summum bonum putemus, an illa ipsa, quae scientia
ex se parit, id est, victum, gloriam, voluptatem? quae non sunt homini propria, et ideo ne summa quidem bona. Nam voluptatis et victus appetentia non homini solum, sed etiam mutis inest. Quid cupiditas gloriæ? nonne in equis deprehenditur, cum victores exultant, victi dolent?

1020. Laicasen. H f.198r, "Latente;" BM f.120v, "latrane;" C f.15v, "lactente."

1023-1026. And percor Senek ... letcherye. Sen.

Ep., 83, 20:

Non facit ebrietas vitia, sed prostrahit; tunc libidinosus ne cubiculum quidem expectat, sed cupiditatibus suis quantum petierunt sine dilatatione permittit; tunc inpudicus morbum profitetur ac publicat; tunc petulans non linguam, non manum continet.

1024-1025. replenetes. Probably a mis-reading of "repletion," of which "repleccioun" is an obs. form. Repletion is "the action of eating or drinking to excess; surfeit; the condition of body arising from this." See OED, s.v. repletion. H f.198r, "repleccyoun;" BM f.120v, "ete and drynke without drunknes or glotony;" C f.15v, "replectioun."

1026-1030. And ... Seynt Jerome ... soule. Jer., Adv. Jov., 2, 10 (PL, 23, 300):

Unde et Galenus vir doctissimus, Hippocratis intrepis, athletas, quorum vita et ars signa est, dicit in Exhortatione medicinae, nec vivere posse diu, nec sanos esse: animasque eorum ita nimio sanguine, et adipibus, quasi luto involutas, nihil tenne, nihil coeleste, sed semper de carnibus, et ructu, et ventris inglüvie cogitare.

1030-1032. *And indede Socrates ... Agelle ... aboveseid?* The references to Socrates in Gellius contain nothing which exactly parallels this. I believe Legrand is working by inference from Gell., Noct. Att., 2, 1, 1-2:

> Inter labores voluntarios et exercitia corporis ad fortuitas patientiae vices firmandi id quoque acceperimus Socraten facere insuevisse: stare solitus Socrates dicitur pertinaci statu perdidus atque pernox a summo lucis ortu ad solem alterum orientem inconivens, immobilis, isdem in vestigiis et ore atque oculis eundem in locum directis cogitabundus, tamquam quodam secessu mentis atque animi facto a corpore.

1032-1035. *And Boete ... abstynens.* Boeth., Consol., 2, pr. 5:

> Terrarum quidem fructus animantium procul dubio debentur alimentis. Sed si, quod naturae satis est, replere indigentiam uelis, nihil est quod fortunae affluentiam petas. Pau-cis enim minimisque natura contenta est, cuuis satietatem si superfluis urgere uelis, aut iniucundum quod infuderis fiet aut noxium.

1035-1039. *And ... Valeri ... for pe same cause.*

Val Max., Fact., 2, 1, 5:

> Vini usus olim Romanis feminis ignotus fuit, ne scilicet in aliquod dedecus prolaberentur, quia proximus a Libero patre intemperantiae gradus ad inconcessam uenerem esse consequit. ceterum ut non tristis earum et horrida pudicitia, sed [et] honesto comitatis genere temperata esset, — indulgentibus namque maritis et auro abundanti et multa purpura usae sunt — quo formam suam concinniores efficerent, summa cum diligentia capillos cinere rutilarunt: nulli enim tunc
subsessorum alienorum matrimoniorum oculi metuebantur, sed pariter et uidere sancte et aspici mutuo pudore custodiebatur.


1041-1048. Moreover Dedimus ... abstynens. RG, 171, 10-22:


1043. of Pragmeyn and Prage. This is probably the result of several translations and transcriptions of "Bragmanorum."

1051-1055. And professor Lucan ... hym. Luc., Phar., 2, 380-385:
hi mores haec duri immota Catonis
secta fuit, seruare modum finemque tenere
naturalaque sequi patriaque impendere uitam,
nec sibi sed toti genitum se credere mundo.
huic epulae uicisse famem; magnique penates
submouisse hiemem tecto.

See also Luc., Phar., 1, 160 ff, where the luxury of Roman
society at the onset of civil war is described.

1059-1061. As Water ... vices. Gault., Alexand.,
1, 177-182 (PL, 209, 467-468):

Si Baccho Venerique vacas, qui caeterna subdis
Sub juga venisti, perit delira vacantis
Libertas animi, Veneris flagrante camino,
Mens hebet interius, rixasque et bella moveri
Imperat, et suadet rationis vile sepulcrum.
Ebrietas, rigidos enervant haec duo mores.

1059-1061. As Water seib in his First Book to Alax-
andreydos hat drunkenes is be sepulcre of al vices. H f.198
v, "ffor as Galdere seyth yn hys fyrst booke of Alexandrydes
that drinkennes ys be sepulture of reson;" BM f.121 r/v,
"and as Galyen sath in his iiiith booke that he writeth
Alsaundre that drunkonnes is sepulture of all reason;" C
f.16r, "For as gaulter sayth in hys fyrst book of alexandri-
dos dronkenshyp is the sepulcre of rayson."


1061-1064. And Ovide ... dedis. Ov., Rem. Am.,
803-810:

Quid tibi praecipiam de Bacchi munere, quaeris?
Spe brevius monitis expediere meis.
Vina parant animum Veneri, nisi plurima sumas,
Et stpeant multo corda sepulta mero.
Nutritur vento, vento restinguitur ignis:
Lenis alit flammis, grandior aura necat.
Aut nulla ebrietas, aut tanta sit ut tibi curas
Eripiat; siqua est inter utrumque, nocet.

1062. brayeþ, probably buries. The OED offers no help. H f.198v, "byryeth;" BM f.121v, "burieth;" C f.16r, "buryeth."

1064. enhabyled, rendered incapable. See OED, s.v. inhabile. BM f.121v, "unable to do wele;" C f.16r, "and is of all poyntes not able to do wel;" H f.198v, "and uttyrly ys unable to do any goode dede."

1066. werreyeþ. C f.16r, "overcometh a man and warryth ayenst hym;" H f.198v, "overcometh a man."

1067-1069. For with pis ... Genesis. Gen. 3, 6.


1073-1076. Moreover gloteny ... Genesis. Gen. 19, 30-38.
1077-1081. And þerof ... Genesis. Gen. 9, 20-23.


1084-1086. And be goltenye ... Genesis. Gen. 25, 29-34.

1086-1089. Moreover rede we ... chapitre. 1 Kings 14, 27.


1093-1095. The same ... Job. Job 1, 13-19.

1095-1097. Hou was ... Judith. Judith 13, 2-10.

1097-1100. Hou was Symon ... chapitre. 1 Mac. 16, 15-16.

1100-1102. And Naman ... Hester. Esther 7, 1-10.

Aman was not crucified, he was hanged.

1107. Gap in GH.

1109-1112. And ... Diogenes ... praised. Val. Max.

mentions Diogenes only in connection with the story of
Alexander's casting a shadow on him (Val. Max., Fact., 4,3, Ext. 4):

Alexander uero cognomen invicti adsecutus continentiam Diogenis cynici uincere non potuit. ad quem cum in sole se- dentem accessisset hortareturque ut, si qua praestari sibi uellet, indicaret, quemadmodum erat in crepidine conlocatus, sordidae appellationis, sed robustae uir praestantiae, 'mox' inquit 'de ceteris, interim uelim a sole mihi non obstes'. quibus uerbis illa nimirum inhaesit sententia: Alexander Diogenen gradu suo diuitiis pellere temptat, celerius Dareum armis.

Idem Syracusis, cum holera ei lauanti Aristippus dixis- set, si 'Dionysium adulari uelles, ista non esses', 'immo', inquit 'si tu ista esse uelles, non adularere Dionysium'.

1109. Diogenes. The Greek philosopher (412-323 B.C.). Called the cynic, he is said to have believed that virtue consisted in the avoidance of all physical pleasure, and that pain and inconvenience in their several forms were conducive to goodness.

1113-1115. And as Bernard Savage ... "wastipe it."

Bern. Silv., De mundi uni., 2, 13, 110-117:

Caput tamquam arcem, tamquam totius corporis capitolium tollit et erigit in excelsa. regionem capitis eam, cum decuit, supra atolleret, ubi sincerae rationis divinitas habitaret. Optimam corporis et deputatam intelligentiae portionem ab esculentis membriis grossioribus longissime relegavit, ne ab ea quae cibo alimentisque nascitur sensus illuvie tardaren- tur.

1117-1120. And indede ... Levytes. Lev. 11, 1-47.

1121-1123. We rede ... Exode. Ex. 34, 28.
1123-1128. Also Hely ... chapitre. 3 Kings 17, 5-7; 3 Kings 19, 6-8. The ravens feed him flesh and bread the first time he goes into the desert, and an angel feeds him hearth cake and water the second time. Both are sent by God.

1130. repleccion, repletion. See n. 1024-1025.

1131-1134. Moreover ... Daniel. Dan. 10, 3-7.

1134-1136. Also Anne ... chapitre. Luke 2, 36-38.

1135. as, GH "and."

1136-1139. And therfor ... Nombres. Num. 6, 1-4.

1137. xuld be conservèd. H f.199v, "schulde be sacred;" BM f.123r, "shold be sacrat;" C f.17r, "devoutely were consacred."

1140-1142. Also we rede ... chapitre. Matt. 3, 4.

1141. longegostis and satureves. A firm solution to the meaning of this will have to await an edition of the French MSS. Matthew tells us the saint ate "locusts and wild honey." My guess is that the French was subjected to
doubling and the original contained the medieval equivalent of sauterelle, f., a locust, and langouste, f., a spiny lobster or crayfish, a beast which has the appearance of a sea-going locust. H f.199v, "wylde hony and anothyr certyn herbe;" BM f.123r, "ete monussheromis and wilde hony;" C f. 17r, "ete only hony sokles."

1148-1152. And to pis ... chapitre. 2 Par. 20, 3-23.

1152-1156. Also we rede ... Juges. Judges 20, 20-35.

1156-1161. In lyche wyse ... chapiters. 1 Kings 4, 1-11; 7, 5-13.

1162-1163. And therfor Thobyse ... fastyng. Tob. 12, 8.

1163-1165. Also ... Esdras. This is unclear. Perhaps 1 Esdras 8, 21, or 1 Esdras 9, 10-11. There is a major sermon on usury in 2 Esdras 5, but nothing of relevance in 1 or 2 Esdras 4. C f.17r, Esdras 4; H f.200r, Esdras 4; BM f. 123v, Esdras 3.

1166-1168. We rede ... Achat ... be first chapitre. 3 Kings 21, 27-29. GH, H f.200r, C f.17v, and BM f.123v all cite 2 Kings 1.

1168-1169. *The same ... Jonas*. Jonas 3, 5-10.

1168-1169. *Cyte of Wynyve*. I capitalize since this is a title and since both are capitalized in the MS.

1171-1173. *And Aristotyl ... "hymself."* Ar., De.

Part. Anim., 2, 5:

Both lard and suet when present in moderate amount are beneficial; for they contribute to health and strength, while they are no hindrance to sensation. But when they are present in great excess, they are injurious and destructive. For were the whole body formed of them it would perish. For an animal is an animal in virtue of its sensory part, that is in virtue of its flesh, or of the substance analogous to flesh. But the blood, as before stated, is not sensitive; as therefore is neither lard nor suet, seeing that they are nothing but concocted blood. Were then the whole body composed of these substances, it would be utterly without sensation. Such animals, again, as are excessively fat age rapidly. For so much of their blood is used in forming fat, that they have but little left; and when there is but little blood the way is already open for decay.

1173-1175. *For gret gres ... Constantyne wytnessip.*

This has not been traced.

1181. Gap in GH.

1182-1184. *And perfór Dedimus ... ciennes*. RG, 172, 12-14: "Libidini membra debilitanda non tradimus. Nocte
non utimis ad tegenda flagitia."

1188-1192. *As Seynt Jerome ... chasteli.* Jer., Ad. Jov., 2, 9 (PL, 23, 311-312):

sed et ipse Plato cum esset dives, et toros ejus Diogenes lutatis pedibus concuculcarent: ut posset vacare philosophiae, elegit Academiam villam ab urbe procul, non solum desertam, sed et pestilentem: ut cura et assiduitate morborum, libidinis impotus frangeretur: discipulique sui nullam aliam sentiret voluptatem, nisi carum rerum quas discernet.


1190. *Achadeyn, Academe.*

1192-1195. *And ... Democryte ... synne.* Tert., Apol., 46, 11: "Democritus excaecando semetipsum, quod mulieres sine concupiscencia aspicere non posset et dolorer si non esset potitus, incontinentiam emendatione profitetur."

1192. *Tarquinyan.* H f.200r, "Torquilyen."

1197. *pe Pitagoriens.* A sect of Greek philosophers named after Pythagoras. Pythagoras was born at Samos but emigrated to Croton in Magna Graecia around 531 B.C. There he established a religious society whose aim was to liberate
the soul from the corruption of the body by study and the practice of asceticism. A conspiracy of his enemies forced Pythagoras to withdraw to Metapontum, where he died. Since Pythagoras wrote nothing, though various works were attributed to him, his central beliefs are gleaned from the casual references of later writers.

1199-1200. And perfor ... out. Matt. 5, 29; 18, 9; Mark 9, 46.

1202-1205. Rede we nat ... Genesis. Gen. 6, 5.

1205-1206. And Josephs ... synne. Gen. 39, 6-9.

1206-1209. Also David ... Kynges. 2 Kings 11, 2-26.

1207. her hed. GH, "his hed;" C f.18r, "wesshed hir silf;" H f.200v, "whyle sche was a wasschynge."

1209-1210. Hoo deceyved ... Judith. Judith 10, 17-18; 12, 16.


1215-1217. And ... Quintilian ... look. Quint., Decl., 1, 6: "vitiis enim nostris in animum per oculos via

1216-1217. And Senek ... vices. Possibly a reference to De remediiis fortuitorum ad Gallionem, an apocryphal work. Efforts to locate one of the earlier editions of Seneca which include De remediiis have not been successful. R.P. Robert, Aurifodina Universalis, 5, 564, 64, lists this reference from the work: "Oculi irritamenta sunt vitiorum ducesque scelerum."

1217. No gap in GH; H f.200v, "seyth that the yghen ben messemgeres to alle vyces."

1220-1223. And ... Valeri ... a fayre child called

Spuryyn ... synne. Val. Max., Fact., 4, 5, Ext. 1:

Quod sequitur externis adnectam, quia ante gestum est quem Etruriae ciuitas dare tur. excellentis in ea regione pulchritudinis adulescens nomine Spurinna, cum mira specie conplurium feminarum inlustrium sollicitaret oculos ideoque uiris ac parentibus earum se suspectum esse sentiret, oris decorem ulceribus confudit deformitatemque sanctitatis suae fidem quam formam irritamentum alienae libidinis esse maluit.

1225-1232. *And ... Seynt Austyn ... knythode.* Aug., Civ. Dei, 1, 6:

Egregius Romani nominis Marcus Marcellus, qui Syracusas, urbem ornatissimam, cepit, refertur eam prius flevisse ruituram, et ante ejus sanguinem suas illi lacrymas effudisse. Gessit et curam pudicitiae, etiam in hoste servandae. Nam priusquam oppidum victor jussisset invadi, constituit edicto, ne quis corpus liberum violaret.

1232-1243. *And Valery ... Cipion ... of alle knytes.* Val. Max., Fact., 4, 3, 1:

Quartum et vicesimum annum agens Scipio, cum in Hispania Carthagine oppressa majoris Carthaginis capienda sumpsisset auspicia multosque obsides, quos in ea urbe Poeni clausos habuerant, in suam potestatem redegisset, eximiae inter eos formae virginem aetatis adultae et juvenis et caelebs et victor, postquam comperit illustri loco inter Celtiberos natam nobilissimique gentis ejus Indibili desponsam, arcessitis parentibus et spoño inviolatam tradidit; aurum quoque, quod pro redemptione puellae allatum erat, summas dotis adjecit. Qua continentia ac munificentia Indibilis obligatus, Celtiberorum animos Romanis applicando meritis ejus debitam gratiam rettulit.

1246-1251. *Thei xulde pink ... outrageousnes.* Val. Max., Fact., 6, 1, 1:

Dux Romanae pudicitiae Lucretia, cuius virili animus maligno errore fortunae muliebre corpus sortitus est, a Sex. Tarquinio regis Superbi filio per uim stuprum pati coacta, cum grauisissima uerbis iniuriam suam in concilio necessariorum deplorasset, ferro se, quod ueste tectum adulatorat, interemit causamque tam animoso iteritu imperium consulare pro regio permutandi populo Romano praebuit.

1260-1267. *The which ... be women of Ceteynques ... hyng hemself.* Val. Max., Fact., 6, 1, Ext. 3:
Teutonorum vero conjuges Mariam victorem orarunt ut ab eo virginibus Vestalibus dono mitterentur, affirmantes æque se atque illas virilis concubitus expertus futuras; eaque re non impetrata laqueis sibi nocte proxima spiritum eriperunt. Dii melius, quod hunc animum viris earum in acie non dederunt. Nam, si mulierum suarum virtutem imitari voluisset, incerta Teutonicæ victoriarum spem ædificissent.

1261. women of Cateynques. BM f.126r, "seuto-

niques;" C f.18v, "wymmen of duches londe;" H f.201r, "cer-
teyn women."

1271. Gap in GH.

1272-1274. And þerfor Boete ... Letchere. Boeth.,

Consol., 3, pr. 7:

Quid autem de corporis voluptatibus loquar, quarum ap- 
etia quidem plena est anxietatis, satietas uero poeni-
tiae? Quanto illae morbos, quam intolerabiles dolores qua-
qui quendam fructum nequitiae fruentium solent referre cor-
poribus! Quorum motus quid habeat iucunditas, ignoro.
Tristes uero esse uoluptatum exitus, quisquis reminisci li-
bidinum suarum uolet, intellege. Quae si beatos explicare 
possunt, nihil causæ est quin pecudes quoque beatæ esse 
dicantur quorum omnis ad explendam corporalem lacunam festi-
nat intentio. Honestissima quidem coniugis foret liberorum-
que iucunditas, sed nimis e natura dictum est nescio quem 
filios inuenisse tortorem; quorum quam sit mordax quaecumque 
condicio, neque alias expertum te neque nunc anxium necesse 
est admonere. In quo Euripidis mei sententiam probo, qui 
carentem libris infortunio dixit esse felicem.

1274-1276. For lecheri ... Valery ... Book. Val.

Max., Fact., 9, 1, Prol. and 9, 2, Prol. 9, 1, Prol.:

Blandum etiam malum luxuria, quam accusare aliquanto 
facilius est quam vitare, operi nostro inseratur, non quidem 
ut ullum honorem recipiat, sed ut se ipsam recognoscens ad
paenitentiam impelli possit. Jungatur illi libido, quoniam ex iisdem vitiorum principiis oritur; neque aut a reprehensione aut ab emendatione separantur, gemino mentis errore conexae.

9, 2, Prol.:

Haec societas vitiorum lascivi vultus et novae cupiditati inhaerentium oculorum ac delicato cultu diffluentis, perque varios illecebrarum motus volitantis animi; crudelitatis vero horridus habitus, truculenta species, violenti spiritus vox terribilis, ora minis et cruentis imperiiis referta.

1274. *stoute*. BM f.126r, "soft;" C f.19r, "swete maladye;" H f.201v, "softe maladye."

1276-1281. *Pe which Valery ..."every creature."* Val. Max., Fact., 4, 3, Ext. 2: "Sophocles autem aetate iam senior, cum ab eo quidam quaereret an etiam nunc rebus uenereiis, uteretur, 'di meliora!' inquit: 'libenter enim istinc tamquam ex aliqua furiosa profugi dominatione'."


1281-1285. *Alas ... Sichem ... chapitre*. Gen. 34, 1-25.


1286. *forty thousand and fifty*. GH, xI M; H f.201v,
".xl. thou3ande;" C f.19r, "lx.M.;" Judges 20, 35, "and they slew of them in that day five and twenty thousand, and one hundred, all fighting men and that drew the sword."

1288-1291. And Amon ... chapitre. 2 Kings 13, 1-29. The story, as it appears in the MS, is confusing. In reality Amnon was slain by Absolon because of the relationship between Amnon and Thamar. Both men were sons of David out of different wives. Thamar was the blood sister of Absolon.

1289. by Absolon, hys broder. GH, "and absolon hys broper;" BM f.126v, "And absolon sloghe his brother;" C f.19r, "Amon was slayn of absonl his brother;" H f.201v, "Amon also was slayn for hys lecherye / And Absolon hys brothyr also."

1292-1294. Abner and Isboreth ... chapitre. Abner, 2 Kings 3, 27; Isboreth, 2 Kings 4, 7.

1294-1295. Quat ... flood ... Letchery. Gen. 6, 5.


1302-1306. And considre ... wyse pepil. This amounts to a traditional list of women who deceived men, as Domenico Comparetto makes clear in *Vergil in the Middle Ages*, pp. 327-328:

David, Samson, Hercules, Hippocrates, Aristotle, are but a few in the long list of those who followed their father Adam in falling victims to a woman; and when Aristotle and Hippocrates had lent their names to such stories, it was inevitable that Vergil should follow. We may cite, for instance, the following lines of an anonymous French poet:

'Par femme fut Adam deceu  
Et Virgile moqué en fu,  
David en fist faulx jugement  
Et Salemon faulx testament;  
YPocras en fu enerve;  
Sanson le fort deshonnore;  
Femme chevaucha Aristote,  
Il n'est rien que femme n'assote.'

Thus too Eustace Deschamps (14th cent.) writes:

'Par femme fu mis à destruction  
Sanxes le fort et Hercules en rage,  
Ly roy Davis à redargucion,  
Si fut Merlins soubz le tombel en caige;  
Nul ne se puet garder de leur langaige.  
Par femme fut en la corbeille à Romme  
Virgile mis, dont ot mout de hontaige.  
Il n'est chose que femme ne consumme.'

Then later, in his *Rosier des Dames*, Bertrand Desmoulins makes Truth say:

'Que fist à Sanson Dalida  
Quant le livra aux Philistins,  
N'à Hercules Dejanira  
Quant le fist mourir par venins?  
Une femme par ses engins  
Ne trompa-elle aussi Virgile  
Quant à uns panier il fut prins  
Et puis pendu emmy la ville.'

This idea and these instances illustrative of it are commonplace in poetry, alike satirical, burlesque and moral, throughout the 13th and 14th centuries, and innumerable passages similar to those above might be quoted.
1302-1303. *wyse Salomon was deceived.* 3 Kings 11, 4.

1303. *and pe stronge Sampson.* Judges 16, 4-20.

1303-1304. *the my3ti Oloferns.* Judith 10, 17; 11, 16.

1304. *the prophete David.* 2 Kings 11, 2-4.


1311-1313. *The which ... Fulgence ... worshepe.*

Fulg., Mitolog., 2, 1:

Uoluptaria uero uita est quae libidinis tantummodo noxia nullum honestum reputat bonum, sed solam uitae adpetens corruptelam aut libidine mollitur aut homicidiiis cruentatur aut rapina succeditur aut liuoribus rancidatur; sed hoc penes illos Epicurei ac voluptarii, penes nos uero huilusmodi uita natura, non crimen est; et quia bonum nemo gerit, nec nasci bonum licet.

Cf. Fulg., De fide, 34:

... ubi cum eo etiam fornicarii, idolis servientes, adulteri, molles, masculorum concubitores, fures, avari, ebriousi, maledici, rapaces, et omnes qui opera carnis agunt [de
quibus beatus dicit Apostolus, quia regnum Dei non consequuntur (Col. v, 21)], si ante hujus vitae terminum a viis suis malis conversi non fuerint, æternis ignibus exurentur. Omnis enim homo qui in hoc sæculo usque ad finem in iniquitatum delectatione et cordis obdurance permanserit, sicut hic eum noxia criminum delectatio tenuit, sic eum sine fine sempiternaque cruciatio retinebit.

There is controversy over the authorship of Mitologiarum (see Whitebread, Fulgentius the Mythographer, p. 11, n. 1). The Mitologarium are not included in PL.

1313-1315. And ... dishonest places. Val. Max., Fact., 2, 7, 1:

P. Cornelius Scipio cui delecta Carthago avitum cognomen dedidit, consul in Hispaniam missus, ut insolentissimos Numantinæ urbis spiritus superiorum ducum culpa nutritos contunderet, eodem temporis momento, quo castra intravit, edixit ut omnia ex iis, quæ voluptatis causa comparata erant, auferrentur ac submoverentur; itaque constat tum maximum inde institorum et lixarum numerum cum duobus millibus scortorum abisse. Hac turpi atque erubescenda sentina vacuefactus noster exercitus, qui paulo ante metu mortis deformi se foederis ictu maculaverat, erecta virtute recreataque, acrem illam et animosam Numantiam incendiis exustam ruinisque prostratam solo æquavit. Itaque neglectæ disciplinæ militaris indicium Mancini miserabilis deditio, servata æmerces speciosissimus Scipionis triumphus exstittit.

1313. Kyng Sapton. BM f. 127r, "the noble knyght called scipion;" C f. 19v, "Scipion the noble knyght;" H f. 202r, "Scypyoun the noble knyght."

1318-1321. But ... Ovide ... in hymself. Ov., Met., 1, 8, 465-466:

et nihil est quod non effreno captus amore ausit nec capiunt inclusas pectora flammæ.
1321-1324. *And versifuour ... nou3t.* This has not been traced.

1321. *And versifuour.* BM f.127v, "and the versifiour;" C f.19v, "and the versyfyour;" H f.202r, "And the Vercefyour." The inclusion of "the" in the other MSS makes me think the versifier may be Ovid.

1324-1329. *And Seynt Jerome ... lyfe.* Jer., Adv., Jov., 1, 49 (PL, 23, 293):

Scripsunt Aristoteles et Plutarquhus et noster Seneca de matrimonio libros, ex quibus et superiora nonuilla sunt, et ista quae subjiciimus: Amor formæ, rationis oblivio est, et insaniæ proximus; fœdum minimæque conveniens animo sospiti vitium. Turbat consilia, altos et generousos spiritus frangit, a magnis cogitationibus ad humillimas detrabit; querulos, iracundos, temerarios, dure imperiosos, serviliter biandos, omnibus inutiles, ipsi novissime amor facit. Nam cum fruendi cupiditate insatiabilis flagrat, plura tempora suspiciationibus, lacrymis, conquestionibus perdit: odium sui facit, et ipse novissime sibi odio est.


1329-1332. *And Senek ... al goodness.* This has not been traced.

1332-1335. *And therfor Senek ... "holly lost."* The subject of this letter is moral reflections on excess, but
primarily the excess is confined to food and drink; Sen., Ep., 24, 16: "Ipsae voluptates in tormenta vertentur, epulae cruditatem adferunt, ebierunt nervorum torporum tremorumque, libidines pedum, manuum articulorum omnium, depravationes."

1337-1338. As ... Valery ... eyn. Val. Max., Fact., 6, 5, Ext. 3:

Nihil illis etiam iustitiae exemplis fortius. Zaleucus urbe Locrensium a se saluberrimis atque utilissimis legibus munita, cum filius eius adulteri crimine damnatus secundum ius ab ipso constitutum utroque oculo carere debet, ac tota ciuitas in honorem patris necessitatem poenae adolescentulo remitteret, aliquandiu repugnauit. ad ultimum populi precibus euctus suo prius, deinde filii oculo eruto usum uidenti utrisque reliquit. ita debitum supplicii modum legi reddidit, aequitatis admirabili temperamento se inter misericordiem patrem et iustum legislatorem partitus.

1339. And ... stoned. Lev. 20, 10.

1345. Gap in GH.

1344-1482. insomuche ... pe bodi. C in STC 15394 has a gap comprising ff. 20r-21v. My textual notes from C covering this section are taken from STC 15395. References to STC 15395 include neither folio nor page number.

1348-1351. And doctours seyn ... Seynt Gregori ... dome. Other doctors are closer to this sentiment (cf. S.
Joan Chrs., Hom. sup. Joán., 54: "Fera venenosa invidia est, fera immunda, et morbus voluntatis omni venia et excusatione indigna, omnium malorum et mater et auctor"), but the design of the chapter as a whole, particularly in terms of the exempla and the physical description of envy which Legrand attributes to Martial, seems to owe something to Greg., Moralia, 5, 46:

Et parvulum occidit invidia

84. Invidia eo cui invidet, se minorem testatur. Invidere enim non possumus, nisi eis quos nobis in aliquo meliores putamus. Parvulus ergo est qui livore occiditur, quia ipse sibi testimonium perhibet, quod ei minor sit cujus invidia torquetur. Hinc est quod hostis callidus primo homini inviendo subripuit, quia amissa beatitudine, minorem se immortalitati illius agnovit. Hinc est quod Cain ad perpe-trandum fratricidium corruit; quia despecto suo sacrificio, praelatum sibi infremuit, cujus Deus hostiam accepit: et quem meliorem se esse exhorruit, ne utcunque esset, amputavit. Hinc Esau ad persecutionem fratris exarsit, quia primogenitorum benedictione perdita, quam tamen esu lenticulæ ipse vendiderat, minorem se ei, quem nascendo præibat, ingemuit. Hinc Joseph fratres sui Ismaelitis transeuntibus vendiderunt, quia cognito revelationis mysterio, ne se melior fieret, ejus proiectibus obviare conati sunt. Hinc Saul David subditum, lanceam intorquendo, persequitur, quia quem magnis quotidiie augeri virtutum successibus sensit, ultra se ex crescere expavit. Parvulus itaque est qui invidia occiditur, quia nisi ipse inferior existeret, de bono alterius non doleret.

85. Invidia serpens antiquus totum virus sum concutit ac vomit. Invidi descriptio. Sed inter haec sciendum est quia quavis per omne vitium quod perpetratur, humano cordi antiqui hostis virus infunditur, in hac tamen nequitia, tota sua viscerà serpens concutit, et imprímendae malitiae pestem vomit. De quo nimirum scriptum est: Invidia dia-boli more intravit in orbem terrarum. Nam cum devictum cor livoris putredo corrupserit, ipsa quoque exteriora indicat, quam graviter animum vesania instigat. Color quippe pallore afficitur, oculi deprimuntur, mens ascendit, et membra frigescunt, fit in cogitatione rabies, in dentibus stridor: cumque inlatebris cordis crescens absconditur odium, dolore caeco terebrat conscientiam vulnus inclusum. Nil lactum de propriis libet, quia tabescentem mentem sua poena sauciat, quam felicitas torquet aliena; quantoque extranei operis in
altum fabrica ducitur, tanto fundamentum mentis lividae profundius suffoditur; ut quo alii ad meliora properant, eo ipse deterius ruat; qua ruina videlicet etiam illud destructur, quod in aliis actibus perfecto operare surrexisse putabatur. Nam invidia cum mentem tabefecerit, cuncta quae invenierit bene gesta consumit. Unde bene per Salomonem dicitur: Vita carnium, sanitas cordis; putredo ossium invidia. Quid enim per carnes, nisi infirma quaedam ac tenera; et quid per ossa, nisi fortia acta signantur? Et plerumque contingit ut quidam cum vera cordis innocentia in nonnullis suis actibus infirmi videantur; quidam vero jarn quaedam ante humanos ocu- los robusta exercant, sed tamen erga aliorum bona, intus invidiae pestilentia tabescant. Bene ergo dicitur: Vita carnium, sanitas cordis, quia si mentis innocentia custodiatur, etiam si quae foris infirma sunt, quandoque roborantur. Et recte subditur: Putredo ossium invidia, quia per livoris vitium, ante Dei oculos perceunt etiam fortia acta virtutem. Ossa quippe per invidiam putrescere, est quaedam etiam robusta deperire.

86. Invidiae immunitio et mora, inchoatus aut perfectus amor aeternitatis. Sed cur haec de invidia dicimus, si non etiam qualiter eruatur intimemus? Difficile namque est ut hoc alteri non invideat, quod adipiscis alter exoptat; quia quidquid temporale percipitur, tanto fit minus singulis, quanto dividitur in multis; et idcirco desideratis mentem livor excruciat, quia hoc quod appetit, aut funditus alter accipiens adimit, aut a quantitate restringit. Qui ergo livoris peste plene carere desiderat, illam hæreditatem diligat, quam cohaeredum numerus non angustat; quæ et omnibus una est, et singulis tota; quæ tanto largior ostenditur, quanto ad hanc perspicientium multitudine dilatatatur. Imminuto ergo livoris est affectus surgens internæ dulcedinis et plena mors est ejus, perfectus amor aeternitatis. Nam cum mens ab ejus rei appetitu retrahitur, quæ accipientium numero partitur, tanto magis proximum diligit, quanto minus ex provectu illius suæ damna pertimescit. Quæ si perfecte in amore caelestis patriæ rapitur, plene etiam in proximi dilectione sine omni invidia solidatur; quia cum nulla terrena desiderat, nihil est quod ejus erga proximum charitati contradicat. Quæ nimirum charitas quid est aliud quam oculus mentis; qui si terreni amoris pulvere tangitur, ab internæ lucis mox intuitu læsus reverberatur? Quia autem parvulus est qui terrena diligit, magnus qui ætarna concupiscit, postest etiam sic non inconvenienter intelligi: Parvulum occidit invidia, quoniam hujus pestis linguare non moritur, nisi qui adhuc in desideriis infirmatur.

1360. fere to fayle good, the fear of losing his
goods. BM f.128r, "And th avaricious man that fere to lese
his gode maketh hym to coveyte;" H f.203r, "for feere that
he schulde lakke goode for hys sustenaunce;" C, "and th
avaricious may say that he fereth that his goode may faile
him."

1368-1369. and pat he hopith to have had be same
godes yif he had not had it. The second "he" obviously re-
fers to the man who has the goods, not the envious man.
Compare BM f.128v, "and that hope he hathe that he myght
hymselfe have hadd thos godes yf suche a man had note have
been."

1379-1383. And therfor Oraces ... powyrte. Hor.,
Epist., 1, 2, 55-59:

sperne voluptates: nocet empta dolore voluptas.
semper avarus eget: certum voto pete finem.
invidus alterius macrescit rebus opinis:
invidia Siculi non invenere tyranni
maius tormentum.

1384-1385. Prou pe ... Genesis. Gen. 4, 3-8.


1388-1391. Be envy Saul ... chapitre. 1 Kings 18,
7-30.
1391-1392. *How made ... Danyel.* Dan. 6, 4.


1397. *mysssep*, missays, says evil of. C, "by the men myssaphe the one the other;" H f.203v, "hath mysseyde of a nothyr."

1398-1403. *Be þe ... chapitre.* 2 Kings 17, 23.


1403-1406. *Be þe ... Seynt Stephen ... chapitre.* Acts 7, 54-59.


1410-1414. *Whi was ... Anthiocus ... chapitre.* 1 Mac. 3, 27-28.

1414-1416. *Whi was Senacheris ... chapitre.* 2 Esdras, 4, 1-2.

1420-1427. *And perfor Marcial ... wel.* Possibly Mart., Epig., 8, 61:
Livet Charinus, rumpitur, furit, plorat et quaerit altos unde pendeat ramos: non iam quod orbe cantor et legor toto, nec umbilicus quod decorus et cedro spargor per omnes Roma quas tenet gentes, sed quod sub urbe rus habemus aestivum vehimurque mulis non ut ante conductis. quid imprecabor, o Severe, liventi? hoc opto: mulas habeat et suburbanum.

See also Mart., Epig., 6, 60.

1427-1429. The Caldiens ... Danyel. Dan. 3, 8-12.

1429-1431. Achym ... chapitre. 1 Mac. 7, 5-7; 25.


1444-1445. entremyttith hym, occupies himself with. See OED, s.v. intermit. BM f.130r, "entremeth;" C, "entremedsethe;" H f.204r, "for as moche as hym lyst not to medle of no thynge."

1450-1455. To pis purpos Valery ... oper. Val.

Max., Fact., 7, 3, 4:

Quod sequitur narrandum est. Q. Fabius Labeo, arbiter a senatu finium constituenendorum inter Nolanos ac Neapolitanos datus, cum in rem praeuentem uenisset, utroque separatim monuit ut omissa cupiditate regredi modo controversia quam progredi mallerit. idque cum utraque pars auctoritate uiri mota fecisset, aliquantum in medio uacui agri relictum est. constitutis deinde finibus, ut ipsi terminauerant, quidquid reliquis soli fuit populo Romano adiudicauit. ceterum etsi circumuenti Nolani ac Neapolitani quier nihil potuerunt
secundum ipsorum demonstrationem dicta sententia, improbo
tamen praestigiarum genere nouum civitati nostrae uectigal
accessit. eundem ferunt, cum a rege Antiocho, quem bello
superauerat, ex foedere icto dimidiam partem nauium accipere
deberet, medias omnes secuisse, ut eum tota classe priuaret.

1460. No gap in GH.

1461. Gap in GH.

1461-1462. As ... diligent. 2 Tim. 4, 8. BM
f.130v, "As the scripture sathe God giveth the corone that
is to say the glorie of paradis to hem that will and done
allegence;" C, "As the scripture saith god gyveth the
crowne / that is to wyte the glorye of hevyn to theym that
wake and been diligent;" H f.204v, "as scrypture seyth god
yeueth the crowne. thys ys to sey the glorye of paradyse to
hem that waken and be dylygent."

1464-1466. And perfor Pers ... execute it. Pers.,
Sat., 3, 1-7 and 20-24:

"Nempe haec adsidue? iam clarum mane fenestras
intrat et angustas extendit lumine rimas;
sterctimus, indomitus quod despumare Falernum
sufficiat, quinta dum linea tangitur umbra.
en quid agis? siccas insana canicula messes
iam dudum coquit et patula pecus omne sub ulmo est"
unus ait comitum.

    effluis amens,
    contemnere: sonat vitium, percussa maligne
    respondet viridi non cocta fidelia limo.
udum et molle lutum es, nunc nunc properandus et acri
    fingendus sine fine rota.
1465. Sauters. BM f.130v, "Sautiers;" C, "satyres;" H f.204v, "satures;" F f.29v, "perse en se satures."

1465-1466. bareyn erpe. F f.29v, "terre brahaigne."

1468-1469. For as Virgyle ... "hyre." I find nothing in Eclogues which parallels this, but we may be referred to Verg., Geor., 1, 43-49:

Vere novo, gelidus canis cum montibus umor
liquitur et Zephyro putris se glæba resolvit,
depresso incipiat iam tum mihi taurus aratro
ingemere, et sulco attritus splendescere vomer.
illa seges demum votis respondet avari
agricolae, bis quae solem, bis frigora sensit;
ilius immense ruperunt horrea messes.

Cf. Luke 10, 7; 1 Tim. 5, 18.

1468. For as Virgyle seip. The other MSS cite the source: BM f.130v, "in his bukolikes;" C, "in hys bucolyques;" H f.204v, "yn hys buquoliques."

1469-1471. And þe philisophir ... man. This has not been traced; it may be conventional wisdom.

1489-1490. And ... prophete ... "waked." Psalms 3, 6.

1492-1496. And þerfor ... "world." A reading of
Timothy does not reveal an exact reference, although there are similar exhortations: 1 Tim. 4, 14-16; 1 Tim. 5, 17-18; 1 Tim. 6, 12-19; 2 Tim 4, 5-8. Cf. Ecclesiasticus 32, 18.

1498-1502. Rede we nat ... chapitre. 2 Kings 11, 2-4.

1502-1504. And perfor Ovide ... lecherye. Ov., Rem. Am., 135-150:

Ergo ubi visus eris nostrae medicabilis arti,
Fac monitis fugias otia prima meis.
Haec, ut ames, faciunt, haec quot fecere, tuentur;
Haec sunt iucundi causa cibusque mali.
Otia si tollas, periere Cupidinis arcus,
Contemtaque iacent et sine luce faces.
Quam platanus vino gaudent, quam populus unda,
Et quam limosa canna palustris humo,
Tam Venus otia amat; qui finem quaeris amoris,
Cedit amor rebus: res age, tutus eris.
Languor, et immodi sub nullo vindice somni,
Aleaque, et multi tempora quassa mero.
Eripiuni omnes animo sine vulnere nervos:
Adfluit incautis insidiosus Amor.
Desidiam puer ille sequi solet, odit agentes:
Da vacuae menti, quo teneatur, opus.

1504-1505. And Quyntilian ... ydel man. This has not been traced.

1506-1508. And perfor Caton ... "vices." Cato, Dist., 3, 5:

Segnitiem fugito, quae vitae ignavia fertur;
nam cum animis languet, consumit inertia corpus.

Another possibility is Cato, Dist., 1, 2.
1510-1512. *Rede* ... Thobyse ... *Book*. Tob. 2, 10-11.

1512-1513. Hisboreth ... chapitre. 2 Kings 4, 7.


1518-1519. Awake ... slepe. Prov. 6, 9.

1518-1519. Awake ... short. There is a passage missing in GH. BM f.132r, "and therfore sathe the wise man in his vi chapitre thou neccligent awake thou come for thou may long live as thou wolt say the live is short;" C f.22r-22v, "And therfore sayyth the wyse man in his vi chapytre. Thou Neclygent awake the. for thou mayst not longe slepe. as who sayd the lyf is shorte;" H f.205v, "And therfor þe wyse man seyth yn hys .vi.th chapytre. Neclygence awake for thou mayst not longe live. as ho seyth thys lyfe ys but schort."  

1519. As who ... short. Wisdom 2, 1.

1519-1522. And þerfor ... *Genesis*. Gen. 37, 35.

1522-1526. And oure ... chapitre. Matt. 26, 50.

1526-1529. And to þis ... chapitre. Matt. 13, 25.

1532-1535. For as ... receyvyd. Matt. 25, 1-13.
1537-1540. *Rede* ... *aspide* ... *slepyng*. White, *The Book of Beasts*, 174: "The Hypnale is a species of asp, so called because it kills by making you sleepy. Cleopatra put this asp to her side and was released by that kind of death, as if in sleep." For another reference to asps see n. 2184-2189.

1539-1540. *he man* *pat sette hym to slepe to dye slepyng*. C f.22v, "that he maketh the man that drynketh it to slepe. and in slepyng to deye;" H f.206r, "that the man that he seeth. through hys syght causeth the man to sleepe. and yn hys sleepe deyeth."

1543-1549. *To* ... *Ovide* ... *lost*. Ov., Met., 1, 1, 588-721.

1552-1553. *and pan per kough, pat is to sey per soule*. BM f.132v, "and then thare kow that is there godes;" C f.23r, "And thenue theyr cowe. that is to say theyr flesshe;" H f.206r, "And than her kow. that ys to under- stonde her flesshe;" F f.31r, "leur vache. cest assavoir leur char est perdue."

1561-1599. *experience* ... *outragously*. Everything between these words is missing in BM. The gap occurs between 132v and 133r and is not noted by the man who numbered
it or in the notes at the front of the MS.

1561-1562. *quon reson makipp be anon to sygh.* GH, "quon reson makipp be among to sygh;" C f.23r, "whan reason causeth the somtyme to syghe;" H f.206r, "for reson wyl yewe a man cause to be dyspleased with hys euel lyfe."

1568. *mustele,* a weasel. See OED, s.v. *mustelle.*

1572-1577. *Pe ... Virgyle ... hym.* Suet., Verg., 17-18:

Deinde "Catalepton" et "Pripaea" et "Epigrammata" et "Diras," item "Cirim" et "Culicem," cum esset annorum XVI. Cuius materia talis est. Pastor fatigatus aestu cum sub ar- bore condormisset et serpens ad eum proreperet, e palude cu- lex provolavit atque inter duo tempora aculeum fixit past- tori. At ille continuo culicem contrivit et serpentem in- teremit ac sepulchrum culici statuit et distichon fecit:

"Parve culex, pecudum custos tibi tale merenti
Funeris officium vitae pro munere reddit."


1586-1587. *Dedimus ... Alisaundre.* RG, 171, 11-14:
"Nil appetit amplius, quam ratio naturae flagitat. Omnia
patitir ac tolerat illud putans necessarium, quod scit non esse superfluum."

1587-1589. *þe which Alisaundry ... strenght.* Quintus Curtius, Hist. of Alex., 10, 5, 28: "...liberalitas saepe maiora tribuens quam a dis petuntur, clementia in devictos,
tot regna aut reddita quibus ademerat bello aut dono data."

1589-1591. And ... Boyce ... to many. Boeth., Consol., 2, pr. 5: "Quod si manere apud quemque non potest quod transfertur in alterum, tunc est pretiosa pecunia cum translata in alios largiendi usu desinit possideri."

1591-1594. And Cassidore ... pat. This has not been traced.

1599. No gaps in GH.

1603-1604. as Cato ... "yevist." Legrand may be drawing from more than one of Cato's distichs. Cato, Dist., BS, 39: "bono benefacito." Cato, Dist., 2, 1:

Si potes, ignotis etiam prodesse memento:
utilius regno est, meritis adquirere amicos.

Cato, Dist., 3, 9:

Cum tibi divitiae superent in fine senectae,
munificus facito vivas, non parcus, amicus.

1606-1609. And ... Tulle ... reward. Cic., Off., 1, 15:

Sed in collocando beneficio et in referenda gratia, si cetera paria sunt, hoc maxime officii est, ut quisque maxime opis indigeat, ita ei potissimum opitulari; quod contra fit a plerisque; a quo enim plurimum sperant, etiamsi ille iis non eget, tamen ei potissimum inserviunt.
1609-1611. And ... Macrobe ... Saturnelles. Macr.
Sat., 2, 7, 11: "Beneficium dando accepit qui digno dedit."

1611-1613. But ... Marcial wittnessip. Mart.,
Epig., 5, 81:
Semper pauper eris, si pauper es, Aemiliane.
dantur opes nullis nunc nisi divitibus.
See also: Mart., Epig., 11, 68; 12, 13 and 81.

1611. No gap in GH; H f.207r, "yeue to hem þat ben
not worthy."

1612. Clarence. This has not been traced. F f.31r,
"comme tesmoigne terance et martial."

1614. mede. BM f.133r, "merete;" C f.23v, "meryte."

1618-1621. As Barro ... "3ifte." Varro, Gram. Rom.
Frag., 142 (Tert., Ad Nat., 2, 11 [PL, 1, 673]): "Afferenda
est ab afferendis dotibus."


1622-1628. And Seynt Jerome ... sylver. This has
not been traced.

1622. Seynt Jerome. "seynt johun" in GH.
1625-1626. King Cressus, which was ryte rych, or of be Kyngs of Lyde. There is a curious doubling here: both these men are Croesus, the last king of Lydia, who reigned 560-546 B.C. Legend has it that Croesus was saved from the stake by Apollo because of his previous generosity to Delphi.

1635. lordeshepes. C f.24r uses "seygnoure," the French word, here and elsewhere.

1635-1640. And ... Alisaundre ... hym. Alexander's liberality as it relates to the servants of his enemies has not been traced. For his liberality in general, see n. 1586-1589. For a discussion of his liberality as seen by the Middle Ages see Cary, The Medieval Alexander, pp. 85-91 and 154-157.

1640-1642. Also we rede ... chapitre. Perhaps this is 3 Kings 4, 29. GH, BM f.133v, C f.24r, and H. f.207v all attribute this to 3 Kings 2.

1642-1645. Also King Cirrus ... Book. 1 Esdras 6, 5.

1645-1648. We rede ... Thobie. Tob. 12, 5.

1649-1650. Also ... Hester. Esther 5, 3.
1651. named, renowned. See OED, s.v. name. BM f.133v, "that many were renowned; C f.24r, "how many were ryght renomed;" H f.207v, "dyvers folkes somtyme had gret renown."

1657. septimum decimum. GH, "xvii." 

1660-1661. he ferib to fayle good. He fears his goods will fail him. See n. 1360.

1665-1671. Caym ... Genesis. Gen. 4, 3-8.


1673-1677. Moreover Dalida ... Judges. Judges 16, 4-5.

1675. she. "he" in GH.

1676. gret syne of love. The word "syne" means sign here. BM f.134r, "grete signe of love;" C f.24v, "signes of ry3t gret love; H f.208r, "gret sygnes of loue."

1681. No gap in CH.

1682-1684. *Be covetise ... Kynges.* 1 Kings 8, 1-3.


1686-1691. *Who was ... chapitre.* Matt. 28, 11-15.

1691-1695. *Who made ... chapitre.* Both BM and H compress this into a single reference. BM f.134v, "Who made Athor dye yvel noght bot avarice bycause that Nabal was ful gracious as hit appereth in the first boke of kynges in the v chapitre;" H f.208r/v, "What made Achor dey an euell dethe. no thynge but coueytysse, for as moche as Nabal was ryght a coueytouse man. which caused hym to deye / as yt appereth yn the fyrst booke of kynges in the .v. th chapytre."


1695-1699. *Why was Semey ... chapitre.* 3 Kings 2, 36-46.
1697. *fader.* BM f.134v, C f.25r, and H f.208v all use forms of this word. The commandment was made by David, 3 Kings 2, 36; Semei, the son of Gera, was on David's bad side because he had cursed David during David's war against Absalon, 2 Kings 16, 5-10.


1704-1707. *For Menelaus ... chapitre.* 2 Mac. 4, 23-25.

1704-1705. *Menelaus ... was.* H f.208v has "ffor menelaus not withstandyng that he was not worthy."

1707-1710. *And somtyme þe prest ... chapitre.* Matt. 21, 12. GH, RM f.134v, C f.25r, and H f.208v all attribute this to Matt. 13.

1708. *nete,* cattle. See OED, s.v. *neat.*

1710-1713. *We rede ... Dedis.* Acts 5, 1-10.

1716-1718. *For as Saluste ... cruelnes.* Sall.

Cat., 10, 3-4:

Igitur primo pecuniae, deinde imperi cupidus crevit; ea quasi materies omnium malorum fuere. Namque avaritiae fides, probitatem ceteraque artis bonas subvortit; pro his superbiam, crudelitatem, deos neglegere, omnia venalia habere edocuit.
1720-1725. And ... Senek ... hym. Sen., Ep., 115,

16:

Nulla enim avaritia sine poena est, quamvis satis sit ipsa poenarum. O quantum lacrimarum, quantum laborum exigit! Quam misera desiderat esse, quam misera e partis est! Adice cotidianas sollicitudines, quae pro modo habendi quemque discruciant. Maiore tormento pecunia possidetur quam quaeritum. Quantum damnis ingemescunt, quae et magna incidunt et videntur maiora! Denique ut illis fortuna nihil detrahat, quidquid non adquiritur, damnum est.

Cf. Sen., Ep., 73, 7; 56, 10.

1726-1728. And perfor Valeri ... shreudly. I can find no reference to this "beste" in Val. Max., Fact., and the MSS vary in their readings of this passage. BM f.135r calls the "beste" a "Iowe thyng," and in C f.25r it is a "swolowe." H f.209r says it "ys lyke a place of derknesse whych may neuer be fulfyllde." I believe the author is providing a metaphor for the treatment of this sin in Val. Max., an example of which follows.

1728-1732. And indee ... Septimus ... remnaunt.

Val. Max., Fact., 9, 4, Ext. 1:

Odium merita Septimulei avaritia, Ptolomaei autem regis Cypriorum risu prosequenda: nam cum anxiiis sordibus magnas opes corripuisset propterque eas periturum se uideret et ideo omni pecunia inposita nauibus in altum processisset, ut classe perforata suo arbitrio periret et hostes praeda careless, non sustinuit mergere aurum et argentum, sed futurum necis suae praemia domum reuexit. procul dubio hic non possedit diuitas, sed a diuitiis possessus est, titulo rex insulae, animo pecuniae miserabile mancipium.

1735. anger. BM f.135v,"opynyon;" C f.25r,
"oppynyon;" H f.209r, "oppynyoun."

1735-1743. And ... Helinand ... dep. This has not been traced.


1754. habe promysed. All other MSS use a form of approve: BM f.135v, "approveth;" C f.25v, "approveth;" H f.209r, "appreueth."

1759-1763. Rede we nat ... Genesis. Gen. 28, 11.

1763-1765. Also we rede ... Exode. Ex. 3, 1.

1765-1767. And yet ... Israel. Ex. 3, 10-11.

1767-1771. We rede also ... chapitre. 1 Kings 9, 1-22. GH, BM f.136r and H f.209v all attribute this to 1 Kings 14. C f.26r attributes this to 1 Kings 24.

1771-1773. And we rede also ... chapitre. 1 Kings 16, 11-12.

1780-1785. Be pes pingis ... chapitre. Matt. 19,
21. GH, BM f.136v, C f.26r and H f.209v all attribute this to Matt. 17.

1786. auncient. GH, "amycient."

1788-1792. As Senek ... refuse. Sen., Ben., 5, 4:

Necesse est a Socrate beneficiis vincar, necesse est a Dio-
genae, qui per medias Macedonum gazas nudus incessit calcatis
regis opibus. O! ne ille tunc merito et sibi et ceteris,
qui bus ad disipicendi veritatem non erat obsfusa caligo,
supra eum eminere visus est, infra quem omnia iacebant.
Multo potentior, multo locupletior fuit omnia tunc possi-
dente Alexandro; plus enim erat, quod hic nollet accipere,
quam quod ille posset dare.

See also Sen., Ben., 5, 6.

1792-1800. Of ... Diogenes ... "art." Val. Max.,
Fact., 4, 3, Ext. 4:

Alexander vero, cognomen invicti assecutus, continentiam
Diogenis Cynici vincere non potuit: ad quem cum in sole
sedentem accessisset hortareturque ut, si qua sibi vellet
præstari, indicaret, quemadmodum erat in crepidine colloca-
tus, sordidæ appellationis, sed robustæ vir præstantiæ:
"Mox, inquit, de ceteris; interim a sole mihi velim non
obstes." Quibus verbis illa nimium inhæsit sententia:
Alexander Diogenem gradu suo divitiis pellere tentat, cele-
rius Darium armis. Idem Syracusis, cum olera ei lavanti
Aristippus dixisset: "Si Dionysium adulari velles, ista
non esses." — "Immo, inquit, si tu ista esse velles, non
adularere Dionysium."

1795. had lekes he wuld ete. All other MSS add
that he was washing them before he ate them. BM f.136v,
"wesshe his lekes that he wold ete;" C f.26r, "wesshed hys
herbys that he shold put in hys potte and ete;" H f.210r,
"wyssche the leekes that he schuld eete."

1800-1813. *And Seynt Jerome ... the honde.* Jer., Ad. Jov., 2, 14 (PL, 23, 318):


1803-1804. *housis of offyse.* Other MSS are closer to the Latin. C f.26v, "celyer;" H f.210r, "kechyn and seler."

1807-1811. Both C f.26v and H f.210r are closer to the Latin source. Here Diogenes does the talking after seeing the example of the child. BM f.137r is very confused.

1814-1815. *And ... Espicure ... poverte.* See n.
875 for problems with Epicurus. We could be looking at E, LM (Geer), pp. 56-57:

We regard self-sufficiency as a great good, not so that we may enjoy only a few things, but so that, if we do not have many, we may be satisfied with the few, being firmly persuaded that they take the greatest pleasure in luxury who regard it as least needed; and that everything that is natural is easily provided, while vain pleasures are hard to obtain.

Another possibility is E, VS (Geer), 68, p. 71: "Nothing satisfies him to whom what is enough is little."

1815-1819. And Oraces ... Levyng. Hor., Epist., 1, 12, 4: "Pauper enim non est cui rerum suppetit usus."

1819-1822. And perfor Caton ... "nede." Cato, Dist., 1, 21:

Infantem nudem cum te natura creavit, — paupertatis onus patienter ferre memento.

1820. No gap in GH.

1822-1824. And ... Geoffrey ... more. This has not been traced. BM f.137r, "Jeffroye;" H f.210r, "Geffrey."

1825-1830. Is nat Anthiocus ... justice. Val.

Max., Fact., 9, 1, Ext. 4:

Antiochus quoque Syriae rex nihil continentioris exempli. cuius caecam et amentem luxuriam exercitus imitatus magna ex parte aureos clausos crepidis subjictos habuit argenteaque uasa ad usum culinae conparauit et tabernacula textilibus
1828-1829. *he made his hores to be arrayed with golde.*
In some versions his extravagance is coupled with idolatry:
BM f.137v, "he worshipped his horses of golde and shodde hem with nales of golde;" H f.210v, [he] "made worschyppe the horse of golde and the same horse he made to be nayled with golden nayles." C f.26v agrees with GH.

1832-1834. *Where is ... golde.* This may be a misreading of Nero's travelling habits, described in Suet., Ner., 30: "Numquam minus mille carrucis fecisse iter traditur, soleis mularum argenteis, canusinatus mulionibus, armillata falerataque Mazacum turba atque cursorum.

1832-1834. *Where is Pompey become? And Netos wyfe, pe which ... golde.* The scribe in GH has made a false division. The two people here are in reality Poppaea Sabina, mistress and later wife of Nero. She was married first to Rufus Crispinus, and secondly to M. Salvius Otho, one of the companions of Nero. After Otho had been sent to govern Lusitania, she gained control over Nero and had him first murder his mother, and then divorce and put to death Octavia, his then wife. In 65 A.D., while pregnant, she died from a kick given her by Nero. BM f.137v, "What is also
become of Pompeya the wife of Nero the whiche made the hors
that droughe in his chare shodde with yren naye but with
golde forto drawe his chare fulle of golde charged in his
fight;" C f.26v, "What is become of the pompe of the wyf of
Neron whyche made hyr horses semblably to be shoed wyth gold
/ and made chariottes to be ledde tofore [f.27r] hyr ful gold
and sylvery;" H f.210v, "What ys befalle also of Pompeys that
was wyfe to Neroo whych yn lyke wyse made mares of golde and
charesful of golde and syluer to be schewed be for her."

1836. dede, died. BM f.137, "have commonly the most
myserable deth;" C f.27r, "myserably ben comen to their deth."

1837-1840. And perfor Deditus ... goodness. RG,
170, 10 ff. See no. 1041-1048 for text.

1840-1841. And pe olefaunt ... restith. White, The
Book of Beasts, 26:

The Elephant's nature is that if he tumbles down he can-
not get up again. Hence it comes that he leans against a
tree when he wants to go to sleep, for he has no joints in
his knees. This is the reason why a hunter partly saws
through a tree, so that the elephant, when he leans against
it, may fall down at the same time as the tree.

Cf. Caes., B.G., 6, 27, where the same story is told of the elk.

1841. trostep to pe tre whereupon he restith. C
f.27r, "trusteth to the tree to whiche he leneth;" H f.210v,
"trusteth yn pe tree that he leneth unto."
1846-1849. *For as Julius Cesar ... overthrowe.*

Caes., B.G., 1, 14: "Consuesse enim deos immortales, quo gravius homines ex commutatione rerum doleant, quos pro sce-
lere eorum ulcisci velint, his secundiores interdum res et diuturniorem impunitatem concedere."

1847. *Fourth Book.* C f.27r and H f.210v agree with GH. BM f.137v, "xiii boke."

1849-1853. *And Hildebert ... "wepe."* Hild., Car-
mina Misc., 75 ("Hildeberti de exsilio suo liber"), 10-49

(PL, 171, 1419):

*Agger opum, tranquilla quies, numerosus amicus*
Delicias, somnos, consiliumque dabant.
*Cætera quid referam ÿestos solantia vultus,*
Omnia captatae prosperitatis erant.
Juraes superos intra mea vota teneri,
Et res occasum dedidisse pati.
Mirabar sic te, te sic, fortuna, fidelem;
Mirabar stabilem, quæ levis esse soles.
*Sæpe mihi dixi: Quorum tam prospera rerum?*
Quid sibi vult tantus, tam citus ager opum?
Si mihi nulla fides, nulla est constantia rebus.
*Res ipsæ quid sint mobilitate docent.*
Res hominum atque homines levis alea versat in horas,
Et venit a summo summa ruina gradu.
*Cuncta sub ancipiti pendent mortalia casu,*
Et spondent propria mobilitate fugam.
*Quidquid habes hodie, cras te fortasse relinquet,*
Aut modo, dum loqueris, desinit esse tuum.
Has ludit fortuna vices, regesque superbos,
Aut servos humiles non sinit esse diu.
*Illæ dolosa comes, sola levitate fidelis,*
Non impune favet, aut sine fine premit.
*Illæ mihi quondam risu blandita sereno*
Mutavit vultus, nubila facta, suos.
Et velut æternam misero conata ruinam,
Spem quoque lætitiae detrahit illa mihi.
*Illæ professa dolum, submersit, diruit, ussit*
Culta, domos, vites, imbribus, igne, gelu.
Insuper exhausit, excussit [discussit], debilitavit
Hoste, noto, morbis, horrea, poma, gregem.
Accessit damnis novus ille gravisque tyrannus
Quo Cenomanorum consule jus perit.
Cujus avos puduit scelerum genuisse patronum,
Fortunæque parem mobilitate, dolis.
Ille pudor patriæ me non impune tuentem
Justitiæ leges, expulit a patria.
Inde ratem scando, vitam committio procellis,
Uda [f. vela] tument, gemina cymba juvatur ope.
Portus erat longe, cum ventus fortior æstum
Movit, et in tumulos Auster aravit aquas.

1853-1857. Ovide ... friendlynes. Ov., Trist., 1,
1, 49-56:

denique securus famae, liber, ire memento,
nece tibi sit lecto displicuisse pudor.
non ita se nobis praebet Fortuna secundam,
ut tibi sit ratio laudis habenda tuae.
donec eram sospes, tituli tangebar amore,
quaeerendique mihi moninis aror arat.
carmina nunc si non studiumque, quod obuit, odi,
sit satis; ingenio sic fuga parta meo.

1857-1862. And perfør Boyce ... gret unhap. Boeth.,
Consol., 2, pr. 8:

Etenim plus hominibus reor aduersam quam prosperam prodesse
fortunam. Illa enim semper specie felicitatis cum uidetur
blanda, mentitur; haec semper uera est, cum se instabilem
mutatione demonstrat. Illa fallit, haec instruit, illa men-
dacium specie honorum mentes fruentium ligat, haec cogniti-
one fragilis felicitatis absolvit.

1862-1864. And ... Boyce ... mysfortuné. Boeth.,
Consol., 2, pr. 4: "Nam in omni adversitate fortunae, in-
felicissimum est genus, infortunii fuisse felicem."
1864-1867. As Altibrados did ... Book. Val. Max.,

Fact., 6, 9, Ext. 4:

Nam Alcibiaden quasi duae fortunae partitae sunt, altera, quae ei nobilitatem eximiam, abundantes diuitias, formam praestantissimam, fauorem ciuium propensum, summa imperia, praecipuas potentiae uires, flagrantissimum ingenium adsignaret, altera, quae damnationem, exilium, uenditionem bonorum, inopiam, odium patriae, violentam mortem infligeret; nec aut haec aut illa uniuersea, sed uarie perplexa, freto atque aestui similia.

1865. Altibrados. C f.27r, "alcibiades;" H f.211r, "Altybrados."

1867-1871. Also ... Denys Siracusar ... Corinthius.

Val. Max., Fact., 6, 9, Ext. 6:

Dionysius autem, cum hereditatis nomine a patre Syracusano-rum ac paene totius Siciliae tyrannidem accepisset, maxima-rum opum dominus, exercituum dux, rector classium, equita-tuum potens, propter inopiam litteras puerulos Corinthi docuit eodemque tempore tanta mutatio maiores natu ne quis nimis fortunae crederet magister ludi factus ex tyranno monuit.

1878-1883. And ... Anaxagoras ... man. Val. Max.,

Fact., 8, 7, Ext. 6:

Quali porro studio Anaxagorar flagrasse credimus? qui cum e diutina peregrinatione patriam repetisset possessionesque desertas uidisset, 'non essem' inquit 'ego saluus, nisi is-tae perissent'. uocem petiae sapientiae compotem nam si praediorum potius quam ingenii culturae uasisset, dominus rei familiaris intra pentates mansisset, non tantus Anaxago-ras ad eos redisset.

1879. BM f.138v, "possessions;" C f.27v, "possess-
yons."
1884-1886. _Also ... lost for _pem._ Val. Max., Fact., 7, 2, Ext. 1:

Socrates, humanae sapientiae quasi quoddam terrestre oraculum, nihil ultra petendum a dies immortalibus arbitratur quam ut bona tribuerent, quia ii demum scirent quid unicumque esset utile; nos autem plerumque id votis expetere, quod non impetrasse melius foret. Etenim densissimis tenebris involuta, mortalia mens, in quam late patentes errores caescpensationes tuae spargis! Divitias appetis, quae multis exitio fuerunt; honores concupiscis, qui complures pessum-dederunt; regna tectum ipsa volvis, quorum exitus saepenumero miserabiles cernuntur; splendidis conjugiis injicis manus; at haec ut aliquando illustrant, ita nonnunquam funditus domos eventunt. Desineigitur, stulta, futuris malorum tuorum causis quasi felicissimis rebus inhiare teque totam cælestium arbitrio permitte, quia qui tribuere bona ex facili, etiam eligere aptissime possunt.

1884. _Socrates._ GH, "Oraces;" C f.27v, "socrates;" H f.211v, "Orace."

1886-1892. _Also ... Stilbon ... not his._ Val. Max., Fact., 7, 2, Ext. 3:

Bias autem, cum patriam ejus Prienem hostes invasissent, omnibus, quos modo sævitia bellii incolumes abire passa fuerat, pretiosarum rerum pondere onustis fugientibus, interrogatus, quid ita nihil ex bonis suis secum ferret: "Ego vero," inquit, "bona omnia mea mecum porto." Pectore enim illa gestabat, non humeris; nec oculis visenda, sed æstimanda animo; que domicilio mentis inclusa nec mortalium nec deorum manibus labefactari queunt, et, ut manentibus præsto sunt, ita fugientes non deserunt.

1887. _Stilbon._ BM f.138v, "Saloun;" C f.27v, "styl lon;" H f.211v, "styl lon;" F f.36v, "Stilbon." Both Solon (mentioned in Val. Max., Fact., 7, 2, Ext. 2 [see n. 804-807]) and Bias were members of the Seven Sages. Perhaps
Stilbon is a mixture of the two.

1892-1894. *Wherebi ... Enpodoicles witnessip*. See DL, 2, 8, 63-64, 377-379, where Xanthes relates in his account of him that he declined the kingship when it was offered to him, obviously because he preferred a frugal life.


*De pravis cupiditatibus*

Omnes pravæ cupiditates sunt portæ inferi, per quas itur in mortem, cujus dominatam subit, qui aequum se ad perfruendum lactatur, quod perdite concupivit.

1898-1907. *And ... Ovide ... deq*. Ov., Met., 2, 13, 429-575. Because the story is long and the version we have here is confused, I will give a summary here. Polydorus is the son of Priam and Hecuba. He is sent to the court of Polymester, with a large treasure to pay his expenses, at the beginning of the Trojan War. Polymester was a king of Thrace as well as the husband of Ilione, the daughter of Priam. Polymester murders Polydorus to obtain the treasure, and throws his body on the seashore. Hecuba discovers the body, and then deceives Polymester using the strategem outlined here. She does not strangle Polymester, but rather performs a frontal lobotomy through the eyes without the benefit of surgical instruments.
1899. Priantes. BM f.139r, "Priamus;" C f.27v, "priamus;" H f.211v, "pryamus."

1902. complysshmentes. BM f.139r, "consentours;" C f.27v, "complyces;" H f.211v, "such as wer of her counsayl;" F f.36v, "complices."

1910-1912. Here ... and of clerkes. F f.37r, "Cy commence la seconde qui parle de tous estas."

1918-1928. And ... Constantyn ... aros. Cassiod., Hist. Tri., 1, 5 (PL, 69, 888-889):

Cumque jam opus non esset interprete, sed aperte imperatoris monstratum fuisset quid de Deo credere conveniret, mox die facta sacerdotes Christi convocans, de dogmata consulebat. At illi sacros libros offerentes, de Christo loquebantur, suaque dicta ex propheticeis comprobabant. Signum vero quod appaserat ei, dicebant tropæum esse victoriae adversus infernum, quam victoriam ascendens in caelos egit Christus, crucifixus et mortuus, et tertia die resurgens, secundum quod sperandum esse dixerunt: quia post hujus vitae terminum circa finem sæculi presentis, omnes homines resurgant, et immortales existant: alii quidem ad praemia rerum, quibus bene vixerunt; alii ad supplicia, eo quod ab eis mala sint gesta. Esse tamen etiam in delictis quæ committuntur hic occasionem salutis purificationemque peccati: nondum initiatis quidem baptismatis adeptionem secundum ecclesiasticam legem, initiatis autem custodiam, ne delinquant. Sed quia hoc agere omnino paucorum sanctorumque virorum est, docebant quoque purificationem secundum ex poenitentia constitutam; clementem enim esse Deum, et veniam tribuere delinquentibus, si poenitentiam agentes student eam operibus roborare. Hæc sacerdotibus explanantibus, admiratus imperator prophetias de Christo ita promissas, jussit viros eruditos ex auro et lapidibus pretiosis in vexillum crucis transformare siguum quod Labarum vocabatur. Hoc enim signum bellicum inter alia pretiosius erat, eo quod imperatorem præcedere, et adorari id a militibus moris esset. Unde præcipue Constantinum reor nobilissimum decus imperii Romani in signum mutasse crucis;
ut frequenti visione atque cura desuescorent a priori more subjecti; et eum solum arbitrarentur Deum quem eoleret imperator, vel quo duce atque auxiliatore uteretur adversus hostes. Semper enim hoc signum proponebatur ante ordines universos, quod maxime laborantibus aciebus in praeliis adesse praecipiebat. Constituit itaque certos, signiferos, qui in eo laborarent; quorum opus erat ui vicibus humeris veherent illud, et omnes acies ita lustrarent. Furtur enim quidam, eo quod aliquando ferens hoc signum, repente hostibus invadentibus expavisset, dedissetque illud alteri devehendum; eumque se de praelio subtraxisset et jacula declinasset, subito percussus interiit; ille vero qui sacrum suscepit tropæum, multis se jaculantibus permansit illæsus. Mirabiliter enim divina regente virtute, sagittæ hestium ligebantur in signo; a signifero autem inter pericula proinus evolabant. Dicitur autem neque alium unquam hujus signi ministrum, ut solet, in bello vulnere mortuum, aut cladem captivitatis pelipessum.

1928-1948. Also ... Theodocius ... victories. Cassiod., Hist. Tripart., 9, 30 (PL 69, 1144-1146):

sed forte recognitionem peccati prohibet potestas imperii. Decet tamen ut vincat ratio potestatem. Scienda quippe natura est, ejusque mortalitas, atque resolutio, et pulvis progenitorum ex quo facti et ad quem redigendi sumus, et non flore purpureo confidentem inimicitates operati corporis igno-

rare. Coæqualium hominum princeps es, o imperator, et conservorum. Unus enim est omnium Dominus, rex omnium et creator. Quibus igitur oculis aspicies communis Domini tem-

plum? Quibus palpabis pedibus sanctum illius pavimentum? Quomodo manus extendes, de quibus adhuc sanguis stillat in-

justus? Quomodo hujusmodi manibus suscipies sanctum Domini corpus? Qua praesumptione ore tuo poculum sanguinis pre-

tiosi percepies, dum furore verborum tuorum tantum injuste sit sanguis effusus? Recede igitur, recede, ne secundo peccato priorem nequitiam augere contendas. Suscipe vinculum quo te omnium Dominus nunc ligavit; est enim medicina maxima sanita-
tatis. Hic sermonibus imperator obediens (erat enim divi-

nis eruditionibus enuiritus, et aperte sciens quae sunt pro-
pria sacerdotum, quae regum), gemens et defensus ad regalia remeavit. Cumque octo mensium continuum transisset tempus, propinquavit Nativitas Salvatoris nostri festivitas. Im-

perator autem lamentationibus assiduis in palatio, residens, continuus lacrymas incessabiliter expendebat. Ingressus au-
tem Rufinus tunc magister, et singularem apud principem fi-
duciam habens, et videns principem in lamentationibus pro-

stratum, accessit ut lacrymarum causas inquireret. At ille

amarissime ingemiscens, et vehementius lacrymas fundens: Tu, inquit, Rufine, ludis, et mea mala non sensis. Ego autem

lamentor et geno calamitatem meam: quia servis quidem et

mendicantibus aperta sunt tempia Dei, et proprium Dominum

ingredientes licenter exorant, mihi vero ingrossus ad eum

non est. Insuper etiam coeli sunt mihi clausi. Hac dicens,

verba singulitibus interrumpebat. Tunc Rufinus:

Curo, inquit, si tibi placet, pontificique precibus persua-
deo ut solvatur vinculum quod ligavit. Ait imperator: Non

suadebis Ambrosio. Novi ego decretum illius esse judiam,

neque reverebitur imperialem potentiam, ut legem possit

praedarii divamin. Cumque Rufinus verbis plurimit utere-
tur, et promitteret Ambrosium esse flectendum, imperator eum

pergere cum festinatione praecipit. Ipse vero spe data post

paullum est secutus, credens Rufini promissionibus. Porro

vir mirandum Ambrosi us mox ut vidit Rufinum, ait: Impuden-
tiam canum imitatus es, o Rufine, tantae videcet necis

auctor existens, pudorem ex fronte dergens, nec erubescis,

nec metuis contra imaginem latrare divamin. Cumque Rufinus

supplicaret, et imperatorem dicet esse venturum, superno

zeolo accensus Ambrosius ait: Ego vero, inquit, Rufine, praec-

do, quoniam eum ingredi sacra limina prohibebi; si vero

imperium in tyrannidem mutaverit, necem libenter et ego sus-
cipiam. Hac et alia plurima Rufinus audiens, nuntiavit im-

peratorii votum antistitis, monens ne de palatio forte
procederet. At imperator haec in media jam platea cognos-
cens: Pergo, inquit, et justas in facie suscipio contumeli-
as. Cumque ad sacra limina pervenisset, in sanctam quidem
basilicanam non præsumpsit intrare; sed veniens ad anlisti-
tem, et inveniens eum in salutatorio residentem, supplicabat
ut ejus vincula resolveret. At ille tyrannicam dicebat ejus
vincula resolveret. At ille tyrannicam dicebat ejus esse
præsentiam, et contra Deum vesaniæ Theodosium, ejusque
calcare leges. Verum imperator: Non, inquit, insurgo adver-
sus ecclesiasticas sanctiones, nec inique ingredi limina
sacra contendo; sed te solvere mea vincula deposco, et com-
munis Domini pro me exorare clementiam, nec mihi januam
claudi, quam cunctis pœnitentiam agentibus Dominus noster
aperuit. Tunc antistes: Quam, inquit, pœnitentiam osten-
disti post tantas iniquitates? Quibus medicaminibus incura-
bilia vulnera plagasque curasti? At imperator: Tuum, in-
quit, opus est et docere, et medicamina temperare; meum vero
oblata suscipere. Tunc sanctus Ambrosius: Quoniam furori,
inquit, tuum judicium commisiisti, et non ratio protulit sen-
tentiam, sed potius iracundia: scribe legem quæ decretæ fu-
roris evacuet, ut triginta diebus sententia necis atque pro-
scriptionis in litteris tantummodo maneat, et judicium rati-
onis expectet; quibus transactis diebus, ira videlicet jam
cessante, ratio causam judicans, apud semetipsam quæ cogno-
erit sub veritate disponat. In his enim diebus agnoscat
an justa sit quam protuleris, an injusta sententia. Et si-
quidem ratio probaverit injusta quæ sunt prolata, disrup-
pet; si vero justa, firmabit. Dierum vero numeros ad haec
examinanda sufficiet. Hanc admonitionem imperator animo lu-
benti suscipientis, et optimam esse confitens, legem conscribi
repente praecipit, et propriæ manus litteris confirmavit.
Quo facto, vinculum ejus solvit Ambrosius. Quæ lex hacte-
nus observatur. Est enim hujusmodi.

Cf. LA, 57, 8, 256-258 (GL, 32-33).

1943. Rofyn. BM f.140r, "Pussin;" C f.28v, "Ruf-
fyn;" H f.212r, "Russyn;" Cassiod., "Rufinus."

1949-1953. And ... Valery ... Julius Cesar ... vic-
tory of hym. This has not been traced; see following note.

Sares., Polycrat., 6, 17 (PL, 199, 612-613):

nocere non possunt, nec si velit: et sicut evangelico doce-
tur testimonio, non impetrata licentia non audeant, aut que-
ant irruere in gregem pororum.

1954. he. GH, BM f.140r, C f.28r, and H f.212v all
seem to think this is Caesar.

1956-1959. And ... stryves. Joan. Sares., Poly-
crat., 6, 8 (PL, 199, 600):

Sed quis est usus militiae ordinatae? Tueri Ecclesiam, per-
fidiam impugnare, sacerdotium venerari, pauperum propulsare
injurias, pacare provinciam, pro fratribus, ut sacramenti
docet conceptio, fundere sanguinem, et, si opus est, animam
ponere.

1958-1959. defend prestes in ryteful quarellis. C
f.28v, "deffende the poure;" H f.212v, "dyffende the poore
peple."

1959-1962. Also Egisopus ... mystaking. This re-
ference has not been traced. Roy J. Deferrari in his trans-
lation, Eusubius Pamphili: Ecclesiastical History, 1, 253,
notes:

The five books of St. Hegesippus (Roman Martyrology, April
7) are lost. A few fragments have been preserved by Euse-
bius, and one by Photius. His work appears to have been a
collection of reminiscences of the apostolic and post-apos-
tolic ages. They were drawn from written and oral sources,
and in part also from personal observation. They were put
together unsystematically and in no way represent historical
composition. The date of Hegesippus is established by his
statement that the death and deification of Antinous took
place in his own day (130), that he came to Rome under Ani-
cetus (154-7 to 165-8), and wrote in the time of Eleutherus
(174-6 to 189-91).
DTC, 6, 2117, discusses the six excerpts of Hegesippus which survive in Eusubius and Photius; none match this reference. Deferrari notes in Eusubius, 1, 57, that "Pompey, in 63 B.C., could not resist the temptation of entering the Holy of Holies. He was very much impressed by its simplicity, and failed to disturb its treasures, wondering at a religion without a visible God."


1963-1966. And ... Vigeste ... prince. Veg., Rei Milit., 2, 5: "Iurant autem per Deum et Christum et sanctum Spiritum et per maestatem imperatoris, quae secundum Deum generi humano diligenda est et colenda."


1971-1974. And ... Marchali3et ... withinne. This has not been traced.

1972. Marchali3et. BM f.140v, "mesabeleth;" C f.28v, "maceli3et;" H f.212v, "macelyreche."

1974-1980. We rede ... Aquilla ... dysobeye. LA, 88, 368 (GL, 231):
Eo quoque tempore Attila Italiam devastabat, igitur sanctus Leo in ecclesia apostolorum tribus diebus et tribus noctibus orationi vacans post hoc dixit ad suos: qui vult me sequi, sequatur. Cum igitur ad Attilam approquinquasset, ille ut beatum Leonem vidit, de equo descendit ejusque pedibus pro-volutus rogavit, ut peteret, quidquid vellet. Qui petiit, ut ab Italia discederet et captivos relaxaret, et dum argu-eretur a suis, quod triumphator orbis a sacerdote victus es-set, respondit: providi mihi et vobis, vidi enim a dextris ejus fortissimum militem evaginato gladio stamtem mihique dicentem: nisi huic parueris, cum omnibus tuis interibus.


1985. Gap in GH.


Hospitiolum tuum aut raro aut numquam mulierum pedes ter-
ant. Omnes puellas et virgines Christi aut aequaliter igno-
ra aut aequaliter dilige. Ne sub eodem tecto manersis; ne
in praeterita castitate confidas. Nec David sanctior nec
Salomone potes esse sapientior; memento semper, quod para-
disii colonum de possessione sua mulier eicercit. Aeotianti
tibi sanctus quilibet frater adsistat et germana vel mater
aut probatae quaelibet apud omnes fidei. Quod si huiusce
modi non fuerint consanguinitatis castimoniaeque personae,
multas anus nutrit ecclesia, quaet et officium praebeat et
beneficium accipiant ministrando, ut infirmitas quoque tua
fructum habeat elemosynae.

1987. *in þe ryte canon*. C f.29r, "in the lawe of
Canon;" H f.213r, "aftyr þe ryght lawe of Canon."

1989. *undyr age or oute of al suspccion*. BM
f.141r, "bot yf they be aged and out of al susspession."
1989-1991. *And ... Seynt Austyn ... suspacion.*

LA, 124, 557-558 (GL, 494):

Feminarum nullam unquam nec etiam germanam sororem aut fra-
tris sui filias, quae beo pariter serviebant, secum habitare
permisit. Dicebat enim, quod, etsi de sorore et nepotibus
nulla mali possit oriri suspicio, tamen quia tales personae
sine alils sibi necessariis esse non possent et ad eas etiam
alli adventarent, ex illis possent infirmiores aut humanis
tentationibus commoveri aut certe malis hominum suspicioni-
bus infamari. Nuncum cum muliere solus loqui volebat, nisi
secretum aliquod interesset. Consanguineis sic bene fecit,
non ut divitias haberent, sed ut aut non aut minus egerent.


Greg., Dial., 3, 7:

Hic namque venerabilis vir cum vitam multis plenam virtuti-
bus ducet, seque sub sacerdotali custodia in continentiæ
arce custodiret, quamdam sanctimonialem feminam, quam secum
prius habuerat, noluit ab episcopii sui cura repellere, sed
certos de sua ejusque continentia, secum hanc permisit habi-
tare. Ex quare actum est ut antiquus hostis apud ejus ani-
num aditum tentationis exquireret. Nam coepit speciem illi-
us oculis mentis ejus imprimere, ut illectus nefanda cogi-
taret.

"saint Gregorie;" C f.29r, "saynt austyn;" H f.213r, "Saynt
Gregory."

1992-1993. *be third chapitre.* BM f.141r, C f.29r,
and H f.213r all list the seventh chapter.

1993. *Andrew.* BM f.141v, "Adrian;" C f.29r, "au-
drien;" H f.213r, "audrien."


2003-2008. And ... Seynt Austyn ... sogettes. Aug., Civ. Dei, 5, 18:

... ita iidem ipsi pauperes erant, quorum triumphis publicum ditabatur æararium: nonne omnes Christiani, qui excellenti-ore proposito divitias suas communes faciunt, secundum id quod scriptum est in Actibus Apostolorum, ut distribuatur unicuique, sicut cuique opus est; et nemo dicat aliquid pri-rium, sed sint illis omnia communia; intelligunt se nulla ob hoc ventilari oportere jactantia, id faciendo pro obtnenda societate Angelorum, cum pene tale aliquid illi fece-rint pro conservanda gloria Romanorum?

2008-2011. Also Seynt Gregory ... þe same. Greg., Moralia, 11, 14:


2011-2013. *And perfor Hew ... conversacion.* Hugh, De Sacrament., 2, 3, 23:

De vita autem et conditione eorum qui ad sacros ordines eliguntur multa nobis patres documenta reliquerunt.
Nam quid a sacris ordinibus non impediat eos qui probatae fuerint conversationis placuit definire. Qui a medicorum incisione forte claudi efficiuntur, vel pro aëritudine sive per violentiam absciduntur; et qui non sponte, sed casu aliquod membre sibi amputaverunt; si tamen tale fuerit ut ab opere administrationis non impediat, et laici qui non concubinam nec pellicem norunt, nec bigami exstiterunt, et in coeteris sine crimine vixerunt; liberi quoque qui a dominis suis ita manumissi sunt, ut in eis nolum obsequi jus aut potestatem observaverint et sine crimine vixerint, hos in clerum assumi posse sine contradictione sanxerunt. Publice vero penitentes, criminosos, illiteratos, bigamos, repudiarum maritos, ex adulterio natos, ab haereticis baptizatos, et qui seipsum absciderunt, a sacris ordinibus arcendos, et energumenos in clerum non recipiendos. Sed et filios presbyterorum ad sacros ordines non admittingos, nisi quos vel habitus religionis, vel spiritualis vitae honestas commendaret. Poenitentes vero sì necessitas exegerit inter ostiarios deputari, vel inter lectores, ita ut Evangelium vel Epistolam non legant. Si autem ordinatii sunt inter subdiaconos haberii concedunt, ita ut manum non imponant, nec sacra contingant. Poenitentes autem dicimus eos qui post baptismum pro homicidio, aut pro diversis criminibus, aut gravissimis peccatis, publicum gerentes poenitentiam sub cilio, divino fuerint altario reconciliati. Similiter transmarinos et incognitos homines, sive clericos aliarum ecclesiarum, neque ordinarli neque ordinatos recipi concedunt, sine commendatiitiis litteris episcoporum suorum.

2013-2017. *And to his purpos ... keep.* Ex. 18, 19-21. This is a questionable identification, although all MSS name this chapter, except C f.29v, which names Ex. 28.

2022-2025. *And Zacharye ... noght.* Possibly Zac. 13, 2.

2024. *serveth.* GH, "semyth;" BM f.142r, "serveth of noght;" C f.29v, "serveth of nothyng;" H f.213v, "serueth of nothyngne."

2025-2027. *It is ... Abusions.* Cyprian. (?), De duodecim abus., 10 (PL, 4, 957): "Decimus gradusabusioni est episcopus negligens; qui gradus sui honorem inter homines requirit, sed ministerii sui dignitatem coram Deo, pro quo legatione fungitur, non custodit."

2027-2032. *And indede Hew ... charite.* With the exception of the tonsure (n. 2041-2045), clerical clothing is discussed in Hugh, De Sacrament., 2, 4, "De indumentis sacris" (PL, 176, 433-438). The bulk of this material makes it impossible to quote at length.

2028-2029. *prelates berib þe arch in tokyn of prelat.* BM f.142r, "prelates beren a crosse and croke in token of a shepard;" C f.29v, "prelates beren the croche in signeffaunce of an herdman or pastour;" H f.213v, "bereth the crucche yn hys honde yn tokenynge of a scheparde."
2031. *pe coron chastite.* C f.29v, "the gyrdle chastyte;" H f.213v, "gyrdye."

2032-2035. *And perbor *pe prelat ... Gregory ...

chaptre. Greg., Past., 1, 10:

Ille igitur, ille modis omnibus debet ad exemplum vivendi pertrahi, qui cunctis carnis passionibus moriens jam spiritaliter vivit, qui prospera mundi postposuit, qui nulla adversa pertimescit, qui sola interna desiderat. Cujus intentioni bene congruens, nec omnino per imbécilitatem corpus, nec valde per contumeliam repugnat spiritus. Qui ad aliena cupidenda non ducitur, sed propria largitur. Qui per pietas viscera citius ad ignoscendum flectitur, sed nunquam plus quam debeat ignoscens, ab arce rectitudinis inclinatur. Qui nulla illicita perpetrat, sed perpetrata ab aliis ut propria deplorat. Qui ex affectu cordis alienæ infirmitati compatitur, sicque in bonis proximi sicut in suis provectibus lætatur. Qui ita se imitabilem cæteris in cunctis quæ agit insinuat, ut inter eos non habeat quod saltem de transitis erubescat. Qui sic studet vivere, ut proximorum quoque corda arentia doctrinae valeat fluentis irrigare. Qui orationis usu et experimenta jam didicit, quod obtinere a Domino quæ poposcerit, possit, cui per effectus vocem jam quasi specialiter dicitur: *Adhuc loquente te, dicam, Ecce adiun.* Si enim fortasse quis veniat, ut pro se ad intercedendum nos apud potentem quempiam virum, qui sibi iratus, nobis vero est incognitus, ducat, protinus respondamus: Ad intercedendum venire non possimus, quia familiariatis ejus notitiam non habemus. Si ergo homo apud hominem de quo minime præsumit fieri intercessor erubescat, qua mente apud Deum intercessionis locum pro populo arripit, qui familiarem se ejus gratiæ esse per vitæ meritum nescit? Aut ab eo quod modo aliis veniam postulat, qui utrum sibi sit placatus ignorat? Qua in re adhuc aliud est sollicitius formidandum, ne qui placare posse iram creditur, hanc ipsa ex proprio reatus mercurat. Cuncti enim liquido novimus, quia cum is qui displicet ad intercedendum mittitur, irati ad deteriora provocatur. Qui ergo adhuc desideriis terrenis astringitur, caveat ne districti iram judicis gravius ascendens, dum loco delectatur gloriæ, fiat subditis auctor ruinæ.

2035-2041. *Seynt Barnard ... "acompte."* Bern.; De Consid., 4, 6, 20:
Mira res! Satis superque episcopi ad manum habent, quibus animas credant; et cuius committant facultatulas, non inveniunt. Optimi videlicet aestimatores rerum, qui magnum de minimis, parum aut nullam de maximis curam gerant. Sed, ut liquido, datur intelligi, patientius ferimus Christi jacturam, quam nostram. Quotidianas expensas quotidiano reciprocum scrutinio, et continua dominici gregis detrimenta nescimus.

2036. spekyng of. H f.213v, "spekynge to."

2041-2045. And yet ... Hew ... spiritualite. Hugh,
De Sacrament., 2, 3, 1:


2048-2055. And ... Seynt Ambros ... obeying. LA,
57, 1, 250-251 (GL, 25-26):

Liguriam Emilianam provinciam directus est, cumque Mediolanum venisset et ibidem episcopus tunc deesset, convenit populus, ut sibi de episcopo provideret. Sed cum inter Arianos et catholicos de eligendo episcopo seditio non modica oriretur, illuc Ambrosius causa sedandae seditionis perrexit et statim vox infantis insonuit dicens Ambrosium episcopum, cujus voci omnes unanimitis consenserunt Ambrosium episcopum acclamantes. Quo ille cognito et eos a se terroribus removeret, ecclesiis exiens tribunal conscendet et contra consuetudinem suam tormenta personis adhiberi jussit. Quod cum faceret, populus nihilominus acclamabat: peccatum tuum super
nos. Tunc ille turbatus domum rediit et philosophiam profiteri voluit. Quod ut ne faceret, revocatus est. Publicas mulieres publice ad se ingredi fecit, ut his visis ab ejus electione populum revocaret, sed cum nec sic proficeret, sed semper populum peccatum tuum super nos acclamare videret, fugam media nocte concepit, cumque Ticinum se peregere putaret, manet ad portam civitatis Mediolanensis, quae Romana dicitur, inventur. Qui inventus cum custodiretur a populo, missa relatio est ad clementissimum imperatorem Valentinianum, qui summo gaudio accepit, quod judices a se directi ad sacerdotium peterentur. Laetabatur enim probus praefectus, quo verbum suum fuerat in eo adimptum; dixerat enim, cum proficiscenti maudata donaret: vade, age, non ut judex, sed ut episcopus. Pendente relatione iterum absconditur, sed inventus cum adhuc esset catechumenus, baptizatur et VIII die in episcopalem cathedram sublimatur. Cum autem post annos IV Romam ivisset et soror sua, sacra virgo, ejus dextrae oscularetur, sibi ridens ait: ecce, ut dicebam tibi, sacerdotis manum oscularis.

2050. connavente. C f.30r, "comune assent;" H f.214r, "by the hole voyce."

2055. hym most obeying. C f.30r, "he must nedes obeye;" H f.214r, "and nedes muste obeye."

2055-2058. Also ... Seynt Gregori ... pope. LA, 46, 4, 191 (GL, 179):

Finita processione fugere voluit, sed nequivit, quia die noctuque portas urbis propter cum vigiles observabant. Tandem mutato habitu a quibusdam negotiatoribus obtinuit, ut in quodam dolio super quadrigam de urbe educeretur. Qui mox sylvam expetit, cavernarum latibula requisivit ibique tribus diebus latuit. Verumtamen dum sollicitus quæreretur, columna lucida perfulgida a coelo dependens super locum, in quo latitabar, apparuit, in qua columna angelos descendentes et ascendentes quidam reclusus aspexit, moxque ab universo populo capitur, trahitur et summus pontifex consecratur.
2058-2060. *We rede ... chosyn.* This reference has not been traced.

2059. *Martyns.* BM f.143r, "mauricius;" C f.30r, "marsius;" H f.214r, "marcyus."

2060-2066. *Also ... Ammonius ... "man."* Cassiod., Hist. Tri., 8, 1 (PL, 69, 1106-1107):

Fuit autem et aliis vir mirabilis inter monachos, cui nomen Ammonius, qui tanto sine ulla curiositate fuit, ut cum Athanasio Romam veniens, nullum opus civitatis inspiceret, nisi tantum ut videret Petri et Pauli basilicas. Is Ammonius ad episcopatum tractus, atque diffugiens, dextram sibimet amputavit aurem, ut semi corpore ordinationis opus effugere. Cumque posterior tempore etiam Evagrius a Theophilo Alexandrino pontifice ad episcopatum tenitus, nihil amputans de corpore suo fagisset, veniens ad Ammonium cum joco dicebat, quasi male fecisset, ut aurem amputaret, et de eo reus existeret. Ad quem Ammonius: Tu, inquit, Evagri, ignoras te puniendum quoniam abscondisti linguam. Et ne tibi arrogare videaris, non uteris gratia Dei. Plurimi quidem eo tempore digni fuerunt viri, quorum si quis velit verba miraculaca cognoscere, et quemadmodum illis fuerint etiam bestiae subjugatae, librum legat Palladius monachi, qui discipulus fuit Evagrii. Omnia namque de ipsis subtiliter explanavit, in quo etiam feminarum imitationem conversationemque memoria vit. Evagrius igitur atque Palladius mortuo Valente post paulum um floruerunt.

2066-2074. *Moreover in þe Three Partied Story ... goste.* This has not been traced in Cassiod., Hist. Tri.; however, a version appears in LA, 138, 618 (GL, 145), of which Jacobus de Voragine asserts (LA, 138, 620) "Haec omnia de hystoria tripartita extracta sunt."

Qui cum Hierapolim advenisset, mortuus est ejusdem civitatis episcopus et ibi Lamon sanctissimus monachus est electus.
At ille cum crebro refugeret, ei Theophilus suadebat, ut suae electioni consensum praebet. Tunc ille promisit dicens: cras, quod domino placet, implebitur. Crastina ergo die venientes ad cellam suam eum, ut episcopatum susciperet, instanter rogabant; qui ait: oremus primo ad dominum. Qui, dum oraret, mox cum illa oratione terminum vitae suscepit.

2071. _alegge_, to lighten (of a burden). See OED, s.v. _allege._

2079. Gap in GH.

2080-2086. _And to pis purpos ... Exode._ A confused reference. Some possibilities include: Moses loves his people and chastises them, Ex. 32, 11-35; God promises to increase the number of the people, Lev. 26, 9; Moses feels the burden of leadership, Num. 11, 10-12.

2086. _pe twenty-third chapitre of Exode._ BM f.143v and C f.30v agree with GH. H f.214v cites "pe .xxiii. te chapytre of Exode."

2086-2090. _We rede also ... Noumbres._ Num. 11, 11-17.

2090-2093. _We rede also ... chapitre._ Ex. 14, 13-14.

2093. _in Exode, pe thirteenth chapitre._ H f.214v
agrees with GH. BM f.144r and C f.30v cite Ex. 14.

2093-2096. Also Eliachym ... chapitre. Jud. 4, 10-13.

2096-2098. Seint Poule ... "myte." Eph. 6, 10.

2097. Ephesiens, pe seventh chapitre. BM f.144r and C f.30v, Eph. 6; H f.214v, Eph. 16.

2100-2103. To ... Seynt Austyn ... wel. Aug., Civ. Dei, 19, 14:

Jam vero quia duo præcipua præcepta, hoc est, dilationem Dei et dilationem proximi, docet magister Deus; in quibus tria invenit homo quæ diligat, Deum, se ipsum, et proximum; atque ille in se diligendo non errat qui diligat Deum: consequens est, ut etiam proximo ad diligendum Deum consulat, quem jubetur sicut se ipsum diligere.

2102. on. GH, "un."

2103-2106. And Seynt Ambrose ... founded. Ambrose, De Offic. Minist., 1, 26:

Itaque tractant in veri investigatione tenendum illud decorum, ut summo studio requiramus quid verum sit, non falsa pro veris ducere, non obscuris vera involvere, non superfluis vel implexis atque ambiguis occupare animum. Quid tam indecorum, quam venerari liga, quod ipsi faciunt? Quod tam obscurum, quam de astronomia et geometria tractare, quod probant: et profundi aeris spatia metiri celum quoque et mare numeris includere: relinquere causas salutis, errores quærere.


2105. brevat, possibly the office of priesthood. See OED, s.v. brevet, "an official document granting privileges from a sovereign or government."

2105. pe principal of pe brevat. BM f.144r, "the principall of theire clepyng;" C f.30v, "the pryncypal of theyr vocacyn;" H f.214v, "pe pryncypal cause that they be chosen for. ys for to dyffende the lawe."

2109-2117. And ... Seynt Jerome ... sacrilege.

Jer., Ep., 52, 16 (PL, 22, 539):

Procuratores et dispensatores domorum alienarum atque villarum quomodo esse possunt, qui proprias iubentur contemnere facultates? Amico quippeam rapere furtum est, ecclesiam fraudare sacrilegium est. Accepsisse pauperibus erogandum et esurientibus plurimos vel cautum esse vel timidum aut—quod apertissimi sceleris est—aliquid inde subtrahere omnium praedonum crudelitatem superat.

2110. *benefices*, ecclesiastical livings. See OED, s.v. *benefice*.

2115. *patrimony*, inheritance.

2117-2127. *And perfor Seynt Austyn ... *"Leve on."

I find nothing which exactly parallels this. Perhaps we are referred to Aug., Sermon, 355, 1:

> Apprehensus, presbyter factus sum, et per hunc gradum perveni ad episcopatum. Non attuli aliquid, non veni ad hanc Ecclesiam, nisi cum iis indumentis quibus illo tempore vestiebar. Et quia hoc disponebam, in monasterio esse cum fratribus, cognito instituto et voluntate mea, beatae memoriae senex Valerius dedit mihi hortum illum, in quo nunc est monasterium. Cæpi boni propositi fratres colligere, comparare meos, nihil habentes, sicut nihil habebam, et imitantés me: ut quomodo ego tenuem paupertatulam meam vendidi et pauperibus erogavi, sic facerent et illi qui mecum esse voluissent, ut de communi viveremus; commune autem nobis esset magnum et uberrimum praedium ipse Deus. Perveni ad episcopatum: vidi necesse habere episcopum exhibere humanitatem assiduam quibusque venientibus sive transeuntibus: quod si non fecisset episcopus, inhumanus dicetur. Si autem ista consuetudo in monasterio permissa esset, indecens esset. Et ideo volui habere in ista domo episcopii mecum monasterium clericorum.

2128-2132. *And herewith ... chapitre*. 4 Kings 4, 38-44.

2130. *brood*, bread.

2132-2135. *And ... Seynt Austyn ... pepil*. LA, 124, 1, 560 (GL, 496): "Testamentum nullum fecit, quia, unde faceret, pauper Christi non habuit. Floruit circa annos
domini CCCC.

2139-2143. *And berof ... chapitre.* Ex. 4, 30-31.

2143-2145. *Also we rede ... postelis.* Acts 4, 19-33.

2143-2145. *Also we rede ... postelis.* BM f.145r, "In the same wise we rede in the boke of the dede of the Appostoles in the iiiith chapitoure that the churche was gretely multiplied and wexe grete by the predicacions of the appostoles;" C f.31r, "Sembably we rede in the book of actes of thapostles the fourth chapytre how the chyrche was multeplied and made grete by the predycacion of thappostles." H f.215r/v is unclear, since the top of the folio has been trimmed.

2145-2148. *And indede ... chapitre.* Acts 13, 12; 13, 43; 13, 48.

2150-2156. *And ... Three Partyed Story ... "trowth."* Cassiod., Hist. Tri., 2, 3 (PL, 69, 923):

Cumque plurimi disputationis delectatone traherentur, unus quidam ex confessoribus laicos simplicem habens sensum, dialecticis obviavit, dicens: Audite igitur, Christus et apostoli non nobis artem dialecticam tradiderunt, vanamque verborum fallaciam, sed puram scientiam fide et operibus bonis observandam. Haec dicente juveme et animo sene, præsentes quidem mirati sunt, dictumque probaverunt. Dialectici vero satisfactione suscepta cessarunt, rationem quippe simplicem veritatis audientes.
2159-2165. And ... feip. Cassiod., Hist. Tri., 2, 3 (PL, 69, 923):

Fertur enim et aliiud: dum quidam eorum magnificentia ser-
monum extolleretur, et illuderet sacerdotibus, non pertulit
 ejus fastum quidam senex simplex et innocens ac probatissi-
 mus confessorum; sed accessit adversus eum proferre sermonem.
Hoc itaque factum petulantibus quidem et simplicem scienti-
bus confessorem risum movit, maturioribus vero formidinem:
providentibus ne a viro verbis artifice deducretur ad ri-
sum; verumtamen cedentibus, ut quod vellet ediceret; resis-
tere namque ei cum talis esset, nimium verebantur. In nomi-
ne, inquit, Jesu Christi, o philosophae, audi dogmata verita-
tis: Unus est Deus coeli et terrae, omniumque visibilium et
invisibilium Creator, qui haec omnia Verbi sui virtute fecit,
et Spiritus sui sanctitate firmavit. Hoc itaque Verbum quod
nos Filium Dei nominamus, habita misericordia super homines,
ab errore eos et ferae religionem liberavit, passus ex muli-
ere nasci, et cum hominibus conversari, et mori pro eis,
venietque denuo judicaturus singulorum vitam. Haec ita se
habere sine perscutentione credimus. Noli igitur inaniter
laborare, quarens desruere ea quae fide percepimus. Noli
investigare modum quo fieri haec aut non fieri potuerunt.
Si enim credis consulente mihi, ad ista responde. Obstupe-
factus vero philosophus: Credo, inquit. Tunc gratias pro
devictione persolvens, eadem quae senior aequo sectatus est,
et prioribus consecutatoribus, ut unanimem sibimet essent,
persuadebat: non improveide mutatum se jurans, sed ineffabili
quadam virtute ad Christianitatem protinus invitatum.

2163. no lecture, not read. H f.215v, "understode
no lettyr."

2165-2167. And perfor ... Holi Cost. Acts 2, 4.

2167-2173. It is ... Gregori ... affecioon. Greg.,

Moralia, 30, 11:

Sancti igitur viri, cum se ad praevidendum parant, prius se
interius virtutibus innovant, ut ad hoc quod loquendo docent,
vivendo concordent. Prius sua interna considerant, atque a
cunctis se vitiorum sordibus emundant, curantes summopere ut
contra iram patientiae luce resplendeant, contra carnis luxuriam etiam cordis munditia fulgescant, contra torporem zelo candeant, contra confusos praecipitationis motus sera gravitatem rutilent, contra superbiam vera humilitate luceant, contra timorem radiis auctoritatis clarescant. Quia ergo tanta in se prius studia congerunt, quasi in conceptu sanctae praedicationis menses virtutum fluunt. Quos menses Dominus solus dinumerat, quia eadem bona in eorum cordibus non nisi qui dedit pensat. Et quia juxta mensuram virtutum effectus etiam subsequitur fructum, recte subjugitur:

Et scisti tempus partus earum?
Virtutem mensuram fructus ratio sequitur.

2171-2173. it is ... þe prechoure ... affeccion.
There seems to be compression in GH. C f.31v, "it is for deffaulte of the prechour whyche is of eyyl lyf. or of the herar whyche hath non affection;" H f.215v, "yt ys a dyf-faute yn the prechour whyche ys of euel lyunge. or elles yt ys faute yn þe herers that haue non affecyon yn hys sermon."

2173-2177. Neverþeles ... eteth it. Mark 4, 4.

2177-2179. Who converted ... chapitre. Jonas 3, 4-5.

2179-2180. Who converted ... Thomas. LA, 5, 3, 35
(GL, 42):
Post haec autem apostolus et Abbanes ad regem Indiæ pervenerunt. Designato vero ab apostolo mirabili palatio et copioso thesauro accepto rex in aliam provinciam proficiscitur et apostolus universum thesaurum populo elargitur. Per totum autem biennium, quo abfuit rex, apostolus praedicationi institit et innumerabilem populum ad fidem convertit.


2182. herys, ears.

2183-2184. And somme mocked ... Dedes. Acts 13, 8.

2184-2189. These ... aspis ... repentauns. White,

The Book of Beasts, 173-174:

The asp gets its name because it injects and spreads poison with its bite. For the Greeks call venom 'Ios', and hence comes 'Aspis', since it destroys with a venomous sting. Indeed, it always runs about with its mouth wide open and steaming, the effect of which is to injure other sorts and kinds and species of animals.

Now, it is said, when an Asp realizes that it is being enchanted by a musical snake-charmer, who summons it with his own particular incantations to get it out of its hole, that the Asp, being unwilling to come out, presses one ear to the ground and closes the other ear by sticking its tail in it, to shut it up. Thus, not hearing the magical noises, it does not go forth to the chanting.

Such indeed are the men of this world, who press down one ear to worldly desires, and truly by stuffing up the other one they do not hear the voice of the Lord saying 'He who will not renounce everything which he possesses cannot be my disciple or servant'. Apart from men, asps are the only other creatures which do such a thing, namely, refuse to listen. Men make their own eyes blind, so that they do not see heaven, nor do they call to mind the works of the Lord.

2194. taught, thought. BM f.146r, "wer. never forethought tofore;" C f.32r, "they have not thought tofore;" H f.216r, "he had not purposed haue spoken of before."

2194-2205. And ... Seynt Austin ... vanities.

Aug., Conf., 6, 7:
Sed enim de memoria mihi lapsem erat agere cum illo, ne
vanorum ludorum caeco et praecipiti studio tam bonum interi-
meretur ingenium. verum autem, domine, tu, qui presides
gubernaculis omnium, quae creasti, non eum oblivus eras, fut-
turum inter filios tuos antistitem sacramenti tui: et ut
aperte tibi tribueretur eius correctio, per me quidem illam,
sed nescientem, operatus es. nam quodam die cum sederem lo-
co solito, et coram me adessent discipuli, venit, salutavit,
sedit, atque in ea quae agebantur intendit animum. et forte
lectio in manibus erat, quam dum exponerem et oportune mihi
adhibenda videretur similitudo circensium, quo illud quod
insinuabam et iucundius et planius fieret, et cum insirione
mordaci eorum, quos illa captivasset insania, scis tu, deus
noster, quod tunc de Alypio ab illa peste sanando non cogi-
taverim. at ille in se rapuit, meque illud non nisi propter
se dixisse credidit; et quod alius acciperet ad suscensendum
mihi, accepit honestus adulescens ad suscensendum sibi, et
ad me ardentius diligendum. dixeras enim tu iam olim et in-
exnera litteris tuis: corriphe sapientem, et amabit te.

At illum ego non corripueram, sed utens tu omnibus et
scientibus et nescientibus, ordine quo nosti—et ille ordo
iustus est—de corde et lingua mea carbones ardentes opera-
tus es, quibus mentem spei bonae adureres tabescentem ac sa-
ares. taceat laudes tuas, qui miserationes tuas non consid-
erat, quae tibi de medullis meis confitenur. etenim vero
ille post illa verba proripuit se ex fovea tam alta, quia li-
benter demergebatur et cum mira voluptate caecabantur, et ex-
cussit animi forti temperantia, et resiliuerunt omnes cir-
censium sordes ab eo, ampliusque illum non accessit.

2196-2197. he preached in his sermon of a creature.
And menetyme cam on called Alipius. H f.216r, "how on a
tyme he preched. and of aventure came oon yn that was named
Allypius."

2203-2204. for he knew hym nat, ne wist nat pat he
was non such. H f.216r, "be holy goost had don yt. for he
knew not that he was suche a man."

2206-2207. Also ... Seynt Austyn ... borde. This
has not been traced.

2206. Austyn converted many. BM f.146v, "Austin converted a marchaunde;" C f.32r, "converted a manichean;" H f.216r, "converted a magycean."

2211. behoveli, useful, profitable. See OED, s.v. behovely.

2213-2216. And perfors Aristipus ... many inconveniences. This has not been traced.

2215. seurili, surely, certainly.

2216-2218. And perfors Bocce ... vertu. Boeth., De Disciplina Scholarium, 6 (PL, 64, 1234-1238) has a long discussion of the qualities of the teacher, much of which focuses on "kunnyng and vertu." PL, 64, 1235, a typical passage, reads:

> Alii ratione intelligentiæ ignorantia eorum ne confundantur. Tertii subtilius speculantes propter utriusque partis incrementa magistralia contrahunt paludamenta. Talium namque quicunque venustatis assumptæ debitique officiī velit emolumenta prosequi; in universa morum honestate oportet ut polleat præclarius, ut si utique in sermone verax, in judicio justus, in consilio providus, et in commiso fidelis, constans in vultu, plus in affatu, virtutibus insignitus, bonitateque laudabilis existat; si quid vero contrarii accidere solet, humanae fragilitatis appetitu accidere solet.

2218-2220. And ... Valeri ... chapitre. The whole
chapter is an illustration of this, and all of it is more or less relevant. I have chosen Val. Max., Fact., 8, 7, Ext. 3 as an example of the material here:

Platon autem patriam Athenas, praeceptorem Socratem sortitus, et locum et hominem doctrinae fertilissimum, ingenii quoque divina instructus abundantia, cum omnium iam mortalium sapientissimus haberetur, eo quidem usque, ut, si ipse Iuppiter caelo descendisset, nec elegantiore nec beatiorae facundia usurus uideretur, Aegyptum peragrauit, dum a sacerdotibus eius gentis geometricae multiplicis numeros et caelestium observationum rationem percipit. quoque tempore a studiosis iuuenibus certatim Athenae Platonem doctorem quaerentibus petebantur, ipse Nili fluminis inexplicables ripas uastissimosque campos, effusam barbariam et flexuosos fossarum ambitus Aegyptorum senem discipulus lustrabat. quo minus miror in Italian transgressum, ut ab Archytta Tarenti, a Timaeo et Arione et Echecrate Locris Pythagorae praecepta et instituta acciperet: tanta enim uis, tanta copia litterarum undique colligenda erat, ut inuicem per totum terrarum orbem dispergi et dilatari possset. altero etiam et octogesimo anno decedens sub capite Sophronis mimos habuisse fertur. sic ne extrema quidem eius hora agitatione studii uacua fuit.

2236-2240. For as Seynt Austen ... all konnyng.

Aug., De Doctr. Christ., 2, 52:

... tanta fit cuncta scientia, quae quidem est utilis, collecta de libris Gentium, si divinarum Scripturarum scientiae compararetur. Nam quidquid homo extra didicerit, si noxium est, ibi damnatur; si utile est, ibi invenitur. Et cum ibi quisque inueniret omnia quae utiliter alibi didicit, multo abundantius ibi inveniet ea quae nusquam omnino alibi, sed in illarum tantummodo Scripturarum mirabili altitudine et mirabili humilitate discuntur.

2242-2246. For as Averrois ... be norysshed. Aver., On Plato's Rep., 1, 11, 1:

Plato says that the most pernicious thing for children is to hear in their childhood untrue stories, for they are at that period <of their lives> easily disposed to accept those
forms which they desire to accept. It is therefore proper during that period to guard against letting them hear false representations. In general, one must watch with the utmost vigilance at the beginning of their training, since beginnings in everything are so important.

Although Legrand's attribution might make us think we are being guided to Averroes' commentaries on Aristotle, E.I.J. Rosenthal, in the thorough notes to his translation of Averroes' Commentary on Plato's Republic, finds no similar passage there.

2244. to lerne falsnes for troupe. I believe "fables," which appears before "falsnes" in our text, has been crossed out, and the other MSS support this interpretation: BM f.147r, "to love falsenes for trouth;" C f.32v, "to lerne falsnes for trouthe;" H f.216v, "to lerne falsshed for trowthe."

2266. be next book. C f.33r, "the fy rst book;" H f.217r, "And of thys mater thou mayst knowe yn the fy rst booke wheryn pu schalt fynde dyvers thynges consernynge the same purpos." If the other MSS are correct, the question arises whether the reference is to the first part of this MS, or to Jacques Legrand's other work, The Sophologium.
CORRIGENDA

I became aware of Jean Rychner, "Les sources morales des 
Vigiles de Charles VII: le Jeu des échecs moralisé et le 
Livre de bonnes moeurs," Romania, 77(1956), 39-65; 446-487, 
in early December 1977, after the footnotes to this thesis 
were at the typist. His work on the sources of the exempla 
in Livre des bonnes moeurs allows the identification of some 
of the material which had not been traced in my original 
work and the correction of some inadequacies in my work on 
other references.

518-519. Where is Arphaazat ... smoke. Judith 1, 1-5.

539-543. And King Zerches ... "but erthe." Jer., 
Ep., 60, 18 (PL, 22, 346): "Xerxes, ille rex potentissimus, 
qui subvertit montes, maria constravit, cum de sublimi loco 
infinitam hominum multitudo et innumerabilem visisset ex- 
cercitum, flesse dicitur, quod post centum annos nullus eorum, 
quos tunc cernebat, superfuturus esset."

544-545. For ... Jovynien ... Perse. Jer., Ep., 60, 
15 (PL, 22, 343): "Iovianus gustatis tantum regalibus bonis 
fetore prunarum suffcatus interiit ostendens omnibus, quid
sit humana potentia."

546-547. *And Valentyne ... choked.* Jer., Ep., 60, 15 (PL, 22, 343): "Valentinianus vastato genitali solo et inultam patriam dereliquens vomitu sanguinis extinctus est."

548-549. *And ... Gracyen ... his.* Jer., Ep., 60, 15 (PL, 22, 343): "Gratianus ab exercitu suo proditus et ab obviis urbibus non receptus ludibrio hosti fuit cruentaeque manus vestigia parietes tui, Lugdune, testantur."

624-627. *We rede also of seven brebirn ... commaunde it.* 2 Mac. 7, 1-42.

804-807. *And ... Valery ... Seventh Book.* There is a proofreading error in the citation; it should read: Val. Max., Fact., 7, 2, Ext. 2.

1728-1732. *And indee ... Septimulus ... remnaunt.* I failed to note that this is a contamination of two references. The other is Val. Max., Fact., 9, 4, 3:

*Ceterum auaritia ante omnes L. Septimulei praecordia possedit, qui, cum C. Gracchi familiaris fuisse, caput eius abscidere et per urbem pilo fixum ferre sustinuit, quia Opi-mius consul auro id se repensurum edixerat. sunt qui tra-dant liquato plumbo eum cauatam partem capitis, quo pondero-sius esset, expelles. fuerit ille seditiosus, bono perierit exemplo, clientis tamen seclesta famis in has usque iacentis iniurias esurire non debuit.*
1884-1886. *Also* ... *lost for *phm. Rychner believes the philosopher is Democritus, and Legrand is referring us to Sen., De Provid., 6, 2: "Democritus devítias proiecit onus illas bonae mentis existimans." Given the corrupt state of the MSS, both solutions are possibilities.

1886-1892. *Also* ... *Stilbon* ... *not his*. Sen., De Constant., 5, 6:


In my opinion, contamination with Val. Max., Fact., 7, 2, Ext 3 should be considered.

1949-1953. *And* ... *Valery* ... *Julius Cesar* ... *victory of hym*. Rychner suggests that this and 1953-1956 are the result of the contamination of two passages in *Polyocraticus*. The passage I missed is Joan. Sares., Polycrat., 6, 14 (PL, 199, 610), where Julius Caesar's respect for religion is described: "Principibus metu, non pudore vel religione parent."

1959-1962. *Also Egisopus* ... *mystakyng*. Rychner suggests "Hégésippe, Histoire I, XVII, 2," (p. 471). I have not been able to locate this text.
1971-1974. *And... Marchali3et... withinne.* Oros.,

Hist., 7, 36 (PL, 31, 1157-1158):

Nullae aguntur insidia, nulla corruptio, septuaginta millia
hostium vincuntur pene sine pugna: fugit victus ad tempus,
ne plus audeat victor iratus. Transportatur in diversum lo-
cum, ut nesciat frater occidi, quo vindicatur occiso. Sane
idem Mascezil elatus rerum secundarum insolentia, posthabito
sanctorum consortio, cum quibus antea Deo militans vicerat,
etiam ecclesiam temerare ausus est, atque ex ea quosdam non
dubitavit extrahere. Secuta est poena sacrilegum. Nam iis-
dem superstitibus atque insultantibus, quos ab ecclesia ad
poenam prostraverat, post aliquantam tempus et ipse solus
punitus est: probavitque in se uno, ad utrumque semper divi-
num vigilare judicium: quando et cum speravit, adjutus, et
cum contempsit, occisus est.