INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps.

ProQuest Information and Learning
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
800-521-0600

UMI
A PARTIAL EDITION OF
THE BOOK OF GOOD COND Ricions
A MIDDLE ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF
LE LIVRE DES BONNES MOEURS OF JACQUES LERAND

EDITED FROM UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW
LIBRARY HUNTER MS. 78

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

B.R. Campbell, Ottawa, Canada, 1978
INFORMATION TO USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleed-through, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

UMI®

UMI Microform DC52412
Copyright 2007 by ProQuest LLC
All rights reserved. This microform edition is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.

ProQuest LLC
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346
"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.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In a thesis which has taken as long to complete as this one has, credit must first go to the one who has shared the burdens of its completion, my wife Diane. I would like to thank Dr. L.M. Eldredge for his patient criticism, his valuable suggestions, and his many insights into the problems this thesis presented. Dr. A.P. Campbell deserves credit for having made me aware of University of Glasgow Library MS. Hunter 78, and for his help with the description of the other MSS. Father Clemens Stroick and Dr. Denis G. Brearley are thanked for their valuable help with source hunting. Mr. J. Baldwin, Keeper of Special Collections at The Library, The University of Glasgow, provided a description of the watermark of MS. Hunter 78. Dr. Raymond St-Jacques helped me interpret some difficult abbreviations in the manuscript catalogues. As well, I received badly-needed help from the Interlibrary Loan Department at Bishop's University. Finally, I would like to thank my typist, Mrs. Sylvia Carrière, for her patient and careful work on a difficult text.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Introduction</th>
<th>vi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Jacques LeGrand: His Life and Works</td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. The <em>Sophilogium, Archiloque Sophie</em>, and <em>Livre des bonnes moeurs</em></td>
<td>xvi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. The Manuscripts of the English Translations of <em>Livre des bonnes moeurs</em> and BN. f. fr. 1023</td>
<td>xxiv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. A Note on the Text</td>
<td>xxxvii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. An Explanatory Note</td>
<td>xxxviii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix 1: The Epitaph of Jacques LeGrand</td>
<td>xxxix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix 2: The Chapter Headings of <em>Sophilogium</em></td>
<td>xli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviations</td>
<td>xlvi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td>xlvii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>The Book of Good Condicions</em></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corrigenda</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 Le- 
grand 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 fif- 
teenth and sixteenth centuries. My account of the life of 
Legrand relies heavily on Francis Roth's "Jacques Legrand," 
Augustiniana, 7(1957), 315-326, 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

*Augustiniana*, 8(1958), 129-163; R.F. Lucas, "Two Notes on Jacques Le-
grand," Augustiniana, 12(1962), 196-217; Evencio Beltran, "Jacques Le-
grand prédicateur," Analecta Augustiniana, 30(1967), 148-209; Evencio 
Beltran, "Un sermon français inédit attribuable à Jacques Legrand," 
Romania, 93(1972), 460-478; Evencio Beltran, "Jacques Legrand O.E.S.A.: 
Adolar Zumkeller, "Manuskripte von Werken der Autoren des Augustiner-
Eremitenordens in Mitteleuropäischen Bibliotheken," Augustiniana, 12 
(1962), 53-57.
"laurea," while the Chartularium refers to him as licentiatus 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 Creney, 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:

\[6\] Ibid., p. 148.
\[7\] Ibid., p. 149.
\[8\] See also ibid., p. 150.
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.

---

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. 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 Arch-bishop of Saon. He is said to have been offered the Arch-bishopric 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

---

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, Senece, 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;"

---

387. (2) *Abbrevacio 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 Psalmos*: 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) *Aliquà 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 servocinandi*: 
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 perpétrees 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 SOPHIOLOGIUM, 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.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.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.¹⁹ Beltran's theory

¹⁸Lucas, 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.\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{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"\textsuperscript{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 1" (f.88v). Livre des bonnes moeurs enjoyed wide


\textsuperscript{21}Roth, "Jacques Legrand," p. 325.

\textsuperscript{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.\(^{23}\) 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.\(^{24}\)

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

\(^{23}\)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.25 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.26 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 Archiologue Sophie does it contain any long interpolations.27

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

---

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.26 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.29 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."30

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.31 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."32

Evencio Beltran says Livre des bonnes moeurs is "plus

26 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


Combes, 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 ferait 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.

Combes, 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 lern-
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 scrypture 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 Le Grand'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 fili-
granes* 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.\textsuperscript{37}

The MS is well and evenly written in an English bastard hand which distinguishes \textit{p} and \textit{y}, but not \textit{u} and \textit{n}. 3 appears from time to time in this MS. The pages are margined in brown crayon, but not ruled; the writing area is $8\frac{3}{8}'' \times 5\frac{3}{8}''$ and filled with single columns of 40-45 lines. The pages themselves are $11\frac{3}{4}'' \times 8\frac{1}{4}''$. 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 \textit{Catalogue} remark that many other MSS in the Hunter collection seem to have come from the library of Thomas Martin.\textsuperscript{38} Thomas Martin (1696-1771) lived in Palgrave, Suffolk, and was called "Honest Tom Martin of Palgrave." He

\textsuperscript{37}C.M. Briquet, \textit{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, \textit{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.

\textsuperscript{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 pat the hope of þem avayleth þem lytil pat
seith þis world xal endure ryte longe, etcetera.

Here endyth þe Book of Good Condicions opirwyse called þe
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.
5. *Þe 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 Harleyan 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.
dyssplys, ff. 252v-254v.

(6) Nichodemus his gospel, ff. 255r-263r.

(7) Serteyn storyes of thynges done after hyr passyoun, ff. 263r-276v.

(8) A tretys of the veronyce, ff. 276r-279r.

(9) A tretys betwene Saynt Petre and 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 tokenes goyng 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. 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

41 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 p but not u and n. It is a cursive hand, not a book hand.\(^2\)

The divisions of the text are:

\textit{Incipit, f.183r:}

here begynneth the table of the ruberyssches of a booke yt

tytuled of goode maneres composed by ffrere jacques the
grete.

\textit{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.

\textit{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.

\(^2\)Cf. C.E. Wright, \textit{English Vernacular Hands: From the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries} (Oxford: OUP, 1960), plate 16.
here aftyr foloweth pe cene pat our lorde made wyth hys dis-
syplys.

(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 tretee of Nicholas Bollard*, another agri-
cultural 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 cook-
book, ff.23r-66v.

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


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

8. *Medesynes approbate for mortal sekenessesse
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 medicyne 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 mid-sentence in the middle of Chapter 16.

Immediately following ff.72v, a folio has been torn and has not been counted in the foliation. In addition, there is a gap between ff.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 decreasingly 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" ×
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 p does not appear. The hand shows many of the characteristics of the developing secretary hand.\footnote{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

\footnote{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:

*Incipit, f.97r:*

Tabula de Bones Mures etcetera

Ere begynnyth the Table
of the Boke in ffrenche

Les bones mures in Englesshe the gode maners that is composied and entitld in five parties made in translacion out of latyne ynto ffrenshe att the ... of Orliaunce by maistre John of Wiequay the yere of oure lord a thousand thre hundredth foure score and tene And now translated oute of ffrenshe into Englisse by youreumble 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 hundredth ffourty 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 selue.

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. Caxton 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 sudden disappearance of the Book of Good Manners from the printers' 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. 55125 is of an imperfect copy, and


47 My description of British Museum IB. 55125 is taken from Seymour de Ricci, A Census of Caxtons (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. There are 33 lines to the page, and the printed area measures 191 x 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 x 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. 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 5 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GH (MS. Hunter 78)</th>
<th>C (British Museum IB. 55125)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4,8</td>
<td>4,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4,9</td>
<td>4,11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4,10</td>
<td>4,12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4,11</td>
<td>4,13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4,12</td>
<td>4,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4,13</td>
<td>4,14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5,1</td>
<td>5,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5,2</td>
<td>4,10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5,3</td>
<td>4,15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5,4</td>
<td>5,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5,5</td>
<td>5,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5,6</td>
<td>5,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5,7</td>
<td>5,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5,8</td>
<td>5,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5,9</td>
<td>5,7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The divisions of the text are:

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

When I consyedere the condycions 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 llonge /.

Explicit / et hic est finis / per Caxton etcetera
Finished and translated out of fremshe 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-
priynted 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 pro-
per 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 desplais a dieu. car tous orguilleux le veulent a
dieu comparer en tant quil 3 le glorifient en eulx meismes.

Explicit, f.88r:

Par quoi il appert que pou vaulet lesperance de ceulx qui
tient que le monde durerce 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 transla-
tions 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 conclude 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 slipshod 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 impossible. 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 without 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 capitalized 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 sigillum 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 licentiatii, auctoris huius voluminis et plurimorum aliorum, filii huius conventus, qui Pictavis sepul- tus, honorifice facet ante altare maius.

1 In fluvium magnum crescentis fontis hic instar
2 Sub tellure facit Jacobi corpus venerandi
3 In populos, clerum dicti cognomine Magni.
4 Magnus nempe fuit non tantum nomine functus
5 Parisios inter doctores ordinis huius.
6 Qui innumeris haec sit studii nostrae diesque
7 Aeternae referens condigna praemia laudis
8 Parisius, qua tibi nunc Pictavis hospita tanti [sunt],
9 Cui praefata dedit hunc parta licentia birri,
10 Sed mort ante tulit quam laurea vel potiretur.
11 Cuius vivit adhuc nostris sua fama superstes
12 Temporibus, quem nulla queat delere vetustas.
13 At quaecumque cupit eius delitescere scriptis
14 Posteritas, monumenta legat, sic grandia noscet.
15 Novorum, veterum interpres Jacobus loquiorum
16 Magnus doctorum tot scripsit quot quis eorum:
17 Carminis eloquiique modos sacrique viasque.
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
11 had obtained the licence for the birettum
12 But death took him away before he could (really) gain
13 the laurea.
14 His fame is fully alive in our own days,
15 Him no hoary age can make obscure.
16 But should future ages forget the treasures hidden in
17 his writings
18 Let them read his monumental works and they shall learn
19 things that are GREAT.
20 And interpreter of the Old and New Testaments Jacques
21 The GREAT among the doctors wrote as many books as any
22 of them.
23 [He wrote] modes and rules for poetry and sacred elo-
24 quence
25 And a manual of mnemonics useful for many subjects.
26 Under his guidance the Muses come from the height of the
27 Parnassus.
28 Hence, may true Wisdom trampling under foot the infernal
29 spirits
30 Bring to his soul honors divine and well deserved.
Amen.
APPENDIX 2

THE CHAPTER HEADINGS OF SOPHIOLOGIUM

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)

studii 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 theologicis (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 statuum mundi 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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Work Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Epicurus. See also Diogenes Laertius.


Fulgentius. See Whitebread.


*Piers Plowman: The A Version*. Ed. George Kane. London:


--------. "Jacques Legrand (Jacobus Magni)." *Augustiniana,* 7 (1957), 315-326.


Swanson, Donald C. The Names in Roman Verse: A lexicon and reverse index of all proper names of history, mythology, and geography found in classical Roman poets. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1967.


BOOK OF GOOD CONDICIONS

aliam

Sophology of Wisdam

<Here begynneth þe table of the rubryches of þe book whych is called Good Condycions, oberwyse the Sophiloge of Wysdam. The which seyd book is devyded in three partes. The fyrst parte spekyth of þe seven dedely synnes, and of the 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 fourth parte spekyth of state of þe comoun pepil. The fifth parte speketh of deth and the day of dome, etcetera.

<Here begynnyth the rubryches of the fyrst parte.

Fyrst, etcetera:

How pryde dyspleisith 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 ingratytude 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 harm
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
to God
e
How avaryce bryngeth a man to evyl haven
e<Here folowyth the rubryches of þe secounde parte,
e etcetera:
eHow men schulde worchepe the chyrch and
one
have it in reverens
two
How the pepil of the chirch, and in
epecial prelates, xuld lyve chastly
three
How prelates schulde governe and tech
þer sogettes and yeve almes unto þe
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

Here begynneth the rubryches of the thirde parte.
Fyrst:
How prynces schulde be pitous and mercyful
How prynces schulde be of good lyvynge 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

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

Fyrst:
How none xuld gloryfye hym in rychesses
How the state of poverte schulde be plesaunt
to God

How auncient men xuld be good, wyse, and
vertuowes
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 wedowhed sculd be kept
holyly
How kyn, and in esspecial fader and moder,
xulde þinke on þer children
How chyldren xuld obeye and worchepe þer kyn
How marchauntes schuld maynteyn þem in
þer marchaundyse
How servauntes xulde maynteyn and govern
þem in þer servyse
How the state of a pylgrym xuld be
maynteyned

<Here begynneth the robruches of þe fift parte of
þis book:
How the lyfe of þis world is schort and
lytil while endures
How tho that lyveth schrewedly xul deye
schrewydly
How all dedely synne deservyth deth
How good lyfe deservyth good deth
How men xulde dysprayse thys present lyfe

105 How none xulde doute the deth
How it is a profytable thyng to þink on deth
How none xulde make his sepulture to coryous
How menne xulde þink on þe day of dome

Here begynneth the fyrst parte of thys book called

110 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 hymysylf 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.

120 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<þyn> into
helle—he and al þo þat consentid to his synne. On
the same wise, our first fadýr Adam, by his mystakyng,
he dyso beyed to God and obeyed to the serpent, which
seyd he xulde 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 ageyns hyr maistryes 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 nõping yovyn to hyr at hyr departyng 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 othy, was in gret parte cause of þe devysion of the world, and of many hurtes, as it is schewed in þe fift book aforeseyd. And aftyr the flood were the geautes, 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 natanothy, as it is schewed in the eleventh 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 ȝyf he be good on the same wyse, he hath cause of gret mekenes, for the grace þat God hath yovyn hym, insamych as he is good and aggrebabl to God. And moreover the punysshment that we rede of that proude pepil have coundeylid 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 fift 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 him: "Smyte me to, to the entent þat men schal not sey a woman hath kylld 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 þeepil 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 veleyly 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 
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 
er 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 savvyour Criste Jhesu wold shew to his 
apostelys þat pryde displiesid hym, he repriued þem 
because thei glorified þemself, seyng 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 sey 
mekenes, is ryte plesaunt and aggreable to God. And 
as pryde causith an ovirbrowe, 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 lest of his broprn, was chosen above all þem, as it schewyth in þe Fyrst Book of Kynges, the sixteenth chapetre. Moreover Salamon had þe reame aftyr 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, hisbroþer, yit had he the blyss-ynge 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 oper synnes it is þe most displesaunt to God, and is þat þe which moste he punysshit most and grevously blyndeth the undirstondynge of a persone, etcetera.

How pryde blyndeth the undirstondynge of a persone, etcetera.

<T>he man þrow pryde knawyth not his wretchidness 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 leseth knowleche and undirstondynge, and becometh as a dome beste, and as a mare that hath non undyrstondynge in hyr. Wherby it apperith þat a man the which wyl become wyse shulde be meke and knowe hymselfe withoute wenyng of hym þat þe which is
f.3r  nat. / And to this purpos Seynt Gregory seyth in his Dialoges, in þe fyrst boke, þe fifteenth chapitre, how

235  Constantius loid them better þat dyspreysed hym þan tho þat preysed hym. And indede it fel þat a man desired to see hym for his gret name, and for the goodnes þat men seyd of hym. And veryly quan he saw hym he began to sey in maner as merveylyng: "O Constancius,

240  I wend þu hadist ben a myche man, stronge and perfyte, and of aspare all fachon, but I see clerly þat þis is noping in the." Þan Constantius set hym to preye God seying: "I preyese and þank God þat he hath yoven the so good syte and so clere knowynge of me, for trewly þu art all only he þat hast wele beholdyn me, clerly and holy juged þe thowth of me." And þerfor seyth Seynt Austyn in his Fyrst Omelye upon þe Gospel Seynt Johun: "Veri mekenes is not to grutche ne to dysprayse ober, but to þank God for all þat 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 þat it was to pronowns wele. And if þat he had asked hym so an hundred tymes, þat as ofte he had answerid hym on þe same wyse. In lyche wyse seyth Seynt Austyn: "Yf þu aske me quat is þe principal commawndement in every man-kyndely lawe, I answere and sey that it is to kepe mekenes. And as ofte as þu shal aske it me, as oftyn
myn answere xal be þus to þe, for mekenes suffereth
non erroure in undirstondyng, but it engendereth know-
yng and knowlech of trouthe." And to þis purpos Seynt
Anselyne spekyth in the twenty-seventh chapitre of his
Symylitudes, seyng 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
reprysves. The seventh is to rejoyse hym in mekenes.
And þus it scheweth how mekenes engenderyth verry
knowlache. And therfor Seynt Barnard in his Book of
Degreis of Mekenes seyth þat mekenes is non oper þing
but a vertu þat veryly maketh a man to knowe and to
dysprayse hymself. Þe which þing to have Seynt Austyn
counseileth 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 þat we xuld take of hym in his deedis, as Seynt Jerom seyth in his Pystil, Ninety-seventh. Moreover we rede in scripture how sumtyme ambicion and wyl hath ben cause of many hurtes and hath don so myche þat many hath gretly mysknownyn þemself 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 þe kynges, as it apperyth in þe First Book of Machabeus in þe fifteenth chapetre. Also Roboan, for þe 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, þe thirteenth chapitre. In lyche wyse Abymalech regned ryte malyciously and did so myche þat he was chosen kyng; but veryli he slew his owyn brothern, as it apperyth in the nineteenth chapiter of þe Book of Juges. Rede we nat also ho Aliquinius, for desyre that he had to be the gret preste of þe lawe, he grutchted ageyns hym þat was it, as it apperyth in the Fyrst Book of Machabeus, the seventh chapitre. Thus it schewyth how ambicion doth mych harme. And indeede we rede how Jason to be the gret preste of þe 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. Neverþeles Menelaus cowd so ordeyn and do þat he had the offyce 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. Capitulio tertio:

<mpjes>han a man is meke þan he knowyth þat of hymself is noping but frelnes, povert, and wrechidnes. And þerfor þe postyl, in þe Second Pistle of Corintheus, in the last chapitre, councelþ us seying: "My frendes: prove you, but yet knowe 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 / myself 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 Policrate in his Third Book, in the second chapitre, how þer discended 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 poverta and þer frel-
nes." "Alas," seyth Seynt Barnard, in þe book afore-
seyd, "pride deceyvyth 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 foly 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 vertués. And þerfor a man þat wolde leve holy-
li, he xulde examyne hymself and, be reson, wysely chasteyys himself, as Hewe counceelyth 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 þou3tes." 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 chasteyysed 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 vertués.
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 afytir. And veryli David, seyng þat God
wolde distroye his people, he began to wepe and accuse himself seyng: "I am he þat 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 we rede of Achab—notwithstanding 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 fortieth chapitre. And Roboan, be mekenes—natwithstanding þat he was ryte / cruel—he gate grace of God, as it apperyth in þe Second Book of Paralypomenon, the twelfth chapitre. E3echias also be hys mekenes gate in his tyme þat God toke no vengeauns, as it appireth in þe book aforesaid, þe twenty-second chapitre. Nabugodonosor also be hys mekenes gate his restitution. 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
meker hir to the feet of Jhesu Criste wipyng and <drying> hys feet wyth hir heer, and þerwith she gate remyssion 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 kyllid hym, as the for-seid 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 fyuer, 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 greetly punysshid.

But be mekenes a creature may get all goodnes of God. Also we rede how the Cananee, spekyng mekely to Jhesu, gate helthe for hir sonne, as Seynt Matheu rehersith in his fifteenth chapitre. And to have þis mekenes we have an examuple in Seynt John Baptist þat levid in desert in ryght greet penauns and in verry mekenes. And he seid: "I am unworpi 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 leyng, and þerfor God haunshed hym ryte gretly, and was þe first prophete for whom God began to do meraclis, as it apperyth in þe Fourth Book of Kynges, in the first, tenth, fourteenth, and sixteenth chapitre. Moreover þe childre of Israel were overlayd with Olofernus, but veryli þei meked þem, as it apperyth in þe tenth chapitre of Judyth. And generaly 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 hymysylf, as it is seyd at þe begynnynng of þis chapetre.

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

<Mekeñes is ful plesaunt to God, for it is wytnes of þe wurischyp þat a creature xuld do to his maker. And also, naturally, every man hateth pride, wherof it foloweth þat he loviþe mekenes. And indele 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 Aristotil seyth in his Ninth Book of Etiques: "Frenshep requyryth his lyknes." And sumtyme evyl seynges 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 wyth-owten cause. Þerfor 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 person, and nat abide þe tyme of necessite, whan aforse he xal meke hym. Therefor Aristotil seyth he is bet-

470 ter þat meketh hym of his owyn wyl þan he þat meketh aforse. And Þerfor Sæn seyth in his Pístyl to Lucylle, seventy: "Thus lede we a lytil estate without reysyng þe hye, to dentent þat fortune make þe not overthrowe from hye." Seyth nat naturel pepil þat þe lyon dôpe non harme to þe man þat mekeþ hym, and þe bore to þe man þat is leyd at erthe? And Þerfor a man xuld meke hym to eschewe perel. And to þis purpos we rede þat Dedimus, in a pistel of his, seid to Alis-

475 aundre: "Knowe for trouþe þat God is redy to make þe wise so þu be not with thi pryde deseyvid." Wherby it apparith 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 seyþe þat grete wyndes is cause of thondre and lytenyng, be-

480 cause þat sum erþeli þing mowntype sotili be þe son 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 indede he may noping in þe world endure, and yet he cesþ nat to displayse oþer. Þerfor seith Prudens in his Book of Subjeccion of Vices þat mekenes redressith a man and makiþ his lyfe to be moyen and to eschew all bad werkes. Moreover, Valeriús telliþ in his Fourth Book, and after, þat anoþer called Valerye had ben ryte gret at Rome, he frely set him in ryte a litil estate, and lefte all pompe and al worldly þing. And mesemþ þat al proude pepyl xulde avise þem upon þe auncient stories and examplis in þe which aspireþ hou mekenes makeþ pepil to be reised and pride make þem to overprow. 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 sheweþ how mekenes hape ben reysed. But quat xal we sey of pride? I pray þe take hede. Where is become þe myte of Neron þat fysshed with nettes 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 haþe take al, for he yaf all. So he is a fole
þat trusteþe 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 wyl þu avise the; none xuld
glorifye his hert in wysdam. And þerof have we ex-
aumple of Salamon þe wyse, þe which was deceyvid also,
inasmuch as he wurchepid ydolis. And Antyropeys, þe
wyse counceylour of David, þe which veryli with a cord
hyng hymself. And wyse Caton, kylled 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 gamalon 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 wheroþe we xuld
be proud to glorifie ourself. And þat considered wele
Kyng 3erches, þe which seyng þat his pepil and his
knytes wepten, seyng: "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 rewym 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 aforeseid, 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 noþing 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, seiþ þe scripture, to God þan doþe sacrefys. 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 þerfor he fel into gret povertæ 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-

}
tellīp in his Secunde Book in þe second chapitre hou
in auncient tyme knytes obeyed to princes upon peyn of
deþe. Be muche more reson we xuld obey to almyti God.
For as scripture seïþe we xuld more obey God þan man.

And yif ye obey to man, þat schuld be for þe wurcheþ
of God—so counceyliþ þe apostel. And inðede much

good hape comyn to þo þat hape mekely / obeyed in the
wurcheþ and for þe love of God. And to þis purpos
Seynt Gregory tellyth in his Dialogis, in þe first and
þe seventh chapteres, how Seynt Banet had a discipil
whom he comaundéd 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 ans-
uerd and seid þat he perceyved no waters. þan Seynt
Benet þanked God for þe myracle þat he had shewed for
þe obediens of his discipil. Seynt Gregori telliþ
also of a religious man þat at þe comaundement 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
rehersiþ hou þe discipil of ryte an olde man at his
comaundement wold remeve rite a gret roch, and avisid
him nat wheder he myte do it or non, for it suffised
him to obeye to his master onto his pouere. Be þe
which binges it sheweþ hou obediens is agreabil to God. 
Be which to have we have exaumpil of nature. As natur-
rel speche seith, bestes obeie to be lion as to þer
kyng, and dar not passe the cercle þat þe lyon makeþ 
with his tayle. On þe same wyse, bestes obey to þer
kyng. And in nature we se many binges lich. Moreover 
to þis purpos we have many exaumplis in holy scripture.
And inede we rede how Noe obeied redely to God, as it
appiripe in þe seventh chapitre of Genesis, and þerfor
he was saved from þe flood. Also þe childre of Israel
for þer obediens were savyd of God, as it appiryþ in
þe ninth chapitre of þe Book of Noumbræ. The postels
also obeied sone to Jhesu Christe, inasmuch as þei
folowed hym all only for his word, as Seynt Matheu re-
hersip 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 oewen
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 exaumpli
of Mathatias, þe which answerd to þe massanger of Kyng
Antyoche seying: "Hou is it þat all obeye 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 bëpërin ðat had rëther dye þan ete flessh ageyn þe commaundement of God, notwithstandyng þe kyng com-
maunde it. Wherbi iþ 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 commaundement 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 chaumbre 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 commaund mequat þu wylt for I am redi to do it," as it apireth in þe fifth chapitre of þe Book of Thobyse. And Cornelius seid to Seynt 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 chapitre 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 ingratitude displesith God. The Sixth chapiter, etcetera:

<T>he holi doctoure Seynt Bernard seip upon þe canticles a man is nat worþi to have gode þat knoweþ nat þerof. And Seynt Gregori in his omelye seip þat þe more a man hap 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 hap receyved xal be encreasing of peynis and in grutchyng at þe day of dome. And þus witnessip Hugh hou in þe eighth chapitre of þe Book of þe Arche of Noye. And to have cause to knowe þe goodnes þat God hap don to us we have many exaumplis in holy scripture. Rede we nat þat Jacob seid after þat God had do to hym mucche
good: "Ser, I þank þe of þe goodnes þe which þu hast do to me, or þe which I remembir 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 blissed be þi name, for þe goodnes þat þu hast don to me," as it appirip ðe 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 appiriþ in þe first chapitre of his Pistol of Romayns and in þe second chapitre in his Pistol 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 appiriþ in þe fifteenth chapitre of Exode. Also þe three children þat God delyverid from þe forneis blissed God ryte sweteli and devoutli, as it appirþ in þe third chapitre of Daniel. Be þe which storyes it appirþ 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 Pistol of Lucille, eighty: "And I seïþe þat to an unkunnyng, negligent / man men nóþing 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 victorye ageyns the Thymotheans þei in praying God began to syng, as it sheweth in þe Second Book of Machabeus, in þe tenth chapitre. So mesemyth þei be gretly to repreve þat knowe not the goodes þat God hath yovven to þem. And yet þat wers in mesure the more good þat God doth to hem, þe more þei be enhaunshed to pride. þei shulde take exampl of good creaturs 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 yovven 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 reheersip in his first chapitre. And Zacharye quan his sonne was born, þat is to seyn Seynt John Baptist, þan he began to sey: "Blessed be the God of Israel, þat hape visited and boght ageyn his people." Neverpeles 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 comep to noust. And yif it be not in þer tyme, 
þer heires ben deprived þerof for þer unkyndenes and 
þer mysknowlech. Þus þan every creature shuld beholde 
quat he hape of God, and þe more þerof serve hym and 
love hym. And it is nat alonly to do þus to God, but 
men xuld knowlege all þe goodis and benefices þat his 
neybours doped to hym. And þerof have we example in 
Thobyte þat offered many yiftes to þe aungellis, þe 
which helid his fadyr þat was blynde, and deleyvered 
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 appirip 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 receyvid þe wedowis sonne, þe 
which had don hym muche good, as it appirip in þe 
Third Book of Kyngis, the eighteenth chapitre. And 
generally all þe pepil of name and of good lyfe hape 
knowleched þe goodis þat þei have receyvid, and þo þat 
do operwise be to repreve as pepil unworpi 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/cyved mucche good of David, and yet he wold a slayn hym, as it is wretyn in þe First Book of Kynges, þe seventeenth chapitre. And Absolon persecuted his fadir David, þe which had doun hym mucche good, for he had pardoned hym þe deth of his broper and also he had kept hym fro banyshyyng. 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 ingratitude many be spottid in doyng evil to þem þat doth hym good or to þer successours. Kyng Jacob did so, þe which forgate þe frenshep of Jogade, preste of þe lawe, for he kylled 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 mucche good and good servyse, as it appirip 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 seyth of ingrate pepil in þe first chapitre of Ysaye þe Prophete: "I have chosen and norystshed children and they dispayse me." And hereof have we many storyes of <those> þat hape dysprysed 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 hou 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 þerfor þe wyse man shulde sadly avise hym on the goodes þat he habe receyved and schulde knowlefe them sweteli, as it is aforesaid, etcetera.

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

<T>he sovereyn meen to overcome his ennemye is to have paciens. And þerfor Platon seith þat þe philosophir 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 noping ellis but hevy us as oure hurt and encres it." And indede 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 tellip in his Apologetique. And Quintilian in his Tenth Cause seip þat þer is no peyn but in hym which may noping 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 makyp a man to come to gret good, insomuch þat noping 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 rehersip hou Ciracusian was ryte pacient quan Denys / the tyraunt put hym out of his countre. And to comforȝt hymself it fel þat he went to Theodores hous and abod longe at þe gate. Siracusen, seyn þat, seyd to his felawe: "Alas, I out to have pacience, for in hope of tyme past I have made many obir abyden." In lyche wyse every man xulde pink quan any adversite falleþ to hym, because of our synnes we xulde gladly endure and have paciens. And indeþe paciens wakyþe a man and makþe him ofte to gete vertu and causeþ þe man to become gode. As Water wytnessyp in his Third Book of Alisandrydos. Allas, we see hou many to gete helþe endureþ muche woo
and receyvyth oftyn bytter medycynys. Than be gretter resen we out to endure adveresyte to gete vertu and for to hele þe soule. And þerfor Caton seyþe he þat may not overcome adverseite 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 unpacienþe 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 smyttyn of his hed, as it appirþþ 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 Thobye endured 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 adverseite. It is vertu be þe which a man may overcome fortune. And also we rede be paciens many habe 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 unpacienys and rude speche, lost his dignyte and his sygnorye, as it appireth in þe Third Book of Kynges, þe twelfth chapitre. Alas, what avayleth unpacienys but to encre harmys, for be paciens we may gete þe better of oure ennemyes and gete all grace of God, etcetera.

How ire and hate noyeth every creature, etcetera.

Capitulum octavum:

<Se>enek seip that ire trobelip undirstondyng. Per for 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 oper. Therefor every person xuld eschewe ire, for, as Caton seyth, it engenderyth al enmyte and discord and perys ship reson. As <also> Virgyle seyth in þe Second Book of Eneydos. Perfore seyp Sible þat þei were ryte horribil þat founde werre first, for be werres
many dye ful evyl. And ire hape don so much þat many
have killed þemself be wanhope. Telliþ 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
hymysylf, for reson wyl þat þe crewel man be at þe last
fordon and punnyshed for his cruelnes. So it is good
to considre quat ire is, for mesemyth it is nobing but
a spysce of woodnes—Senek seith so in his Fyrst Book
of Clemence. Natwithstondyng I wil not repreve þe ire
of good pepil, þe which he angry quan þei see men do
evyl. How seyth the Prophet? Of an evil dede men
may wele be angry withoute synne. And Seynt Austyn
seieþ men may love wele þe pepil þow þei love not her
synnes. And moreover we rede hou Moyses was wrope
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 sheweb þat it is not evil to be angry with evil.
And indede Seynt Austyn seyth þat God is angry with
shrewis in punysshyng þem. And to þis purpos we rede
bat 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 Aãael, 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 fornacion with Moabs dou3ters, as it appireth in þe tenth chapitre of þe Book of Noumbrés. Be þe quych þinges it shewith þat God is sumtyme angry with mysdoers. Þis is nat þe anger called inpaciens þat trobel þe spyryte and þe understandyng, þe which lettith much goodnes and make þa 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. Hanibal, seynþ þat, condemned þe same juge to dye þe seid deþ þat he had condamned oþer. And neverþeles 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
e 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, quant avayliþ me to
hate my neybour, seyng 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 þes with þe Galadites insomuch þat
he faut for þem, natwithstondyng þat þei had don hym
much harm, as it appirip in þe eleventh chapitre of þe
Book of Juges? David also wold nat kylle his ennemy
Asbareth, and inde þe dyd sle þe two þenys þat pre-
sentþ him with þe hed of his seyd ennemy, as it
appirip in þe Second Book of Kynges, þe fourth chap-
itre. 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 iber 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 appirip in
be Fyrst Book of Kynges, be sixteenth chapitre. 

bus
be fende in dyverse wyses 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 engen-
derip stryf be which oftyn men may not pese. And per-
for Caton seid to hir son: "Son, bu xuldist fle
chidyng, for many hab ben hurt perbi." To his purpos
Juvenal seip in his Fourth Book pat stryvyn langage
berip venym in hym and corrompep good condicions and
lettip frenshep, as Menand seip in his book. Mesemyb
ho so may have pes to be stylle, habe not much to do,
for it is a mai stri to speke wel, but to be stylle it
is no gret peyn. And neverpeses scilens makiip ofte
pes to be had, and pat witnessip Ovide in his Second
Book of pe Crafte to Love. Moreover it appiriip bi
reson pat debate and stryfe it is not worpe. For yif
bu stryve for wele and to susteyn pes, it is no gret
wytte, for bounte and troupe susteyn pemself. And
perfors suffisiip to make troupe to be undirstondin
withoutin any stryfe. For ho so undirstondip troupe,
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 lesist þi labour. For þe more þu stryve, þe more clerli shewib þi falsnes. And þat witnessib 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 hatibe stryf and chidyng and it lettiþ pes of hert and of conscience. Therfor þe wise man seiþ þat fayre softe speche makib pes and frendis to be had. Moreover it is good to enquer whens þat chidyng comyþ. Mesemyþ 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 comyþe oftyn of unpaicins and ferse wordis, as it is aforeseid. Wherbi it appiriþ þat to speke litil or noght, it is a sovereyn meen to have pes and flee chidyng. We rede hou Saul dissimueld to þem þat seid amys of hym, as it appiriþ in þe First Book of Kynges, þe fourteenthe 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 norysshir of many evilles and synnys, and it engenderib many maladies boþe bodili and gos-
teli. And þerfor Tullus seiþ in his First Book þat
temperaunce is nat ellis but to maistre the flessh and all corromped desire be resoun. And Seynt Ambros seip þat temperauns is a vertu þat reuip a man in þat þe which he xuld do. And þperor auncient pepil lyved ryte sobirli. And to þis purpos Agelle tellip 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 seyp in his Book of Verri Odoracien þat poyetes callip gloteny bestlynes, for þe man þat is a gloton lyvþ out of reson and out of reule. And þperor Senek seip in his Book of Four Vertuis þat men xuld ete without to much re- plenetes and drynke without drunkenes, for drunkenes causip liteli þe pepil to falle in letcherye. And to þis purpos Seynt Jerome seip 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 indevde Socrates ete but onys on þe day quan þe sonne went to rest. How seip Agelle in þe book above seid? And Boete seip in þe Second Book of Consolacion þat nature is content with litil þing, as ho seip þat nature requireth sobirnes and abstynens. And to þis purpos Valeri tellip 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 litle or noght. Moreover Dedimus
writynge to Alisaunder 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 concludèþ verili þat
þe pepil of þe seid countre had in partye no sekenes,
for þei usid non oper medecyns but sobirnes and abstyn-
nens. Be þe which it shewiþ þat to lyve sobirli, it
is a ful profitable þing bope to þe bodi and to þe
soule. For bi sobirnes þe bodi hapè helþe, and the
soule lyveþ withoute synne. And þerfor Lucan seiþe
þat men xuld use to yeve to nature temperat noryssh-
yng þe which xuld nat be outrageus ne drunkelew, for
gloteny is nat alone but it hap ever many synnes with
hym. And indee be glotený þe man lesþ wit and
understondyng and / oftyn opynèþ his secretes folili.
Gloteny makiþ 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 seiþ in his First
Book to Alixandreydos þat drunkenes is þe sepulcre of
al vices. And Ovide seiþ in his Second Book of Rem-
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 þerfor ych of us
diligentli flee and eschewe gloteny, for þat is þe vice wherbi þe fende werreyeþ and overcomeþ þe man. For with þis synne he tempted our first kyn, be þe which he was verily put out of paradise, as it appirip in þe third chapitre of Genesis. In lych wise he wold a tempte our savvyour 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 makip þe man lecherous. And þerof we have exampl of Loth, þe which gate his two doosters with childe be dronkenes, as it appirip in þe nineteenth chapitre of Genesis. Drunkenes makip þe man to be disworchepid. 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 appirip in þe eighth chapitre of Genesis. Alas, be gloteny þe childe of Israel wer sumtyme temptid and gretli deceyved, as it appirip in þe sixteenth chapitre of Exode. And be glotenye, Esau solde his patrimonye, as it appirip in þe fifteenth chapitre of Genesis. Moreover rede we nat hou Jonathas was condamned to dep because þat he eet a litil hony ageyns þe commaundment of his fader, as it appirip in þe First Book of Kynges, þe fourteenth chapitre? Wherbi it shewip þat gloteny hap don much harm. And indede
we rede hou þe Phîlstynys wer slayn drynkyng and
etyng, for þe hous fel on þem, as it appirip in þe
seventeenth chapitre of Juges. The same fel to þe
children of Job, as it appirip in þe first chapitre
of Job. Hou was þe geaunt Olofernus ded but be drunk-
nes? For Judith made hym drownen and so kylled hym,
as it appirip in þe tenth chapitre of Judith. Hou
was Symon and his children slayn but be drynkyng and
etyng, as it appirip in þe First Boke of Machabæus,
þe fifth chapitre. And Naman, after þat he had etyn
and drownen merily, he after þat was crucified, as it
appirip in þe ninth chapitre of Hester. Thus me semyþ
þat gloteny is a charyng synne, ledyn ðe man to do
much harm.

How abstynens is cause of much goodnes, etcetera.
Capitulum undecimum, etcetera:

<B>e abstynens reson overcomyþ þe flessh and putteþ
þerfro al superfluytes, and it norysship þe engender-
þip 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 þerfor in wit and wisdom he was
gretli named and praised. And as Bernard Savage seiþe
in his Micro sosme: "Abstynens noryssheþ wyt, and glo-
teny wastiþe it." And þerfor sumtyme al þo þat wolde
come to gret good lyved soberly, as it appirip in many
places of holy wryt. And indede we rede hou God / commanded þe children of Israel þat þei xuld lyve sobirly and kepe þem fro etynges dyvers metes, as it appirip 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 appirip in þe second chapitre of Exode. Also Hely lyved ryte sobyrli because þat he myte prophecye þe more wyseli. And indede 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 þe þe fendes, be whom raffenes is undirstondyn, desirip golteny 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 appirip in þe ninth chapitre of Daniel. Also Anne served God, and þefor 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 appirip in þe sixth chapitre of the Book of Nombres. Also we rede hou Seynt Johun þe Baptist ete alonly longegostis and sautereves and wilde honey, as Seynt Mafeu seip in his third chapitre. And þefor he was
chosen above all prophets. But now the tyme is come that glotenyre reyneth, and perch for be flessh werryeth and overcomyth reson, insomuch that lecherye is ryte comon in be world, for glotenyre and drunkenes is his noryssher. Yit we xuld considre that 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 obre that be shuld fast, as it appirip in be Second Book of Paralipomenon, be twenty-ninth chapitre. Also we rede hou be children of Israel were twyes discoumyte of Beniamys childre. But afterward be fasted and God yafe them victory, as it appirip in be second chapitre of be Book of Juges. In lyche wyse be children of Israel were discoumyte with be Philistynis, in so much that be toke away be Arche of God. But after that be children of Israel began to wepe and to faste, and perch God yaf them be victory, as it appirip in be First Book of Kynges, in be fourth and in be seventh chapiters. And therfor Thobye seybe that prayere is good when it is medelid with fastynge. Also we rede how Esdras preched penauns to be pepil that wold aske forievenes of God, as it appirip in be fourth chapitre of Esdras. We rede hou Achat gate grace of God at be first be fastynge, as it appirip in be Second Book of Kynges, be first chapitre. The same wise we rede be the Cyte of
Nynye 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 gret gres causiþe sone deþ, and somtyne sodeynly, as Constantyne wytnes-sip. 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 aunge1-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 exam-pil of auncient pepil. As Seynt Jerome seip to þis purpos in his book Ageyns Jovinyan hou Platon chese to dwel in a pleyn ton called Achaedyn, þe which was ferre from Athenys and from al cetys, because þat he wolde fle letchery and lyve chasteli. And Tarquinyyan rehersip hou Democryte put out his own 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 chaste, but men xuld also eschew þe beholdyng. And þerfor þe Pitagoriens chese somtyme desertes and solitary places to eschewe letchery, and because þei xuld nat see wordli vanytees. And þerfor þe Gospel seþ yif þu or þin ie do amys we xuld put it out. Alas, wordly and flessly beholdynges haþe sumtyme made much pepil to overþowe. Rede we nat hou men in beholdyng women were sterd to letcherie, and þerfor God pun-ysshid þem be þe gret flood, as it appirþ in þe sixth chapitre of Genesis? And Josephes mastres, in beholdyng hym, was steryd to synne. Also David, in beholdyng a woman þat wasshed her hed, was steryd to letcherie. And to fulfylle his syne, he kylled hir husband, as it appiryþ in þe Second Book of Kynges. Hoo deceþed Olofernus, but þe beute of Judith? And hoo deceþed þe two olde men that desyred Susanne but þer fals beholdyng, as it appirþ in þe first chapitre of Daniel? Wherbi it shewþ þat hoo so wyl lyve chasteli, he xuld tynne his look from women and from men þat myte enclyne his wyl to synne. And þerfor seþ Quintilian in his First Cause þat all oure letchery is cause of oure foli look. And Senek in his Book of Remedies seþ <the eyes> be massangeris to al vices. And to þis purpos Valeri seþ in his Fourth Book how sumtyme ryte a fayre child called Spuryn for his
beaute women desired hym to synne. And quan he per-
ceyved it, he split his visage seyng 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 seiþ in his First Book of þe Cite
of God how Mark, fornamed Marcel, was ryȝht chaste.
And indevde 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 knytyehode. 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 knytye. 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 knytye. And
þerfor, fro þat oure forþe, he had ever grace of al þe
world and of alle knyte. 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 knytyngehood. 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 mornying
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 corowned 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 oftin many causers, as baudis þat studiþ
ho þei may do, and intrete ober 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
abovesaid, 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 dispaye 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 levip withoute lethcerye. For lecheri is a stoute sekenes and putteþ a
man to dep or þat he perceyve it, as Valery witnesseth in his Ninth Book. þe which Valery rehersiþ 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 oper þinges, for al evil
comeþ of lechery, and it trobeliþ þe goodnes of every creature." Alas, quat was cause [of] of þe distruc-
cion of þe pepil of Sichem but þe violynge of Dyenne, Jacobs dou3ter, þe which went to see dawnces, and þer
she was ravisshid, as it appirip 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
lecheri set in þe Ievytes wife, as / it appireth in þe
twentieth chapitre of þe Book of Juges. And Amon was
slayn for his lecherie by Absolon, hys broþer, because
that he had violenced his sustir Thamar, as it appirip
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 appirip 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 Comorre but lechery,
as it appirip 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
pempil. And yet in þis I wyl not blame women more þan
men, but I wyl sey quat 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 indeede 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 Methamorphoseos,
þe which seyth þat lechery makeþ a man to brenne in
hymself. And versifouour seip that the love of women
febelith þe body, it lessith ryches, it makiþ the mann
foule þat is fayre, and at þe laste makythy 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 councl, and makyþ hym a very folë, it lettiþ his study, it makeþ a man to fel-eshepe lewdly. Be þat love þe man is all troubeld, and at last hateth hys body and hys lyfe. And Senek in his Declamacions, in þe first book, seip it is an herd deth þat þe which lecherye procureth, for lechery makþ to be loste tyme, wurcheþ, and al goodnes. And therfor Senek in his Twenty-fourth Pistel of Lucylle seyth: "Beware þat lecherye be not in þe, for the lecherous man is as a þing holly lost." And, for-sothe, in auncient tyme lecherous pepil were gretly punysshid. As Valery rehersþ 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 displesyng to God and to auncient pepil, for it causþ much harm as is aforeseyd, etcetera.

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

"Monge all synnys leste excusable is envie, because he haþe no cause of his malyce, insomuche as he is displesed with the / goodnes of þir 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 afore God it
may have non excusacion to aleggge at þe day of dome. 
And it appirip was þat it is þus consideryng þe condicicion of othir synnes ageyn envye. For yif I aske 
the proud person whens comyth þat pryde, som excuse 
may he have seying þat he is proude because of the 
goodes and wurcheþ þat he hape in þis world. And yif 
I aske þe irous mann whi he is wroth, he may sey for 
the hurtes þat arm 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 displesure of opiris 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 displesure of 
otheris welfare seying þat suche goodes to hym is pre-
judiciable, 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 desierst opiris 
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 arm angry of opiris welfare, þe-
wich is nat prejudiciable to hym, or when men rejoyse
of per hurt pat ded hym never harm. Wherbi it appiriþ þis envi is ryte a malicious synne, seyng þat it hav non excusacion as it is aboveseid. And therfor Oraces seip in his Pistelis þat þe invius man waxeth lene with þe welfare of oper, and fateth with his ownwrechidnes and with his neybours povyrte. O false envy—quat! þu doist much harm! How muche pepil hast þu distroyed? Prou þe Chaym slew his own broþer Abel, as it appiriþ in þe third Chapitre of Genesis. Be þe, envye, Joseph was solde of his broþerin, þe which myte nat see the love þat his fader had to hym, as it appireþ in þe book aforeseyd. Be envy Saul persecuted David, þe innocent, because þat Saul had displeasure of þe prayse and þe good name þat he had, as it appireþ in þe First Book of Kynges, þe eighth chapitre. How made Daniel persecuted but envye, as it appiriþ 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 quych myte see þe goodnes and þe myracles þat he ded dayli, as Seint Luke rehersiþ in his nineteenth chapitre. O envie, þu hast do much harme. Prou þe o man mysseþ an-oþer and sekeþ many weyes to greve his neybour. Be þe, envye, Architofle fyl in dispaye, 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 dispaye and hyng / hymself, as it appiriþ in þe Second Booke of
Kynges, þe seventeenth chapitre. Be þe, envi, Seynt Stevyn 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 Dedis, the seventh chapitre. How made þe stryfe between Jonathas and Saul but enviye, for Jonathas excused David and þefor Saul 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 victoryes? Trewly enviye made hym wroþ, as it appiriþ in þe First Book of Machabeus, the third chapitre. Whi was Senacheris wroþ quan he herd sey þat men edified þe wallis of Jerusalem, but for enviye, as Neemie rehersipþe in his fourth chapitre. Wherbi it schewep þat enviye is ryte a grevous sekenes and contrarye to nature, for nature desyreth wel. And every creature naturelly hath plesauns in goodnes. And enviye rejoyseþ hym whan he seþe muche harme fall. And þefor Marcial seip þat envi hateth much the envious, for it kepith þe hert and þe thouþt in gret malencolye and makeþ his colour pal. It makiþ hym to syhen oftyn and ever to sey evil of òper, for he can not sey wel. Enviye sekyth ever a man to betraye òper. Trewly enviye makith þe man lyche a fend of helle, þe which may not suffir ne endure any creature to do wel. The Caldiens sumtyme accused þe jewis ryte falsly be enviye, as it appiriþ in
be third chapitre of Danyel. Achym be envye seid evil of be preste of be lawe called Demetrius, as it appirep in be First Book of Machabeus, be seventh chapitre. And generally envye desyreþ 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, þu art dou3ter to pride: þu mayst not see thi lyknes. Thu desirest to haunt ny the pepil þat is in wrechidnes, and þan þu de- lytest þe quan þu seest þi neybour wepe sore or wayle. Trewly, envye, þu art of ryte a fals nature, for by þe, ne of þe, may come no profyte, neyþer in þis word, ne in þe toper. And of oper synnes it is nat so, for þe lecherous be his synne may sumtyme gete frendeshep. And þe coveitous be his synne becomþ oft ryche. The necli- gent be his necligens haþe oftin pes, because þat he en- tremyttith hym of nopin. And þe proude man is oftin praised. The angry man is oftin dou3ted. And þe glo- ton haþ plesure in good metis and drynkes. And þus all synnes haþe sum plesure save fals envye, the which is contynuelly sory and makeþ man or woman to langure in peyn and in displeasure withoute rest of hert or of cons- cien. To þis purpos Valery tellþ in his Seventh Book hou Fabien was rite envious. For quan he sawh he f.13v xuld yeve þe half of a certeyn noumbyr of shippes / to Kyng Anthioche, þe seid Fabien made cleve al þe vessellis in two partis, and þus þe vessellis vailed neyþer on ner
ober. Wherbi it appirip þe envye hurtip hymself for to hurt ober. And þat dede is þe fendas 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 þefor Pers seip in his Sauters þat þe necligent man is as a bareyn erpe. Thus þe sleper xuld wake and considre þat þe which is good to do, and withoute delay þei xuld execute it. For as Virgyle seip: "Ho so putteþ hym late 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 myschauns. Trew it is þat many be diligent to gete vertu and to have worldly goodes, 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 þinþ þeroun one oure of a day. Ne þei care nost but for þe body and foryetyþ 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 þinkip bope 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, bope to þe body and to þe soule.
And þefor þe prophete seip: "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 þefor þe postle seip wrtyng to Athimothée:
"Wake þu þat slepist, and God xal illumyne þe with his
grace. For hevyn was not ordeyned for sleepers and
necligent pepil, but for þo þat do wel in þis present
world." And to þis diligens many auncient storys out
to encyne us wherbi it appirþ þat necligens hapþ ben
cause of many hurtes and inconvenientes. Rede we nat
how David was ydel and þefor he was tempted with þe
synne of letchereye, insomych þat he fulfilled it to
his gret disworcep? As it appireþ in þe Second Book
of Kynges, þe fifteenth chapitre. And þefor Ovide
seip, in his First Book of Remedies, þat idilnes and
necligens arn norysshers of þe syn of lechereye. And
Quyntilian seip þat naturelly synne askip an ydel man.
And þefor Caton resonabeli seyd to his sonne: "Kepe
be wel / pat þu be not necligent ne slombreng, for longe rest norysship synne and vicis." And to þis purpos we have many storys how much harme haþe comyn in slepyng. Rede we nat hou Thobyse slepyng was blyn-dyd as it appirip in þe second chapitre of Thobies Book? Hisboreth lost hys rewme slepyng, as it appirip in þe Second Book of Kynges, þe fourth chapitre. Sampson, 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 at last dyed, as it appirip in þe sixteenth chapitre of þe First Book of Kynges. Awake necligent pepil, for ye may not longe slepe! As who seip, yeur lyfe is ful short. And þer-for we rede how Jacob reproved his chilldre of necligens, as it appirip in þe twenty-fourth chapitre of Genesis. And oure sovereyn savoure 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 shewip þat necligens is gretli to repryve. And to þis purpos we rede how þo þat xulde sowe good seed sleptyn, and þan comyþ þe fende þat sowip 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 þat slept were not receyved into hevin, but þe holy maydens þat woke was receyvyd. Wherbi it shewip þat we xuld wake, þat is to sey to do wel, for trewli þei slepe þat abide in synne withoute repentynge. Rede we nat upon nature þat þe venym of a serpent called aspide is of such condicion 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 damped nep hym. For defaute of avisyng hym þe man dyeþ oftin ryte shrewdly. To þis purpos Ovide seip in his First Book of Methamorphoseos ho Argus had one hundred eyn, and, natwithstondyng, Mercury, with his pipe, made him to slepe. And þan slepyng, a kowh was take from hym called Yo, þe which Jupiter had taken hym to kepe. And because of his necligens þe forseid Argus was slayn and lost. In lyche wyse many þat hap one hundred eyn, for þei see ful clere and have good wytte and good understondyng, and neverþeles 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 obstenenat, but
bat he hape somtyme a remors of consciens, pe which waké pe and conceiliþ pe to wasshe pe of synne. And hereof hast þu experiens somtyme in þiself quan reson makþ pe anon to sygh and to have displesure of þin evil lyfe. Þan þi consciens jugeþ pe and condampnþ pe quan þu seist: "Alas, I have don evil, so [so] I am sorry." Mesemyth þat þis consciens, pe which wakþ 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 awakþ þe man because þe serpent xuld not noye hym. Thus doe reson and consciens, pe which wakþ us oftin. But þerbi many þat restþ not on a good purpos or on a good þouët quan þe consciens schewþ it to þem. Þe which doþe 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 þe 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 þouëtes þe which wakþ us to do wele, xuld not make us ded but we xuld diligentli wake to do wel for to eschow þe peril of the serpent, þat is to sei of þe fend, þe which ever purchasiþ our deþe, etcetera.

How lyberalyte is ageyns the synne of coveytise.
Capitulum sextum decimum, etcetera:

<Liberalite is a mene to get frendes and to lyve
sufficiently, lich as pe lyght lessith nat þou it schew to many, and þat many hāpe parte þerof. Dedimus wytness þat in his wrytyng to Alisaundre, þe which Alisaundyrgate manyer rewmys more be liberalite þan be strenght. And to þis purpos Boyce seiþ to us in his Second Book of Consolacion þat þe getyng is blissed þe which doþe good to many. And Cassidore in his Twenty-fourth Pistol seiþ þat þe man xuld yeve gladly, for liberalite lessþ nat þe goodes þou þat þe man hāpe 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 hāp 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 witnessþ 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 spekiþ Tulle in his First Book of Offices, seying þat a man xulde yeve to hym þat hāpe 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 yeved to be <un>worpi, and to bo also pat haue non nede, as Clarence and Mar-cial witnessip. Po pat in pat dede dop buis haue non nede ne non grace of God, for be man pat verili wold be large and liberal xuld avise hym and beholde be maner of be yeever and be circumstaunces. And inespe-cial of his yifte xuld be aggreaible to God or non, for be largesse comyp most of a perfyte hert. As Barro seip in his Sentences: "The yifte is more agreabil up-on be affeccion of be yeever pan upon be affeccion of be 3ifte." And hereof have we exaumpil in be Gospel of Seynt Luke. And Seynt Jerome reherisip be name in be prologue of the / Bibil seying pat be 3ifte of be poure woman, be which offred but a litil, was more ex-ceptable to God pan be yifte was of kyng Cressus, which was ryte rych, or of be Kynge of Lyde, be whiche offered gret yiftes and many 3iftes of golde and syl-ver. And be cause whi is for be poure woman made hir offeryng with gretter devocion pan be seid kynges dedyn, concevyng she yafe al pat she had. But be seid kynges, after per 3iftes, were stylle ryche and myti as be were afore. Wherbi it shewip pat be affec-cion doth more pan dope be gretnes of be offeryng. Moreover we rede how be liberalite many haue getyn gret name and gret lordeshepes. And to pis purpos be story of Alisaundre seip pat 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 lorde and þer kynges to serve hym. Also we rede hou Salamon was ryte liberal, as it appirip in þe Third Book of Kynges, þe second chapitre. Also King Cirrus was ryte liberal for he sent ageyn tc Jerusalem þe vessell of golde þe which his fader Nabugodonosor had takyn away, as Esdras rehersiþ in his First Book. We rede also how Thobyre offerid ful liberaly al þat he had to þe aungel Raphael, þe which he wend had ben a man, as it appirip 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 appirip 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 shewd in þe chapitre þat folowis.

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

Be coveitise þe man coveitip oper 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 pe wyse man xuld eschew coveitise and negardshepe. Caym offred to God of pe werst frute pat he had of his ground, and perfor his offerynge was not aggreabil to God. And ban Caym, seyng pat pe offerynge of his bropher Abel was plesyng to God, because perof he was meved to anger and to envie, insomuch pat he slew his own broahir. As it appirip in pe 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 pat was yovin her, betraied hir owen husband Sampson. And perafore she shewid to Sampson rite gret syne of love, as it appirip in pe eighteenth chapitre of pe Book of Juges.

Be pe which pinges it appirip pat coveitise bringip pe man oftin to perdicion. 0 coveitise, pu settist stryfe betwen Abraham and Loth, as pe Boke of Genesis tellip, for per ryches causip pat <they> myte not dwel togeder. Be coveitise Saimuellis children did much harm and yaf many evil jugementes, as it appirip in pe First Book of Kynges. Who made pe fals witnes agains Naboth but coveitise, as it appirip in pe Third Book of / Kynges? Who was cause of pe fals witnes of pe knyghtes pat kept pe sepulcre but coveitise? For be-cause of serteyn mony pat pei receyvyd, falsli pei
witnessed þat þe disciples had stolyn þe body of Jhesu Criste, as Seynt Matheu witnessip in his twenty-eighth chapitre. Who made Achor to dye shrewdli but his coveitise? As it appiriþ in þe seventh chapitre of Josue. Whi wold David slee Nabal, but because þat Nabal was ryte coveitise? As it appiriþ in þe First Book of Kynges, þe fifth chapitre. Why was Semeo damned to dep, but for his coveitise? Ho made hym departe out of Jerusalem ageyns þe commaundement of his fader, but coveytise? As it appiriþ in þe Third Book of Kynges, þe second chapitre. And whi was þe evil riche man damned by for his coveitise? Because he denied þe poure Laser þe crommys of his bred, as Seynt Luke rehersip in his sixteenth chapitre. Trewli avarise haþe perissshed many a man and made þem to consente to many inconvenientes and synnes. For Menelaus, þou3[t] he unworþi was, for money was promoted to be preste of þe lawe, as it appiriþ in þe Second Book of Machabeus, fifth chapitre. And somtyme þe preste of þe lawe, be þer coveityse, suffred nete and shepe to be solde in þe temple, and oþer marchaundises to be done, as Seynt Mæþeu rehersip in his thirteenth chapitre. We rede also how Ananye and Saphire fel in many inconvenientes because of þer coveitise, as it appiriþ in þe fifth chapitre of þe Apostels Dedis. Thus mesemyp þat al þo þat wil lyve holili xuld holde þem content with þe
goodis þat God sendip þem withoute settyng þer hertes on wordeli goodis. For as Saluste in his Catilinayr seip, coveitise lettip trowþe and worþines, and engenderip pride and cruellnes. Coveitise lettip good studi and makip 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 makip þe man a folle. For þe coveitous man desirip ever þat þe which he hæpe not, and þat þe which he hæpe, he knowip nat þat it is his, for he is ever aferde to lese it and þat goodes xuld fayle hym. And þerfor Valeri seip in his Ninth Book þat coveitise farip as þe beste þat may nat be filled and makip þe pepil to dye shreudly. And indede he tellip how on called Septimus, seynþ þat he was in perel of dep 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 appiriþ þat covetise makip þe man a gret folle and waxep unkonnyng, 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, wherupon it for-
tuned ðat be seid covetous man dyed with all his money
and ðe toðer lyved and ware delyvered withoute dep.
So ich man xuld avenge hym and consider how ðat goodes
be not made but to serve man. And ðerfor he xulde not
love ðem but as he haðe necessite. And yit ðan he
xulde use ðem sobirli ðanking God, ðe quych is well of
al goodnes.

How ðe state of poverté is plesaunt to God. Capit-
tulum duodevicesimum.

Poverté is nat ellis but veri suffisauns withoute
desiryng any ðoper ðing but such as God sendip to a
creature. And suche poverté is called poverté of
spirit, ðe which God haþe promyzed in ðe gospel seying
ðat blessed be ðo ðat be poure of spirite, [ðe which
God haþe promyzed in ðe gospel sey] ðat is to sey of
wil. And mesemyþ upon ðe scripture ðat auncient pepil
loved poverté, and inespecial ðo ðat wer loved of God
and called to good and to worchep. Rede we nat how
Jacob was an herd and kept sheep, and goynig doun be ðe
countre he slept in ðe myddis of ðe feld and leid a
ston undir his hed instede of a pelow? As it appiriþ
in ðe twenty-eighth chapitre of Genesis. Also we rede
hou Moises kept a mannes sheep called Jetro, as it
appiriþ in ðe third chapitre of Exode. And yet after
ðat Moyses was ordeyned to be governour of ðe 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
appiriþ 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
poverté is plesyng to God. And indede Jhesu Cryste
haþ yovyn us exampl of poverté, 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 anoþer mannes tounbe. Be
þes þinges Crist Jhesu schewith þat none shuld dis-
prayse poverté, for Jhesu Crist seith in þe gospel,
who so wolþ be perfite xuld forsake worldly goodis and
yeve them to þe poure pepil, as Seynt Matheu rehersip
in his seventeenth chapitre. And to þis purpos we
rede how auncient pepil seid þat þe poure is rycher
yif he haþe suffisaunce, þan is he þat is coveitous
þow he have ryte gret habundauns of good. As Senek
wytnessip, seyng þat Diogenes þe which had nouþt was
rycher þan Alisaundyr þat had al þe werd, for Alisaun-
dyr had not so muche good to yeve as Diogenes myght
and wolde refuse. Of þe which Diogenes Valeri
rehersiþ 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 ete. And one called Aristipus, seyng þat, seyd to hym: "O Diogenes, yif þu woldist flatter Denys, þu xuldist not be in such poverté." And þan Diogenes answerd to hym and seid: "Aristipus, yif þu woldist endure my poverté þu xuldist not be a flatterer as þu art." And Seynt Jerome telliþ of þis same Diogenes in his book Ageyns Jovynyan, how for al cloþis 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, seynþ a / chylde that dranke water in hys honde, kest hym doun a lytel cuppe to þe erthe. And þe child seyd to hym: "It suffysepe to me to drynke in a vessel þat nature haþe yovyn me"—þat is to sey the honde. Wherbi it shewiþ þat gosteli poverté 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 poverté. And Oraces seþ in his Pistelis þat poverté xuld nat displesse, nat-withstandyng þe man haþ sufficiaunt leyng, for al þe gode þat is in þe wyrð may yeve the man no more but
his levyng. And þerfor Caton seid to his sonne: "Seyng þat nature made þe al naked thou shuldest gladli endure povyrte and flee outrages, for nature xal not fayle þe at nede." And þu xalt be ryche yif þu have suffisaunce, as Geoffrey in hys poyetrye wytnessith, and many oþir more. Moreover þe wyse man xuld conside þat man. Is nat Anthiocus deed and com to noþt? Of whom Valery telliþ 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 schod in lych wise; and she ded cary afore hyr charyettes ful of golde. Trew-li al is come to noþt. And þe rych pepil, for al þat, dede the more wretchedly because þei love þer riches. And þerfor Dedimus telliþ hou the pepil of hys cuntre levid pourely and without corioust, for vanite makþ man to perisz and to forsete God, þe which is cause of al goodnes. And þe oleaunt is deceyvid when he trostþ 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 comþþ, þer riches avayleþ þem noþing 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,
spexyng 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 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 dys-
worchepid 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 blyndþeþ man and
mayntenþ him in synne. For ho so is poure may not
overbrewe, but þe ryche is in perel to falle in ryte
gret unhap. And yif þu aske quaþ þat she is, to þat
answerþþ 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
reherściþ in his Sixth Book. Also he tellþ hou Denys
Siracusan was first ryte ryche and ryte a grete lord,
but verili he becam so poure to get his levyng he
tauþt lessons and kept scole to þe litel children of
Corintheus. So he is ryte evil avised þat trostþep in fortune. But þe man xuld trost to do wel, for þat is þe ryches þat helpþþ a man at nede and at his neces-site. But now mankyndeli creatures ben so blynded þat þei set no store but be wordely goodes. The which xuld take examplil of wise auncient pepil of whom we rede þat be wordeli goodes þei set but litiþ 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 posessiones desertes. Þan he seid: "I myte nat be saved yif my possessiones perysshid nat." As ho sey þat riches is ageyn þe salvacion of man. Also he telliþ 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 telliþ 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 ageyn 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 appiriþ þat tho be wyse men that disprrayse þe godes of fortune, as Enpedocles witnessþþ. And Prosper, in his Book of Epigramatôn, seyth þat þe corage of þe coveitise man xal never have rest, for wordly goodis may not resiste
per cours, but þei engendyr and increz þer coveityse 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 conplyssmentes 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 poverte is gode and covetyse kepiþ 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 Constantin 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 inde, 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 stedfastli obeysiaunt to þe chirch, natwithstandyng afore he had ben ryte vigorous. And þe story seip how þe seid Theodosius dede slee seyven thousand men in þe cite called Thessalone, because þat þei had stoned somme of his officers. And after þat cruel dede þe seid Theodosius returned to Myllan wenyng as he had used afore to entre into þe chirch. And Seynt Ambrose, þe which was Archbishship, 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 worði to beholde God." Than Theodosius obeyed and departed wepyng. And it was eight monethis þat he cam not in the chirch. But be- cause 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 seyng 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 appirip 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 victroy of hym. But after he was oftein discoumfyte quan he had distroied þe temple called Delphique, as Policrate telliþ in his Sixth Boke, þe seventh chapitre. And he seid, morever, þat knytyhood xuld kepe þe chirch, punysshe heretikes, worcheþ prestes, defend prestes in ryteful quarellis, and pese stryves. Also Egisopus telliþ how Pompey dede never harme to templis ne to chirchis, and þerfor Alisaundyrr was ful gracius to hym and foryaf hym his mystaking. Wherbi it shewiþ to us þat men xulde worcheþ and kepe þe chirche. And to þis purpos Vegeste seïþ in his Fourth Book of Knytyhood, þe fourth chapitre, how knytis shuld swere treuli first to God, secundelî 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 appiriþ 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 Marchali3et dyed a foule deþe because he had vilensed þe chirch and cruellî takyn þo þat were withinne. We rede also of one called Aquilla,
houte he distroyed 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 wban 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 signyfied 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 /

<S>eynt Jerom in his Pistel seid þat þe prelate xuld have no concubyne, for holi chirche is his spouse. And þerfor in þe ryte canon it is defendid þat prelatis shuld have no women in þer houses but yif þei be undyr age or oute of al suspccion. And to þis purpos we rede of Seynt Austyn, how he wold nat duel with his owen suster to eschewe al evil suspccion. Moreover Seynt Gregori in his Dialoges, in þe Third Book, þe third chapitre, rehersip how a prelate called Andrew was gretli tempted with a woman of religion because þat she dewellid with hym. Wherbi it appirip 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 suspccion. And þerfor Seint Jerome seip in his Forty-third Pistel þat þe state of prelacion is ful worpi, and þerfor prelates xuld beware þat þei do
noping wherbi þer state xuld be slanderid, 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 Hov
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 longíþ 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
levé 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 abusión 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 berib þe arch in tokyn of prelat, and þe ryng upon þer hand betokenyth þat þe chirch is þer spouse, and þe tonycle signifiþ 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 commytteth þer governauns of þer pepil to suffragans and to oper. But þe ryches and þe receites þei commytteth to none oper 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 werib signifiþ 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 archbishoprich 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 withrawe
from þat prelacie. Neverþeles þe trowþe was knowen
and hym most obeying. Also we rede of Seynt Gregori
þat quan he was chosyn 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 chosyn. Also we
rede of an holy man called Ammonius, how he was chosen
to be bysshoph and þerfor he kytte of his ryte ere se-
cretli. And þan he seid to þo þat had chosyn 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 chosyn and called to be bis-
shop, 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 alegge hym and delyver hym of þis charge.
And þe story seip that in his prayers he discesid 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.
he 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 chastye þem and to tech þem. And for al þat God promysed þem hym to yeve hym gretter pepil to govern. Neverbeles 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 [p]pepil, 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 Pistelis 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 Nineteen 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 Nepociam seip 

bat men of þe chirch xuld not take of þer benefices alonly þer honest levyng withoute pompe or coryouste. And the sourplus they schulde distribyute 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 hape ynowgh of his patrymony to lyve on, he xuld noping 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 hynself seith: "I that am byssshop 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 þis tyme he hape yovyn me the grace noping to yeve to þe ryche, but onli to þe poure. And yet, indede, I have kyn þat oftyn—some be manaces and sum be flatery—askyth me the goodis of my cherch. But I xuld have consciens to yeve it þem, natwithstandyng 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 prechynge 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 indede Seynt Poule and Seynt Barnabe, bi þer prechynge, 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 prechynge, converted many myscreauntes, to whom he seid: "My frendes, be not coryous in mankendli sciencis, þe which conteynip deceites and vanitees.

But have þe hert to the seip and to þe holy gospel, þe which conteynyth but trouth." But yif þu sey þu art
no clerk to preche, to þat I answere to þe, and þat
yif þu be good in thyne affeccion, the Holi Gost exal
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 auncient 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 þerfor
seip þe scripture þat þe worde of þe prechoure of
troupe is þe word of þe Holi Gost. It is ful trewe
þat þe prechynge is ryte profitable quan þe prechoure
is of good levyng, as Seynt Gregori seith in þe thir-
tieth Book of his Moralles. And yif prechynge proyte
nat, it is for þe / defaute of þe prechoure, þe which
is of evil levyng, or of mystroestyng, 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 prechynge of Jonas þe prophet, as it appiriþ in þe
third chapitre? Who converted Ynde but þe prechynge of
Seint Thomas? Who converted Samarye but þe þe pre-
chyng of Seynt Phelip? But somme fareth as þe jëwis
þat stoppid þer herys quan [seint] Seint Stephin
prechèd. And some mocked Seynt Poule quan he preched, as it appir íp in þe Book of the Apostelis Dedes. These be of þe condicion of þe serpent called aspis, þe which stoppiþ his eerys with his tail 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 troupe and deyen in þer synnes withoute repentaus.

Moreover mesemyþ many be wroþe quan men in prechyn repreve þer synnes. And thei seme þat men spoke speciali for þem, þe which in som wise be disceyved, for þe Holi Goste mynysteriþ oftin to þe prechoure þe which he haþe not tawght on afore. And to þis purpos Seynt Austyn rehersiþ in his Sixth Book of his Confessions how on a tyme he preched in his sermon of a creature. And menetyme cam on called Alipius, þe which was a player of þe dees and gretli enclyned to voide ocupaciones. 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 appir íþ 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 hymquat studi availed hym, he answerid þat be study þe man lyveþe þe more sewirli, 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 telliþ in his Eighth Book, þe seventh chapitre. And in dede þu xalt see how a man þat is a clerke is wel at ese in besynes and be himself, for he wote wherupon to enploye hym and to occupie him. But þe ignoraunt man wote nat quat to do yif he be not in felaschep to here vaniteis and plesaunt langage of þem þat lovþignorauns, 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 noping but ydelyes. And þerfor a man xuld lern somþing, and in especial in his youghte, for þe rodde plieth not esili but men use it þerto whil it is yonge and grene. Also f.20r þe man takþ 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 seip in his Second Book of Christen Doctryne, al þe goodnes þat is first and principally in oper sciencis is founde in theolege, 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 seip in þe Third Book of Methaphesike, tho þat usen to here and to lere fabules be gretly enclyned to lerne falsnes for trouþe. And þei wene þat þer is noþing but þat whereinne þei have be norysshed. And I am gretly abbashed of many men of þe cherche þe which ben ydel and lerne nat, and þerfor þei fynde þemself in many inconveniences. For natually þe man wold be occupyled and quan he knoweth nat quat to do because of ignoraunce þan he besyeth hym in unleful gamys and in many synnes. And ofteyn tymes al þat comeþ because of ignorauns. Moreover þe man xuld avise hym þat undirstondynge is yovyn to hym to enplye it wel, þe which settip a differens betwen us and bestes. Þus it is gret shame quan þe man þat may amend hym norissheth 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 folowip 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 gretter 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 ... Wyedam*. GH does not narr
the author, nor does BM. H f.183r attributes it to "ffrere Jaques the grete of þe relygion of Saynt Augustyn;" C f.1v to "the venerable and dyscrete persone Frere Jaques 1e graunt lycëcyat in Theologye religyous of the ordre of saýnt 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 scryputure."

55. Gap in GH.

70. Gap in GH.

96. Gap in GH.

113. Gap in GH.

120-121. Therfor þe 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 villaienement."

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. Sare 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 punishmont: 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 Abymalech ... 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.


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

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 overthrown;" BM f.101r, "brought lowe;" H f.185r, "haue be brought lowe."

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

175. *dyscounfyte*, 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.

180-184. *Quat made Pheton ... Methamorposeos.* Ov., Met. 1, 2, 48 ff.

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. 151, 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 ... hyr. Ps. 73, 18-23.
Quia valde opinio sanctitatis ejus excreverat, multi hunc ex diversis provinciis anxie videre sitiebant. Quadam vero die ex longinquo loco ad videndum eum quidam rusticus venit. Eadem vero hora casu contigerat, ut sanctus vir stans in lignis gradibus, reficiendis deserviret lampadibus. Erat autem pusillus valde, exili forma atque despecta. Cumque is qui ad videndum eum venerat quisnam esset inquireret, atque obnixe peteret ut sibi debuisset ostendi, hi qui illum noverant monstrarunt quis esset. Sed sicut stultæ mentis homines merita ex qualitate corporis metiuntur, eum parvulum atque despectum videns, ipsum hunc esse cœpit omnino non credere. In mente etenim rusticâ inter hoc quod audierat et videbat, quasi facta fuerat quædam 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 quas reficiebat pro tinus laetus relinquens, concitus descendit, atque in ejusdem rustici amplexum ruit, eumque ex amore nimio constringere cœpit brachiis, et osculari, magnasque gratias agere quod is de se talia judicasset, dicens: Tu solus in me aper tos oculos habuisti. Qua ex re pensandum est cujus apud se humilitatis fuerit, qui despicientem se rusticum amplius amavit. Qualis enim quisque apud se lateat, contumelia illata probat. Nam sicut superbi honoribus, sic plerumque humiles sua despectione gratulantur. Cumque se et in alienis oculis viles aspicient, idcirco gaudent, quia hoc judicium confirmari intelligunt, quod de se et ipsi apud semetipsos habuerunt.

241. of aspare al fachon, 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. *grutehe*, to murmur, complain. See OED, s.v. *gruthe*. BM f.102v, "mekenès is no murmure ne other mens dis-pleasance;" C f.4v, "is nothynge to grutche;" H f.186r, "very hymlytee ys no murmure nor dyspleysyr to othyr."

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 muniás, quam quæ munita est ab illo qui gressuum nostrorum tanquam Deus vidit infirmitatem. Ea est autem prima, humil-itas; secunda, humilites; tertia, humilites et quoties in-terrogares hoc dicerem: non quo alia non sint præcepta, quæ dicantur, sed nisi humilites omnia quæcumque bene facimus et præcesserit et comitetur et consecuta fuerit, et propo-sita quam intueamur, et apposita cui adhæreamus, et impos-sita qua reprimamur, jam nobis de aliquo bono facto gauden-tibus totum extorquet de manu superbia. Vitia quippe cræ-tea in peccatis, superbia vero etiam in recte factis tim-endæ est, ne illa quæ laudabiliter facta sunt, in ipsius laudis cupiditate amittantur. Itaque sicut rhetor ille no-bilissimus cum interrogatus esset quid ei primum videretur
in eloquentiae praecipitis observari oportere, Pronuntiationem dicitur respondisse; cum quereretur quid secundo, eadem pronuntiationem; quid tertio, nihil aliud quam pronuntiationem dixisse: ita si interrogares, et quoties interrogares de praecipitis christianae religionis, nihil me aliud respondere nisi humilitatem liberet, etsi forte alia dicere necessitas cogeret.

261-271. Of the catalogue of the seven degrees 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 agnitione sibi ipsi vilescit. Haec autem convenit his, qui ascensionibus in corde suo dispositis, de virtute in virtutem, id est de gradu in graduum proficiunt, donec ad culmen humilitatis perveniant, in quo
velut in Sion, id est in speculatione, positi. veritatem prospicient.

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, saltem imitare humilem Deum. Venit Filius Dei in homine, et humilis factus est: praecipi-tur tibi ut sis humilis, non tibi praecipitur ut ex homine fias pecus: ille Deus factus est homo; tu, homo, cognosce 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.* Hæc enim commendatio humilitatis est. Superbia quippe facit voluntatem suam; humilitas facit voluntatem Dei. Ideo qui ad me vene-rit, non ejiciam 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 fit; 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 lease. thou ought-est to folowe thyn humble maister and lord Jhesu Cryste,"
285-287. There is ... Seynt Jerome Ninety-seventh

_Pystil._ Jer., Ep., 12 (PL, 22, 345-346):

Dominus noster humilitatis magister, disceptantibus de
dignitate discipulis, unum apprehendit e parvulis, dicens:
*Quicumque vestrum non fuerit conversus sicut infans, non
potest introire in regnum cælorum.* Quod ne tantum docere,
nec facere videretur, implevit exemplo: dum discipulorum
pedes lavat: dum traditorem osculo excipit: dum loquitur cum
Samaritana: dum ad pedes sibisedente Maria, de cælorum dis-
putat regno: dum ab inferis resurgens, primum mulierculis
apparescit.

BM f.103v : Epistilos the iiii 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
pystil," 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. 1xx;" 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* ... "yw." 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."

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 resøn. 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 ignoro, cujus mihi nunc et origo et causa dicenda est."


350-352. And ... Juvenal ... þǐself." 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 Seynt Austyn ... "frelnes."* Aug., De
Trin., 4, Prooemium, 1:

Scientiam terrestrium coelestiumque rerum magni æstimare sol-
let genus humanum: in quo profecto meliores sunt qui huic
scientiæ præponunt nosse semetipsos; laudabiliiorque est
animus cui nota est vel infirmitas sua, quam quia ea non
respecta, vias siderum scrutatur etiam cogniturus, aut qui
jam cognitas tenet, ignorans ipse qua ingrediatur ad salu-
tem ac firmitatem suam.

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

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

Sic autem superbiam parit tibi ignorantia tui, cum meliorem
quam sis, decepta et deceptrix tua cogitatio te esse meni-
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
firmitatem. Et sunt nonnulla vitia quæ ostendunt in se
rectitudinis speciem, sed ex pravitate prodeunt infirmi-
tate. Hostis enim nostri malitia tanta se arte palliat, ut
plerumque ante deceptæ mentis oculos culpæ virtutes fingat,
ut inde quisque quasi exspectet præmia, unde dignus est æ-
terna invenire tormenta. Plerumque enim in ulciscendis vi-
tiis crudelitas agitur, et justitia putatur, atque immoder-
ata ira justi zeli meritum creditur; et cum a distortis mor-
ibus peccantes dirigì caute debeant, violenta inflexione
franguntur. Plerumque dissoluta remissio quasi mansuetudo
ac pietas habetur; et dum plus quam decet delinquentibus
temporaliter parcitur, ad æterna supplicia crudelerer
reservatur. 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.
Sæpe malorum pertinacia constantia dicitur, et dum mens a
pravitate sua flecti non patitur, quasi ex recti defensione
gloriatur. Sæpe inconstantia quasi tractabilitas habetur,
et quo quisque fidem integram nulli servat, eo amicum se
hominibus aestimat. Aliquando timor incompetens humilitas creditur, et cum temporalis formidine pressus quise a defensione veritatis tacet, arbitratur quod juxta Dei ordinem humilem se potioribus exhibeat. Aliquando vocis superbia veri libertas aestimat, et cum per elationem veritati contradicitur, loquendi procacitas veritatis defensio putatur. Plerumque pigritia quasi continentia quietis attenditur, et cum gravis culpæ sit recta studiose non agere, magis virtutis meritum creditur a prava tantum actione cessare. Plerumque inquietudo spiritus, vigilans sollicitudo nominatur; et cum quiem quisque non tolerat, agendo quae appetit, virtutis debitae implere se exercitium putat. Sæpe ad ea quæ agenda sunt incauta praecipitatio laudandi studii fervor creditur; et cum desideratum bonum intempestiva actione corrupitur, eo agi melius quo celerius aestimat. Sæpe accelerandi boni tarditas consilium putatur; et cum expectatur ut ex retractatione proficiat, hoc insidians mora supplanat. Igitur cum culpa velut virtus 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 difficultius emendatur, recte dicitur: Cartilago ejus quasi laminae ferreæ. Behemoth enim iste quo sub praetextu boni calliditatem suam fraudulentius exhibet, eo in culpa mentem durius tenet.

364-365. 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 discipline, interior scilicet et exterior. Interior disciplina est per distinctioem cordis, correctio morum; exterior vero per afflictionem carnis, correctio actionum. Exterior quandoque generat interiorem; quia, dum mens non spargitur ad exteriora, revertitur ad quietis amorem.
371-374. And ... Yeaye ... "pouztes." Isaias 46, 8: "Remember this, and be ashamed: return ye transgressors, to the heart."

374-378. A ful wyse ... Senek ... Ire. Sen., Ira, 3, 36:
Faciebat hoc Sextius, ut consummato die, cum se ad nocturnam quietem recepisset, interrogaret animum suum: "Quod hodie malum tuum sanasti? Cui vitio obstitisti? Qua parte meliores?"

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

382-388. For to have mekenes ... be chapitre afty. 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 þe 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. wipynge and <drying> hye feete with hir heer. No gap in GH. BM f.106v, "wepynge and drying his fete with here heres;" C f.6v, "wepyng and wypynge 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 indee Jacob ... Genesis. Gen. 32, 4-5.

422-425. Whi was ... Roboam ... 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, "chinquantaines;" C f.7r, "the tweyne companyes eche of fyfty."

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

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

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] frendship 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 othyr/.


465. Alas. GH, "Also." BM f.107v, "Ellas;" C
f.7v, "Alas;" H f.189r, "Alas."

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 out-
ward 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 þe bore ... erþe.  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 aforesaid.* 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 bot nature that wnoth 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 Legrand 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 incrapat ore:  
> "Desine grande loqui; frangit Deus omne superbum, magna cadunt, inflata crepant, tumefacta premuntur. disce supercilium deponere, disce cavere 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, "humylyte addressth a man. and maketh his lyf move in a moyen."

500-504. Moreover ... Valerye ... ping. 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 universalique insignia sub titulo consulatus in se translatata cerneret, invidiosum magistratus fastigium moderatione ad tolerabilem habitum deduxit. Fasces securibus vacuefaciendo et in contione populorum 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 comitis centuriatis tulit, nec quis magistratus civem Romanum adversus provocationem verberare aut necare vellet. Ita, quo civitatis condicio liberior esset, imperium suum paulatim destruxit. Quid quod aedes 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 þe myte of Pharaon? Exodus 15, 3-6. BM f.108v omits this.

514-515. þat 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 pride folk ne is he not passed and all his descended as is the smoke whan the fire is oute."

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

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

527-529. And Antyropeys ... hyself. 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, ykyled 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, "gamaleon."

539-543. And King 3erches ... "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, seip be scripture, to God þan dope obediens or sacrefyse;" BM f.109v, "Obedience pleaseth more to god then sacrefyse;" C f.94, "The scrypture sayth that obeyssance pleseth more unto god / than doth sacrefyse;" H f.191r, "As scrypture 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 mille omnia se strenue facturos, quae praecipit 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."

574-576. For as scripture ... apostel. Rom. 15, 1-7.

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

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

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 chapters_. 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 præparatum: dumque coctionis re-
tardat occasio, non modo aridum, sed prope putre jacebat
temporis vetustate. Cumque hoc coram ipso fixisset in ter-
ram, præcepit advecta aqua quotidie 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 suscipientis adolescentem, ita quotidians diebus
expelit, ut aquam per duo ferme millia indesinenter appor-
tans, nullatenus lignum rigare cessaret, atque per totum
anni spatio non infirmitas corporis, non festivas solemi-
tatis, non occupatio necessitatis ullius, quæ illum etiam
honeste excusaret ab exsecutione mandati, non denique hiemis
asperitas intercedens ab hujus observatione præcepti potu-
erit impedire. Cumque ejus hanc sedulitatem tacitus senex
latenter diebus singulis exploraret, et videret eum simplici
cordis aucto mandatum suum velut divinitus emissum
sine ulla permutazione 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
hæc 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 præcepit 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 florerit, 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 huc advolve quantocius. Qui confestim saxum immane 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 infunderet vestimentum: sed etiam saxum ipsum suis cervicibus humectaret; in hoc quoque parum metiens impossibilitatem praecessi, 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 þe 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 othyre wyse called Bees obbeyen to her kyng / and Cranes yn lyke wyse."

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

606-608. Also þe childre of Israel ... Nounbres. 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 brepyn ... com-maunde it. This has not been traced.
628. ascusith them, excuse themselves.


632-635. Moreover ... pe 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. [bat he was] Kynges. The scribe seems to have slipped back and started to recopy 11. 636-637, "bat he was kyng."

639-642. And ... Thoby. 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 ... þeref. 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 frustrantur, non grandia, non mediocria, non pusilla. Denique jubemur colligere fragmenta ne pereant, id est nec minima beneficia oblivisci. Numquid non perit quod donatur ingrato. Ingratitudo inimimica est
animæ, exinanitio meritórum, virtutum dispersio, beneficiorum perditior. Ingratitudo ventus urens, siccans sibi fontem pietatis, rorem misericordiae, fluenta gratiae.

664-665. knowe p nat perof. 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, solicite considerare nos admonet, ne nos, qui plus caeteris in hoc mundo accepisses aliquid cernimus ab auctore mundi, gravius inde judicemur. Cum enim augentur dona, rationes etiam crescent donorunm. Tanto ergo esse humilior atque ad servientium 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 aggregyng 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 peye and grucchyng 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, "Hugse;" C f.10r, "hughe;" H f.192v, " heghe."


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 epistle;" 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 apperyth yn þe fyrst 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. *receyvid.* 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."


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 kyllred hys sone named Zacharye;" BM f.114r, "And so did the kyng Jacob which hadd forgoten the frenseshipe of Parnad the prest of the law for he slogh 3akarye As hit is writyn in the boke of paralipomenon in the xii chapetre;" C f.11v, "Thus dyd the kyng Joab / the whyche forgate th amyte of Joga the preest of the lawe. For he slewe 3acha-rye his sone. as it is wryton in the book of Paralipomenon the xxiii chapytre."

769-772. *And be 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 desprased god;" C f.11v, "And herof have we many hystoryes of them that have."

780-783. And after pat ... 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 pe 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 perfor 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 variis sectarum libidinibus et sententiarum aemulationibus 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 gloriam promovet.

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

800-804. And ... Senek ... "encres 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 anticipit fortunae subjecti essemus. Felicitatis igitur humanae appellationem rogus consummat, qui se incursui malorum objicit. Idem, cum ex amicis quendam graviter maerentem videret, in arcem perduxit hortatuse 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 versentur et insequentibus 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-
arum acervo portionem suam ferre mallent." Quo colligebat
non oportere nos quae sortito patiamur præcipue et intoller-
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 Espicure ... Apologistique*. Tert.,
Apol., 45, 6:

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


809-811. *And Quintilian ... endure*. Quint., Inst.,
6, Pr. 13: "Et si non cupidus 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, furies omnemque malorum 
militiam et rabidas tolerando extinguere vires."

812. in his book. H f.194v, "in hys booke of the 
subieccyoun of synnes;" C f.12r, "in hys book of the subjec-
cion of synnes." RM f.115r is unclear.

813-815. Pat paciens ... noye hym. Luc., Phar., 9, 
402-404: serpens sitis ardon harenae 
dulcia uirtuti: gaudet patientia duris. 
laeitus est quotiens magno sibi constat honestum. 
A reference has been omitted here. H f.194v, "And Lucan yn 
hys thyrde booke sewth 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 eniyoth 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 ... velanyes. 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 aequanimitet 
alia etiam jocis mordaciora pertulerit.
818-824. *And Valery ... "opir abyden."* Val. Max.,

Fact., 4, 1, Ext. 3:

Nequaquam Platoni litterarum commendatione par Syracusanus
Dio, sed quod ad praestandum moderationem adtinuit, uehemen-
tioris experimenti. patria pulsus a Dionysio tyranno Mega-
ram petierat. ubi cum Theodorum principem eius urbis domi
conuenire uellet neque admitteretur, multum diuque 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 tranquilitate 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 indede ... Aixsandraidos.* Gault.,
Alexander, 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 wyntessyþ in his Third Book of Alix-
sandroyd. H f.195r, "as Valere wynteseth yn hys thyrde
booke;" C f.12r, "As wynteseth Valere in his thyrd book of
Alexandridos." BM f.115v is in a state of high confusio
here.

833-835. And þe for 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-
lacion., 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, γυμνα παιδερασον, id est, Oculi corruptoris puerorum, et irruentes in eum discipuli ejus, ulcisci illatum magistro vellent conviciunm indignationem eorum hoc dicitur compressisse sententia: Παιδερασθε ἐταπορος, εἰς λαιάλλα ἁπέχω, id est, Quiescite, 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 oblectionem illius passionis exclusam.

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

843-851. Rede we nat ... Thobie. There is considerable variation among the MSS at this point. H f.195r adds "And Joseph also was ryght pacient in hys yn hys persecucyoun whan hys brethyr solde hym. as it appiryth yn þe x.xxxviith. chapytre of Genesys." H omits, however, any mention of the stories of David and Tobias. BM f.116r also omits any mention of David and Tobias and combines the reference to Isaac and Joseph: "Ne rede we not how Isaac was full pacient in the persecucucion 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.


Socrates Xantippen et Myron neptem Aristidis duas habebat uxores. Quae cum crebro inter se jurgarentur, et ille eas irridere esset solitus, quod propter so fœdissimum, hominem, simis naribus, recalva fronte, pilosis humeris, et repandis cruribus, disceptarent: Novissime verterunt in eum impetum, et male multatum fugientemque diu persecutæ sunt. Quodam autem tempore cum infinita convicia ex superiori loco ingenti Xantippæ restitisset, aqua perfusus immunda, nihil amplius respondit quam capite deterso: Sciebam, inquit, futurum ut ista tonitrua imber sequeretur.


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 prae sentem adducti non agnoverunt se. Et quantulum ex vera deformitate imago illa speculo repercussa reddebat? Animus si ostendi et si in ulla materia per lucere posset, intuentis nos con- funderet ater maculosusque et aestuans et distortus et tumi- dus.

872. As ho seybe. 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 concel. Cic., Marcell., 10:

at vero cum aliquid clementer, mansuete, iuste, moderate, sapienter factum, in iracundia praesertim, quae est inimica consilio, et in victoria, quae natura insolens et superba est, audimus aut legitimus, quo studio incendimur, non modo in gestis rebus, sed etiam in fictis, ut eos saepe, quos numquam vidimus, diligamus!
873. *to bis 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 Espicure ... 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. *Espicure.* 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 500 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 Vaticanum* 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 Catoun seyth angre engendreth dyscorde and al enmyte. and resoun to be lost as yt Appereth 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 enemyte and causeth reson to perysshe. in the second boke of eneydios. 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 seyp 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 valius erat, somnumque petebat
securus varias dux gregis inter oves.

881. Sibile, Albius Tibullus.

884-890. *Tellip nat Valery ... cruellnes*. 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, qua
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 religione 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 cruciato mugitus resonantem spiritum edere cogeabantur, ne ejulatus eorum humanæ sono vocis expressi Phalaridis tyranni misericordiam implorare possent. Quam quia calamitosis deesse voluit, tæterrimum artis suæ opus primus artifex inclusus merito auspicatus est.

890-893. So ... Senèk ... 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, inquietæ manus, color versus, crebra et vehementius acta suspiria, ita irascentium eadem signa sunt.

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

892. noping but a spyc 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

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 ... ïem. 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 τυμος: 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 ... Nombres. 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. lettith, to hinder, prevent, obstruct, stand in the way of. See OED, s.v. lst. H f.196v, "hurteth;" BM f.118r, "enpecheth man godes;" C f.14r, "empecheth and letteth 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 cogebantur, ne eiulatus eorum humano sono uocis expressi Phalaridis tyranni misericordiam implorare possent. quam quia calamitosis deesse uoluit, taeerrimum artis suae opus primus inclusus merito auspicious 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 Phala-
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 neverpeles ... sallary. Val. Max.,
Fact., 9, 1, Ext. 2:

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

933. ryver of Colle. 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. seynge so set I may not plesse 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. Geyte, 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 prynse of alle devysion, engenderyth fyrst in dyverse manerys. H f.196v, "but þe enemye whyche ys redy to make dyvysyon by dyvers meenes. engendreth noyse;" BM f.118v, "bot thenmye that is prync of all debate be dyverse maners engedereth noyse;" C f.14r, "But the devyl whyche is prynce of alle devysion by dyvers maners engendreth the stryves and noyse."

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, "Wherfor did the Egipcians hate the childe of Israel ...;" C f.14v, "Wherefore hated the egipciens the chyldren of Israeil ...;" H f.197r, "Wherfor dyd the Epypcyens hate the
children of ysrael ...."

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 perfor 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 harming 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 pu flee noyses.
for many a man hath had moche harme for spekynge. 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 thy purpos seyth Juvenal yn hys .iii. th booke. that stryvynge 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 constitutes 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 Threícia sacra reperta Samo?
Exigua est virtus praestare silentia rebus:
At contra gravis est culpa tacenda loqui.
O bene, quod frustra captatis arbores pomis
Garrulus in media Tantalus aret aqua!
Praecipue 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, "xephon;" C f.15r, "exen-
ephon;" H f.197v, "3enophon."

990-991. And Senek ... man. Sen., De Ira, 34: "Cum
pare contendere anceps 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 Senke 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 ... Exode. 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 ὁμήρῳ Graece, quae hominem huc et illuc rapit, altera in ratione, quae docet et explanat, quid faciendum fugiendumque sit. Ita fit, ut ratio praesit, appetitus obtemperet.

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 arbitramur."

1017-1019. And to þis purpos Agelle ... Lyve. Gell., Noct. Att., 2, 1, 4: "Temperantia quoque fuisse eum tanta traditum, ut omnia fere vitae suae tempora valitudine inoffensiva vixerit."
1017. *Age\(l\)\(e\).* 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. *be 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 Laicasen ... reule.* Lact., Divin.

*Instit.*, 3, 8:

Audiamus etiam Zenonem; nam is interdum virtutem somniat.  
Summum, inquit, est bonum, cum natura consentaneae vivere.  
Belluarum igitur nobis more vivendum est. Nam quae abesse debent ab homine, in iis omnia deprehenduntur: voluptates appetunt, metuunt, 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 praecipitat? Vel si aliam mutorum, aliam hominis dicit esse naturam, quod homo ad virtutem sit genus, 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 alterius rei gratia homines apperunt, non propter ipsam. Quis enim scire contentus est, non expetens aliquem fructum scientiae? Artes ideo discutunt, ut exercantur: exercentur autem, vel 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, gloriæm, voluptatem? quæ non sunt homini propria, et ideo ne summa quidem bona. Nam voluptatis et victus appetentia non homini solum, sed etiam mutis inest. Quid cupiditas gloriarum 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 per for Senek ... letcherye. Sen. Ep., 83, 20:

Non facit ebrietas vitia, sed prostrahit; tunc libidinosus ne cubiculum quidem expectat, sed cupiditatisus suis quantum petierunt sine dilatatione permittit; tunc inpuicus 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, "replecation."

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

Unde et Galenus vir doctissimus, Hippocratis intrepres, athletes, 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 infuluvie cogitare.

1030-1032. *And indede Socrates ... Agelle ... above said?* 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 accepimus Socraten facere insuevisse: stare solitus Socrates dicitur pertinaci statu perdius atque pernox a summō lucis ortu ad solem alterum orientem inconivens, immobils, 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. Paucis enim minimisque natura contenta est, cuius 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 aliquid dedecus prolaberentur, quia proximus a Libero patre intemperantiae gradus ad inconcessam uenerem esse consueuit. 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 concinniorem 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.

1039-1041. And Agelle ... noght. Gell., Noct.,
Att., 2, 24, 1: "Parsimonia apud veteres Romanos et victus
atque cenarum tenuitas non domestica solum observatione ac
disciplina, sed publica quoque animadversione legumque com-
plurium sanctionibus custodita est." The rest of the chap-

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

Gens igitur Bragmanorum pura et simplici vita vivit.
Nullis rerum capitur illecebris. Nil appetit amplius, quam
ratio naturae flagitat. Omnia patitur ac tolerat illud pu-
tans necessarium, quod scit non esse superfluum. Facilis
nobis semper alimonia, non quam luxuriae sagacitas per omnia
currens elementa perquirit, sed quam tellus ferro inviolata
producit. Mensam epulis oneramus innocuis. Hinc est, quod
nulla genera morborum numeramus et nomina, sed diurninis
gaudiis salutis interemeratae defruimus. Nullus itaque apud
nos sanandis corporibus usus est herbarum nec in alienas
pernicies auxilium petimus constituti.

1043. of Pragmeyn and Prage. This is probably the
result of several translations and transcriptions of "Brag-
manorum."

1051-1055. And perfor Lucan ... hym. Luc., Phar.,
2, 380-385:
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 cæterna subdis
Sub juga venisti, periit 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 seip in his First Book to Alixandreysdos that drunkenes is pe sepulcre of al vices*. H f.198 v, "ffor as Galdere seyth yn hys fy rst booke of Alexandrydes that drinkennes ys pe 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 fy rst book of alexandrydes dronkenshyp is the sepulcre of rayson."


803-810:

Quid tibi praecipiam de Bacchi munere, quaeris?
Spe brevius monitis expediere meis.
Vina parant animum Veneri, nisi plurima sumas,
Et stupeant 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.


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 utyrly ys unable to do any goode dede."

1066. *werreyep*. 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.

1069-1073. *In lych wise ... Matheu*. Matt. 4, 3.

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


1084-1086. *And be gloteny ... 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 inuiicti adsecutus continetiam Diogenis cynici uincere non potuit. ad quem cum in sole sedentem 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 nimium inhaesit sententia: Alexander Diogenen gradu suo diuitiis pellere temptat, celerius Dareum armis.

Idem Syracusis, cum holera ei lauanti Aristippus dixisset, 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 attolleret, ubi sincerae rationalis divinitas habitaret. Optimam corporis et deputatam intelligentiae portionem ab esculentis membris grossioribus longissime relegavit, ne ab ea quae cibo alimentisque nascitur sensus illuvie tardarentur.

1117-1120. And indede ... Levites. 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 conserved. 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 sautereves. 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, "wyld 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 Thobye ... 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 Nynyve. I capitalize since this is a title and since both are capitalized in the MS.

1171-1173. And Aristotyl ... "himself." 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 grete grege ... Constantyne wytnessip. This has not been traced.

1181. Gap in GH.

1182-1184. And perfor Dedimus ... clannes. RG, 172, 12-14: "Libidini membra debilitanda non tradimus. Nocte
non utimus ad tegenda flagitia."


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


1190. Achadeyn, Academe.

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

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

1197. be 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 Josephes ... synne. Gen. 39, 6-9.

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

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

1209-1210. Hoo deceived ... 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 remediis fortuitorum ad Gallionem, an apocryphal work. Efforts to locate one of the earlier editions of Seneca which include De remediis 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 Spuryne ... synne. Val. Max., Fact., 4, 5, Ext. 1:

Quod sequitur externis adnectam, quia ante gestum est quam Etruriae ciuitas daretur. excellentis in ea regione pulchri-tudinis adulescens nomine Spurinna, cum mira specie conplu-rium feminarum illustrium sollicitaret oculos ideoque uiris ac parentibus earum se spectum esse sentiret, oris decorem uulneribus 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, ur-

bem ornatissimam, cepit, refertur eam prius flevisse ruitu-

ram, et ante ejus sanguinem suas illi lacrymas effusisse.

Gessit et curam pudicitiae, etiam in hoste servandae. Nam

priusquam oppidum victor iussisset invadi, constituit edici-

to, 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 capiendae sumpsisset

auspicia multosque obsides, quos in ea urbe Poeni clausos

habuerant, in suam potestatem redegisset, eximiae inter eos

formae virginitatem adultae et juvenis et caelestis et vic-

tor, postquam comperit illustri loco inter Celtiberos natam

nobilissimoque gentis ejus Indibilis desponsam, arcessitis

parentibus et sponso inviolatam tradidit; aurum quoque, quod

pro redemptione puellae allatum erat, summae dotis adjecit.

Qua continentia ac munificentia Indibilis obligatus, Celti-

berorum animos Romanis applicando meritis ejus debitam gra-

tiam rettulit.

1246-1251. Thei xulde pink ... outrageousnes. Val.

Max., Fact., 6, 1, 1:

Dux Romanae pudicitiae Lucretia, cuius uirilis animus malign-

no errore fortunae muliebre corpus sortitus est, a Sex. Tar-

quinio regis Superbi filio per uim stuprum pati coacta, cum

grauissimis uerbis injuriam suam in concilio necessarium

deplorasset, ferro se, quod ueste tectum adulerat, intere-

mit causamque tam animoso interitu imperium consulare pro

regio permutandi populo Romano praebuit.

1260-1267. The which ... þe women of Ceteynques ...

hymg hemself. Val. Max., Fact., 6, 1, Ext. 3:
Teutonorum vero conjuges Marium victorem orarunt ut ab eo virginibus Vestalibus dono mitterentur, affirmantes æque se atque illas virilis concubitus expertes futuras; eaque re non impetrata laqueis sibi nocte proxima spiritum eripuerunt. Dii melius, quod hunc animum viris earum in acie non dederunt. Nam, si mulierum suarum virtutem imitari voluissent, incerta Teutonicae victoriae tropæa reddidissent.

1261. women of Ceteynques. BM f.126r, "seutoniques;" C f.18v, "wymmen of duche londe;" H f.201r, "certyn women."

1271. Gap in GH.

1272-1274. And þerfor Boete ... Letcherye. Boeth., Consol., 3, pr. 7:

Quid autem de corporis voluptatibus loquar, quorum appetentia quidem plena est anxietatis, satietas uero poenitentiae? Quantos illae morbos, quam intolerabiles dolores quasi quendam fructum nequitiae fruentium solent referre corporibus! Quorum autem quid habeat iucunditatis, ignoro. Tristes uero esse voluptatum exitus, quisquis reminisci libidinum suarum uolet, intelleget. Quae si beatos explicare possunt, nihil causae est quin pecudes quoque beatae esse dicantur quorum omnis ad explorandam corporalem lacunam festinat intentio. Honestissima quidem coniugis foret liberorumque iucunditas, sed nimirum natura dictum est nescio quem filios inuenisse tortorem; quorum quam sit mordax quaecumque condicio, neque alias expertum te neque nunc anxiun necesse est admonere. In quo Euripidis mei sententiam probo, quem carentem liberis 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
pænitentiam 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.:

Hæc societas vitiorum lascivi vultus et novæ cupiditati inhærentium 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 imperii referta.

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

1276-1281. *Be 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 ueneriis, 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, x1 N; 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 Absolom because of the relationship between Amnon and Thamar. Both men were sons of David out of different wives. Thamar was the blood sister of Absolom.

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

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

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


1302-1306. And considre ... wyse pepil. This amounts to a traditional list of women who deceived men, as Domenico Comparetti 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 Salemone faulx testament;
   Ypocras en fu enerbé;
   Sanson le fort deshonnoré;
   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 souzb le tombel en caige;
   Nul ne se puet garder de leur langaige.
   Par femme fut en la corbeille à Romme
   Virgile mis, dont ot moult de hontage.
   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 fict 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 deceyved.* 3 Kings 11, 4.

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

1303-1304. *the mysti Olofernus.* 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 homicidiis cruentatur aut rapina succeditur aut liuoribus rancidatur; sed hoc penes illos Epicurei ac voluptarii, penes nos uero huiusmodi 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, ebriosi, maledici, rapaces, et omnes qui opera carnis agunt [de
quibus beatus dicit Apostolus, quia regnum Dei non consequetur (Gal. 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 delectione et cordis obduratione permanserit, sicut hic eum noxia criminum delectatio tenuit, sic eum sine fine sempiterna cruciatio retinebit.

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

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

P. Cornelius Scipio cui deleta Carthago avitum cognomen dedidit, consul in Hispaniam missus, ut insolentissimos Numantiae 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 submoventur; 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 aëquavit. Itaque neglectæ disciplinæ militaris indicium Mancini miserabilis deditio, servatae merces speciosissimæ Scipionis triumphus exstitit.

1313. Kyng Sapton. BM f.127r, "the noble knyght called scipion;" C f.19v, "Scipion the noble knyght;" H f.202r, "Scipyon 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 flammas.
1321-1324. *And versifuour ... nou3t.* This has not been traced.

1321. *And versifuour.* BM f.127v, "and the verci-fiour;" 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):

Scripserunt Aristoteles et Plutarchus et noster Seneca de matrimonio libros, ex quibus et superiora nonuulla sunt, et ista qua subjicimus: Amor formae, rationis oblivio est, et insaniae proximus; foedum minimeque conveniens animo sospiti vitium. Turbat consilia, altos et generous spiritus frangit, a magnis cogitationibus ad humillimas detrahit; querulos, iracundos, temerarios, dure imperiosos, servilliter blandos, omnibus inutilis, ipsi novissime amori facit. Nam cum fruendi cupiditate insatiabilis flagrat, plura temporae suspensionibus, lacrymis, questionibus perdit: odium sui facit, et ipse novissime sibi odio est.


1329-1332. *And Senek ... al goodnes.* 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, epu-
lae cruditatem adferunt, ebrierunt nervorum torporum tremor-
emque, libidines pedum, manuum articulorum omnium, deprava-
tiones."

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 mu-
nita, cum filius eius adulteri crimen damnatus secundum ius
ab ipso constitutum utroque oculo carere deberet, ac tota
ciuitas in honorem patris necessitatem poenae adolescuntulo
remitteret, aliquandiu repugnuit. ad ultimum populi preci-
bus evictus suo prius, deinde filii oculo eruto usum uidendi
utrisque reliquit. ita debitum supplicii modum legi reddi-
dit, aequitatis admirabili temperamento se inter misericor-
dem patrem et iustum legislatorem partitus.

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

1345. Gap in GH.

1344-1482. insomuche ... be 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 ...
done. 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. Invidus 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 invidendo subripuit, quia amissa beatitudine, minorem se immortalitati illius agnovit. Hinc est quod Cain ad perpetrandum fratricidium corruit; quia despecto suo sacrificio, paelatum sibi infremuit, cujus Deus hostiam accepit: et quem meliorem se esse exhorruit, ne utcunque esset, amputavit. Hinc Esau ad persecutionem fratris exarit, quia primogenitorum benefictione perdita, quam tamen esu lenticulae ipse vendiderat, minorem se ei, quem nascendo praebat, ingemuit. Hinc Joseph fratres sui Ismaelitis transeuntibus vendiderunt, quia cognito revelationis mysterio, ne se melior fieret, ejus provectibus obviare conati sunt. Hinc Saul David subditum, lanceam intorquendo, persequitur, quia quem magnis quotidie augeri virtutum successibus sensit, ultra se excrescere expavit. Parvulus itaque est qui invidia occiditur, quia nisi ipse inferior existeret, de bono alterius non doleret.

85. In invidia serpens antiquus totum virus suum concutit ac vomit. Invidi descriptio. Sed inter haec sciendum est quia quamvis per omne vitium quod perpetratur, humano cordi antiqui hostis virus infunditur, in hac tamen nequitia, tota sua viscera serpens concutit, et imprimendae malitiae pestem vomit. De quo nimirum scriptum est: Invidia diabolī more intravit in orbem terrarum. Nam cum devictum cor livoris putredo corruperit, ipsa quoque exteriora indicant, quam graviter animum vesania instigat. Color quippe pallore afficitur, oculi deprimuntur, mens acciduntur, et membra frigescunt, fit in cogitatione rabies, in dentibus stridor: cunque in latebris cordis crescens absconditur odium, dolore caeco terebrat conscientiam vulnes inclusum. Nāl lætum de proprīis libet, quia tabescentem mentem sua poena sauciat, quam felicitas torquet aliena; quantoque extranei operis in
altum fabrica ducitur, tanto fundamentum mentis lividæ profundius suffoditur; ut quo ali ad meliora properant, eo ipse deterius ruat; qua ruina videlicet etiam illud destructur, quod in aliis actibus perfecto opere surrexisse putabantur. Nam invidia cum mentem tabefecerit, cuncta quæ inventerit bene gesta consumit. Unde bene per Salomonem dicitur: *Vita carnis, sanitas cordis; putred ommium invidia.* Quid enim per carnes, nisi infirma quædam 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 jam quædam ante humanos ocilos robusta exerceant, sed tamen erga aliorum bona, intus invidiæ pestilentia tabescant. Bene ergo dicitur: *Vita carnis, sanitas cordis,* quia si mentis innocentia custoditur, etiam si qua foris infirma sunt, quandoque roborantur. Et recte subditur: *Putred ommium invidia,* quia per livoris vitium, ante Del oculos pereunt etiam fortia acta virtutum. Ossa quippe per invidiam putrescere, est quædam etiam robusta deperire.

86. *Invidiæ immittuo et mors, inchoatus aut perfectus amor æternitatis.* Sed cur hæc de invidia dicimus, si non etiam qualiter eruatur intimemus? Difficile namque est ut hoc alteri non invideat, quod adipisci alter exoptat; quia quidquid temporale percipitur, tanto fit minus singulis, quanto dividitur in multis; et idcirco desiderantis mentem livor excruciat, quia hoc quod appetit, aut funditus alter accipiens adimit, aut a quantitate restringit. Qui ergo livoris peste plene carere desiderat, illam haereditatem dilihat, quam cohaeredum numerus non angustat; quæ et omnibus una est, et singulis tota; quæ tanto largior ostenditur, quanto ad hanc percipientium multitudo dilatatur. Imminutio ergo livoris est affectus surgens internæ dulcedinis et plena mors est ejus, perfectus amor æternitatis. Nam cum mens ab ejus rei appetitu retractorit, quæ accipientium numero partitur, tanto magis proximum diligat, quanto minus ex propectu illius sua damna pertimescit. Quæ si perfecte in amore cælestis patriæ rapitur, plene etiam in proximi dilectione sine innæ invidia solidatur; quia cum nulla terrena desiderat, nihil est quod ejus erga proximum charitati contradicat. Quæ nimium charitas quid est alius quam oculus mentis; qui si terreni amoris pulvere tangitur, ab internæ lucis mox intuitu læsus reverberatur? Quia autem parvulus est qui terrena diligat, magnus qui æterna concupiscit, post etiam sic non inconvenienter intelligi: *Parvulum occidit invidia,* quoniam hujus pestis languore 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 pe same godes yif he had not had it. The second "he" obviously refers 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 be ... 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. *mysseþ, missays, says evil of.* C, "by the men myssape 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 þefor 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 umbilicis 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 inprecabor, 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. entreymyttith 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 constituentorium inter Nolanos ac Neapolitanos datus, cum in rem praeuentem uenisset, utrosque separatim monuit ut omissa cupiditate regredi modo controversia quam progradi mallent. idque cum utraque pars auctoritate uiri mota fecisset, aliquantum in medio uacui agri relictum est. constitutis deinde finibus, ut ipsi terminauerant, quidquid reliqui soli fuit populo Romano aidiucavit. ceterum etsi circumucenti Nolani ac Neapolitani querg nihil potuerunt
secundum ipsorum demonstrationem dicta sententia, improbo
tamen praestigiarum genere nouum ciuitati 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 giveth 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 paradise 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;
stertimus, indomitum quod despumare Palernum
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 attitus splendescere vomer. illa seges demum votis respondet avari agricolae, bis quae solem, bis frigora sensit; illius immensae ruperunt horrea messe.

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 be philisophir ... man. This has not been traced; it may be conventional wisdom.

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

1492-1496. And perfor ... "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 þerfor 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 quod fecere, tuentur;
Haec sunt iucundi causa cibusque mali.
Oitia si tollas, periere Cupidinis arcus,
Contemtaeque iacent et sine luce faces.
Quam platanus vino gaudet, 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 inmodici sub nullo vindice somni,
Aleaque, et multo tempora quassa mero
Eripiunt 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 þerfor Caton ... "vices." Cato, Dist., 3, 5:

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

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

1512-1513. *His boreth ... 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 thercfere sathe the wise man in his vi chapitre thou neccligent awake thou come for thou may long live as thou wolt say the lye is short;" C f.22r-22v, "And thercfere sayyth the wyse man in his vi chapytre. Thou Neclygent awake the. for thou mayst not longe slepe. as who sayd the lye is shorste;" H f.205v, "And therfor pe wyse man seyth yn hys .vi.th chapitre. Neclygence awake for thou mayst not longe live. as ho seyth thys lyfe ys but schorte."

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

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


1526-1529. *And to pis ... chapitre.* Matt. 13, 25.

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. *pe 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 dye;" H f.206r, "that the man that he seeth. through hys syght causeth the man to sleepe. and yn hys sleepe deyeth."


1552-1553. *and pan ber kough, pat is to sey ber 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 understonde 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. *quan reson makip be anon to sygh.* GH, "quan reson makip be among to sygh;" C f.23r, "whan reason causeth the somtyme to syghe;" H f.206r, "for reson wyl yeue a man cause to be dyspleised 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 aesti cum sub ar- bore condormisset et serpens ad eum proreperet, e palude cu- lex provolavit atque inter duo tempora aculeum fixit pas- tori. At ille continuo culicem contrivit et serpentem interemtit ac sepulchrum culici statuit et distichon fecit:

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


1586-1587. *Dedimus ... Alisaundre.* RG, 171, 11-14:

"Nil appetit amplius, quam ratio naturae flagitat. Omnia patitur ac tolerat illud putans necessarium, quod scit non esse superfluum."

1587-1589. *pe which Alisaundyr ... 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, munificent 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 witnessip.* 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 pe Kynge 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, "xviii."

1660-1661. *he ferip 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 ... Juges*. 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 grete love; H f.208r, "gret sygnes of loue."

1681. No gap in GH.

1682-1684. Be coveitise ... Kynges. 1 Kings 8, 1-3.

1684-1686. Who ... Naboth ... Kynges. 3 Kings 21, 1-13.

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  
Aثور 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 euel dethe. 
no thynge but coueytyse, for as moche as Nabal was ryght a 
coueytouse man. whych caused hym to deye / as yt appereth yn 
the fyrst booke of kynges in the .v.\textsuperscript{th} chapytre."


1693-1695. Whi wold David ... chapitre. 1 Kings 
25, 10-13.

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 withstondynge that he was not worthy."

1707-1710. And somtyme þe preste ... chapitre. Matt. 21, 12. GH, BM 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 avaritia fidem, probitatem ceterasque 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! Adicetotidianas sollicitudines, quae pro modo habendi quemque discruicnt. Maiore tormento pecunia possidetur quam quaeritur. Quantum damnis ingemescunt, quae et magna incidunt et videntur maiora! Denique ut illis fortuna nihil detrahat, quidquid non adquiritur, dannum est.

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

1726-1728. *And perfor Valerii ... 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 "lowe 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 fulfyllled." 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 indeed ... Septimus ... remnaunt.*

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

Odium merita Septimulei avaritiae, Ptolomaei autem regis Cypriorum risu prosequenda: nam cum anxiis sordibus magnas opes corripuisset propterque eae peritum se uidere et ideo omni pecunia imposita naubiis in altum processisset, ut classe perforata suo arbitrio periret et hostes praedae carerent, non sustinuit mergere aurum et argentum, sed futurum necis suae praemia domum reuexit. procul dubio hic non pos edit diuities, 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. hape 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 ... Exodus. 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 þes þingis ... 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-
genе, qui per medias Macedonum gazas nudus incessit calcatis
regis opibus. O! ne ille tunc merito et sibi et ceteris,
quiibus ad dispiciendam veritatem non erat obfusa caligo,
supra eum eminere visus est, infra quem omnia iacebant.
Multо 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 crepide collocas-
tus, sordidæ appellotionis, sed robustæ vir præstantiæ:
"Mox, inquit, de ceteris; interim a sole mihi velim non
obstes." Quibus verbis illa nimirum inhaesit 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 lekis he xuld 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):

Refert Saturnus, qui illustrium virorum scribit historias, quod Diogenes palliolo duplici usus sit propter frigus: peram pro cellario habuerit: secumque portarit clavam ob corpusculi fragilitatem qua jam senex membra sustentare solitus erat, et ἡμετέροις vulgo appellatus sit, in præsen-
temhoram poscens a quolibet, et accipiens cibum. Habitavit *(AL. habitabit)* autem in portarum vestibulis et porticibus civitatum. Cumque se contorqueret in dolio, volubilem se habere domum jocabatur, et se cum temporibus immutantem. Frigore enim os doli vertebat in meridiem; aestate ad se-
tentronem, et utcunque sol se inclinaverat, Diogenis simul prætorium vertebatur. Quodam vero tempore habens ad potan-
dum caucum ligneum, vidit puerum manu concava bibere, et elisisse illud fertur ad terram, dicens: Nesciebam quod et natura haberet poculum. Virtutem ejus et continentiam mors quoque indicat.


1803-1804. *houis 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 see-
ing 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 nihilo continentioris exempli. cuius caecam et amentem luxuriam exercitus imitatus magna ex parte aureos clauos crepidis subiectos habuit argenteaque uasa ad usum culinae conparauit et tabernacula textilibus
sigillis adornata statuit, auaro potius hosti praeda optabilis quam ulla ad uincendum strenuo mora.

1828-1829. He made his horse to be arrayed with golde. In some versions his extravagant 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 whych 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 Ponpeys 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.  

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

1840-1841.  And þe 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 þe tre whereupon he restith.  C
f.27r, "trusteth to the tree to whiche he leneth;" H f.210v,
"trusteth yn þe tree that he leneth unto."
1846-1849. For as Julius Cesur ... overthowe.

Caes., B.G., 1, 14: "Consuesse enim deos immortales, quo
gravius homines ex commutatigne rerum doleant, quos pro sce-
lerere 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, "xiiii 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.
Caëtera quid referam mæstos solantia vultus,
Omnia captatae prosperitatis erant.
Juraes superos intra mea vota teneri,
Et res occasum dedidicisse pati.
Mirabar sic te, te sic, fortuna, fidelem;
Mirabar stabilem, quæ levis esse soles.
Sæpe mihi dixi: Quorsum tam prospera rerum?
Quid sibi vult tantus, tam citus agger 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 præpria 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.
Illa dolosa comes, sola levitate fidelis,
Non impune favet, aut sine fine premit.
Illa mihi quondam risu blandita sereno
Mutavit vultus, nubila facta, suos.
Et velut æternam miserè conata ruinam,
Spe quoque lætitiae detrahit illa mihi.
Illa professa dolum, submersit, diruit, ussit
Culta, domos, vites, imbrebus, igne, gelu. 
Insuper exhaustit, excussit [discussit], debilitavit
Hoste, noto, morbis, horrea, poma, gregem.
Accessit dannis novus ille gravisque tyrannus
Quo Cenomanorum consule jus periiit.
Cujus avos puduit scelerum genuisse patronum,
Fortunæque parem mobilitate, dolis.
Ille pudor patriæ me non impune tuentem
Justitiae leges, expulit a patria.
Inde ratem scando, vitam commito procellis,
Uda [f. vela] tument, gemina cymba juvatur ope.
Portus erat longe, cum ventus fortior aestum
Movit, et in tumulos Auster aravit aquas.

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

denique securus famae, liber, ire memento,
 nec 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,
quaerendique mihi moninis arderat.
carmina nunc si non studiumque, quod obfuit, odi,
sit satis; ingenio sic fuga parta meo.

1857-1862. And perfor 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 bonorum mentes fruentium ligat, haec cogniti-
one fragilis felicitatis absolvit.

1862-1864. And ... Boycece ... mysfortune. 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, forman praestantissimam, fauorem ciuium propensum, summa imperia, praecipuas potentiae uires, flagrantissimum ingenium designaret, altera, quae damnationem, exilium, uenditionem bonorum, inopiam, odium patriae, uiolentam mortem infligeret: nec aut haec aut illa uniueras, sed uarie perplexa, freto atque aestui similia.

1865. Altibrados. C f.27r, "alcibiades;" H f.211r, "Altybrados."

1867-1871. Also ... Denys Siraucusan ... Corintheus.
Val. Max., Fact., 6, 9, Ext. 6:

Dionysius autem, cum hereditatis nomine a patre Syracusanorum ac paene totius Siciliae tyrannidem accepisset, maxima-rum opum dominus, exercituum dux, rector classium, equita-tuum potens, propter inopiam litteras puerulos Corinthi do-cuit eodemque tempore tanta mutatione 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 Anaxagoran flagrasse credimus? qui cum e diutina peregrinatione patriam repetisset possessionesque desertas uidisset, 'non essem' inquit 'ego salus, nisi istae perissent'. uocem petitae sapientiae compotem! nam si praediorum potius quam ingenni culturae uacasset, dominus rei familiariis intra penates mansisset, non tantus Anaxago-ras ad eos redisset.

1879. BM f.138v, "possessions;" C f.27v, "posess-yons."
1884-1886. Also ... lost for Æm. Val. Max., Fact.,
7, 2, Ext. 1:

Socrates, humanæ sapientiæ quasi quoddam terrestre ora-
culum, nihil ultra petendum a diis immortalibus arbitrabatur
quam ut bona tribuerent, quia ii demum scirent quid unicui-
que esset utile; nos autem plerumque id votis expetere, quod
non impetrasse melius foret. Etenim densissimis tenebris
involuta, mortalium mens, in quam late patentes errores cae-
cas precationes tuas spargis! Divitias appetis, quæ multis
exitio fuerunt; honores concupiscis, qui complures pessum-
dederunt; regna tecum ipsa volvis, quorum exitus sæpemunero
miserabiles cernuntur; splendidis conjugiis injicis manus;
at hæc ut aliquando illustrant, ita nonnunquam funditus do-
mos evertunt. Desine igitur, stulta, futurus malorum tuorum
causis quasi felicissimis rebus inhaiere teque totam caele-
tium 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, om-
nibus, quos modo saevitia bellô incolumes abire passa fuerat,
pretiosarum rerum pondere onustis fugientibus, interrogatus,
quid ita nihil ex bonis suis secum ferret: "Ego vero," in-
quit, "bona omnia mea mecum porto." Pectore enim illa ges-
tabat, non humeris; nec oculus visenda, sed aëstimanda animo;
quæ domicilio mentis inclusa nec mortalium nec deorum mani-
bus labefactari queunt, et, ut manentibus præsto sunt, ita
fugientes non deserunt.

1887. Stilbon. BM f.138v, "Saloun;" C f.27v,
"styllon;" H f.211v, "styllon;" 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. *Werbi ... Enepocles 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 dominatum subit, qui adeptum se ad perfruendum lætatur, quod perdite concupivit.

1898-1907. *And ... Ovide ... dep*. 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. conspyshmentes. BM f.139r, "consentours;" C f.27v, "complyces;" H f.211v, "such as wer of her counseyl;" 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 ... cros. Cassiod., Hist. Tri., 1, 5 (PL, 69, 888-889):

Cumque jam opus non esset interprete, sed aperte imperatori monstratum fuisse quid de Deo credere conveniret, mox die facta sacerdotes Christi convocans, de dogmate consubstantiam illi sacros libros offerentes, de Christo loquebantur, suaque dicta ex prophetis comprobabant. Signum vero quod apparuerat ei, dicebant tropaeum esse victoriae adversus infernum, quam victoriam ascendens in coelos egit Christus, crucifixus et mortuus, et tertia die resurgens, secundum quod sperandum esse dixerunt: quia post hujus vitae terminum circa finem saeculi præsentis, omnes homines resurgant, et immortales existant: alii quidem ad præmia rerum, quibus bene vixerunt; alii ad supplicia, eo quod ab eis mala sint gesta. Esse tamen etiam in delictis quæ committerunt hic occasionem salutis purificationemque peccati: nondum initiatem quidem baptismatis aedificationem secundum ecclesiasticam legem, initiatem autem custodiam, ne delinquant. Sed quia hoc agere omnino paucorum sanctorumque virorum est, docebat quoque purificationem secundam ex pœnitentia constitutam: clementem enim esse Deum, et veniam tribuere delinquentibus, si pœnitentiam agentes studiant 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 signum quod Labarum vocabatur. Hoc enim signum bellicum inter alia pretiosius erat, eo quod imperatorem praecedere, 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 sumum arbitrarentur Deum quem eolorat imperator, vel quo duce atque auxiliatore uteretur adversus hostes. Semper enim hoc signum proponebat ante ordines universos, quod maxime laborantibus aciebus in praeliis adesse praecepiet. Constituit itaque certos, signiferos, qui in eo laborarent; quorum opus erat ut vicibus humeris velerent illud, et omnes acies ita lustrarent. Furtur enim quidam, eo quod aliquando ferens hoc signum, repente hostibus invadentibus expavisset, dedissetque illud alteri devendum; 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, sagittae hestium ligebantur in signo; a signifero autem inter pericula proinum evolabat. 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):


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.

1953-1956. But after he ... chapitre. Joan.,
Sares., Polycrat., 6, 17 (PL, 199, 612-613):

nocere non possunt, nec si velint: et sicut evangelico doce-tur testimonio, non impetrata licentia non audeant, aut que-ant irruere in gregem porcorum.

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 militiæ ordinatæ? Tueri Ecclesiæm, per-fidiam impugnare, sacerdotium venerari, pauperum propulsare injuras, 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, "defende the poure;" H f.212v, "dyffende the poore peple."

1959-1962. *Also Egisopus ... mystaking.* This reference has not been traced. Roy J. Deferrari in his translation, *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-apostolic 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 ...* Vegeste ... prince. Veg., Rei Milit., 2, 5: "Iurant autem per Deum et Christum et sanctum Spiritum et per maiestatem imperatoris, quae secundum Deum generi humano diligenda est et colenda."


1971-1974. *And ...* Marchaliȝet ... withinne. This has not been traced.


Eo quoque tempore Attila Italian 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 appropinquasset, ille ut beatum Leonem vidit, de equo descendit ejusque pedibus pro voluptus rogavit, ut peteret, quidquid vellet. Qui petiit, ut ab Italia discederet et captivos relaxaret, et dum argueretur a suis, quod trimphantor orbis a sacerdote victus esset, respondit: providi mihi et vobis, vidi enim a dextris ejus fortissimum militem evaginato gladio stamtem mihique dicentem: nisi huic parueris, cum omnibus tuis interibis.


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 manseris; ne in praeterita castitate confidas. Nec David sanctior nec Salomone potes esse sapientior; memento semper, quod para- disi colonum de possessione sua mulier eiecerit. Aegrotanti 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, quae et officium praebet et beneficium accipiant ministrando, ut infirmitas quoque tua fructum habeat elemosynae.


1989. *undyre age or oute of al suspeccion*. BM f.141r, "bot yf they be aged and out of al susspession."
1989-1991. *And ... Seynt Austyn ... suspicion.*

LA, 124, 557-558 (GL, 494):

Feminarum nullam unquam nec etiam germanam sororem aut fratris sui filias, quae Deo pariter serviebant, secum habitare permisit. Dicebat enim, quod, etsi de sorore et nepotibus nulla mali posset oriri suspicio, tamen quia tales personae sine alius sibi necessariis esse non possent et ad eas etiam alii adventarent, ex illis possent infirmiores aut humanis tentationibus commoveri aut certe malis hominum suspicionibus infamari. Nuncquam cum muliere solus loqui volebat, nisi secretum aliquid 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 virtutibus duceret, seque sub sacerdotali custodia in continentia arce custodiret, quamdam sanctimonialem feminam, quam secum prius habuerat, noluit ab episcopii sui cura repellere, sed certus de sua ejusque continentia, secum hanc permisit habitare. Ex quare actum est ut antiquus hostis apud ejus animum aditum tentationis exquereret. Nam cepit speciem illius oculus mentis ejus imprimere, ut illectus nefanda cogitaret.


1992-1993. *be third chapitre.* BM f.141r, C f.29r, and H f.213r all list the seventh chapter.


2003-2008. *And ... Seynt Austyn ... sogettes. Aug.*, Civ. Dei, 5, 18:

... ita iidem ipsi pauperes erant, quorum triumphis publicum dicitabant aerarium: nonne omnes Christiani, qui excellentiore proposito divitiis suas communesfaciunt, secundum id quod scriptum est in Actibus Apostolorum, ut distribuatur unicuique, sicut cuique opus est; et nemo dicat aliquid proprium, sed sint illis omnia communia; intelligunt se nulla ob hoc ventilaro oportere jactantia, id faciendo pro obtinenda societate Angelorum, cum pene tale aliud illi fecerint pro conservanda gloria Romanorum?

2008-2011. *Also Seynt Gregory ... pe same. Greg.*, Moralia, 11, 14:

Magna sacerdotis gloria est rectitudo subditoriurn. Unde bene egregius praeceptor discipulis dicit: *Quae enim est nostra spe, aut gaudium, aut corona gloriae? nonne vos ante Dominum?* Sed cum sacerdotes vitam discipulorum negligunt, et nullum de eorum prorectibus ante Dominum fructum ferunt, quid alium quam inglorii dicuntur? quia ante dictum judicem nimimum gloriam tunc non inveniunt, quam modo in subditoriurn suorum moribus praelectionis studio non exquirunt.


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 ægritudine sive per violentiam absceduntur; et qui non sponte, sed casu aliquod membrum 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 caeteris sine crimine vixerunt; liberi quoque qui a dominis suis ita manumissi sunt, ut in eis nullum obsequii jus aut potestatem observaverint et sine crimine vixerint, hos in clericum assumi posse sine contradictione sanxerunt. Publice vero penitentes, criminatos, illiteratos, bigamos, repudiatarum maritos, ex adulterio natos, ab haeresibus baptizatos, et qui seipsum absiderunt, a sacris ordinibus arcendos, et energumenos in clericum non recipiendos. Sed et filios presbyterorum ad sacros ordines non admittingos, nisi quos vel habitus religionis, vel spiritualis vitae honestas commendat. Penitentes vero si necessitas exegerit inter ostiarios depurati, 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. Penitentes autem dicimus eos qui post baptismum pro homicidio, aut pro diversis criminibus, aut gravissimis pecatis, publicam gerentes penitentiam sub cilicio, divino fuerint altario reconciliati. Similiter transmarinos et incognitos homines, sive clericos aliarum ecclesiarum, neque ordinari neque ordinatos recipi concedunt, sine commendatiis litteris episcoporum suorum.

2013-2017. *And to bis 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 nothyng." 

2025-2027. *It is ... Abusions.* Cyprian. (?), De duodecim abus., 10 (PL, 4, 957): "Decimus gradus abusiosis 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 indee 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 beriþ 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 signe fyagencye 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, "gyrdeye."

2032-2035. *And perfor pe prelat ... Gregory ... chapitre.* 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 omino per imbecillitatem corpus, nec valde per contumeliam repugnat spiritus. Qui ad aliena cupienda non ducitur, sed propria largitur. Qui per pieta-tis viscera citius ad ignoscendum flectitur, sed nuncquam 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 transactis erubescat. Qui sic studet vivere, ut proximorum quoque corda arentia doctrinæ 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 adium.* Si enim fortasse quis veniat, ut pro se ad intercedendum nos apud potentem quempiam virum, qui sibi iratus, nobis vero est ignocntius, ducat, protinus respondemus: Ad intercedendum venire non possumus, quia familiaritatis ejus notitiam non habemus. Si ergo homo apud hominem de quo minime praesumit fieri intercessor erubescit, qua mente apud Deum intercessionis locum pro populo arripit, qui familiarem se ejus gratiam esse per vitæ meritum nescit? Aut ab eo quo-modo aliis veniam postulat, qui utrum sibi sit placatus igno-rat? Qua in re adhuc aliud est sollicitius mitigandum, ne qui placere posse iram creditur, hanc ipse ex proprio reatu mereatur. Cuncti enim liquido novimus, quia cum is qui disdiscet ad intercedendum mittitur, irati ad deteriora provocatur. Qui ergo adhuc desideriis terrenis astringitur, caveat ne districti iram judicis gravius ascendens, dum loco dextatur gloriae, 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 cui suas committat faculatulas, non inventum. Optimi videlicet aestimatores rerum, qui magnus de minimis, parvam aut nullam de maximis curam gerant. Sed, ut liquido, datur intelligi, patientius ferimus Christi jactatum, quam nostram. Quotidianas expensas quotidianum reciprocatus scrutinium, 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:


57, 1, 250-251 (GL, 25-26):

Liguriam Emilianum provinciam directus est, cumque Mediolanum venisset et ibidem episcopus tunc deesset, convent populus, ut sibi de episcopo provideret. Sed cum inter Arianos et catholicos de eligendo episcopo seditione non modica oriretur, illuc Ambrosius causa sedaendae seditionis perrexit et statim vox infantis insonuit dicens Ambrosium episcopum, cuius voci omnes unanimitern consenserunt Ambrosium episcopum ac clamantes. Quo ille cognito et eos a se terroribus removeret, ecclesiam exiens tribunal conscendit et contra consuetudinem suam tormenta personis adhiberi jussit. Quod cum faceret, populus nihilominus ac clamabat: peccatum tuum super
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 pergere putaret, mane 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, quod verbum suum fuerat in eo adimpletum; dixerat enim, cum proficiscenti maadata donaret: vade, age, non ut judex, sed ut episcopus. Pendente relatione iterum absconditur, sed inventus cum adhuc esset catechumenus, baptizatur et VII die in episcopalem cathedram sublimatur. Cum autem post annos IV Romam ivisset et soror sua, sacra virgo, ejus dextram 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. Veruntamen dum sollicite quareretur, columna lucida perfulgida a coelo dependens super locum, in quo latitabat, apparuit, in qua columna angelos descendentes et ascendentes quidam reclusus aspexit, moxque ab universo populo capitur, trahtitur et summus pontifex consecratur.
2058-2060. *We rede ... chosyn.* This reference has not been traced.


2060-2066. Also ... Ammonius ... "man." Cassiod., Hist. Tri., 8, 1 (PL, 69, 1106-1107):

Fuit autem et alius vir mirabilis inter monachos, cui nomen Ammonius, qui tanto sine uilla 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 effugaret. Cumque posterior tempore etiam Evagrius a Theophilo Alexandrino pontifice ad episcopatum teniuis, 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 siquidem eo tempore digni fuerunt viri, quorum si quis velit verba miraculaque cognoscere, et quemadmodum illis fuerint etiam bestiae subjugatae, librum legat Palladii monachi, qui discipulus fuit Evagrii. Omnia namque de istis subtiliter explanavit, in quo etiam feminarum imitationem conversationemque memoravit. Evagrius igitur atque Palladius mortuo Valente post paulum um floruerunt.

2066-2074. Moreover in the Three Partied Story ...

goste. This has not been traced in Cassiod., Hist. Tri.; however, a version appears in LA, 138, 618 (GL, 143), 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 praeberet. Tunc ille promisit dicens: cras, quod domino placet, impleretur. 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. be twenty-third chapitre of Exode. BM f.143v and C f.30v agree with GH. H f.214v cites "be .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, be 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, be 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 praecipua praecipita, hoc est, dilectionem Dei et dilectionem proximi, docet magister Deus; in quibus tria invenit homo quae diligit, Deum, se ipsum, et proximum; atque ille in se diligendo non errat qui diligit 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 summum 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 ligna, quod ipsi faciunt? Quid tam obscurum, quam de astronomia et geometria tractare, quod probant: et profundi aeris spatia metiri cœlum 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 quippiam rapere furtum est, ecclesiam fraudare sacrilegium est. Accepisse pauperibus erogandum et esurientibus plurimis 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. *patrymony*, 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, beatæ memoriam senex Valerius dedit mihi hortum illum, in quo nunc est monasterium. Ceipi boni propositi frateres colligere, comparar meos, nihil habentes, sicut nihil habebam, et imitantem me: ut quomodo ego tenebam paupertatem meam vendidi et pauperibus erogavi, sic facerent etilli qui mecum esse voluissent, ut de communi viveremus; commune autem nobis esset magnum et uberrimum prædium ipse Deus. Perveni ad episcopatum: vidi necesse habere episcopum exhibere humanitatem assiduam quibusque venientibus sive transeuntibus: quod si non fecisset episcopus, inhumanus diceretur. Si autem ista consuetudo in monasterio permessa esset, indecens esset. Et ideo volui habere in ista domo episcopii necum monasterium clericorum.

2128-2132. And hereof ... *chapitre*. 4 Kings 4, 38-44.

2130. *broed*, 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 annum
2139-2143. *And þerof ... 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 predicaciones of the appostoles;" C f.31r, "Sembably we rede in the book of actes of thapostles the fourth chapytre how the chyrche was multeplyed and made grete by the predycacion of thapostles." 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 ... "trouth."

Cassiod., Hist. Tri., 2, 3 (PL, 69, 923):

Cumque plurimi disputationis delectatione traherentur, unus quidam ex confessoribus laicis 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 observandum. Haec dicente juvene et animo sene, præsentes quidem mirati sunt, dictumque probaverunt. Dialectici vero satisfactione suscepta cessarunt, rationem quippe simplicem veritatis audientes.
2159-2165. *And ... fœpit*. Cassiod., Hist. Tri., 2, 3 (PL, 69, 923):


2163. *no lecture, not read. H f.215v, "understode no lettyr."*


2167-2173. *It is ... Gregori ... affeccion*. Greg., Moralia, 30, 11:

Sancti igitur viri, cum se ad prædicandum parant, prius se interierius 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 munitionia fulgescant, contra torporem zelo candeant, contra confusos praepestationis motus serena gravitate rutilent, contra superbiam vera humilitate luceant, contra timorem radiis anctoritatis clarescant. Quia ergo tanta in se prius studia congerunt, quasi in conceptu sanctae praedicationis mensae virtutum fiunt. Quos menses Dominus solus dinumerat, quia eadem bona in eorum cordibus non nisi qui dedit pensat. Et quia juxta mensuram virtutum effectus etiam subsequitur fructuum, recte subungitur: *Et scisti tempus partus earum? Virtutem mensuram fructus ratio sequitur.*

2171-2173. *it is ... pe prechoure ... affection.* There seems to be compression in GH. C f.31v, "it is for deffaulte of the prechour whyche is of evyl 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 pe herers that haue non affecyon yn hys sermon."

2173-2177. *Neverpeles ... eteth it.* Mark 4, 4.

2177-2179. *Who converted ... chapitre.* Jonas 3, 4-5.


Post haec autem apostolus et Abbanes ad regem Indiae perven-erunt. Designato vero ab apostolo mirabili palatio et copi-ooso thesauro accepto rex in aliam provinciam proficiscitur et apostolus universum thesaurum populo elargitur. Per to-tum autem biennium, quo abfuit rex, apostolus praedicationi institit et innumerabilem populum ad fidem convertit.

2181-2183. *But somme ... preached.* Acts 7, 56.

2182. *herys,* ears.

2183-2184. *And somme mocked ... Dedes.* Acts 13, 8.

2184-2189. *These ... aspis ... repentauks.* 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 lapsum erat agere cum illo, ne vanorum ludorum caeco et praecipiti studio tam bonum intermeretur ingenium. verum autem, domine, tu, qui praesides gubernaculis omnium, quae creasti, non eum oblivus eras, futurum inter filios tuos autistitem sacramenti tui: et ut aperte tibi tribueretur eius correctio, per me quidem illam, sed nescientem, operatus es. nam quodam die cum sederem loco solito, et coram me adessent discipuli, venit, salutavit, sedixit, atque inh ea quae agebantur intendit animum. et forte lectio in manibus erat, quam dum exponerem et oportune mihi adhibenda videretur similitudo circensus, quo illud quod insinuabam et iucundius et planius fieret, et cum inrisione mordaci eorum, quos illa captivasset insania, scis tu, deus noster, quod tunc de Alypio ab illa peste sanando non cogitaverimus. at ille in se repuit, meque illud non nisi propter se dixisse credit: et quod alius acciperet ad suscensendum mihi, accept honestus adulescens ad suscensendum sibi, et ad me ardentius diligendum. dixerat enim tu iam olim et innexueras litteris tuis: corrippe sapientem, et amabit te.

At illum ego non corrupseram, sed utens tu omnibus et scientibus et nescientibus, ordine quo nosti—et ille ordo iustus est—de corde et lingua mea carbones ardentem operatus es, quibus mentem spei bonae adureres tabescentem ac saequare. taceat laudes tuas, qui miserationes tuas non considerat, quae tibi de medullis meis confitentur. etenim vero ille post illa verba proripuit se ex fovea tam alta, qua libenter demergebatur et cum mira voluptate caecabatur, et excussit animum fortis temperantia, et resiliuerunt omnes circensus sordes ab eo, ampliusque illuc non accessit.

2196-2197. he preached in his sermon of a creature.
2196-2197. 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 ¶at he
2203-2204. was non such. H f.216r, "pe 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.

2215-2216. And perfor Aristipus ... many inconveniences. This has not been traced.

2215. sewirli, surely, certainly.

2216-2218. And perfor Boece ... vertu. Boeth., De Disciplina Scholastria, 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 intelligentiae ignorantia eorum ne confundantur. Tertii subtilius speculantes propter utriusque partis incrementa magistralia contrahunt paludamenta. Talium namque quicunque venustatis assumptae debiteque officii velit emolumenta prosequi; in universa morum honestate oportet ut polleat praecellior, ut si utique in sermone verax, in judicio justus, in consilio providus, et in commiso fidelis, constans in vultu, pius in affatu, virtutibus insignitus, bonitateque laudabilis existat; si quid vero contrarii acciderit, 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, praecessorem 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 elegantior nec beatiore facundia usurus uidetur, Aegyptum peragruit, dum a sacerdotibus eius gentis geometriae multiplices numeros et caelestium observationum rationem percipit. quoque tempore a studiosis iuuenibus certatim Athenae Platonem doctorem quaerentibus petebantur, ipse Nili fluminis inexplicabiles ripas uastissimosque campos, effusam barbariam et flexuosos fossarum ambitus Aegyptiorum senum discipulus Iustrabat. quo minus miror in Italian transgressum, ut ab Archyta Tarenti, a Timaeo et Arione et Echecrate Locris Pythagorae praeceptra et instituta acciperet: tanta enim uis, tanta copia litterarum undique colligenda erat, ut inuicem per totum terrarum orbem dispergi et dilatari posset. 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 comparetur. Nam qui quidquid homo extra didicerit, si noxium est, ibi damnatur; si utile est, ibi invenitur. Et cum ibi quisque invenerit omnia quae utiliter alibi didicit, multo abundantius ibi invenierit 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 falshed for trowthe."

2266. *be next book*. C f.33r, "the fyrst book;" H f.217r, "And of thyss mater thou mayst knowe yn the fyrst booke wheryn þu schalt fynde dyvers thynges conserynynge 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 Arphaxat ... 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 multitudinem et innumerabilem vidisset exercitum, 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 suffocatus 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 brepirm ... 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 inde ... Septimus ... 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 fuisset, caput eius abscidere et per urbem pilo fixum ferre sustinuit, quia Opimius consul auro id se repensurum edixerat. sunt qui tradant liquato plumbo eum cauadam partem capitis, quo ponderosius esset, explesse. fuerit ille seditiosus, bono perierit exemplo, clientis tamen scelesta famis in has usque iacentis iniurias esurire non debuit.
1884-1886. Also ... lost for pem. Rychner believes the philosopher is Democritus, and Legrand is referring us to Sen., De Provid., 6, 2: "Democritus devitias proiectonus 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 Polycraticus. 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 Egesopus ... mystakyn. Rychner suggests "Hégésippe, Histoire I, XVII, 2," (p. 471). I have not been able to locate this text.
Nullae aguntur insidia, nulla corruptio, septuaginta millia hostium vincuntur pene sine pugna: fugit victus ad tempus, ne pius audeat victor iratus. Transportatur in diversum locum, 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 temere ausus est, atque ex ea quosdam non dubitavit extrahere. Secuta est poena sacrilegum. Nam iisdem superstibus atque insulantibus, quos ab ecclesia ad poenam praetraxerat, post aliquantam tempus et ipse solus punitus est: probavitque in se uno, ad utrumque semper divinum vigilare judicium: quando et cum speravit, adjutus, et cum contempsit, occisus est.